

# LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

VOLUME 11, No. 19

New York, N. Y., Thursday, November 1, 1934.

Price 5 Cents

## Spain Nears Fascism As Revolt Fails

### Labor Revolution Crushed by Church, Nobility and Capital

By LUDWIG LORE

An impenetrable curtain of censorship restrictions obscures what is going on in Spain at the present time. Only this is certain—that Spain's united proletariat has suffered defeat against the combined forces of reaction. Fighting continues in a few skirmishes which will not affect the final outcome. The democratic state of the Spanish Republic has come and gone. The period of fascist dictatorship is at the door.

The prospects for labor in this fight were at no time favorable. But there was no other alternative. Spain's workers had to choose between hopeless submission, like that of their German comrades, or resistance against overpowering odds. They chose the latter, were forced by the enemy to strike only half prepared—and lost.

#### The Alternative

It was that—or accept the Catholic-monarchist government which the enforced retirement of Samper had foisted upon them. Gil Robles had delegated three of his men into the new Lerroux Cabinet where they occupy the strategically most important ministerial posts. The fascist Catholic leader had accomplished what none had been able to do before him when he united the three enemies of those modest reforms which the Spanish revolution had wrought—the Catholic Church, the nobility and capital—into one solid army of reactionary aggression.

When in 1931 the Spanish crown fell and the cross showed signs of toppling, Gil Robles left the editor's chair of a Jesuit publication to become the leader of the newly founded Catholic Party, the Accion Popular. From his point of view, he had just cause for complaint. The Republic had confiscated the riches of the Church

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## Big Dates On N.Y. Calendar

NEW YORK.—Thirteen red-letter dates have been chalked on the AWP calendar in New York.

The pre-election Institutes on the Coming American Revolution open Saturday, October 27, at the Amalgamated union headquarters, 3rd floor, 15 Union Square, continue Sunday afternoon and end the following week-end. There will be sixteen speakers.

Speakers the opening day are V. F. Calverton, Rodger Baldwin, C. Hartley Grattan, Oliver Carlson, Horace M. Kallen and John Chamberlain. Party members will put forward the AWP position.

Wednesday evening, October 31, a Halloween party at the AWP headquarters.

Wednesday evening, November 7, a joint celebration of the Russian Revolution by the AWP and the CLA, place not yet announced.

November 26, the debate between Max Eastman and Sidney Hook on the Meaning of Marxism.

December 7, Symposium on religion and Marxism; Hook, Calverton, Niebuhr and Calhoun.

A second Institute is scheduled for December 8-9, 15-16, and a theatre benefit December 16.

## In 25 States the Unemployed Prepare For National Unemployed Day, Nov. 24

By ANTHONY RAMUGLIA  
President of the National Unemployed League

The National Unemployed Demonstration is going over.

The principal unemployed pressure organizations of the country have not only reached an accord as to demands, date and other details, but are organizing, agitating, spurring the units to turn out en masse.

November 24 is the day—National Unemployed Day. At 10:00 a. m. on that day tens of thousands of the victims of capitalism will gather in mass and parade before city and county relief boards in some 25 states. It will be a magnificent example of militant working class solidarity.

The National Unemployed League, the organization that initiated the move, is putting all its resources into preparation of the demonstration.

Believing that the strategy of bearing down in each locality on the authorities, of arousing the folks at home, of making our strength felt and our needs known all over the land at the same time will be more effective, if less dramatic, than a hunger march on Washington, the committee in charge of arrangements of the demonstration is concentrating its attention on drawing into participation the largest possible number of workers in every state where there is an unemployed organization.

At the same time the unemployed will be demonstrating before

the city and county relief authorities, a committee will be in Wash-

ington to wait upon Federal Relief Director Harry Hopkins and President Roosevelt. The committee will present the demands to Mr. Hopkins and inform him that while he is handing out Soft Soap, the unemployed folks back home in hundreds of places are out in the streets keeping the local cops busy.

This demonstration will be mighty important for the effect it will have on the authorities; but it has an importance which goes beyond that. Action of this sort will weld together the unemployed movement. Out of the crucible of action will be born a unified organization that will propel the unemployed movement up to the front ranks of the class struggle in America. Action well conceived and aggressively, intelligently executed will do for the unification of the movement in the space of a month what conferences, conventions, and negotiations might not accomplish in years. Comradeship in arms is the best leveler of differences between individuals; more so, among masses.

The various organizations participating in this demonstration have no major differences. They are all committed to the policy of mass pressure as a tactic in forcing adequate relief. Each organization decries political partisanship

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At a meeting between representatives of the employers and of the union two weeks ago the bosses declared the new contract "an insult to their intelligence."

At a second meeting on October 16 they were unable to get beyond the first article of the proposed contract, which practically calls for the closed shop. The manufacturers refused to discuss it and in an attempt to junk the whole new contract, proposed an extension of the old contract for a period of six months. Representatives of the union refused to consider the proposal.

Another proposal of the bosses was for a "truce period" of six months, which met with vigorous condemnation.

The dyers are aroused and sentiment for action is high. They say the bosses must sign on the dotted line. Workers in Paterson are dissatisfied as a result of the Textile strike aftermath, which

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NEW YORK.—Militant unionism has become strongly entrenched in the drug industry as a result of the general strike of the Bronx drug clerks of the Pharmacists Union. The union has signed up 75 per cent of the shops and is now fighting a pitched battle with the die-hard reactionaries of the Bronx County Pharmaceutical Association, the boss organization. Union leaders have answered the impotent threats of this reactionary outfit with doubled activity on the picket lines.

Drug clerks like so many of their professional brothers have been working under sweat shop conditions. A college degree entitled one to earn from \$18 to \$20 a week of from 60 to 70 hours. The Bronx general strike is the first shot in a concentrated campaign to be carried on by the Pharmacists Union against these miserable conditions.

The union demands are for \$32.50 for 54 hour work week; union recognition and a week's vacation with pay. A convention of the union will be held in the near future to plan a general strike throughout greater New York.

## Dyers Ask For Closed Shop, \$30

### 25 Thousand Ready to Strike—Silk Workers May Join Them

PATERSON, N. J., Oct. 22.—Twenty-five thousand dyers in New Jersey and New York are ready to strike on October 25 if the bosses refuse to sign the new contract, which calls for the 30-hour week, a minimum of \$30 per week and the closed shop.

The strike of the dyers, keymen in the production of silk, would affect more than 150,000 silk workers.

The Dyers have been working under an agreement which will expire on October 24, and which provides for a 40-hour week, a \$23 minimum wage and recognition of the union. The new demands were made to the manufacturers by the union on August 24.

#### Negotiations Are Deadlocked

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### Demands

1. An extensive system of public works to provide work for the unemployed on a basis of \$30 a week minimum for a 30 hour week. On skilled work, trade union rates where such rates are higher.

2. Passage of the Lundeen Worker's Unemployment Insurance Bill.

3. Pending the passage of the Unemployment Insurance Bill, direct cash relief to be paid at the rate of \$10 a week for a single person, \$15 for a family of two, and \$4 for each additional person in the family.

4. Right of all workers on public works to organize and engage in collective bargaining.

5. Recognition of the representatives of the organized unemployed before relief agencies.

6. Federal adequate disability compensation on all public projects.

7. All war funds to be turned over to unemployed relief.

the city and county relief authorities, a committee will be in Wash-

## Black Shirt Band And Students Get Warm Reception

By LARRY COHEN

NEW YORK.—Following a long series of platonic 'demonstrations' in the Rand School, Irving Plaza and Union Square, the struggle against fascism has taken a decisive step forward. The recent engagement of Mussolini's Black Shirt Band at a local theatre, was marked by militant demonstrations. Large detachments of police were assigned to the scene daily to intimidate the anti-fascist workers, but so effective was their activity that the theatre lost several thousand dollars in decreased receipts.

Even better was the reception accorded 350 Italian University students here last week as "good will ambassadors." At Yale, Harvard and Princeton their visits were marked by student protests, and at City College, in New York City, the militant action of left-wing students, led by the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League, completely disrupted the official reception tendered them by the College. President Robinson of City College characterized the anti-fascist students as "gutter-snipes," and has since suspended five for their part in the affair.

**Italian Students Fail to Appear**  
On Columbus Day, hundreds of workers demonstrated in Columbus Circle as the fascists, claiming Columbus as their own, laid a wreath on his monument. Governor Lehman lent his support to the fascists by speaking at their meeting.

Meanwhile, a crowd of several thousand cheered, as speakers from every section of the labor movement, except the Stalinists, denounced the fascists. There was a large turn-out of Italian workers, and Carlo Tresca and other Italian speakers were particularly well received. Others who address-

ed the meeting were Oliver Carlson for the AWP, Hugo Ohler for the CLA, Herbert Solow for the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and G. Valenti, editor of La Stampa Libera, who acted as Chairman. The visiting Italian students, who had been expected to participate in the wreath-laying, failed to appear, and the capitalist press admitted that it was because of the demonstration.

In the afternoon, both groups proceeded to Yankee Stadium

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### A Famine in Russia? No. It's Just a Myth

"A famine in Russia? I have traveled 3,000 miles and can't find it." This in substance is what Harold Denny is wiring his capitalist employer, the New York Times, these days.

"Nowhere was famine found. Nowhere even fear of it."

Denny, Russian correspondent of the Times, was sent on the long journey to check the reports in the outside world that a famine rages among the agricultural workers of the Soviet Union.

The reports were causing capitalists and scissor-bills alike to gloatingly shake owl heads and say, "I told you so; that system of the workers owning everything and running the government won't work." Frenzied appeals were being broadcast by big shot enemies of the worker's government for money to feed the starving.

Denny's 3,000 mile journey through the agricultural regions found that—

"There is food in the local open markets. The peasants are smiling, too, and generous with their foodstuffs."

"The only peasants this correspondent heard of who are in danger are some individuals in remote parts of the North Caucasus region who had bad crops both this year and last. Many of them are planning to move to industrial centers."

## Form Organization In N. Y. To Defend Union Democracy

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Following conferences among a number of trade unionists in New York and vicinity, a Provisional Organizing Committee for the Defense of Trade Union Democracy has been established and workers are being enrolled by the committee with the understanding that in the near future a membership meeting will be held for launching an organization, adopting a constitution and electing provisional officers. The committee includes now members of electrical workers, textile, ladies' garment, neckwear, building trades, technical workers and other unions. A leaflet issued by the committee sets forth a basic program containing the following six principles: trade union democracy, honest unionism, independent and militant unionism, industrial union structure, organization of the unorganized, and opposition to company unionism.

The proposed organization is to be a non-partisan membership organization. It "does not attempt to replace any of the existing unions or to serve as a trade union federation," and will accordingly not accept affiliation of unions or other bodies as such, "though it will welcome support for its policies and its work."

Through branch meetings and general propaganda activities the organization will advance the principles for which it stands in the labor movement. It will also seek to provide "defense of trade unionists who are deprived of their democratic rights in their organizations and subjected to discrimination or persecution."

Numbers of trade unionists who have seen their organizations demoralized under autocratic and corrupt officials, have hailed this new step. Further information may be obtained at the Committee's temporary address, Room 702, 112 E. 19th St., N. Y.



## Leftwing Miners Gain Prestige In Fight In PMA Convention

Rank and File Delegates Swing Away From Percy—Put Through Progressive Resolutions on Last Day

By GERRY ALLARD

The second convention of the Progressive Miners of America convened at Gillespie, Illinois, September 17-25. The first thing that drew attention was that 43 local unions had failed or refused to send delegates to the convention.

The credentials committee reported that 32,600 miners were represented by 188 delegates. Subtracting 12,300 who had no job control (formerly striking miners) gives a balance of approximately 20,000 members. No less than one-third of the 20,000 are unemployed. This is a birds-eye view of the numerical strength of the Progressive Miners today. Sixteen months ago the organization had approximately 40,000 members with an effective strike situation in places where it had no job control.

### Percy's Red Scare

Significantly, the convention was prefaced with a red scare instigated by Claude Percy, right wing president of the new union, who called upon all "loyals" to resist the "conspiracy" of the "communists" to capture the convention. Far and wide the capitalist papers of Illinois played up Mr. Percy's statement. When the convention opened there were exactly three communists present.

Percy and his colleagues threw a smoke screen over the real issue: it was not the "communists" whom the right wing, semi-fascist leaders feared, it was the left wing of the Progressive Miners Union. The left wing has no connection with the Communist party.

### Fight On Resolutions

Over 200 resolutions were presented to the convention by local unions. On resolutions of a fundamental character, such as fascism, social equality for Negroes, solidarity to striking textile workers, war, national program and inner organizational and political questions, the left wing and right wing crossed swords. The debate was heated and several times almost broke into a fight. At one time the right wing henchmen of the PMA leaders made for their guns. The tact and intelligence of the left wing delegates prevented bloodshed.

Several genuinely progressive resolutions were passed. These mean little, however, with the PMA leaders. The constitution of the new Illinois miners unions calls for "independent working class political action." Yet the "Progressive Miner," official union organ is often smeared with ballyhoo and pictures of Republican and Democratic candidates. The rank and file, particularly the left wing, learned years ago that resolutions mean nothing unless there is set up the medium to actually carry out the spirit and content of the resolutions.

At the first convention held September 1932, the Progressive Miners went on record favoring diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union was formally recognized by the Roosevelt administration the officers of the PMA flayed the pact as a "conspiracy of Jews and international bankers." The left wing, realizing the insincerity and disloyalty of the right wing officers to the decisions of the convention, wasted no time on technicalities. Instead, they drove hard and effectively at the roots of the evil—the official set-up of the PMA.

### Cleavage on Class Struggle

Throughout the convention the issue of class struggle versus class collaboration was the main cleavage between the lefts and the rights. The left wing gloried in the spirit of the rank and file by their mass actions, gigantic picket lines, effective committees, colorful women's organizations, an advanced educational department and a fighting organ of propaganda. These are the things that existed when the PMA carried out the program of the left wing during the first period of the great of-

fensive against the coal operators of the Illinois and Lewis ridden United Mine Workers.

The right wing leaders dryly chanted their pieces about the NRA, National Labor Boards, Divisional Labor Boards, Federal Courts, County Courts, Courts of Equity, Johnson, Roosevelt, Richberg, blah, blah, blah. This was the second period of the new Illinois miners union, after the left wing had been suppressed and removed with the aid of the operators and the political powers of this state. It was the period of the grand retreat, when the officers of the PMA became respectable and shouted gentle words lauding class collaboration.

### Left Wing Gains

Between the two currents the rank and file delegates of no definite allegiance fluctuated. The first day of the convention the vote of the left wing was weak. The majority of the rank and file delegates supported the right wing leaders. As the convention proceeded, however, the intelligent arguments of the left wing miners gained headway. The fifth day of the convention the left wing actually polled 70 votes. On the seventh day they polled over 100 and on the last day the left wing program actually triumphed on the foremost issue to come before the convention. That was the question regarding the term of office. Percy, acting president of the convention, struggled desperately to speed the work of the convention for an early adjournment. He became irritable. The left wing encouraged his irritation.

On the matter of term of office the Progressive Miners have a good arrangement. The constitution specifies that no officer can succeed himself in office and neither can an officer serve longer than two consecutive terms until he has to return to the picks for a period of two years. This, too, had only remained on paper since the organization is just two years old. The right wing was prepared and organized to change this clause of the constitution so that the present incumbents could succeed themselves perpetually.

### Right Wingers Routed

Joe Goett, editor of the "Progressive Miner," William Keck, general Secretary-Treasurer of the union, and Joe Pecik, erstwhile communist-anarchist, or something else, led the fight for the change in the constitution so that the present officers could continue their control. With demagogic audacity these three men spoke of "democracy," "progress" and hinted that there could not possibly be any "greater labor leader" than Claude Percy. The right wing leaders

were put to rout almost unanimously. Delegate after delegate rose to speak. Most of them said: "I am not a left winger, but . . ." And from there proceeded to shellac the Goett-Keck-Pecik aggregation with an artillery of arguments.

A miner said: "If you change this section of the constitution there is not a particle of difference between the Progressives and the United Mine Workers. Our existence will have been in vain. We have tried for years to free ourselves from perpetual office holders. That has been the bone of contention. The officers of this organization should return to the pits and get coal dust under their finger nails."

Claude Percy interjected: "It will be up to me to decide whether I want to return to the pits or not!"

This cooled off the allegiance of numerous delegates to Percy. The motion to revise the constitution on this score was overwhelmingly rejected. The convention adjourned the same day. Had it continued it would have been difficult for the right wing to hold the delegates in check.

### Have Greater Prestige

It would be erroneous to state that the left wing emerged generally victorious. The left wing did emerge with greater prestige than ever before. The thousands of adherents to the Progressive Miners of America became susceptible to lying, slanderous propaganda that has been circulated by the coal operators, the politicians, and the Percy machine. The notorious role of the Communist Party in the Illinois coal fields further entrenched the reaction and confused the appearance of the left wing as the exponent of genuine industrial unionism. Steadily the confusion is being cleared. The economic forces are aiding the left wing in its movement to educate and lead the coal miners along the road that will improve their lot and eventually lead them to freedom.

### Left Wing Miners

The work of the left wing miners has increased. Greater responsibilities face them. The right wing leaders of the PMA must be put fully to rout. John L. Lewis and his provisional payrollers must be prevented from usurping the rights of the miners of Illinois. Soon the Illinois miners and the miners in other sections of the country will enter a real struggle for increase in wages and the six hour day. The need for cohesive, intelligent movement is the order of the day. Unity of the rank and file miners throughout the North American continent must be achieved.

Only by a policy of class struggle, for the six hour day, \$6 per day; against the Lewis-Percy leadership; for rank and file unity; for the rights of minority opinion, will the miners of Illinois overcome the servitude they are suffering. To this end the left wing miners of Illinois are unanimously dedicated. We call upon the miners of America to join us in preparation for the coming struggles.

## Dallas Workers Plan Part In Nat'l Demonstration Nov. 24

Dallas, Texas.

Unemployed relief clients here, who have protestingly submitted for some time to the case hardened attitude of relief case hardened port that since the recent investigation of the Federal Grand Jury the almost impermeable armor of these shock troops of the industrial masters has been softened a trifle.

The Grand Jury while blaming these well paid investigators as "unsympathetic and lacking in thoroughness in their work" sought to whitewash the generally bad relief conditions here by denouncing the representatives of the unemployed organizations as agitators who were "stirring up the unemployed."

With unemployed here receiving an average of less than eleven cents per person per day for food and nothing for rent, water, lights, gas, clothing and medicine it

would seem strange that any agitators would be needed to arouse them. Along with this starvation food ration goes the policy of forcing persons who are employed, no matter how low the wage to take care of distant relatives who have no jobs. Many sick, aged and widowed families are buffeted back and forth between the relief offices and the United Charities only to find in the end that they can get relief at neither place.

Work relief is almost non-existent in this section. Many who are given work cards find that the time allowance is so small that they can do better on direct relief, miserable as that is. Cotton picking has taken several hundred from the relief rolls but the drouth has caused such a short scattered crop that the best of pickers can make little more than \$1.00 per day with twelve hours work. This seasonal

## Upton Sinclair Losing Ground In California Governors' Race

But It Is Too Early To Predict, Correspondent Says—Many Radicals Will Vote EPIC To Defeat Merriam

San Francisco

About that Upton Sinclair business. The California State Federation of Labor endorsed Sinclair, though not the full EPIC program, at its Pasadena convention. That means San Francisco trade unions are out for him practically unanimously. You see it's a choice between him and Merriam and they're damn sore at Merriam since the general strike. You can't say that their stand is forced by pressure from below. This is true of some of the reactionary trade union leaders, but in general the trade unionists, from the leaders down, are sincerely behind him.

Sinclair is linked too closely to the Democratic machine to suit the radicals, but not closely enough to suit the machine. Creel and other less progressive Democratic leaders are afraid to come out and repudiate him but they are not going to give him any enthusiastic support. Creel, I understand, is staying in the east to avoid getting involved.

Sinclair has gone back on some aspects of his program, but he has not gone far enough in this respect to win the old-line Democrats. He had to hedge somewhat. His original program was not thought through and the opposition was shooting it full of holes. I think he is entirely sincere and will go as far as he thinks possible if elected. It looks now as though he won't be.

The newspapers are going after him hammer and tongs. Originally they started off on the "red menace" approach, but they have pulled in their horns somewhat on this score. Now they are analyzing his program, trying to show people his election would ruin the state, throw everybody out of jobs, etc. The old grass will grow in the streets" line. The tremendous

whispering campaign, however, still plays up the "red" issue and centers also on the religious angle. Pamphlets, and in the South even bill-boards, play up excerpts from "The Profits of Religion." Sinclair is a "Communist," "god-killing atheist," "free-lover" and destroyer of the American home.

The radicals are torn—so much so that the movement is pretty much shot to hell. I understand that even many of the Communists, faced by the prospect of four years of repression under Merriam, are privately planning to vote for Sinclair. Bob Minor, who arrived on the scene, is vigorously denouncing him—as of course the whole party does officially—but nevertheless I'm sure Sinclair will draw a goodly number of Communist votes. Sinclair's attitude on the Mooney case, of course, is a strong drawing card with the radicals.

The attitude of many radicals is that the Sinclair campaign is preposterous, that if he is elected it will be disastrous. But faced with Merriam, as the alternative, what can they do?

Sinclair has a strange group about him—some oldtimers in the radical movement and Jimmie Higgins who are doing the real dirty work, some hack Democratic politicians, nuts and freaks of all times and kinds, a few former conservatives who, feeling the pinch of the depression, have suddenly seen the light.

The general consensus of opinion now seems to be that the tide has turned against Sinclair in recent weeks and that Merriam will win. However, one heard the same kind of talk on every hand just before the primaries. I'd hate to bet any money either way, though I think the odds are that he will be defeated. BEN CLEMENS

### Hallow'en Dance

Entertainment — Eats

GOOD MUSIC

Wed. Oct. 31—8:30 P. M.

by New York Branch  
American Workers Party

at  
112 East 19th St.

Admission 25 cents

### THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION

will be discussed at

Two Pre-election Week End Institutes

First Institute

CRISIS OF THE AMERICAN DREAM

begins Saturday afternoon, October 27 at 2:30;  
Saturday evening, 7:30; Sunday afternoon, 3:00

Second Institute

ON THE POWER BATTLEFRONT

Saturday afternoon November 3 at 2:30; Saturday evening, 7:30;  
Sunday afternoon 3:00.

Speakers

Sidney Hook; C. Hartley Grattan; V. F. Calverton; John Chamberlain; Oliver Carlson; Roger N. Baldwin; James Burnham; Horace M. Kallen; John L. Childs; Arnold Johnson; E. S. Bates; Ludwig Lore; Louis F. Budenz; J. B. S. Hardman; A. J. Muste.

Place

Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union Headquarters  
Third floor, 15 Union Square.

Course Ticket \$2.

Single Admission 40 cents

For information write:

Institute Committee, Room 702, 112 East 19th St., N. Y. C.



# Southern Textile Workers Hold Their Union Firm In Face Of Starvation

## "Federal Food Promise Is a Gigantic Bust"

Could Have Licked Bosses In Two More Weeks, Strikers Say

By KARL LORE

ROANOKE RAPIDS, N. C.—What is the position of the Southern textile worker now that the great strike is over? Will unionism be able to maintain itself in Dixie's mills? Or will a combination of extreme boss repression, weak union leadership and starvation drive the message of organization out of the hearts of the men and women who battled so hard and so courageously to plant the banner of the United Textile Workers in the mill villages?

This is a typical mill town. Located in the Eastern section of North Carolina, dominated by the seven mills of the Simmons Manufacturing Company, the union was something entirely unprecedented in its history. Few of the workers had ever had even the slightest contact with organized labor before. The company had always followed a policy of benevolent paternalism.

The organizer came to town and the workers flocked into the ranks. When the call came for the general strike every mill in town was shut down. Flying squadrons and mass parades and picket lines were organized. A "home union" were organized as soon as the U.T.W. began its work and the company tried to induce its employees to join but it received little support.

### Paternalism Goes Sour

In 1930 when a previous attempt was made to organize the South, it had been the Cone mills at Greensboro with their extensive welfare system which had descended to the lowest depth in fighting the union and terrorizing workers. So now this "good" company tried to get troops brought in; although no violence of any kind had occurred. It notified the strikers that any one engaging in "illegal picketing" would be considered an undesirable employee. When the strike was called off, all the workers were notified that they would have to go through a process of reemployment, and in the process all the active unionists have been refused their jobs. Women have been called back to the job while their husbands have been kept idle.

But in spite of all this the union spirit has been high and the ranks have remained firm. Members of the local union who have travelled over the state since the strike was ended told me that the same spirit prevailed everywhere and that the textile workers of the Carolinas are sticking by the union, more determined than ever to build an organization for the protection of their interests.

### We Had Them Licked

They tell you that everywhere. There is universal dissatisfaction at the hast; calling off of the battle. "Just a couple of weeks more and we would have won a real victory," they say. "It's a lie if they tell you the strike was called off because it was cracking here in the South. Just a little while more and we'd have had them licked." Scepticism is rife in regard to the new government boards. The cases of discrimination in their town are among the first which have been scheduled for hearing by these government agencies. They are willing to be shown what the boards can do. But they definitely realize that the union, in the end, is the only real instrument with which they can win a better order of things.

The overwhelming problem today is that of relief for the black-listed and locked out strikers. On it hinges much of the future of

the U.T.W. in the South. Can union morale be maintained, will it be possible for the active unionists to feed themselves and build their organization? Or will they be faced with the alternative of going back without a union or of leaving town to find work in other places? The union itself has sent in very little financial help.

### Federal Relief

The much ballyhooed Federal relief that was supposed to go to all the needy textile strikers has been a gigantic bust. Even in the low wage South, the problem of how to live on 50c per week per person has not been solved. That, however, is only the official standard. Many needy are unable to get anything and families of seven and five get \$2 and \$1.50 per week respectively. Repeated appeals to local, state and national authorities have had no results. The national union is helpless in the situation. They have evolved no method of attacking the relief problem, no tactic for compelling an adequate standard for their victimized strikers.

### A Job for the N. U. L.

The National Unemployed League was the first organization which realized the necessity for linking up the fight of the employed and the unemployed. They showed the way in the great Toledo strike, in the onion strike and in many others in various states. The North Carolina Unemployed League, the state organization affiliated with the N.U.L. did splendid work in organizing flying squadrons during the strike and in picketing the mills. The Leagues are the logical organizations to take up this relief fight, to apply to it all the experience and militancy that they have developed in the years of their existence.

## 25 States To Demonstrate

(Continued from Page 1)

in the unemployed organizations. All agree upon the need of unity. There are no spoils to be apportioned, and a large field for action and service, and glory, awaits all so bent. What is needed to brush aside the small differences existent is precisely the ruffle of battle, comradeship in action.

The organizations that are putting over this Nov. 24 Demonstration are negotiating at this time for organic unity. Unity, bringing into one organization three-quarters of a million unemployed spread over 25 states, will be assured by the successful, bang-up National Demonstration on Nov. 24. That date is important in working-class history in America. The part-time workers, union men and women, class-conscious workers in general must fall in line on Nov. 24.

### Fourteen Million

Fourteen million unemployed workers stand to be organized in an anti-capitalist working class movement, if the Demonstration goes over big. A successful Demonstration means almost immediate unity amongst the various unemployed organizations. And such unity, achieved under the impact of success in the field, will be real unity, and will furnish the necessary impetus to the movement to go out and enroll the millions of the forgotten and untended.

There they stand, 14 millions of them fast being loosened from all moorings, a mighty force for the good or the evil of the working-class movement. We must win them to a cause that is their own, or some other movement offering them a mirage, will attach them to it, leading them to their destruction and to our annihilation.

We must unite. We shall unite! And a good showing on Nov. 24 will greatly facilitate the task. A great deal is at stake on that eventful date.

## Company Unions In Court

Louis Breier, Touring for Labor Action, Finds Steel Hearings in Pittsburgh a Gentleman's Game

How are the workers faring under this second year of the "new deal"? What are their reactions to the recovery program? Are the forces of reaction gaining headway? Are the organizations of the workers growing?—These and other questions on trends and tendencies on the America scene will be dealt with in this column in a series of articles and reports by Comrade Breier who is on an extended trip across the country.

By LOUIS BREIER

Pittsburgh, Pa.

The hearings conducted by the National Steel Labor Relations Board in various sections of the country all verify the same facts:

1) The steel companies are determined to establish "company unionism" at all costs and against all forms of opposition. 2) The Board has no real power to make the companies toe the mark in the matter of supervised elections and at the present time does not even know what powers it does have. 3) In the end, no matter what these hearings decide, steel workers will be obliged to strike and strike hard to gain the most elementary concessions from the steel bosses.

The Pittsburgh hearing implicated for the first time the U. S. Steel Corporation of which the Duquesne (Pa.) plant of the Carnegie Steel Company is a subsidiary. From the very beginning the company made it plain that it viewed this hearing and any other indication of "government interference in business" as an unjust and unwarranted attack on "Constitutional rights," "Americanism," "freedom of contract" etc., etc. (read your local newspaper or any bit of fascist literature for the proper jargon). The legality of the Board and the hearing was challenged and later the powers of the Board debated, but the company consented to "participate in the meeting in order to cooperate in any way that it can in the gathering of the facts."

### "Co-operating"

Having made so much clear, the company proceeded to "co-operate" in a very handsome manner, indeed; utilizing for that purpose an eighteen-carat corporation counsel from New York and two local lawyers of shrewdness and talent representing the company union. These gentlemen were a living illustration of the class-collaboration ideal of the government, of industry and of their common mistress, the press. Seated at one table with Arthur Young, vice-president of Carnegie Steel and reputed author of the company-union plan, they exchanged notes, testified for one another and in general behaved like one big happy family. A direct question by Judge Stacy who presided established the fact that all three were paid by the company.

This open disregard of conventional decency should not be charged to stupidity but to arrogance based on a strong sense of real power as opposed to the mythical powers of the NRA and its prattling children. They are the true masters of America and they know it. Why should there be subterfuge? "Company-unionism" has been provided for the workers and "Company unionism" is what the workers will have to accept in spite of delays and annoyances. And after all gentlemen—so goes the argument—what is wrong with a "company-union"? Is it not an organization of workers? And an industrial organization, mind you, not one of these antiquated craft-divisions. Does it not comply with every collective bargaining provision of Section 7-A? And, most significantly, does it not jibe with the expressed purpose of the NRA to achieve a thorough collaboration between Capital and Labor for a common end? What could be more col-

laborative than the relationship between a "company-union" and the company?

### Price of Collaboration

Truly, if there is ever to be any real collaboration between Capital and Labor it can be effected only by the ruthless suppression of the right of workers to organize freely into unions of their own choosing. A genuine union cannot collaborate (except as a sort of labor-faking philosophy designed to shield graft) nor can it enter into agreements with industry or the government which would suspend or entirely cancel its right to strike.

But a "company-union" which is not a union at all but a collection of well-paid stools and faithful doggies does collaborate and as a matter of fact can do nothing else but collaborate. Is not this closer to the NRA ideal of workers' organization than opposition unionism? It is furthermore a step in the direction of government unionism, the precise difference between a Nazi union and the Carnegie Steel Company's union being no greater than the difference between Hitler and Mr. Young. The NRA is prevented from embracing "company unionism" only by its fear of determined opposition on the part of the workers who are not yet sufficiently misled by their old-line leaders and thoroughly cowed by the patrioteers and red-baiters.

### Company-Union in Action

For those who would like a forecast of what enlightened capitalism has in store for the worker, the testimony of the chairman of the Duquesne plant "company-union" is valuable. Cross-questioned by counsel for the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Sheet Metal Workers, this person is explaining how his "union" fights for its members:

Question: What happens when a worker in your plant has a complaint or grievance to take up with the company?

Answer: He submits it to his shop representative.

Q: This representative is elected by the workers?

A: Yes, sir. Each shop elects its own representatives. These representatives, from all the shops, form the Board of Representatives of which I am chairman. In the case of the complaint, the shop representative would submit it to the Board and we would consider it.

Q: If you decide favorably on the complaint, what is your next procedure?

A: We submit it to a Board of company representatives.

Q: What happens if the company's representatives act unfavorably on the complaint?

A: If that happens, then it is up to the president of the company to make a decision.

Q: Is that decision final?

A: Well . . . I guess not.

Q: Who decides then?

The chairman of the "company-union" doesn't seem to know so the question is asked of the "company-union" lawyer. He states that the case would then be taken up with the state Department of Labor "or some such body." At this point a pleasant break in the proceedings takes place. It seems that the Company is at odds with the "company-union" on this problem. The company counsel explains that while such a case might be referred to the Department of Labor, the decision of that body could not be accepted by the company as final. After a hasty checking of notes, however, both lawyers finally agree that anyhow the case would be submitted to the Department of Labor.

Question: You have heard counsel for the company state that it could not accept the state Department of Labor's decision. Would your members be satisfied with this?

A: Well . . . (He scratches his head and looks to the table

## A.F.L. Sees Jim Crow Indictment

Pickets Dramatize Negro Workers' Plight Before Convention Delegates

SAN FRANCISCO.—Negro pickets standing at the entrance of the convention hall of the American Federation of Labor held up a dozen placards that made the hundreds of delegates pause. In sharp sentences they read the indictment of the Colored race against the jim crow policies of the Federation.

"Only 100,000 Negro workers organized out of 5,000,000! Shame, A. F. of L.!"

"Twenty-one international and national labor unions exclude Negro workers. What is the A. F. of L. doing about it?"

"Why does the A. F. of L. sponsor jim crow unions?"

"White unions make black scabs."

"You bar us from unions, then denounce us for scabbing! Meanwhile our wives and children starve."

"Why did certain A. F. of L. officials fight to eliminate the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill a clause forbidding race discrimination by labor unions?"

"24,217 Negro carpenters; less than 300 union members! Why, A. F. of L.?"

"White labor must smash the color line in its own interests!"

## Rebel Against Low Income

BETHLEHEM, Pa.—The unemployed in this steel city went on record for vigorous demonstrations and strikes against the newly proposed relief schedule in Area 6, made by the State Emergency Relief Board. Men and women of the Unemployed League voted to "refuse to work for incomes which are too low to provide a decent, healthful and happy living."

The schedule would limit the earnings of single persons to about \$7.50 a week, a family of two to \$10 a week, and a maximum of \$18 a week to any family, regardless of its size.

League members sent a resolution to all other unemployed groups in the state urging a united front for cash relief, for productive work and an adequate wage standard.

"An intelligent and just economic system, adapted to the requirements of all rather than to the profits of the few, could be made to yield plenty of the necessities and good things of life," the statement said. "Unless our labor is rewarded by a standard of living which provides security, health, happiness and decency for ourselves and our families, then our lot is one of slavery and exploitation, against which we ought to rebel."

where the lawyers are seated and to the court-room where his foremen, supervisors and bosses are arrayed. But they merely stare grimly at him).

Q: What could the workers do, under your plan, if the case is not settled?

A: I know what you are trying to make me say (a frantic appeal to the plutocratic gallery, but they sit like so many stone idols), but I guess we would strike, in that case.

So now it's out. The terrible word has dirtied his lips and cost him a few years of life so hard was it to say, "right out in meeting." He looks sheepishly at his bosses, apologetically at Mr. Young as much as to say: "I didn't mean it, but what else could I say? Please forgive me."



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

COMMUNIST PARTY ADVICE

THE editorial page of the Daily Worker of October 17 contains a long article on the proposed A.W.P.-C.L.A. merger by Alex Bittelman, one of the theoretical heavy-weights of the Communist Party. The article is mainly an attack on the C.L.A., accusing Comrades Cannon, Swabek, et al of exercising a bureaucratic tyranny over C.L.A. members, conniving to take the A.W.P. into the Socialist Party and the Second International via the merger, etc. The merger has not yet been accomplished, consequently the A.W.P. and C.L.A. are separate organizations, and we shall let the C.L.A. speak for itself, as it doubtless will. We have a few observations of our own to make on recent C.P. statements regarding the proposed merger.

In the first place, the fact that the C.P. is making such constant efforts to prevent the merger can only mean that the C.P. regards the merger as dangerous—to the C.P. Certainly we cannot assume that it has suddenly become solicitous for the welfare of the A.W.P. It thinks we ought to be liquidated. Bittelman tries to frighten A.W.P. members away from merger with the C.L.A. on the ground that it means the liquidation of the A.W.P. into the S.P. If they really believed that, would he not be arguing for the merger?

Secondly, the C.P. through its theoretician Bittelman has an alternative to propose to the members of the A.W.P. He offers us the United Front with the C.P.! "The issue is drawn squarely: With the C.P. for united front struggle against capitalism or with the decaying Trotskyists into the Second International, etc." So the A.W.P. is still good enough for united front with the C.P. although Muste "broke the understanding for united action against unemployment, etc." Muste broke! At Madison Square Garden perhaps? Really, Comrade Bittelman, you will have to give the membership of the A.W.P. a more plausible line!

Bittelman says we learned from the Trotskyists—presumably since the merger discussions began—that party democracy is non-existent in the C.P. We urge him to acquaint himself with C.P.L.A. literature since 1929.

The evidence Bittelman furnishes for the allegations against the leaders of the C.L.A. is based upon

some letters. "We came into possession" of them, Bittelman explains, "through the good services of a Trotskyist evidently disgusted and demoralized, etc." We have never had a profound respect for comrades who after they leave a party or group peddle letters, confidential and otherwise. (The C.L.A. claims that these letters were stolen by C.P. agents.) We have always had a profound abhorrence for official C.P. methods in these matters which aim not at comradely criticism but demoralization of other parties and groups.

The A.W.P. is not going into the S.P. and the Second International via merger or any other road. Above all nobody is going to "take" us anywhere. The leaders and members of the A.W.P. have demonstrated that they move together and under their own steam. It was precisely because the C.P. leaders found last year that they could not take us anywhere that they broke the united front.

Finally, the A.W.P. has acted in this matter of the proposed merger with the C.L.A. with sincerity, with deliberation and with constant and thorough internal discussion. We have learned, comrades of the C.P., not to fear the results of such a course. Nay, we know that it is only on this basis that real results can be attained by a revolutionary party. We welcome light from any source on any of the issues before us. We are ready to discuss with all responsible organizations and individuals the problems of building an effective revolutionary party in the U. S. We welcome cooperation in achieving that mighty task.

THE S. P. REFERENDUM

THE results, just announced, of the referendum in the Socialist Party on the so-called Detroit Declaration seems to do little to clarify the situation. It is safe to assert, however, that the S.P. has not become a revolutionary organization.

The Detroit convention of the S.P. in June adopted a Declaration which contained certain statements by no means wholly clear but looking in a leftward direction, on such subjects as capitalist democracy, the taking of power by the workers, and war. The convention and the statement were analyzed by LABOR ACTION at the time and space does not permit further discussion of them just now.

It appears that in the referendum about half the Party membership voted. Of this half, 5933 cast their votes for the "left" Declaration and 4872 against. When we are told that the vote of the Wisconsin S.P., which in its Milwaukee stronghold has given no evidence of revolutionary tendencies these many years, voted almost unanimously in favor of the Declaration, we are compelled to conclude that different people read different meanings into said Declaration.

Norman Thomas, in a characteristic statement, does everything possible to suggest that the controversy need not be taken too seriously. The difference between the right and left factions in the party, he is reported to have said in an interview, is mainly in the "wording" of the platform. And "neither the passage nor the defeat of the left-wing declaration would change the main principles of the Socialist Party, for which all Socialists are striving." All good fellows ought to be able to get together on that basis, but revolutionary parties are not forged in such a mild temperance. The need for the New Party and the New International is again made clear.

Spanish Workers' Revolution Falls Before Church, Nobles

(Continued from Page 1)

and was threatening its influence. His Party became the refuge of resentful landowners who looked to it to wage their fight against revolutionary land reform—adopted by the republican Cortes but never carried out—and of the whole united bloc of counter-revolutionary reaction. The elections last November, in which the newly enfranchised women cast their votes for the clerical candidates, made the Accion Popular the largest unit in the Cortes.

The Labor Parties had declared at the outset that the participation of Gil Robles in the Spanish government would be the signal for a general strike. No attempt was made to utilize the victory the Catholics had won until the Catalan controversy a month or two ago precipitated what threatened to become a revolutionary situation.

A new Cabinet was organized in which Gil Robles himself took no place, but by placing his men into the Ministries of Labor, Justice and the Interior he became a dominating force in a government consisting of monarchists and fascists more than ready to go along.

This was a challenge that Socialists, Syndicalists and Communists could not ignore. With them stood the last remnants of bourgeois democracy which remained intact against the tide of reaction which engulfed the nation. The general strike was declared. The government answered at once by arresting thousands of active workers and labor leaders and declared a state of alarm throughout the Republic. The army on which the masses had counted for support, held to the government and only an occasional battalion of the Guardia Civil went with the revolutionists.

In Catalonia

The fight in Catalonia was fought with especial severity. Early in its existence the Spanish Republic had granted the Catalan people autonomous rights in return for which that state relinquished its claim for national independence. But the recent sharp turn to the Right in the Central government revived the clamor for independence in the Catalan province. The appointment of the Lerroux government led to an open break with the Madrid regime. On the second day of the uprising the Generalidad, the Catalan legislature, proclaimed the independence of the Catalan republic and announced the creation of the "Spanish Federated Republic" under the Presidency of Azana, first Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic. Barcelona, the Catalan capital city, fought from the start against a well-organized government force and was compelled to capitulate three days after the fight began with a terrible toll of killed and wounded. The collapse of the uprising in Catalonia was followed by surrender in the rest of the country and with the exception of Asturias, Spain is "at peace" once more. Those who led the uprising are behind prison bars. Thirty-two executions have been reported and hundreds more look forward to certain death.

A United Labor Movement

The fight in Spain was waged by a united labor movement. All important elements of the working class had pooled their forces for this final struggle. Largo Caballero, the leader of the Left Wing of the Social Democracy, had openly acknowledged that his party's reformist tactics had been largely responsible for the failure of the Republic. To him much of the credit of uniting the Social Democracy and the free-Syndicalist-trade unions under a single head for united action, is due. "To disarm the bourgeoisie," he announced, "that, in a word, is our program." The majority of the party supported his policies and turned against the reformist leaders of the past. The political secretary of the Communist Party, Jose Diaz, was forced to acknowledge that the "Social-Democracy of

Spain has developed in a way that it is no longer the Socialist Party of yesterday." That being the case, the Communist Party, too, decided to enter the labor alliance called into being by the Leftist Socialist movement.

The Socialist Party

"We have seen," declares the Communist Party of Spain in its manifesto, "that the Socialist Party is preparing to fight for the dictatorship of the Proletariat. For that reason we are ready to enter the labor alliance."

But Caballero recognized that an effective united front must include all proletarian groups and parties if it hopes to carry the fight to a victorious conclusion. So conferences were held with the various radical and revolutionary elements until all of them, Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, the trade union federation, Trotskyists, independent anarchists and the syndicalist farmer and labor bloc, were joined in the ranks of the labor alliance. The leaders of the orthodox anarchists at first refused to go along; later they too found their way into the proletarian united front.

Late in September "El Socialista," the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, summed up the situation thus: "We have the plan, we have the masses. But we have not the power of the state. It is for this we are fighting." But on the other side stood the storm police, the Guardia Civil, the army. In all these military organizations there were strong proletarian units which were powerless, however, to gain the upper hand over the, for the most part monarchist officers and non-commissioned officers which had been left by the Republic in control of its fighting forces.

Why Defeat?

For the first time in the history of the labor movement, the Spanish workers fought a united battle. But the enemy was too strong and too well entrenched, the workers' too young to permeate the masses with a conviction of their own invincibility, that feeling which is the fundamental psychological prerequisite for revolutionary success. Spanish labor returns to work, crushed and defeated. But this it has learned, that in unity lies the invincibility of the working class, in a united labor movement which will direct its energies to the task of undermining the power of the Catholic Church and alienating the mass of women voters from its dominating influence and finally in a united labor movement prepared and capable to fight for power.

Professor Besteiro, leader of the Reform Socialists last Friday approached Santiago Alba, the reactionary President of the Cortes, with proposals for mediation. But he and his group of social reformers will find that Spain's workers have lost faith in parliamentarianism as a vehicle for their liberation. Gil Robles and his fascists will complete this work of disillusionment. From them the workers will learn that they must continue on the path they have chosen, that of revolutionary self-help against a capitalist, fascist state.

Dyers In Strike Move Seek \$30-30-Hour-Week

(Continued from Page 1)

brought discrimination and lock-outs to many instead of victory.

President Ammirato of local 1733, declared in a statement, "If a settlement is not reached by midnight of October 24, the strike call will be issued, effective immediately."

The strike, which seems inevitable, will bring out 25,000 dyers in Paterson, Passaic, Garfield, Lodi, Rutherford, Union City and New York, and other dyers in Pennsylvania and New England.

Would Stabilize Industry

"You failed to stabilize industry in the past and you can't give us any guarantee of your ability to do so in the future," C. Frawley, organizer for the Federation of Dyers and Finishers, told the silk employers.

"Give in to our demands and we will stabilize the industry where you have failed."

For the past year conditions have been such that the workers' average earnings were \$13 a week. It is absolutely necessary that the industry be put upon a sounder basis, the employees contend.

Silk Workers May Strike

It is possible that the silk workers, who have seen their contract vanish like smoke in the wind, will join the strike of the dyers and that the struggle will forge solid the bonds of unity between them.

Should such union of the two groups materialize, labor may again witness a repetition of the

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of Labor Action published semi-monthly at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1934. County of New York

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Cara Cook, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Manager of the Labor Action and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of March 3, 1933 embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Conference for Progressive Labor Action, 112 E. 19th St., N. Y., N. Y.; Editor, Harry Howe, 112 E. 19th St., N. Y., N. Y.; Managing Editor, None; Business Manager, Cara Cook, 112 E. 19th St., N. Y., N. Y.

2. That the owner is: Conference for Progressive Labor Action, 112 E. 19th St., N. Y., N. Y.; A. J. Muste, Chairman, 112 E. 19th St., N. Y., N. Y.; Louis F. Budenz, Ex. Secy., 112 E. 19th St., N. Y., N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

CARA COOK, business manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 8 day of October, 1934.

PETER K. HAWLEY

(My commission expires March 30, 1936.)

fight which last year centered the eyes of the nation on the silk and dye industry, and which resulted in a sweeping victory for the workers.

Second Five Year Plan Is 64.3% Complete, Report

MOSCOW.—Statistics issued by the planning section of the Commissariat for Heavy Industry at the third session of the All-Union Industrial Conference, covering the first 8 months of the second year of the Second Five-Year Plan, revealed that 64.3 per cent of the plan for 1934 had been fulfilled. At this time last year 56.8 per cent of the 1933 plan had been completed.

Only four branches of heavy industry however are keeping up with their quotas, Commissar Ordjonikidze reported, these being ball-bearing, coke, tractor and pig iron industries. Behind schedule, he said, are coal-mining, steel and copper.

"During these 8 months steel production has increased 44.5 per cent and rolled steel 36.7 percent, however, as compared to last year," Ordjonikidze stated.

Among the factors listed as operating to retard production, which for 1934 was set at 19,770,000,000 rubles' worth of goods—23.2 percent over 1933—were idle machines, loss of man-hours and lack of good housing.

The Commissar emphasized cleanliness as next to good housing as necessary to the morale of the workers, and chided the technicians for "going about in dirty clothes, unshaven, as if cleanliness were a capitalistic vice."



## THEIR Government

by James Burnham

FOR three weeks the world has been discussing the killing of Alexander and Barthou at Marseilles. A spectacular assassination is a kind of electric shock that thrills every section of the population. Men everywhere begin wondering what it came from and what it will lead to.

By now it is fairly well established that the man at Marseilles was a member of a terrorist organization, nationalist in aim and fascist in tendency, which hoped by removing Alexander to aid the Croatian separatist movement in Yugoslavia. No tears need be lost over the dead. Alexander was a tyrant of the blackest and most reactionary kind. Barthou, though superficially a "guardian of peace," was actually one of the most powerful figures upholding French political and military domination of Europe, the arch-defender of the "Versailles system." The assassin—though we may admire his personal bravery—was inspired by ideals no less reactionary than those of the man he gave his life to kill.

### What Is Accomplished?

But this assassination once more raises the problem of what can be accomplished by individual terrorism. Often workers who are discouraged by the long struggle for mass organization ask themselves the question: "Isn't there a shorter road to our revolution? Could we not win if a few of us were willing to sacrifice our lives and do away with the leaders of the enemy—with the Hitlers and Mussolinis and Roosevelts?" The reasoning seems to be simple: Hitler rules Germany with an iron hand; therefore, if Hitler could be killed, the present system in Germany would fall apart and the workers could take power.

The reason why revolutionary Marxism is opposed to individual terrorism is not because Marxism has any sentimental reverence for the sacredness of the lives of the tyrants. It is for a cold practical reason: because Marxism understands the relation of the individual to history, and knows therefore that the workers cannot win by such methods. The power of a Hitler does not depend essentially on any personal characteristics which he happens to possess. It depends on the fact that the real historical forces meet and are summed up in him for the time being; he symbolizes the present relationships of power. What makes Hitler powerful is, on the one hand, the mass support of the disillusioned middle classes, and on the other, the iron backing of the great bankers and industrialists. Hitler is in reality the playing of the forces that have thrown him to the surface. Hitler is in no sense a "free agent"; he is controlled throughout by the forces that he symbolizes.

### Social Forces Not Altered

To kill Hitler does not essentially alter these forces. They can find another Hitler, or if necessary do without a Hitler. The overthrow of Nazi Germany can come only when the underlying relationships of forces are themselves altered. This means not the death of this or that dozen or thousand individuals, but the conquering of power by a different social class.

In the same way, the death of Alexander will not win independence for the Croats. The real power back of Alexander was the imperialist strength of France and England, whose purposes he served. Assassinating Alexander has not shattered France or England. A puny child of eleven is now on the throne instead of the "strong man" Alexander—and things remain essentially just what they were before.

It is true that sometimes an assassination seems to shake whole nations to their foundations—as when Ferdinand was killed at Serajevo in 1914. But in cases

# THE A. F. OF L. IN 1934

By A. J. MUSTE

THE decision of the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor to charter national unions on an industrial or "vertical" basis in such mass production industries as automobiles, aluminum, rubber, cement has been hailed as an epoch-marking event. Certainly an analysis of the San Francisco convention and the outlook for trade unionism in the U. S. in the ensuing year must center largely around this action. The addition of seven new members to the A. F. of L.'s Executive Council including such powerful figures as John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, David Dubinsky of the revived International Ladies Garment Workers Union, W. L. Hutcheson, Geo. L. Berry and Dan Tobin, czars respectively of the Carpenters, Printing Pressmen and Teamsters, is another significant development. Still another matter on which the San Francisco convention sheds light is what sixteen months of Hugh Johnson, NRA and "new deal" have done to the A. F. of L. and to its conception of trade unionism, government and the relations between the two.

A clever old guard yields something when it must in order to retain its position and control. This is essentially what William Green and his colleagues did at the San Francisco convention with regard to industrial unionism and similar issues. Their action was taken under the same circumstances as the decision to endorse old age pensions and unemployment insurance a year or so ago—namely, after every other group or person who counted for anything had long ago done so and when there was absolutely nothing left to do but take the plunge!

### Tough Old Birds

All progressive and left wing elements have agreed for years that craft unions, especially in the big industries, are outworn, cannot possibly do anything for the workers. The Roosevelt administration, insofar as it wants unionism at all, throws its weight in the scale for industrial unions knowing very well that craft unions cannot be made to function in heavy industry and that if there are to be unions amenable to government pressure and control at all they must be industrial in structure. Those employers who for their own purposes have accepted unions as a part of the set-up in modern industry do not want to be bothered with the jurisdictional disputes between craft unions. You have to hand it to the diehards in the A. F. of L. for having been able to resist the pressure so long. They have demonstrated once more that they are tough old birds!

What was it then that brought them down? For many years now all efforts to organize the workers in mass production industries in the A. F. of L. craft unions have failed. There was always the excuse, however, that the workers

like this the assassination is only the spark set to fuses already laid. It is the powder that shakes the earth, not the spark. And the powder is not single individuals, no matter how conspicuous, but the basic social classes struggling to maintain or to win power.

Thus the next great war, now fast approaching, may likewise be set into motion by an assassination. But this is only because the social forces that make for war are now ready for explosion.

The aim of a revolutionist is a new form of society in which social wealth and political power will be taken from their present possessors and put in the hands of the working masses. This aim can never be accomplished by picking off the top figures of the present owning class, because that will always leave the basic class relationship unchanged. It will become possible when, and as soon as, the working masses as a whole are set into motion, and overwhelm the entire opposing class and the system that supports it.

## An Analysis of the San Francisco Convention

did not want to be organized, and so on, although in point of fact the craft union leaders did not want more than the handful of skilled workers in their organizations and made it impossible for the semi-skilled and unskilled to get in even when they wanted to. A tight little job-trust was easier for the union bosses to control than a mass union. The problem of getting favors for a few from employers was simpler than raising the standard of living for the many.

### "Rubbish" Seeks Organization

During the past year, however, the old excuse about workers not wanting to organize has in large part broken down. In many industries the workers clamored for organization. They did make it plain that they would not join craft unions. What was the A. F. of L. to do? Tell these workers in effect to remain unorganized or to go into independent unions? Not a few of the die-hard craft unionists would actually have preferred that, to bringing the unskilled "rubbish," as Daniel Tobin, czar of the Teamsters Union, openly called the new members from the big industries on the convention floor, into the sacred family where they might lead a revolt against the elders. But a year of the NRA has made it clear even to those who have eyes and habitually see not that the actual alternative to bringing the mass production workers into industrial unions within the Federation is not that they remain unorganized or form respectable independent unions but either that these workers form powerful independent unions under radical leadership such as showed its potentialities in the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes this summer, or what at the moment seems even more likely, that they are organized under employer auspices into a powerful network of company unions. These alternatives even the most Bourbons of the Bourbons in the ranks of labor officials could not face. They really are filled with religious hate for "Red" unions and company unions. Besides, a considerable growth of

either one would shortly mean that the craft internationalists themselves disintegrated or were reduced to utter impotence. It would mean the building up of a nation-wide force—radical unionism or company unionism—that would crush the A. F. of L. itself or make it so weak that A. F. of L. leaders would lose all influence in the national life, their social prestige, their jobs. Even the building trades unions, for long the financial and political backbone of the A. F. of L., see the handwriting on the wall. The construction industry is still flat. The unions are in a shaky condition. Mass production in the industry (mail-order houses, etc.) is making further strides under the "new deal." Thus craft union, die-hard opponents of industrial unionism have had every vestige of support completely washed out from under them. And the decision to alter "the basic structure of the great American Federation of Labor" when it did come was carried by an almost unanimous vote!

The question now before the house is what this convention decision is going to mean in practice. This is not the first time that an A. F. of L. has solemnly resolved to organize automobiles and similar industries. Will industrial unions now actually be built in these fields?

### Will Automobiles Be Organized?

The first thing we face in this connection is that we may have in this belated decision another case of locking the barn door after the horse has been stolen. A year or so ago the "new deal" was in its honeymoon phase and the Roosevelt administration in a mood to give concessions to labor. The Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., no less, was asking Roosevelt to take charge of industry for a couple of years. In other words, industrialists and bankers were on the defensive. There was something of a boom on, making it relatively easy to give or put up a plausible appearance of giving concessions to the workers as to wages and hours. The workers themselves were clamoring at the doors of A. F. of L. unions for admission in the child-like faith that this was what Uncle Sam, turned Santa Claus, wanted them

to do. If the A. F. of L. had then been ready with organizers and with industrial union charters for the workers in basic industries, these industries might now be strongholds of unionism. Certainly the employers would have been treated to the battle of their lives if they had stood out for the open shop and company union.

Today is another story altogether. The employers have had a chance to recover from their fright, rally their forces, organize company unions or at least confuse the situation and postpone the show-down by taking matters to the courts or in other ways. There is no boom or semblance of one on now. Automobile workers have seen the Roosevelt administration, yes the great savior himself, write the "merit" clause into the automobile "settlement." Other workers have seen Section 7-A emasculated and flouted by Johnson, Richberg et al. They have seen labor leaders connive at or actually take part in or engineer such "settlements" as the one just referred to or the one that brought the textile general strike to an end. The unclouded faith and enthusiasm of 1933 are gone.

### Union Gains in 1933

Here it may be observed that even under the favorable conditions which obtained in 1933 the chief union gains were in the needle trades, shoes, textiles and mining. These situations had certain things in common. There was a union tradition in each of them. The skeleton at least of a union existed. There were leaders such as John Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky, etc. who, whatever may be said of their militancy or class-consciousness or honesty, must be credited with great organizing ability, and they had men and women with organizing experience under them. The industries were consumer industries chiefly in which there was a temporary boom. They had been marked by extreme cut-throat competition which had brought demoralization among manufacturers as well as sweatshop conditions for the workers, with the result that large sections of employers were for a degree of stabilization and prepared if necessary to accept unionism as a means to that end. From Paterson, scene of so many bitter labor conflicts, one witnessed in 1933 bosses, preachers, editors, shopkeepers and silk workers marching arm in arm to Washington to plead for a code! Furthermore, the employers in these industries do not compare in wealth, social prestige, political power, with the steel, automobile and utility barons. Except for skirmishes in the captive coal mines of U. S. Steel, in Weirton Steel, etc. the issue of unionism in big industry was not joined.

The present year has seen strikes, actual or threatened, in more basic industries—transportation, automobile, steel—as well as a general textile strike. But the automobile strike was "settled" before it started, so that the only real fight occurred in the auto parts section of the industry in Toledo. The militants in the A. A. Steel Union were out-manuevered by Mike Tighe and William Green and could not carry out their loudly proclaimed strike plan. The question whether the workers in this country and especially in heavy industry are to be unionized is not yet settled—certainly not settled in favor of the unions.

### A. F. L. Membership Today

The membership figures submitted by the A. F. of L. Executive Council to the San Francisco convention furnish a clear and somewhat startling confirmation of that statement. The paid-up membership of the A. F. of L. has increased by less than 700,000 under the "new deal." The total paid-up membership is still well under three million. Most of the federal locals in automobiles, etc. have been losing membership recently. Certain of the needle trades unions report that membership has begun to fall off substantially.

The job of organizing the heavy industries is now a heavy one indeed. Will the A. F. of L. succeed?

Comrade Muste will answer this in the next issue of Labor Action which will contain the second installment of this article.

## For The New Party

A draft of a proposed program for the New Party, prepared by the joint AWP-CLA committee, has been mimeographed and mailed to the national committee members of both organizations. If it is approved by them, it will then be sent to all branches and members for criticism and discussion.

LABOR ACTION prints herewith those sections dealing with questions on which there are most likely to be differences of opinion.

—Editor

### Consolidation of Workers' Rule

Having taken power, the revolutionary government must be ready to meet the violence of the overthrown but still dangerous forces of reaction. The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentality for establishing the new order. Its place will be taken by the workers' State. Thus the Workers' State, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to all those who accept the new order than ever enjoyed by the masses under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the entire working class against its enemies.

Against the forces seeking to restore the old order, the workers will fight with every weapon to establish and to assure their own democracy. Workers' democracy will not mean democracy for capitalists, exploiters, and parasites. The Workers' State will represent only the working and socially useful elements of the nation, and

will function openly as the enemy of all who uphold the old capitalist order. Against capitalist legality, serving the interests of a bankrupt minority, will be set revolutionary legality, resting on the will of the overwhelming majority.

### Foundations of A Socialist Society

The most important of the economic measures to be taken by the revolutionary government in its initial period is the appropriation and socialization, without compensation, of all monopolies in industry and land; all mines, factories and shipping; all public utilities, railroads and other organized means of communication; all banks, credit agencies, gold stores; and all other supplies and services that the revolutionary government finds it necessary to take over in order to lay the foundations of a socialist society. This socialization of the means of production and exchange injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people. The policy of socialization pursued by the Workers' State will make possible the guarantee to every willing worker of a well-paid job, security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness. There will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and oppressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers.

(Continued on Page 8)



# "Trotsky Merger Fatal"-- Thinks Comrade Stiller

A merger with the Communist League of America would be fatal to the American Workers Party. Why?

As Fellow-worker Muste wrote in "An American Revolutionary Party" Modern Monthly, January 1934, "It (the Communist Party) has never in fact been regarded by American workers as a part of their own existence. The CPUSA was born primarily as a result of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917 and the repercussions of that revolution in Russia in certain circles in the U. S., mainly foreign born, rather than as a result of factors in the American scene itself. Throughout its existence, the party has thought and felt in terms of Russian and European rather than American working class experience. There are no indications that it can overcome this handicap in the critical period before us."

This quotation refers specifically to the Communist Party. But every single word in it, and many more words, apply directly to the CLA (Trotskyites).

Trotskyites, like all other Communist sects, are functioning as grave diggers of an American revolution. Americans have long enough been nailed up in the coffin of Communist sectarianism and suicidal factionalism. All these sects and isms in the movement spend more time digging up new ways to fight each other, than they spend trying to find means of fighting unitedly against the common enemy, capitalism. Merging with the Trotskyites would involve us in endless shadow boxing with the CP.

We must forget the CP as much as possible in order to concentrate on an American revolution. Trotskyites, Stalinists etc. are all the same. Birds of a feather, offspring of a common parent. Any organized faction of these people can absolutely wreak havoc with an American movement; they can kill a new party. Has anyone witnessed their disruptive tactics fail? If so, where? They are experts at breaking things up. The CLA's school days were spent in the CP. Their teacher's lessons were memorized well. The Trotskyites, like the rest, have forgotten nothing old, learned nothing new.

The AWP must be the kind of party that does not go out of its way to attack other workingclass parties. The Communist Party attacks other workingclass groups—remember what is happening to the CP. The AWP must tend strictly to its own business of reaching the masses. The Trotskyites, brought in as a group instead of individually, would continually hinder us, for they have a fight with "Stalinism," and like Moon Mullins in the comics, they will permit nobody to interfere with their private war. Our war is with American capitalism, not with communism's Stalin or Stalin's communism.

As fellow-workers Budenz and Hardman have often repeated, an American party must make a new approach and a new beginning. The CPLA made a step in that direction, when the AWP was first organized. This new beginning can be thrown in the revolutionary garbage can if we merge with the CLA.

The Trotskyites are so wrapped up in their old beginning, they can never make a new beginning; they are so steeped in a European and Russian approach, they can never adopt an American approach. They are absolutely incapable of "Americanizing" themselves—their long attempt to do so, forced by the rank and file, has been a complete failure. When the Left Opposition decided to cease reforming the Third International and instead buckle down to building a new party, their rank and file members soon realized field activity didn't make sense with their theoretical line. Field activity required an American approach; their theoretical line required a European approach. One of the

things they did was try to separate their theoretical line from their mass line. As if it were possible! All theoretical stuff was to go in a magazine "The New International." Their paper "The Militant" was to talk American. They haven't been able to do it—"The Militant" still reeks with phrases like "poisoned swamps of Stalinism," "Marxist party," "Stalinists turn to the right," "national bolshevism," "Bolshevist-Leninists," "bureaucratic centrism," "thermidorism." Even though "The Militant" would improve, new members would be turned away by "The New International." From strike meeting to unit meeting is a short road for the AWP but a long road winding up in blind alley for the CLA.

Why can't the CLA drop its European approach? Why can't "The New International" and Trotsky adopt an American approach? Not because they as individuals are incapable of doing so, but because as an organization they are thoroughly un-American. The blood, bones, marrow, the very life of the International Left Opposition, (Bolshevist - Leninists, Trotskyites) had its birth in Russian problems, (their split with Stalin was over Russian questions—not over American or international issues). They would no longer be Trotskyites if they preached anything other than their Russian squabbles with Stalin; and, of course, if they were no longer Trotskyites, we could hail unity with them.

As proof that the Trotskyites are still a Communist faction, let us look at their work in Minneapolis, which they have advertised so much with our help. In local 574, true enough, they talked American; for once, the Minneapolis CLA members were American revolutionists first and Russian revolutionists afterwards. For afterwards they surely were, and their good work goes for nothing, since politically they cannot capitalize on it. As soon as they attract workers to their ranks, the inevitable Trotskyite injection arrives.

Minneapolis workers are told the Communist Party is no good because Stalin's building socialism in Russia has ruined it. They are told the only thing fundamentally wrong with the CP of USA is its connection with Stalin's "national Russian bolshevism." Members of local 574 are told they cannot build a new American party unless as a fundamental prerequisite they get themselves mixed up in purely Russian issues, and join Trotsky's Fourth International, whose main job is building a new Russian party even though this means civil war in the Soviet Union. How can people practice an American approach when Russian internal affairs are uppermost in their minds?

Many AWP members are disappointed because we have not grown in membership like Jack's beanstalk. Jack's beanstalk is a fable; fables grow overnight, but not revolutionary parties. We have no reasons whatsoever for disappointment. Certain comrades advocate merging in order to increase our membership and influence. Let us remember that when blood transfusions are made, the blood used must be identical in nature and composition otherwise the patient dies. This is one transfusion that would be the death of the AWP. The New Beginning and New Approach of the AWP is so fundamentally different from the European foundations of the CLA, that the merger is certain to mean death. There would be disunity and disruption. Some members would be expelled; others would resign. Oil and water when mixed are still oil and water. A quart of each is not a half gallon of something else.

Many members say, "Bring in the CLA. We have no theoretical training. The Trotskyites are strong on theory. Unity will therefore strengthen the new party." This kind of talk is vague

### NOTICE!

The articles on this page and the one by Comrade Lamson on the next page begin the pre-convention discussion. In order that the Party may move forward with the greatest possible unity, it is hoped that other comrades will enter this discussion. One caution however; hereafter all articles will have to be limited to 500 words. Our limited space makes this absolutely necessary.

and impractical. Trotskyite "theory" is dogmatism, not theory. It is the kind of "theory" that neither their Minneapolis members nor anyone else but a Union Square Trotskyite can understand or explain. It is pure dogma—the very thing Muste wanted to get rid of in the new party. The CLA's "theory" is all too often devoid of common sense. Their field comrades discover this tragedy daily. Of course we need theoretical grounding. But we need the kind of theory that is supported, not nullified, by common sense. If unity in itself is our end then it is absolutely legitimate to ask—why not capitulate to the CP's line and merge with them? We don't believe in peace at any price, and it is time we learned not to believe in unity at any price.

We must prevent the merger with the CLA at all costs. We must continue to build an American party whose "absorbing concern is with the colossal job on our own doorstep, building a revolutionary movement in the United States." When this statement by Muste first appeared, the Trotskyites in the pages of "The Militant" and throughout all their branches branded the AWP as nationalistic! Now these are the people who want to merge with us! It is not at all stretching a point to say that it is not so much our American "nationalism" they objected to, but our lack of their Russian nationalism.

Fellow-worker Muste said in the same Modern Monthly article, "Once again, all the evidence supports our original contention; we are living in a new period: a new political instrument must be shaped to meet its needs." Has new evidence been unearthed to make us suddenly change our minds? We believe we are still living in Muste's world of 1934. We do not believe our needs have changed. We do not believe old political instruments like the CLA have changed. We still believe a new political instrument is needed. That instrument is the original program and approach of the American Workers Party. The CLA, as an organized faction, never can be even a part of that instrument.

To quote Muste again, "Unity can be achieved only on the basis of a sound approach, policy and program. It cannot be won by effecting some sort of mixture of incompatible elements and views. Unity on the wrong basis is dangerous. A movement going steadily in the wrong direction cannot get to the right place."

As Fellow-worker Turner of our Los Angeles branch has often stated, "We joined the American Workers Party, not the Communist League of America." We do not hesitate to say in the strongest kind of language, "Down with the merger negotiations! On with building the AWP on its original program of action and policies! Hail an American revolutionary party!" ALLEN STILLER

### Sees Danger

America needs a revolution that will bring us a co-operative society. To accomplish that goal a revolutionary party is needed. That party is the American Workers Party. The AWP at this moment represents the American approach to the American revolution. It should be protected from every threat of dogmatic out-worn methods.

The danger that threatens the success of the AWP today is the proposed merger with the Communist League of America. The CLA adheres to a body of dogma that does not and never will appeal

# "Merger Is Important"-- Comrade Views Problem

The question of merger with the CLA is of the greatest importance to both organizations: it opens up the possibility of much more extensive and intensive activities during the coming months than either group would be capable of alone; it puts before each group serious problems of adjustment; it suggests a practical and definite approach to the goal of unity in the revolutionary movement, with all that that implies, at a time when the question of unity is paramount. And the encouraging progress that has so far been made in the negotiations makes the possibility of merger seem more and more like a probability.

On the other hand, a number of difficult problems of both a theoretical and practical nature are involved. These must be given the most careful consideration and discussion. And it must be remembered that what may be considered abstract questions of theory during the negotiations, can become practical questions of organization after the merger, and stand in the way of necessary work.

From the standpoint of the AWP, the obstacles which the CLA puts in the way of merger are of two kinds: first, obstacles arising from the CLA's international affiliations; and second, obstacles arising from the general theoretical line and outlook of the CLA.

The statement of the AWP's international position in the revised program is somewhat of an improvement on the statement in the original program, and brings the AWP nearer, on this point, to the CLA. In fact, it is probable that the revised statement or a similar one would be acceptable to the CLA. But the main criticisms of the CLA's position on the Fourth International, etc., (stated in Burnham's memorandum), are not touched upon in the revised program.

The AWP correctly condemns the Trotskyist policy of setting up a paper International under the control of a 100 per cent pure Trotskyist apparatus, and insisting on priority rights in the movement for a new International. There are indications in the CLA's letters that this policy has been abandoned, that the Fourth International apparatus no longer exists in its original obstructive form. The move of the French CLA in joining the Socialist Party also indicates a change in policy. In that case, one serious obstacle to unity no longer exists. But no definite information on this point seems to be available.

Moreover, the AWP can not agree to the Trotskyist policy, (also possibly abandoned), of absolutely excluding from the new International such groups as the Socialist Workers Party in Germany and the Norwegian Labor Party.

It is true that unity may be reached on the basis of a bare statement of international orientation and demand for a new International. That is very likely what the CLA wants; and the danger thus arises of skipping over important points of international policy which may cause trouble

to the American masses. They can't talk the American language. They would never fail to antagonize workers with their foreign approach of "dictatorship of the proletariat," "bonapartism," "thermidorism" and the rest of the unintelligible gibberish.

They believe in building a Fourth International immediately. How can we build a Fourth International when we have no strong American party? How can we go to the American workers and argue we must have a Fourth International because Stalin is running the Third International into the ground or because Stalin, in Russia, is the enemy of the American workers? The American workers do not give a damn about Stalin, Trotsky or the Third or Fourth International. But they'll give a million damns for a co-operative society in the United States and that's what we want. KEN TURNER

later on. The new party, for example, can certainly have no direct affiliation with the International Communist League, in the opinion of the AWP; and this must be clearly stated. But, of course, the membership of the CLA can in no way be prevented from working to that or any other end after the merger has been accomplished; and the same is true of the membership of the AWP. A thorough discussion of all important issues now, however, will do much to prevent the situations most dangerous to party unity from arising later, if and when the merger is carried through.

The CLA, in its latest letter, (dated Sept. 27), makes no objection to dropping its own international affiliations, of course. But that by no means solves the problem.

So far as obstacles to merger arising from the general theoretical line and outlook of the CLA are concerned, it appears that the CLA recognizes, to a certain extent, the impossibility of expecting the new party to adopt a rigid Bolshevik-Leninist (!) program. The line of the AWP, which emphasizes Marxist fundamentals and encourages a healthy degree of theoretic flexibility as opposed to dogmatism, is the correct line for the new party. AWP criticisms of the dogmatic and sectarian outlook of the CLA were completely justified, and are still to a lesser extent, and should not be forgotten—as CLA criticisms of the "confusion" of the AWP, (also partly justified), will not be forgotten. At the same time, the CLA can make a valuable contribution of the kind of political incisiveness that is essential to the success of the new party.

The general understanding should be that both groups merge their forces on the basis of a program broad enough in its fundamentals to include the different viewpoints represented, and at the same time detailed enough to make the new party an effective political instrument: a program that sounds more difficult to construct than it actually should be. The program should develop as the result of the thought and experience of a united party, not as the result of factional pressure to "put over" various items of the program. Indeed, the whole problem of factionalism in the new party is the main problem we are faced with.

The specific theoretic questions that are likely to arise in working out the program should be for the most part questions of formulation, if the program is confined to theoretic fundamentals. Such an issue, for example, as the slogan of "workers' democracy" should not be allowed to stand in the way of unity—the matter of "party-dictatorship vs. class-dictatorship" is hardly a crucial question yet. On the Russian question, too, there should be no division. The criticism in the AWP's letter of the attitude of the CLA on this point was perhaps over-emphasized. Direct or possibly even indirect participation in the building of a new party in the Soviet Union is tactically inadvisable at the present time, of course, though eventually such a move will almost certainly have to be made.

The practical problems arising out of the two groups' different habits of thinking and working can only be solved after the merger. But the importance of dealing with these problems as carefully as possible was wisely stressed in the AWP's letter. Systematic efforts should be made by the national leadership of the new party to aid the local branches of the two groups to merge their organizations and work together successfully. The respective memberships of the two groups must be assisted to develop an understanding of each other.

The one thing making all of this possible is the basic agreement between the two groups on tactics in the unions, the unemployed leagues, etc.

The CLA probably objects to (Continued on Page 7)



# THE NEGRO QUESTION--A SOUTHERNER GIVES HIS VIEWS

**Says Radicals Are Apt to Be Utopian in Dealing With The Problem**

By J. S. LAMPTON

The following article deals with one of the most important problems confronting the labor movement of this country. J. S. Lampton, the author, was born in the South and has lived most of his life there. He has been active in labor organizations for years and therefore speaks from experience.

LABOR ACTION is publishing this article, not because it agrees with everything Comrade Lampton says but because it believes that the problems he raises are of such high importance that they deserve the most serious consideration. It is hoped that LABOR ACTION readers and especially AWP members will send in their views on these problems. Such contributions, not exceeding 500 words, will be published in LABOR ACTION.

On no question are radicals so likely to go utopian as on the Negro question. The seriousness and significance of the question for the revolutionary labor movement cannot be easily exaggerated. It involves more than the fate of the more than 12 million Negroes in the United States; it is an important part of a much larger question—the development of a revolutionary labor movement in the South.

It has been said that "the Negroes are God's greatest gift to the fascists of America." The second greatest gift to the fascists of America are those radicals who, in their superficial attempts to solve the Negro question, play into the hands of the fascists.

### The Negro Question

Any position taken on the Negro question should have particular reference to that section of the United States in which more than 10 of the 12 million Negroes live. The way some radicals discuss the Negro question, one not familiar with the facts would suppose that their oppression is primarily due to the fact that they are black. However, the plight of millions of white workers in the South is an eloquent testimonial to the contrary. Something darker, more vicious and terrible than racial prejudice is the ultimate explanation of the tragic position in which millions of Negroes in the South find themselves. Racial prejudice is but the keystone in the arch of the (ideological) system which enables Southern capitalists and landlords to inflict their rule of robbery and ruin on both white and Negro workers.

Before considering the position which a revolutionary party ought to take on the Negro question, its thinkers and theorists ought to ponder well the realities of the Southern scene which the Negroes inhabit.

### No Labor Movement

One of the first conditions we must face in the South is the absence of a strong labor movement, even among the white workers, who, on the whole are extremely backward, and extremely difficult to unite. If it is difficult to organize the white workers (although it is far easier than it used to be), it is a hundred times more difficult to organize white and Negro workers into the same union.

The white and Negro workers are competitors for jobs: a fact which constantly adds fuel to the fires of racial prejudice and antagonism, and will continue to do so until the workers of both races are organized into the same labor unions, or into separate but associated labor organizations (as now obtains in several localities of the South, and where it has been impossible to organize them into the same unions, as is so commonly the case).

### First Job

Hence, the first job on the order of the day in the South is that

of effecting unity on the economic front of the white and Negro workers. Unless that is on a fair way to accomplishment, all talk and theories of a revolutionary labor movement in the South, and of Negro liberation, will prove utterly vain. The combined economic power of the white and Negro working masses is the only leverage available to the revolutionary movement; all theories of the Negro question, any position taken on it, must be accommodated to that exigency, that indispensable need. The economic unity of white and Negro workers is an elementary requirement. It is a big order, but an order that will have to be filled; and it will take considerable time, infinite patience and unceasing toil to fill it. It is much easier to deduce solutions of the Negro question from the womb of definition than it is to work for white and Negro working-class unity on the economic front,—without which all abstract solutions of the Negro problem can be no more than tantalizing and irritating phantasms.

In its efforts to effect the unification of white and Negro working class forces, a sensible revolutionary party will avoid scrupulously the injection of any divisive issue. Only the identity of their economic interests in building up a united front against employers should be stressed if their economic unity is to be achieved. It is difficult enough to effect working-class solidarity in those sections where there are no complicating racial prejudices and factors.

### Prejudices

The Southern white workers have all the prejudices of workers elsewhere, and one prejudice more, racial prejudice against the Negroes. If religious prejudices have frequently been a stumbling-block in the way of those who would or-

ganize labor, what can be said of the racial prejudices of the Southern white workers? They are far stronger and deeper than their religious prejudices, and will prove far more tenacious.

The average Northerner does not seem to appreciate how severe a strain it is on the prejudices of Southern white workers when they organize with the Negroes: It is a bitter pill for them to swallow; they have swallowed it in a few instances, and they will continue to swallow it in increasing doses with the best grace they can, provided the racial issue is not over-emphasized.

Southern white workers are coming increasingly to recognize that Negroes are human beings, that they are entitled to equal pay for equal work, etc., and a small percentage of them have discovered how imperative it is for workers of both races to be organized for struggle against employers, the capitalists and landlords of the South. But any notion that at present the masses of the white workers of the South can be induced to unite with the Negroes in labor unions on a basis of "complete equality" is absurd and fantastical. It would be as sensible (and far more practical) to demand that the religious white workers shed all their religious prejudices and superstitions and become atheists over night, as it would be to demand that they concede the "complete equality" of the Negro workers.

It might be pertinent here to recall the impatience with which Marx, Engels, and Lenin castigated the anarchists for their "declaration of war on all religion"; they repeatedly emphasized how fatally divisive it was to launch a wholesale attack against religion, and how it played into the hands of the clergy and of the employ-

ers of labor, who were always ready to take advantage of the stupidity of radicals. Lenin especially emphasized the folly of those who hoped to eradicate the religious superstitions of the masses so long as capitalism played fast and loose with their lives and destinies.

### Hard Facts

The religious superstitions of the Southern masses (white and Negro) are well-known; but it is not always borne in mind by theorists of the Negro problem that compared to their racial prejudices the religious ones of the Southern white workers are only skin deep. In fact, "keeping the nigger in his place" is a passionate part of the average white worker's religion; and in defense of that creed he is, today, willing to face death and extermination. White workers elsewhere can expect a little respect to be shown for their prejudices and superstitions; but the white workers of the South must be super-men: although they inherited a heavier load of prejudices than workers perhaps anywhere else in the civilized world, they must forsooth rise superior to them at once. They will not do it, at once.

To any one familiar with the history, traditions and development of the South, the attitude of the white masses toward the Negro is perfectly natural: it is exactly what a sensible human being would expect to find. Yet there are those who pretend to be Marxists who make no allowance whatever for a reality that is woven into the very warp and woof of Southern society. It would be a miracle indeed if the white workers of the South had no racial prejudices against the Negro. If such a miracle existed, revolutionists would have much less work to do, a revolutionary labor movement in the South would have been a reality long ago: the mediaeval dust which clogs the pores of Southern society would have been swept into the dust-bin of history decades ago.

Unfortunately, we are still on the earth; the Southern masses white and black, are still the helpless prey of the twin molochs of Capitalism and Landlordism, and will long remain so unless revolutionaries are willing to begin at the beginning.

## For Merger Of AWP-CLA

(Continued from Page 6)

the name "American Workers Party" for the new party on the grounds that it suggests a nationalistic bias. As a matter of fact, I have myself heard the objection, from several otherwise sympathetic foreign-born workers, that the name excludes them from membership. This is a serious objection, as we can not afford to trust to explanations to dispel this idea. The most practical alternative name is "Workers Party of America," which eliminates the above objection and is near enough to our present name to cause little confusion. Conflict with the former name of the CP on some state ballots might occur, but it is hard to judge the difficulties, if any, that this would involve.

On the whole, the CLA's letter of September 27 offers a satisfactory course of action, providing there is a little more preliminary clarification of the principal issues. The necessity of speed in organizing the new party is recognized by both groups, but this can not be at the expense of principle.

The draft program of the AWP is not entirely satisfactory as the program of the new party, in its present form. The proposal that a "concise statement of principle and action" be drawn up by a joint committee, as a basis for the organization of the new party, is sound. But again, this "concise statement" should itself be based on fundamental agreements on the important issues not directly touched on in the statement.

So far as the AWP is concerned, (and probably the CLA also), the prospects of merger offer the first substantial hope for the building of a revolutionary labor movement in America in the near future. The report of the active workers conference, though it indicated a marked rise in the general political level of the party, still did not offer much hope for the rapid development that is essential during the next year.

Finally, if the AWP decides definitely in favor of merger, whatever procedure is adopted to accomplish it should be directed to show that the end in view is not simply the fusion of two small groups, but the building of a revolutionary party in America in which all genuine militants can find their place. D. T. B.

## Student Ambassadors, Black Shirt Band, Get Hot Reception

(Continued from Page 1)

where Italian-American patriotic societies had planned further festivities. On the way, a few Yipsels, who strayed into a subway car full of fascists, were attacked, and one of them clubbed unconscious.

The workers' forces were not allowed near Yankee Stadium, and were driven away by cops, who 'carried no clubs'; which meant that their clubs and black-jacks were wrapped in newspapers.

Failing to reach the Stadium, the demonstrators paraded to Girard Ave. and 162nd Street and held an enthusiastic open-air meeting until about 4:30 when they again attempted to reach the Stadium; were repulsed by police, and paraded up Grand Concourse to the 167th St. Subway Station. Here they took the subway downtown, only to get off at 161st St., directly above the Stadium which they had been unable to reach in any other way. Their cheers and songs could easily be heard from this point; and the police dispersing them once more—this time by forcing everyone into the subway—the demonstrators were content to call it a day.

### Preparations

Mention must be made of the refusal of the Stalinists to join in the demonstration, and of the line pursued by the League against War and Fascism.

The initiative in arranging the demonstration was taken by the Yipsels, who sent calls to the youth sections of every political group and to the two major student organizations. The Young Communist League failed to answer the call, and replied, to a committee which visited their office, that they would not unite with the 'renegades', but would be glad to unite with the Yipsels. The National Student League, a Stalinist auxiliary, protested that 'certain organizations were being excluded'

—but refused to name them—that the demonstration was so organized (inclusion of 'renegades') as to exclude the YCL, and thereupon withdrew.

The base of the demonstration was enlarged by the adherence to the Committee of the AWP and certain Italian groups. Nevertheless, the League against War and Fascism believed it necessary to call a 'united front' conference of its own. The existing Committee attended the Conference to propose a united demonstration, and the Conference chose a delegation to negotiate. A deadlock was reached, however, when the League representative refused the demand that each participating group be allowed a speaker. Under no considerations was a 'renegade' going to speak.

The Columbus Day United Anti-Fascist Committee called on the workers to mass at Columbus Circle in the morning and at the Stadium in the afternoon. The League called on its followers for the afternoon alone. Some five hundred young workers met under the League's banner and were turned away from the Stadium. They then prepared to hold an open-air meeting nearby.

### Who Are the Renegades?

The steering committee of the United Anti-Fascist Committee approached the Stalinist steering committee to propose a joint open-air meeting. The latter agreed that each demonstration should be represented by two speakers, but specified that they must not represent 'renegade' groups." This ultimatum was indignantly rejected, and Jack Altman, representing the United Anti-Fascist Committee, proposed that he make its proposal to the Stalinist demonstration, and that one of their representatives be allowed a like privilege. This the Stalinists refused, and separate meetings were held.

## THE MAN ON THE TRAIN

By RED

Twelve thousand Hungarian miners went 1,000 feet under the ground and said they would never come up again unless the companies agreed to pay them \$3.50 a week.

The men said they would die. "Rather than suffer the slow pangs of death by starvation we will commit suicide by smothering ourselves," they said.

Newspaper editors all over the world knew that their readers would be interested, and they printed the story on the front page. Never before had 12,000 working men threatened mass-suicide. The frantic women tried to join their husbands and the 50,000 people of the city of Pecs, which is a seat of learning, with a great cathedral, the oldest in Hungary, and a great religious school, military school, a museum and a library—the people of Pecs were horrified.

After three days and nights 48 of the miners were brought to the surface and sent to hospitals.

Still the companies refused a wage-increase and the miners asked for coffins. But the government stepped in, "guaranteeing" a wage-increase, and the blackened miners came out, hungry, sick, staggering.

### II

The other part of the story is this:

On a train I met a man who was reading the story of the strike

in a newspaper. The man lived in a small town in New Jersey. He said he had not worked in many months. He told me about himself, that his family was on relief, and he hardly knew what to expect of the future. He felt sure, though that President Roosevelt was doing the best he could.

Commenting on the tragedy of the miners he said that it was a crime that the miners had to work for \$2 a week.

"It's the goddamdest thing I ever read of!" he said.

I replied, "Yes, but 50,000 coal diggers in the United States don't earn \$2 a week yet, and others, who work all week, never see any money on pay days."

Maybe I put it too bluntly. Perhaps he could see in Hungary what he couldn't see at home.

Anyway my friend with the newspaper became silent. Although he was living on relief, he could not understand. He may have thought I was a Red.

### III

The third part of the Pecs story takes place in England and Austria, where the big companies are who own the Pecs mines. There, in the homes of the respectable capitalists, lit by chandeliers hang from ceilings on slender golden chains, they are drinking cocktails and the butlers are hanging up fur coats, and the ladies are whispering, chatting and laughing gaily. You wonder where they got all the glitter and the gold.

Do You?



**NEW... BOOKS**

**Second World War**

**WHY WAR?** A Handbook for those who will take part in the Second World War. By Ellen Wilkinson and Edward Conze. Published by the N.C.L.C. Publishing Society, Ltd., London. Price 30 cents.

The Second World War approaches—no one any longer doubts it. The signs are too convincing to need argument. Despite the revelations of armaments investigations, the activity of pacifists and the growing knowledge of the horrors of the last war, another world slaughter is in the making. But why? Why must it be that the workers of America, Britain, France, Germany, Italy shall again kill and maim one another? Is it because the peoples of the world are filled with hate? Or, as certain learned people claim, because their "instinct for war" drives them toward destruction? The answer is given in this little book written by two members of the British Labor Party. (Editors note: Ellen Wilkinson, according to news reports, has recently been expelled from the L.P.).

The answer they give will not be acceptable to pacifists, or to those other sentimentalists who believe that war can be prevented by preaching sermons against munitions manufacturers. With convincing argument they show that the cause of war lies not in the desire for profits of any certain group of capitalists, but in the very nature of capitalism, and that those leaders of public opinion or of workers organizations who do not understand this are misleading their followers.

"No canned optimism, whether of official speeches or of emotional resolutions can hinder the remorseless march of events," they say, "Marxists at least can find no comfort in opiate myths. Capitalist imperialism produces war as inevitably as an explosion of oxygen and hydrogen produces water."

But although forces in capitalist nations are driving toward war, although, "both materially and psychologically, the chief difficulties of capitalism seem to be solved by war," the leading capitalists and their governments do not want war, yet. The results of the last war have shown the serious danger of revolution and there is no assurance that a new war will not bring a repetition of this.

"Therefore, before entering a

new war on the modern scale, capitalism must first destroy all the forces in a country which oppose them, and oppose war. Hence they favor the introduction of fascism, which, by smashing all opposition and all traditions of free speech and free right of meeting, diminishes the danger of opposition both during and after the war. It is not enough to say that the fascist countries are those which want war. Fascism is an indispensable condition of a new world war . . ."

Can war be prevented? The chapter dealing with the answer to this question, the part of this excellent little book with which there will be serious disagreement, takes up one by one the methods by which various sections and interests in the population hope to prevent war: revolution, the League of Nations, the General Strike, educating the imperialists, waging a preventative war now—these are the methods examined, and they find "there is not one method that can be relied upon with any confidence—not because of subjective factors (the 'treason' of leaders, the weakness of the revolutionary parties, etc.) which might be altered by propaganda, but because of objective economic factors which make the propaganda of each method ineffective."

What, then, do they suggest can be done? Shall the labor movement fold its arms and wait despairingly for the inevitable? No, the situation is not quite that hopeless. Here is their program of action:

"Actually, in cold fact, all that probably remains for socialists and communists to discuss is how to make the best use of the war situation when it comes, in order to destroy capitalism. Having been driven into the grim folly once again, the population will soon have had enough. Next time it will not be possible to keep the filthy horror that is war, respectably and comfortably in the front line trenches, to be sentimentalized in safety. The reality will be on the doorsteps of the people.

"Is it a council of despair to say, 'As we cannot prevent the next war, let us determine to use it?' Might this not, in the long run, be the best way of meeting the danger? To say in effect to the capitalist classes of the world who are preparing for war, 'We cannot stop you declaring the next war, for that is in your power, but by that deed your class power dies.' Would that not be the only way—to face the capitalist class with the alternative that may make them hesitate—to make war an even more dangerous gamble than the impossible contradictions of the perpetual crisis they call peace?"

H. A. H.

**For The New Party**

Excerpts from the Proposed Draft Program Prepared by Joint Committee of the AWP and CLA

(Continued from Page 5)

The example of the social and personal advantages of these socialist organization of production, and assistance from the workers' government, can be trusted to lead them to voluntary collectivization. Socialism will release the productive forces to serve the needs of men, and will enable production to be planned rationally in terms of actual social requirements. It will allow the utilization of every technical improvement. The leisure and educational opportunities which will accompany these material advantages, together with removal of the dead-weight of the perverted capitalist culture, will offer every individual possibilities for the fullest creative development.

**Inadequacy of Existing Parties**

The founding of the New Party on the basis of the present program is the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. A mere attempt to fuse the programs and tactics of existing parties of protest would lead nowhere since careful analysis reveals their falsity and inadequacy.

**a. Socialist Party**

The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is the failure to grasp the nature of the state. From this flows its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its faith in the sweet reasonableness of the capitalist dictatorship, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no systematic struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now as at other periods in its history the Party contains many sound and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the "militant" leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of preventing the consistent evolution of the workers to revolutionary Marxism.

**b. The Communist Party**

The rise of fundamentally anti-Marxian nationalist tendencies and the abandonment of the principle of workers' democracy in the Third International and its sections, constitute the twin source of their decline and impotence. No semblance of party democracy obtains in the International or its sections. They have sponsored divisive tactics in the trade unions and other mass organizations, the policy of building dual sectarian unions, the theory of social fascism and the tactic one day of the united front from below, and the next day of purely formal united fronts "only from above" in which non-aggression pacts with reformist parties are concluded. They have brought low, vicious tactics into the labor movement, time and again ordering their members to break up meetings called by other labor organizations, and to beat up spokesmen of other viewpoints. They have followed an unprincipled zig-zag policy, which in the United States, for example, has ranged from the "broad" opportunistic efforts in support of the

LaFollette agrarian movement to partisan exclusiveness and ultra-Leftism. In their own ranks, dissident opinion is stifled and bureaucratism reigns supreme.

The C.I. and its sections are completely and mechanically dominated by the C.P.S.U. As the revolutionary tide temporarily subsided in other countries, the Russian workers were obviously confronted with the need of concentrating upon the tremendous task of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union, in expectation of decisive aid from the workers in other lands when the next revolutionary wave raised them to power. At this juncture the leaders of the C.P.S.U., however, instead of pursuing this work of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the S.U. as one significant part of the movement for world revolution, adopted the position that socialist society could be built in the Soviet Union even though revolutions did not take place in other countries and that the building and defense of "socialism in the Soviet Union" is the first and weighty exclusive task of the entire world revolutionary movement. In the process of mechanically imposing this position upon the Communist parties of other countries all semblance of party democracy was wiped out. These parties, instead of concentrating their attention and energies primarily upon advancing the revolutionary movement and seeking the overthrow of the capitalist state in those countries, became little more than agitational groups dedicated to so-called "defense of the S. U.," pacifist activities for disarmament and "against war and Fascism," etc.

This degeneration of the Communist parties everywhere and their diversion from the task of achieving the revolution in the capitalist countries, weakened the defense of the Soviet Union and contributed to the defeat of the workers in other lands, as so tragically demonstrated by the collapse of the C.P. in Germany when Hitler came to power. In order therefore to accomplish the effective defense of the Soviet Union today, as well as successful workers' revolutions elsewhere, it is necessary to establish new revolutionary parties throughout the world and a new revolutionary International. The Workers' Party pledges its support to these revolutionists in the Soviet Union who fight for the revival of the Communist Party of Lenin's time, based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and party democracy. To accomplish all these objectives we devote ourselves with all our energies to the building of the new revolutionary party and International in the United States and other capitalist countries.

**The Defense of the Soviet Union**

Our opposition to the Stalinist parties in no way affects our unswerving solidarity with the Soviet Union. Our attitude toward the Soviet Union differs basically from our attitude to any capitalist country. The Soviet Union is a workers' state, product of the Russian revolution and beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. Despite all the difficulties imposed upon it by its isolation with a ring of capitalist enemies, the Russian workers have already accomplished marvels, and have demonstrated beyond doubt that a socialist order of society is manifestly superior to capitalism even in its best period. The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union is an elementary duty of every worker and progressive-minded person. Any attempt by the imperialists of any land to attack or undermine the Soviet Union: will find the revolutionists of the Workers' Party ready to defend it to the utmost. Against all anti-Marxian nationalist ten-

**NEWS REEL**

By A. A.

"He (President Roosevelt) has at last, in a specific and highly important field, placed recovery ahead of reform . . . He asks, in effect, that labor waive its rights and remain quiescent for a definite period to give recovery a chance," states a New York Herald Tribune editorial.

A little more of "recovery" and labor will have no rights left to waive!

"Roosevelt seen facing to the Left, but walking backwards to Right," proclaims Mark Sullivan, political writer, bosom friend of Herbert (Give-me-Liberty!) Hoover and official mourner for rugged individualism.

More truth than Mr. Sullivan realizes, perhaps!

The truce between labor and capital is getting along quite nicely.

"The military arm of Georgia," we quote from the daily press, "crashed down on pickets who have kept Rome foundries closed since July 21, routing the strikers and clearing a path for resumption of operations . . . The pickets were herded under threat of bayonets and machine guns."

With a great ballyhoo, the Houde Engineering Works of Buffalo were declared guilty of violating Section 7-A of the national industrial recovery act.

And then, just to show what that really amounts to, Attorney General Homer S. Cummings announces that there will be no prosecution of the Houde firm.

The New York Post states in a headline, "Families Quitting Relief Gain Sharply in Two Months," but in the body of the article the reader will find the following information, "there are still more persons being added than dropped (from the home-relief rolls)."

Yes, the emphasis is ours.

Lewis Corey in his book, "The Decline of American Capitalism" shows that from 1923 to 1929—

Wages rose less than 13%, Dividends and interest rose over 77%, Speculative profits rose over 400%,

and 80% of these profits went to those with incomes in excess of \$10,000.

So even so-called "prosperity" is only prosperity for those on the top.

Roger W. Babson, economist, high prophet of the capitalist system and another staunch rugged-individualist, tearfully pleads to his fellow Americans in a radio address:

"I appeal to you to keep away from government jobs, pensions and relief. The whole process is undermining your character, your family, your opportunities of getting a job . . . Use this opportunity to develop yourself physically, intellectually and spiritually . . . Spend your spare time in the public library . . . Go out and create a job for yourself."

What a sigh of relief our 12,000,000 unemployed can utter, now that each one of them knows just what to do!

And then, wouldn't it be strange if one of these days the workers went out and really created jobs for themselves and owned these jobs and the factories and the tools of production, Mr. Babson?

dencies, however, we reaffirm that socialism cannot be built in the Soviet Union alone and that the real defense of the Soviet Union depends not upon the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts, or any such measures, but upon successful workers' revolutions in other countries.

**GET TWO SUBS**

is the next step in the drive to "Make Labor Action a Weekly."

November and December, two busy months in which

**EVERY BRANCH**

will secure an average of two subs per member,—that is, the quota set for each branch is twice its membership.

**EVERY MEMBER—AT—LARGE**

is asked to send in two subs, and

**EVERY FRIEND AND READER, NOT A MEMBER**

is urged to cooperate in the drive by sending in at least one new sub.

**RENEWALS COUNT HALF!**

This campaign will be mainly for new subscribers. Renewals are important, of course, and two renewals will count as one sub. But we want new names on our list, so keep one eye out for a renewal, and two eyes for a prospective subscriber.

We plead also that the subs be for at least six months; three months as a last resort only! However, every new sub, whatever its amount, will count as one in the campaign.

Each branch will conduct its own campaign, make assignments, and, if it wishes, award prizes. Percentage results will be announced regularly in the paper.

As LABOR ACTION comes to the end of its second year, let us all give enthusiastic and loyal support in this drive for its improvement and expansion!

**AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY**

112 East 19th St., N. Y. C.

I have seen a copy of LABOR ACTION, and would like information and literature about

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