

# LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

VOLUME 11, NO. 21

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PRICE 5 CENTS

## Delegates Meet to Launch the New Party

### World War Scare Grips All Europe

#### Naval Conference Breaks Down -- Mussolini Silences Italy

NEW YORK.—Foreign cables indicate a war scare is rampant in Europe.

Japan, at the London naval conference, stated she will disregard the 5-5-3 naval ratio and build a navy equal to that of the United States and of England. The conference has reached a crisis.

In Rome, Mussolini issued a drastic decree forbidding citizens to discuss war moves being made by Italy. Families cannot speak of the subject under heavy penalties. More than 2,000,000 boys from 8 years up are being drilled by the army.

France, alarmed by the political crisis at home and the accelerated militarization of Germany, heard from its Reporter of the Budget, Leon Archibaud, that the French government had formed a military alliance with Russia. Later denied, the report was none the less believed.

France and Japan are working on budgets.

Stanley Baldwin, speaking at the naval conference, said he would not sanction the British navy being used for the armed blockade of any country "until I know what the United States is going to do."

The war scare is augmented by the approach of the Saar plebiscite which will be held in January.

NEW YORK.—Preparations for the Second World War are going forward apace.

A look at the situation reveals—that the United States is the most feared nation in the world.

That the war-fear weighs like a nightmare upon the hard-pressed masses of all Europe and the Far East.

That while the populations live in horror of war, their governments, in the hands of steel corporations, bankers, industrialists and militarists, in order to retain power, to hold markets, to exploit labor, are forced by the logic of the situation to use all available energy, money and man-power to prepare for defensive and offensive warfare.

That the peace machinery set up after the last war and the subsequent get-togethers of the spokesmen of the ruling classes of the nations for the announced purpose of reducing armaments, making peace agreements and preventing hostile outbreaks, have not merely been ineffective in stalling off war but have actually hastened the process of world militarization. The silk-hatted spokesmen of the imperialist governments gather around the peace table knowing already their probable allies in the next war. They hope for additional advantages. The conference breaks down, the gentlemen fail to agree, and the governments let contracts for more bombing planes.

**Hypnotising for War**

The laboring people everywhere, although averse to war, are being psychologized and in some cases

### THOUSANDS MARCH IN RELIEF PROTEST

#### Unemployed Groups Unite to Make Demands in 25 States

NEW YORK.—The greatest demonstration of the unemployed ever held in the United States. That was National Unemployed Day, November 28.

Demands on the government for more funds for the 17,000,000 out-of-work were made in hundreds of towns and cities.

In New York the day dawned bright and cold. By 10 o'clock 5,000 demonstrators had gathered in Union Square. "Give us work" sounded on the chill air. The parade started up Fourth Avenue, led by a band. No clashes occurred with the police, although many policemen were on the scene.

#### Involved 25 States

As we go to press, reports from field workers and League leaders are not all in. The demonstration was backed by 11 pressure organizations and involved 25 states. The Leagues, Unions and in some cases the Councils, who were not part of the arrangements committee, marched together.

A wire from Arnold Johnson, National Secretary of the Leagues, sent from Highpoint, North Carolina, stated:

"Demonstration all over country huge success. This is a great step toward building united unemployed movement in all states."

#### Take Demands to Capitol

Wires to Roosevelt and Hopkins, demanding a health-standard of relief, 30-hour week and the use of government war funds for the unemployed, were forwarded from the towns and cities. A committee of 15 from the 11 organizations are proceeding to Washington with the following national 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 \$1 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.
8. The 36-hour week.

#### Two Thousand March In Allentown

ALLENTOWN, Pa.: Two thousand workers marched here. The long procession wound through the main streets, tying up Saturday's traffic.

At relief headquarters the crowd halted and Anthony Ramuglia, National President of the Leagues, addressed the demonstrators. Unemployed League songs could be

heard blocks away. Larry Heimbach spoke for organized labor in Allentown and Lester Hechman and Andrew Budhas spoke for the Lehigh County Leagues.

Weston Kelsey, Director of Relief, endorsed the demands and promised to forward them to President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins. The paraders continued to city hall where a committee demanded that Mayor Lewis withdraw his proclamation limiting picketing.

#### Stage Play at Relief Headquarters

BETHLEHEM, Pa.—"Direct Relief", a play depicting the insanity of the present relief system, was staged on the steps of the relief headquarters here with several

(Continued on Page 2)

#### Not an Apology

Once again we have had to reduce the size of LABOR ACTION. Although the subscription chart in our office continues to show a steady rise, LABOR ACTION is not yet self-sustaining. Each issue must be subsidized by contributions from the AWP. This means that when the Party has no funds LABOR ACTION suffers.

That is the case today. The expenses of the convention are a terrific drain on the slender resources of the Party and it has not been able to make its usual contribution. Hence the four pages and the lateness.

But we want it distinctly understood that this is an explanation—and NOT AN APOLOGY. If any apology is due it should come from those readers and subscribers (including Party members) who by their failure to push and support LABOR ACTION as energetically as they could have done make this explanation necessary.

ANOTHER ISSUE MUST COME OUT IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONVENTION. FUNDS WILL BE NEEDED. WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER?

### AWP and CLA Conventions Open in N.Y.

#### Groups to Act on Merger

NEW YORK, Nov. 28.—The convention of the American Workers Party opened today in New York, under the chairmanship of A. J. Muste.

The question of fusion with the Communist League of America and the program of the new party were listed on the agenda as the first problems to come before the convention. The convention of the Communist League, which began in New York Monday, will act upon the same proposals.

#### Plan Joint Convention

"If both conventions adopt the joint program and approve merger, we will hold a joint convention beginning November 30 and launch the new party," Chairman Muste said.

Party building and a program of action will be taken up in the joint convention. The convention will last three days.

This is the first step taken toward unity in 13 years. Beginning after the world war radical groups wrote labor history up to the present largely in terms of splits.

Delegates at the AWP convention are from the east, north, mid-west, south and the Pacific coast. They have come directly from the field of action. Many of them have made labor history in the past year. Having built a disciplined "political machine", the American Workers Party, they have learned to speak in action louder than in debate.

#### Names in Year's News

A partial list of the names of those who have figured in the year's news are:

Arnold Johnson, Bill Truax, Anthony Ramuglia, Larry Heimbach, Gerry Allard, J. S. Lampton (of the south), Ted Selander, Sam Pollack, Art Preis, Louis Breier, Warren Montross, Louis Budenz, Jimmie Cross, Bulah Carter, Brandt Scott, Larry Hogan, E. R. McKinney, Mike Demchak, Ed Moser, Bill Reich and others.

They have led strikes, smashed injunctions, built Unemployed Leagues, promoted the party organ, LABOR ACTION, recruited and trained workers to party work and discipline.

The new party will be formally launched by the American Workers Party alone, should merger not go through. The party will be based upon Marxian principles and will build itself in mass action.

Members of the Provisional Organizing Committee, elected at the convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago in Pittsburgh and instructed to plan the launching of a new revolutionary party at the present convention, are A. J. Muste, chairman, Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary, J. B. S. Hardman, William Truax, Jack Lever, J. S. Lampton (south), Gerry Allard, James Burnham, Cal Bellaver, Louis Breier, V. F. Calverton, Elmer Cope, Oliver Carlson, Mike Demchak, Hermann Gund, Larry Cohen, Larry Heimbach, Sidney Hook, Harry Howe, Karl Lore, Ludwig Lore, Arnold Johnson, Lucile Kohn, E. R. McKinney, A. Ramuglia, Will Segers, Ted Selander, Hilda Shapiro, and Tom Tippet.

## MASS MEETING

To Greet the Conventions of the American Workers Party and the Communist League

SPEAKERS:

A. J. MUSTE JAMES P. CANNON

MINNEAPOLIS: Leaders of the Famous Strikes of Local 574— VINCENT DUNNE CARL SKOGLAND MILES DUNNE

TOLEDO: Organizers of Mass Picket Line that Broke the Injunction— TED SELANDER SAM POLLACK

MINERS: Outstanding Leaders of Militant Left Wing— GERRY ALLARD BRANT SCOTT

UNEMPLOYED MOVEMENT: Leaders of the National Unemployed League— ANTHONY RAMUGLIA ARNOLD JOHNSON BILL TRUAX

NEGRO STRUGGLES: Outstanding Negro Militants— JAMES WATSON E. R. MCKINNEY

DEEP SOUTH: JO DRAKE ARRINGTON

SPARTACUS YOUTH: JOSEPH CARTER

CANADA: Leaders of the Workers Party of Canada— MAURICE SPECTOR JACK MacDONALD

CHAIRMEN:

MAX SHACHTMAN LOUIS F. BUDENZ

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2nd 8 P. M.  
Germania Hall 16th St. and Third Ave.

Admission 25 cents

# Borah's Relief Fraud Charge Stirs Capitol

By JOHN BROWN

WASHINGTON: Senator Borah's charge of "shocking" waste in the administration of relief funds has created quite a stir here, not because the evidence which the Senator produced was not already generally known but because now there will undoubtedly be a Congressional investigation and a certain number of heads will have to be lopped off to give the appearance that abuses are being corrected.

According to the evidence produced by the honorable gentleman from Idaho it costs from 25 to 50 cents to administer a dollar of relief. In some places it comes even higher than this, in one county of a middle-western state costing as much as \$572 to administer \$4 of

relief. In another state \$1,000,000 is totally unaccounted for. (It would be interesting to know what arguments the politicians in these states give the unemployed when they ask for an increase in their meager allowances.)

### It's An Old Story

That relief funds have been used for political purposes no one would be naive enough to doubt—we venture to wager that even Harry Hopkins would not deny it. Evidence of graft and corruption in relief offices has been produced by the bushel by the Unemployed Leagues and other unemployed organizations. For presenting this evidence and demanding correction of abuses scores of leaders of unemployed groups have been brutally beaten and jailed.

Every unemployed worker knows how difficult it is to get relief. The government and the relief officials do every possible thing to make it difficult. In order to get through the forest of red tape created a worker must practically

sign away his life. In most places before he can hope to get any relief he must prove conclusively that he is a pauper; he must submit to one indignity after another. It takes a lot of politicians to administer this red tape and politicians do not work for nothing.

### Borah a Politician

Senator Borah is a politician. We must never forget this. And before we begin hurrahing for the Senator as a "defender of the rights of the people" we should not overlook the fact that Borah has been in Congress for years and never once has he denounced the system that makes millions of people depend on relief for existence. It may be fine to get indignant about political waste and graft, but it is not intelligent to think that this waste and graft can be eliminated by congressional investigations or if it could be that that would change anything fundamentally.

The fact of 15 million workers and their families destitute and dependent on relief in a country such as this, where everybody could have plenty—that should make Senator Borah indignant. The graft and waste about which he gets excited are part of the system and cannot be eliminated until capitalism is replaced by a workers' government.

# IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

### Industrial Unionism

What did the American Federation of Labor mean by its resolution in which it authorized the formation of industrial unions in the automotive, cement and aluminum industries? Did the unanimous vote in approval of that step signify the surrender of the old guard and clear the way for the uninterrupted development of a more effective form of organization? An interesting editorial in the November issue of the Machinists Journal, organ of a union which has fought industrial unionism bitterly and which has been active in breaking Federal Labor Unions into craft divisions proves that there is plenty of fight in the old boys yet.

"While the enlarged Executive Council (of the A. F. of L.) has on it some who are strongly in favor of industrial unions," says this editorial, "there are enough strictly craft union members on the Council to act as a balance wheel and hold in check those who might wish to extend the experiment, for that is what it amounts to at present, farther than can be justified."

"As far as the International Association of Machinists is concerned, while it can be depended upon to cooperate with the Council in every reasonable way . . . nevertheless, self-preservation is the first law of nature, and the I. A. of M. . . will not stand idly by and without protest allow the Federation or any other organization to trespass upon its jurisdiction except in a most limited way, and then only after it has all the facts at hand on which to base an intelligent decision."

Such a statement from the Machinists Union is important in itself as expressing the unshaken determination of the die-hards to maintain their craft formations. It assumes an even greater importance in the light of the report that the executive council has named Arthur Wharton, Machinists President as the directing head of the organization drive in the steel industry. In the past year there have been a number of jurisdictional clashes between the I. A. of M. and the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers. To place a campaign in this most important industry in the hands of a bitter enemy of industrial unionism is to guarantee its failure.

### Tear Gas

A few weeks ago the police of Racine, Wis., made a cowardly gas attack on strikers, many of them women. In addition it has been learned that the police department has asked for a large increase in its 1935 appropriation for ammunition.

The unions have decided to prepare for the future. A canvas of world war veterans will be made to obtain as many gas masks as possible which will be stored in the Union Hall for emergencies.

But even gas masks don't keep away bullets.

### Progressives Line Up

From St. Paul, Minnesota comes word of a conference attended by official delegates from 15 unions in various parts of the state. The get together—sponsored by the leaders of the great Minneapolis Truckers strike—concerned itself with laying the basis for continuous cooperation and for militant action for labor's rights. The resolution adopted by the conferees called for industrial unionism, class solidarity, working class education, unity against vigilante groups, militant as against class collaboration policies and organization of the unemployed.

### R. R. Company Unionism

Some months ago I commented in this column on the great success the railroad labor organizations were having in wiping company unionism off the map in their industry. The drive against yellow dog organizations has been kept up. Elections have been conducted on more than a dozen railroads recent-

ly by the new National Mediation Board and the result in nearly every case has been a victory for the regular unions. Even the Pennsylvania which used every sort of trickery and oppression at its command, has been licked three times in this balloting. Shop men, maintenance-of-way employees, train dispatchers, mechanical department workers and clerks are among the crafts which have ditched the phony representation plans set up by the carriers.

The Pullman Company has also been caught in the flood. Its plan of employee representation is so totally discredited that it is sponsoring the organization of the "Independent Pullman Workers Federation" in a desperate attempt to hold its workers in line. All its efforts seem to be in vain however. Local unions of Pullman workers have already been established in New York, Chicago, St. Louis and Cleveland with others under way in Cincinnati, Atlanta and at points on the Pacific Coast.

### No Banana Oil

So say the oil field workers to the attempts to establish and maintain company unions in the industry. Out of more than 50 elections held under the auspices of the Petroleum Labor Policy Board to determine workers' choice of representatives, all but two have been won by the Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery Workers Union which now claims a membership of 81,500, most of whom have joined its ranks since June 1933. The Los Angeles oil basin has seen an especially active membership drive in the past month and the complete unionization of that area is expected in the next months.

### One Man Strike

This item is from "Mass Action", the lively paper of the Lucas County, Ohio, Unemployed League. It is a clear illustration of what aggressive action will do.

"Some 22 weeks ago Jimmie Roland was fired for organizing at the Chevrolet Plant. He referred his case to the Detroit Labor Board. There it languished until Roland started a one-man picket line at the plant. This was four weeks ago. The first day of picketing resulted in action from the "sell out" board in Detroit. Shortly after he had his hearing. After waiting weeks more for the decision, he started the one-man picket line again. Result—he is back at work with a job in the office this time to keep him away from the shop men."

TOLEDO, O.—The "death march" of 100 single men around the County courthouse in Toledo ended after 120 hours. The strike was aimed at the elimination of the city flophouse and payment of cash relief to the city's unemployed single men. Four men collapsed in the course of the march.

Partial gains won include abolishment of forced labor at the flophouse, new mattresses and chairs for the 700 inmates.

MOBILE, Ala.—Two Scottsboro Boys, Patterson and Norris, sentenced to die on December 7, have been granted a stay of execution till February 8 by the Alabama State Supreme Court.

### A CORRECTION

Editor of Labor Action: In LABOR ACTION for November 15 you carry a story by Dave Harris in which the statement is made, concerning Commonwealth College, that "some of the S.P. students have refused to attend classes, demanding a better representation of Marxian ideology."

Only one Socialist student, Ted Steger, has dropped out of regular classes for this reason and he is a follower of Bernstein and Kautsky.

We shall be glad for you to make this correction.

WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, Acting-Director Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas.

# Thousands in Relief March

(Continued from Page 1)

hundred League demonstrators for an audience. Rev. Paul Cotton, Chas. Sandwick and others spoke. A holiday was declared on all relief work for National Unemployed Day.

# 5,000 Present Demands in Pittsburg

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Five thousand unemployed and employed workers gathered at ten relief stations here Saturday to celebrate National Unemployed Day and to press their demands for a decent standard of living. The organizations in the demonstrations were the Pennsylvania Unemployed League and the Unemployed Citizens League.

At the office of the relief board the demonstrators attempted to present the national demands to a member of the board but they were all "out of town". The director of relief was also absent but the committee insisted on seeing someone in authority to whom the demands could be presented.

### There Are No Clashes

After a struggle with the police extending over two weeks the director of public safety decided to grant permits for the demonstrations. The Civil Liberties Union took up the matter of permits with the mayor and police department. The meetings were held in the yard and on the porch of some of the stations and at other stations on the sidewalk. Policemen were on hand at each station but the demonstrations passed off without difficulty.

# Court Issues Writ For Tom Mooney

SAN FRANCISCO.—The surprise order from the United States Supreme Court to the state of California to show cause why it should not hear a writ of habeas corpus filed by Tom Mooney's attorneys has thrown another dim glimmer of hope through the bars of San Quentin prison.

The order is interpreted here as offering Governor Merriam an opportunity to whitewash his reputation as a reactionary by pardoning Mooney. Most people in the state look upon Merriam as a black reactionary, a tool of big business, and dissatisfaction is widespread. He was elected over Sinclair, who promised Mooney freedom, by a campaign of economic coercion and money which defeated the will of the majority.

Some of the business interests are reported as seeing in the Mooney case a chance for the Governor to put on a much needed liberal front.

# Wall Street Laughs at Dictator Charges

WASHINGTON.—General Smedley Butler's revelations of plans of big bankers and industrialists to set up a fascist dictatorship in the United States and "do to Roosevelt what Mussolini did to the King of Italy" was tremendously funny to a lot of the gentlemen alleged to be involved in the plot.

"I laughed all day," said Colonel Grayson M. P. Murphy, multi-millionaire and according to Butler one of the chief financial backers. General Douglas MacArthur—of Bonus March fame—thought it was the "best laugh of the year". Thomas W. Lamont, partner of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., also involved, declared it "perfect moonshine"; while fat little Gerald P. McGuire, intermediary, called it a "joke—a publicity stunt."

It is reported that even President Roosevelt was highly amused—perhaps because he could not quite understand why anyone with intelligence should think it necessary to do to him "what Mussolini did to the King of Italy."

However, as the peals of laughter die away, the evidence produced by General Butler remains. It cannot be so easily gotten rid of. And that evidence indicates that a group of Wall Street financiers, during last summer, were seriously flirting with the idea of setting up a Hitler or a Mussolini in this country. General Smedley Butler, not surprisingly, was being considered as a good candidate for the role.

Neither is it surprising that these Wall Street gentlemen thought of the World War veterans as proper material for their fascist army. Both in Italy and in Germany they have served this purpose and the veterans organizations in France are the backbone of the reactionary movements in that country. In the United States the record of the American Legion of strike breaking,

# 25,000 Dye Strikers Keep Mills Shut

PATERSON, N. J.—Despite intimidation, bullets and clubs on the part of the police, the dyers' strike, involving upward of 25,000 workers, continues militant and effective.

Picketing of the mills goes on every morning, keeping the mills shut.

The bosses are using all kinds of scares to get the workers back. The latest effort is the circulation of "rumors" that a number of plants are considering moving out of town. The workers, however, realizing that it is an attempt to break their ranks, remain solidly on the picket lines.

red baiting and union smashing is well known. Ever since its organization, the Legion has had for its leaders the foulest reactionaries in the country—men completely subservient to the ruling class.

The thing that is surprising, however, is that General Butler and other beneficiaries of the plot are now telling tales out of school. Is it possible that the Wall Street gentlemen have recently decided that a Fascist coup at this time would be a bit premature? Have recent events revealed to them the "ridiculousness" of their plans?

This latter reason is held to be the explanation by a lot of people here. They point to the obvious swing of Roosevelt to the right; to the growing favor with which the bankers and big industrialists view the New Deal; to the increasing disfavor with which the New Deal regards strikes and other labor activities; to the growing power of company unionism; to the smallness of the forces genuinely opposed to the capitalist system; to the disunity of the revolutionary movement—and they ask:

"Why should the Wall Street gentlemen fear Roosevelt or believe that he cannot handle any situation that arises?"

# War Fears Spread

(Continued from Page 1)

hypnotized by the governments into a frame of mind calculated to make the next war possible.

In Germany, Italy and Japan, notably, and in other capitalistic countries in lesser degree, mass-hypnosis in the form of fascism has not only limited workers' rights and in some cases destroyed them, but has fired the populations with nationalistic passions and subjected them to the will of themilitarists. The tendency toward fascism among the ruling classes of capitalistic government is becoming more and more marked, and more and more open. The great fear of the industrialists and bankers is that when war breaks they will not be prepared to hold the masses in line.

### Fear Wall Street

Governmental ruling classes of all nations fear the long trade-and-military arms of Washington, Wall Street and the American government. While capitalism lasts and imperialist expansion is the order of the day, all nations, however small, will prepare for war and go down or keep alive by virtue of arms and force.

# HISTORIC ROAD TO THE NEW PARTY

Report of Provisional Organizing Committee to Convention of AWP

November 28, 1934  
**A**T THIS historic convention, when we consider the proposal to unite with another revolutionary group in the formal launching of a new revolutionary party, it is proper and necessary briefly to review our past. We are not slaves to tradition. We have stood for a realistic and experimental approach to our problems. If, however, we have been an organization and not a mere collection of individuals, then our history has significance and it is important to know whether we are carrying into the new development that in our past which has given meaning to our movement.

The American Workers Party is an outgrowth of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. It was the Pittsburgh convention of the CPLA in December, 1933, which decided to appoint a Provisional Organizing Committee to carry out the preliminary work of building a new party and when this work was done, call a convention for the formal launching of the party. The CPLA had been founded in May, 1929, by elements a number of which had previously been working together in such institutions as Brookwood Labor College and the publication, Labor Age.

## The Conference for Progressive Labor Action

At its beginning, the CPLA tried to bring together all elements interested in progressive and militant policies on the economic field, regardless of their political differences. The outstanding points in its program were: militant unionism (unions to be organized on the basis of the solidarity and militancy of the workers and not from favors from employers); industrial unionism; inclusive unionism (accepting workers regardless of political, racial, national, religious, etc. differences into membership); aggressive efforts to organize the unorganized, especially the unskilled and semi-skilled masses in the basic industries; education of workers for the class struggle (as against liberal "adult education") and independent political action (as against the so-called non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L.). On the basis of these general policies the CPLA functioned for five years in the closest touch with workers and farmers in mass organizations. It was intimately involved in the day to day struggles of these organizations. In the strike of textile workers in Marion, N. C., in 1929, where six mill workers were killed on the picket line by sheriffs' deputies; the strikes of miners in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and other states; the Paterson silk workers' general strike of 1931; the amalgamation of the silk workers' unions and the building of an autonomous national federation of silk workers within the United Textile Workers of America; the launching of the first serious campaign for the organization of public utilities employees; organization campaigns and strikes of food, garment, steel and automobile workers—in these and many other struggles of workers, the CPLA through the national office or its branches or individual members played a prominent part.

## LABOR ACTION

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and militant policies, against the prevailing A. F. of L. philosophy of collaboration with employers, and against autocracy, gangsterism, racketeering and allied evils where they appeared in the unions. CPLA forces were among the first to sense the importance of organizing the unemployed, the ineffectiveness of so-called barter organizations, the need for mass organizations in bringing pressure upon local, state and national authorities. It made an important contribution to the organization of the National Unemployed League formed at the great unemployed convention at Columbus, Ohio July 4, 1933. It has been a consistent advocate of sound and honest united front action among all elements in the labor movement.

## Economic Organizations Not Enough

The experience of the CPLA in these various mass activities is a convincing illustration of the fact that the economic and political activities of labor cannot be separated into air-tight compartments; are, in fact, inextricably bound up with each other. The leading elements in the organization had from the outset a theoretical or "political" position, whether or not it was always set forth in so many words. They believed in the class struggle and in the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system as the only real solution of the problems of the workers. As their experience in mass work broadened they became more and more convinced that there must be a correct and clearly defined (not merely implied) theoretical basis for mass work or it would in the end prove fruitless, fail to achieve its goal. They realized also that a viewpoint could not function in the abstract. It must be embodied in a revolutionary political party.

The need for definite political organization was forced upon the leading workers of the CPLA in still other ways. For example, in strikes, demonstrations, organizing campaigns, internal union activity, unemployed work, contact was made with vigorous honest workers who demonstrated that they had qualities of leadership. Naturally if they were to pass beyond the most elementary forms of activity they needed education in the nature of the existing economic and political system, the meaning of the class struggle, the position and function of the working class in modern society, the solution of the problems of the working class, etc. They needed, that is to say, political education. But obviously political education in the genuine sense, which does not consist in transmitting book-learning, could be given only by a correct revolutionary party. These advanced workers in many instances began to inquire where they should line up politically. The CPLA as such in its earlier days had no specific answer to give to that question.

In working out the answer, account had to be taken of existing political parties. The CPLA sought to win workers away from allegiance to the old parties and agitated in the unions for the abandonment of the so-called non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. In the pre-Roosevelt era it generally took the position that the organization of a Labor or Farmer-Labor party might constitute a progressive step for American workers. It was aware, however, that whatever might be the attitude or relation of a revolutionary party to a Labor or Farmer-Labor political development, the latter could not

take the place of the revolutionary party.

The first clash of the CPLA with the Socialist Party came very early in its existence and on the trade union rather than the distinctively political field. Various sections of the S. P., from the extreme right to the left, had joined the CPLA or expressed sympathy with it in its beginning. They were willing to express general support of progressive policies and opposition to gangsterism, racketeering and similar evils in the unions. When, however, we set about to organize rank and file oppositions in the unions for vigorous, direct attack on reactionary policies and officials, some S. P. elements immediately charged us with being "disruptionists" and nearly all became decidedly less sympathetic. The CPLA policy in the unions clashed directly with the S. P. "neutrality" position.

In other instances CPLA forces found themselves doing the hard spade work in organizing campaigns, bearing the brunt of the fighting in strikes, etc. and then finding the S. P. trying to make capital out of this activity, by making Socialist party voters and members out of the workers who had thus been brought together. Since the CPLA was not convinced that the S. P. was either a revolutionary party or an effective Labor or Farmer-Labor organization, it could not be satisfied with such a situation.

The conviction that the S. P. and the Second International could no longer be counted upon to organize the workers for effective defense, much less to lead them in attack upon the capitalist system, was finally confirmed by events in Germany and elsewhere in 1932 and the beginning of 1933. Thus the N.E.C. report to the Pittsburgh convention, speaking of parties of the Second International, stated: "They are simply not organized to win state power and then to use it in clean-cut fashion in order to scrap the existing economic system and set in motion one which can function under modern technology."

With such fundamentally Marxist positions of the C. P. as the doctrine of the class struggle, the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system, etc., the CPLA was in agreement. As in the case of the Socialist party, where almost from the beginning there was a clash with regard to trade union policy, so likewise there was a clash, though on a different basis, with the C. P. Shortly before the CPLA was organized, the C. P. had finally committed itself to the policy of building dual sectarian unions mechanically dominated by the party. The CPLA from the outset carried on a polemic against this policy and based its own activities on a fundamentally different position.

When, however, in the Spring of 1933, the C. P. indicated that with regard to trade union policy, united-front-from-below, etc., it might be prepared to change its line, the CPLA made a strenuous effort in connection with the Moseley defense anti-Fascist demonstrations, unemployed work and trade union activity, to carry out united action with the C. P. as well as with any other elements prepared for united front struggle. The events proved that the C. P. had not really changed its line and apparently was incapable of achieving a fundamental reorientation.

During the same period, the collapse of the C. P. in Germany without a struggle before the advent of

Hitler, and other events finally confirmed the conclusion that the Third International and its sections were also incapable of organizing the workers for effective defense against the forces of reaction and fascism, much less to lead them to victorious struggle for a new social order.

## The American Workers Party

It was thus out of experience and action in the American scene and our reflection upon that experience that the AWP was born. That itself is one of the important contributions we bring to the proposed new party. The new party must justify itself in action or it is doomed before it is born.

The activities of the AWP since the Pittsburgh convention, in the mass organizations, strikes, unemployed work, party building, the development of our theoretical position, have been set forth in LABOR ACTION, in communications from the national office to the branches, and in the two drafts of our programmatic statement. The membership has similarly been kept informed of the development of our discussions, and later our negotiations regarding the merger with the CLA.

The POC now submits to the convention a Declaration of Principles for the new party drafted by a joint committee of the AWP and CLA. It submits likewise a series of proposals bearing upon basic organizational arrangements for the proposed merger. It recognizes that the chief business of this convention should be the careful consideration of this Declaration of Principles and the merger proposals. It recommends that after such consideration the Declaration and the merger proposals be adopted.

The POC proposes that if the merger proposals are accepted, we shall then meet together with the convention of the CLA, which is also in session in this city, for formal joint ratification of the Declaration of Principles and the merger proposals, and that thereupon the new party be formally declared in existence, and that the joint convention then proceed to consider and adopt a Program of Action for the next six months, dealing with the main objectives of the party in its first period in such fields as party building, party press and educational work, trade union activity, unemployed work, interna-

tional relations, struggle against war and fascism, etc.

## A New Approach

We have spoken often of the need of "a new approach". The proposed joint Declaration of Principles, after referring to the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, on which the party is founded, states:

"The Workers Party conceives as its duty the realistic application of these principles to the present historical situation. Since its primary task is the defeat of the enemy at home—the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States—the Workers Party will seek, first and foremost, to demonstrate to the working class of the U. S. and its allies that the application of the principles of revolutionary Marxism is the sole means for the fulfillment of their historical needs and interests. Proceeding from these principles the Workers Party of the U. S. will use the revolutionary potentialities of American tradition and history, and adapt its tactics to the concrete situation and the relation of class forces in the U. S."

To profess this determination in general terms is not enough. Our Marxist principles and our realistic approach must be implemented by a careful, concrete analysis of actual forces, tendencies, classes and groups with which we have to deal in the American and the world scene. The concrete program thus evolved must then be transferred from paper to the field of reality. Thus shall we build the New Party and the New International which will lead the workers in their struggles against reaction and fascism, in the conquest of power, and in the establishment of the Workers Republic which shall bring plenty, security, freedom and peace to the masses.

## 'Budenz Recovering

Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the American Workers Party, is recovering in New York from an operation for sinus trouble. Comrade Budenz has been unwell since leading the strike of the auto-parts workers in Toledo in the Summer. The operation was successful but the subsequent treatments will make it necessary for the Executive Secretary to remain out of party work for some weeks.

## SYMPOSIUM RELIGION and MARXISM

### a Conflict?

**SPEAKERS:**  
**Prof. REINHOLD NEIBUHR**  
 of Union Theological Seminary

**Prof. ROBERT CALHOUN**  
 of Yale University

**V. F. CALVERTON**  
 Editor of The Modern Monthly

**Prof. SIDNEY HOOK**  
 of New York University

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## THEIR Government

By JAMES BURNHAM

### —White House Parties—

Early in September a series of luncheons and teas was held at the White House. This series was not featured in the press. The guests included two of the Morgan partners (one of them J. P. Morgan himself), the head of the Chase National Bank (the largest bank in the country), Alfred Sloan, head of General Motors, one of the DuPont brothers, Henry I. Harriman, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and a number of others.

These informal little parties at the White House were a symbol of the beginning of a new stage in the career of the Roosevelt Administration. It is important to understand both what this new stage is and what it is not.

In the first place, the new stage does not involve any basic change of policy. From the beginning, the Roosevelt Administration has been the firm representative of monopoly capitalism. The essence of its program has been the defense and strengthening of the interests of the biggest financiers and industrialists. However, for the first year and a half, this basic program was carried out under the public coverings of speeches and publicity that sounded "liberal" and even at times "radical". This public covering was necessary, because nothing else would have satisfied the voters of the country, who had elected Roosevelt out of disgust with the Hoover brand of reaction.

### The Public Front

Such speeches and publicity have certain dangers for capitalists, however, for people are apt to take the matter seriously when they are promised recovery and jobs and relief and reform and insurance and other social benefits. Moreover, they are inclined to put some pressure on newly elected Congressmen to make good on these promises.

The bankers and industrialists have decided, therefore, that Roosevelt and the Administration have got to change their public front. They have got to stop making so many promises, and teach the masses not to expect "miracles". They have got to make a "turn to the right" before their "wild schemes" run the risk of losing a few profits.

### The New Turn

So, since the beginning of September we have seen such performances as the following:

Roosevelt, with the able assistance of Gorman, broke the textile strike even more ruthlessly than the threatened auto strike.

Roosevelt's Department of Justice has refused to prosecute industrialists in order to carry out the Labor Board's decisions.

At the Bankers' Convention, Roosevelt who in his Inaugural Address promised "to drive the money changers out of the temple"—begged and pleaded with the bankers not to let the government down, and offered them anything they wanted in return.

Roosevelt repudiated Sinclair, his own party's candidate, in California, turning the governorship over to the ultra-reactionary Merriam.

The Home Loan Corporation has closed down on loans to small home owners.

Richard Whitney, President of the New York Stock Exchange, has publicly stated how "beneficial" he finds the working of the Commission appointed to regulate the Exchange.

The Chamber of Commerce is ballyhooing 100% for Roosevelt.

Donald Richberg, the "assistant President", has publicly denied that Section 7a permits the majority rule in collective bargaining representation.

Roosevelt appointed S. Clayton Williams, one of the most reactionary and notoriously anti-union business men in the country, to head the new NRA Board formed after Johnson's resignation.

### Roosevelt's Promises

Most brazen of all, in a speech delivered at Washington two weeks

## Capitalism Robs Masses Of 287 Billions, Report

Survey Finds Families Should Have \$4,370 Yearly

How the masses are forced to live in want and fear while the available energy, raw materials and productive capacity in the United States could be utilized to flood the country with all kinds of goods, was disclosed in the report of the National Survey of Potential Productive Capacity, a government body set up by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration seven months ago and composed of technicians and engineers.

The survey found the following facts in regard to production, potential production and the needs of the people in the United States:

1. In the past five years the people in the United States have been denied commodities and services to the value of 287 billion dollars.

The cause: The productive plant was not used. The plant turned out a limited quantity of goods because the people were unable to buy more.

The result: Masses were forced lower and lower into destitution, living on short rations, going without medical attention or proper clothing and living in houses that should be torn down.

2. This national state of poverty and anxiety is not due to the depression. The depression is a result of the non-use of productive facilities. Even in the year 1929, when times were described as "good", masses of the population were inadequately fed, clothed and housed. In that year the people in the United States were denied life necessities—what they needed and might have had—to the value of 51 billion dollars. Result: 16 million families, or 59 per cent of the population, were inadequately fed, clothed and housed.

3. The United States has the energy, the man power, the raw materials, the technological equipment necessary to furnish everyone a high standard of living. Food, goods, houses, luxuries, amusements, services, medical care, schools—all can be furnished without stint. This would involve the complete use of the national productive plant.

### What It Would Mean

The survey does not elaborate upon what this would mean, but clearly it would involve the complete destruction of the capitalist system.

The productive plant cannot be used to produce goods and services just because the masses need them. Capitalism or the profit system sabotages production. Indeed, the heart of capitalism lies in this, that it can limit production. And not only can, of course, but must. The form of economy and government we live under couldn't last two minutes without a scarcity of commodities, hordes of wage-slaves, tenement-dwellers and masses in want.

The alternative to the "scarcity

age, Roosevelt repudiated all the promises of "vast social reconstruction" made in the famous June 8th address, and declared that the only possibility for the near future was some kind of vague part-Federal, part-State unemployment insurance scheme. The June 8th address had definitely and specifically promised that the next Congress would enact a great program covering unemployment, sickness, old age insurance, job protection, child and maternal welfare, etc. There was of course never any chance that these promises would be kept. They were just hokum to make people feel good—and now Roosevelt himself says so.

We will find that Roosevelt, who was "the great Leader" of his first Congress, drawing it into the unexplored country of the New Deal, will be the great Brake of his second Congress, preventing it from reflecting in effective legislation any of the protests and claims of the masses.

Even Dr. Wirt ought to be satisfied by now.

economy" of capitalism, a collectivist government with the masses in control of the productive plant, is the only means of freeing production and insuring plenty for everyone.

### Here's the Usual Rub

The survey found, further, that every family should have a yearly income of \$4,370 with which to pay for and consume the goods and services which must be used if the majority of the population are not to remain in destitution. Nothing less than this amount in the hands of every family in the United States can keep the productive machinery going.

Or to put it in our own words, each family must have \$4,370 annually in order to "pay the capitalists to produce more".

And here we reach the rub, as in

all these government body reports. How will the families get that \$4,370? Will the capitalists give it to them? The report is silent.

The survey, which took seven months to complete, has already been hushed up in the press. The New York Times, in commenting editorially, said the report was like the old formula: "If we had some ham we would have some ham and eggs if we had some eggs."

Obviously there is nothing the government can do about it but forget it. The government is the political instrument of the class in power, the capitalists who own the machinery of production and who do the sabotaging.

The technicians and engineers making the report were Walter N. Plakov, fuel and energy; Felix J. Frazer, economist and laboratory engineer; Graham L. Montgomery, food processing and chemicals; Pomeroy C. Merrill, minerals and housing; D. L. Cullinson, transportation; James L. Hollings, textiles; William Smith, agriculture; Montgomery Schuyler, survey editor, and Langdon W. Post, Tennament House Commissioner, New York.

## Changing Human Nature In Russia

The Philosophers of Doom Said It Couldn't Be Done

By RED

The Seventeenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution has just passed and carefully I looked through all the newspapers, but all the newspapers were full of stories about the big election campaigns in America and when we're having a revolution at home you can't expect the papers to say much about Russia.

In the U. S. elections it appears that some millions of dollars were spent and some congressmen and governors were elected. I don't know how much money was spent. I would like to bet that the side which spent the most millions was the side that won. I would like to bet that the workers didn't put up the money. Of course there'd be no use betting that the men who pay the piper will call the tune, because nobody would call a bet like that anyway.

So this is the Roosevelt revolution?

My goodness!

There must be a lot of people including editors who'd like to forget that 170,000,000 people living on that vast irregular plot of ground known as the Soviet Union which covers a sixth of the inhabitable earth are busy building toward socialism. A lot of people, the whole tribe of kept-men of bourgeois culture, they just can't stomach what's going on in Russia, for they believe, and have set it down in all the books, that human nature is bad—and a better social order is impossible because human beings are like that and you just can't change them.

### The World Would Shake

The kept economists and psychologists have put this philosophy of doom very beautifully, the schools and newspapers have echoed it very profitably. The psychologists have said—Man's instincts are for sadism, war, competition, destruction, so what do you expect? And the capitalist economists have been

singing a very profitable song of doom for decades and decades, unchanging, unvarying—"Just take private profits out of business, remove the incentive for private gain, and mankind will sit down," they said, "the whole economic world would totter, shake, shiver, and collapse and crash in ruins."

Even people who should know better, our cousins and uncles and aunts and even our grandfathers, repeat it all verbatim—"You can't change human nature." They shake their heads, compress their lips and look pleased. Occasionally a scissorbill will preen himself on this particular bit of upper-class philosophy and look especially pleased.

Well, just the reverse of all this has come to pass in Russia and all these guys ought to be confounded, troubled and grieved and upset, not knowing what to make of it. Some of them I guess are. It must be tough. Just the one country in the world that ought to collapse, the country where the workers and farmers have taken power and eliminated private profits, is the one country where everyone is working and producing more and more wealth all round.

Lords and ladies, it must indeed be tough, and how will you explain it?

### Shocking Things In Russia

It's interesting to see the difference between the elections in the Soviet Union where they're building socialism and changing human nature and the elections in the United States where Roosevelt is trying to persuade the industrialists to be a little kinder to the working classes. The differences are quite shocking.

The Russians are having their elections now and any person who takes profit from the toil of others or who lives from incomes earned by others can't vote. The Soviet Constitution, written after the revolution, takes care of that. Most of the candidates in the American election just past couldn't vote in Russia, let alone run for office.

Of course the excluded categories may qualify and even stand for election to public offices, by just "engaging in productive and socially useful labor during the course of five years", or by "becoming members of trade unions" and being recommended as being socially useful citizens, friends and not enemies of the workers.

What a difference, lords and ladies!

A new economy, a new psychology is being born—and the kept-men with their upper class philosophy of doom are being given the lie quite beautifully. But all you see in the newspapers these days is that some more new moves are being made to "speed recovery" in America.

## Students Hit At Fascism In Schools

By SAM SOLOV

The visiting Fascist students have returned to Italy. There they were greeted as the triumphant bearers of Mussolini's gospel coming home after a successful tour of the American colleges. Not a word, of course, is said about those thousands of American students who protested against Fascism and the official receptions accorded the emissaries of Fascist propaganda.

At City College twenty-one students remain expelled and many more suspended because of their participation in the anti-Fascist demonstration which was held on the campus October 9 upon the arrival of the Fascist students. The faculty, cowed by President Robinson, best known for his umbrella-wielding tactics of last year, voted on November 14 for these expulsions and suspensions. Many on the faculty voted against imposing these disciplinary measures. Only a few members of the teaching staff, however, have had the courage to openly state their opposition to the reactionary policies of Pres. Robinson.

Robinson's incompetence and illiberalism have been manifested on numerous occasions. The sentiment against him, which exists not only among the students but also in the faculty, was crystallized early this month when students picketed his home, asking that he be ousted. These students were among those who were later expelled.

### Hoist Strike Banner

A strike called by the radical student groups on the campus, Nov. 20, received the support of several hundred students. The actual participation of the student body must not be confused with the attendance at the strike meeting on the campus. A large banner was hoisted to the top of the flagpole and there it waved for hours with its inscription "STRIKE", announcing to the world the students' activity. The three students who were arrested because of the strike were later released for lack of evidence.

On November 22 another meeting was held in Great Hall on the City College campus. Several thousand students attended and unanimously adopted a resolution asking the faculty to reinstate the expelled and suspended students. A few members of the faculty also were present. Professor Morris R. Cohen, noted member of the philosophy department, combined an admonition to the militant students with the statement that he was opposed to the harsh disciplinary measures administered by the faculty.

### Student Tendency Spreads

This activity on the part of the City College students typifies a tendency which is becoming more and more common throughout the American student world. Recently the students at Yale University initiated vigorous anti-Fascist activity. But a short time ago the students at Brooklyn College joined with the strikers at a local restaurant and forced the owner to accede to the strikers' demands. This is a notable instance of the possibilities inherent in worker-student cooperation.

At the University of California in Los Angeles a fight is being waged by the student body for a student open forum. Dr. Moore, Provost of the University, has prohibited the establishment of such a forum. He has insisted that all student functions be directly controlled by the administration. A few students have already been suspended. This has, however, resulted in no loss of spirit on the part of the student body. The fight still goes on as strong as ever.

It may be expected that an increasing number of students will be drawn into the struggle against Fascism and the fight for academic freedom.

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