

LABOR ACTION

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

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Price 5 Cents

NRA Fails To Raise Wage Rate

Poverty Standard Set By Textile Code Becomes Rule

BOSSSES SLIP IN JOKERS

War Propaganda Methods Used To Create False Patriotism

By RAYMOND ROSENTHAL

The attempts of President Roosevelt and his "Big Business" advisers to lay the spectre of unemployment and simultaneously rehabilitate the same profit system which brought about the present crisis have proven doomed to ultimate failure. The main purpose of the N.R.A., to increase the purchasing power of the broad masses, has resulted in a poverty scale of wages wherever the new codes have been put into effect. The Blanket Code's average minimum wage of \$14.50 is far below the standard required for a decent living wage.

Professor Nystrom of Columbia has summarized the studies of statisticians in the field of the minimum budget necessary to keep a worker's family in health and efficiency. Bringing his figures up to the present living cost level, he finds the minimum health budget for the average workers' family amounts to \$35.70.

The Textile Code

The code of the Textile Industry hailed as a criterion by the various code-makers now in session sets a poverty precedent of \$12 and \$13. This code, the first "fair competition" plan accepted by General Johnson, was hedged about by so many reservations, exemptions, and exceptions that it was greeted with a mass labor protest which rapidly approached the proportions of a general strike in this industry. The code leaves many loopholes such as not taking up the outside workers, apprentices, etc., and under which the bosses will lower wages, thus in practice wiping out even the miserable standard set. It especially operates against the negro workers in the South.

Recent developments have exposed the fact that bosses are forcing their workers to accept the classification of apprentice and receive a wage lower than the supposedly iron-tight minimum wage. The workers have complained against the vicious system of stretching-out machinery and speeding-up which increases production, but does not add to the buying power of the worker or solve the unemployment problem. Skilled workers have struck because the boss, in order to balance his books, has not increased the higher paid worker's wage proportionately.

The 40 hour week initiated in this industry can only provide for (Continued on Page 2)

Mexican Patriot Receives Medal; Needed Bread

MEXICO CITY.—Vicente Esqueda, unemployed patriot, walked 265 miles from his home in Vera Cruz, accompanied by his wife and four children, to receive the "nation's gratitude" for defending his police post against the Americans during the occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914. The War Ministry had summoned him here to receive the honor.

When the ceremony was over, Esqueda fingered the silver medal that had been pinned on his breast and the diploma that had been placed in his hands, and commented sadly: "I cannot feed my family with these."

Strike Truce Forces Men Into Mines

Frick Co. Breaks Word; Miners Refused Check Weighmen

Uniontown, Pa.—The battle for union recognition still rages in the soft coal fields of this section although at the present writing the militancy of the miners has been forced underground by the no-strike edict issued from Washington. The bugaboo of patriotism has been used as a club by the operators and public authorities with which to drive the workers back to the mines when other methods to break the strike had failed. The misleading statements of the capitalist press has fomented a mob hysteria intended to brand striking miners as "slackers" and "unpatriotic."

John L. Lewis, president of U.M.W.A., made a number of attempts to conciliate the miner and the operator, but the miner's inevitable reply is the ominous question, "How much?" Few miners can forget the strike of 1922, when they claim Lewis sold them out. After Lewis' repeated failures to "settle" the strike, Gen. Johnson, Gov. Pinchot, and Pres. Roosevelt got into a huddle, and a specious patriotic appeal was the result. For the moment the Administration and the A.F. of L. can rest easily, but if the miner's demands are not granted they are in for a long and bitter fight.

The miner's worst fears concerning the truce framed by Gen. Johnson and the Frick Coke Co. have already been realized. This company, a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel Corp., has broken its word as soon as the miners began to return to the mines. Despite the agreement, they have discriminated against miners active in the strike. Also, they have refused to comply with the miner's request for free election of check weighmen. The miners are skeptical about the labor mediation board appointed to arbitrate the strike, for it is in the main composed of outright reactionaries and friends of company unionism.

We Must Have More Help

LABOR ACTION was forced to skip the August 1 issue for lack of funds, and this issue comes to you a week late.

On the anniversary of the beginning of the last World slaughter and in the midst of feverish preparations for the next, our paper had to drop out of the fight.

It could not help the unemployed in their battles for more relief and against evictions.

It could not help the miners, steel workers and textile workers struggling under NIRA for higher wages.

WORKERS, LABOR ACTIONISTS, we are in the midst of the most decisive struggle in which the American workers have ever engaged.

This vicious profit system, which is starving and maiming workers and poor farmers by the millions, is in a death crisis.

Its doctors, the liberals and the college professors, and its beneficiaries, the bankers, gamblers, politicians, racketeers and their prostitute apologists are in a terrible dilemma. They are scared. And in their fear they are devising new oppressions, new terrors to stem the rising tide of revolt which they know will sweep them and their damnable system into the dust bin of history.

Now is our opportunity. Now we must organize. Now, we, the workers and farmers of America, must unite before it is too late.

But we must have our own papers to keep us informed of what our enemies are planning.

And we cannot have our own papers unless we support them. The bankers will not support LABOR ACTION. The rich people will not support it. The gamblers and racketeers will not support it.

ONLY WE THE WORKERS WILL SUPPORT IT.

That means that we must buy it; get subscriptions for it; sell it; sacrifice for it.

SHALL WE HAVE OUR OWN PAPER?

Then rush money—pennies, nickles, dimes, dollars, to THE SAVE LABOR ACTION FUND, 128 East 16th Street, New York City.

Utility Union Will Enter Code Hearing

NEW YORK.—The Brotherhood of Edison Employees, now recognized as the sole workers' union functioning in the power and light industry, in a telegram sent to Recovery Administrator Hugh S. Johnson sharply denounced the Consolidated Gas and Electric Company of Baltimore and the Hartford Electric Company for the stand they have taken in refusing to abide by any code that might be adopted for the governing of the utility industry. The telegram said in part:

"The Brotherhood of Edison Employees challenges the sincerity of the Edison Electric Institute in pledging cooperation and reiterates its recent request that the power industry be subjected to a compulsory code.

"The forty four week proposed by the institute is a travesty on the recovery program and will re-employ only one-fifth of the 100,000 employees laid off. The brotherhood urges a compulsory code with a thirty-five hour week.

"It is not known that a single company in this industry has submitted to the blanket code and it should be made clear that the electrical symbol in the left tail of the blue cage does not symbolize a place of honor in the recovery program for the recalcitrant though prosperous power industry."

Officers of the brotherhood state that new branches have been formed in the past week in Springfield, Mass., and Los Angeles, Calif.

The Brotherhood of Edison Employees have been assured of representation by the Recovery Administration, when the utility code is ready for a public hearing.

Will Organize Children

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Believing that the children have just as much right to be organized as their parents, the Allegheny County Unemployed League have adopted a program of revolutionary education for children.

One night a week the children come together. Labor songs, games and stories that lead to class conscious questioning are in order. Here, one night a week at least, the children forget that "every mother's son has a chance to be president" and learn instead why their parents are forced to use food orders in place of money.

Food Workers Arm Against NRA Rules

By LARRY COHEN

NEW YORK.—"In accordance with the Code of Hotel and Restaurant Owners," said a notice posted recently in the Horn and Hardart Commissary where the cooking and baking for the chain is done, "hours will be reduced from 57 to 54, but every employee will be asked to work three hours a week extra without pay."

In answer to this incredible rapaciousness and gall, the Food Factory workers, long the most exploited in the industry, are beginning to wake up and join the Union. "Recently," says General Organizer Gund of the Amalgamated Food Workers, "groups of workers have come to our office almost daily, and we have formed at least one new shop committee a week. The past few weeks have seen the workers of Cushman's 59, 72 and 165th Street Plants falling in line."

The bosses are fighting back. Local 3 of the Amalgamated reports:

"Several big employers have already called in the police in an effort to prevent the organization of their workers. Boss Lederman of 5217 Church Avenue, Brooklyn, is attempting to get away with the help of Bakers Local 79; A. F. of L. Agent Lowenthal of Local 79, who likes to call himself a Communist, is attempting to provide scabs for this boss."

At Duggan Brothers the workers began to talk unionism, so the last wage cut, which had cost some workers as much as \$6 was rescinded. The firm thinks in this way to show that there is no need to join the union, but the workers draw a different lesson.

The Union is extending its activities to help still another group. "To tens of thousands of hotel workers and domestic servants," says Organizer Gund, "National Recovery, so-called, has meant just the same old grind of long hours and low pay." Many of them are now ready to organize and they are turning to the Amalgamated because, being an industrial union, it brings together all workers in a particular establishment rather than dividing them up into craft locals which enable the boss to play them off against each other." The address of the Amalgamated is 799 Broadway, N.Y.C.

A.J. Muste Asked By Auto Workers To Represent Them

DETROIT.—The American Industrial Association, the union of automobile workers formed as the outgrowth of the Briggs Strike last spring, have appointed James Kay, George Cornell, Richard Childs, and A. J. Muste to present their demands at the hearing to be held on the automobile code.

The union, which represents 6000 workers, is demanding a 30 hour week, abolition of piece work, a \$30 minimum wage, the right to organize and the elimination of the labor spy system.

At a mass meeting held here over 1000 workers cheered Walter Peck when he presented the proposed code for their endorsement.

Reds Foiled; Knitters Get Wage Raise

Union Workers Make Same Wage As Open Shoppers When Employers Give

By J. T. GODBER

NEW YORK.—Believe it or not Company Unionism always rewards its own. Yes, it's sad but true. All these years "the destructive radicals" have been preaching that company unionism only results in wage cuts for the workers and profits for the bosses. Now the Fall Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers have gone and thrown a monkey wrench into the works.

Some years ago the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers began to take voluntary wage cuts on the appeal of union officials who pictured the dreadful calamity that would befall the kind hearted manufacturer if the union didn't come to his rescue. The workers took one wage cut and then they took another wage cut and so it went. Just like a dog chasing his tail, they never got anywhere.

Rates began to go down every year. Hosiery that used to pay the worker \$1.25 a dozen eventually dropped to 50 1/2 cents per dozen. Things looked sort of dark to say the least. Knitters first lost their automobiles and then they lost their homes. In fact they lost so much, many of them joined the police force.

Then came the NRA with its "we do our part." Open shops began to strike and began to go back to work for rates about 25 per cent above the rates being paid by the union manufacturers for the same work. Something had to be done. The union workers couldn't strike. They had signed a contract the last time they took a wage cut that they wouldn't strike for a year.

Then came the manufacturers to the rescue of the union. In a letter addressed to William Smith, general secretary for the union, the manufacturers informed him that they would be glad to increase the rates now paid by 25 per cent. At last the day was saved. The union mills are now making as much as the open shops. The union states in its official journal: "The 25 per cent is a partial restoration of wage cuts taken by the hosiery workers since 1929. It will enable them to make a slightly higher week rate, due to the reduction in hours down to 40 per week."

After thinking it all over perhaps the radicals might be right after all. Prior to 1929 the workers made a \$1.25 a dozen now they make 60 1/2 cents.

For Soviet Recognition

EVERETT, Wash.—A resolution approving the recognition of Soviet Russia was unanimously passed at the meeting of the Everett Central Labor Council. The resolution pointed out that Italy, Germany and other capitalist states were under a dictatorship and it was inconceivable that an exception should be made of Russia on that account.

17 Relief Strikers Arrested In South To Be Tried Aug. 22

High Point, N. C., Police, To Break Workers' Solidarity, Tell Negroes They May Not Organize with Whites

BULLETIN

HIGH POINT, N. C.—Announcement has just been made that all unemployed workers in this district will be paid 30 cents an hour on all relief work projects. When the strikers first asked for 25 cents they were insulted and their leaders arrested. This is just another proof that it is only by organizing and fighting that workers can hope to gain anything under capitalism.

The police are attempting to scare the Negroes now. They are spreading rumors that there is a law against Negroes and whites organizing into the same union. Apparently, to the manufacturers and the public officials a race riot would be much preferable to workers having sense enough to organize together to protect their common interests.

HIGH POINT, N. C. — Charged with almost every crime in the calendar, including murder, assault with intent to kill, inciting to riot and vagrancy, Lawrence Hogan, Beniah Carter, Hazel Dawson, William Presswood and I. M. Ritchie, along with 12 of the most militant unemployed workers of High Point, North Carolina, were arrested and thrown into jail July 29. Five of them are now out, under bail of \$2,000 each. The rest are still in jail, the court demanding the outrageous bail of \$1,000 for each person.

They are now awaiting a jury trial August 22. The arrests were made in connection with a strike of 500 unemployed relief workers which has been in progress since July 22, and which the local relief officials and chamber of commerce have been desperately trying to break.

Second Strike

This is the second strike of the unemployed workers in High Point this year. The first strike occurred in March when the relief board made a 20 per cent cut in relief work pay. At that time the head of a family of five who had been getting 3 days work a week at the rate of \$1 for an eight hour day was cut to 80 cents. During this strike, in which the heads of more than 1,000 families participated, two of the active workers were kidnapped, brutally beaten, and given castor oil when they refused to double-cross their comrades.

In spite of this brutality on the part of the public officials, however, the strike was partly won and the unemployed secured the promise to representation on the welfare board by a white and colored worker, reduction in the number of hours of work and recognition of the grievance committee of their organization, The Unemployed League of High Point.

Public Officials Break Promises

The present strike is a resumption (Continued on Page 2)

Arrested or Not Arrested

The high spot in the league's campaign came on August 9, when Bailiff William Davis declared that 200 demonstrators who refused to allow him to move furniture were under arrest. At the instigation of President William R. Truax and Arnold Johnson, the demonstrators (Continued on Page 2)

Unemployed Too Lazy", Say Robber Politicians

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—"Unemployed workers are too lazy to work" is the slanderous charge being hurled at the striking relief workers of Smith Township by the Youngstown papers. These workers were asked by the relief board, composed of Republican and Democratic politicians, to sign a contract that they would work for all relief received.

"What this contract actually means," says Grace Mettee, local Unemployed League leader, "is that anything the workers need is to be issued to them by the agents at any price the agents see fit to charge and the workers will work for it without ever knowing how much it cost.

"For example, should a worker need a pair of shoes, these shoes will be issued at one of the stores designated by the agents. They would not be of the worker's choosing but would be a style and quality selected before hand by the agents. Also the price would be whatever the agents and dealer agreed upon. Should the worker wish to economize a little, and get a pair of socks and a cheaper pair of shoes, it would not be permitted. Thus, even though the shoes are not of his own choosing, under the contract he will have to work out their price at the stipulated wage.

"The relief officials further insult the workers by claiming that workers are incompetent to buy for themselves—they need the 'competent,' dirty, robbing politicians to spend their money for them."

Woodin Withdrawal Rumored; Credit Crisis Seen Ahead

WASHINGTON, D. C. (Special to Labor Action) — Speculation is rife here, and also in Wall street banking houses, that Secretary of the Treasury Woodin, despite official denials, will retire from office before the end of September.

Those few individuals who are supposed to be close to the administration are predicting that Senator Couzens who put twenty-five hundred dollars into the Ford Motor Company and emerged some years later with thirty million, will succeed Secretary Woodin.

Meanwhile, a government credit crisis is rapidly looming ahead. The national deficit continues to mount higher and higher. Revenue for this fiscal year is estimated to be around three billion dollars; plans already adopted by the administration call for the expenditure of

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(Continued from Page 1)

40,000 additional jobs. It will require at least a 35 hour week to absorb the unemployed in the Textile Industry. The code proposes a 40 hour week, but it does not guarantee 40 hours of employment per week. This in reality negates any fixed minimum wage.

Steel and Coal

The same faults and contradictions found in the Textile Code have cropped up in all the other industrial codes so far proposed. The main bone of contention in the steel and coal codes has been the "company union" clause in the respective plans proposed for these industries.

The open shop and fake union policy of the Steel and Soft Coal Bosses is a brazen defiance of the Federal Law which sanctions the worker's right to organize into bona fide labor unions and bargain collectively. The Steel Code provides a minimum wage scale which ranges from 40 cents an hour down to as low as 20 cents. The working hours are to be an average of 40 a week "in so far as practicable," a qualifying phrase that can be distorted to mean anything, especially when the code further states that "due regard for the varying demands of consuming and producing industries for the respective products shall govern application of the 40 hour week."

The ballyhoo of increased wages—mounting to 15 per cent—in numerous steel mills is blasted when we learn that the workers have been cut 25 per cent within the last two years. Recently Secretary of Labor, Francis Perkins, held a meeting at Homestead and learned that the employees of the U. S. Steel Company favored a 30 hour week, unemployment insurance, and a 65 2/3 cents minimum wage.

The soft code presented by the coal pirates will allow a 44 hour week, "company unions," and an open shop policy. The miners demand a 30 hour week which they claim will be necessary if the slack of unemployment is to be taken up. The fight between the mine owners and the workers has placed the western part of the state of Pennsylvania under virtual martial law. The bosses have brought the customary gangster and terroristic tactics into play. As a result of the open warfare, a strike "moratorium" has been declared through the united efforts of A. F. of L. leaders, Governor Pinchot and the Administration. The use of fancy words has become a popular weapon of the Administration to dispell all uncomfortable situations. The miners have not been taken in so easily, and have received promises of fair union practice and an unprejudiced hearing of their demands before returning to the mines. However, in that the autocratic and corrupt John L. Lewis is given authority to represent them it is doubtful that the administrations' word will mean much for the miners.

Electrical Code

The original code proposed by the Electrical Institute has been changed greatly because of the mass pressure brought to bear upon the employers by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The proposed work week of 36 hours has been cut down to 30 hours, until September 1, when the 40 hour week will go into effect. The minimum wage of 40 cents an hour although too low had only held good in cities of 200,000 population and over. The giant electrical corporations, the General Electric and Westinghouse Companies, have the majority of their plants in cities less than 200,000 population. This clause was taken out of the code after the enormous loophole was exposed by labor representatives. The exemptions applying to casual and incidental labor serve to cut under the minimum wage, "not less than 80 per cent."

The codes of the ship-building, lumber, and silk industries have been accepted with astonishing rapidity. Their elaborate legal quibbles all simmer down to the same thing, "company unionism." Evidently, the NIRA will serve as a stronghold for this malicious practice. The exemptions tacked on the tail-end of these codes destroy any superficial benefit that

Celebrate Dictator's Fall



Here is one scene of the mad celebration that filled Havana's streets when it was learned that Dictator Machado has sneaked away and that one step in the Cuban revolution was taken. The Cubans celebrated for two days, then started checking up on just what they had obtained so far. Rumbblings of further revolt are heard.

Ohio Jobless Win Fight for Homes

(Continued from Page 1)

refused to submit to arrest, and the police in turn refused to heed the bailiff's plea to take them into custody. The result was that when the bailiff moved out the furniture, the "arrested" crowd put it back in the house. All Columbus laughed at the discomfiture of the authorities, and the newspapers ran amusing stories of the 200 "arrested" persons who "are still at large."

The current decision of the city to make rent payments for the unemployed is in direct contradiction to the official statement of state and city authorities in mid-July. The workers were supposed to have obtained.

The majority of the codes thus far proposed and accepted have been prepared by the employers, and only at a final hearing does labor get a chance to be represented. The ship-building code hearing (a code which even violates the low standards set by the Blanket Code) is typical of the underhand methods used in hurrying a code through before labor has a chance to protest. This Code was formulated by the bosses. The labor leaders proceeded to study it and make up their case. When the day of the hearing rolled around, the labor men were informed that the first code had been withdrawn and an entirely new code (filled, by the way, with bogus clauses) was up for acceptance. But the hearing was held despite the new condition of the code. The word-twisting lawyers hired by Big Industry have many such ruses to insure the sanctity of more and bigger profits.

Many exemptions and weasel words riddle the codes with countless loopholes providing easy avenues of escape for the crafty boss. Within the limitations of the crazy profit system it is impossible to set up a sensibly planned system.

A gigantic propaganda machine has been set in motion; radios, the capitalist press, the camp-followers of capitalism in college, church, and school, the defenders of the status quo are all outdoing one another in praises of the "bloodless revolution." The drive to paralyze public thought and criticism, placing the masses under the hypnotic influence of patriotism has been likened by the not-too-cautious General Johnson to the gross lies circulated in America before the last Great Slaughter.

General Johnson is quoted as saying, "I believe we can create a public opinion as strong as any war psychology. We did it with the draft law. When we started there was only a thin strip of the eastern seaboard that wanted war, but in a short time we had the entire country wholeheartedly supporting the war."

If this psychology of blind, unreasoning patriotism captures the masses, the only hope of keeping the boss in line by united labor action will be lost. The right to strike will be as seriously threatened in the face of mob opinion as the right to live was during the late World War.

which precipitated the eviction fight. At that time it was announced that rents would no longer be paid, as the last session of the legislature had passed a law doing away with that practice.

3,000 Evictions Halted by League

Landlords immediately began to serve eviction notices, and 3,000 families were to be put out into the streets within 60 days, the city officials stated. The Ohio Unemployed League and the Franklin County League affiliated with it took prompt steps to halt evictions, putting Louis F. Budenz in charge of campaign tactics and naming a committee headed by James B. Van Meter to take special charge of the work.

The first test came on July 21, when bailiffs from the municipal court, aided by police, attempted to evict a family, the father of which was a chronic invalid and the mother permanently crippled. Two hundred league members, led by Truax and Budenz prevented the bailiffs from going through with their program. The municipal court officials made a number of further efforts to evict without success, the crowds growing in numbers at each eviction.

On July 25, the bailiffs with a force of 26 uniformed policemen, five plainclothesmen and a patrol wagon, made a desperate effort to put furniture out into the streets. They were stopped, however, by several hundred singing demonstrators, the men on the outside of the house and the women inside sitting on the furniture. After a deadlock of several hours, the authorities gave up, and an eviction trace was declared.

This was broken in a few days, leading to the amusing battle of August 9th. Thereafter, the eviction attempts were drowned in laughter.

Blue Eagle Won't Scream Until Fall

PHILADELPHIA.—Three hundred workers stormed the fashionable Chestnut street shopping center here, last week. Allens' women wear shop, had inserted an advertisement asking for salesgirls and this was the result.

A nice big blue eagle adorns this store and one girl was heard to exclaim: "This guy Roosevelt is O.K., if I get this job I'm going to buy that swell dress in the window."

When the three hundred girls got inside the store, however, they were told that they might fill out application blanks. No help was needed now, but something might turn up in the fall.

Some of the girls claim that the same situation prevails in all the department stores. A few are being hired to give some sort of confidence in the "we do our part" that appears under the blue eagle, but to one who walks through the shopping center before nine a.m. and day after day sees the same crowd of girls hunting for jobs, the conclusion is soon reached that up to date very few, if any, have secured them.

17 Relief Strikers Arrested in South

(Continued from Page 1)

tion of the March fight. Not having had experience with the manner in which public officials keep their promises the unemployed were too trusting and permitted their organization to weaken. All the promises made to them in March by the public officials were broken and the conditions of the unemployed became increasingly worse. Their representatives on the welfare board had no voice, their grievance committee was insulted and ignored, a speed-up system on relief work was introduced (a foreman stood by with a watch and noted the time it took for a worker to deliver a wheelbarrow of dirt). In addition the prices on certain staple foods doubled. To support a family of five on \$2.40 a week was simply impossible. "We might as well starve striking," declared the workers, "as to starve working."

Workers Call Upon CPLA-ers for Help

Confronted with these problems the unemployed workers called upon Beniah Carter, Hazel Dawson, and Bill Presswood, local Labor Actionists, who had helped them in their first struggle. The High Point Unemployed League was revived, the unemployed workers, now about three-fourths of them Negroes, as many of the white workers had gone to forest camps or secured jobs, joined up enthusiastically. Through their League they presented demands to the relief board for 25 cents an hour for an 8 hour day with a minimum of 4 days work a week and elimination of the speed-up. When their demands were completely ignored and their representatives insulted they called a strike.

The struggle of the unemployed workers in High Point is very closely linked with the struggle of the employed workers, and back of the present arrests is a concerted effort by the open shop employers of North Carolina to drive all honest militant labor organizers out of the state.

Bosses Out to Get Hogan

Larry Hogan, who was framed and sent to the chain gang for his activities in the historic Marion strike of 1929 in which six workers were murdered by deputized thugs and who is today organizer for the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers in High Point, has for years been a thorn in the side of the open shop manufacturers of North Carolina. That they are out to get him is no longer kept a secret. During the past year, leader after leader, unsigned, scurrilously attacking Hogan for being an ex-convict, a radical, an atheist and in the hire of foreign agents have been distributed in High Point.

Additional evidence that these arrests are part of an organized drive against militant workers, and thus against unionism in North Carolina, is contained in the fact that Hogan and Ritchie have not taken an active part in this recent strike of the unemployed. Yet

Negro and White Jobless Fight For Organization

By HAZEL DAWSON

A BLACK man's stomach hurts when he is hungry in just the same way that a white man's stomach hurts when he is hungry, and a black man's baby cries when it is hungry just as does a white man's baby when it is hungry." This was the battle cry that went out at the formation of the High Point Unemployed League in March of this year. The principle underlying that cry has been the basis upon which Negro and white unemployed have been organized together upon an equal footing in Unemployed Leagues in North Carolina.

The fact that in the Unemployed League there has been no discrimination whatsoever against the Negro; the fact that the white man accepted the Negro upon an equal basis in a matter of fact manner in this, almost the first attempt in the South to organize white and colored together, is proof that after all it takes economic pressure to pull the blinds from workers' eyes, and by so doing remove all prejudices and racial discriminations.

Negroes Are Good Fighters

Leaders of the unemployed in North Carolina, from the beginning of organizational efforts, have refused to permit racial prejudices to become an issue. Everyone just accepted the reality that both white and colored were oppressed and hungry and if they would win their battle for food and rights, they must fight together. In many instances the white unemployed have been pushed forward by the colored, who mean business when they go out to fight. However, the Negroes, because they have always been accustomed to being forced to do so, expect the whites to take

the lead. When the white people fall down in leading and pushing forward, the Negroes become sceptical and severely reprimand them.

Since many white unemployed have been sent to forestry camps and some have found places back in industry, the majority of relief project workers in North Carolina today are Negroes, and as is customary in the treatment of the Negro, they are treated worse by relief officials than are the white unemployed.

The Negro is intensely religious and his religion must be dealt with tactfully. To have a room packed with Negroes singing spirituals at the top of their voices with shouting and feet tapping time, is another way to put "the fear of God" in the hearts of relief officials who are asked to enter such a room to

give an expression of certain of their actions.

A Vital Problem

Now this is the vital problem in organizing White and Negro together: The Negro of the South has been the under-dog so long; he has had little opportunity for education; he is simple and ignorant. He expects the white man to lead him. He puts blind faith in his white leaders; he worships them as long as he thinks they are leading him aright, for it is so new to the Negro for the white man to be fighting for and with him. But the Negro has been misled and double-crossed so many times by the white man that this blind faith and worship may turn over night to scepticism and distrust. Since the Southern Negro is simple and very nearly ignorant of any phase of the labor movement, it is hard for him to understand that strikes which make him suffer and go to jail, and which bring him little immediate gain, may in reality be a big victory won for the cause of labor.

Hot Air Artists Waste U.M.W.A. Meet Bogus Code Foisted Upon Miners

By Henry Flury

AFTER a month spent in investigating labor conditions in West Virginia, I attended a convention of the United Mine Workers in Charleston, July 23, called to ratify the code. Four states were represented—West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, and eastern Kentucky. Approximately 5,000 miners attempted to jam themselves into a stuffy national guard armory, rented for \$125. An open air meeting, when the thermometer registered near a hundred degrees, would have cost nothing and would have afforded a modicum of comfort to the sweltering delegates. Also, a stadium seating 12,000 could easily have been obtained. I was wondering who was getting a rake-off or commission for the hall rental; a rather enormous price for miners who work one or two days a week at starvation wages.

The Sky Pilot

A sky pilot, Reverend Jones, opened the convention with an invocation to the Almighty who had permitted these mine wage-slaves to be mercilessly exploited. He emphasized thankfulness and joy. No doubt he had been eating regularly and would receive a generous "honorarium" for his services. The mayor, De Van, showed his contempt for the miners by going off on a fishing trip and sending one of his office boys, a lawyer, the City Solicitor to pinch hit for him. If it had been a gathering of bankers or coal operators, he would have broken his neck to be there. Van A. Bittner, U. M. W. Commissioner, high paid official in five union districts, presided. He made a bombastic, spread eagle speech that lasted about one and a half hours. It was full of platitudes and crocodile tears for the sufferings of the poor miners. He could visualize their plight very easily as he always stops at the swankiest hotel in town—the Daniel Boone, while those who arrived in trucks the night before slept in them on the city streets.

The Politician

Bittner was followed by a defeated Republican candidate for Governor, Tom Townsend, who, I was told later, had extracted \$85,000 in ten years from starving miners as

their attorney, helping them to lose strikes through tricky "negotiations" and accept low wages. Also he held a state office at about \$500 a month and was conspicuous by his absence from that office. In addition, he had a lucrative private legal practice. The platform and the occasion gave this scoundrel an ideal sounding board for his political ambitions.

John L. Lewis

The whole convention was purely a perfunctory performance. The coal operators or mine bosses had already given John Lewis the code or scale they would pay. He, in turn, like an obedient office boy or lackey of the operators put this up to Washington as the U.M.W. "demands."

Instead of getting down to business and discussing the code, the alleged purpose of the convention, the whole morning was wasted by politicians grinding their own axes. Indeed, it was apparent that the object was to kill as much time as possible, to let the sweltering and exhausted delegates seek cool retreats in the red-light district where the armory is located, and then, when the proper time came and the faithful and tipped-off few were present, to jam thru the code.

With the flag in the background, politicians on the platform, the crowd of bewildered miners on the floor and in the galleries, demagogic speeches delivered merely to fool the workers, this was a picture typical of a U.M.W.A. convention.

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FOREIGN NOTES By CHARLES LAGNER

France The convention of the Socialist Party held in the latter part of July ended in a split in the organization. The adoption of a resolution condemning the support of the Daladier government by a majority of the Socialist Deputies in the Chamber, resulted in the splitting off of the followers of Renaudel, Marquet and Deas, who issued a manifesto in which they announced the formation of a National Socialist Party. In it they stated that international considerations must be subordinated to the national interests of France. The new party must support a large army and navy. It stands for democratic government, but expresses its approval of the idea of a corporate state. . . . The number of unemployed receiving public support was reduced by approximately 3000 during July to 242,744. . . . Over 3000 young men and women in France are without knowledge of the identity of their fathers. They were born along the firing lines or were left there as infants during the World War. The government has established a bureau to help them trace their paternity.

Germany The first National Socialist-Fascist Congress was held on July 26 in Leipzig. It was opened with a "Hell" for the leaders Mussolini and Hitler. Italian and German Fascists addressed the gathering. In connection with the Congress a plan of action for a "National Socialist-Fascist Cultural Organization" was adopted. . . . The German Medical Journal publishes an article "Jewry in Germany," which demands the legal prohibition of mixed marriages and the extension of sterilization laws to all marriages between Christians and Jews. . . . The Hamburg Police department issued an edict which provides that all sex criminals shall be held in confinement for life after their dismissal from prison, and shall be interned to concentration camps. The sentence may be revoked if the prisoner consents to sterilization. . . . Reichswehr Minister von Blomberg ordered that all members of the Reichswehr who wish to marry must present proof of the Aryan extraction of their intended brides. . . . On August 1 the Cabinet issued a law which states that all laws in the future shall contain the preamble: "The Reich's government (not the Reichstag as heretofore) has enacted the following law: . . . The Central Bureau of the Secret Police announced that the Prussian state has confiscated the property of the National Executive of the Social Democratic Party in Berlin amounting to 9,517,152.55 marks (more than \$2,125,000). Property belonging to the Free Trade Unions amounting to almost \$6,000,000, and to the Co-operatives amounting to almost \$12,000,000 also fell into the hands of the Hitler government. The Social Democrats were too careful to risk this fortune in revolutionary experiments. . . . The inscription on the monument over the grave of Ferdinand Lassale in Breslau which read: "Here lies the mortal remains of Ferdinand Lassale, the thinker and the fighter" was eradicated by the National Socialist city government. . . . Pictures of Socialist or Communist leaders in private homes are henceforth forbidden. . . . The German press publishes the following announcement: "Party comrades and members of auxiliary organizations are hereby warned not to enter Jewish business houses. Violation of this order means immediate expulsion. . . . The trial against the Communists accused of complicity in the Reichstag fire has been set for the beginning of September. The court appointed three Leipzig attorneys, Seuffert, Huber and Dr. Teicher, who even if they should desire to do so, cannot possibly defend the interests of the accused. Foreign lawyers were refused. A Commission of foreign jurists for the investigation of the Reichstag fire will meet in a European capital during the trial. It consists of D. N. Pritt, England; Gaston Bergery, France; Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays, United States; Jimines de l'Asnad, Spain; Dr. Branting, Sweden; Vald Huldlt, Denmark; Francesco Nitti, Italy; Vermeijen, Belgium. . . . The Socialist Workers Party distributed 6000 copies of the Soz. Arbeitzeitung in Berlin on July 13. Only one of the 50 comrades entrusted with the distribution was arrested. . . . During the last two weeks nine Communists were sentenced to death; six of these sentences have

Will NIRA Work— And For Whom?

By A. J. MUSTE

OFTEN nowadays the men and women who do the ballyhoo for the Roosevelt administration's recovery program try to make out that we have just got to believe that Nira will work and bring in the millennium. That in itself is a bad thing. Who has made Franklin Roosevelt and his advisers all-wise so that it becomes unpatriotic to question their judgment? Has it come to the pass that in Italy you have to believe what Mussolini says, in Germany what Hitler says and in the United States what Roosevelt says? Does the middle initial in the president's name mean that he is Franklin Dictator Roosevelt?

As a matter of fact, the President's own closest advisers often use expressions which indicate that they are none too sure themselves. When, therefore, they tell us we have got to believe in the miracle it looks as though they were whistling to keep up their courage. General Johnson says that unless they bring purchasing power up, and so on, there will soon be another big crash, "and the country can't stand another bad crash."

Do Liberals and Professors Never Learn Anything? He is right about that. And if Nira is the wrong way out, the sooner the masses know it the better. It would increase our respect for human nature, by the way, if a few liberals, economists, intellectuals and publicists would maintain a critical attitude toward this whole Nira business. Have they already forgotten what shameful asses they made of themselves by climbing on the Wilsonian bandwagon and helping to lead mankind into the shambles of the World War? There are reasons to doubt whether Nira will work even temporarily, whether there may not soon come that crash to which General Johnson referred. As this is written, the business index is falling. Steel production and output of electric power are down. A very shaky situation exists on the wheat and corn market. Rules have been passed which forbid traders to lower prices more than so many points per day. Each day the price falls as low as it is permitted to. This matter of prices for farm commodities is one of the most critical, as everybody knows. Yet the cautious and able financial editor of the New York Times says: "No one really believes that the problem of commodity prices has been solved." The farmer is still standing on mighty thin ice.

What Does Inflation Mean? Sooner or later, if prices threaten to fall, the Roosevelt Administration will resort to open inflation as it has already resorted to disguised inflation. What does this mean in plain language? That the dollar will be cheapened and prices will go up. Furthermore experience of other countries with inflation has been that it can't be controlled. Prices go sky-rocketing. Wages never sky-rocket so enthusiastically. So people cannot buy. Misery and starvation become widespread. That may come. It will come unless other measures are taken to really put money into the hands of the masses. The Roosevelt administration has not given the consumers and workers any guarantee against the sky-rocketing of prices. Mrs. Roosevelt sagely observes in a press conference that consumers must learn to protect themselves! When you go to a store and the price is too high, go somewhere else to buy and report the first store to dear old Nira! She knows that the in-

been carried out. Other Communists were sentenced together to 349 years in prison and 65 years in jail. . . . In the same two weeks 143 Communists and 9 members of the Socialist Workers Party were indicted on charges of high treason. . . . Great Britain The National Council comprising representatives of the Trade Union Congress, the Labor Party, and the parliamentary group of the Labor Party inaugurated a campaign for a fund for the victims of German National Socialism. The money collected was turned over to the Matteotti Fund. . . . The independent Labor Party of Great Britain arranged a propaganda

dividual consumer is helpless in these matters. Suppose there is only one store in your neighborhood or all stores charge the same price, which has been known to happen! The administration should take scientific measures to find out what fair prices are, but Prof. Wm. F. Ogburn, the great sociologist of the University of Chicago, recently resigned his position with Nira because the Board supposed to protect consumers and headed by a social welfare daughter of old E. H. Harriman, the railroad buccaneer, refused to do just that thing! In spite of all the talk, money is not being put into the workers' pockets. Some men are taken back to work. Millions are still unemployed. In some cases wages are raised, but in no case to such an extent as to make any degree of prosperity possible. The govern-

ment has laid off workers and cut wages. People are being taken off the relief rolls. There is all sorts of bootlegging by employers under the code, such as speed-up, putting on "learners" instead of experienced workers so as to cut down the wage bill. We repeat, then, that the real sore spot—purchasing power for the masses and protection against high prices—has not been covered by Roosevelt. Therefore we have as yet no assurance that a big smash is not soon coming. Suppose We Have A Partial "Recovery"? Suppose, however, that Nira meets with some success and we have a temporary and partial "recovery." It will still remain true that no fundamental evil of the capitalist system has been cured, and that inadequate living standards, slow misery for millions, eventually another depression, perhaps a great war driving millions to slaughter, are our lot. Why are we so sure of that? Let us put it this way. Roosevelt is trying to save and reform the capitalist system, that is, to keep up (Continued on Page 4)

THE N.U.L. FORGES AHEAD

By ANTHONY RAMUGLIA Chairman, Nat'l Unemployed League THE organized unemployed of the United States are not being lulled to passivity in their movement, by the hope of possible employment that the NRA has raised. The National Unemployed League has mapped out a program of activity aimed to extend organization of the unemployed in every quarter of the country, to unify and co-ordinate the unemployed movement, so that the unemployed may become the moving force in the country not only for a different deal for the workers, but a different deal to deal from. The organized unemployed are skeptical about this latest magical attempt from Washington to provide jobs for the unemployed. We

have good reasons to be dubious. After these past four years of dashed hope, of starvation and misery, our confidence in the masters of our land has been pretty much shaken. We propose to try and do something ourselves, for us and our kind, the workers of America. Besides, getting the unemployed back to work is not all that needs to be done. The curse of unemployment must be banished from society forever. We must have a guarantee that unemployment—want and misery—shall never visit us, nor our children again. Even if we should be returned to work soon. We have yet to hear from any high quarter in the country any word about this all important question. There is great excitement about getting the wheels of

What The Blue Eagle Means To The Workers

(A message from Labor Action to the Workers of America.)

FELLOW-WORKERS! The newspapers, the radio, the pulpit, are talking themselves blue in the face about the Blue Eagle. They are proclaiming that it is your salvation, that under it Labor has a chance such as it has never had before. It is indeed a matter of life and death that you should have a correct understanding of NIRA and the Blue Eagle and should act so that you may not be deceived and weakened, but may promote your welfare and build up your organized strength. Organize! 1. Everywhere in the U. S. today the workers should organize. In the mines, the factories, the stores, the offices, the hotels, you should get together with your fellow-workers, set up committees

which can represent you in dealing with the boss, build unions. The National Recovery Act says categorically that no one shall be discriminated against for joining a union of his own choosing. The right to organize and bargain collectively is supposed to be recognized. However, a law written on a piece of paper means nothing. The law of the land also recognizes the right of men and women to marry, but that doesn't mean that automatically all men and women are actually married. You must act, get together, organize. No one can do that for you. 2. Even if you are not yet regularly organized in a union, you should be represented in Washington when the code for your trade or industry is discussed before the National Recovery Administration. This code sets the minimum wages you are to get and the hours to be worked. It is of vital interest to you. The bosses write these codes, but workers can send representatives to Washington to state their case at hearings held before a code is adopted. If your code imposes low wages and long hours on you and you have not even raised your voice in protest, you ought to kick yourself.

You must have an industrial union which takes in all the workers in your industry. A union which divides workers up is no union! Your union should be all the time an instrument with which you fight for what you are entitled to, not an agency to see to it that you turn out a lot of profits for the boss. Your union must be clean and honest. You will find, if you do not already know it, that a lot of A. F. of L. unions are full of graft, corruption, gangsterism, and tyranny. There is nothing in NIRA which says you must organize in an A. F. of L. union if you do not want to. It may be that your one chance to organize is to organize in the A. F. of L. If so, you should do it with your eyes open. You should certainly not stay unorganized, but you should fight the evils we have mentioned and the leaders who commit or allow them. You must also oppose the domination of your union by any political party. This is something of which the Communists have sometimes been guilty. Fight in every case for including all the workers in your union, regardless of their politics or religion, and for the control of the union by the members. On the other hand, do not let the bosses or the government fool you with talk about your union being "red" or having "reds" in it. It is none of your business to dictate to you about your union. They don't let you dictate about their associations and chambers of commerce. They have ruined the country, these bosses, bankers and their political henchmen. Who are they, to tell us what to do? We Must Not Become Yes-Men 7. Finally, and above all, don't let all the ballyhoo fool you into thinking that Roosevelt is your savior and will do it all for us. Even if his intentions are of the best, such a notion is terribly dangerous. We, the workers, must save ourselves or we are lost. If you organize today simply because Roosevelt says so, are you going to quit your union tomorrow on his say-so? We must not become a horde of yes-men. A lot of the big labor leaders, Green, Woll, John L. Lewis, Hillman, are in one way or another letting the workers get this impression that NIRA is their salvation, that they can "count on Roosevelt," and so on. This is bad. If the workers are now getting concessions it is because the bosses made a mess of things and got scared and had to give some concessions to save their necks. Every concession will be taken back again, as has been the case in the past, unless the workers hang on to it. NIRA has practically forbidden strikes, and that is like cutting off labor's right arm and right leg. It has set up a board of mediation to "settle" labor disputes. That amounts to compulsory arbitration, something which never yet worked out for the benefit of labor. Mediation Board, Capitalists No Friends of Labor The board which is to mediate labor disputes contains such notorious open-shoppers as Teagle of the Standard Oil and Swope of General Electric. On it is also John L. Lewis, the most autocratic czar in the American labor movement. Roosevelt is supposed to be campaigning against racketeering and at the same time makes this man whose one weapon against criticism in his own union has been slugging and gun-play the big figure in the labor movement! Supposedly progressive people like Senator Wagner and Leo Wolman sit side by side with these people and play the game with them. This is not friendship for the workers. Because all this is seldom said to the workers, the Trade Union Conference for United Action to be held in Cleveland on August 26-27, where the real fighters in the American labor movement, the rank and file from the mines, factories, stores and offices, will gather to discuss their problems and to make plans for action, is of tremendous importance. Fellow-workers, NIRA gives you a chance—take it! It does not mean that an angel is going to carry you on his wings to paradise. What you have is a chance to organize and fight—take it! NIRA has not repealed the old law that those who do not stand up for themselves will get it—in the neck!

A 30-Hour Week and \$1 An Hour

3. You must fight for a week of not more than 30 hours and pay of at least a dollar an hour. Anything more than 30 hours is a grand farce. Why? Because if longer hours are worked, not nearly all who are out of work can get jobs. The aim of the administration is supposed to be to put everybody to work so that buying power may be restored. That means 30 hours, certainly no more. Besides, if longer hours are worked and millions are still jobless, your wages will inevitably be kept down by hook or by crook, no matter what the law or the codes say. And you will have to support those who have no jobs. You will have real power when workers are scarce. The only chance of bringing that about is by cutting down the working week. 4. When a code has been adopted by your trade, the boss will probably try to break it—pay lower wages, make you work longer hours, put on "learners" and fire you out, speed you up. Don't let him! Make a noise about it! Walk out on strike! Tear the Blue Eagle off the window! Now Is the Time To Strike! 5. Now is the time to strike! If the boss or some government agency tell you not to strike for recognition of the union, for higher wages, shorter hours, you should laugh at them. NIRA says you may organize and that the country will go completely to the dogs unless you have high wages and short hours. They must surely be joking, therefore, if when you haven't got these things and you strike to get them, they rebuke you! If they say, you must not "hold back production," you can remind them that they have been keeping the factories and mines closed and starving you out for four years now, so why the excitement if you close them down for a couple of weeks? The government is paying farmers for plowing under cotton and wheat and killing nice little pigs, so you are only in the fashion if you shut down the mills occasionally. At least that is not destroying valuable goods. If a labor leader comes to you and tells you not to strike, when you have grievances, you should hate him and treat him as traitors are treated. A labor leader who does not know that the right to strike is more sacred and important than the right to vote, is a fool. One who knows it and yet tries to curb the fighting spirit of the workers, is a criminal. In either case he should be put away. No Company Unions 6. When you form a union, it makes a lot of difference what kind of a union it is. It must be a union under the control of the members, not under the control of the boss or of some autocratic labor leader. When a strike is to be settled, e.g. you must have rank and file on the committee, not leave it to some union official to patch it up with the boss behind closed doors; and the members must vote on every proposition.



The above scene is a sketch made during the World War by a soldier who fought at the front. Millions of workers were strung up like this on barbed wire fences—for what?

They told us that it was to save the world for democracy; that it was the patriotic and moral duty of young workers to slaughter one another, because only in that way could war be ended.

A new World War is in the making again. Billions of dollars are being spent in preparation. And why—because you want to kill your fellow workers? Of course not. It is because the profit takers are looking for new countries to exploit.

But they can't have a war unless we, the workers, are stupid enough to kill one another. If we are sensible, if we organize, when they ask us to kill again it will not be against our fellow workers that we turn our guns—but against the monsters who coin profits out of our blood and misery.

Japan Gaku Sano and Sadachica Nabe-yama, who were arrested three years ago and condemned to life imprisonment, publicly renounced Communism. Their pardon will follow shortly. . . . The owners of the Kyoseikaku Publishing Association decided to destroy more than 10,000 volumes of Communist and Marxist books published by that concern in the past. It has

been converted to National Socialism, which in Japan is much more profitable than Socialism or Communism. . . . Three Koreans who had conspired against the life of the Field Marshal Muto were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Soviet Union In Leningrad the first High School for Dairy Farming was installed. . . . On July 1 a regular air line between Moscow-Stalingrad and Moscow-Kasan was opened up. Since July 15 daily mail planes go between Moscow and Taschkent. . . . The Leningrad North Navy Yard has just completed four new large battleships of 11,000 tons. . . . The giving of concessions to foreign capitalists will be stopped. . . .

Vertical text on the left margin containing various small notices and advertisements.

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Under Direction of the National Executive Committee of CPLA
Volume I, No. 9. Wednesday, August 23, 1933

THE CLEVELAND ACTION CONFERENCE

ELSEWHERE in this issue of LABOR ACTION appear important pronouncements on the economic fallacies of the Roosevelt recovery program and the dangers for labor in the labor provisions of the Recovery Act.

Whatever the opinion of trade unionists and unemployed workers may be on these matters, certainly it is essential that they meet together for the purpose of listening to something else than administration ballyhoo, and of making plans for the great battles which are to come, if in this period fighting industrial unions are to be built, wages advanced faster than soaring prices, hours reduced.

The one opportunity offered is the Cleveland Trade Union Conference for United Action on August 26-27. Let unions of all kinds, opposition groups, unemployed organizations send their delegates to Cleveland. Let us develop action against the Roosevelt program, for a real workers' program!

NIRA AND THE JOBLESS

WAR ballyhoo is driving from the columns of the newspapers any mention of the cold fact that there are millions of unemployed in the United States. The blue eagle's screams are drowning out the cries of the jobless, and are making that vast army "forgotten men." The very uncertainty of NIRA is compelling exaggerated prophecies of its success, which fill the papers and give a false picture of stern realities.

The fact is that the inflation which must inevitably accompany the NRA and farm programs, will bear heavily upon the unemployed. Their relief allowances are based by legislation as a rule on certain fixed amounts a week. Under the inflation policy, it will not be long until a \$4 a week food order may be worth only \$1 in actual food. That is a very definite possibility.

Under cover of the smoke screen of NRA propaganda, attempts are being made to cut relief. In many instances, they have succeeded, driving the standards of the unemployed to even lower levels. It is only where jobless organization exists that these attempts have been stopped.

Organization is more vitally necessary to the unemployed today than it has been at any time. NIRA gives no promise of remedying the unemployment problem. The emotion in General John's St. Louis speech arose from the lack of success of the NRA to date. As long as profits are allowed to exist, there will be such speculation, bootlegging and inability to increase purchasing power as will imperil this attempt to stabilize the present capitalist economy. There is no hope there for America's jobless army.

THE PROGRESSIVE MINERS AND ALLARD

A FEW days ago President Percy and Secretary Keck of the Progressive Miners Union of Illinois appeared in Washington at hearings on the coal code. They denounced John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers as unfit to represent the miners and contended that the P.M.A. and not the U.M.W. in fact represented the miners of Illinois. They asserted that this would be made clear if Lewis's gunmen were called off and a referendum of the miner's conducted.

Two observations are in order. First, Percy and Keck are a little late. If they had been a little less cautious, a little more intelligent, a little less sacred that some coal operator would call them "red," they would have called a national conference of miners months ago, as the CPLA urged. Then there would not have been the vacuum into which Lewis had the sense to rush when NRA came along. The miners would have preferred other leadership. You, brother Percy, brother Keck, gave Lewis his chance. He will very likely crush you, because you would not lift a hand in time to save the miners of West Virginia and other states from him.

Second, since you fired Gerry Allard from the editorship of the Progressive Miner and in general undertook to found progressives and militants just as Lewis had done, there is not enough difference between the P.M.A. and the U.M.W. to warrant getting excited about. It's like the old shadow-boxing between Fishwick and John Walker and Lewis. Merely being honest about pennies doesn't make a good union leader.

There is still a chance. Thousands of miners hate Lewis. Sooner or later, probably sooner, his present "battle" against the Steel Trust will end in a sell-out of the workers.

Put Gerry Allard back on the job. Call on your militants, progressives and honest radicals, to take their rightful places in your ranks, and to keep Lewis out of Illinois. Make a fighting union, not one that is a bootlicker of the little operators. The miners of Illinois will respond to such leadership. In a crisis such as is sure to come, the miners of the nation will rally to it.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

PRESIDENT MACHADO who for about ten years has ruled Cuba as a cruel dictator has been deposed after a general strike by the workers, and a revolt of students and the army. American newspapers have been full of tales about the atrocities of this man. He is called "the President of a Thousand Murders." He threw his enemies out to be eaten by sharks. Not a grammar school graduate has gone to high school in Cuba in three years, because Machado was afraid that education would defeat his gangster rule!

The papers do not tell us that it is the United States which has kept Machado in power and that American big business interests are responsible for the conditions in Cuba out of which such a ruler develops.

American money made out of Cuba a one-crop country—sugar. It encouraged over-production. Then we put up tariff walls against Cuban sugar. We paid millions more for sugar as a result, while the value of the Cuban crop went down from 38 million in 1929 to 13 million last year. Thus the Cubans are suffering mass-starvation.

Meantime, according to sober investigators, the Eighteenth Amendment and American money "converted Havana into a gigantic saloon and brothel where prostitutes have political power."

When revolt at last broke loose, we sent warships to Cuban waters. American bankers will try to put in Machado's place someone else who will look more respectable, but will nevertheless do their bidding. The Roosevelt administration could not very well leave such an obvious monster in power when it is making a strong bid against Great Britain for South American trade.

LABOR ACTION demands that Washington refrain from intervention in Cuba and that all American war ships be withdrawn from Cuban waters. We hope that the toiling masses of Cuba will throw out both their own and foreign tyrants and will take full possession of Cuban government and economic life.

CAPITALISM

THIS IS HOW IT WORKS
By H. A. H.

"The President's re-employment program is far ahead of schedule," declared General Hugh S. Johnson in a NIRA drive speech made in St. Louis, August 13. But "We are not trying to get figures," he hastily added. "We do not need them just now, and neither do you," he assured his audience.

One can readily understand why the General did not want to bother with such mundane things as figures at this time, for even the most conservative estimates are that there are still between 12 and 14 million unemployed workers in the country. These figures, to one who wishes to foster a fiction are not encouraging, and to these unemployed and starving millions the news that "the President's re-employment program is far ahead of schedule" must be a little startling, to say the least. Just what is the schedule of this program, anyhow?

Perhaps the General's scorn for mere figures can be accounted for by the growing number of such little incidents as happened in Chicago recently. An advertisement for 1,500 experienced women workers by the Curtis Candy Plant of that city, according to the newspaper reports, drew out 15,000 men and women whose frenzied striving to be among the one in ten to obtain jobs resulted in a riot. It would be interesting to know what these 15,000 hungry workers think of the schedule of the President's re-employment program, eh, General?

Or perhaps the General would approve of the method used by Make Mills, red squad police chief of the "City of Progress," to answer embarrassing questions of unemployed workers. "We don't want a lotta goddam bums on the downtown streets," said this patriotic gent when the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee demanded to know why a permit could not be granted to unemployed workers who wished to hold a demonstration protesting relief cuts.

"That weapon (to defeat the depression, which it is claimed is almost accomplished by the growing flocks of eagles) is confidence—confidence in ourselves, in our institutions and in our leadership," continued the General.

Well now Mr. Johnson, how does one get confidence? Is it some mysterious force generated from the atmosphere by windy and misleading speeches delivered by "leaders"? Is confidence created by closing one's eyes to facts? Do we believe in ourselves when we know we are liars? Do we have confidence in our "leaders" when we know that they are clowning?

But let's be specific. Take this business of confidence in our institutions. We believe we are right in saying that "our public school system" has always been considered one of "our greatest institutions." Yet, according to the National Education Association, school doors were shut against 290,000 children in the United States on April 1. This same association reports that "in nearly all communities school teachers' salaries were cut from 10 to 40 per cent. Many thousands are being paid in warrants, which local banks will cash at a discount." Apparently this institution is on the toboggan.

Another of "our great institutions" is the home, I believe, and the chief function of this institution, we have been taught, is to develop the citizens of the coming generation. Therefore it would not seem amiss to examine the present condition of these future citizens. Let's see what's happening to this "great institution of the home about which you politicians and your good friends the bankers and manufacturers, especially munitions manufacturers, expend so much verbal energy.

"It is probably quite safe to estimate that today somewhere in the neighborhood of one-fifth of all preschool and school children in the United States are showing the effects of poor nutrition, of inadequate housing, of lack of medical care, and in many cases the effect of the anxiety and the sense of insecurity that prevails wherever there is no work."

Who says this? Some un-patriotic red who wants to destroy our institutions? It is said by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor.

The "New Deal" Revolution



Can NIRA Work?

(Continued from Page 3)

profits and at the same time give the masses high enough wages to buy all that they produce. It would be a clever trick, as the boys say, if it would work. If wages go up enough for farmers and workers so that they can really buy the flood of goods our farms and factories turn out, then profits must go down. If they don't, then you again have money accumulating in the pockets of those who can't spend, the same vicious circle. If, however, profits go down, the value of investments goes down, prices on the stock exchange go down, the value of government securities.

From the standpoint of the workers, if they knew how to take advantage of such a situation, that would be fine. It would mean that the system which piles up a huge burden of debt in the form of stocks, bonds, securities, mortgages, etc., on which interest must be paid would collapse. The masses would go free.

This public and private indebtedness which is of the essence of the profit system amounts to hundreds of billions of dollars. That means that workers and farmers have to devote hours and hours of work to earning the wherewithal to pay the interest and dividends on these debts before they can work for themselves. They are literally debt and wage slaves.

Nothing Fundamental Being Done

Roosevelt is not overthrowing this burden of debt. The farm legislation is intended to keep mortgages good for the mortgage-holders. The railroad legislation is to save the railroad investments, and so on down the line. When Roosevelt issues bonds for public works to put men to work, these men must pay the interest on those bonds eventually. It is a new trap, like installment-buying, mortgaging the future income of the worker.

Because the Roosevelt administration is not taking the load of debt off the worker's back and knows that in the long run war will have to be resorted to, to save the system, you have the spectacle of a supposedly liberal administration like his launching the biggest naval building program in the history of the nation!

Suppose you were sick and the one thing that could save you was a major operation by a skilled surgeon. Suppose that operation would certainly add years to your life. Suppose, then, that you called in your doctor and he gave you a shot of some stimulant which made you feel like a new man, and you walked out on the street only to collapse and fall dead. Or suppose the doctor went a little further, put ice on the festering appendix instead of taking it out, and enabled you to live on in periodic misery for a few more years. What would you say of such doctors? The first would be a criminal quack. The second would be well-intentioned but unequal to the real job. Roosevelt is one or the other.

There is more need than ever of organization by all the workers on both the economic and the political field. If we organize now and act swiftly, with courage and intelligence, we can use the resources of the country to give every family a yearly income of \$25,000 per year instead of this picaresque twelve dollars a week minimum and this crazy business of getting

NIRA SAVIORS

For the information of Labor Action readers, each week we will give short biographies in this column of the men and women whom President Roosevelt has chosen to conduct his "revolution." And we will begin with the President, himself.

WHO is President Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

The champion of the "Forgotten Man" first stepped into the national limelight in the role of Assistant Secretary of War under Wilson. He advocated universal military service, a larger navy, and the mobilization of gigantic military force "as a safeguard against war."

He directed the American marines who landed on the island of Haiti, December 14, 1914, to save the investments of the National City Bank, and subsequently placed it under martial law. The new constitution depriving the Haitian people of their rights in favor of Wall Street was the work of Roosevelt.

In 1922 Roosevelt was the president of the American Construction Council, a powerful body of building trades employers.

While Governor of New York he was faced with the problem of furnishing adequate relief for 1,000,000 unemployed, but refused to consider a program including such measures as unemployment insurance, shorter hour legislation, or home owner's loans.

His cautious handling of Tammany during the Seabury investigation sheds a revealing light on this "militant foe" of racketeering and corruption.

Walker, McQuade, and Farley would have gone scot-free if the prosecution depended upon a statement from Roosevelt. His silence was in effect a pardon handed to these pastmasters of "tin-boxism."

Despite his public role of "foe of the power trusts" the Niagara Hudson, a Morgan octopus, made the most tremendous mergers during his term of office. They now control the power industry of the entire state. His position as the friend of labor is clearly defined when we take cognizance of the fact that he was one of the few governors not to sign the petition to free Mooney.

He is one of the richest men in the country, and it is well known among the Big Boys of Finance and Capital that this man who is blood of their blood and bone of their bone will not sell them out to the disinherited masses.

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Labor Actionists

"Our members (of the Northampton, Pa., Unemployed League), were continuously asking, 'Did the papers come yet?' Yes we will send you some news items."

"I enclose a dollar for four subs; wish I could do more," R. Manson, Iowa.

"This dollar is for six month subs for these two addresses," L. B. N. Y. C.

"Here is a dollar; send a three month sub to each of the following," L. Bronxville, N. Y.

"Send me your bundle rates; I will sell LABOR ACTION to my friends and neighbors," A. S., Atlas, Pa.

"At \$3 I am too old to do much, but here's a dollar," H. D., Toledo, Ohio.

"Use the enclosed three dollars to send LABOR ACTION to jobless workers; I wish I could make it more," W., Boston, Mass.

"One dollar of the enclosed is for our last two bundles; the rest is a donation," B., St. Louis, Mo.

MOB DEPORTS UNION ORGANIZERS

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Three students of Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark., who are also organizers for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, were driven out of Corinth, Miss., by an armed mob of 50 men for attempting to organize workers of the Weaver Pants Co. Threats of violence and continued warnings to leave town had been made against Oliver Carlson, general organizer for the union, and the three student organizers.

At the state line the mob leader warned the organizers "never to return to Corinth." The organizers stated that they intended to return for further work.

Demand Mann's Entry

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The CPLA in letters to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull has raised its voice in protest of the actions of the American consul at London in refusing a visa to Tom Mann, British Labor leader, to visit the United States Congress Against War on September 1, and urges that the action be immediately rescinded.

The letter questions the sincerity in the cause of peace of an administration which on one hand refuses admission to Tom Mann and on the other hand, launches a \$235,000,000 naval building program.

abundance by plowing under cotton, wheat and corn and killing little pigs, which Roosevelt and his brain trust are perpetrating. We could have a real American revolution instead of the mock, "just-as-good" substitute which the professors are trying to sell us. We could run the country, instead of the Wall Street bankers and industrialists who are still the real power, who still ride on our backs.

...BOOKS...

The National Industrial Recovery Act (An Analysis) by Benjamin S. Kirsch, in collaboration with Harold Roland Shapiro. Central Book Co. 156 pp. \$2.50.

THIS book presents the ace in the new deal—the National Industrial Recovery Act. It is clearly and concisely written for lawyers and laymen. The authors explain the necessity for and the provisions of the Act. They compare the position of trade associations under the anti-trust laws and the Act. The labor provisions receive detailed treatment. They conclude with some observations. The legal authorities involved are discussed and cited.

What are the essential features of the Act? For a period of two years or less, the employing groups are released from their legal shackles so that they may more effectively cooperate with each other to their individual advantage, and coerce those in their class who by their "unfair practices" drive others out of business and deprive the rest of profits. The workers are permitted to more effectively organize, if they can, and are to be assured at least minimum wages, maximum hours and better working conditions. All this is to be brought about by written codes of fair competition which when approved by the president are the "standards." The government will punish violations by fines, imprisonment and licensing of industries.

These changes, with the possible aid of planning, are to increase employment, give the workers greater purchasing power than now, and thereby start the wheels of industry turning again on a profitable basis. Then if the emergency passes and some measure of prosperity returns, the Act is supposedly to be discarded.

Clear thinking can lead to but one conclusion. No fundamental change in the economic set-up of our society is sought. Prosperity has not before and will not now cure the evils of the system. The possession of wealth, perpetuated by inheritance, is to remain where it has always been, and the basic inequalities and injustices of the present society undergo no change.

The advantages to labor, which are fully presented by the authors—recognition of collective bargaining, the right of organization, minimum wages, maximum hours, elimination of sweatshops, protection of child and female labor, protection from adverse decisions of the Supreme Court restraining union activity, and prohibition of yellow dog contracts—are the bones thrown to a growling dog. The meat remains with the master.

These changes are no more momentous and fundamental in relationship to the times than were the concessions gained by labor a few decades ago in a more primitive and growing capitalistic period. But from the viewpoint of the authors and others who accept the present society, the recent liberal trend of court decisions, the new power given trade associations, the new position of labor, the constitutionality and administration of the Act, are of importance.

The Recovery Act outlines a political state that is the balancer and harmonizer of the conflicting classes of labor and capital. It concentrates power in individuals to enforce compliance. The ever-conflicting interests within the capitalist groups make it certain that sooner or later strong vested interests will refuse to abide by the Act. To safeguard the entire framework erected, the dictatorial powers will then undoubtedly be used to compel obedience. Minimum wages as set forth in proposed codes are very low. They may well tend to become maximum wages. Labor will then make strenuous efforts to increase them. The same dictatorial power can similarly be used against labor where it is thought labor's activities or refusal to accept prescribed conditions endanger the new arrangement.

Regardless of a turn for the better, it will be necessary to continue this or some similar arrangement, because the new concentration of capital permitted and the advantages derived therefrom will surely not be relinquished. Here we have fascism in the making. The challenge of the times to American Labor is plain. Will it follow the course of the German and Italian groups and find itself caught in a fascist vise, or will it go its own way to a new society? JOSEPH HOME.