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

LABOR ACTION

Khaki Shirts to March on Washington Oct. 12. See Page 4.

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Roosevelt Defied In Coal Field

Situation Grows Serious As U.M.W. Officials Try to Force Men Back to Pits

DEMAND UNION RIGHTS

Longshoremen and Steel Workers Join Miners in Waging Militant Battle

By ELMER COPE

PITTSBURG, Pa. — Determined that the anti-labor H. C. Frick Coke Company shall recognize their union, the United Mine Workers of America, more than 75,000 soft coal miners have refused to return to the pits, despite the appeals and promises of President Roosevelt and Governor Pinchot, and the "orders" of John L. Lewis and other U.M.W. officials.

"The United Mine Workers expects all its loyal members to return to work," ordered Lewis from Washington in support of President Roosevelt's assurance that all miners' rights would be protected under an agreement which the "captive" mine owners have signed. "We have been fooled before," reply the miners. "Make Frick sign and we will return to work."

President's Appeal Fails

"If you remain on strike you will be conducting a rebellion against the United States Government," shouted Phil Murray, vice president of the U.M.W.A. to the leaders of some 60 local unions assembled in the Moose lodge in Pittsburgh. Murray was explaining the President's appeal.

"Why must 75,000 men obey the request of the president instead of one man obeying?" replied Martin Ryan, leader of the insurgent miners, angrily. "Why doesn't the president order Frick to sign?"

In flat rebellion against U.M.W.A. orders, hundreds of additional miners joined the strike October 2, the day heralded in the press for the "end of the strike." It was expected however that some mines would reopen. The miners have now been out three weeks and the pinch of starvation is being felt in the coal fields.

Steel Workers Aid Miners

In sympathy with the striking miners thousands of steel workers are also striking, and 2,000 members of the International Longshoremen's Association, who handle coal shipments and barges along the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio rivers, went on strike refusing to touch coal until Frick signs up.

(Continued on Page 2)

Walk-Out Paralyzes Silk Mills

Dyers and Printers Join Weavers in Largest Strike in Industry

REVOLT AGAINST CODE

Workers Charge United Textile Workers Officials with Sabotage

By J. T. GODBER

PATERSON, N. J.—A remarkable spirit of militancy continues to pervade the ranks of the workers here as the Silk Strike enters its sixth week.

Probably for the first time since 1913 there is not a loom running in this city. The Dyers and printers, and truck drivers are also out as well as the weavers.

To mark the entrance of the sixth week of the walk out the strikers staged a huge demonstration in Hinchcliffe Stadium followed by a parade through the working class districts of town. In this parade marched strikers from the Associated Silk Workers, the National Textile Workers and the Independent Warpers' League.

A feature of the parade was a large group of girls from the underwear sweatshops, organized by the International Ladies Garment Workers, chanting, as they marched, "we won't go back to the sweatshop for fifty cents a day."

Rally Strengthens Morale

The effect on the morale of the strikers by the demonstration was clearly visible the following morning when a crowd, estimated to number between four and five hundred, stormed the plant of the Crew Silk Finishing Company. Smashing their way through the wooden fence guarding the mill property, the strikers stoned the windows and finally broke through the iron gate giving access to the mill and forced a number of foremen who had been working to the street. At least one man who showed very little inclination to move rapidly, when ordered to quit, was slightly injured by irate strikers.

The strike which had its start in this city has spread to virtually every silk center in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. In this entire district it is extremely doubtful if there are over eight plants in operation, and these are all in the state of Pennsylvania.

The reason for this, according to local strikers, is the lack of support given by the United Textile Workers of America. Strikers charge openly that when they sent

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LABOR AND THE NRA

A Message to the Fifty-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor

By A. J. MUSTE, National Chairman of the CPLA

THE contrast between the situation at this convention of the American Federation of Labor and that which obtained at the 1932 convention is overwhelming. Then the workers were on the whole quiet and submissive. Membership in the unions was rapidly falling off. Trade union spirit was at its lowest point in decades.

Now workers are on the march. Every day sees thousands on strike. The greatest organization wave in the entire history of American labor is sweeping forward. The A. F. of L. has taken in tens of thousands of members. The heads of the A. F. of L. have been elevated into positions of national prominence as part of the Recovery program. In the forefront of that program stands a clause that workers shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through unions of their own choosing. Organized labor is "elevated" to "partnership" with industry and government for national recovery.

Little wonder that the official trade union movement was not at the outset disposed to examine too critcally the gift which the Roosevelt administration handed it. Certainly the unions were well advised in throwing all their energies into organizing workers. It is not to be wondered at, that in those trades where unions have added many members, where employes have been put back to work, where wages have for the time being at least gone up, a good deal of enthusiasm for NRA should be felt.

A Slight Change

Already, however, prominent figures in the A. F. of L. are admitting that the early enthusiasm for NRA was somewhat exaggerated and uncritical. The Executive Council's report to the Convention was to have contained a 101 per cent endorsement of NRA and practically no criticism. That was changed. It is openly admitted now that the minimum wages set in most of the codes are appallingly low. They might have been much better if the A. F. of L. leaders had been vigilant and militant, not overwhelmed with gratitude for small favors when the first codes were adopted. The 80,000 silk workers now on strike would not be in an almost impossible position, if long hours and a $12 per week minimum had not been put over in the cotton and rayon code, which was hailed by union officials as the bright dawn of a new day. It is now admitted that while the wages of some of the lowest paid workers have been raised, skilled workers have been forced down to an unprecedentedly low level. A demand is made for the 30-hour week, since it is seen that as hours now stand, millions will still be unemployed and will keep all standards down. Prices are going up faster than purchasing power and already, as a result, workers are being laid off or else persuaded to work below the code wages. The vaunted public works program has produced virtually nothing to date.

Although there is now in trade union official circles considerable criticism of such specific points in the Recovery program, the prevailing position still is that the NRA itself is sound and that the Roosevelt administration must be given full support as the undoubted friend of labor. President Green, in his opening address to this convention, said: "We must have faith, faith in the New Deal; faith in the principles of this Act; faith in those who are honestly and liberally administering it, and most important of all, faith in that great, fearless leader, the President of the United States."

NRA Is Not for Labor

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action was justified in the doubts it raised from the beginning about such points as we have referred to. We do not say this in an "I told you so" spirit, for these matters are not petty and personal: they affect the well-being of the great masses of American workers and farmers. We now submit for your consideration the proposition that the NRA is not a sound program with a few flaws, but a bad program with only some incidental good features; that whatever Franklin Roosevelt's personal motives and wishes may be, labor in this country will be led to ruin and Fascism if it trusts him, instead of trusting its own power and militancy.

Labor, it has often been said loosely, has been given the right to organize by Roosevelt. Has it? Was it his to "give?" Just what does it argue about the state of mind that had grown up in the trade union movement if it must go into ecstacies because the right to organize has been "given" it? Samuel Gompers contended that labor need not expect to have anything "handed to it on a silver platter." If and insofar as labor has now been handed something,

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Unemployed League To Hold Mississippi Regional Convention

"Fighting Miner"

Allard and Norman Head Paper Devoted to Struggles of Militant Miners

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Under the date of October 2, the first number of "Fighting Miner," organ of the militant left-wing miners of America, has been issued from this city.

The editors of the new publication are Gerry Allard and Loren Norman, formerly editors of "The Progressive Miner," organ of the Progressive Miners of America. Allard was dismissed by the executive board of the P.M.A. because he advocated the extension of the union into other fields. Norman refused to take Allard's job when it was offered him, and left at the same time.

The new paper will lead an uncompromising struggle against Lewis racketeering; it will expose the weaknesses and chicanery of bankrupt leadership; it will fight to the bitter end for all of labor's due."

The address of "The Fighting Miner" is Box 202, Springfield, Ill.

Inflation and NRA Collapse Spreads National League Throughout West

INVADE FRANKLIN CO.

Illinois Governor Hastily Calls Special Session of Legislature

By MARGARET RODGERS

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Invading the Mississippi Valley, the National Unemployed League has begun preparations for the regional convention of that section, to be held in this city on Dec. 16 and 17.

A dynamic organization campaign, as usual, is preceding the gathering. Seven local leagues affiliated with the Christian County Unemployed League, where national guardsmen still maintain military rule, have voted to send delegates. Unemployed organizations in Thayer, Auburn, Virden and Gillespie have voted cooperation. The message of unemployed organization is being extended over Illinois. The league movement has reached even into Franklin County, where war-like conditions prevail.

Indiana, Michigan Join Drive

From Fort Wayne, Harry Connors writes that organization work will be speeded up in Indiana, leading up to the convention. In Michigan, new interest is being shown in the national unemployed activities.

Here in Springfield, an unemployed league has been launched, after a series of meetings, attended by the commander of the 5th Division of the National Guard and by local city detectives. All workers' political groups seem to agree that the league approach is the correct one, and an active committee of 15 is functioning for the purpose of getting neighborhood branches organized.

Convention Call Scores NRA

The call for the convention . . . a "call to action" . . . has just gone out to representatives of unemployed organizations in six states—Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin. This call points to the coming winter, the menace of inflation and the dangers connected with the failure of the NRA to fulfill its promises to the workers.

Louis F. Budenz, director of organization for the N.U.L., is in charge of the Mississippi Valley campaign. Cooperating with him are Gerry Allard, fighting former editor of the "Progressive Miner."

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Six Issues At Stake In Ohio Battle

Police and Relief Agents Fail To Break Front of Columbus Unemployed

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Five thousand relief workers, under the leadership of the Ohio Unemployed League, are striking in Franklin County for 60c an hour, to be paid in cash, on all relief jobs; free education for the Youth of the unemployed; all relief workers to be covered by workmen's compensation; against discrimination because of race, nationality, religious or political beliefs or organizational activities and elimination of red tape in administration of relief.

Beginning September 7, when the County Relief Committee attempted to dictate to the unemployed as to what they should eat, the strike has grown until it now covers nearly the whole of Franklin County.

All attempts on the part of public officials to create disorder have thus far been unsuccessful. There have been instances when the strik-

(Continued on Page 2)

Strike Wave Continues To Spread In N.C.

By HAZEL DAWSON

HIGH POINT, N. C.—The strike wave that had its inception in the textile industry here about eight weeks ago is fast spreading to other trades; and farmers, encouraged by milk holidays in the north are also revolting.

In the textile field the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers continue to hold the spotlight. In Asheboro a splendid fight is being waged against the Bossong Hosiery Mills. Here after a rapid organizing campaign the operator locked out his knitting department without giving any reason.

The knitters placed a picket line around the plant which lasted throughout the night. This line was responsible for pulling the boarding department out on strike. When the boarders struck the watchmen joined them, first locking the plant from the inside so that the management would be unable to gain admission the following morning. So far the mill operators have refused to carry on collective bargaining with the shop committee.

After a brief struggle the workers at the Kearns Knitting Mill here returned to work when the management promised a representative of the Department of Labor to pay the same wages as other knitting mills in this locality.

The National Industrial Recovery Act received what for a while looked like a death blow when the employes of the Logan Porter Mirror Company struck in protest of a vicious stretch-out system and the leveling of wages down to the absolute minimum.

Mr. Porter, chairman of the local NRA committee, filled the strikers places with school boys, which he secured by promising them free lunch in addition to the low salary paid. He made use of local society people who drove the scabs about in limousines.

In commenting on this, the Raleigh News and Observer stated, "At the very least it is an unhealthy situation to have an NRA chairman in a community who himself is under charges of violating the code and who is certainly involved in an industrial dispute concerning a code."

After arbitrating the matter with Charles Bernheim, conciliator of the Department of Labor, the strikers returned to work when assured that wage differences would be submitted to Washington for further consideration.

At Wendell, irate tobacco farmers forced the closing of a tobacco warehouse when after a three weeks holiday the weed brought only 13 cents a pound. Sixteen deputies were assigned to the district to hold the farmers in check. Farmers have vowed to organize the entire 57 counties in the state and then strike again.

Food Workers Out To End 16 Hour Day

By LARRY COHEN

NEW YORK—An extensive organization campaign in the Brooklyn bakeries has been undertaken by Local 3 of the Amalgamated Food Workers as it becomes increasingly apparent that the codes proposed by the bakery bosses make it more necessary than ever to weld together a strong organization of the workers.

The frame-up and railroading to jail of an active union worker, the discharge of some newly organized members by the Teitelbaum Baking Co., and the sweatshop conditions in the Greek and Armenian shops where the men earn from $11 to $14 for a 16-hour day and a seven day week has increased the determination of local 3 to spread organization in all plants under their jurisdiction. According to Organizer Fritz Meyer, over 50 per cent of the workers in Duggan Bros. and a large group at Wagner Pie have already enrolled in the A.F.W.

Big headway at the Astor and Waldorf Astoria Hotel is reported by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers branch which recently held a meeting of 1,000 at Palm Gardens. Picketing and leaflet distribution by the Food Workers Industrial Union did not succeed in harming the spirit of the meeting which was addressed by a Labor Action-ist representative. Labor Action attracted favorable comment and was bought by many workers.

Attempts of the owners of the large bakeries to frighten their members and keep them away from the Factory Workers Branch have thus far been unavailing. Cushman is following the policy of switching orders from one plant to the other and then laying off union men on the excuse that there is no work.

ANTI-LABOR MARCHES; UNIONISTS STAY OUT

READING, Pa.—(AP)—In a colorful gesture of support of the national recovery program, approximately 20,000 persons representing virtually every industry and business in Reading join in a huge NRA parade.

Organized labor will not take part, as a unit, labor leaders having decided last week it would be "inconsistent" for them to parade with their "arch enemies," many of whom they said are leading the march.

JIM-CROWISM IN N. Y.

NEW YORK—(FP)—Because the state of New York makes it a misdemeanor to practice Jim-crowism in restaurants, a complaint has been ordered drawn against Loft, Inc., national candy store chain. The complainants, a Negro schoolteacher and a Negro student at New York University, testified that the manager of a Loft store had refused to allow any waitress to serve them.

BOASTS "GAG" RECORD

CLEVELAND—(FP)— Harry L. Davis, Republican candidate for Mayor, shares his office with the Vigilantes, a newly-organized fascist organization. Davis is stressing the fact that he did not permit free speech during the war when he was Cleveland's chief executive.

BOYCOTT NAZI GOODS

VIENNA—(FP)—The Social Democratic Party of Austria has joined the boycott against German goods decided on by the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International.

Inflation Seen As Certain As NRA Program Crumbles

(Special to Labor Action)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—That the NRA is not proceeding satisfactorily is now an obvious fact. Even the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention are admitting it.

There is no doubt that the majority of the big industrialists of the country are of the opinion that the whole NRA scheme is rapidly breaking down; but those favored few who happen to be on the inside are aware that reorganization of the NRA is being carried on very quietly behind the scene.

The apex of the reorganization plan is supposed to be the delegating of some of the powers now held by General Johnson to probably four new assistant administrators.

The headline act in the Washington side show at this time is undoubtedly the talk about inflation.

Just what form it will take is somewhat problematical. The government has some large obligations coming due on the fifteenth of October. To meet these it could issue greenbacks, but the formless and elusive thing called mass opinion that exists on Pennsylvania avenue seems to be toward more and more credit expansion.

If this credit expansion scheme, which is Roosevelt's pet theory now, don't work during the next couple of months then we are in for dollar devaluation.

Roosevelt's policy of credit expansion means little more than debt expansion. New debts continue to pile on past obligations. The Hooverian depression of 1929, which is still with us, is claimed to have been caused by excessive borrowing. Roosevelt is plodding up the same blind alley hoping to get through the eye of the needle, get business hitting the 100 mark on the index and paying the piper when we are in a more healthy financial condition.

Mr. Roosevelt seems to have overlooked the fact that in a tremendously large number of states, chiefly in the west and middle west, the business pendulum is still on the down swing. Everything points to another crash that will have the 1929 fiasco looking like a wind storm in comparison.

Dress Victory Hollow With Bosses Slyly Evading Code

(Special to Labor Action)

NEW YORK.—Eighty thousand dressmakers of Greater New York and vicinity, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, held a "victory celebration" a couple of days ago to mark the recent agreement in the dress industry under which they got improvements in hours, wages and working conditions. But even while this victory was being celebrated, the garment workers were in danger of losing its fruits and being plunged again into the misery of sweatshop conditions.

Already, although the "season" should last for another six weeks, there is a decided falling-off in work in the shops. The reason is that prices of dresses have gone up 50 per cent and more since the new wage agreements were put into effect and the consumers, whose purchasing power has not gone up in proportion, are already refusing to buy.

Contractors, who are being played against each other by the jobbers, although the code is supposed to prevent that, are telling workers that if they will accept lower wages without complaining to the code authority about it, they can have work. Otherwise they are out of luck.

Of course, the increase in the retail price of dresses does not mean that the workers have gotten any such increase in wages. What is happening is that the jobbers use the wage increase as a pretext for making a profit by increasing the price to the wholesaler, the wholesaler raises the price to the retailer, and the retailer to the consumer. The consumer, like the worker, is once more made "the goat."

There is only one way out of this dilemma which always causes prices to rise more rapidly than wages, and that is, actually to control prices and to cut down profits. But as Prof. Ogburn and Miss Mary Van Kleeck have shown, this crucial job the NRA simply does not tackle.

Mississippi Jobless Call Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

who is taking over the work in Illinois, and Munsey Gleaton, organizer of the N.U.L.

The highways of this part of the country are becoming familiarized to the comings and goings of these "agitators." The unemployed league idea is becoming known in mining towns and cities. The need for action is apparent. Relief in Illinois is very low, and is paid irregularly. No one is certain when he will get his food order. The local relief authorities in Sangamon County refused a representative of the National Unemployed League any information on the rates of relief, saying that the state relief administration at Chicago forbade the issuing of any such statements.

The failure of the coal code to provide for the 13,000 striking miners in this state and for the thousands of others out of work, has sharpened the need for strong unemployed organization. From other Mississippi Valley states, come similar reports. The aim of the regional convention will be to consolidate the jobless forces and bring about state organizations that can put united pressure on the authorities.

As the league movement begins to get well under way, Governor Henry Horner calls a special session of the legislature for October 3. The first act of the Springfield unemployed league was to present a statement to the Governor calling for increased relief, particularly in view of inflation. The inadequacy of relief in Illinois was pointed out, it being far below a number of other states.

Other demands included: Relief funds to come from income, inheritance and corporation surplus taxes only. All incomes over $2,500 a year should be taxed 100 per cent, the statement declared. Relief should also be paid in cash, and the legislature was urged to memorialize Congress for federal unemployment insurance.

Roosevelt Defied By Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

Coal miners and steel workers marched shoulder to shoulder in Clairton, seat of big Carnegie Steel coke and steel plants. More than ten thousand steel workers at Weirton, W. Va., and neighboring plants of the National Steel Company remain on strike.

A near riot occurred at Weirton last Tuesday, October 3, as truckloads of scabs attempted to crash through the picket lines. While strikers literally picked up autos containing scabs and carried them back from the gates police, armed with riot guns and shot guns, threw tear gas bombs. Every available officer was summoned.

The steel strike, rapidly spreading throughout the section, like the coal strike, has settled into a battle directly over recognition of American Federation of Labor unions.

Throughout the tri-state area officials of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers are busily enrolling new members.

They claim to have 95 per cent of the workers at Weirton, Clarksburg and Steubenville enrolled and about 80 per cent of the workmen, employed and unemployed, at Clairton. They hold that the men now staying within the Clairton plants are the only ones there now not affiliated with their organization.

E. T. Weir, chairman of Weirton Steel's board, announced yesterday that his company "will never recognize the Amalgamated."

As the strike spirit spreads the idea of a new union set up, which would include miners, steel workers, railroad workers, bargemen, etc., spreads. "We must be organized so that we can all strike at one time," say the miners and steel workers. "If the steel workers continue at work while the miners strike they help to break the strike. The same with the railroad workers and the bargemen. We must all strike at one time and then we shall win."

Six Issues At Stake In Ohio Battle

Upper picture shows Ben Smith, CPLA member of the Ohio Unemployed League speaking to 3,000 relief strikers on first day of Franklin County strike.

Lower picture shows Wiliam R. Traux, CPLA member and president of the Ohio Unemployed League conferring with Ben Smith on plans of the strike.

OHIO BATTLE

(Continued from Page 1)

ers have had to disarm scabs and deputies, but to date no one has been seriously hurt. The militancy and determination of the unemployed is such that police and thugs are afraid to start anything.

Attempts to break the strike include the opening of a number of jobs for relief workers at the government army depot, where they get paid in cash in addition to getting their regular relief. Also, Joe Gerstner, the stool pigeon exposed at the Columbus Convention, is getting publicity in the newspapers for his organization of three members.

The Franklin County strike follows on the heels of the big eviction fight in Columbus, which stopped the eviction of 4,500 families, the successful strike of 1,000 relief workers in Smith Township, Mahoning County, and the demonstration of 5,000 members of the Franklin County leagues before the State House on August 21 and 22.

The demonstration was the largest ever held before the Capitol in Columbus. During the course of it, the rattle-snake flag of the early American revolutionists was unfurled on the columns of the Capitol, with its slogan: "Don't tread on me." Notice was served on Governor White and the legislature, "but on the basis of the present class struggle in the same revolutionary spirit, not to tread on the workers and farmers of Ohio." A guard of 200 patrolled around the Capitol throughout the night of August 21, with the demonstration being renewed by the thousands of league members the next day.

Threats of official action against the anti-eviction campaign only lead to its intensification. A special conference of the judges, county attorney, and city attorney was held in Columbus to determine whether to arrest Louis F. Budenz for inciting to riot or contempt of court. The conference broke up in disagreement, and no action was taken.

Silk Mills Paralyzed

(Continued from Page 1)

a delegation to Hazleton, Pa., to strike the immense Duplan mill, that President McMahon of the UTW deliberately sabotaged by sending a communication to the Hazleton district of the United Mine Workers urging them to give the silk strikers no help in picketing. It is alleged that the letter termed the Paterson strikers, "nothing but a bunch of chiselers."

The relief problem here in Paterson is growing acute. Many of the strikers, having no gas or electricity, are forced to exist on cold sandwiches and water.

Despite the hardships the strikers are voicing their determination to remain out until they receive something better than the $13 minimum given them under the cotton textile code.

Lehigh County Jobless League Help Strikers

But Refuse to Take Sides in Factional Union Dispute

By LARRY HEIMBACH

ALLENTOWN, Pa. — Declaring that "the main job at the present time is not factional organization but united organization for victory over the bosses," the Unemployed Citizens' League of Lehigh County voted unanimously to throw all their forces into the present silk strike but refused to endorse any of the competing unions on the field. League members from every part of the city and county are now cooperating in the united front picket lines organized by the Allentown Silkworkers Union (Independent) and the American Federation of Silkworkers.

Pro-Labor Mayor Assailed

Practically every shop in Allentown is out on strike, the mayor having ordered the shut down of all non-striking shops "if they would avoid trouble." This was hailed by the strikers as a great victory and by the bosses as a complete surrender to the "reds." Telegrams sent to the N.R.A. with the approval of the local Chamber of Commerce denounced the mayor's action as "unpatriotic," "un-American" and "Communistic."

The recently organized united front picket-line was the first indication of unity between the various unions active in the strike and augurs well for united action in the future. Unity in the present strike is indispensable, especially in view of the disastrous failure of the last silk strike when the UTW, powerful during the strike, lost almost its entire membership. It is for this reason that the Unemployed League maintained from the beginning of the strike that the problem was not one of unions but of unionism and urged that the strikers put all their efforts into winning the strike first and joining particular unions afterwards.

WORKERS, FARMERS!

Write LABOR ACTION about conditions in your section.

Order Bundles of LABOR ACTION to sell to your friends, neighbors and fellow workers!

Strike Ends Slave Labor In Toledo, O.

But Military Takes Over Relief Command to Down Militant Unemployed

TOLEDO, O.—Forced labor has been smashed in Lucas County and partial cash work relief won by the united front relief workers strike called August 1 by the Lucas County Unemployed League. The "nose bag" or commissary system has been eliminated in Washington Township, and in three other townships, grocery orders have been doubled and in some instances tripled.

The strike has been temporarily suspended to allow for increased organizational work on the basis of the victories already gained. "We're not stopping at these paltry concessions," say the leagues. "The suspension of the strike is merely a 'breather.' We're not satisfied with relief in any form. We want a decent health standard of living permanently. We want work, socially useful work, and we want the full fruits of our labor. That's the terms we're thinking in."

But the fight has just begun in Lucas County. The presence of Col. Shelter of the state relief commission, as relief "czar," is indication of the growing dominance of the military over the unemployed workers in Ohio. Adjutant-general Henderson heads the state relief board, and Major Braught, the state relief commission. Big business and their office-boy politicians fear the growing militancy of the unemployed and are obviously planning to use their last weapon, the military, to suppress the workers.

The strike has taught the unemployed that they can gain concessions only in direct proportion to the militant pressure they bring against public officials, and are rapidly organizing. The leagues have started a weekly county class and meeting in which the most active workers from the neighborhood locals are trained to give better informed leadership to the rank and file.

With some 10,000 evictions hanging over the heads of the workers of Toledo early this winter, the Unemployed Leagues are rallying to the call, "Ten thousand evictions must be stopped."

U. F. Conference in Steel City

(Special to Labor Action)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—October 15 marks the first effort at a real United Front Conference of the unemployed in Allegheny County. Arrangements for the affair are being made by the Pittsburgh branch of the CPLA, the unemployed Councils and militant elements within the Unemployed League.

That all unemployed organizations, in the county, will be officially represented is considered unlikely. The Unemployed Citizens League, now under Socialist Party leadership, will not be officially represented. It is also improbable that the Socialist Party will send delegates, though they have been invited to do so.

Socialist leaders in the league urge repudiation of the United Front agreement on the flimsy grounds that the August 1 anti-war meeting was made a political affair by the Communist Party. In this connection it should be pointed out that no officers of the League engaged in this demonstration, and the person who reported to the county committee of the League wasn't to be seen anywhere in the vicinity of the demonstration.

Labor Actionists are fighting for an aggressive revolutionary working class program in the UCL.

Women's Auxiliary Sends Telegram To President Protesting Coal Code

GILLESPIE, ILL.—Denouncing the coal code and branding as "hollow mockery" the government decree of the 8-hour day "secured by our men through bloodshed 35 years ago," the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America, through its president, Agnes Barns Wieck, has sent a telegram to President Roosevelt warning the Federal Government that "there can be no peace in the turbulent coal fields so long as hunger stalks through the mining towns and hatred goads more and more miners into open rebellion against the repudiated leadership of Lewis."

"We protest the promised investigation and conference next January giving mine owners opportunity to stock low cost coal for inflation prices," continues the statement. "We denounce as a crime against our already impoverished families the inevitable sharing of work and poverty under the 8-hour day in an overdeveloped and highly mechanized industry that should have been placed on the 6-hour basis demanded years ago by miners.

"The threat of Fascism is in the governmental perpetuation of the discredited leadership of John L. Lewis against whose tyrannous regime miners everywhere are in rebellion. We protest against the governmental sanction of the notorious contract twice voted down by Illinois miners for failure to bring the 6-hour day. Rebellion against enforcement of this contract by stolen referendum and legalized violence have given birth to the Progressive Miners Union defended by women to the point of death.

"We denounce the Peabody praise of the code with its prediction of returning peace and the full dinner pail to the Illinois strike zones when this infamous Insull corporation and beneficiary of the Lewis union starves little children whose fathers' dinner pails have rusted while the American Federation of Labor strike-breakers take jobs under the protection of Governor Horner's troops. Through the same streets now patrolled by the militia, the mothers of these children see hogs hauled away and burned by governmental decree and their children hungering for meat. Is this the New Deal for the coal fields?

"With our men, we women face tear gas, machine guns, and bayonets in the terrific struggle for bread and freedom from the enslavement of the Lewis union. Violence and death have been inflicted upon us with nine men and one woman murdered. We are cooks, not economists, but we women know that the 6-hour day with increased wage is a step that must be taken to enable our men to provide food for us to cook. Hunger in our kitchens and hatred of the Lewis rule have put us women on the march. Neither mediation board nor Green and Lewis proclamations can stop the revolt of desperate mothers who refuse to see heir children starve.

"We women solemnly warn the Federal Government that there can be no peace in the turbulent coal fields so long as hunger stalks through the mining towns and hatred goads more and more miners into open rebellion against the repudiated leadership of Lewis."

A. F. of L. To Urge Boycott On Nazi Goods

To Follow Lead of British Laborites in Resisting Enslavement of Labor

WASHINGTON, D. C.—It is expected that the American Federation of Labor, now in session, will urge a boycott against the Hitler Terror in Germany.

Such an action will have the sanction of President Green who has stated that he was in possession of information from American observers just back from Germany, of conclusive proof of torture, and the crushing of the German labor movement by Nazi gangsters.

"American labor is becoming convinced that something more than protest is needed in dealing with the Nazis. We are being forced to the conclusion that a boycott is the only thing that will bring home to the German tyrants the abhorrence in which their rule is held by the rest of the world," stated Mr. Green in commenting on the German situation.

Mr. Green made no attempt to explain his silence during the seven years war on the part of the Machado regime against organized labor in Cuba.

Action Glimpses from the Pennsylvania Battle Front

(Special to Labor Action)

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Early Friday morning I was just leaving the house for a run down to Weirton when I got the news that the insurgent miners had invaded Clairton. I had not expected this so soon for I understood that they were going to wait until the first of the week before they came in the steel area again.

* * *

It was a glorious sight to see hundreds of miners packed solidly in front of the Carnegie steel gates. They were not picketing in the old conventional way but were actually blockading the three main entrances. The state police had escorted them to the county line and when the county police attempted to prevent them from entering the county of Allegheny, the state police compelled them to let the workers through. And through they came—about 4,000 strong. One group from Allison looked particularly formidable with new brown shining miners helmets—these helmets resemble the bullet-proof helmets which soldiers wear in the trenches excepting they are made of some kind of light weight composition material.

* * *

All day Friday and Friday night the miners held their picket lines together. County police and deputy sheriffs were present everywhere but the miners were not disturbed—they ran the show themselves, even to the extent of directing traffic which is particularly heavy on the main street where the picketing was going on. When they wanted to move their lines across the street the miners' picket captain simply walked to the middle of the street, blew his whistle and held up traffic for blocks until the miners got across.

Uniformed company police were lined across the company roadway about fifty yards from the street. They carried pump guns and sawed-off shot guns. At one of the entrances barricades were erected behind some freight cars and machine guns put in place. The company moved a number of beds and mattresses into the plant so that in case of a long seige they could keep enough men in to run some of the coke ovens and by-products works.

This plant of Carnegie's in Clairton is their key plant for their whole industry in this section of the country. The coke and the gas from the by-products plant supply all the other plants such as Homestead, Duquesne, McKeesport and I understand even Farrell. The miners, realizing the importance of this plant and knowing that a great amount of Frick's coal is used in Clairton, marched on it with the intention of closing it down and the other plants as well.

* * *

I do not have time to give the many colorful details of the huge mass meeting at Centerville. I never saw such a crowd in my whole life. The meeting was held out in the country far away from everything but hills. For miles and miles cars were parked on roadsides and in fields. The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (Hearst) estimated the crowd at 25,000. I do not think the estimate too high.

Martin Ryan was the main speaker and he was followed by a number of others. He made a militant speech in which he gave John L. Lewis and Pat Fagan hell, called them racketeers and wanted to know why they were not out on the picket lines. He said, "If the newspapers tell us to go back tomorrow without the U.M.W. being recognized, by God, I will take a gang and picket the God Damned newspaper." There is no doubt but what Ryan had the support of the crowd almost to a man. One speaker tried to whitewash Lewis and Fagan and the crowd howled him down and later threw him off the platform.

* * *

These miners are not talking only of organizing the miners into the U.M.W.A. but they are also demanding that the steel workers and the railroad workers get into one big union as well. They say that no group is secure without the direct support of all the others—thus solid front throughout.

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My Uncle Abner, The Cop

By TESS HUFF

What happened before: The country lad who tells the story gets his first taste of strike-breaking terrorism when the striking dairy farmers amassed at the river outside of Midway to stop scab milk-trucks are attacked by a band of khaki thugs, soldiers sent by the governor. The strikers are routed by the militia's fire.

CHAPTER II.

Inwardly crying that I would kill the man who hit my father, almost suffocating with rage, I turned and ran across the field, over the hill, and though I was weak and trembling, the ground flew by, and almost before I knew it I was in the bedroom at home, taking the gun down from the pegs on the wall, and my mother had come to the door.

"Lord have mercy!" she screamed. And when she saw me with the gun she took the weak-trembles, which later brought on a sick-headache. She looked at me and said: "Lordy, Lordy! God help us!"

"Pray! Pray!" I cried. I was mad. "Get down on your knees! You people pray your daylights out, you go to the barn and pray, you pray in the bushes. The damned thugs step on you and you run off and groan: 'God have mercy.' I'm sick of it, sick of it, do you hear? Sick of it! I'll kill the murderers!"

I ran out of the house and jumped off the end of the porch and fell and the muzzle of the gun struck a rock. Then Marleene, who is two years older than me, came running from the orchard, with her apron full of salad-greens. My mother came out, wild and pitiful, with her hand pressed to her forehead.

As the barrel of the gun was cracked, I began beating it over the rock, and when my mad spell wore itself out I felt silly; I looked about, at Marleene and mother, at things standing about, the barn, the chickens, the path leading to the orchard and the gate, which sagged on the ground, and I burst into tears and told them what had happened. And

Marleene ran off at once after Uncle Wess.

My father had two living brothers at that time, Uncle Wess, who was nicknamed "Stalky" because he was tall and thin like a corn stalk, a terrible man for building fences; and Uncle Abner, the cop, who had been gone from our part of the country for more than twenty years. I had never seen Uncle Abner, but we had a picture of him. Mother gave the picture to an agent and got nine medallions made, and I can remember the time, for I cried because I couldn't buy a police suit. Mother made presents of the medallions to her folks, and wherever you go in our parts today, if it's to a Smith or Carter house, you will see Uncle Abner in his uniform in the front room on the mantle, looking serious and holding his club.

They said Uncle Abner was making a record for himself in New York. He became my hero; I dreamed about him. His wife, Maxine, whom we had never seen, sent Christmas cards, and once a year he himself would write my father and Wess, just two lines saying he was drinking lots of beer and getting fat. And we all had a feeling that he was powerful and influential, and we secretly expected him to help us someday, although no one knew how. It came to pass, however, that Uncle Abner soon had his chance.

Marleene and Wess drove to Midway. They found that my father and eighteen farmers were in jail, which they were not allowed to enter, and the judge, who was a friend to the business men, charged them with banding and confederating, and fixed their bonds at five thousand dollars each. Wess went to Captain Golding, the best lawyer in town, and he said he would handle my father's case for two hundred and fifty dollars, with a mortgage on the land. Wess told him, however, that the farm was in the hands of the insurance people, and Captain Golding said he was sorry, he couldn't law for nothing. So Wess came home, stalked into the room, where I was putting towels on mother's head, and threw up his hands.

"It looks like we're up against it," he said.

"I will go to New York," I cried. "Uncle Abner will help us."

And the next day I packed a blanket and some clothes, and Marleene and mother wept, and said I was foolish. But my mind was made up. Uncle Abner knew the law, he had money, and he would help us. Wess gave me five dollars, and mother gave me a dollar and thirty cents, and a sack of food, weighing twenty pounds, and I started out, not knowing whether I would ever reach New York, or whether I would ever return.

(To be continued)

COAL DUST

By GERRY ALLARD

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—"Ballyhoo" Roosevelt's coal code became effective October 2. At the same time the larger portion of the nation's twenty-seven main coal producing centers are embroiled in revolts which reach sharper proportions day by day. Couple the provisions of the coal code with the many years of poverty and distress in the mine fields and you have in a nutshell the reasons for the present strike movements. A glimpse at the coal code as ratified and signed by the coal conferees confirms the opposition of the left-wing miners to the National Recovery Act. Our prediction— that the NRA would prove to be a futile attempt to perpetuate a decadent social order—is now acknowledged even by those who threatened to run us out of town because of our "heresy."

* * *

Theoretically, the coal code gives the miner the right to organize, bargain collectively, and the right to belong to a union of his own choosing. But in practice the boss has a right to fire if the miner takes provisions too seriously as has already occurred in Harlan County, Kentucky; Illinois, Utah and elsewhere. The code sets up a board of arbitration with no labor representation. Arbitration with representation is a noose around labor's neck; without representation it is despotism. Link this plan up with the no-strike decree and you have a perfect hanging apparatus. The system of varying wage scales, giving one section of the industry competitive advantages over another, is to continue. With this system the industry is the roulette, the bosses the players and the miners the chips.

* * *

The coal treaty "generously" grants the miners the 8-hour day—a condition the miners established some thirty-five years ago through hard, militant struggles and sacrifices. It permits the miners to work five days a week when figures reveal that there is not enough coal produced to enable every coal miners in the United States one day's work each week. The price of coal is regulated in order to insure profits, but no measures were enacted to care for the pitiful wages which will be automatically slashed by the inflation program. And, last but not least, the coal code seeks to perpetuate a discredited leadership upon the miners with its black record of wage contract thefts, election robberies, convention packings and gangster rule. In other words, Roosevelt's ballyhoo coal code is stinky. Hence the mass uprisings.

* * *

The miners had no representatives in the coal conference. The Lewis crowd took advantage of the NRA to save themselves from a decisive tamping even at the cost of completely liquidating the United Mine Workers of America. The representatives from the new Illinois miners union, with their shyster lawyers, proved bankrupt. On the most fundamental question before the conference, Mr. Pearcy for the Progressive Miners, and Mr. Miller for the "Progressive" operators, refused to alter the 48-hour week "due to seasonal conditions that effect the small coal operators." The next edition of Webster's dictionary must by all means popularize a suitable synonym for the word progressive.

* * *

More and more the rank and file miners are depending on their own efforts and leadership. Between notorious John L. and the stupidity of Pearcy is it any wonder? The present struggle of the western Pennsylvania miners is a healthy manifestation in the direction of rank and file leadership.

* * *

The heroic efforts of the Pennsylvania miners in spite of the open sabotage of the U.M.W. of A. payrollers again indicates the wonderful possibilities the P.M. of A. had to become a national force. And in this connection it is interesting to read Pearcy's statement carried by United Press in a September 29 dispatch. Pearcy states that it is true that Allard was removed as editor of the "Progressive Miner" for insubordination because Allard insisted on extending the scope of the union to other states. "The organization at that time was not in a position to take money from starving and hungry Illinois miners," states Pearcy in his United Press statement. "Now, however, we are in a different position," Pearcy continues. In a different position! At the time Allard suggested the national organization drive the P.M. of A. had approximately 16,000 dues paying members. Today the P.M. of A. has less than 9,000 paying dues and the strike is one year older. Today the striking miners are not only starving and hungry, they are damned disgusted with Pearcy's ignorance.

* * *

The rank and file miners of all strike affected territories must band themselves in a national organization as soon as possible. A national conference for the purpose of forming a united front of all rank and file miners is in order. The left wing miners throughout the nation can do the job. A well-coordinated national movement is the only way the miners can be victorious. It is the duty of all class-conscious miners to take the lead in this crisis. Intelligent, militant action can yet build a strong miners' union, check the encroachment of fascism and advance labor nearer to its goal.

NRA IN ACTION

By RAYMOND ROBBINS

THE recovery howl of the propagandist chorus of the NRA has comparatively subsided. Squeals of protest against the growing unionization of industry can be heard in the ranks of the big business bourbons. Everything is being done to dam the on-rushing flood of strikes that has followed in the wake of the codes. The bosses are busy with the procedure called "interpreting" the Labor section of the NRA. The National Association of Manufacturers brands the closed shop as a violation of the "collective bargaining" clause. They draw a Utopian picture of the company union, a legal practice "so long as the employer does not use coercive methods." "It is not necessary for labor to unionize to bargain collectively in securing benefits under the Recovery Act," chant the chamber of commerce boys from Maine to California.

The Doughty General Dictates

General Johnson has been quick to curry the favor of these saboteurs of "prosperity." He has evolved an anti-union plan which if carried out will be a long stride toward the fascization of big industry. The sole authority to settle labor disputes and keep the whip over the heads of the chiselling industrialists will reside in the National Director of Compliance appointed by the President upon recommendation by Johnson. The set-up of the various federal, state and city boards is to be composed of even more anti-union elements than are now found on the ineffectual National Labor Board.

Strikes Rage in Basic Industries

These plans for strike-breaking machinery are moving forward in the teeth of the greatest strike drive since the War. The Auto Industry, long the fortress of the open shop, has been the scene of strikes in Detroit and Flint among the tool and die workers and production men in the body plants. Ford's "enlightened capitalism" has been attacked by strikes in his assembly plants in Chester, Pa., and Edgewater, N. J. The coal miners have taken a "holiday" to lay seige to the greedy pirates who have refused to make a single concession to labor.

Farmers Fight Milk Trust

Unrest in steel and silk mills, needle and millinery factories has precipitated strikes involving tens of thousands of workers against the inhuman conditions which still prevail in spite of the bustle and blare of NRA. Several thousand farmers in Illinois continue to wage war against the profiteering milk trust which controls the milk supply of Chicago and outlying districts. They demand a minimum of 5 cents a quart for their milk instead of around 3 cents they are now getting. The left farmers meet in Chicago soon and the conference call reads, "Under the whip of a false prosperity the new deal drives back to old slavery."

To The Fifty-Third Convention of The American Federation of Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

should we not be asking:

"What price are we paying for this "favor?" If workers are now coming into unions because the government tells them to, what will they do when the government changes its mind?

This is not the first time that administrations in this and other countries have been comparatively friendly to labor, and that union membership has gone up. Why lose our heads about it? In Germany trade unionism was for years much stronger than it is here, but Hitler reigns there today.

Besides, has the right to organize been recognized? To have it written on a piece of paper means little or nothing. No intelligent person who has watched the events of the last few months will believe that the Roosevelt administration or the officers of the U.M.W. of A. would have obained a code, not to mention a signed agreement for the union, but for the magnificent strikes which the miners carried on in the face of opposition.

Despite the pious declarations of the administration, the steel workers have no code worth speaking of, and their right to organize may have been "recognized" in Washington but has not been recognized in the only place where it counts, namely, the steel mills.

Remember that NRA administrators, without any rebuke from the President, have repeatedly said that the open shop, the company union, the individual agreement, are not barred under NRA. The workers are simply "free to choose," if they manage to get by discrimination, company thugs, militia, injunctions and a few other slight obstacles. How much of a "gift" to labor does this mean?

And when U.M.W. officials dicker with the NRA and persuade their members to keep on mining coal on the assurance that the President himself guarantees them a new deal, until the operators have piled up millions of tons of coal and winter approaches, may it not be that these union officials have already made the miners pay too high a price for this "gift" of "union recognition" from Roosevelt? And just whom is Roosevelt himself serving in a case like this?

We raise other questions about Labor and the NRA. Wages have gone up for some workers. There is some improvement in employment. Is this the first time these things have occurred? Why should we be so excited about them?

The important fact is that millions are still unemployed and there is no assurance whatever that they will get their jobs back. From a long run point of view the Roosevelt administration is throwing men out of work. It is plowing under cotton, wheat, etc. and putting millions of acres out of production. Where are the men who worked these fields going?

It follows a policy of high tariffs, economic nationalism. That means less trade with other countries, though millions in the world need the goods we destroy. What is to become of those who work or might work in our export trade?

Preparing for War

On the other hand, the administration launches a naval armaments race. We grab at the jobs that are involved and give thanks to Roosevelt. The king who gives out such favors can do no wrong! But when other nations build battleships, we know it means war. If we were not blinded by the administration's "friendship" for labor, would we not see that Roosevelt guns also mean war . . . misery, death, slaughter, generations bowed under war debts?

The Roosevelt economic and financial program is bound to lead this country to the abyss. President Green in his opening address to this convention warned against inflation. He said labor wanted to be paid in "honest dollars." He pointed to Germany where eventually nominal wages of thousands of marks wouldn't buy a loaf of bread, and misery at length bred Fascism. The statement was greeted with tremendous applause. But it is precisely inflation and nothing else that stands at the end of the road upon which the administration has entered. Holding before labor the wisp of hay, tagged friendship for labor, it leads the union movement to a point where the trade unions either become Fascist or are smashed by Fascism. That happened in Germany and elsewhere. Why indulge in a pipe-dream and say it can't happen here?

All the Roosevelt measures of abandoning the gold standard, etc. have produced only a speculative boom so far, in which the "suckers" who have bought stocks and commodities will be caught again. The figures show that in the strict sense of the term there has been no inflation so far under the Roosevelt regime only because, while governmental agencies are increasing the public debt pretty fast (and who will pay through the nose in the end?), the cutting down of commercial loans by the bankers, and bankruptcy and foreclosure proceedings are wiping out credit faster than the state expands it.

Abbreviating a recent analysis by Mr. Lawrence Dennis, a well known writer on economics and once a member of the U. S. diplomatic service:

"We shall probably see in the near future a collapse of the security and commodity markets. This will again endanger credit structure and the banks. Then Mr. Roosevelt, under the pressure of Congress and all the industrial interests, will come out for drastic inflationary measures. In carrying out these measures, Mr. Roosevelt will have to take over the important industries. He will disclaim an intention of confiscating private property and will use the government printing press to make capitalists happy and respect property rights. The government will stand behind all the worthless assets of all the banks, insurance companies and financial institutions. It will finance all deficits of state and local government.

"Obviously this program can only mean a steady depreciation of the purchasing power of the dollar until it reaches near zero.

"These developments will ruin the bondholder, depositors in savings banks and the insured. They will impoverish the middle classes and make millionaires of shrewd speculative traders."

The Same Marked Cards

What labor gets out of such a "dishonest dollar" Mr. Green has pointed out!

No other program was to have been expected from a President who is trying to put over a "new deal," but with the same old marked cards. He may temporarily have pushed the Morgan interests away from the card table, but the Rockefeller interests are there in force. Raskob of General Motors who filled the treasury of the Democratic Party which elected Roosevelt is in the background, but Swope of General Electric, Teagle of Standard Oil, and Barney Baruch have prominent seats. Roosevelt carefully refrains from touching these people with his tax program. Instead he economizes at the expense of veterans and government employes. The international bankers have given way to the heavy industrialists in other countries too—Germany, for example. In the end that does not mean a better but a worse deal, for labor.

Before it is too late, labor must stop following. It must take the lead. It must cease to have faith in any one else's program, no matter how kindly disposed he may be. It must set forth its own program. The working-class must take command of the situation.

A Program for Labor

This is not the place to suggest labor's program in detail. It would have to include, in distinction from the fake revolutionary measures of the Roosevelt administration, such genuinely revolutionary measures as these:

1. A moratorium on profits until every worker and farmer gets a living wage. 2. Taxation to take for society all incomes above $5,000 until there is an income of at least $3,000 for every family of five. 3. A capital levy to wipe out the entire public debt of the nation. (Government bond issues are oversubscribed, showing there is plenty of idle money.) 4. Scale down drastically the mountain of debt in the form of mortgages, corporation capital, etc. under which the workers groan. 5. Take measures to put all and not a few of the unemployed to work. Put an end to the degrading system of handing out food baskets to millions of American workers and farmers and so long as there are jobless provide a federal system of unemployment insurance for them.

What to Do Now

At least four concrete steps must be taken at once: 1. The A. F. of L. must definitely abandon the craft union basis of organization. The workers demand industrial unions in the basic industries. Nothing else will bring them anything. Any attempt to palm off a fake industrial unionism on them, to draw them into the A. F. of L. and then divide them again into craft organizations, can have only one of the results: either company unionism will be forced upon the workers finally robbed of all hope of getting anything from trade unionism, or the A. F. of L. will be smashed by workers on the move and enraged at their betrayal.

2. There must be an end at once to the policy of discouraging the workers from striking. Let labor leave that to the bosses and their political henchmen. The workers have their chance now with the slight upturn which has come after years of suffering. They must strike while the iron is hot. Unionism is dead when in practice it gives up the strike weapon, even though it reserves a mythical paper "right" to strike.

3. The unions must effect the closest cooperation between the employed workers and the unemployed whose Leagues are even now in Ohio, for example, striking on relief jobs so that they may not undercut the employed workers.

4. The industrial workers, poor farmers, all other exploited groups must unite at once to build a Farmer-Worker Party. Labor must declare its independence forever of the parties of the bosses.

If it will do this, then dawn for the masses of the U. S. is indeed at hand. If not, this convention of the A. F. of L. will go down in history as a convention of men and women who saw a mirage in the desert, who, trusting in a smiling face, led the masses in the richest nation on earth to poverty, war, tyranny, Fascism.

THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR FUNNY FAIRY TALES

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

SHADOWS of coming events darken the present economic scene. The question is being asked, more and more: "After the NRA—what?" New Deal champions can claim only that 2,800,000 men have been put to work, and industry has already begun to slacken. The $13 and $14 a week wages granted these employed can never give them that mysterious "purchasing power," about which we hear so much.

Inflationists become bolder—and inflation we will have, in one form or another. Prices, outrunning wages now, will sprint far ahead. The fifth winter of the depression will bring added difficulties for the workers, whether in the shop or on the street. The strike-wave, now higher than for many years, will increase. The restiveness of the unemployed will grow. The NRA Government will find suppression of militant workers' movements its necessary weapon to hide the failure of its promises to the masses.

If there was ever need for united action on the part of left-wing workers' groups, this set-up calls for it. The American Federation of Labor will be captured or collapse in the face of any strong movement of reaction. We cannot forget "the war babies," and how easily they perished when government nursing was withdrawn. Socialist Party leadership, including Norman Thomas, ogles the NRA. The sole forces that realize the dangers hidden in the war ballyhoo of General Johnson's propaganda machine are the CPLA, rooting itself ever deeper into American soil, and the C.P., active as ever but still dangerously sick from sectarianism.

The question, "How can the united front be achieved?" is no longer a theoretical one. It is painfully practical. The answer, in some part, rests with the C.P. and its affiliated organizations. In section after section of this country, the workers will not come near anything "Communist" with a ten-foot pole. This is partly due to the false and slimy propaganda against all things "Communist." It is also due to the peculiar "approach" of most C. P. representatives, upon whose heads in their opinion rest the holy oils of revolution. The facility with which the word "traitor" has been bandied about, and the childish abandon with which "deviations" are mysteriously unearthed, have bewildered the workers and discredited the C. P. in too many places.

In the united front today, C. P. representatives must still live in a world of fiction. If criticisms cannot factually be made of other organizations in the united front, they must be invented. Amter of the unemployed councils, speaking at Cleveland, declared "the workers in the Columbus (league) convention were longing for unity with the councils. I have looked those boys in the face; they were eager to join hands with us." Then, turning to the CPLA representatives, he thundered: "Those who stand in the way of unity for the workers will be brushed aside." Now, fellow-worker Amter is not a bad fellow, but he should know better than that. I invite him to make that speech in one of the Ohio leagues. The CPLA group sweat blood at the Columbus convention and since, to produce a real united front. They are handicapped at every step by the tomfoolery of the C.P. "leaders."

In Columbus, the unemployed leagues have carried on a militant and successful anti-eviction fight. In pursuance of the united front policy, CPLA members in the league movement welcomed William Penn, local representative of the Councils, as a speaker at the eviction meetings. Penn, who has been able to gather about 15 around him, persisted with more fervor than sense, to speak six times at one meeting. Rank and file members of the leagues warmly protested these antics. And yet, a national spokesman of the councils in a public meeting at Columbus, declared solemnly that the leagues had discriminated against Penn! What sort of a united front did that promote? Ask the rank and file members of the leagues. They will tell you.

To achieve a real united front, the C. P. representatives must acknowledge their past mistakes in some other form than merely writing them down in "The Open Letter." They must carry appreciation of this fact into the field. They must come out of the "fairy tale" stage of believing that the workers are eager for a united front with them, and that "leaders" who have fought for united action are forever injuring it. Bedtime stories may tickle some of us in times of peace. Confronting the danger of post-N.R.A. Fascism, they are decidedly out of order.

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Under Direction of the National Executive Committee of CPLA

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A DIFFERENT MATTER

A COUPLE of weeks ago the city of New York proposed to levy a tax on stock transfers. It would have brought money to the city, among other things to relieve the unemployed, and would have served to cut down to some extent the gambling on the exchange. Of course, Labor Action has no defense to make of the present New York City administration. We cite this incident only because the method employed by the noble and honorable stock gamblers in meeting the situation should prove very enlightening to the workers.

They promptly went on strike in their own way. They resolved to move the Stock Exchange out of New York City and set up an exchange across the river in New Jersey. Millions upon millions of dollars worth of real estate in New York City would have lost its value if this move had been made. "Property" would have been destroyed on a tremendous scale.

We did not hear any loud complaints from the press against the stock gamblers, however. Had they been workers, striking for a living wage instead of for maintaining the right to make big profits out of gambling, it would have been something else again.

WAR PREPARATIONS

THE financial pages of the newspapers this week carried in obscure corners an item of much greater importance than what appears in the front page headlines. A statement prepared by the Japanese Federation of Cotton Textile Manufacturers shows that for the first time in 100 years Great Britain does not appear as the world's greatest cotton cloth exporting nation. Japan has taken first place, having crowded Great Britain out of many markets, especially in the Far East. This fierce competition between Japan and Great Britain is only one of many situations all over the world which may at any moment bring on war, and which will certainly eventually engulf the world in indescribably terrible conflict. The rivalry between the United States and Great Britain for markets in South America, which complicates the Cuban situation, and which has already brought on war between Bolivia and Paraguay is another instance.

Munitions factories in United States and elsewhere are working at top speed, turning out material for our own use or that of other nations. Under the guise of promoting national recovery, the Roosevelt administration is putting on the biggest naval building program in our history.

The workers of this country must begin at once to organize against the war danger. They must refuse to make and to transport munitions and other war materials. They must agitate against all war preparations by the government. If our rulers should attempt to make war, we must overthrow them.

The Anti-War Congress held in New York City was an important event. Despite certain attempts on the part of the Communist Party to dominate the situation, there was quite a broad representation of unions and other labor organizations and peace groups. The League Against War and Fascism established by the Congress will fail, however, unless a genuine effort is made to draw together all workers' organizations and others determined that the masses shall not be led to slaughter in another war. Let the anti-war movement go forward throughout the country on a basis of genuine united action!

NOT A LAUGHING MATTER

LABOR ACTION prints elsewhere on this page a letter of instructions and "general order No. 60" sent out to its "commanders" by the Khaki Shirts of America. We print this, not because we think that Art Smith, "commander in chief," and his hoodlums are going to become dictators tomorrow or because we think they have much influence yet. We print it because the Khaki Shirts represents a tendency in America which is growing dangerously fast.

We know that a great number of liberals and intellectuals, and even quite a few radicals, dismiss such organizations as the Khaki Shirts with a shrug of the shoulders as of no consequence. The proper way to handle them is to laugh at them.

In a sane world this would undoubtedly be correct. But in a world in which food and clothing are officially destroyed while millions of people starve, insane and ridiculous people come to power, and "sensible" people hang from gibbets or rot in prisons.

As proof of this we need only cite the case of Germany. Not later than a year ago the same people who today dismiss Art Smith as only a petty racketeer were saying that Hitler could never come to power. Fascism and Hitler were unthinkable in the country of Goethe and Shiller and Marx! Yet the unthinkable has become reality today and the people who believe that history proceeds according to moral precepts and not according to economic realities are either lauding Hitler as a savior or are learning about the world in exile and in concentration camps.

For more than three years now the "best brains" of the universities and colleges have been attemping to devise a nice peaceful plan to save American capitalism. No such plan has yet been found, nor can it be found. The time for reforms is past. If capitalism is to be saved it will have to be saved by fascism. There are only two choices in the world today; fascism with its storm troops, its murder and its suppression of all workers' rights; or a revolution which will overthrow capitalism completely and establish a workers' world with justice and freedom and peace.

W. VA. UNEMPLOYED HOLD CONVENTION

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—A lively conventon of the Unemployed League of West Virginia, which set up a permanent constitution and elected a capable and energetic set of Labor Actionists as officers ended September 23, with plans laid for a state-wide demonstration of the leagues at the opening of the next session of the state legislature.

An excellent representation from the unemployed leagues of the state and reports from all sections of the rapid extension of the organizations of the jobless were a feature of the convention.

Walter Seacrist, newly elected president, prophesies a tremendous expansion in the near future. Other officers elected are: Mack Harry, vice president; Fred West, Jr., financial secretary; Miss Virginia Lawyer, recording secretary; beside an executive committee of an executive board of seven leading militants.

FIGHT DISCRIMINATION

BERWYN, Pa.—(FP)— Refusing to send their children to a Jim-crow school, colored parents in this suburb of Philadelphia began the second year of their fight against the township board. They have been threatened with arrest but have stated they will go to jail rather than submit their children to discrimination. No children attended school all last year.

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

"BUY NOW"

"NOW is the time to buy," is the slogan with which Gen. Hugh S. Johnson will open his new offensive against the depression. Unlike the effort to put a Blue Eagle in every window, there is not going to be any clowning or ballyhoo in this campaign. This is a more serious matter and there will be no "red fire and horrah of the ordinary drive."

However, this does not mean that we will not hear about it and read about it. "Every available medium —newspapers, magazines, radio and motion pictures—will be utilized to reiterate that the inevitable result of a successful program to put men back to work will be higher prices," the General assures us.

* * *

The 15 million or more unemployed workers throughout the country will surely be delighted to know about this campaign. Of course they will not be able to do much about buying, the Blue Eagle not having yet added materially to their purchasing power. But they will be glad to know that others are helping to get them back to their jobs by making the prices rise.

* * *

And they can be useful, too. If General Johnson will make an exception in their case and permit a little "red fire and horrah," we feel sure that these unemployed millions can do much to put across the "now is the time to buy" campaign. There is not a community of any size in the country that does not contain at least dozens of these fellows who don't know what to do with themselves. Why not organize them, with cheer leaders and bands, to march through the streets and alleys rounding up all shirkers. Think of the enormous amounts that thousands of workers must be holding back from their $10 and $12 pay envelopes! They should not be permitted to keep prices down by their selfishness!

* * *

Of course we must be careful not to use coercion. And in most cases force will not be necessary. It will be found that very many of the 2,000,000 workers, for whom NRA is claimed to have secured jobs, are timid and bewildered. Not having had any money for several years they are not yet able to trust themselves in stores and restaurants. They have, to use a psychological term, lost the habit of buying.

* * *

However, this need not give us too much concern. A little ingenuity and imagination on the part of the campaign organizers is all that is necessary. Patriotic demonstrations in front of stores with banners flying, band music and cheer leaders will do much toward encouraging the timid and hesitant. Such slogans as "Buy now, for God and Country," "Buy till it hurts," "Inflation will get you if you don't watch out," should be inscribed on the banners and every time a good sized purchase is made the band should strike up "The Star Spangled Banner." The unemployed, not being able to do any buying themselves, should very properly be used for these demonstrations. It is their patriotic duty!

* * *

Naturally there is an element of danger in such demonstrations just as there is in any large group of ignorant workers. To every right thinking person it will be quite evident that the rich people, since they already have everything they need, must not be disturbed by these demonstrations. However, unless properly guided and instructed some of the unemployed might get the idea that the rich, since they do not need to buy anything, ought to be compelled to give some of their money to them so that they could get into the game and do some buying.

To all such it must be very carefully and, if necessary, forcefully explained that in a highly industrialized country such as the United States, if there were no rich people the unemployed would perhaps all have to be working. It is the patriotic millionaires who have made it possible for millions of unemployed workers to have leisure.

ORDER A BUNDLE OF LABOR ACTION TO SELL IN YOUR UNION

The Murder of Ernst Eckstein

The following letter, describing the death of Ernst Eckstein at the hands of the Hitler sadists, has been received by Labor Action from a Comrade in Paris. Comrade Eckstein was for many years the chief writer for the left group of the Socialist Democratic Party and later a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He was arrested immediately after the Reichstag fire and, after having been subjected to the most horrible tortures, took his own life.

"The most shattering experience I have ever lived through, was the martyr death of Ernst Eckstein. I knew Eckstein well. He was for many years a Social Democrat and later leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

"As a capable lawyer he had incurred the fierce hatred of the Nazis. In August, 1932, they threw a bomb into his bedroom. Everyone pleaded with him to leave Breslau for a period, but Eckstein who was an unusually gentle and at the same time courageous man, refused to desert the Breslau Workers.

"He was sent to the concentration camp as early as March. It was very painful to see the thin narrow-chested man made to do the heaviest work. In addition he was subjected to unusual torment. He had to cart heavy stones; and when the rest of us were permitted to rest, was commanded to clean the toilets. While he was emptying their contents he would be pointed out to visitors.

"One night I heard a terrible cry. Later a whisper went round that Eckstein had been beaten and had fled through the camp in his shirt. Perhaps the reason he was removed from Breslau was to prevent a scandal. At any rate he was taken to Oels, where within a stone's throw of the Crown Prince's Palace, there is a torture camp. A comrade who was there with him told me later that Eckstein was beaten by the hour and that his lungs and kidneys gave way."

—From the British "New Leader"

The Manager Speaks

Fellow Workers:

Thanks for all the letters, and perhaps this issue will inspire you to write again. Will answer as often as you write. Through correspondence we can help each other spread Labor Action and its message to ever-greater numbers of workers who want an accurate summary and analysis week by week of what is happening in the labor world.

One comrade wrote that **The Manager Speaks** is too dictatorial a title for a publication with anti-fascist leanings! I agree. Blame the headline writer, and remember these are always **suggestions**, humbly but hopefully submitted—except when they deal with overdue bills.

By the way, would you like a 60 per cent profit-making job? Then let me send you a bundle of 10 Labor Actions each time at 2c per copy. You sell them for five cents, and there you are, a square meal, simply by telling ten people this is something they can't afford to miss!

A new subscriber is much more than just another dollar, though that's a lot. He is a prospective center of activity and organization. As I said last time, if every one of you would get one new subscriber . . . !

Let me emphasize here that subscriptions are always entered for **so many issues**, 13 for 25c; 26 for 50c and 52 for $1, so if there is an irregularity in publication, the subscriber gets his full number of copies. Make that clear to him.

Here are what some wrote:

"Conditions are bad here. It is hard to get even the price of a paper, though Labor Action is very popular. You said these could be regarded as sample copies, but the Unemployed League voted to pay for them anyway." . . . G. C., Mass.

"Every miner here is broke, but send me a bundle regularly and I'll pay for them somehow. If I distribute them free once a week, I am sure some of the boys will develop a taste for them." . . . B. S., Illinois.

Ohio unemployed league members have pledged themselves to each sell 25 copies of Labor Action every issue, and when Ohio unemployed say they will do thus and so, they generally do thus and so!

You will be interested to know that over 500 copies of the new CPLA pamphlet (mentioned elsewhere) were sold to the anti-War Congress delegates. On all sides, especially after Comrade Muste's speech at the opening mass meeting, they were asking "What is this CPLA?" Now it can be told, in 16 pages, for 5 cents. Have you your copy? I can send you one, and others for sale at 2½ cents per copy.

Fraternally,
Cara Cook.

Khaki Shirts Will Invade Washington, October 12

The following "instructions" and "orders," sent out to "commanders" of the Kahki Shirts of America to mobilize their forces for a march on Washington on October 12 to declare President Roosevelt, dictator, have been sent to Labor Action from a southern state.

Just recently, silver medals for "bravery in action" were bestowed upon members who took part in the clash with anti-Fascists in Astoria, N. Y. in July when Anthony Ferro, anti-fascist, was killed. Fierro's comrade, Athos Terzani, faces trial in New York on a murder charge.

GENERAL INFORMATION:—

1. We are to move from forty-eight States in unison to our National Capital to DEMAND of Franklin D. Roosevelt, that he accept the Dictatorship of the American People, and the institution under such Dictatorship of the Fascist-Program of the Khaki Shirts, U. S. Fascists. Our object being to set up a Government that shall be in fact, as in theory a Government that will be "Of the People" and "For the People."

2. Experience of long duration has proven to us, that as long as a Dictatorship of Money Power exists, no President of these United States possesses the authority required to create and enforce a New Deal for the People.

3. In proof thereof, behold the bold and courageous effort of President Roosevelt to give the American People a New Deal, compelled to reliance upon merely the forces of Public Opinion for it's success; we see the greatest Sovereign Power on Earth stripped of all real authority, bereft of all real power to Command that New Deal and to enforce that Command.

4. The evidence before us is indisputable proof that a Dictatorship of Money Power holds the People, all their source of Living and their Government in it's grip.

5. The purpose of Money Power to frustrate the New Deal promised the American People stands out clear and unmistakable. That New Deal is impossible, until we become the Masters in our own House, the Rulers not the Slaves of Money Power.

6. Our action to set up such a Fascist Dictatorship will secure that objective for the PEOPLE.

INSTRUCTIONS:—

1. Commanders of Units of the Storm Troops directed to the Mobilization Point are hereby instructed that in the event that Motor Transport is not available to their respective Commands, that Railway Freight Car Transportation will be made available for men and equipment.

2. Sleeping and Eating accomodations at points of Mobilization will be provided for the men of each Command.

See Sheet No. 2 for General Information.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
OF THE
KHAKI SHIRTS - U. S. FASCIST
4420 NORTH BROAD
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

August 29th, 1933.

GENERAL ORDER NO. 60.

TO ALL DIVISION AND UNIT COMMANDERS:-

1. The time for action having arrived, you are hereby ordered and directed to hold your respective organizations in readiness for such immediate duties as will be set forth in the Marching Orders to follow.

2. Division, Brigade and Regimental Commanders are hereby ordered and directed to detail not less than one fourth their enlisted and commissioned personnel to the Storm Troops and to equip same preparatory to the execution of Marching Orders to follow.

3. Division Commanders will complete their Liaison with the Commander in Chief at National Headquarters promptly.

Signed J. T. MONAGHAN, ADJUTANT GENERAL.
Signed ART SMITH, COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

Reproduction of "General Order No. 60" sent out by Art Smith to his Khaki Shirts of America.

RADICAL INTERLUDES
By LOUIS BREIER

In Defense of Humor

HUMOR needs defending only in the labor movement where, for too long a time, joking has been anathema and humorous self-criticism a blasphemy not even second to joining the Democratic party.

Michael Gold who is attempting for the "Daily Worker" what I am attempting for "Labor Action" and has, I admit, the more difficult job of the two, was recently obliged to apologize for his sense of humor. The outraged "comrade" who attacked his column found no less than thirteen pernicious right deviations in a single paragraph! This is itself a delicious bit of humor, but I am sorry to say that brother Gold, instead of annihilating the preposterous pedant with a single stroke of his wit engaged in a long dissertation in which, among other things, the questions of racial equality, economic determinism, theoretical deviations and the Jewish problem were lightly touched upon.

Brother Gold might have writen with greater point, a brief on the entire question of radical humor which cannot be adequately considered here. The necessity for such a brief is pressing; for it seems to me that with the passing of the years the labor movement is becoming progressively glum and it is hardly possible any longer to as much as smile at a conference or even a united front convention without being suspected of selling out to the bosses.

Why the bosses should be allowed to monopolize humor along with everything else is beyond my understanding. It seems obvious that in the arsenal of weapons against great abuses, humor is one of the most potent clubs. It is already a little trite to point out that the one never-failing enemy of respectability in any form is ridicule. Rabelais proved it, Voltaire proved it, in our own day Shaw proved it just after he proved that it was possible to be profitably socialistic.

* * *

Laughter is more terrible than revolution. Pausanias said that in 573 B. C. It is more terrible because while revolution destroys dignities, laughter destroys Dignity. And this is one of the great functions of humor in the labor movement—to destroy the dignity of old, outworn and therefore dignified customs that are still venerated by the people and will continue to flourish as long as they are venerated.

In this connection the infusion of humor and satire into the cultural activities of labor will add a very necessary salt, especially in the realm of drama and literature which, far from projecting living, moving realities to the man in the street, have become hothouses for fine-spun intellectuals.

Above everything else humor is a necessary check against excessive, almost cosmical theorizings which have only too often led us into absurd blunders which a little geniality and common sense might have avoided. The introduction of humor into a revolutionary organization is therefore a very important work.

This column intends to perform that work not by precept, but by practice. Tell the average radical that he is deficient in humor and very likely he will go to the nearest library to read Bergson's "Laughter" or Meredith's "Essay on Comedy" after which he is certain to engage in a long and completely serious argument on the futility of all non-Marxian theories.

This is a fault bordering on fanaticism. And indeed, humor is generally the margin between fanaticism and intelligent revolt. Very likely the comrade who found Gold's paragraph so full of deviations is a true fanatic. He is very much like the fellow who signed a letter which a friend of mine, who writes poetry, received after the publication of an ironic verse. The poem was addressed to sparrows cautioning them not to complain of hunger. Were there not enough moonbeams to eat? Was there not enough rose-scent to chew and starlight to drink? The intent seems plain enough. Yet the letter abused my friend in no uncertain terms for "bothering about sparrows when children were going without milk!"

Labor Actionists are invited to help write this column. In addition to humorous incidents having to do with the labor movement, short verse and epigrams will be welcomed. Send your contributions to: Radical Interludes, c/o Labor Action, 128 East 16th St., N. Y. C.