

LABOR ACTION

Roosevelt's
"Revolution"
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Mine Union Slips As Officials Oust Honest Militants

Conspire with Government Agents to Drive Militants From Progressive Miners Union in Illinois

Were Founders Gerry Allard, Editor of "Fighting Miner," Faces Charges

(Special to Labor Action)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—The Progressive Miners of America, product of militant miners fight for over a year, is now on the downhill pull since the officials of that organization are making good their promises to weed out the radicals who made the existence of the new Illinois miners union possible.

Gerry Allard, who was removed as editor of the official organ, the "Progressive Miner," because of his fight against rank and file censorship and for a consistent left-wing line of policies, is now confronted with charges which may lead to his expulsion from the Progressive Miners' Union. Allard is charged with "being detrimental to the P.M. of A." because he has accepted the editorship of the "Fighting Miner," a national independent left-wing miners' paper.

Radicals Attacked

The latest victim of the systematic attack against all radicals within the P. M. of A. is John Battuello, former Chairman of the District Trial Board who protested against the reactionary shift of the union leaders. Battuello was fired by the Superior Coal Company mines at Gillespie because he picketed those mines during the recent march on Springfield protesting against the notorious Richberg decree. Joe Picket, president of local union 1, and right-hand man of Claude Pearce, P. M. of A. President, has announced that he will testify against Battuello in the case that is to come up to decide the union's position on the discharge.

George Voyzey, candidate against Lewis in 1924 international elections and Joe Angelo, a Springfield militant have been expelled from the ranks of the P. M. of A. by the new machine in Illinois miners' affairs.

Excuses Trumped-Up

The charge against Angelo and Voyzey was that they had no jobs therefore they were not eligible to union membership. This excuse is a rather flimsy one in view of the great unemployment that exists among the Illinois miners. Also, in view of the attempts of the Progressive Miners to stop scabs from entering operations that have refused to join the P. M. of A.

The drive against radicals is the result of the conspiracy that has been concocted between the P. M. of A. and Government officials, acting as agents of the coal operators. Pearce agreed to the no strike rule of the Federal Government as well as other notorious arrangements which the rank and file of the Illinois miners do not approve.

LABOR SCHOOL GOES TO CAROLINA WORKERS

High Point, N. C.—If workers can't come to a school then the school must go to the workers. With this in mind the Carolina School has just started operation here. The school made possible by an anonymous contributor who has guaranteed the rent and food necessary to maintain the staff, intends to establish a library league and a Workers' Museum at a later date. At present the faculty consists of Lawrence Hogan, instructor in Trade Union Tactics; Hazel Dawson, Public Speaking and English; Beulah Carter, Elementary Economics; Jack Fies, Labor History; Alton Lawrence, Economic History. The courses are to combine field work as well as class room study.

CPLA Demonstrate How To Win Strike For Pittsburghers

Pittsburgh, Pa.—How the organized unemployed can help in defending the wage standards of employed workers was demonstrated here recently when Local 3 of the Unemployed Citizens League helped motion picture operators of Hazelwood win a strike.

As a result of public sentiment aroused by the strike and an investigation made by Richard Reilly, CPLA member, a committee of all local union organizations in the community was formed to help in the activities being carried on by Local 3 of the U.C.L.

This committee, if properly directed, will be an effective factor in the community for bringing pressure to bear on other non-union enterprises and securing higher relief for the unemployed.

The leadership of Local 3 is largely Labor Actionist.

Power Code Freezes Out 90,000 Men

By JOHN T. CODDER

NEW YORK, N. Y.—One hundred thousand men thrown out of work! This is the record of our great American public utility systems between the year 1929 and Franklin Roosevelt's entrance into the White House.

Presented with a four year lease in return for a promise of a New Deal to these and other forgotten men, Roosevelt and his professional brain trust developed the now famous National Recovery Act.

This act, which Europeans have translated as "Nuts Run America," was to return untold millions to work within a few months.

Just how many millions actually will be returned to work under the magic touch of the NRA program has been pointed out by figures unwittingly, and no doubt unwillingly, supplied by the Edison Companies of New York City.

Employers Want Wage-Cut

Appearing before the New York State Public Service Commission in an effort to prove that the 1932 conditions no longer existed the companies contended that operating results taken by the Commission as a basis for its recent ruling of a six per cent rate reduction were useless. They pleaded that under the NRA code they would have to increase their operating force by 2,100 employees. An increased operating cost of nearly three and a half million dollars a year, they argue.

Using the figures submitted by the Edison interests, officers of the Brotherhood of Edison Employees quickly pointed out that before the adoption of the code the New York companies employed some 33,000

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Farms Get Little For Products

Conventions of Unemployed Show Malnutrition Among Ohio Farmers

Fight for Relief On

All Conventions Demand Adequate Relief Be Made At Once

By WM. R. TRUAX

COLUMBUS, Ohio — One dollar and seven cents for 100 pounds of milk. This is the price being paid to farmers in Gallia County, Ohio, by the Borden Company. To obtain this low amount the farmers must transport the milk to the Borden depot at Huntington, West Virginia.

This was the story unfolded at the sessions of the Gallia County convention of the Ohio State Unemployed League. The local unemployed receive no relief whatever; funds for relief purposes being diverted into political channels.

Children are deprived of the right of an education due to lack of shoes and clothing. White bread in this county is a luxury. There is scarcely a child in the county who doesn't show signs of malnutrition and their physical condition hardly fits that barefoot boy with eyes of blue that is recalled to mind when one speaks of fourth and fifth generation Americans.

Immediately after the convention, which was attended by 200 delegates, the grievance committee was successful in securing some relief. The battle will continue until a decent standard of living is provided by county authorities.

Interest in the unemployed movement is growing throughout the state. In Columbia County, one of the most extensively industrialized sections of the state, 400 delegates attended the county convention and elected George Shepp of East Liverpool

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LARRY HOGAN KEEPS UP FIGHTING ATTACK

High Point, N. C.—Driving a second hand Ford of ancient vintage 260 miles in a day, making four speeches and installing union charters in the widely separated towns of Graham, Concord and Burlington is all in the days work for Labor Actionist Larry Hogan.

Hogan, fiery leader of the 1929 Marion strike, for which he served six months on the chain gang, besides being the CPLA representative in the South is also southern organizer for the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and a director of the North Carolina School for Workers

Federal Relief Funds Vanish Thru Thin Air As AAA and Hopkins Play Tag Waiting Them

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Money, money, who's got the money?

That's what Harry Hopkins, administrator of Federal relief funds wants to know. Out of the five hundred million dollars which Congress appropriated for relief last winter, there is some three hundred million left. But Hopkins wants more than this; and he also wants to conserve as much of it as possible until Congress gives some more.

For these reasons, he announced that the A.A.A. would put some more processing taxes on food-stuffs and the returns would be turned over to his bureau for relief. Alas, for Hopkins, however, the A.A.A. announced that it did not collect enough in taxes to take care of its own program, let alone worry over relief.

So What?

So four hundred million of the seven hundred million which Hopkins intended to spend goes up in

smoke. What will become of his program?

There are some three and a half million families on the public relief rolls. This amounts to 15,000,000 people. To take care of them Hopkins intended to buy:

- 9 million lbs. of butter a month
 - 30 to 50 million lbs. of pork
 - 10 million dozen eggs
 - 8 million lbs. of beef.
- Also large quantities of coal. To say nothing of shoes, cotton and woolen clothing, mattresses, and cod-liver oil, if there were money enough.

Organization Counts

Investigating unemployment relief, Hopkins found that there were only 15 states where the average relief per family of 4 to 5 people was \$15 a week. In Mississippi he found similar families living on \$3.96 a month. Theoretically, he then established \$15 a month as the absolute minimum. It is well to note that the states

Former Chase Bank President Takes Cut From Stock Market

"Wage-cut" Wiggan, whose cure for the depression was bigger and better wage cuts for workers, raised his salary three times from 1929 to 1931 until it reached \$250,000 a year.

He paid some income taxes, but admitted that he gyped the government of hundreds of thousands in taxes by buying and selling through his own Canadian corporations.

He lent the bank's money to Armour and Company as well as Dahl of the B.M.T., but he sat on the board of directors of both of these corporations getting some \$20,000 from each company.

He bribed Machado, stole from his own company, cheated the government, made millions for his family, sold "short" before the 1929 crash, and says that the depression can only be solved by cutting workers' wages.

Bldg. Trades Strike Looms; Oppose Code

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Building trades workers will go on strike unless the code proposed for that industry meets their demands. This was the ultimatum given General Johnson by the representatives of 1,500,000 men engaged in the building trades industry in demanding a hearing for labor before the adoption of a code.

Michael J. Collier, of the Plasterers' Union and D. W. Tracy of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers said:

"If the master code is adopted as it now stands, it can only mean a strike. It will set employer against employee and defeat the very purpose for which the Recovery Act was adopted."

The master code for the building trades proposes an average 40-hour week with eight additional hours permitted at times. Unions demand a 30-hour week. Statistics show that only if the unions demands are met, can workers be added to the industry from the ranks of the unemployed.

Ask Fairer Wages

Forty cents an hour is set by the master code as the wages for unskilled labor. The union demands this amount for southern workers and 50 cents an hour for workers in northern cities. Double pay is asked in overtime.

For semi-skilled and skilled men the union proposes wage scales ranging from 60 cents to \$1.20 an hour. The master code states no amounts for these workers and asks to settle after the code has been signed.

Administrators' Prejudice

Unfortunately for workers, hearings on the code will be held before Administrators Malcolm Muir and

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West Va. Bankrupt; Unemployed League Fights Relief Cuts

New Tax Amendment Uses Taxes to Pay Interest Charges; Attorney-General Admits Inability to Act; State Employees Unpaid; Schools May Shut

Socialists of Pittsburgh Betray Ten

Party Leaders Suspend Them for Attending United Front Meeting

PITTSBURGH, PENNA.—Ten of the most militant leaders of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Allegheny County have been suspended by the County Central Committee which is dominated by ranking members of the Socialist Party. They are accused of violating the spirit of the League for having participated in a United Front Conference with Unemployed Councils.

Not satisfied with actual suspension, the County Committee attempted to keep these ten leaders out of the meeting as well as to have them "frisked" by the police. Secretary Joe McCarthy admitted that there was nothing in the League's constitution by which these leaders might be suspended. A section was so interpreted, however.

CPLAers Suspended

The ten Labor Actionists suspended were: Elmer Cope, R. W. Reilly, Frank Irvin, Mary Ann Johnson, E. R. McKinney, Ed Prothold, A. H. Marsh, Joe Waltz, George Baumberger, and Jerry Haycke.

The Central County Committee which has among its members Sara Limbach, state secretary of the S. P., Dave Rinne, S. P. secretary of Allegheny County, and Bob Lieberman, S. P. chairman of the League, refused to allow the Unemployed Citizens' League to enter a United Front Conference. They said that it was a Communist party racket.

Ask to Be Heard

The ten members who participated as members of the Unemployed Citizens' League were suspended. The County Central Committee changed the date of the meeting to discuss the suspension, when the persistence of the ten militant leaders in their determination to be heard annoyed the committee.

As the small group were leaving the building where the meeting was held, they were stopped by the police, who said that it had been reported to them that the militants were making trouble as well as carrying guns. Mrs. Pearl Braden, a follower of Lieberman, pointed out the members of the group to the police.

Search, however, did not show any guns among any of the group. The gentleman "who had white pants on and carried a gun" seemed to be a mythical person, the police agreed.

Militant Labor Actionists are agreed that the fight has not been finished. Tactics will be discussed among themselves for return to the Unemployed Citizens' League together with a more militant leadership of that organization.

CPLA TO MEET IN PA.

Faced with the tremendous job of building a real labor movement in the United States and coming from the field of battle from every corner of the country, delegates to the annual convention of the CPLA will meet at Pittsburgh on November 18 and 19 to hammer out policies and to determine the program of the Labor Actionists.

Every member possible is expected to attend. Get in touch with Mary Rodgers, 526 North Negley Ave.

Jobless Aroused CPLA Attracts Miners Who Scorn Strategy of A. F. of L. Unions

(Special to Labor Action)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—The economic life of this state is at low ebb. Its politics are in chaos. The Attorney General has just stated that it is doubtful whether the state can operate at all any more under its present constitution. Its schools are about to close. Its government employees are going without pay. Its unemployed are at the point of starvation.

The only organization in sight that promises to do anything about it is the West Virginia Unemployed League headed by Walter Seacrist; and a capable executive board from all sections of the Kanawha Valley.

The immediate cause of the political chaos is a recently adopted amendment to the constitution which limits the amount of taxes that can be levied on real estate. In conjunction with other sections of the constitution it has been interpreted to mean that governmental units cannot use any money for current expenses until all interest on past indebtedness, and principal when due, has been paid. Since these debts are huge and the tax income likely to be cut in half by the new amendment, the whole machinery of government in the state is about to be stalled. Says the leading evening paper in the state, "We are nearing the stage of wreck—the danger of a complete and hopeless debacle must be averted."

The W. Va. Unemployed League is growing by leaps and bounds. Not only the jobless, but more and more employed workers are coming into it because, they say, "they don't trust the A. F. of L. craft unions and want one big industrial union." This feeling is strengthened by the fact that the miners under the new John L. Lewis-NRA code are in many cases making less

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Hitler Smith Boasts of Killing Radical

NEW YORK CITY—"We killed one radical and sent 19 others to a hospital in New York."

Thus boasted Art Smith, would-be American Hitler, in an address before a group of his followers in Philadelphia.

The murdered radical referred to was Anthony Fierro, anti-fascist, killed in a meeting of the Khaki Shirts in Astoria, L. I., on July 14. Athos Terzani, friend and comrade of Fierro, is being held for his murder on a charge based solely on the word of Smith.

Demand for the immediate release of Terzani and prosecution of the "real and known perpetrators of the crime" has been made from District Attorney Charles S. Colden of Queens County in a letter sent to him by Admund J. Phillips of Philadelphia. Phillips, Spanish-American war veteran, was a former organizer for the Khaki Shirts but left in disgust when he learned that "Smith had departed widely from the professed aims of the Khaki Shirts."

The Phillips' letter was made public through the united-front Terzani Defense Committee, of which Norman Thomas is chairman. The committee contends that Fierro was killed by a member of the fascist Khaki Shirts while defending a friend who was being ejected from the meeting.

Repeated appeals made by the committee to District Attorney Colden to make a real investigation into Fierro's death have thus far gone unheeded.

My Uncle Abner

By TESS HUFF

WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE

The country lad who tells the story witnesses the murder of a neighbor by soldiers and deputized thugs sent into his county to break the milk strike called by the farmers against the large milk distributing companies. His father, one of the strikers, is arrested for the murder. Having heard his parents speak well of his Uncle Abner, who is on the New York police force, the boy decides to appeal to him for help. With his Uncle's address and a few dollars in his pocket and a bundle of food the boy starts out for the big city. Now read on—

Part III.

The day I got into the big city of New York everything was going round and round in a whirl and I was bewildered. It was raining and I couldn't find Uncle Abner's.

Finally I found myself with some men on an iron bench under an elevated railroad. The trains passed over our heads every minute. The men on the benches sat hunched up. In the mist about us under the railroad you could see other men about the track pillars, standing with their hands in their pockets. What I felt that night looking at these men of New York was crazy. I was afraid of them. To tell the truth I thought they were New York gangsters.

In the night sometime I had a nightmare and I woke up screaming.

"All right, kid," said the man next to me. He was wrapped in damp newspapers. He grabbed me, his eyes were wide open, staring.

"Listen," he said. "I told them the country would bloom under the new president. I told them. They wouldn't believe me. Now they're dead. Dead! They wouldn't believe me. My God, listen, listen. Do you have a cigarette? I told them. They wouldn't..."

I jumped up, thinking the man was mad. I stumbled away. But wherever I went I saw these figures in the mist, huddled up, crouching in the darkness, trying to crawl into something, to compress themselves, in order to get out of the rain.

The next day, perhaps it was, I'm not sure, I was sick. I know a cop took me to my Uncle Abner's and I was put to bed. In a few days I was up, my sickness gone, and so I began to talk sensibly to Uncle Abner and his wife about the milk strike and the trouble my father was in.

They frowned and shook their heads and Uncle Abner rubbed his square-cut jaws. He was not really a fat man though he had a big belly the same as the man who clubbed my father. In his blue uniform he was round from the chest

down, square-shouldered and powerful. "They have indicted your father for murder," he said.

He handed me a letter they had received from Wess. When I read the letter and learned the grand jury had indicted all the farmers for killing Henry Howard, the farmer killed by the soldiers at the river crossing the day of the battle, I grew excited and jumped up crying for Uncle Abner to help us.

"My father loves you," I said. "Help us, help us!"

My Uncle Abner stood at the window thinking and pinching his cheeks.



"Why do the farmers put up with it?" he demanded. "Why don't they—?" he paused and looked at his wife. "I never saw such times," he said. "People are getting desperate, I'm telling you."

"It's terrible," Maxine said, turning to me. "Two families have been evicted here, and they were perfectly nice people. They just could not find work." She was sitting at a little table with a mirror, putting powder on her face. She was a little woman with fluffy red hair. I liked her right from the start because she had such bright eyes.

"And people are going crazy," that's the truth," I told them. "Right here in New York," I said. "Crazy is right," said Uncle Abner. "And the women—they can't stand the gaff worth a damn. They go nuts."

He picked his club up from the table. "It's terrible," said Maxine.

And to tell the truth I was so tickled because Uncle Abner and Maxine were sorry for all of us poor people in these hard times that I grabbed Uncle Abner's hand and kissed it. I was so happy.

"I knew you would help us," I almost cried.

"I'll see what I can do, I'll certainly see what I can do," Uncle Abner said, and he went out the door swinging his club for he had to go to his beat.

(To be continued)

Pittsburgh Nov. 18-19 Means Move Forward

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

PITTSBURGH and November 18-19, 1933, must be remembered as an eventual contribution to the workers' revolutionary movement in America. At this moment, there is not a party or group which appeals to the masses of American toilers as the agency through which they can achieve fundamental change. There is no radical force capable of taking advantage of the coming failure of the NRA. At Pittsburgh, this deficiency must be remedied.

Labor Actionists have done much ground breaking work in the American scene. They have built mass organizations. They have participated in historic strikes. They have developed an effective approach to the American workers. They have forged out a revolutionary philosophy, based on experience and action.

Now is the time to tie all of these developments together. The CPLA must boldly demonstrate that it is the left wing vanguard of the American workers. It must pronounce itself the party that will carry the revolutionary banner forward in these United States, to the formation of a workers' republic. It must act on this pronouncement, agreeing that no other agency can accomplish this task.

The economic alarm clock has already sounded the hour for this step. Recognition of the Soviet Union by the Roosevelt government will serve to tie the hands of the Communist Party, already suffering under diverse handicaps. The

Socialist Party here continues to evidence the same anemia which has discredited Social Democracy all over the world. It stands today completely bankrupt, ready to be swept away at the first whiff of Fascist grapes. Out of the American workers themselves a party must rise, talking the American language, fighting realistically in the U. S. A.

The CPLA has the qualifications for being such a party. Audacity and times require it to measure up to the needs which its "qualifications" can meet. There must be no hesitancy. There can be no holding back. A clear-cut recognition of our own role in the labor movement of America is essential for all of us.

Among the important things required of us, then, by way of action in our convention are:

1. Definite statement of our revolutionary task and responsibility in this country. This statement must be sharp in its announcement of our aims and methods. It should make clear that we reject alliances with "liberal" and shilly-shallying elements.
2. Organization of and work within mass groups to the end that they receive "the CPLA imprint." While avoiding sectarianism, we must clearly differentiate ourselves from all other "radical" parties. Our mass organizational work should be more frankly CPLA than it has ever been.
3. A supreme effort on our part to create a united front of all left wing elements against the growing possibility of Fascism. Through

ROOSEVELT'S "REVOLUTION"

By A. J. MUSTE

ABRAHAM CAHAN, distinguished veteran editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, Socialist organ, said recently to a mass-meeting of garment workers celebrating gains made under the NRA (in this case real enough for the time being) that in view of the pro-labor policies being pursued by President Roosevelt, he "ought to be a Socialist." A good many people hold to this view that Roosevelt, though cleverly avoiding somewhat unpopular labels, is really putting over a "revolution" in the U. S.

So far as Roosevelt himself is concerned, and those closest to him, the idea seems to be that we are having a real revolution but that we aren't really having a revolution. It all depends on who is talking, and very often on when a given individual is talking and to whom. Labor is repeatedly assured, that it is a new deal and no mistake. Employers are assured that, of course, certain changes are being made which sensible employers themselves really want, but that they have nothing to worry about.

Not a Question of Well-Wishing But of Economic Forces

We cannot determine what is really happening or likely to happen until we break away from the common error of thinking it is a question of what kind of a man Roosevelt is and what he has in mind. Within the past week, I have heard two very prominent editors state that Roosevelt really has no policies, he is a supreme politician and opportunist, will be guided by the way he thinks the wind is blowing, and just because of that is likely to go "pretty far to the left." We ought, therefore, to egg him on, so to speak, build him up, rather than criticize him.

This is the height of absurdity. It is about the same as saying that when you go to a Buddhist temple, it depends on the individual priest whether you will hear a Methodist, Baptist, Moslem or Buddhist service and sermon. The question is not what kind of a man Roosevelt is. The question is what are the economic forces at work, and what is Roosevelt actually doing about them.

By some the social measures of the Roosevelt administration are pointed out as evidences of the revolution. Child labor is prohibited, hours of labor are shortened, great sums of money are spent on relief, large appropriations are made for public works. Good enough in themselves, some of these measures, but they are not abolishing the capitalist system. There is nothing revolutionary about codes which

set a 40 to 48 hour week when the average work week is down around 30 hours. It is claimed that two billion dollars annually has been added to the purchasing power of the workers by recovery measures. Two billion dollars has also been added to the public debt by the Roosevelt administration, on which the masses will be compelled to pay interest and principal. Relief is not even as good as unemployment insurance which many other countries have established. The Federal relief authorities estimate that upwards of 20 million people in the U. S. are living on relief.

Much is made of the fact that millions of pounds of surplus meat, etc. are bought to give the unemployed. Noble to develop an army of unemployed accustomed to living on mere subsistence rations from government and constituting a perpetual threat to the wage standards of those who are fortunate enough to have jobs? Noble to set a \$12 to \$15 per week minimum wage, which tends to become a maximum, in the richest nation on earth?

A New Name for An Old Game
Take the government's tax program. Flying in the face of its own NRA, the Federal government lays off employees and cuts wages. It must economize or tax big incomes and inheritances. So it economizes! In the last few years an income tax program which would still have left a lot of people with \$5,000 or \$10,000 or \$20,000 incomes, would have raised forty billion dollars. The whole national debt could have been wiped out and an unemployment insurance scheme set up. Has the "revolutionary" Roosevelt proposed any such tax program? Not so you could notice. Instead the F. D. R. who "senses which way the wind blows" and who denounced the sales tax last winter has already in the guise of "processing taxes" imposed millions more in sales taxation than Congress proposed a few months ago!

Every measure of the Roosevelt administration is meant to maintain the price and profit system. The game is supposed, however, to have new rules, stricter supervision. What government regulation amounts to we have seen in the public utilities field. Meantime anti-trust laws are repealed, business is left free, indeed encouraged to organize on a big scale. The big aggregations of capital are bound to have more power than ever as against the little fellows. This process of "putting some order" into the capitalist system has taken place in other coun-

tries, as e. g. Germany. It has brought ruin, not salvation, to the masses.

He Tells the Big Bad Bankers
But Roosevelt is telling the bankers and big industrialists where to get off. When you go off the gold standard, try to turn your back on world trade, give up free exchange of goods and currencies, the international bankers become relatively less important, so you talk back to them. That has happened elsewhere too, and hasn't saved the masses from misery. Radicals ought not to be fooled either by a big show of putting Myron Taylor or Henry Ford in his place—with the help of Teagle, Swope, Barney Baruch, et al.

Notice

Due to an automobile accident, in which a number of CPLA'ers attached to our Springfield office, were injured, copy for Gerry Alward's "Coal Dust" has arrived too late for publication in this issue. Gerry's column will be resumed in our next issue.

our own initiative, we might well call upon these groups to realize the dangers which confront the workers' movements in America, and the consequent necessity for genuine and honest left wing united action.

4. Beating the Fascists at their own game. American symbolism, with workers' class struggle interpretation, is called for in the present confused scene. The "rattlesnake flag" which appeared in the demonstration of the Ohio Unemployed League, and which has been used elsewhere, is a case in point. The CPLA, without quibbling, should definitely embark upon a policy of using American symbols, with the idea of doing this extensively and in systematic fashion. It is the logical outcome of "the American approach." The longer we hesitate to do so, the more difficult will it be to put such a program into effect. And the more concrete will the Fascist menace become.

The workers of this country are about to be subjected to still further attacks. A clear and firm voice, which they can understand, should call them to action. It must be a revolutionary voice, demanding the overthrow of the capitalist set-up through mass action. If there are remaining any comrades, who still hesitate, who fail to understand that task, these doubts and hesitations must be dispelled at Pittsburgh.

A. F. of L. Convention Ruled By Johnson

THE fifty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was held recently. When the history of our era is written it will probably be recognized that a speech made by General Hugh Johnson, big shot of the N.R.A., was the most important event of that convention.

Johnson had William Green, A. F. of L. president, announce that in his (Johnson's) opinion this was the greatest speech of his career. In it he made two points: 1. Organized labor, trade unionism, must in future operate under government control; 2. The strike can no longer be tolerated.

These statements are so startling and "revolutionary" that we have to back them up with evidence. As to the first, Johnson referred back to the economic anarchy and chaos which had brought want in the midst of plenty. The American people would not tolerate this, and government was the agency to step in and put a stop to it. "It is not a difficult problem" asserts the masterful Johnson—"organization and control of both industry and labor organization to the uttermost with such public control as will create complete confidence in organization of both." And again, "I believe in a vertical organization of labor in each industry on a national scale, with representation of government in each organization to the full extent that we are putting government representation in each organization of industry." If Johnson was speaking the English language, he meant government agents sitting in on the executive boards of unions.

Gov't Control
As for the second point, "You had to be militant and always on the alert, defensive. That is no longer necessary with N.R.A.—the plain, stark truth is that you cannot tolerate the strike. Public opinion is the essential power in this country. In the end it will break down every subversive influence"—striking unions presumably being "subversive influences!"

Government-controlled, rather than independent, unions and the outlawry of strikes is what you get under Fascist dictatorships—under Mussolini in Italy, under Hitler in Germany. Here is as clear and unequivocal a notice as you could wish that it is this kind of unionism, this denial of true unionism, that we are to have in the U. S. It comes from Johnson. Roosevelt has not repudiated it or him.

WHAT did the A. F. of L. in its convention at such a critical hour say to such a critical utterance? It said absolutely nothing, except for one brief remark by an insignificant delegate. The President of the A. F. of L., the Executive Council, the heads of the great unions, all were silent. The convention voted unanimously for a boycott on goods from Fascist Germany. Pres. Green nearly broke down as he described the smashing of the German trade unions by Hitler, but there was not a word of protest against the Fascist threat from the chief of the N.R.A.

There were other discouraging features about this A. F. of L. convention which boasted that a couple of million new members had been added to its ranks since the N.R.A. went into effect. The same old officers were reelected. A proposal experience an upward swing of some importance. In that case Roosevelt will "sense which way the wind blows," stop "experimenting," get reelected in 1936 with the aid of that great revolutionist, Jim Farley, and go down in history with Teddy Roosevelt.

There may be no capitalist way out except war. In that case F. D. who does love the navy will go down in history with Woodrow Wilson.

The crisis may deepen, revolt brew, and no revolutionary workers' movement be ready to press through to victory. In that case Roosevelt will become the Mussolini of American capitalism or make way for a Mussolini.

Or the crisis may deepen and the masses take things into their own hands. In that case they will find Roosevelt a Kerensky who will "go a long ways," provided always they behave like gentlemen, talk things out around the table, do not "go too far." They will have to put him aside for a real revolutionist.

to enlarge the Executive Council and make it more representative was voted down. The question whether the A. F. of L. will take real steps to provide industrial unions in the basic industries and not divide up into craft unions, the workers provisionally placed in federal unions, was left hanging in the air. In spite of Johnson's utterances and other considerations, the general attitude was one of implicit faith in the N.R.A. and Roosevelt.

NEVERTHELESS, other factors must be taken into account. There were many criticisms of the way in which N.R.A. is working out, many demands for specific changes in codes and their administration. The issue of industrial unionism was raised more definitely than in many years. There is in the A. F. of L. a strong tradition against any government interference in the internal affairs of unions which may yet assert itself. As practical unionists, even A. F. of L. officials know that it usually takes a strike to line up unorganized workers.

Moreover, the officialdom does not by any means in all cases fully represent the rank and file. American workers are restless today, on the move, striking.

Progressives and revolutionists must vigorously press certain measures.

1. All dual unionist adventurism must be given up in this crisis. We must strive for a united trade union movement.

2. The issue of industrial unionism must be stressed. If the A. F. of L. tries to divide up the workers in any basic industry into craft unions, they must be warned to shun the A. F. of L.

3. The battle against reaction, autocracy and racketeering in the A. F. of L. unions must be pressed more relentlessly than ever.

4. All must join in a great movement to protect the independence of the trade unions from government interference and control, and to preserve the right to strike, without which the worker is a slave. There are grave signs that many A. F. of L. officials are already so tied in with the Roosevelt regime, owe so many favors to it, that they will not put up any real resistance against such moves as Johnson's to fascitize the unions and outlaw strikes. Such officials must be ruthlessly swept aside. Their compromising, fawning attitude will not save the free unions in the end anyway. Witness Germany.

In fighting unionism is the workers' hope!

FOREIGN NOTES

Norway:

The Labor Party won 22 seats in the recent election for the Norwegian Parliament. It now has 69 seats out of a possible 150. The main plank in the Labor Party's campaign was the need for more extensive unemployment relief. In the same election the newly formed Fascist party did not get even one seat. In the light of these events the Labor Party will move for a vote of non-confidence in the present bourgeois cabinet and attempt to form one under its auspices.

England:

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland proposed to the Conservative Party conference at Birmingham that the House of Lords be so reformed that it could perpetually veto the introduction of Socialism in case the Labor Party gains control of the House of Commons.

The Labor Party won 173 seats November 2 in this year's municipal elections. Conservatives lost 103, Liberals 28, and Independents 28. By this smashing victory, the Labor Party won control of the municipal governments of many important English cities.

The Labor Party won every one of the recent bye-elections, cutting down in one of the Conservative constituencies the National Government's plurality of 50,000 in the preceding election to a 25,000 Labor majority in this election.

Russia:

Despite the fact that most trade unions have boycotted Germany, Anne Louise Strong, co-editor of the Moscow Daily News sailed to the U. S. on a German ship, the Bremen.

NRA IN ACTION

By RAYMOND ROBBINS

HOW CODES ARE MADE

The procedure of code-making is a symbol of the owning class bias of the New Deal Administration. The code is submitted by the trade association which represents the bosses of the particular industry. If the code is reasonably sound according to the standards of the New Deal the hearings are set. Then labor gets a chance to present its case. Numerous codes have been railroaded through without labor getting a voice except through the agents of capitalism on the reactionary Labor Advisory Board.

The impartiality of the Administration has been ballyhooed, but the codes stand as irrefragable evidence of the inevitable fruit of all class cooperation schemes. The Brain Trust at the inception of the Recovery Program gave the hearings the phoney academic coloring. But the code-makers have swept aside the professor's array of facts and figures and the holy business of profit making continues its hurricane course. The Brain Trust puppets have learnt their lesson, and now the hearings are purely "business" affairs.

Rotten Code Models

The textile code was hailed as a model for all future codes. The words of General Johnson have for once proved true: the greedy industrial pirates are flooding Washington with code after code recog-

nizing the starvation wage precedent set by this anti-labor pact. The effects of the textile code have been a spurt in reemployment, a sharp jump-up of production, and recently the sudden shut-down of the majority of mills. The bosses cashed in on the sky-rocketing market, and now are stopping operations in an unholy haste to evade the processing tax.

Profits First

Commercial expediency has been the ominous shadow that has converted the hearings into the mad rush for profits. The great god Profit has ruled the hearings with an iron hand. The Administration has retreated time after time when confronted by the solid front of the bosses. After the cotton textile code had been signed six days, Johnson and Roosevelt suddenly, and without consulting the Labor Advisory Board, cancelled the guaranty of skilled-wage differentials that had been approved in the code as first published. When the steel code battle had been fought to a deadlock, Johnson and Roosevelt claimed a victory by signing a 90 day truce which surrendered ground already conceded by the steel companies—the 25 and 27 cent wage rates for the Southern and Appalachian Birmingham steel mills, when thirty cents had been agreed to by the Iron and Steel Institute. In their anxiety to grasp at the shadow of industrial peace in the auto industry, they have permitted a compromise of the labor section of the Recovery Act. This retreat was sounded when the radio receivers still echoed with Johnson's shouted refusal to modify that section of law in any way.

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Under Direction of the National Executive Committee of GPLA

Volume I, No. 12. Wednesday, November 8, 1933

ARE YOU BUMS?

SPEAKING over a nation-wide radio hook-up recently, President Roosevelt, in a desperate attempt to cover up the failure of the New Deal program and check the growing discontent of the workers and farmers, claimed that there are now only six million deserving jobless workers in the country. There may be a few hundred thousand additional who are not working, he admitted, but they don't count. They are lazy and don't want jobs.

Last spring, even conservative statisticians admitted there were at least 17 million workers in the United States who could not find jobs. If Mr. Roosevelt is correct, then 11 million workers have been put back to work by the N.R.A., or more than half the workers who were unemployed last spring!

You jobless workers who read this will know whether Mr. Roosevelt speaks the truth. You will know whether half of the workers jobless in your community last spring, today have jobs. Trumped up figures will not fool you.

You will also know whether the President speaks the truth when he charges that large numbers of you would rather starve and see your children starve, than work.

WARNING TO CAPTIVE MINE WORKERS

N. R. A. "peace" terms for captive miner strikes in Western Pennsylvania do not satisfy the miners. "We will not return to the mines under any such conditions," declare local union officials, who charge that the President has "given in to the steel corporations who own the mines."

The miners are right. Roosevelt did trick them. And the United Mine Workers' officials cooperated with him. What are the proofs?

There are two definite clauses in the Appalachian agreement under which the operators "agreed" to open their mines, by which workers give up the right to strike. No matter what the reason workers must not strike.

If they do strike, they are engaged in criminal proceedings. If convicted of striking they go to jail under clauses to which they themselves have agreed.

"Steel," magazine for steel operators, hails the Roosevelt solution in its October 30 number. It points out that the operators did not give up anything.

In fact, check-off is to be decided by the individual miner. A gross sum will not be deducted as a check-off sum. For this right the operators were fighting.

WHAT ELSE?

THE decision rendered by Donald Richberg, chief counsel of the NRA, in the controversy between the United Mine Workers and the Progressive Miners in Illinois is additional proof that militant unionism will get little support from the recovery administration.

This decision puts the NRA stamp of approval on the contract which John L. Lewis signed months ago with the Illinois operators behind the backs of the miners and against which thousands of miners under PMA leadership have been on strike.

What else is needed before Peary and Keck and the other PMA leaders are convinced that there is no use relying on anything except the solidarity and militancy of the miners, and that the fighting elements whom they are trying to put out of the PMA ought to be called back into action?

RECOGNIZE SOVIET RUSSIA

THAT Soviet Russia will be recognized by the United States is now almost a certainty. Maxim Litvinoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, will arrive in this country in a few days. He will be received by Washington with all ceremonial honors usually accorded a visiting statesman. He thinks that it will not take him more than "a half hour" to reach an agreement with President Roosevelt.

That the Roosevelt administration would take this move has long been predicted by Washington correspondents and by close advisers of the President. That it has been greatly desired by the Soviet government is plain from the manner in which it is greeted by the Moscow press.

Confronted with the necessity for finding a market for United States surplus goods to put over the NRA program, Roosevelt could not possibly ignore this largest potential market in the world. In a speech at the London Economic Conference Litvinoff assured the United States representatives that recognition would mean at least a billion dollars worth of business with Soviet Russia within a year.

The workers' government needs the machinery, etc. which United States industry produces. In addition Soviet Russia also desires U. S. recognition because of the influence it will have on curbing hostile action from Japan. This is why the Soviet press hails Roosevelt's move as a step toward peace.

If Soviet recognition is so desirable to the United States business interests today why was it not desirable years ago? There have been two chief arguments by defenders of capitalism against recognition. 1. The question of the debts of the Czarist and Kerensky governments owed to wealthy Americans. The Soviet government has contended that since it did not incur the debts of these governments which it overthrew, it was therefore not obligated to pay them. 2. The question of Communism. Is not the Soviet government an integral part of the world communist movement? Will not recognition, therefore, encourage the growth of Communism within the United States?

These questions will undoubtedly be put to M. Litvinoff when he arrives. He will have to give a satisfactory answer to Washington. Evidence indicates that the question of the Czarist and Kerensky debts will not be so important. Soviet Russia is undoubtedly prepared to make concessions on this point. Neither will Washington be too insistent here.

The second question is more complicated. Will Litvinoff, for instance, admit the close relation existing between the Soviet Government and the Comintern and therefore agree to a restriction of Communist propaganda in this country, as many powerful American capitalist elements are demanding.

Or will he argue that there is no actual relationship between the Soviet Government and the Third International and that therefore he has no authority or power to decide or influence policies of the Communist Party of the United States?

Whatever answer M. Litvinoff makes to these questions, United States recognition must be hailed by the working class as a victory for the first workers' republic.

All hail to the heroic workers of the Soviet Union!

CAPITALISM

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

The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror and the Burning of the Reichstag, Prepared by the World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism. Introduction by Lord Marley. 348 pages. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.

Nazi Culture: The Brown Darkness Over Germany. Matthew Josephson. New York. Number 33. The John Day Pamphlets. 25c.

Someone has described life in Hitler Germany as life in the United States with Chicago gangsters elevated to power. Just why Chicago gangsters and not New York or St. Louis gangsters were thought of is not plain, but no doubt Mr. Al Capone's well-known patriotism suggested the comparison.

It will be recalled that while the king of Chicago gangsters and racketeers was being tried by the Federal government for income tax evasion the newspapers of the country quoted him in an interview on Americanism. Responsible for scores of murders and shootings, Mr. Capone who had succeeded in amassing a fortune by thumbing his nose at the law, claimed to be a good American. He was a firm believer in our great American institutions and held that radicals should be given little mercy.

Many people at the time were surprised to learn that Mr. Capone could hold such respectable and commendable views on Americanism. Quite a few accused him of insincerity. He was only playing for public sympathy they argued. This I have always thought unfair to Mr. Capone. After all had he not done very well by "our great American institutions?" It did not seem to me that there was any more reason for doubting the patriotism of Mr. Capone than of Mr. J. B. Morgan, Mr. Otto H. Kahn, and many other very respectable and wealthy men. Perhaps these others have acquired their fortunes in a somewhat more legal manner, but no informed person will contend that Morgan's millions are entirely clean of blood stains. And were not Mr. Morgan and Mr. Kahn and a number of others investigated last summer and found to have committed the same crime for which Mr. Capone was sent to Leavenworth?

But what does all this have to do with a review of the above books? Just this. As their titles indicate, these books deal with happenings in fascist Germany today. What we learn from them is that the German people are being ruled by the methods of Chicago gangsters. Murder, torture, brutal suppression—these are the methods Al Capone employed to gain and hold power in the Chicago underworld. And these are the methods used by Hitler to gain and hold power.

The horrors described in the Brown Book make one's flesh creep and one's blood boil. That human beings could become such brutes, that such brutes could come to power in a country of 60,000,000 people, in a country which has produced some of the world's greatest thinkers, seems incredible. It is hard to believe that one is living in the twentieth century; in what we have been taught to believe is the most advanced and enlightened age in human history.

But it is true. There is no escaping it. Whatever other criticism one may have of this book prepared by the World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, there can be no question about the truth of the horrors described here. In Germany today, the criminal, the insane, the pervert, the moron—these are the rulers. The sane people and decent, now made voiceless by the terror, are herded into concentration camps, rotting in foul prisons, tortured by maniacs, or their bodies floating in canals.

But why? How did this thing happen in Germany? Is it because, as jingo patriots are now maintaining, the German people are fundamentally inhuman, and glory in murder and brutality? Of course not. That is a damnable lie sponsored by the same people who furnished the money to bring Hitler to power. It is in the interests of these people that millions of dollars worth of food and clothing are being destroyed in the United States today, while millions of workers and their families go hungry and ragged. Are not workers being shot down in Pennsylvania,

WAR!



Seventy-seven million dollars for modernization of ships; \$39,000,000 for airplanes; \$90,000,000 for motorization of the Army; \$6,000,000 for munitions; \$37,000,000 for new naval bases; \$297,000,000 for further armaments ("lifted" from the Public Works Fund); \$100,000,000 for further militarization.

The U. S. now spends 237 per cent more for war supplies than she did in 1913. The great powers, excluding Germany (until now) spend 85 per cent more for armaments than in the year preceding the World War. The total annual cost of the armies, navies and air forces of the world is approximately five billion two hundred million dollars! The above "public" figures indicate that the United States leads in the greatest armaments race the world has ever seen.

Munitions manufacturers, ship-builders, steel kings, and professional pacifists justify these expenditures on the ground that it provides employment. The lie to this is given in the recent figures issued by the Labor Department. For every dollar spent in military construction labor receives only 37 cents. The other 63 cents goes for "materials"!!

RADICAL INTERLUDES

By LOUIS BREIER

Social Criticism in the Movies

In "Gabriel Over The White House" a bad president is made into a good one by cracking his skull. After this logical introduction the country is turned into an armed camp as the only sensible procedure for the elimination of war and racketeers. Armies of unemployed are put to work planting trees everywhere, the inference being that when every available inch of space has its tree the unemployed will be put to work chopping them down. Incidentally, the four or five bars of not very good music heard now and then throughout the movie are meant to represent the Archangel Gabriel who is Hollywood's heavenly Hitler behind all the high pressure recovery.

A schoolboy who hunts a diamond cuff-link at midnight in the room of a notorious gangster is shot when discovered by the not unnaturally peeved gorilla. All this is very convincingly portrayed in "This Day and Age" which is not, however, an ordinary thriller but a Movie With a Message; one which makes an honest attempt to do away with the annoying red tape of normal legal procedure. The chums of the murdered schoolboy kidnap the gangster and try him over a rat pit in a deserted barn. The gangster confesses amid correct solos, football yells and three rousing cheers for Judge Lynch—

A hard-boiled Railroad Executive with the proverbial heart of gold is the hero of "The Power And the Glory." There is a great strike during which some three dozen railroad workmen are killed.

"He was a beast!" cries the wife of the Executive's private secretary. "Oh, no!" replies the private secretary, "You just don't understand him. You see, he was in love—"

NRA Marches On

The Administration strikes back at Henry Ford's defiance by the prompt arrest of a barber and a restaurant keeper—General Johnson again warns industrialists to comply with their codes or suffer a drastic slap on the wrist—Silk Mill operators in Pennsylvania prove it is unpatriotic to strike "because half a loaf is better than none" and "because strike agitators receive thousands of dollars a month while strikers starve." "It is your Patriotic Duty to buy and wear our cut price Panties and Bloomers" an advertisement reads. President Roosevelt makes an address in which "chiseller" is elevated from slang to proper speech for the benefit of the striking farmers. Publicity is still hot and plentiful. All newspapers that have not yet been forced to pay their own workers a cent of increase are doing their patriotic part. The NRA is explained for the movie-going public by the following economic experts: Zazu Pitts, El Brendel and Jimmy Durante. In short everything is under control and Recovery is by this time almost around the corner. It only remains to house the evicted, send the children back to the schools, recover the millions of tons of shivered furniture and household goods and feed the hungry.

Cultural Note

Ministers in Allentown, Pa., are saying that "Depression-mindedness" must cease. The unemployed are cautioned not to give way to "undue pessimism" but to trust in God and wait for the Light.

And just to show that the old crusading spirit has not entirely vanished from among the latter-day bible bawlers they have recently decided that all "isms" including Communism, Technocracy, Nudism and Buchmanism are works of the Devil. Anyhow this spares the Lovetacnetics.

As one worker has said: "Religion is not the opium of the people in Allentown. It is the preachers themselves who are narcotic pills."

Apology

If a serious note is seen to pervade this column mark it up to the Farmer-Labor Party political campaign this month in my balliwick. Debating with Democrats, Republicans and Socialists is humor for the gods and irritation for mortals. Incidentally, the vote for the Farmer-Labor Party will not be a laughing matter.

The Manager Speaks

Do you remember in the third grade the "little drops of water, little grains of sand, make a mighty ocean and a pleasant land?" Always sounded a bit far-fetched to me, but it really states the case, I suppose.

For instance, if each of us recited it once a week to this effect—"Little subs, for three months, copies sold each day, make a mighty movement of CPLA." Perhaps it would remind us of our "Jimmy Higgins" duties. And if you could see how fast the tin box fills up when little mites come in from many members! It does the trick in the end.

A check-up recently on the bundles of each issue which go out brought some interesting replies. A Toledo comrade wrote:

"Inside you find 50c in stamps for Labor Action. I'm pleased how this paper get this way. I give the paper to some farmer, but I get no chance to meet the feller again yet. The best wishes for your paper."

We think this is stated simply and clearly, and we are looking for a new sub, when he meets that farmer again!

A worker 67 years old, unemployed for three years, writes from Lawrence, Mass.: "Send me five copies and I will pay out of my own pocket, and give the papers to some I meet. The paper is O. K., but the workers are hard to interest because they dislike so many different parties. They want a united labor movement."

Which is just what the CPLA wants and Labor Action urges, although it isn't achieved just by wanting and urging.

A West Virginia miner asks for a bundle of 25, although he cannot pay "because we have scarcely enough bread and butter down here. The paper is good. It can be improved though by adding a column on Religion and Labor, the Women's Home Column, and a Reader's Forum."

Someone else objects to giving valuable labor news space to such frivolous use as the Manager's column—so what shall we do, West Virginia? "I am enthusiastic about the

copies of Labor Action which I have seen so far. I am ordering it for the Yale Library, and am sending 50c for my subscription.—A professor at Yale.

"Sorry to hear that Labor Age is no more published, but from what I see of Labor Action it will be even better. Please apply the \$1.50 for 78 issues of Labor Action."—W. R., Pittsburgh.

And so they come. Sixty new subscriptions in October, without any real promotion effort, for there was no extra money. If we can count on this coming in voluntarily, what could be done with a little extra effort! That would mean more subs, hence more money, more postage, more appeals, more subs, more money, etc. ad revolution.

Let's make a special two-weeks pre-convention campaign effort, so we may, on the first anniversary of the launching of the paper, have a report to make which will banish for good and all any lurking fears that Labor Action may not be able to continue.

Fraternally,
Cara Cook.

LEAGUE NOTES

Says a letter from Illinois: "For crying out loud why don't the leaders in the unemployed leagues give more attention to developing some of us guys into leaders. Is it because they unconsciously think they are the only ones who can be leaders? The big need is for more and more leaders and many of us want to develop into organizers and we cannot do it without we are given the right kind of chance. I want to say, Develop leaders."

"Transportation is not a problem to me," writes a comrade who is busy among the unemployed leagues. "I can make my way almost anywhere without expense. The trip to Chicago cost me 90 cents. I don't feel that people who are in the labor movement should expect to be paid."

ORDER A BUNDLE OF LABOR ACTION TO SELL IN YOUR UNION.

WORKERS, FARMERS!
Write LABOR ACTION about conditions in your section.
Order Bundles of LABOR ACTION to sell to your friends, neighbors and fellow workers!