

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

LABOR ACTION

REPORT ON CLEVELAND CONFERENCE ON PAGE 3.

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Price 5 Cents

Grafters Shown Up By League

United Front of Leagues and Councils Force Investigation

DEMAND 60c AN HOUR

41 Arrests Made in Militant Strike Since August 1

By ARTHUR J. PREIS

TOLEDO, OHIO—A complete exposure of the graft in the administration of poor relief and the criminal inadequacy of the commissary system of relief in Toledo and Lucas County has been achieved through a militant strike of relief workers carried on since August 1 in the face of 41 arrests, police terror, intimidation and an attempt to starve out strikers and their families.

A united front of relief workers, led by the Unemployed Leagues and Unemployed Councils compelled a state investigation of the local relief administration which revealed that at least \$500,000 of federal relief funds have been "wasted" in the past 12 months by the Toledo officials while they were boasting of having the cheapest relief cost in the whole country, 6.2c worth of food per day per person!

Relief Administration Broken Down

The entire corrupt and incompetent city and county relief administration has broken down under the pressure of mass action by the unemployed, and Governor White has been compelled to send a special relief dictator, Col. John Shteler, fresh from the mine strikes in Eastern Ohio, to assume full control of the relief administration in Lucas County.

All five members of the recently appointed Lucas County Relief Commission have resigned under fire. Robert Browne, editor of the Scripps-Howard *News-Bee*, was the first to resign, three weeks after he had refused to do so on the direct demand of the Lucas County Unemployed Leagues. The *News-Bee* carried reactionary and distorted stories about the relief strike because Alfred B. Koch, head of La Salle and Koch's department store, the largest advertiser in Toledo, was chairman of the relief commission. Koch, who was selling clothing and shoe supplies to the Welfare Department, definitely set the relief policy in the county.

A Health Menace

Charges placed before Governor White and the State Relief Commission (Continued on Page 2)

U. S. Forces Stand By In Cuba Revolt

Roosevelt Rushes Battleships to Protect Wall St. Interests

MASSES REVOLTING

As New President Is Elected by Revolutionary Committee

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Fear of nationalization of part of the \$1,500,000,000 of American holdings in Cuba by the new revolutionary government set up by the rank-and-file movement of soldiers, sailors, police and organized students, Sept. 5, and not the alleged concern about American lives, is the reason for the largest mobilization of the United States naval forces since the World War by the "liberal" Roosevelt administration.

Sitting under the menace of this force a compromise was reached by the revolutionary council Sept. 10 and Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin, acceptable to the right wing revolutionary forces, was elected president. The new president took an oath "before the people of Cuba, in whose hands the sovereignty of the nation rests, to carry out the entire revolutionary program . . . with the greatest respect for all interests. . . ."

It is thought here that Washington will recognize a government formed by Dr. Grau San Martin, not because it would not rather see de Cespedes in power, but because the temper of the Cuban masses is such that anybody less radical would not be acceptable. In other words it is hoped that Grau San Martin will serve as a check to the revolutionary upsurge of the starving and desperate Cuban workers.

The Administration talks much about the necessity of law and order in Cuba. In view of its recognition of the bloody Machado regime whose reign of blood and terror has reduced the masses of Cuba to hunger and destitution, the New Deal's concern for law and order seems to come rather late. The Cuban workers interpret Roosevelt's "law and order" as meaning safety of American investments from attack. And since Cuba under the tutelage of American bankers has piled up a debt of over \$150,000,000 to American bondholders, and can pay interest only by taxing the \$1,500,000,000 of property owned by Americans, not even Roosevelt can easily prescribe a way in which landowners, bondholders and hungry masses can be satisfied.

"We Must Build Our Paper"

Statement of the National Executive Committee of the CPLA on the task of building Labor Action

The National Executive Committee of the CPLA has decided that a major effort must be made at once to build up Labor Action. We call upon all militant workers to help us to do the job.

Labor Action has met with the utmost enthusiasm from its readers. "Here's the paper," workers have said, "which talks in our own language about the things in which we are really interested." But Labor Action has too few readers, too few subscribers, too few who take bundle orders and sell them.

Never have the workers in this country faced a greater crisis. The next few months will probably decide, literally, whether Fascism will be fastened upon them or whether they will march on to achieve "the third American revolution" and build here a genuine republic of the workers, for the workers, by the workers.

A fighting paper is indispensable to the workers in this crisis.

The N.E.C. has signified its appreciation of the seriousness and urgency of the job by appointing Cara Cook as circulation and promotion manager of LABOR ACTION. Cara Cook was recently in charge

of the office of the Ohio Unemployed League in Columbus and played an important part in making the arrangements for the great national convention held in Columbus on July 4.

She will do a good job but in spite of that will fail unless she has at least a few hundred circulation managers around the country to support her. Whoever you are, reading this announcement, you are hereby appointed circulation manager.

Get busy immediately. There are all kinds of things you can do. Write Cara Cook that you will back her up and get suggestions as to how you may most effectively help. Subscribe yourself if you have not already done so. A year's subscription is \$1.00; 3 month's subscription is 25c. Get your fellow workers and friends to subscribe. Get your union, unemployed league, club to take subscriptions with a bundle order for its members. Perhaps you or some relative or friend can become an agent working steadily at getting subscriptions and selling individual copies in your shop, mine or neighborhood. Send in a contribution if you have

already subscribed and can't get additional subscriptions at once. Every penny counts. CPLA members and branches must at once place the problem of the distribution and sale of LABOR ACTION in the forefront of their agenda.

There is no time to lose, not one minute. By direct and brutal or indirect and subtle means the effort is being made to crush every expression of radicalism, to deprive the working class of really effective weapons of resistance. The forces making this attack will put LABOR ACTION out of business if they can. They know that there is nothing more dangerous today than a paper which tells the truth about NRA "in the American language." Our answer to their attempt to do so will be to put out a better paper, sell it by the thousands and tens of thousand, make it the great means of educating the workers for revolutionary action out of the present crisis.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
A. J. MUSTE,
Chairman,
LOUIS F. BUDENZ,
Executive Secretary

Group To Roosevelt Will Ask Showdown On Workers Rights

New CPLA Branch

Leading Militants of Textile Town Become Charter Members

ALLENTOWN, Penna.—A CPLA branch with 20 charter members was organized here on Friday, September 8. Temporary officers elected were William F. Kocher, chairman; Larry Heimbach, vice chairman; Louis Breier, secretary; Lester Heckman, treasurer; Paul Roth, promotion manager for LABOR ACTION.

Carpenters, electrical workers, machinists, textile workers and clerks are included in the membership. All of these charter members have already proved their mettle as genuine militants in unemployed league and other labor activities.

Muste, Baldwin, Thomas, Dunne and Others Draw Up Brief to President

NO MORE BALLYHOO

Does NRA Mean What It Says or Is It Just Another Bluff

NEW YORK—The Conference for Progressive Labor Action through its chairman, A. J. Muste, has taken a prominent part in arranging for a deputation of trade unionists and liberal teachers, preachers and economists to go to Washington this week and have a "showdown" with Roosevelt himself as to where he stands on the rights of workers to organize, strike and picket. The Committee which is drawing up the brief to be presented to the President consists of, in addition to Muste, Roger N. Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union; Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy; Moe Smith of the International Brotherhood of Electric Workers; William Dunne of the Trade Union Unity League, and L. Weinstock of the A.F. of L. Committee on Unemployment Insurance. The committee to arrange other details for the interview includes William Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Stachel of the TUUL; Weinstock, Baldwin and Muste.

The following demands will be placed before the President:

1. The administration must make a flat and unequivocal declaration that workers have the right to organize and bargain collectively. Though that right was written into the Recovery Act itself, it is well known that within the Recovery administration a bitter controversy is still going on between open shoppers and company unionists, on the one hand, and those who stand for independent unionism under the control of the workers, on the other. The deputation contends that the President himself is directly responsible for such divisions within the NRA and should immediately put an end to them or admit that the Recovery Act does not mean what it says on the subject of the right to organize.
2. In spite of the language of the law, actual attempts on the part of workers to organize are still met in the vast majority of instances by discrimination and attacks by gunmen, police, calling out of troops, etc. In view of his own statements about the gravity of the national emergency, the President cannot evade the problem which is

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Food Union Organizing Presses On

Factory Workers Branch Has Successful Meeting As Bosses "Picket"

By LARRY COHEN

NEW YORK—Thousands of food workers, organized and unorganized, are expected to attend the demonstration and mass meeting on Sept. 16 at Cooper Union at 2 P. M. The meeting, which is called by the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, will be addressed by Walter Cook, A. J. Muste and officials of the Union.

"Many Locals of the Amalgamated have recruited new members in the course of the intensive agitation campaign now going on," states General Organizer Herman Gund. "The workers realize that only by organizing can they win decent conditions."

The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Branch which has been more or less inactive in recent years, is growing once more; a number of cooks and chefs in the big hotels have just signed up.

Local 1 in Yorkville is leading strikes of Greek bakers in shops on 115 and 174th streets. The workers, who are new members, were locked out when they demanded union recognition and union conditions. They manufacture frank-

(Continued on Page 2)

Ohio Unemployed League Scores No Bread System

COLUMBUS, OHIO—"We have followed the program of the capitalist class so long and have been deceived by them so much that we now find ourselves their slaves," declares a statement of program and principles drawn up by the Action Committee of the Franklin County Unemployed League and adopted by unanimous vote by the executive board of the League.

Describing the brutal treatment which the workers receive at the hands of the law every time they demand a redress of their grievances or attempt to organize, the statement says:

"We have seen that the decisive factor determining our immediate welfare is the organized action of the workers themselves. We get only such food as we are able to force the local, state and Federal authorities to supply. We are secure in the provision of only such shelter as we can safeguard through our united action in defense of our homes, and only through organized action can we obtain the rights that we justly

deserve. . . ."

"Our duty is to enlist in the ranks of the League every worker (employed as well as unemployed) and dirt farmer in the community, without discrimination because of political or religious affiliations, race or nationality, and to inform them of the actions and policies of the Leagues and teach them of the great need of unity of thought and action to relieve the depressed situation under which the workers and farmers are starving at present."

The chairman of the Action Committee is Ben C. Smith and the secretary, Ross E. Cox. Members of the executive committee of the Franklin County League are: L. E. Wells, chairman; Minnie Brush, recording secretary; Morrie Osborn, James Van Meter, Marion Wilson, John Nicely, Ross Briggs, John L. Gunnoe, Wm. A. Merle, Niles Esterday, Wayne George, Rodney Tucker, Thomas E. French, Chas. E. Twigg, Charles M. Kelly, Arthur Ruh, Earl Todd, Arthur A. Wodenevner and Switzer.

N. C. Jobless Win Victory In Riot Case

By HAZEL DAWSON

HIGH POINT, N. C.—A great victory was scored for the labor movement of North Carolina, and especially for the Unemployed League of this town, when the charges against Larry Hogan, Beulah Carter, Bill Presswood, I. M. Ritchie and myself were dismissed because presiding Judge Lewis E. Teague could find nothing in the evidence offered by the state worthy of passing to the jury for a decision.

The five defendants, four of whom are members of the CPLA, together with 12 unemployed workers, were arrested, charged with conspiracy to incite a riot, in connection with a strike of unemployed relief project workers on July 29.

The whole trial was a farce. The selection of the jury, which took from 10 o'clock in the morning until 3 o'clock in the afternoon from the largest panel ever called for a case in the local court heard less than an hour's testimony when the state was done and our attorney moved for dismissal.

The prosecuting attorney tried every method his dumb head could think of to frame us. First he attempted to bribe some of the Negroes into lying. When that did not work he threatened to arrest them if they would not testify against us. One Negro claims that he came to his house five times the week before the trial.

A Lesson to the Workers

Then he tried to stack the jury against us, objecting to anyone who did not think that 80 cents a day is a good wage for unemployed workers. All the insurance men in town were brought in at the start. When we objected to these, old men who could scarcely get around were produced. It will no longer be necessary for us to tell the workers of this town that the law is against them. They have seen for themselves how the bosses' courts treat the workers.

The two chief pieces of evidence brought against us were alleged statements made by Larry Hogan and W. E. Presswood. "Let your conscience be your guide," it was claimed Hogan advised the strikers if by peaceful means they could not persuade scabbing workers to leave their jobs. "A man with a family who will work for 80 cents a day ought to have hell clubbed out of him," it was charged Presswood advised the strikers.

As a final move the prosecuting

Larry Hogan Praises Fighting CPLA Policies

HIGH POINT, N. C.—Larry Hogan, national executive committee member of the CPLA, in commenting on the High Point trial, warmly praised the speed with which the Conference for Progressive Labor Action rushed to the defense of the white and colored workers in this case.

He commented also upon assistance given by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Emergency Committee for Strike Relief and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "The outcome of the trial," said Hogan, "will mean a tremendous impetus for both the economic and the political organization of the workers of North Carolina, and other southern states. The fighting policies of the CPLA have again been justified, and we will continue to carry them forward."

attorney attempted the old trick of having us tried for radicalism. "Tobe, what did Hogan and these other defendants say about our country?" he asked his star witness, a Negro preacher. The court ruled the question out of order, however.

New Features!

With this issue of LABOR ACTION two important new features are added, Coal Dust and Radical Interludes.

Coal Dust will be conducted by Gerry Allard, former editor of the *Progressive Miner*. Several months ago, when NRA ballyhoo got under way, the leaders of the Progressive Miners Union, hoping to get on the Roosevelt band wagon, looked about them and decided that if they were to become as respectable as John L. Lewis they would have to do a little house cleaning of radical and militant elements. The first to go was Gerry Allard.

LABOR ACTION is proud to announce that henceforth this militant worker whom the timid and stupid leaders of the Progressive Miners Union have rejected will write about the miners and their problems in its pages.

Radical Interludes will be conducted by Louis Breier, Unemployed League leader in Allentown, Penna. Fellow worker Breier who is being run for Councilman by the Farmer-Labor Party of Allentown, thinks that workers' papers are apt to be too serious, that radicals commit many foolish errors because they do not know how to laugh at themselves. From now on Louis will attempt to correct Labor Actionists in this respect. We will leave it to you as to whether he is successful.

Utility Head Hints New Wage Slash

By JOHN T. GODBER

NEW YORK — That another wage cut is in store for utility employees throughout the nation was clearly shown here last week when Floyd A. Carlisle, chairman of the Consolidated Gas Company, testified before the New York Public Service Commission investigating requests for rate reductions.

The company contended that under the NRA a list of forty-five items in August 1933, had skyrocketed approximately 30 per cent over the cost paid in August 1932.

Mr. Carlisle estimated that added costs for labor, due to the forty hour week would be \$3,495,000. This sum would be used to re-employ 2,100 additional men and to pay for the increase in wages to 10,951 employees whose wages were reduced 16 2/3 per cent on May first. This new increase will bring the wages of this group of employees up to a level with the other workers, employed by the same combine, who only suffered an 8 2/3 per cent cut.

Under the cross examination of Jerome Count, attorney for the Brotherhood of Edison Employees, Mr. Carlisle denied that the 16 2/3 per cent cut had been modified to prevent the workers from joining the Brotherhood.

"It would be wrong," said Mr. Carlisle, "for a great industry such as the public utilities to fail to cooperate in this movement (the NRA) by not increasing wages and employment."

Officers of the Brotherhood of Edison Employees point out that since 1931 one company alone, Brooklyn Edison, has laid off 4,916 employees and the other companies making up the Edison system have followed suit.

Organizational drives have started within the past few days in virtually every state in the country. Notable results are already being achieved in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Requests for organizers are coming in to the headquarters of the Brotherhood daily from cities as far west as the Pacific Coast.

Ford and the NRA

DETROIT—(FP) — One of the jokes in the controversy between Henry Ford and the NRA was the fact that the manufacturer is the honorary chairman of the Dearborn NRA committee. The committee formally decided that his opposition to the NRA made no difference in his honorary position. He remained as chairman.

Allentown Jobless League Forms Farmer-Labor Party

(Special to Labor Action)

ALLENTOWN, PA.—A Farmer-Labor Party which is to carry the battle for economic freedom for the dispossessed farmers and workers of this country to the political front has been formed here by the Unemployed Citizens League.

The decision to form the party was taken at a general mass meeting of the unemployed where an overwhelming vote was cast for "independent political action on the part of all militant workers and farmers in Lehigh County." A special committee to formulate the Farmer-Labor Party's program was elected on the spot and further instructed to draft a "Statement of Policies and Principles which shall uncompromisingly characterize the Farmer-Labor Party as a revolutionary party, which does not admit of any compromise with bankers and bosses or the system of open and concealed robbery which they have imposed on us, the workers of America."

First Battle

The new party's first battle with the old party machines occurred

during its very formation, which was strenuously opposed by every shade of political ward-heeler present. They were finally voted off the floor and out of the building by the rank and file who demanded to know where these politicians were when the unemployed were being evicted and sold out in droves.

The sentiment and determination that led to the formation of the party is pungently summed up in a statement made by a rank and file member of the 14th ward branch of the League: "If we haven't learned, during our year and a half of League organization, that our only political and economic salvation lies in our hands, and in our hands alone, then we might as well disband at once and go home to wait for the new Simon Legree who comes with a smile on his face and a code in his hands to whip us into line under a stricter and more degrading slave system than was ever dreamed of by Uncle Tom."

Among those who were nominated (Continued on Page 2)

Grafters Shown Up By League

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mission by the League show that 60,000 to 75,000 people in Toledo have been existing for nearly two years on a fixed diet that is less than the "irreducible minimum emergency relief diet" established by the Children's Health Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. Of the 30 items per week supposed to be contained in Toledo's food allowance, six to eight items have been regularly omitted, and the amounts gradually reduced!

All the relief food is packed by hand, no sanitary or health examinations or regulations for the unemployed working in the food stations are maintained or required. The first case of sleeping sickness appeared August 30 in Toledo. The commissary system constitutes a dangerous epidemic menace to the entire population of Toledo and vicinity and the organized unemployed demand its immediate liquidation.

Leaders Arrested

Picketing of the Central Relief Warehouse has continued for the past five weeks. Mass arrests of leaders prior to the strike failed to break the strike. Ted Selander of the Leagues was released on a personal bond under the usual frame-up charge of "inciting to riot" after being arrested without a warrant, with no charges being preferred against him and being held incommunicado in the county jail by Sheriff Dave Kreiger for three days. Sam Sponseller, executive committeeman of the National Unemployed League, was arrested while leading a group of pickets and was released under bond.

An attempt to smash the strike by refusing relief to strikers' families was met with a militant demonstration of strikers at the Social Service Federation, where all relief is authorized, and compelled the officials to grant relief orders to strikers' families.

Although Col. Shetler told representatives of the Leagues that he opposed the commissary system and that he was going to investigate conditions thoroughly, he stated that he would decide which system to keep on the basis of cost. Said Shetler, "I don't know as yet whether I will liquidate the commissary system, it all depends on the cost in dollars and cents." "How about the cost in human life?" was the reply of the League representatives, who were answered by a blank stare.

Forced Labor

A definite threat to starve out the strikers was made by the new relief "czar" when he told the committee that "those who won't work for this relief don't eat." When the committee pointed out that the strike was not a refusal to work, but a refusal to work under certain degrading conditions and for starvation payments in kind, the Colonel said they would not eat regardless, even if he had to set up special soup kitchens for the women and children. "This is an emergency situation," he stated, "and they must work for what they get."

"Why put the burden on the unemployed by making them give everything they have, their labor? Why not make the rich give what they have, their surplus, by taxing it away from them. They too should help in this 'emergency,'" the committee replied.

The Colonel looked shocked and grumbled, "Isn't that communism, isn't that what they have in 'Roosia'? We can't do that."

"You can call it what you like," said one of the unemployed representatives, "we call it simple justice anywhere on the globe."

The unemployed have voted to continue the strike, which is growing stronger constantly. They mean to fight until the commissary system is completely smashed, and 60¢ per hour in cash is paid for relief work. Say the unemployed league members:

"They're not going to balance books with human lives any longer. We'll fight until the job is done. We've had promises galore before, but we can't live on promises. We know now that the public officials from the dog-catchers to the Governor only move when we show our teeth. We refuse to go through another winter like the last one."

Allentown Unemployed Form Farmer-Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

ed for the Farmer-Labor Ticket at this meeting and later elected by referendum vote are Larry Heimbach, Louis Breier, Paul Roth, Harvey Wilson, Victor Roth, Roy Phillips and Edward Parks. Heimbach and Breier are both candidates for City Council.

A Real Worker's Party Must Grow Out of the Rank and File

It is felt in Allentown that Farmer-Labor or Farmer-Workers' parties as they are called elsewhere, are a natural and inevitable development of unemployed league activity. This was understood by the organizers of the league here, almost from the very beginning. During one of his first organizational speeches Larry Heimbach, president of the League, said:

"Undoubtedly in the near future it will no longer be possible to evade political questions in the League. Nor is there any reason, outside of practical reasons, why Unemployed Leagues should attempt to evade these questions. Political action by workers and farmers can and must be made one of the most potent clubs against their enemies. And it must also be recognized that there is no valid distinction between political action and economic action or industrial action. All are identical. But for the present, since we have no clear idea as to the nature of our political activity, the League should remain non-partisan in practice until the rank and file decide otherwise."

In Allentown the rank and file finally decided to set up and support a political party of their own making. That this is no isolated example is amply evidenced by reports of similar procedures from various parts of the country, notably from Ohio and North Carolina. Farmer-Labor and Farmer-Workers parties are being organized by rank and file action everywhere and will continue to be organized wherever there is a body of workers, employed or unemployed, who have learned that bitter lesson, "our only political and economic salvation lies in our hands, and in our hands alone."

These parties, as yet scattered, and only loosely coordinated, it is felt, in particular states, are characterized by one all-pervading principle "A real workers' party must grow out of the rank and file. It must express the aims and needs of the rank and file. It must be completely dominated and controlled by the rank and file."

Allentown Working for National Movement

The Farmer-Labor Party has a lively appreciation of the danger of isolation and the final stifling or perversion of any purely local political movement. The Program and Action Committee of the party feels that as soon as possible state conventions of Farmer-Labor parties should be called for the purpose of coordinating programs and organizations for the fight on a state basis. The Committee also looks for a National Convention of Farmer-Labor and Farmer-Workers' parties which shall accomplish this necessary work on a national basis.

In this connection the National Unemployed League has already seen the necessity for such action and has distributed a statement to the effect that Regional or State conventions of Workers-Farmers Parties should be called wherever possible in supplement to a National Convention of these parties which should take place in the near future.

The Farmer-Labor Party of Lehigh County endorses these efforts wholeheartedly and calls on all other rank and file political movements to cooperate with the National Unemployed League in its unifying and clarifying work.

Terzani Defense Strong

NEW YORK — Athos Terzani, young anti-Fascist worker accused of killing his comrade, Anthony Fierro, in a fight which broke up a meeting of the fascist Khaki Shirts of America in Astoria on July 14, was released on bail Wednesday afternoon after spending 47 days in the Queens County jail in Long Island City.

The united front Terzani Defense Committee will probably enlist the services of Clarence Darrow to handle the case.

A PLAYER IN THE WAR GAME



Secretary of the Navy Claude Swanson signing a contract for the building of 12 new warships. The U. S. A. is now building battle-ships faster than at any other peacetime period except one—and that was 1916, the year before we entered the world war! Workers, come to the Anti-War Congress in New York September 29-Oct. 1 and demand a stop to these war preparations.

New York Labor Action School Announces Fall Class Schedule

The New York Labor Action School makes a preliminary and partial announcement of its activities for the Fall term.

An introductory course in economics for workers will be given by Tom Tippet, one of the most popular and distinguished figures in the workers' education movement. He has served as educational director of Sub-District 5 of the United Mine Workers of America in Illinois; of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, and more recently of the Progressive Miners of Illinois. He is the author of the best known American labor play, "Mill Shadows," based upon the Marion textile strike of 1929. This play has been produced under Tippet's direction in New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Allentown, Richmond, St. Louis, Hartford and other centers. He is the author also of "When Southern Labor Stirs" and "Your Job and Your Pay," the latter often described as the "Bible of the American workers' education movement." Large numbers of young workers should take advantage of this one opportunity to be given in New York this year for a course with Tom Tippet.

What is Happening to the Trade Union Movement will be the subject of another 10 weeks course given by A. J. Muste, Chairman of the CPLA. This course will deal with the effect of the NRA on the trade union movement in general and the prospects of the movement, and will also take up the question of what is actually taking place in specific unions such as the United Mine Workers, the Progressive Miners, United Textile Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the TUUL unions, etc. There is no one in the United States who combines constant practical experience in labor struggles with a knowledge of the historical background and the theory of the labor movement as does A. J. Muste.

Courses on Advanced Marxism, Public Speaking and Developments in the International Labor Movement will also be given.

Jack Lever, head of the Cooperative Distributors, will conduct a course in Consumers' Cooperation, discussing how the worker is exploited as a consumer and how consumers may organize effectively for revolutionary purposes.

In addition to these 10 weeks courses a number of short 4 weeks courses are offered. One will be given by Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr and will take up the following subjects:

1. Fascism and the Disintegration of Capitalism—can Fascism in America be avoided? Will capitalism capitulate in the next world war?
2. The Worker, the Middle Classes and the Farmer—can all whom capitalism disinherits be combined in one party? Has the radical movement had a correct

strategy in dealing with the farm-er and the lower middle classes?

3. The Skilled and the Unskilled Worker—what strategy will prevent the division of the proletariat? Is the Communist Party a safe guide in a western industrial nation?

4. The Needs for a Successful Struggle for Power—disintegrated capitalism, revolutionary morale, unity of workers, increased misery. Prof. Emmett Dorsey, Instructor of Political Science at Howard University, Washington, D. C., and the leading young Negro authority in this field, will give a course on Political Science from the Marxist Point of View. Two sessions will be devoted to the old school Marxist theory of the state, taking up such questions as the origin, function and purpose of the state; the difference between historical materialism and the economic interpretation of history; the theory of the maturity of productive forces and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Two sessions will deal with contemporary Marxism or Leninism, devoting special attention to the Marxist theory of imperialism as applied to the foreign policy and imperialist career of the United States. The views of Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky will be discussed in this connection.

Courses will begin during the first week in October. Detailed announcements as to the exact date and hour will be ready shortly. All inquiries should be addressed to the New York Labor Action School, 128 E. 16th Street, New York City.

Dyers Join Strike; Silk Tie-Up Looms

PATERSON, N.J. — The strike which began among the broad silk weavers of the silk industry has spread rapidly to the dyers, completely unorganized until this strike. Under the leadership of the Communist-led National Textile Workers union, the Weidman Dye Co. of this city employing about 1,000 workers has been shut down. The United Textile Workers, an A. F. of L. union, has at last issued its long deferred strike call which will eventually mean a mass walkout of 3,000 dyers and the complete tie-up of the industry in the North A few locals of the dyers' branch of the A. F. of L. in New York have answered the call.

The National Labor Board has made futile efforts to stop the spread of the strike, but spontaneous responses to the Paterson call for a national strike are becoming more numerous and widespread in scope every day.

The N.T.W. demands for the dyers are as follows: 75 and 80 cents an hour for men and 50 cents an hour for women, minimum 30 hours and maximum 40 hours a week, no split shifts, recognition of union. The demands of the newly formed dyers' local of the United Textile

Group To Visit F. Roosevelt On Unionism

Right to Strike and Picket Labor's Only Effective Weapon

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presented by saying that it is a local or state question. The deputation will demand that the President put the full force of the federal administration back of a movement to stop these attacks upon the workers.

3. Company unions cannot fulfill the requirements of collective bargaining. The deputation will therefore demand a clear and unequivocal statement from the President outlawing company unions under the Recovery Act.

4. Labor is robbed of its one finally effective weapon and compulsory labor is fastened upon the workers if the right to strike and picket is taken away under NRA or anything else. In view of such statements as the recent edict of Grover Whalen, NRA administrator in New York City, to the effect that NRA abrogates the right to strike and peacefully picket where an employer has signed the code, as well as ambiguous statements by the President himself, the deputation will demand from the latter a clear statement that the right to strike and picket is in no way affected under NRA.

5. A declaration that the employment of labor spies and other agencies for coercing workers is against public policy, will be asked.

6. A definite tendency is seen to wipe out left-wing and other independent unions. The deputation does not advocate dual unionism. It believes that the workers would be best served by one powerful fighting industrial union in each industry. It is, however, opposed to forcing the workers by means of the check-off or any other device into some particular union. It holds that this is a violation of the provision of the Recovery Act which gives workers the right to belong to "unions of their own choosing."

It will demand, therefore, condemnation of all efforts to coerce workers to join some particular union, and that where there is more than one union in a given situation both majority and minority groups be represented in negotiations and in the application of collective bargaining provisions of codes.

7. Negroes as usual are subject to special discrimination. There are many instances where when the minimum wage provisions of a code have been put into effect, the Negro workers have been laid off and white workers put in their place. The deputation will insist upon measures to prevent such discrimination. Furthermore, there are a considerable number of A. F. of L. unions which by constitution! provision or otherwise bar Negroes from membership and thus from the protection of collective bargaining. The deputation believes that unions under NRA should be forbidden to exercise any discrimination against workers on grounds of race, color, nationality or political or religious affiliations and will demand a declaration to that effect from the President.

Pharmacists Win Strike

NEW YORK — After a week's fight, on the part of the Pharmacists' Union of Greater New York, a strike against Levitan's Drug Store, Brooklyn, has just been won. The union was successful in having the union contract signed for one year.

The strike was declared when the proprietor dismissed Samuel Pass when he discovered that Pass belonged to the union. After several attempts at arbitration failed a picket line was placed around the shop. Police arrested six pickets on charges of assault after Levitan had caused a near riot by attacking Pass.

The gains made by the strike include the reinstatement of Pass with a seven dollar increase in salary and a strong foothold for the union in a previously unorganized section.

Workers call for a weekly wage of \$30 minimum, a 30 hour week, no more than one machine per worker, and recognition of the union. The provisions of the temporary boss code in effect include a 40 hour week and 45 cents per hour.

Workers Honor Militant Striker Killed By Scab

By BEULAH CARTER

DURHAM, N. C.—The body of Clem H. Norwood, militant hosiery worker murdered by a scab while on picket duty by the Cambria Hosiery Mills of Philadelphia, was laid to rest here in his home community last Tuesday while hundreds of workers paid homage to the heroism of their brother who had died fighting for his class.

When lines formed by union members, wearing arm bands, and many unemployed workers, the body was borne from the funeral home to the church. Nearly 300 workers came from High Point to attend the funeral, and the workers of Ashboro sent a long wire explaining that their boss would not let them off to come and that they were not yet strong enough to strike.

"Clem H. Norwood has not died in vain," said a leaflet distributed by the workers. "He died fighting for the rights of every American citizen—a job with a decent living wage, on which depends the life and happiness of a man and his loved ones."

Food Unions Presses On

(Continued from Page 1)

Further rolls. In the same shops frankfurters are made by members of Butchers Local 174 A. F. of L. which is recognized by the bosses. In both shops the strike is seriously crippled by this craft division since the Agent of Local 174 fears to break his contract with these bosses and refuses to act until a meeting of the Local is held.

Local 5 in Astoria is leading a strike of cake bakers at the Aurora Bakery. Here the Italian Bakers' Union of the Food Workers' Industrial Union (TUUL) organized the four bread bakers and was granted union recognition. They refused, however, to organize the cake bakers. These workers came to Local 5 and declared their determination to win union conditions for themselves. Now they are on strike asking recognition and the same conditions as are enjoyed by the members of the Food Workers' Industrial Union who, by the way, continue at work in the shop. The organizer of this "revolutionary" union refuses even to urge his members to come out in solidarity.

By far the best results are being obtained by the Factory Workers Branch which is spreading rapidly throughout Greater New York. A large number of new members were recruited last month and over 250 attended a membership meeting of the Cushman and Purity Factories held last month in the Yorkville Labor Temple. Many others, who were at work, were unable to come. A number of bosses and known stool pigeons gathered outside to intimidate the workers from going in. On hearing of this, a group of members hurried over from Local 1 and had no trouble in chasing them away from the door. Inside, the workers cheered as Organizer Gund said, "Hitherto it was we the workers who did the picketing; now it seems to be the bosses. This little change shows what a big change will be made in our working and living conditions by the building of a strong Factory Workers Branch."

Trade Board Urges Soviet Recognition

Will Aid in Restoring Purchasing Power, Says Business Group

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In a circular letter to its membership on Soviet Russia and National Recovery, under date of August 29, the U. S. Board of Trade at Washington urges that immediate formal recognition of the Soviet Union will open up a great market for the export of American textiles, livestock, metals, machinery, equipment and certain food products.

The "fantastic" means now being employed to restore economic order by destroying vast amounts of needed wealth such as cotton, wheat and hog production are scored as the necessary tragic waste in a highly competitive social system. The Board fears the outcome of the recent accelerated production if not given an adequate outlet of consumption.

"Under the best of circumstances," it says, "months and even years will be required to restore purchasing power to our whole people commensurate with their productive capacity. Hence we must find means to distribute for consumption outside our own country as an important supplement to our home market."

LECTURES

Steps Towards A Farmer-Workers Party
J. B. S. HARDMAN,
N. E. C. Member of CPLA
ALFRED BINGHAM,
Editor, "Common Sense"
Both speakers have just returned from the Chicago LIPA Convention
Tuesday, Sept. 19th
8 P. M.
128 East 16th Street, N. Y. C.
ADMISSION—10 CENTS

Towards A Farmer-Workers Party
ALFRED BINGHAM,
Editor, "Common Sense"
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When Southern Labor Stirs—Tom Tippet	\$2.00
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Economic Geography—J. F. Horrabin	.75
Short History of British Empire—J. F. Horrabin	.30
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The A. F. of L. in 1931—A. J. Muste	.10
For Revolution—V. F. Calverton	.25

Enclose 3 cents extra for postage.

NRA IN ACTION

By RAYMOND ROBBINS

The National Recovery Act program has been built upon a rickety structure of extravagant promises to labor. The first shot fired in the war against the depression was President Roosevelt's radio speech proclaiming the re-employment of five million men by Labor Day, the stabilization of industry through codes of free and fair competition, and the increase of the buying power of the workers by inflating the pay-roll.

The keynote of the recovery movement was to be the recognition of the fundamental rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively in bona-fide trade unions. It was made clear from the first that labor must be free to rail; its collective strength. The strike was acknowledged to be the only force to keep the boss to the line, and as an effective protest against intolerable conditions. A new balance was to be set up with labor and capital on an equal footing.

Ballyhoo has befogged the actual workings of the NRA. General Johnson in a blood and thunder speech at St. Louis dismissed hard facts and pointed to the number of visible Blue Eagles adorning the factories as unquestionable proof of the upturn. President Roosevelt strained the jobless American masses' capacity to be bamboozled by declaring that the "downfall drift of America has definitely turned and become the uphill surge of America." What has been the real attitude and practice of the NRA administration toward the workers?

The Steel Code remains a combination of all the tricks practised in that new skin game called code-making. The only minimum wage that means decent living conditions for the steel workers is the 63 cents an hour minimum demanded by them, yet the boss code chops it down to the penn-wage of 27 and 28 cents. A sharp contrast is drawn between the boom production in this industry which lifted the 13 per cent capacity to 59 per cent in four months, and the drop to 40 per cent immediately after the code was put into effect. Steel magnates wish to knife the NRA by cutting production so that they can fire men who have joined the unions. The code will in a short time prove itself to be a guarantee for safe company unions.

Roosevelt's phoney strike moratorium has put off the coal fight for a while. But if the coal code doesn't change radically the militant miners will force the operators to swallow the promises they so readily gave to get them back into the mines. Sly clauses in the code change the right to organize into a hollow law in the statute book.

The shrewd lawyers in the pay of the auto bosses have hit upon a slick way of getting around the basic principle of trade union organization. They have inserted an individual merit clause which states that workers will be hired and fired on this basis "without regard to their membership or non-membership in any union." The already diluted strength of the much-praised section 7 (known as labor's bill of rights) is further weakened by this new exception. One more "interpretation" and the only pro-labor provision of the recovery bill will be rendered pure hog wash. General Johnson admitted the open shop policy of the automobile code, but his crocodile tears do little to correct the so-called error. He vows it won't happen again, another false promise which time and the NRA will expose.

The pickets of two striking unions have been arrested because of the efforts of the New York NRA machine under the direction of that notorious foe of labor, Grover Whalen. Judge Strong stigmatized picketing as a public nuisance when he handed down an injunction restraining two locals of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union from picketing bakery plants. Magistrate O'Dwyer has assisted the Elio Shoe Co. in breaking a militant strike of the Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union by issuing a no-picketing injunction.

The murder of two strikers by a scab during the Cambria Silk Hosiery Co. strike in Philadelphia has stirred up a mass protest. Also, the terrorist tactics used to break the strike of the miners of New Mexico and Utah has provoked a nationwide cry against these methods that seem to find such a welcome home under the shadow of the Blue Eagle's wings.

We Must Unite Or Be Destroyed

The following speech, delivered by Elmer Cope of Pittsburgh, is the minority report on the steel conference brought before the Cleveland Trade Union Conference. Labor Action publishes this report because fellow worker Cope has been accused by the Daily Worker of having blocked unity efforts. We leave it to readers of this report to judge who it was that stood in the way of unity.

Fellow-worker, Chairman and Fellow-workers:

It was our understanding that this conference was to be a united front conference. According to the printed conference call and pre-conference publicity all left wing unions were urged to send representatives to Cleveland this weekend in order that we might work out a common program which we could take back into the field and to the workers on the job. We came here under the impression that this meant that members of T.U.U.L. unions, A. F. of L. unions and independent unions would sit down together and work out a program for united action against the onslaught of the Roosevelt administration, NRA and the bosses. We came fully realizing that unless the left wing elements in the labor movement unite against NRA and the Fascist attempts of the Roosevelt government they will be wiped out leaving the workers at the mercy of the bosses and a fascist government.

We of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action went into the steel conference determined to work out a program for action which would unite all the militant steel workers in their struggle for organization and against NRA.

Meldon Distorts CPLA Position

Fellow-worker Meldon, secretary of the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union, has just reported for the majority group of our steel conference. He has reported that the only point upon which all elements agreed is that of accepting the steel code of the S.M.W.I.U. as a basis for discussion by steel workers and for uniting the militant elements in the industry. By stating that on all other points no agreement was reached and by further stating that CPLA members refused to go along with the other comrades, Meldon has deliberately misrepresented the position taken by the minority group.

Let me review briefly for you what actually took place in our steel conference:

We agreed early in the conference that there were three major points which should be discussed and a program worked out which would center around these points.

The first point was the matter of a code for the steel workers.

The second was the formation of left-opposition groups in the A. F. of L. unions.

While the third and final point was that of independent unionism and what our policy would be relative to the formation of such unions.

We very soon agreed on the matter of a code for the steel industry. We were unanimous in our opposition to the code presented by the Iron and Steel Institute and approved with changes by NRA. A motion was unanimously adopted to accept the code of the SMWIU as a basis for discussion by steel workers and for uniting the militant elements in the industry.

CPLA Steel Policy

Early in the conference CPLA had stated its policy on the union field. Later in the afternoon at the request of the conference we presented the following written proposals as a basis for united action:

1. Our common objective is to build a single, class struggle, industrial union built out of the experience and needs of the workers and not formed by mechanical or artificial needs.
2. A conference in which all kinds of unions, A. F. of L., TUUL, and Independent, confer on the basis of united struggle, cannot, in the nature of the case give exclusive support to any one organization or group as the sole agency for struggle of the steel workers.
3. In any concrete situation where a militant organization is really organizing workers, other groups shall not encroach upon their efforts.

4. Opposition groups based on the widest possible Unity of left-wing forces shall be formed in the A. F. of L. unions in the steel industry.

5. We accept the Code of the SMWIU as a basis for discussion by steel workers and for uniting the militant elements in the industry.

6. The false face of the Federal labor union must be torn off and be exposed not as an attempt to introduce industrial unionism but as a device to perpetuate the craft union system.

Hathaway Declares SMWIU Only Union

Comrade Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, then took the floor and launched an attack upon the position taken by the CPLA members regarding our trade union policy. He attacked our policy calling it wishy-washy and suggested that our "flexible policy" amounted to no policy at all. He contended that our policy would lead us into the hands of the A. F. of L. officialdom. He wound up, and get this fellow-workers, for this is the crux of the whole disagreement, by stating categorically that CPLA and all other left wing elements must accept the SMWIU as the only militant industrial union and must work to build it up.

To illustrate how far the TUUL comrades were willing to go in pushing their program of unity, a motion was introduced "to immediately start the consolidation of all left wing forces in the A. F. of L. and to set up apparatus to effect this consolidation, that the national office and the district offices of the SMWIU be used as contact points for all these groups."

Sectarianism Scored

Imagine A. F. of L. opposition groups making contact with one another through the SMWIU offices! How absurd and impracticable! We all agreed that we should immediately unite our efforts in building strong opposition groups of the A. F. of L. unions, but to suggest that this had to be done exclusively through the SMWIU offices and machinery certainly provided no basis for unity among all the groups wishing to fight racketeering, the conservatism and the bureaucracy in the A. F. of L. union. Here was another attempt to put the conference on record in favor of the SMWIU exclusively.

Stachel Confused

Fellow-worker Jack Stachel, secretary of the TUUL, after agreeing in his speech that the CPLA union policy "may have been correct a few months ago," indicated that now all left wing groups had to work with the SMWIU. Stachel at the beginning of his speech suggested that the left wing leaders must lead the workers into the SMWIU. Then at the close of his speech he concluded by saying that the workers must choose for themselves. In the afternoon conference Stachel served an ultimatum on all of us which was, in substance, that unless we consented to accept the SMWIU as the only union for the steel workers then we might just as well adjourn for there was no other basis for united action.

CPLA stands committed to the proposition that the greatest need of the hour for all workers everywhere is that they organize immediately. It is the workers who must decide who is to lead them. We certainly cannot truthfully say that we here represent the great mass of the unorganized steel workers. Certainly the SMWIU does not represent even a large fraction of them—Stachel and Meldon admitted in the steel conference that there are less than 10,000 steel workers enrolled in their union. There is no substantial evidence that the workers as yet have confidence in the SMWIU. Great numbers are at present flocking into the A. F. of L. unions.

In the Mahoning Valley in Ohio, I happen to know, and this is confirmed by Meldon's statements in the steel conference this afternoon, that the SMWIU is extremely weak and ineffective. Their influence among these masses of steel workers, and I understand it was considerable, was lost because of the stupid tactics used by the union in the Warren strike last fall. It is these workers in the Mahoning Valley and elsewhere in the industry who will choose what union they want. At this time no

union can justly claim that it is the only union for the steel workers. As a matter of fact both the A. A. of the A. F. of L. and the SMWIU of the TUUL have failed to penetrate the large corporations in the heart of the industry—they have organized workers on the fringe of the industry, mostly those of independent concerns.

Why We Could Not Agree

It was because the minority group in the steel conference would not consent to confine their activities to organizing steel workers into the SMWIU that we have not come before this conference with a complete program for united action. CPLA stands for the development of a single militant, industrial union for steel workers which will be free of racketeering and bureaucratic control. So do the TUUL comrades. We agreed on the code for which we would fight—the code of the SMWIU. We agreed that we must unite to consolidate left wing opposition groups in the A. F. of L. unions—but because we would not take a sectarian position and limit ourselves to the building of the SMWIU our TUUL comrades refused to unite with us in fighting for these things upon which we agreed.

Achievements and Lessons Of Cleveland Conference

By A. J. MUSTE

THE Cleveland Trade Union Conference for United Action brought together over 500 delegates. A small number were from A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhood locals and independent unions. Some were from unions and unemployed organizations in which the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has been active. The overwhelming majority of the delegates were from Trade Union Unity League organizations. The Socialists were conspicuous by their absence. They will consort with conservative and reactionary trade unionists, although claiming to differ from them, but they shun the company of radicals and militants from whom they may differ.

The principal achievement of the conference was to bring together those elements in the unions and other economic organizations who do not believe that NIRA is "a step in the right direction" but that it

is a false, capitalistic attempt out of the crisis against which the workers must be warned and armed. It was made clear by reports from various industries and sections of the country that while many workers still pin their hopes on the NIRA, there are also a great many who not only have derived no benefits from it but whose condition has been worsened. These workers are by no means "sold" on the Roosevelt program. The delegates went on record unanimously against a policy of "passy-footing" with regard to NIRA. Unions which are built up solely or chiefly because Roosevelt tells workers to organize will just as swiftly collapse when government support is withdrawn, or will meekly yield to government pressure when it desires to move in a Fascist direction. This does not mean hysterical screaming against the Blue Eagle. The workers can be given careful, reasoned arguments why the attempt to "save capitalism" cannot succeed. Above all, the plain everyday facts of what NIRA is failing to do for the workers now can be persistently set forth.

Reports About A. F. of L. Gains Exaggerated

Some people are under the impression that under NIRA the workers in practically all industries are being swept into the A. F. of L., that soon there will be no independent unionism whatever and that all energies of militants must now be concentrated on developing opposition within the A. F. of L. Reports to the Cleveland conference made it clear that this is not the case and that it would be a serious error for militants to herd workers indiscriminately into A. F. of L. unions. The A. F. of L. has considerably increased its membership in those industries where there was already a tradition of A. F. of L. unionism, as in the needle trades and mining. It still remains to be seen whether the A. F. of L. can gain a hold on such basic industries as steel, automobiles and public utilities. Many workers in these industries doubt, and with good reason, whether the A. F. of L. will give them genuine industrial unions if they join it.

These are not pre-war days when any unions, even if conservative in philosophy, were sure to represent a step in the right direction, an agency for struggle against the employer. Today tremendous forces are at work to make Fascist agencies out of A. F. of L. unions. Many of the leaders of the A. F. of L. are so strongly committed to cooperation with the government and employers that they cannot be depended upon effectively to resist these forces. The work in the A. F. of L. unions must go on but there are also still cases where workers must be supported in their effort to build independent, fighting, industrial unions.

A. F. of L. unions are not yet Fascist organizations, however. Many workers are seeking to use them as weapons of struggle. They are in a state of transition. Militants must work within them more intensively and intelligently than ever. They must keep before the workers at all times the need of working toward a single, powerful, fighting industrial union movement.

Sectarianism Still A Handicap to United Action

While there was agreement at Cleveland on the fundamental attitude toward NIRA and on the general approach to the problem of economic organization, much less progress was made toward united action in specific instances than is necessary in view of the seriousness of the present crisis. This was due chiefly to the fact that the Communist party and the TUUL, though professing a desire to make a new approach toward the building of mass organizations, have not yet been able to overcome their deeply rooted sectarian habits.

It was brought out in the Cleveland conference, for example, that during the recent unemployed strike in Toledo where leagues and councils were supposed to be working together, the Toledo office of the C. P. sent out a letter to its members instructing them to work in the strike in order to bring the unemployed "into our unemployed councils and our party." This occurred despite the fact that there is a specific agreement for united action between councils and leagues which, among other things, pro-

vides that the organizations are not to engage in the futile business of trying to win members away from each other.

In effect, the TUUL representatives proposed in practically every industry that their own industrial union should be accepted as the one which has already demonstrated its fitness to organize and lead the workers. The CPLA contends that both because of past mistakes and certain present tendencies in the TUUL unions, there are many instances where the workers cannot be made to accept the TUUL union as it stands and where a genuinely fresh approach to the problem of organization must be made.

In this connection, a word is in order regarding the charge made at the Cleveland conference by some of the CPLA representatives that in the Paterson strike of 1931, for example, TUUL elements scabbed on A. F. of L. workers. We contend that there is ample evidence to back that charge, which has never been successfully refuted. It was published in Labor Age at the time and it is not necessary to rehearse it here. The statement was made at Cleveland, however, not in order to create the impression that we regard the TUUL unions as scab agencies. We have repeatedly pointed out their militancy and courage, have supported their strikes and have refrained from attacking these organizations before the workers. We point out the facts in this case because it is precisely such incidents as these that make it impossible at the present time to persuade some of the most militant elements in Paterson to engage in united action with the National Textile Workers Union, and because there is no hope of united action on a fighting basis until the facts are frankly and fearlessly faced.

Frank Criticisms and Not Pious Resolutions

The fact that at Cleveland these difficulties were discussed and criticisms freely made and listened to was a gain rather than a loss. It is better to approach problems in this way than to pass vague, pious resolutions about united action which come to nothing in practice. Certain specific steps toward united action in various industries were, moreover, taken.

The CPLA will continue to stand for the united front, in concrete situations, of all labor elements, and especially of the militant left-wing forces. We point out, however, that while criticism of a sort is essential and healthy, if the left-wing forces engage primarily in tearing each other down before the workers, the result will simply be playing into the hands of reactionaries and Fascists, and not the building of fighting unions.

Secondly, the sectarian habits to which we have referred must be definitely and completely abandoned.

Thirdly, now, as in the past, the CPLA recognizes that there is a need for independent unionism and will continue its attack upon the A. F. of L. leadership and its dominant policies, but it will not engage in dual unionist adventures. It will hold before the workers constantly the goal of a single militant industrial union center.

Finally, the actual process of effecting unity among left-wing fighting elements will have to proceed in a realistic manner. The CPLA will not arbitrarily force unity on any group of workers. Unity must grow from the bottom on the basis of action and not of words. CPLA will continue to advocate united action by all the means in its power. The need for united action is greater than ever. We will continue to help and lead the workers in building effective fighting organizations wherever we have the opportunity. We will not artificially impose unity on any group of workers since that only means that organization is retarded and broken up rather than advanced. This is adventurism which leads to destruction.

More and more conditions will force the workers to band together against all open enemies and false friends. Disunity will mean destruction of the left-wing forces. If they achieve unity on a realistic basis the crisis will open up vast opportunities and the workers will follow such leadership. More than ever, therefore, those who in any way retard or oppose the process of unification are enemies of the workers.



GILLESPIE, ILL.—September 1 was the first anniversary of the Progressive Miners of America. Fully 40,000 miners and their women assembled in Bend to celebrate the occasion. The rank and file, as ever, remain loyal and militant. A great contrast, however, prevails over the officialdom. In the new rebel union are uncompromising forces, keenly divided on the question of class struggle versus class collaboration. The new miners' union baptized through fire and blood—having lost eleven lives in ambushes, skirmishes and battles—has weathered one of the fiercest reigns of terror invoked against labor in recent times.

One hundred and thirty local unions of the P. M. of A. have been organized with a membership of 35,000. Eighty-five branches of the novel Women's Auxiliary with a membership of 20,000 are now solidly banded. Forty relief stations feeding 13,500 miners for over a year are still functioning effectively. A miners' paper which reached a circulation of 50,000 was issued. Hundreds of thousands of people rallied at hundreds of gigantic demonstrations, meetings and marches to listen to a cause which temporarily electrified the labor movement. And on this memorable day, when the coal miners a year previous decided once and for all to sever relations with the notorious John L. Lewis, the masses rallied to celebrate. But while they were celebrating little were they conscious of the great conspiracy in store for them.

Coal miners talk about all miners unions being broken from within and not always from without. This is more than a mere platitude as far as the new Illinois miners union is concerned. The forces of reaction have bored from within. Those called leaders, consciously and unconsciously, have surrendered the basic mission of this new miners union. The writer was removed as editor because of "radicalism." Left wing members were isolated from responsibility. Hunger marches were broken up. Left wing mass meetings were dispersed. One militant worker has been expelled from union membership. A systematic campaign of intimidation, and in some instances terror, is practiced against those who insist on the rights of minorities. All this is, and has, taken place with the officialdom of the new union either purposely apathetic or directly connected with the fascist acts.

While thousands milled for hours waiting for a message from Claude Percy, on the side lines were union leaders as Pat Ansbury, John Battuello, Joe Burrell, Andy Steed and a host of others of left wing tendencies ostracized because they refused to join the plot to stiff the P. M. of A. The union president, who of late has resided in Washington, lobbying and dilly-dallying with politicians, spoke to

an eager crowd. For months thousands of striking miners and their wives have been promised the heavens and earth if they would stick by the officialdom in its program to unconditionally support the notorious National Recovery Act. They were there this anniversary day straining to catch a word of hope from their unintelligent and awkward president. With the ordinary platitudes and ambiguities widely prevalent among class unconscious leaders, the President of the P. M. of A. told the crowd what good fellows they were for listening to him and after pinning oratorical bouquets on some of his henchmen, the rotund built "leader" gracefully retired. And horrors of horrors the president's speech for the first time was prepared because he did not want to be misquoted as he himself exclaimed! What a disillusioned crowd. What did he say about Washington? Are we going to get recognized? If not, what did Percy propose we do? These were some of the questions that boomed from the ranks.

Relegated to a late time was the speaking appointment of the Auxiliary president, Agnes Burns Wiecek, small, fiery and intellectual. Smoothly the machine tried to shove her down the list but spontaneously a revolt broke out among the crowd and due to this pressure the hand-picked chairman attempted to "explain" and finally she came on. Straight from the shoulder the Auxiliary leader let them have it. "Where are the boys who spoke to you a year ago from this same platform?" she shouted. Amidst the remark which thundered through amplifiers the thousands applauded. Mr. Frank Fries, Democratic sheriff of Macoupin county, given a prominent place on the platform, accosted her. She remained undaunted and she continued to pepper the right wing for its treason to the fundamental principles of the Progressive Miners of America.

By the time this column is published, the much delayed coal code will be consummated. General Johnson states that the conflict between the U.M.W. of A. and the P. M. of A. remains one of the most difficult problems for Washington to solve. "The ideal situation," says he of Blue Eagle fame, "would be for the Progressive to rejoin the United Mine Workers." Johnson, Lewis, Roosevelt and others can take this advice! The Illinois miners might be fooled, but not by such a raw deal.

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Under Direction of the National Executive Committee of CPLA

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THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL ACTION

It is too early to give a final analysis of the proceedings of the Conference for United Political Action held in Chicago over the Labor Day week-end. Preliminary reports indicate that the work of the conference presents some very promising aspects and some doubtful ones. It appears that there was a substantial representation of the more radical farm organizations and a fair representation of the unemployed movement. Unions had practically no representatives. The program aims at social ownership and control of basic industries and resources. Well-known CPLA'ers such as Truax, Ramaglia, Hogan and Hardman were nominated on the Committee of Action, subject, of course, to approval of the proposal by the organization. This Committee of Action is to proceed immediately with enrolling individual members who will constitute the nucleus of farmer-labor party organization and to seek to coordinate the work of existing radical political organizations.

It was a serious error for the Conference to vote to exclude the Communist Party from a Farmer-Labor party which may be established, and CPLA'ers voted against this proposal. The action was gratuitous since the Communist Party at the present time at least is opposed to any Farmer-Labor party movement. It is true that Communist tactics are subject to criticism but the object of the Chicago conference was supposedly to bring about unity and not disunity on the political field. Certainly that is the need of the hour.

Furthermore, objection to Communist tactics frequently is a cloak for something very different, namely, opposition to revolutionary aims and methods. That this was to some extent the case at Chicago is suggested by the fact that Prof. Paul Douglas, who led the fight for excluding Communists, is going around the country making speeches for NRA and made a pro-NRA speech at the Chicago conference.

The CPLA will support to the utmost a movement to build a fighting mass party of city and country workers. Such a party, however, must be composed of fighters and will have to get rid of fuzzy liberal elements and notions.

SOCIALIST PARTY WOBBLER AGAIN

THE Socialist Party of New York was asked to employ its organizational machinery to help the drive to line up consumers behind the NRA program and refused to do so. That we regard as a correct position. The machinery of a party which is supposed to be aiming at the overthrow of capitalism should not be used to ballyhoo for that system.

The Socialist Party also stated that it was putting all possible energy into organizing workers into unions. That is also good. It referred to Grover Whalen's recent edict about NRA abrogating the right to strike and insisted that "whether the pickets be Communists, Socialists, Democrats or Republicans, or workers having no political connections, the right of organized protest through the strike must never be abrogated." This also is a sound position.

As usual, however, the Socialist party fails to come to the root of the matter. Instead of coming out flatfooted against the NRA, exposing it as a means to deceive the working masses, as a fundamentally unsound and unworkable attempt to save capitalism, it virtually accepts NRA. It speaks as if "democracy" might obtain a firm foothold in "the vast corporate enterprises" in the U. S. if the workers are organized under NRA. It takes for granted that the NRA really wants to see the workers organized, only so far the job has not been properly done. The organization of workers is the "weakest" link in the NRA chain. So while presumably enlisting consumers' cooperation under the Blue Eagle is also necessary, that can be done by the Republicans and Democrats while the Socialists carry on the work of organizing unions under NRA!

Besides, what kind of unionism will the S.P. help to organize under the NRA? What is it doing to prevent the domination of the trade union movement here in the United States by such men as John L. Lewis? What has it ever done? What is it going to do about the charge which Norman Thomas most belatedly publishes in the *New Leader* for September 9 that the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party in New York united with right-wing unionists, manufacturers, Tammany lawyers, capitalist courts, police and thugs to put the left-wing fur workers union, which in this case unquestionably had the vast majority of the workers in its ranks, out of business? What has it ever done to protest against this kind of thing?

No, for all its language on certain points, the Socialist Party will not in America any more than anywhere else, lead the workers to victory and freedom.

STILL FROM MISSOURI

IN 1929 practically all economic experts, not to mention the bankers and politicians, claimed that the U. S. had discovered a "New Capitalism" which had forever banished unemployment and poverty from our midst—the era, as Hoover put it, of "the chicken in every pot and an automobile in every garage." Labor Actionists at that time asserted that the New Capitalism was not new or stable and predicted a crash.

In 1933 we have been saying and still assert that Roosevelt's New Deal is not really new, that essentially it is an attempt to save capitalism and that it cannot and won't work.

Reports from the Cleveland Trade Union Conference on United Action and from the Chicago Conference for United Political Action indicate that there are plenty of workers and farmers who have not felt the benefits from NRA and who do not need to read statistics in order to know that it is not working. Statistics to prove that point are, however, available. Steel production is back to 40 per cent of capacity. NRA was to have put 5 million back to work by Labor Day. Its most ardent supporters now talk in terms of 2 million at the most.

The public works program was to have put a million back to work by October 1. Secretary Ickes admits that so far only 15,000 have actually been put to work.

Meantime expenditures for relief were cut by seven million dollars between June and July (the latest month for which figures are available) thus reducing the purchasing power of the unemployed by that much.

Big boy Hugh Johnson and Jesse Jones of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have been lecturing the banks for not extending credit liberally and so making the "mare go." The banks have about 600 million dollars in excess reserves, according to Reserve Board figures, which is generally considered enough to increase outstanding credit from the present 4 1/2 billion dollars to nearly 10 billion dollars, but the banks say that they can't find any businesses that seem "good risks" these days. They do not believe that NRA will work!

CAPITALISM

THIS IS HOW IT WORKS
—By H. A. H.

STORY OF A CAPITALIST

Mellon's Millions: The Biography of a Fortune. By Harvey O'Connor. John Day Co. \$3.

Andrew W. Mellon is among the three or four richest men in the world today. Through the ownership or control of billions of dollars worth of machinery which produces such necessities as coal, coke, aluminum, gas, electricity, etc., the power of the Mellon fortune extends into the lives of millions of American citizens.

Son of a lawyer who acquired wealth as a merciless usurer, Andrew Mellon early developed the dominant family trait of putting himself into a position where he could levy tribute on the enterprise and need of others. Cold, cautious, calculating, this hard man shunned any human contacts that could in the least manner sway him from the dominant purpose of his life, the amassing of money.

"Andrew Mellon neglected few of the techniques by which money could be made," observes the writer of this intensely interesting and well documented book. But, points out Mr. O'Connor, "underlying all these techniques of acquisition was the simple and obvious fact that as an employer Andrew Mellon bought labor cheap and sold its products dear. In the Pittsburgh region, noteworthy in fat America for its destitution and misery, the Mellons became a billionaire family. The explanation lay in part in the miserable towns in which his steel, coal and aluminum workers lived, in the poverty of their lives, in the glaring inequality of opportunity between the children of Andrew Mellon and those of his workers."

The story of the origin of the Mellon fortune is the story of the growth of American capitalism. Lacking in certain details the originality displayed in the amassing of such fortunes as those of Rockefeller, Carnegie and Morgan, the Mellon Millions were acquired by essentially the same methods—ruthless destruction of competitors, brutal exploitation of the workers and wholesale bribery of government officials, to the accompaniment of murder, robbery and starvation. Mankind's misfortunes were the Mellons' opportunities.

"In peace time," says Mr. O'Connor, "the Mellon fortune grew steadily with majestic pace; in war it leaped forward toward new triumphs. It was so in the Civil War and its aftermath; the Spanish American War marked the choice circle of multimillionaire money lords; the World War shot it forward as a peer of the more publicized Rockefeller. The Ships that supplied the army in France were made, in dozens, by the Mellon's New York Shipbuilding Company. The great battleships of the next war depend on Bethlehem's armor plate. Shells must be heavy with the products of Mellon's mysterious by-products plants, where the constituents of deadly explosives and gases are gathered carefully from coal. The shells must be fired through Bethlehem Steel's ordinance. All these are for sale, at a profit, by the Mellons."

However, the significance of this book is not in what it tells us about Andrew Mellon and his millions, but in what it tells us about the social systems in which the Andrew Mellons are elevated to the highest position of honor and responsibility. Too often books about the lives and practices of rich men have caused us to turn our indignation in the wrong direction. Learning about the ruthlessness, the brutality and the arrogance of a Mellon, a Morgan or a Rockefeller, we are apt to think that if only we could somehow or other eliminate these rich fellows there would be no more starvation or injustice or misery.

The fact of course is, had there not been any Morgans or Mellons or Rockefeller in America there would have been others who would have done precisely what they did. Capitalism produces billionaires just as surely as it produces racketeers, corrupt politicians and slavery for the masses. To think that we can do away with the powerful and ruthless rich men or that we can reform them, without doing away with capitalism itself, is just as sensible as attempting to clean up a fly nuisance without first cleaning up the refuse and filth in which flies breed. This is the liberal's method, the method of reform. The revolutionist says destroy the cause!

My Uncle Abner, The Cop

By TESS HUFF

Part I.

I will begin that day a mile and a half from Midway, at Reed's Ford, which is half a mile from where we live, where the farmers and their sons gathered to halt the milk-trucks of the scab farmers who would not come in on the strike but who took milk to town anyway.

My father was carrying a sign about the strike nailed to an oak board. He is a tall slim man, my father, with stoop-shoulders, and most of the time he wears overalls or maybe his black pants and boots. Most of the time he has a long mustache, but he had shaved the day before, to go to a farmers' meeting in Midway, where he made a speech himself, so his face was bluish and extra long.

It was early in the morning. We

Labor Action herewith begins publication of another story by Tess Huff, author of *The Harlan Mtners*. Opening with a strike of dairy farmers against the robbing practices of the powerful milk combines, the story ends in New York City where the country lad who tells the story has gone to get help from his Uncle Abner, the cop. The high spot of the story is when the boy sees his Uncle engaged in the business of clubbing striking fur workers just as the deputized thug had clubbed his father out in Midway.

of the river. The farmers were yelling at the driver, Jake Pennington, to turn back, and Jasper Witt and Tom Farley were splashing across the river toward the truck. In the excitement I tried to climb over the fence; the bottom of my



cut across the Jasen fields so we would strike the highway at the back of the hill. My father picked up a hickory stick, but the next minute he threw the stick down, and said: "No, I must never do that."

At the foot of the hill, across Petry's old meadows, down by the swinging-bridge, we could see the farmers, already there. They were on this side of the river, next to Midway, because coming across the rocks in the river-bed the trucks would have to slow down, and on this side was the right place to halt them.

Before we were off the hill my father told me to keep going on, and he went up into the woods, out of sight, but I waited until he came back.

"Pap," I said, when he came up, "damn it, you make me sick! What do you want to do for?"

"Oh well, he said, embarrassed, "you don't know what I went up there for."

"I know! I have seen you!" I almost cried. "It makes me so damn sick to think you would throw the stick away and go to the woods and pray!"

For a minute I couldn't see. Some kind of a funny flash went over me and I turned blind.

He went on ahead and I dropped behind and sat down in the field. I don't know why I was all wrought up, but I was, for I don't like to see my father pray, and I sat down by a patch of daisies, and pretty soon I was thinking about myself in a day-dream. Maybe you know how it is when you are in a big field. I got to thinking about making a speech to the farmers. I got to thinking about Myrtle Rydner, a girl who lives over in the Flatwoods, two miles from our house; she has eyes black as a crow's, a terrible girl for reading books and says we are bound to lose the strike if the workers in the towns do not stick with us, and why don't I tell the farmers? So there I was on a platform in a great crowd telling the workers and farmers to stick together....

Then all of a sudden, like a clap of thunder, I heard shouts and a truck horn blowing. I had completely forgotten where I was. I jumped up and ran across the field. When I saw the milk truck it had come to a dead stop in the middle

pounded and for a moment I turned blind as a bat. I tried to climb over the fence, but my legs went weak and I never did get over. I saw it all from this side of the fence. The cars came up and a whale of a man with a bulging stomach (I had never seen him in our parts before) got out of the front car and walked up to the farmers. "Break up, you fellows," he ordered. "You know we can't allow this."

The farmers looked at the khaki thugs, and were silent. Some of the farmers had sticks, like walking sticks, and old man Lissenbee had a rock in his hand the size of two or three goose eggs.

"Listen, chief—" my father fixed to say something, but the "chief" began waving the farmers away, separating them, pushing them on. "Break up! Let's not have any foolishness here."

Then old man Lissenbee, holding the stone, began yapping: "Don't touch me!" As the hulk made for the old man, a cry came from the river; and there, tangled up in the milk cans on the truck, was Jasper Witt and a thug at each other's throats, and Tom Farley was on top of the driver's cab, yelling for help. At once the thugs rushed at the farmers, and the old man threw his rock, striking one on the mouth, and three of the farmers jumped over the fence where I was, throwing rocks too, and ran across the field.

I heard my father crying: "Listen, chief...." and saw the hulk raise his club and come down on my father's head and immediately there was the roar of a gun, followed by a roaring silence, and I fell, as though shot. When I came to myself, when I realized what I was doing, I was looking through the fence, between the rails, watching the men in the road, and everything was queer and unreal. Henry Howard, a farmer, was down on his face, and the farmers and thugs were looking at him, as if they couldn't believe a man was laying there in the road on his face. Then all at once they started moving, as though the whole crowd had suddenly come to life. The young khaki thug who shot him had a pale face. They began talking. They lifted Henry Howard into a car, and the car sped off toward Midway. The thugs put handcuffs on the farmers.

My father looked up and saw me. His face was bloody.

"Tell your mamma I'm all right," he shouted. "Tell her to tell Wess to come to the courthouse and go my bond."

By LOUIS BREIER

Fable

THREE scholars on their way to dinner came upon a man lying across their path who, by the emaciation of his body and the despair written on his face, they saw had certainly been felled by starvation.

The first scholar who was a "New Deal" Capitalist said: "By this it is evident that our government is not moving fast enough. I shall certainly complain. Only the other day I saw an item in the paper reporting the presence of wheat on some western farm. I would willingly wager that a great many more of our farms have not yet plowed under their full quota of wheat, fruit, vegetables and cotton; and only the other day I received information from trustworthy sources that there still remain in our stockyards fully a billion pigs unslaughtered and unburied. What does this mean? Is this man, and others in the same predicament, to be permitted to die merely because our government agents are not zealous enough in their business of destroying foodstuffs? Scandalous!"

The second scholar, a renowned liberal, said: "I think you are a trifle severe, my friend. On my part, of course, (and I am not afraid to say it) there still remain some few doubts concerning the advisability and, as it were, the economic significance of slaughtering pigs and plowing under wheat and cotton. Although, on the other hand, you will understand that I have no wish to criticize the administration unduly. I want to be fair, above all things, and surely I will always be among the first to admit that this administration, unlike the preceding one, is really doing something. But I insist on reserving the right to criticize whomever and whatever I wish, and in this connection allow me to say that the spectacle of men and women starving is not a pleasant one. No indeed. It is too bad, too bad!"

The third scholar, just returned from a Russian tour, cried: "You two—how can you be so callous? How can you be so cool in the face of so much misery and horror? This man should be a horrible lesson to us all! We have had enough talk! We have compromised long enough! This is no longer the time for idle speculation! This is the time for action—you, I, everyone of us must go forth and help defend the Chinese Soviet!"

Just then the starving man made one last desperate effort. He lifted himself to one elbow and shouted hoarsely: "Bread! Bread!" Then the scholars heard the death rattle.

"After all," said the first scholar, "There was no real reason why he should have died. There were only physical reasons for it. Like most people he psychologized himself into the strange belief that there was no food to be had. How is that possible? There is plenty of food. There is too much food. He successfully deluded himself into believing that there was nothing to eat when as a matter of fact all he had to do at any time was to sit down and eat his fill."

"After all," said the second scholar, "Death is an entirely relative matter. I speak as a philosopher. Of course I am not unaware of the still current controversy raging over the opposed concepts: whether Death is an absence of Life or Life an absence of Death. But for my part, as I like to think of myself as a disciple of Aristotle and as I am heartily in accord with the great Stagirlites' principle of the Golden Mean...."

"After all," the third scholar interrupted, "Isn't this all nonsense? Aren't you begging the question? Isn't it true that you have been quibbling, both of you? Will you deny that all you have said is futile? There is no truth but the truth, remember that! Come comrades—let us put arm in arm, let us unite and enter the battle bravely with these great words on our lips: "The Chinese Soviet Must Be Defended!"

Meanwhile, and pending further suggestions, will you on your part: 1. Be mapping out a plan of attack upon one new dollar subscriber. That is the minimum quota per regular reader. If you can capture him for three months only, it will be necessary to secure three more! If every present subscriber sends in a new dollar subscription during the next month, nothing more will ever be said by me about the finances of Labor Action, its threatened demise, lack of postage stamps, etc.

Also, I have considered offering an autographed snapshot of the Circulation Manager to the first 50 dollar subscribers, but fearing to kill the campaign at the outset, have decided to offer Chairman Muste's snapshot instead! 2. Write me a letter. It doesn't matter what is in it. I like a lot of mail. Suggestions of all kinds, names of likely readers, ideas about circulation, orders for bundles, contributions (including old clothes but no neckties, please; "Cara" happens to be female) and particularly postage stamps, so I may answer promptly. Complaints of incorrect addresses, spelling of names, etc., are especially welcomed.

We beg exemption for this letter, however,—written under trying circumstances of haste, newness of job and moving. By the next time, we shall be prepared with some really weighty ideas, and hope to have some encouraging reports of what is, in all seriousness, one of the most challenging tasks facing the CPLA and its friends in the coming months,—the stabilizing and enlargement of the circulation of this voice of and for the workers.

Fraternally
CARA COOK

RADICAL INTERLUDES

By LOUIS BREIER

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CARA COOK

Wreck Probes Ignore Wooden Death Trap

BINGHAMPTON, N. Y.—(FP)—Investigations aptly are promised to find what trainman can be blamed for the wreck which took 14 lives as an Erie milk train plowed into a satisfactory passenger train at Binghamton, but no hint has been given of any probe to find why the railroad was using an old wooden coach.