

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

# LABOR ACTION

The New York Hotel Strike See Page 3

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## Auto Strikes Flare Up In Detroit

### Union Workers Drop WES For More Aggressive Organization

### Prepared for Action A. F. of L. Leaders Attempt To Smother Workers' Enthusiasm

(By Special Correspondent)

DETROIT, MICH. — That revolt of automobile workers, pictured in Labor Action in December, has now reached strike heat. The union workers of the Hudson Motor Co. in this city, and the Buick and Fisher Body employes in Flint have decided definitely upon such action. Only the careful policy of the American Federation of Labor, under whose banner they are enrolled, has delayed the "drastic action" set for March 7.

The United Auto Workers Union, makeshift creation of the A. F. of L., looms continually larger in the local situation. Two months ago, the Mechanics Educational Society had the greatest prestige among the auto workers. Its conduct of the general strike of tool and die makers had won it that distinction.

M. E. S.'s Weakness

The M.E.S., however, wasted valuable time in rallying the production workers to its organization. This was partly due to craft consciousness among a section of its members. It also arose from the embryonic character of the M.E.S. itself. Many post-strike problems in the tool and die industry were thrown upon that union's shoulders. Rising rapidly from local needs, it had to take on the job of formulating its entire organizational set-up.

Even today, when the M.E.S. has decided to take in the production workers, it has not proceeded to their organization with the same drive that it put in the tool and die campaign. This does not mean that the M.E.S. will not finally be a factor. It merely indicates that the A. F. of L. at present, despite the distrust in that body in Detroit, has got into the lead in the auto industry here.

The Hudson Motor employes were originally attached in large part to the Auto Workers Industrial Union, Communist-controlled. Last year they went over almost in a body to the A. F. of L., partly because of hope that this more "respectable" organization could secure more results from the N.R.A. and partly out of disgust with the tactics of the Communists.

Across the way from the Hudson plant lies the giant Chrysler auto works, with the tightest controlled company union in the country. Immediately to the left is the Continental Motors plant, with another company union. In the background is the main Briggs plant, where the big 1931 strike took place and where discontent is already rife. A walk-out at Hudson's might be the spark that would set off all these great auto works.

### A. F. of L. Playing NRA Game

The A. F. of L. is playing the game which the N.R.A. is making increasingly popular among unions. With production up, the chances of strike success are great. But caution dictates that a more practical union "victory" can be secured from N.R.A. conferences. The A. F. of L. hopes thereby, with shop committees functioning, to win recognition without a battle. They believe that by that means they can also secure the re-hiring of men discharged for union activity, and win some reforms in the manufacturers' written code.

The disgust with present conditions, which caused the walk-outs recently in Kenosha and Toledo, may make the workers restless at the slow A. F. of L. program. A great general auto strike is still on the agenda of action for the auto workers. The next month or two may see such a move on a big scale in this great basic industry.

Build the American Workers Party!

## 84 Mexican Artists Thank Workers and Artists For Aid

NEW YORK, N. Y.—In a letter sent to Labor Action, 84 Mexican artists including Diego Rivera thanked American workers and artists who protested against the destruction of the Mexican artist's murals in Radio City. At the same time they protested the actions of those artists who, accepting the Rockefeller interpretation of the events leading to the destruction of the frescoes, exhibited their work at the Municipal Art Show in Rockefeller Center.

The murals painted by Rivera on the walls of the RCA building in Radio City caused a furor here last spring when unveiled. They showed as the main subject Lenin pointing the way to a workers' republic by uniting workers and soldiers of all races. Thereupon the Rockefeller's refused to allow Rivera to finish his work and covered the frescoes with a cloth.

In the correspondence which followed, Rivera while speaking of art in general said that he would rather see his work destroyed than mutilated. Hunting for some excuse to destroy the mural the Rockefeller's seized upon this generalization as giving them the right to get rid of the painting. This their workmen did one night last week.

Though methods of removing frescoes so that they are not destroyed are well known, the Rockefeller's did not avail themselves of any of these means, smashing Rivera's work into crumbled plaster. This vindictive way of destroying an artist's work led to a protest by the Society of Independent Artists and the Society of American Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers, who withdrew their work scheduled to be shown at an exhibition in Radio City. Workers picketed the RCA building protesting the Rockefeller vandalism.

These protests together with the unfavorable publicity which the Rockefeller methods elicited in the daily press are expected to retard still more the slow rental of office space in Radio City.



DIEGO RIVERA (Self Portrait)

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## N. Y. Jobless Join Forces In One Union

### All Groups But Communist Led "Councils" Come Together

NEW YORK.—The unemployed have the nucleus of a real movement in the Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York, following a series of mergers embracing every unemployed group but the virtually defunct Councils. The organization claims 12,000 members in 34 locals.

Unions are being urged to organize unemployed sections. The Joint Council of Furriers has done this; and the organized unemployed furriers constitute a local of the Workers Unemployed Union. Other locals are the Association of Unemployed College Alumni and the Association of Unemployed Single Women, which are represented on the Central Executive Committee on the same basis as geographic units.

The main struggle at present is to make cash relief mandatory; for state and federal unemployment insurance; and for relief distribution at labor bureaus controlled by the workers.

Headquarters are at 22 East 22d Street.

### Local Union Reinstates G. Allard to Membership

(Special to Labor Action)

GILLESPIE, Ill.—A confirmation of the position of the militant group of the Progressive Miners of America was evident when Local Union 34, of this mining town, reinstated Gerry Allard, former editor of the "Progressive Miner" and now editor of the "Fighting Miner," to membership in the organization. Allard had previously been suspended for six months because of his sharp criticism and fight against the reactionary shift in the new Illinois Miners Union.

The fight of the Left Wing group has converted many rank and file members in both the union and the Women's Auxiliary. Although many Progressive rank and file members have been removed from important positions because of their Left Wing affiliations, the Percy-Keck group has temporarily ceased its campaign of expulsions.

### BIRCHMAN JOINS AWP

FT. WAYNE, Ind.—The unemployed league movement and the AWP are both making progress in Northern Indiana. Robert L. Birchman, a prominent member of the local league and active throughout this section of the state and in southern Michigan, has joined the AWP. The unemployed leagues are continuing their campaign to form a state league, such as have been so successful in other states.

## Pa. League Forces State Relief Probe

### Striking CWA Workers Tell Officials "Hell Will Break Loose"

### "6 Week Plan" Scored Threaten to Picket State Capitol If Demands Are Not Met

By MARGARET RODGERS

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—CWA strikers in Northampton County, under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, forced a state investigation of political favoritism and other abuses in the conduct of relief projects.

The strike is the first militant move of the Northampton County Unemployed League since their recent affiliation with the state body. Strikebreakers were kept from manning the relief projects through vigorous picket lines. A committee consisting of Charles Acker, President of the county league, Sam Kincaid, Joe Bowlder, John Kozero and Paul Pozzi, all residents of the strike vicinity, had warned the sheriff that "hell would break loose unless something was done to heed complaints." The sheriff then called Harrisburg by long distance and demanded an investigation.

### Administration Hears Charges

F. Woods Beckman, assistant to the state CWA administrator, rushed to Allentown, to hear the charges of the committee at the offices of the state league in the B and B Building here. Louis Breler, Secretary of the PUL, emphasized that the strike in Northampton and a similar one in Emaus were the results of abuses which his organization meant to see corrected. The state has agreed to remedy all abuses in Lehigh, Carbon, and Northampton Counties.

Prior to the strike, a committee of 12 from the leagues of these three counties met with Wesley M. Kelsey, director of relief for the Tri-county Board. Kelsey was formerly Supervisor of the Jersey Zinc Company at Palmerton, Pa., notorious open shop firm that completely controls the little town of the Pennsylvania hills. Last summer an unemployed league was organized in Palmerton and almost immediately smashed by the company which through the relief board terrorized the unemployed and cut them off relief.

### Threaten to Picket State Capitol

Kelsey stated that he was unable to meet the demands, which included increase in general relief, representation of unemployed on Tri-county relief board, and abolition of the "6-week plan" for workers laid off from CWA projects. Thereupon, the body decided to take its case to Harrisburg. Governor Pinchot and the state emergency relief board have been wired, with a demand for a hearing. Should the Governor and the board fail to act on this demand, the state league plans to throw a picket (Continued on page 2)

## FLASHES

NEW LEAGUES FORMED

(Special to Labor Action)

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Two branches of the Unemployed Leagues have been organized in Springfield to take up the fight of the laid-off CWA workers and the unemployed generally. Plans for the intensification of the unemployed work in this city are under way by a broad committee representing the Progressive Miners, American Federation of Labor and other labor organizations.

CWA WORKERS POISONED

LOS ANGELES — Women working on a CWA sewing project in an American Legion hall were poisoned by food served by government agents. All were given first aid and taken home. They pay for the daily lunches.

NEW YORK—Under the influence of AWP-ers working in the laboratories of the Consolidated Gas Co., a large number of Gas Chemists have joined the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians. AWP forces issue a mimeographed shop-paper, RAT POISON, which is meeting a wide response.

WASHINGTON.—"This spring is the time to strike" advises the A. F. of L. business survey.

## NRA Critics' Field Day Turned Into Boost F.D. Meet By Boss Lackeys

### St. Louis Workers Push Fight On Police Brutality

ST. LOUIS.—Charges of criminal assault are being brought against Walter Bauer, the police dick who with two cops brutally slugged David Burbank, AWP member, in connection with a demonstration before the Austrian Consulate in support of the heroic Austrian workers battling against fascism. Bauer who took the lead in beating up Burbank is one of the outstanding sluggers on the force. Two years ago he seriously injured several workers who participated in a demonstration before City Hall. Several years before that he was mixed up in a shooting on the South Side. Before the war he was hired as a strike-breaker by the American Express Company and did his job of slugging so well that they had to fire him. He then joined the police force.

The charges against Burbank and the nine other workers arrested in demonstration were all dismissed at once when they were brought up in court.

### Wages and Hours in Codes Scored by Workers

### On The Road to Fascism

### Codes Force Big Price Rise And Defective Goods On Consumers

By JAMES RORTY

WASHINGTON.—General Johnson's "field day" for critics of the NRA went off pretty much as scheduled; some of the critics were pretty hot and some of them were not so hot. Bob Minor, for the Communist Party attacked the NRA on a number of counts, and General Johnson agreed with him; Bob said some more nasty things and the General agreed with him. Finally the General invited Bob to come down to Washington to help him put through this "operation"; not to be outdone, Bob invited the General to go just one step further and announce his conversion to Communism. I wasn't able to attend all of those six circuits at once, but in the ones I did attend I heard nothing better.

### Marvelous Fooling But . . .

Yet the more I reflected about that sparring match Tuesday evening in the Commerce Building auditorium (there was another one the next day which I didn't witness) the more I reflected: "it was marvelous fooling all right, but was it war?"

The point is that it should have been war. And when those encounters ended with the opponents unscarred and smiling, it meant under the circumstances just one thing: that the General had won. He had amiably and astutely avoided taking the Communists seriously and he had prevented the meeting from taking the Communists seriously. Minor had the argument hands down and the General was smart enough to know it. So he adopted an ancient Bourbon tactic: "if you can't beat 'em, join 'em." The General joined Minor all over the platform until what resulted was not war, but farce.

### How Make It War

How could it have been made war? Well, I suspect it would have been war if one of the bright young men of the General's numerous boards and departments had dragged himself out of the NRA alphabet soup long enough to stand up on the platform and give the General what for; particularly if the young man had happened to know something about the history of European cartels and their historical relation to fascism. He would have particularized where Bob Minor generalized; he would have got the General sore and that would have been war.

By this time even a percentage of the Washington brain trust are prepared to admit that the NRA "operation" is nothing but a clumsy conducted attempt at cartelization. Is this war or isn't it? It certainly is, and moreover it is war against the American workers, war to lower the standard of living, war to validate and defend the vested interests of capitalism.

### They Are Scared

I think General Johnson was quite sincere in wanting to hear criticism. He, which means the administration, is scared. They're afraid the patient will die on the operating table and they have good reason for this fear, because the greedy butchers who have been writing the codes have certainly done a fantastically bloodthirsty job.

Take building materials. As a result of the various price fixing provisions written into the codes, the prices of building materials rose variously from 40 per cent to 250 per cent between May 1933 and Jan. 1934. Result: the promising bulge of building operations went out like a light as soon as these codes went into effect; houses are standing half completed all over the country; Federal, State, and (Continued on page 2)

## To CWA, CWS, and All Relief Project Workers, and To All Unemployed:

THE Government has announced

that all CWA work will stop on or before March 30. Some of the CWA projects will be continued under local and state agencies; but the great majority of CWA workers will be either turned back to the harsh mercies of the relief rolls, or out into the street to wait for the mythical "upturn in employment" or the fishy new "work relief" scheme.

All workers know how inadequate the CWA program has been. They know the inefficiency, graft, discrimination, Jim Crowism that have been part of it from the beginning. But it has at least given a few million men and women a chance to have half-way decent jobs and wages which are paid in money,

however little that money is compared with what workers in this country ought to be getting.

The ending of CWA means going back to payment of relief in food

### CWA Workers in N.Y.C.

Steps toward a city-wide demonstration on March 30 are already being taken. AWP members and sympathizers should bring forward plans for the demonstration in the mass organizations, unions, and associations. Further information can be secured from the National Office of the American Workers Party, 112 East 19th Street.

vouchers instead of money, means humiliating home "investigations", and a general lowering of relief payments.

The relief workers and the unemployed can stop the new plan and can force continuance of the civil works program and raising of relief payments in only one way: by immediate, determined, fighting mass demonstrations and protests throughout the country.

The activities should be pointed toward a nation-wide demonstration on March 30, the day the CWA ends.

We call on all CWA, relief, and unemployed workers to take immediate action in the mass organizations, leagues, and associations, and to drive forward to a decisive March 30 demonstration.



# NRA Critics' Field Day Is Fine Farce

## Price Rises and Wage Cuts Show New Deal Bankruptcy

(Continued from Page 1) municipal purchasing agents are beginning to gang up and talk up. What they say is just about as hot as what Minor said and much more specific. They say, in private, and some of them in public, that the NRA is the damndest outrage that has been put over on the American people.

### A Damned Outrage

Prices, wages and standards are theoretically and practically the control points of the NRA "operation." Prices have been boosted in many commodities above the 1926 level; wages, through the several varieties of government, industrial, and A.F. of L. chiselling and lickspittling are about where they were before the NRA started. What counts is buying power in the hands of the workers and that is precisely what is lacking.

One of the bright spots of the field day was Meyer Parodneck's tilt with the General at the hearing on prices. Parodneck, who stands about five feet high and looks like a High School sophomore, represented the Emergency Conference of Consumer Organizations. He pointed out that the dollar volume of chain store sales rose 13 per cent from April to December of last year, while the average price of food and clothing combined rose 22 per cent; hence the quantity of goods sold declined about 8 per cent.

"The buyer's strike is on," declared Parodneck. "Only the transfer of power from big business which throttles recovery to the people will stop it... complete shakedown of the NRA high command is necessary if the people of the United States are to get a fair deal."

Parodneck started to name names and the General objected to personalities. "Very well," said Parodneck, "I don't need to specify let's say all your deputies."

### Who the Hell Cares For Standards?

Take standards, without which prices mean nothing. The writer attended the Copeland Bill hearings and watched the assembled food men, drug men, cosmeticians and ad men fight every attempt to put the standards clause back in that sadly chiselled bill. He heard Arthur Kallet do a good clean job of socking these gentry and had a little fun himself by reading Thorstein Veblen's definition of advertising technique into the record of the hearings; also by testifying as a former copy writer that Veblen was right.

Last Wednesday Robert Brady, who is running the standards section of the Consumer's Advisory Board, told the American Society for Testing Materials in Philadelphia that in the first 220 codes only about 70 have anything to do with standards, grading and labelling. Most of these clauses are absolutely worthless from the point of view of the consuming interests. In some cases they are so vague that they permit anything and condone everything. In some cases they are positively vicious in that they may be used covertly for price fixing purposes and even practically compel the lowering of quality.

And you ought to have heard the way the retailers roared about the way the manufacturers are chiselling quality under protection of the codes! Irving C. Fox of the National Retail Dry Goods Association declared that within a week or two after the codes went into effect with clauses limiting the return privilege to five days, the quality of merchandise dropped sharply. One retailer received a shipment of 50 dozen black gloves. He sold three dozen Saturday and by Wednesday the three dozen were back because the gloves had turned green when wet. The retailer was stuck; the manufacturer said the code wouldn't permit him to accept returns. Another retailer tried to return a defective shipment of dresses and received the same answer. He refused to pay, was promptly blacklisted, and was forced to send his check in order to get any more dresses anywhere, of any quality.

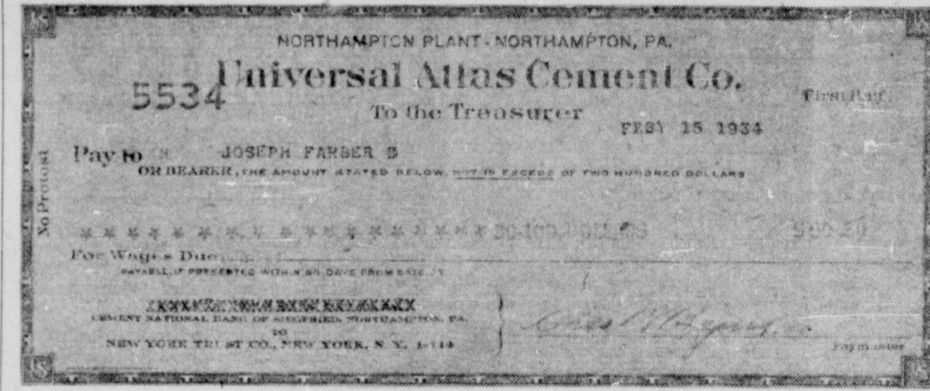
It's a sweet picture and the field day produced enough like it to cover the walls of Rockefeller center. Obviously the Big Business Babbity are making a rotten job of cartellization. The Labor Advisory Board and the Consumer's Advisory Board are being jazzed up and given maybe a little more power so that they can force these greedy dumbbells to do a better job. Watch and wait, comrade. You know what will happen anyway. Tails they win, heads you lose.

# Worker Receives A 30 Cent Salary As Co. Makes A Million in Profit

(Special to Labor Action)

NORTHAMPTON, Pa. — Joseph Farber, an employe of the Universal-Atlas Cement Company which declared in the third year of the Depression a net profit totalling more than a million dollars is the recipient of the Pay-Check repro-

duced below. The check was issued in payment of two-weeks work at this "New Deal" Plant. Farber is a cement-packer who recently joined the Northampton branch of the Unemployed League of Northampton County.



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Farber receives a food order from the Emergency Relief Board of this district. By arrangement with this obliging cement company the Relief Board by the "check-off" method takes whatever portion of Farber's salary it thinks sufficient to repay it for keeping

a minimum wage of \$13.00 per week.

Last year the Universal-Atlas Cement Company declared that it had made a net profit of more than a million dollars. No one knows, of course, what the company really made, but those who have been in the cement town of Northampton and have seen the drab, rotting, ramshackle company houses and the tattered, underfed, devitalized occupants of these houses are able to make a good guess at the company's profits.

There were more than 800 workers present at a meeting of the Unemployed League here, where this Pay-Check was brought to light and secured by officers of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League. The League has a membership of 1,300 and is growing rapidly. Most of these workers

# Capitalism Uses Science To Promote War and Hunger

By O. R. FUSS

Scientists the world over are still debating the suggestion of a Bishop of the Church of England that science take a five year holiday so that social adjustment may be able to catch up with its discoveries. At a meeting of the American Institute of Physics, R. A. Millikan, Nobel prize winner and K. T. Compton, president of M.I.T. attacked this point of view and denied that science created unemployment or was in any way responsible for the depression.

But none of the assembled scientists attempted to show the discrepancy between the goals of science and the present economic system. Judging by government appropriations scientific research costs each American individual thirty cents a year. Each taxpayer gets in return about \$150 with the capitalists taking the major part of benefits. Methods of salvaging waste and surplus citrus fruits, for instance, developed by government scientists have increased the income of California citrus growers by \$7,000,000.

But workers protesting a 12 1/2c an hour wage in citrus orchards are slugged and terrorized, while a Civil Liberties Union attorney attempting to safeguard for them the right of free speech is kidnapped and beaten. (See the last issue of Labor Action.)

Dorset, a government scientist, discovered a serum which controls hog cholera, while his colleague, Ransom, developed a swine sanitation system; both, thus saving the swine industry millions of dollars every year.

But the government kills sows and their litters throwing them into the rivers in order to send the price of hogs up on the open market.

Orton develops a wilt-resistant cotton, and Cook's work is such that cotton production efficiency improves immeasurably.

But the political facade of the present economic system working through Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture, plows up cotton fields and limits the amount that may be grown as the only way to insure profits under the capitalistic system.

What does the scientist get out of it? E. G. Fisher, working for \$1,800 a year, invented a calculator.

### BOYCOTT THREAT DISSOLVES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SHAMOKIN, PA. — Pressure of working class opinion against the anti-union policies of the Shamokin Chamber of Commerce has caused that organization to disband.

Recently the chamber was told by the Central Labor Council that its reactionary tendencies would be met by a boycott of firms retaining membership.

A committee named by the chamber found the workers were solidly organized, declared that the chamber's policies were out of tune with the times, and suggested that the only way to regain labor's favors was to dissolve.

are from the cement industry, some from the shirt and clothing factories which won the right to unionize and smashed the sweat-shop system last summer after a bitter, courageously fought battle. The reception accorded Farber's story was ominous. One after another, workers got up and promised an end of this sort of oppression.

That they were not making empty threats, the Universal-Atlas Cement Company will learn in good time. . . .

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### SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Streetcar motorman in Astoria, N. Y., changed his bell during 2-minute Armistice Day silence; ordered from car by detectives and forced to stand at attention.

Interned Germans buried in Colorado government cemetery; laid among American soldiers in "hallowed ground held sacred by the American Legion"; threatened with removal through agitation by a U. S. veterans' group.

Editor in Germany deplored giving tin soldiers to small boys; fined \$125.

Finnish editor in Canada compared comforts surrounding King George during his illness with condition of working class; penalized by heavy fine or long jail sentence for "most inhumane act."

Any British soldier in India singing Onward Christian Soldiers liable, under the former viceroys, to punishment because hymn says: "Thrones and crowns may perish."

### A. W. P. Quits C. P. Anti-War "United Front"

(Continued from Page 1) Not sure that it could accomplish its purpose through the League, the Communist Party has on important occasions sabotaged its work.

J. B. Matthews, immediately after the Madison Square Garden incident, resigned as president of the League Against War and Fascism. The League for Industrial Democracy and the War Resisters have also withdrawn. There is really nothing left of the League except the Communists.

Action is being taken by the AWP with regard to another "united front" effort, namely, the Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism of which A. J. Muste has been the National Chairman. Evidence has been submitted by comrades who have visited Europe recently that funds collected by the Committee are used exclusively for Communist Party victims and denied to victims belonging to other political groups.

The AWP is presenting a memorandum on these and other alleged abuses to the Committee to Aid the Victims of German Fascism and will withdraw all support from the Committee if the charges are not promptly and satisfactorily met.

"In taking these steps," says A. J. Muste, "we are not in any sense expressing approval of the Socialist Party policies and tactics in Austria, the United States or anywhere else. Above all, we call upon the workers to intensify the struggle against all Fascist and reactionary tendencies and against the war measures of our own and other governments. The wrecking of inadequate organizations as a result of insane C.P. tactics must lead to the building of sound organizations to deal with the twin danger of Fascism and War."

The first county meeting of the Allegheny County Unemployed League was held in Pittsburgh on March 3. Frank Irvin, of the PUL state committee, was elected chairman of the county organization. A fighting program for following up the vigorous demonstration of the East Liberty local was adopted, and will be carried into effect.

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# OUL Fights Arbitrary CWA Rule

## Militant Action Forces Many Concessions From Relief Commission

COLUMBUS, OHIO. — Constant pressure exerted by committees of the Ohio Unemployed League broke down arbitrary "unbreakable" rules of the Franklin County Relief Commission, forced the authorities to reorganize the League officially and to speedily taken care of.

On Jan. 31, the County Relief Commission ruled that no supplementary aid would be granted CWA workers, even though the theoretical \$12 per week wage was inadequate for mere subsistence. But inclement weather during the month of February reduced pay checks to amounts as low as \$3 per week. Obviously supplementary food and coal orders were necessary to prevent freezing and starvation. Workers realized that in most cases they had been better off on straight relief.

### "Unbreakable" Rule Broken

On Feb. 16 a group of 21 CWA workers from Truro Township, together with the Franklin County Unemployed League grievance committee, stormed the county relief

## Faced by Crisis Students Try to Unite Movement

Several meetings have recently been held in New York City to answer the growing interest of students in the AWP. Both general questions of the party's program and the special problems of the student movement have been discussed. These meetings will be continued, and there is a good prospect for building a strong student membership in the near future.

The students point out that their movement is at present faced with a crisis. The militant students are divided between the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League. The leadership of the N. S. L. is in the hands of the Young Communist League, and thereby controlled by the Communist Party. As in all groups so controlled, the leadership calls loudly for unity in words, and disrupts on every occasion in action. Even within the N. S. L. the major part of their efforts goes to keeping control rather than to building the student movement.

The Y. C. L. disruption has so antagonized the leadership of the Student L. I. D.—which is Socialist Party and Young Peoples' Socialist League—that they are now rejecting all plans for unity. Furthermore, they openly declare that their chief purpose in supporting the Student L. I. D. is to draw members to the S.P.

The students are beginning to see that the only basis for unity in the student movement is to destroy this political sectarianism and to fight for a principled, democratic organization controlled by the mass of the progressive, militant, and revolutionary students themselves. They see, furthermore, that unity in the militant student movement is the only way in which the growth of a fascist student movement will be stopped.

The AWP stands for unity on this basis, and urges its student members and sympathizers to work actively on these lines within their schools and colleges.

Students who wish to learn more about the AWP's activities are urged to visit or write to the National Office.

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# AT HOME

By KARL LORE

### The Federal Union Issue

Last January, representatives authorized to speak for about 100 Federal Labor Unions of the American Federation of Labor, met in Washington to organize against any effort to split their ranks into craft divisions. The Federal Unions had been the chief organizing instrument used by the A. F. of L. in the basic non-union industries. They were directly affiliated to the Federation and were industrially constructed as they took in all workers in a particular shop or mill.

In numerous instances, attempts had been made to divide up these industrial organizations and appoint the members among the craft unions. A committee of the Federal Unions saw Frank Morrison, secretary of the A.F. of L.

"The executive council realizes," they were told, "that not only the organizations you represent, but ALL of the Federal Unions want to keep their present form of organization. You can be sure that we will take that into account."

The next day a conference of the presidents of all the International Unions of the Federation was held. This conference unanimously approved a resolution which was a masterpiece of evasion of the question. Introduction by a committee headed by the slick Matty Woll, it talked about the necessity for keeping up the jurisdictional rights of the craft internationals, while on the other hand recommending that the executive council of the A.F. of L. should have the greatest latitude in chartering Federal Labor Unions.

"The American Federation of Labor," it continued, "does not desire to dictate the form of organization that shall prevail among wage earners. Its policy has been that of encouraging whatever form of organization in any trade, calling or industry seems best to meet the situation and the requirements of the workers."

To all honest militants it was apparent that the resolution was contradictory and that no hope of Federal Union organization was possible if the craft unions were to retain their jurisdictional rights. In a good many places, however, this was interpreted to mean that the Federation was going to recognize the need for industrial unionism. The Socialist "New Leader" for example came out with a loud editorial whoopee because the Federation had decided to "subordinate jurisdictional claims to organization needs."

The big shops of the A.F. of L. were looking for an easy way out. They feared a mass break-away as a result of an open declaration against industrial unionism at that time. They hoped that it would be possible later to pick off the insurgents one by one. The fact that no continuing organization resulted from the Washington Conference of the Federal Union played into their hands. Had such an organization been formed to undertake the job of rallying support on a national basis against the splitting tactics of the Federation officialdom much might have been accomplished.

Now the executive board feels safe in coming out into the open a little more. In a letter sent by William Green to all organizers and representatives of the A.F. of L. he cautions them against allowing Federal Unions to take in any worker who is covered by the jurisdiction of a craft international, and emphasizes that "only those who are ineligible to membership in National and International Unions should be organized into Federal Labor Unions." This obviously, if carried out makes industrial unionism impossible. In every shop or mill a large percentage of the workers are included in some craft jurisdiction.

The workers of the American Federation of Labor themselves must give the answer. In both the Federal Unions and in the craft organizations they must organize to defeat the attempt to divide their ranks and to weaken the strength of their organizations.

offices and refused to leave until all the families represented had secured food and coal orders. Seeing the temper of the men, Major William Hartsough, County Relief Director, decided to break the "unbreakable" rule and granted orders to all.

Word of this spread quickly throughout the County. For the next ten days the relief offices were swamped with work as township after township demanded supplementary relief. On several occasions case workers remained until after 6 P. M. writing orders. Hartsough was becoming desperate.

### Miss Dunn Fumes

The men refused to leave until all needs had been satisfied. They pointed out that only 30 minutes would be required to write the desired orders. But Hartsough was adamant. He again ordered the men to leave. Miss Dunn, one of his social workers, applied more direct tactics. She raged and fumed, attempted to push people through the door and even struck a committee member. When Hartsough realized that the men were determined to stay, he called the police. Eight officers responded. Still the people refused to budge. Fearing unfavorable publicity, Hartsough would not have them arrested. Instead, he placed the police in charge of the office while he and his cohorts slipped out to supper.

The men from Jackson decided to besiege the office all night even though the police were on guard. But at 9 o'clock, realizing that their case worker had escaped by the back stairway, they decided that further waiting was useless.

### "Madhouse of Inefficiency"

Because of the breakdown of the CWA, the relief offices of the city of Columbus were equally demoralized. City relief under the supervision of C. F. Lender has never functioned properly. A state investigating committee recently reported that Lender's office was a "madhouse of inefficiency."

The Ohio Unemployed League, represented by Bill Truax, Arnold Johnson and Marion Wilson, president, secretary and chairman of Franklin County grievance committee respectively protested to the Ohio Relief Commission regarding the treatment of the Jackson Township men. These conferences resulted in the official recognition of the League and in the formulation of methods for handling grievances more efficiently. The Columbus City Relief Commission was abolished entirely and all relief placed under the supervision of the County Relief Commission.

### DELLA GUARDIA ELECTED

NEW YORK.—Elections in Local 28, I.L.G.W.U., were marked by the number ruled off the ballot. Only two left-wingers were permitted to run; one a CP supporter; the other, Della Guardia, active AWP member, seeking re-election to the Executive Committee. Both were elected.

The Workers' Struggle For Power PARIS COMMUNE ANNIVERSARY SIDNEY HOOK SELMAR SCHOCKEN A. J. MUSTE LOUIS F. BUENZEN, Chairman Saturday, March 17 at 8 P. M. 112 East 19th Street 15 CENTS Auspices New York Branch AWP

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# ABROAD

By LUDWIG LORE

## ARGENTINE

The provincial government of the San Juan Province was overthrown on February 22 by a conservative-socialist coalition movement. The rebels took possession of the public buildings and the telephone central office and instituted a new government. The overthrown government of Governor Cantoni had incurred the animosity of the population by its autocratic rule. . . . The election of 81 of 158 members of the Chamber of Deputies resulted in an increase for the existing Conservative majority of President Augustina P. Justo. The Socialist Party, the strongest opposition party, received a plurality of 100,000 in Buenos Aires out of a total of 400,000. The Socialist opposition will probably have 58 deputies in the parliament.

## AUSTRALIA

The Daily Herald (London) reports the outbreak of a mutiny on board the cruiser "Canberra," the flagship of the Australian fleet. In addition the sailors stationed in the Marine Depot of Jervis Bay on the eastern coast of Australia have threatened to strike against insufficient rations.

## AUSTRIA

Among the revolutionaries who were condemned to death and executed in connection with the uprising of Vienna's Socialists was Comrade Wallisch, one of the leaders of the Republican Defense Corps for whose capture the government had offered a reward of 1000 shillings. A railroad man betrayed Wallisch and put the government on his tracks. Three days later the scoundrel was found dead. The traitor had met with the fate he so richly deserved. . . . How terribly the Heimwehr bandits must have carried on, the following excerpt from a correspondence from Vienna to the conservative Swiss newspaper "Der Bund" will show: ". . . On the other hand a subordinate officer of the Heimwehr troops admitted to me with utter frankness that his division had made no prisoners. They themselves had acted as military court and had executed their sentences on the spot. . . . If the Czechian newspapers report thousands of victims they are probably not far from the correct figure." . . . Dollfuss in his speech to American reported 241 dead. The dishonesty of Austria's Chancellor may be judged from an announcement made by the Infantry regiment No. 4 which alone reports 211 men and 17 officers dead in Floridsdorf, a suburb of Vienna. . . . 36 Social Democratic organizations and societies have been dissolved. All cultural organizations, cooperatives and trade unions connected with the Social Democracy have also been suppressed. The Christian trade unions have also been wiped out. In the place of the trade unions the government has placed a so-called Syndicate. . . . All social-democratic mayors, city councilors and city officials were removed from office and replaced by government commissars. . . . The new constitution will be published in a few days. It will provide for a fascist state based on the Italian model. . . . Secret negotiations with the German government continue. The result will be a coalition in Austria in which the Dollfuss Heimwehr, for the time being, will have the upper hand. . . .

**FRANCE**  
At the end of February the number of unemployed was officially reported to have reached 416,538, an increase of 61,000 over the end of February. . . . Mass demonstrations on the day of the general strike had an attendance that was, for France, extraordinary. In Vincennes there were 150,000, in St. Denis 25,000, in Tours 18,000, in Narbonne 10,000, in Marseille 60,000 demonstrators. Enthusiasm was great everywhere. . . . At the mouth of the Gironde in Southern France a Jewish emigrant colony is to be founded with the permission of the French government. . . .

**GERMANY**  
The release of the three Bulgarian Communists, Dimitroff, Tanoff and Popoff is a victory for the Soviet government which threatened with reprisals against several German engineers being held for industrial espionage. . . . In the last two weeks three Communist workers who were condemned to death for the murder of Nazi SA men, were executed and four others were condemned to death. . . . It has just become known that on December 20 Fritz Rauh, the young Communist editor of the "Klassenkampf" (Halle) was murdered in the Moabit prison in Berlin. . . . According to newspaper items collected from the official Nazi press Communists and Socialists were being condemned to 87 years in the penitentiary and 59 years in jail in the period of February 14-23. . . . During the same period there were arrested Communists in Nuernberg-Fuerth, 25; in Pirmasens, 30; in Potsdam, 21; in Bamberg a secret Reichsbanner camp was wiped out and 31 Social Democrats were imprisoned. . . . The private possessions of the following German writers and artists were recently

# The N. Y. Hotel Strike

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

NEW York's big hotel strike is a major event in current labor history. Members of the A. W. P. can well afford to take notes on the lessons of this fight, for use in future struggles. A workers' revolutionary party must be a leader of industrial action—the day-by-day battle of the workers for bread. It must engage in this work militantly—and at the same time—intelligently. It is on this intelligence test that so many radical groups have failed.

What were the factors in this general strike that made it of so much importance? The hotel business is something of a basic industry in the Greater City. Buyers and sellers of wares, winter pleasure seekers, bored coupon-clippers en route to Europe, and all the odds and ends of travel that come to a great metropolis crowd into New York's hotels. The big hotels are controlled by the big banks, through post-war investments and post-war mortgages. When you fight the managements, you are face to face with Wall Street.

From the labor angle the strike presented several unique features. Seven thousand men walked out. Of these, about 3,500 had been brought into the union in a three months' organization campaign. The others came out in the general strike call. Raw recruits to unionism, they showed militancy and spunk, parading in mass picket lines in the bitterest weather of this winter.

They were enrolled in an independent industrial union, the Amalgamated Food Workers, through its branch, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. The direct impetus in the organization drive came from members of a radical political group, the Communist League of America (Opposition), the American followers of Leon Trotsky. It was they who became the local leaders of the strike.

This, then, represented a situation in which the A. F. of L. union involved was thoroughly discredited, because of its strike-breaking and racketeering local leadership.

A genuine industrial union was on the job. At the same time, the "Left Opposition" was making its initial bow in the field of mass work, having previously confined itself to critical discussions of the "line" of the official Communist Party.

It must be now admitted that the results which should have been expected from such a set-up were far from being attained. The strike was not won. Many serious mistakes were made in the course of its conduct.

This is said in the spirit of one whose experience teaches him that the success of strikes cannot be foretold in advance. A strike is war. It is therefore a gamble. Powerful influences were at work against the hotel strikers. The daily press of New York took a vicious strike-breaking attitude, with the exception of the New York Evening Post. But some of the most elemental rules of the fight were not observed by those in charge. That assurance that the best battle possible has been put up, which is of such aid to further organizational attempts, was not there. Whether the next few weeks will change that present condition, time alone will tell.

What were some of the outstanding errors of this strike, which must be avoided in any industrial fight which A. W. P. forces lead? First of all, it was not well prepared. There was no provision for relief machinery, one of the first concerns of any efficient agitational group. The forming of the relief machinery should go hand in hand with the organization campaign itself. This is not only due to the fact that direct aid for the strikers will be badly needed. There is a publicity question involved. Through tag-days, appeals through auxiliary relief committees of liberals' appearances at labor unions, and all of the other moves that make for a real relief drive, the message of a strike can be got out effectively. Sympathy can be won, and the morale of the men maintained, particularly if they actively participate in the relief work itself.

(It is unnecessary to say that

these auxiliary committees of liberals referred to should never have a voice in the conduct of the strike. They are frankly auxiliary forces. This is mentioned because of another error of the local union leadership in throwing themselves into the hands of a committee of Socialists and liberals, in a last desperate hope that these people could end the strike.)

It was a good time for a show-down. The hotels needed every one of the workers. The time of "high production" is the hour to strike, in every industry. But there was an utter lack of any real grip on the shops. That absence of smooth-running machinery, through which so many spontaneous strikes founder, was here a plenty. Shops which came out ran around looking for orders and never got them. The strike apparatus was crude and worked slowly. The connection between the "office" and the various halls where meetings went on was poor and almost non-existent.

Secondly, the leadership had no firm policy, particularly in regard to the NRA. Extreme vacillations featured the actions of the leaders, with blundering now to the right, now to the left. All radical groups should know by now the inherent character of the NRA machinery. It is an anti-workers agency. But at the same time, we can use our heads, make the record clear, and above all use any means at hand to allow us to prepare effectively for the workers' only real weapon, the strike. The strike leadership did NOT make use of the NRA when they should have done so—in the discharge of the chef Fournigault at the Waldorf-Astoria, which precipitated the walk-out. Instead of sparring for time, they first gave the hotel management 24 hours to think it over, and then hurriedly called the strike. They left the NRA severely alone, rather than building up that record which is so important in a fight of this kind. Conscious of the character of the NRA, we can use it and put it on the "spot" and make it do something until we are ready for united action.

They left the NRA alone—until the very wrong time to go to it, when it looked as though they were begging for favors and thereby put the entire business in the incorrect light before the workers.

There is a problem involved here—but not an insuperable one. No great difficulty is connected in any strike or organizational effort in showing the workers that you make use of a certain agency, which is no good in itself, and indeed show up the true nature of that agency to the backward workers through the skill of your dealing with it. (Lenin's German train is an example on a big scale of what has to be done in almost every labor battle.)

What was the result of this lack of policy and lack of skill in dealing with the NRA? The leadership was forced from one extreme to another. Having had nothing to do with the NRA, they were loath to expose it, because they had lost a real opportunity to do so before conservative workers. They swung to the other extreme, and issued a lot of semi-patriotic twaddle. B. J. Field, secretary of the local and leader of the movement, was credited with saying that there would be no picket line around the Waldorf-Astoria at the Roosevelt birthday dinner, out of deference to the President! Whether Field was responsible for this or the publicity man, Schwartz, it indicated such bad judgment in the choosing of personnel or the making of policies as to be incomprehensible.

"Sure, we know that these low courts are crooked and for Peabody, but wait till we get to Roosevelt or the U.S. Supreme Court, they'll give the miners justice," stated and restated the P.M.A., "leaders." The "getting" part will be something like the old red rooster got the morning of Thanksgiving Day — — in the neck.

Labor, radical and liberal journals have censured in no uncertain terms the Communist Party for its hoodlum tactics in breaking up the Socialist Madison Square Garden meeting. The Communist Party weakly attempted to cloud the issue by beginning a publicity offensive through the "Daily Worker" a la W. R. Hearst. Before the intelligent working class the C.P. stands indicted as tools of reaction. Non-Stalinists are very attentive and courteous at Communist Party meetings. The C.P. comrades mistake this for sympathy. It's not necessarily sympathy, it's pure unaltered decency and intelligence. In other words the results of a civilized training which is the highest virtue of a class-conscious worker.

In an argument recently a responsible Communist Party official said: "Your group supports the strikebreaking NRA. I saw it myself in your paper." The statement was instantly challenged and proof was demanded. The C.P. comrades stuttered, and finally said: "Well, I haven't got the clippings with me but neither have you documentary evidence to prove that your group didn't support the NRA." In other words one could say, "You're a liar!" And until you can furnish documentary evidence that you're not a liar the charge stands. Shades of Aristotelian logic!

# The A. F. of L. and the NRA

By A. J. MUSTE

It is interesting to trace the evolution in the attitude of the A. F. of L. toward the NRA and the New Deal generally. Back in the summer of 1933 A. F. of L. leaders accepted the NRA without question or criticism. Most of them apparently believed that just as the government was organizing the employers 100 per cent, so it would make it easy for the A. F. of L. to organize the workers 100 per cent. Those who ventured to raise doubts were regarded as plain fools or enemies of the trade union movement.

By October when the annual Federation convention was held, lovers' quarrels were already breaking out in the honeymoon between the A. F. of L. and the Roosevelt administration. The Executive Council had prepared a report with a 100 per cent endorsement of the NRA and no criticism. It had to change its report at the last minute, and it admitted that the minimum wages in the first codes had been set much too low, that the hours of labor were altogether too long to absorb the unemployed, that all kinds of chiseling was being allowed under the codes, etc.

However, Hugh Johnson, the poobah of the NRA, appeared before that A. F. of L. convention and publicly proclaimed that the time was coming when there would be a representative of the government on the executive of every business and on the executive of every trade union in the country (government-dominated, in other words, Fascist unionism). Johnson also proclaimed that strikes under the NRA were virtually treason against the government. Not a single important

leader in the A. F. of L. raised his voice in protest against these monstrous threats which if carried out would mean either the destruction of the A. F. of L. or its transformation into a Fascist union.

At the January conference of national union officials in Washington, Johnson was called on the carpet and severely heckled by old A. F. of L. war horses like Dan Tobin of the Teamsters and Wharton of the Machinists. It was charged that the NRA had fostered company unionism, that the conditions of most trade unionists were worse than before the NRA went into effect, that the A. F. of L. unions had been weakened as against the employers. There was criticism of the failure to put labor representatives on the code authorities. Legislation providing for the 30 hour week was demanded, and also amendment of the NRA to secure the outlawry of company unionism. At the hearings held in Washington this past week these criticisms took on the proportions of a flood, and the President himself has been forced to make an elaborate public defense of the NRA.

COMMUNIST orators and writers for a long time had the habit of calling the A. F. of L. a Fascist organization. They do not use that language so much nowadays. To describe the A. F. of L. as a Fascist union is a serious error which will lead to grave sectarian errors in practice. It is true that the tie-up between the A. F. of L. leaders and the Roosevelt administration, (which itself is not Fascist but many of whose policies lead inevitably toward Fascism), is very close. The A. F. of L. leaders have received a good many favors from the

administration. This is notably true of that worst of all labor czars, John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, who had practically lost complete control of his organization but has been elevated by the Roosevelt administration to top leadership in the trade union movement.

These leaders will have to pay a price for the favors they have received. Lewis has already paid it in discouraging strikes of his own members to secure recognition of his own union by the steel trust! At the recent convention of the United Mine Workers a coal operator appeared and was welcomed by the officials, the first time such a thing has happened in the entire history of the miners' union. Thus Lewis is advancing the policy of trusting to collaboration with employers and with the government to protect the miners rather than the militancy of the miners themselves.

So far the A. F. of L. officials generally are concerned, their criticism is still directed against certain features of the NRA or against employers who fail to act "in the spirit of the new deal" rather than against the NRA itself. Roosevelt is still their hero and savior. Nevertheless, even among the conservatives in the Federation there is a strong tradition for the independence of the unions from any kind of government interference which in a crisis progressives and militants may be able to use effectively, if they go about it in the right way.

ABOVE all, thousands of workers who have been in the A. F. of L. unions, and especially the thousands who have recently come into these unions, regard them as agencies of struggle to protect and advance their interests and are trying to use them as such.

Revolutionists must not appear in the role of enemies of these workers or disrupters of their organizations. They must help to organize workers, to build the unions, to support all their strikes and struggles. Thus winning the confidence even of the backward workers they must rally these workers to fight against autocracy, gangsterism and racketeering in the unions. They must make them realize that the New Deal is not going to hand them anything on a silver platter; that workers now, as always, get only what they are ready to fight for. They must draw hundreds of the more active and intelligent spirits who are being brought forward in these organization campaigns and strikes into the American Workers Party in order that the daily struggles may be elevated above the plane of efforts to get better wages and shorter hours, in order that the workers may come to understand that there is no escape from the \$10 to \$15 a week wage level, the insecurity, the nagging fear from which they now suffer, except in the complete overthrow of the profit system and the establishment of a scientific economic system under the control of the workers themselves.

The present A. F. of L. officialdom tries to make the workers believe that the wage level established under the New Deal, subsistence farming and all that, will lead to salvation and that the workers must trust the government which is taking these measures. The revolutionist must point out that even the "brain trusters" connected with the Roosevelt administration admit that every individual in the country could have an income of \$5,000 today, and must rally the workers to overthrow a government which is giving them instead the sop of CWA jobs, subsistence farms, 40c an hour wages in the codes, short hours and the ever-present threat of another complete crash.

## ORGANIZE AS CONSUMERS

NEW YORK—Workers and farmers must organize as consumers as well as producers says the March issue of The Consumers Defender, published by Co-operative Distributors, a national consumers cooperative association.

"Unless farmers and workers organize as consumers," declares the Defender, "whatever they are likely to get in wages are certain to be taken from them again through increased prices on their necessities of life."

In order to encourage consumers in their efforts to organize as co-operators, The Consumers Defender contains over 100 commodities which have been examined and approved by competent consumer-minded technicians for the consumers' protection, and which are intended to guide and educate consumers in the true value of commodities used by them.

The offices of Co-operative Distributors is at 30 Irving Place, New York City.

"Toward An American Revolutionary Labor Movement." Programmatic statement by the American Workers Party.—15 cents per copy.

# THEIR GOVERNMENT

By JAMES BURNHAM

Roosevelt has reverted to the governmental ideals and methods of Genghis Khan. . . . He and his political horde have swept the continent from ocean to ocean, have seized gold, overturned traditions of prudence and thrift, have flouted the national ideals and have made the Constitution of these United States a "mere scrap of paper."

This may sound like a quotation from a red agitator. As a matter of fact, it comes from the New York "Herald-Tribune," one of the most reactionary newspapers in the country.

What the quotation says is perfectly true. It is now a little more than a year since Roosevelt took office. During the year, in spite of what the smart lawyers in the Department of Justice try to make it look like, he has thrown over half the Constitution and broken a hundred laws. He has robbed banks (by taking over the gold in the Federal Reserve System), broken all kinds of contracts, over-ruled the anti-trust laws, forced workers and farmers to do what he wanted, clamped down on freedom of the press, etc., etc.

Why has he done these things? And how does he get away with them?

Some people think he does them because he is out after the bankers and big business men. Even some bankers and big business men think so. Even Roosevelt himself sometimes seems to think so.

This idea is about as wrong as an idea can be.

Roosevelt does these things, he breaks the Constitution and the

laws, for just one purpose: to save the capitalist system. The depression hit capitalism the way a truck hits a man walking along the side of a road. It didn't kill capitalism, but it left it cut and bruised and broken. Doctor Roosevelt put the AAA splint on the broken leg, the CWA mustard plaster on the chest, "banking reform" iodine on the cuts, gave a shot of inflation whiskey to pull the patient out of the faint, and sent the patched up cripple to the NRA hospital.

But the trouble is that even before it was hit, capitalism was already dying of an incurable disease. All the patches and hospitals in the world can't cure it.

Nevertheless, the capitalists—the few who benefit from the system, and their government in Washington, will fight to save it until the last breath is drawn. In ordinary times they make their laws to keep it going. They have their sheriffs legally evict workers when workers haven't enough wages to pay rent; they have their courts legally foreclose on farms when crops aren't selling for enough to pay interest on mortgages; they have laws made against strikes and picketing and everything that workers might do that would put capitalism in danger.

When workers "break laws," capitalists are certainly all for "law and order." And they have sheriffs and deputies and national guardsmen to back law and order up.

But a time comes when the old laws are not enough to save capitalism. And then the capitalists break their own laws, so that capitalism can be saved. They break contracts right and left, for all the talk about "sanctity of contracts"; they stop radicals from speaking and workers from getting together, whatever the Constitution may say about free speech and free assembly; they shoot down peaceful pickets in spite of all the laws about murder.

And then they have their government break its own laws. This is just what Roosevelt has been doing. He is breaking the laws of capitalism in order to save capitalism. It sounds like nonsense, but it's clear enough when you know the answer.

The point about "law" is just this: it all depends on who breaks the law. When a worker breaks it, he's a criminal. When a big enough capitalist, or an official of the capitalist government, breaks it, then he's saving his country, and any one who objects is a Tory or a Red. In Austria a few weeks ago, their government went a step further, to save capitalism. Just breaking the laws wasn't enough. It sent soldiers to kill the workers and their families in their homes. Capitalism in Austria is so sick that it took a major, and a bloody, operation to save it this last time.

Maybe it would be just as well for American workers not to wait quite so long as the Austrian workers did. Capitalism may not be worth all this saving. Perhaps it would be better to put it out of its misery now, and get it over with.

## The Monster



—From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The wings are the wings of the eagle, but the feet are the feet of—

# COAL DUST

By GERRY ALLARD



SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Things Ripley forgot to use:

More coal miners were killed in the mines of the United States during the past 25 years than there were American soldiers killed in action during the World War.

In proportion to the number of mine workers employed, the youth of the coal mining industry suffer more casualties than the adults.

The outstanding leader of the Illinois coal miners during their last terrific struggle was a woman. Claude Pearcey, President of the P.M. of A., and John L. Lewis, President of the U.M.W. of A., were born in the same town.

In 1834 Tammany Hall nearly became a labor organization. The organization supported labor, politically and otherwise, for a number of years.

Confiscated: Johannes R. Becher, Bert Brecht, Dr. Bretholz, Max Brod, Leonhard Frank, Oskar Maria, Thomas Theodor Heine, Trich Kaestner, Elsa Lasker Schueler, Rudolf Leonhard, Balder Olden, Rudolf Olden, Ernst Ottwald, Theodor Plivier, Joseph Roth, Anna Seghers, Erich Weinert, Arnold Zweig. . . . Paul Loebe, former social-democratic leader and President of the Reichstag, declared in a number of interviews that he is convinced that the Social Democracy is at the end of its existence. He declared himself now to be a convinced supporter of the national socialist idea since the Nazi leaders have grappled with problems that the Social Democracy never dared to touch, such as constitutional reform, winter relief, job creation, etc. In the farm question, he states, they have also done effective work. . . . The municipal council of Dettingen, Wuerttemberg, has decided to present to every bridal pair a copy of Hitler's "Mein Kampf." . . . The Reich trade balance for January shows a surplus of imports over exports of 31 million as against an export surplus of 49 million marks in the previous month. This is the first time since 1931 that the foreign trade of the Reich has shown an unfavorable balance. . . .

## HOLLAND

In connection with a conference for the founding of a Fourth International called by supporters of the Left Communist Opposition (Trotskyites) in the neighborhood of Amsterdam, the police arrested 19 aliens who are to be deported. . . .



# LABOR ACTION

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CARA COOK ..... Circulation Manager  
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### ROOSEVELT'S FIRST YEAR

THE first year of the Roosevelt regime which has just come to a close advanced the cause of the revolution in the United States. But not in the way Roosevelt and his admirers think.

There has been no fundamental improvement in the economic situation. The volume of industrial production has increased by more than the usual amount in the past few weeks according to the Federal Reserve Board. But at the same time, the A. F. of L. figures show, unemployment was increasing. Between December and January 921,000 persons lost their jobs. The same old story of more output with fewer workers.

According to the very conservative A. F. of L. estimates, at the end of January 11,690,000 persons were unable to find work in "normal industrial production." This is only about two million better than a year ago. The New Deal has only scratched the surface of the unemployment problem.

Workers' incomes are still falling short of the increase in living costs. Workers' average weekly income in January was only 7.5 per cent higher than when F. D. R. took office but food prices have risen 16.7 per cent and clothing and furnishings in department stores 27.5 per cent.

The Retail Code Authority of New York protests that with prices thus outrunning purchasing power, physical volume of sales is below last year.

Meanwhile C.W.A. is being liquidated and the vague relief measures proposed in its place are to provide \$7.20 a week wages in cities!

It is admitted that company unionism has flourished under NRA and that the big steel and automobile magnates have so far defied the NRA collective bargaining provisions.

The National City Bank of N. Y. reports, however, that 810 industrial corporations made a profit of 440 millions under Roosevelt in 1933 as compared to a net loss of 45 million under Hoover in 1932.

The munitions makers are also in clover as the Vinson bill for a seven year naval building program of \$750,000,000 passes Congress with administrative approval.

Little wonder that the Second Year had to begin with one of Hugh Johnson's big NRA circuses in Washington, that the President himself had to make his "longest speech yet" in defence of the NRA, and that great talk about shorter hours, "cracking down" on the big fellows, and putting teeth in the NRA is poured out in the press and over the radio, while behind the scenes in Washington the real experts groan at the hollowness of it all!

The political development of the U. S. and the political education of its masses have, however, been advanced in the process.

Roosevelt has sounded the death-knell of old competitive, laissez-faire capitalism. He has made it clear that we live in an era of collectivism.

He has exploded the ideas of "old-fashioned democracy." He has more power today than any President in peace or war has ever had.

He has encouraged a psychology of experimentation and activism, the idea that "something has got to be done about it." That appeals to something very deep in the American soul. It is responsible for the unprecedented popularity of the regime.

That popularity will last as long as the masses think the Roosevelt program may bring results. When they cease to think so, Roosevelt will become the most unpopular president in American history. And the masses will go right on and "do something about it" themselves.

Finally, Roosevelt has concentrated all eyes on Washington. He has made it clear that there is the seat of power, that what matters most to the people is who sits in that seat and what he does. That lesson needed to be learned. Some day the revolutionary workers will take state power. They will put their own revolutionary party in that seat.

Then they will have a real New Deal. They will have plenty of everything instead of the doles, the five or ten or fifteen dollars a week wages of CWA or NRA, the subsistence farming and the preparations for another war, which the first year of the Roosevelt administration have brought.

### THE AUTO WORKERS' BIG SHOW-DOWN

AUTO workers begin again to show revolt. Strikes and rumors of strikes affect every large center. Detroit, the capital of this basic industry, feels the pressure. Only the loyal cooperation of the National Labor Board with the Automobile Chamber of Commerce and the General Motors Co. has held up a big walk-out there. "Hearings" will be on within the coming week.

The government again appears in its role of deceiving and balking the workers. Delay plays into the hands of the big manufacturers. At the present time, the automobile industry claims that it has the largest number of unfilled orders in four years. When production is up, as it is now, that is the time for the workers to act and to act vigorously.

The unorganized and company-unionized condition of the automobile industry has contributed as much as anything to the weakness of the labor movement in the United States. It has also furnished the leading example of those capitalistic practices which have put millions of men and women out of work and have kept 12,000,000 workers unemployed, despite "New Deal" ballyhoo. Fabulous profits were made in the years of so-called "prosperity," while real wages fell far below the march of dividends. The General Motors Co., outstanding exponent of company unionism and whose plants are affected by strike movements now, has been and is the leading profit-making concern in the world. On the eve of the Great Smash it declared a stock dividend equivalent to 150 per cent dividend, with an extra large cash dividend.

Right at the present time, while keeping auto code wage rates well below those paid on CWA projects, and protesting that it cannot pay better wages, the General Motors Co. has paid out \$16,000,000 in cash and stock "to employ investors." For each \$300 invested, this corporation pays in the midst of the depression, \$621.52!

On the same day that the Hudson Motors workers were persuaded by the A. F. of L. and the National Board to remain at work, the General Motors announced that it was prepared to buy two large steel sheet rolling mills—one in Cleveland and one in the Mahoning Valley of Ohio. Simultaneously, Henry Ford made public the contract for erection of a continuous rolling mill at Dearborn, Mich., at a cost of \$30,000,000. Funds are thus available, under automobile policy, for the erection and expansion of plants where too many plants exist already, while wage scales must be kept at a ludicrously low level. This condition is bound to lead, from now on, to labor explosions in the automobile industry. The A. F. of L., while bunching its union workers in federal unions in the United Auto Workers, still confronts these giant corporations with craft illusions. The auto workers must compel the federation to establish a firm, permanent industrial organization, with an end to the craft business entirely. The further hesitancy of the A. F. of L. to act vigorously hampers the progress of automobile organization.

But the continued thirst of the auto magnates for profits will precipitate a situation which the A. F. of L. itself will probably be unable to withstand. The very essence of the profit system and the inflated basis on which the auto industry is grounded demand "More and more Dividends." The pressure on the workers to act will thus continue. And out of that pressure is bound to come a big show-down in this industry.

Auto workers, see to it that there is a strong industrial organization on foot then, to be your effective medium in that crisis!

### "THEIR GOVERNMENT"

IN this issue we begin publication of a column, "Their Government," which will be written by James Burnham. The column will appear regularly each issue from now on.

"Their Government" will comment on and interpret the acts and policies of the Administration in Washington. It will show what lies back of the New Deal program.

There is nothing more important for a revolutionary party to be clear about than this question of "government." All our lives, in schools and churches, in speeches and radio lectures, we are taught that the government in Washington is "our government," is the government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

The truth is that under capitalism, in spite of what anyone may say or believe, the government is the government of bankers and industrialists. The government always acts primarily in their interests. Its chief duty is to preserve the capitalist system and to prevent the workers from doing away with capitalism and setting up a new government of workers.

Under capitalism we may have what looks on the surface like democracy. But underneath, it is and must be a dictatorship of capitalists, of bankers and industrialists.

The American Workers Party must make the workers of the country understand this. Then it will be clear why we must overthrow the capitalist dictatorship, and put in its place a real workers' democracy.

### OTHERS SAY

#### PATRIOTISM

It costs \$25,000 to kill a soldier and most of the money is profit going to the manufacturer of war supplies. This is what the ritzy magazine, Fortune, says in its March issue in an article describing how manufacturers of military products provoke wars, keep them going, and profit from them.

This magazine, which can only be had by subscribing to it at \$10 per year, presents facts, names and dates. The United States, France, England, Germany, Czechoslovakia fight with one another to gain the profits of this bloody trade.

Bethlehem Steel sells "armor piercing" projectiles and "non-pierceable" armor. In 1933, Colt Patent Firearms Co. sent out an extra dividend; they sell machine guns.

French capitalists are foremost in their efforts to start wars. Through their Czechoslovakia subsidiary, the armament firm Skoda, they contributed to Hitler's campaign fund. At the same time and still more immediately after his accession to power, their newspapers in Paris, Le Temps and Le Journal des Debats, used Hitler as a bogeyman to frighten the French government into buying more armaments.

That is, if they needed to frighten the government. Francois de Wendel, one of the biggest sellers of war ordnances is a deputy in the lower Chamber and uses Tardieu as his "front." In Germany the family, engaged in the same business, are called von Wendel, and before the war one of its members sat in the Reichstag. They change the prefix to their name depending upon whoever wins the customary war between France and Germany.

If you want to know another reason why disarmament conferences are fakes, consider this. The biggest manufacturers of military supplies in France is Schneider-Creusot. The president of one of the most important banks in France owned by the Schneider interests is a member of the French disarmament delegation. In England, Col. A. G. C. Downey, brother of a director of Vickers-Armstrong, is supposed to speak for disarmament.

During the war Germany lacked glycerin for explosives, nickel, copper, oil, and rubber for adequate fighting. English and French capitalists supplied this deficiency for them. In return Germany sent steel for barbed wire fences to France and magnetos to England for tanks and cars. By these means capitalists made their profits. Schneider naively remarking on the presentation of an extra dividend; "The defense of our country has brought us satisfaction which cannot be ignored."

What is the conclusion? Even this magazine for the rich, Fortune, is compelled to remark: "Suffice it to say, the simplest solution is to leave the state take over all the manufacturing of munitions. But to do that the state would have to take over most of the essential industries of modern life. Russia is today the only country in which there is no 'private' manufacture and sale of armament . . . and has been the most consistent and the loudest advocate of disarmament."

**JOIN THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY!**  
American Workers Party,  
National Headquarters,  
112 E. 19th St., New York City.  
Comrades:  
Please send me information about how to become a member of the American Workers Party.  
Name .....  
Address .....  
Occupation .....  
City ..... State .....  
Union .....

# Many Groups Discuss AWP Program

THE announcement of the building of the American Workers Party caused intense interest among individuals and groups of all kinds. Discussions have been going on with many of them, in some instances by correspondence, in other cases in direct conference.

It is much too early to report in detail on all the discussions which have been held. That will be done in due time. For the present certain points may profitably be cleared up.

### "New America"

From time to time something is heard of an organization called New America of which Young America is the youth section. So far as we know it is still largely a paper organization. It is exceedingly confused. It sometimes seems to think of itself as the organization which is actually to achieve the revolution in the U. S., but it avoids entering the arena as a revolutionary political party. What then is it?

In its printed announcement it talks about preparing its members to accomplish whatever political and economic "changes are necessary" so that their and the people's will "to build a New America may be democratically expressed against all opposition." That sounds like social democracy. In Austria the workers under social-democratic leadership also sought to express their will "democratically" against all opposition. The result was disaster.

There is no specific reference to the organized labor movement and its importance in the New America program. Unions are mentioned in the same breath with women's clubs, lodges and churches as recruiting grounds for members in this "revolutionary organization." Capitalists are eligible for membership if they are "opposed to the profit system."

### Rule by "Leaders"

The group has a brilliant idea of dividing its membership into three classes. The upper group consists of the Leaders. Only leaders can vote on admission of new members to their ranks. They are thus a self-perpetuating body. It is expected, furthermore, that a good many of these Leaders will be men with substantial salaries and that out of assessments upon them most of the money to "run the revolution" will come.

The Farmer Labor Political Federation seems to be riding off in all directions. Some of its alleged followers are out to capture Republican primaries, others Democratic, although the Federation supposedly stands for a new party to get rid of the profit system! But we shall have more to say about this in a later issue.

### "Lovestoneites"

The organ of the Communist Party (Opposition), the "Lovestoneites," for March 1 is filled as usual with the severest criticism of the official Communist party and of the Communist International. But it condemns the A.W.P. for deciding that a new and effective revolutionary party is needed in the United States and that the whole international revolutionary labor organization is in a state of collapse and must be reconstituted on a sound base. The keystone of Lovestoneite policy is to get back into the Communist Party. It is a contradictory position and not at all surprising therefore that it is splitting the group.

The trade union policy of the Lovestoneites is a mechanical support of the A. F. of L. (though not of present policies and leadership) in every instance and a refusal in any case to support independent unionism. Not having been a part of the Communist Party at any time, the A.W.P. and C.P.L.A. do not have to bend backward and fall over in this fashion in support of

### MAINTAINING THE "AMERICAN STANDARD"

CHICAGO—The city and county governments in Chicago will have to find some other way to chisel wages when the federal CWA staggers off the scene this spring. Psychologists at a salary of \$2800 have been laid off by the school board and CWA has supplied other unemployed psychologists to do the same mental testing at \$1 an hour or \$1200 a year.

The Cook county hospital laid off trained nurses on various pretexts and took on CWA nurses at lower wages, with the additional advantage that the new nurses were paid out of CWA federal funds instead of by the county. In the bureau of public welfare \$17 a week clerical workers were fired and \$12 a week CWA workers taken on instead.

Adult education work, stopped by the school board when bankers and businessmen squealed about taxes, was revived by CWA with teachers paid 75c an hour instead of the much higher pay due them according to their training and seniority.

the A. F. of L. Where the workers want to organize outside that body, we will help them. Thus we are not ashamed of having supported the Progressive Miners of Illinois while they were putting up a fight against Lewisism.

We did not support the National Textile Workers Union (Communist) in Paterson last summer as the Lovestoneites, with their customary accuracy when speaking of Paterson, assert.

As for Mooney United Front actions, we did not keep out the C.P. in 1931. The C.P. declared itself out by greeting Tom Mooney's appeal for a United Front with the announcement that it already had one—viz. the I.L.D. After that we saw no use in licking its boots and worked with whatever organizations were willing to cooperate including the S.P. In the same way in the Spring of 1933 when the C.P. for the moment changed its course and worked for a United Front while the S.P. held aloof we were willing to work with the C.P. in the Mooney Council of Action. We had nothing to do with wrecking that movement, which is perhaps more than the Lovestoneites can truthfully say.

On January 27 The Militant, organ of the Communist League of America (Opposition), the so-called Trotskyists, addressed an Open Letter to the POC of the American Workers Party. The letter pointed out that in September the Communist League had issued a call for the formation of a new revolutionary party and that now the Pittsburgh convention of the CPLA had issued a similar call. The League therefore proposed that certain steps be taken to determine whether the League and the AWP could unite in building the new party.

A committee from the POC has held several meetings with a committee from the League to discuss program, principles and strategy.

The discussions have been carried on in a friendly, open and thoroughly critical manner. The AWP representatives have pointed out that since the Communist League arose as a factional group within the Communist Party, their strategy and approach in the past have been adapted more to the

negative task of attacking the line of the CP than the positive task of building an effective new party. A thoroughgoing change in the approach of League members is therefore necessary before they can join in the positive task.

Much of the criticism of the League representatives has been concerned with the question whether it is possible to reformulate Marxist revolutionary principles in the manner in which the AWP believes to be necessary if a revolutionary party is to function successfully in this country. The League and the AWP are agreed that principles cannot be sacrificed. The problem is how they are to be applied to the job at hand.

When the preliminary discussions are finished, a joint report, as well as independent reports, will be issued to the membership of the AWP and of the Communist League. Further, and more detailed reports will also appear in subsequent issues of Labor Action.

In carrying on all these discussions the Provisional Organizing Committee of the AWP has had in mind the mandate given by the workers at the Pittsburgh conference (at which, we beg to inform the Lovestoneite organ, unemployed leaguers were not represented but C.P.L.A. branches, many of whose members have, of course, been active in unemployed organizations) namely, that major attention must be given to actually building the A.W.P., enrolling members, forming branches, putting the membership to work at revolutionary tasks.

The delegates also recognized, however, that all the effective and healthy revolutionary elements in the nation must eventually be drawn together in a single organization if victory is to be achieved. The material of the new revolutionary party must come largely from the new, fresh elements now coming to the front in the mass movement. It must also include all who have already had experience in revolutionary organizations, and have not become incurably afflicted with sectarianism. The P.O.C. is, therefore, ready to seek a common basis for action with all such individuals and groups.

# The Manager Speaks

By CARA COOK

WATCH THIS COLUMN IN THE NEXT ISSUE! The details of nation-wide LABOR ACTION campaign will be announced. Its aim will be "3,000 new subs by Convention time."

The steady flow of new subscriptions from every corner of the country indicates that such a campaign will be a sure-fire success. The campaign will be carefully planned and followed up, with quotas assigned to different branches and individuals.

IT IS TO BE COMPETITIVE, with generous and useful prizes awarded at the Convention to those groups and individuals making the best records in the Campaign.

Why 3,000 subs? Because that number added to what we have will make LABOR ACTION financially self-sustaining, and when that happy state arrives, innumerable headaches will cease and the revolutionary cause will be enormously advanced!

Be thinking up ideas to send us, too. We want them all.

"LABOR ACTION is like a breath of pure fresh air in the radical movement. It is difficult to believe that at last we may have the beginnings of a real American revolutionary party, and not to once again resign oneself to the feeling that it is just too good to be true." . . . A. S. Los Angeles.

"I hope you succeed very well with LABOR ACTION. It is a publication which needs wide reading." . . . Harry Elmer Barnes, Auburn, N. Y.

And this gem which comes from Omaha, Nebraska:  
"I was a subscriber to the DAILY WORKER, and I noticed that Mike Gold, Joe Freeman, Earl Browder and Harry Gannes wrote and WOR-

RIED much about A. J. Muste and the American Workers Party. So I began to think about things. There must be something to this or that D.W. wouldn't worry so MUCH about it. So I got a copy of LABOR ACTION to see what it was all about. AN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY. That's it. It looks good to me. I wonder if Freeman, Gold & Co. know that your paper BENEFITS from the publicity they give it!"

"Either LABOR ACTION is getting so it speaks my language, or else I'm getting educated so I understand it. Especially enjoyed the last issue." . . . G. M., Canfield, O.

"LABOR ACTION is the first paper I've seen since the old Workday papers that talks the workers' language. It's great stuff." . . . A Paterson silk worker.

### UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE SUPPORTS AUTO STRIKE

TOLEDO, O.—The Lucas County Unemployed League has gained tremendously in the esteem of the workers here from the policy it pursued in the recent strike of automobile workers.

Immediately the strike started the League called upon its membership to demonstrate their solidarity with the automobile workers. Mass meetings were held at which the unemployed were informed of the strike and called upon to refuse to scab.

In a telegram to a mass meeting of strikers the UL pledged:

Full organizational support; and in securing relief for needy families of strikers; and a promise "to stand ready to man the mass picket lines shoulder to shoulder with you."

# RADICAL INTERLUDE

By LOUIS BREIER

HYSTERIA—RED AND PINK: THE NEW DIABOLISM: WANTED—A POLONIUS: "SIR AND MADAM, THE REVOLUTION IS HERE!"

ONCE pointed out that the radical who cannot laugh is lost. It naturally follows that the radical who cannot laugh is subject to hysteria. How else could it be? To find oneself in a world consciously leagued against one, a world concerned with no problem other than the misleading of naive revolutionists into right, left and centrist deviations is more than a little terrifying. It is a colossal calamity, and a calamity, furthermore, that finds new manifestations every day (on Union Square somewhat often). A radical in this sorry frame of mind is forever pursued by cosmic Draclaus, is forever falling into a great pit of horrors.

Whether the infamous Madison Square Garden meeting was such a pit, I cannot say. At least, Matthew Wolf was not present, and La Guardia was represented by some of his blue-coated "secretaries." But there were Socialist leaders present, and it was enough for one of them to propose three cheers for the brave Austrian comrades—hysteria broke loose. For observe, when a Socialist shouts hurrah for workers on the barricades, it can be to no good purpose. "The devil quotes scriptures—" etc.

I have been told that that sort of thing is a result of "jesuitism," and jesuitism was born in an age crammed with devils, witches, sorcerers, lesser demons and the various varieties of incubi. Demonology was the bacteriology of that day.

Substitute for the diabolic hierarchy "social-fascists," "reformists," "left-reformists," "leftists," "rightists," "centrists," "regrenades," etc. and you have a complete CP view of the universe! at once an extremely narrow and extremely diffuse view. Even a logical view—for the logic of phantasy is the only perfect logic.

Lest it be thought, however, that I am indirectly making out a case for the Socialist Party let me hasten to add that their conduct, on this and other occasions, has been no less hysteria on a different plane, on a meaner basis. Where Communists see treachery everywhere in the world, Socialists see treachery only within the Communist Party. So that the Madison Square fiasco proved to them that the Communists are "scab-agents," "capitalist hirelings" and "vanguards of the fascist dictatorship."

I DO not want the job, but I believe that the American Workers Party should have a Polonius. Some hatchet-faced, professionally-sober person, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Aristotle's Golden Mean, immovable, without passions and without certain parts that eat, drink and make merry. Such a person would be very hateful and very valuable. On the subject of hysteria, he could say to us:

"Comrades, we have seen that hysteria is to be avoided, even more than theoretic errors. But let us not, therefore, react to an opposite extreme. Let us avoid becoming blasé.

"I am aware that there are some among us who through excess of knowledge or through lack of it are inclined to view all things with a jaded eye, a lethargic spirit, a certain lugubrious cynicism. And there are others who seem to take a different tack, but in the same general direction. These are seen to possess indeed that 'precious, balancing gift of laughter' (a theme pursued to weariness by comrade Breier) or are rather possessed by it. So that they transmute all things into epigrams and find the flimsiest expression for the weightiest problems in 'wise-cracks,' 'bon-mots,' 'strokes of wit.'"

I SAY to you, comrades, that a blasé revolutionist is no more conceivable than a blasé revolution. Let them be blasé to whom revolution is a theme for an hour's discussion, now and then; a piquant interlude between the latest novel and the latest play.

Such people are not uncommon. They delight to pat a radical on the newly clubbed head, to applaud his tale of the latest terror, to assert their own solidarity with his opinions.

I think that some of them may be sincere in their way, but I think also that they envisage the revolution only as an item in the usual routine of existence. Something, let us say, that will occur some evening between coffee and bridge when James enters the lounging room, unobtrusively throws open the french windows and nodding to the seething, shouting, struggling, bleeding masses below announces without excitement: "Sir and Madam, the Revolution is here!"

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