

Down with exploiters, "rugged individualists" and tyrants.

LABOR ACTION

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

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Job Pickup False Hope Facts Show

Wages Down Two-Thirds, Work Off 44 Per Cent in Seven Years

CAPITALIST BALLYHOO

Newspaper Revival Stories Attempt to Fool Jobless

By HARRY A. HOWE

NEW YORK—The big capitalist newspapers have been falling all over themselves with rejoicing during the past week. "Business is on the upswing." "The depression is ending." "Widespread rise in jobs continue." These have been the headlines. But a careful study of the stories under the headlines leaves one wondering what the rejoicing is all about. And a further checking up on reported wage increases, etc., convinces one that either the editors of the papers are drunk or that they are deliberately trying to fool the public.

Back to Where We Were With Hoover

By April, however, the New Deal had got its bearings, and declarations, manifestoes and commands began issuing from the White House. In place of the sour faced, fat Hoover, with whom the country had grown terribly bored, we were now greeted with the smiling face of the "friend of everybody." And after a temporary fright on the part of the big banker barons, who at first took the words about driving the money changers from the temple seriously, confidence of the profit takers was revived. Business began slowly to recover from the March paralysis. And this is what the newspapers are rejoicing about. April business was better than March business. But how much better?

Employment in the month of April, according to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, increased 1.6 per cent over March and payrolls 4.5 per cent. They were below the corresponding month of last year, however, 10 and 21.9 per cent respectively and compared with the 12-month average for the year 1926 employment was down 44 per cent this April, while the workers of the country were getting 66.6 per cent less wages. Compared with last July, which was the low point in manufacturing employment thus far, the April job figure was up 1.4 per cent but the payroll total was down 3.6 per cent. Surely these figures make the rejoicing seem somewhat premature.

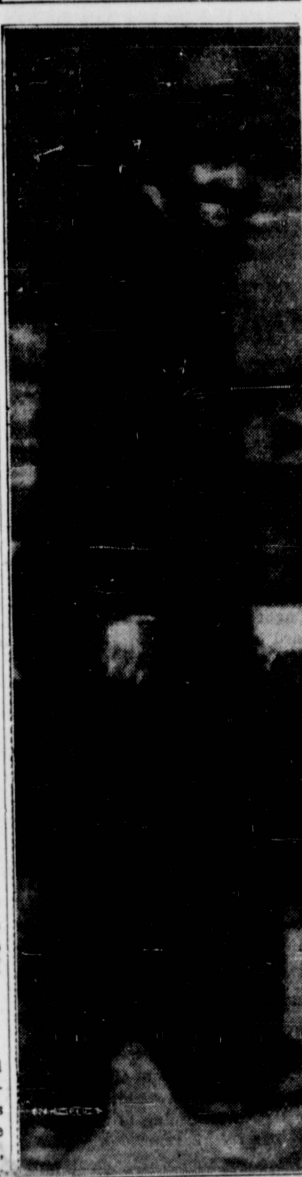
Stories of Revival Were Premature

An example of the reliability of the ballyhoo about employers giving voluntary wage increases is the loudly heralded 15 per cent wage increase to the workers of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, large cotton goods manufacturers of Manchester, N. H. A few days after the increase was announced 4,000 Amoskeag mill workers came out on strike. The company had announced the increase to take effect on July 29 in an attempt to head off the growing discontent of the workers.

Another illustration of the same thing is the reported wage increases in Illinois. The official report of the Illinois department of labor shows that increases of 3.8 per cent in manufacturing industry employment were offset by decreases of 3.7 per cent in payrolls and 9 per cent in employment in non-manufacturing industry.

Still another story is that of Stewart-Warner Corp. This company had announced a 70 per cent increase in employment within a

Know Him?



WILDER, Tenn.—If you recognize the man in this picture, alias "Doc" Thompson, Ferris County Coal & Coke Company gunman who was found standing by the body of Barney Graham, murdered president of the local U.M.W. of A. send his name and record to the United Mine Workers of America, at Wilder.

Told that company gunmen were planning to kill Graham, Governor McAllister and State Secretary of Labor Jacobs refused to intercede. Eight days later Graham was shot 11 times. Company gunmen, "Doc" Thompson and Jack Green, were found standing over him.

Tennessee miners are asking the labor movement if Thompson has operated as a gunman in other fields, and if he has a criminal record.

Protest Hitler's Attacks on Labor

NEW YORK—During the past few days thousands of workers and sympathizers have attended meetings of protest against the wage-cutting, union busting program of the German boss class that Hitler is attempting to carry out. These meetings have been arranged by the National Committee to Aid the Victims of German Terror of which A. J. Muste of the CPLA is chairman, or by local committees set up by it.

In Newark, over a thousand workers packed Kreuger's Auditorium in an enthusiastic rally. Twenty LABOR ACTIONS were sold. In New York City, police used great brutality before they were able to disperse a militant demonstration of workers who had gathered to greet Hans Weideman, Hitler's representative to the Chicago World Fair.

Workers everywhere recognize that Hitler is the counterpart of American bankers, bosses and wage-cutters in general, and they are determined to show that they are opposed to Hitler and Hitlerism in Germany or America.

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

Seeing Red As Milkwar Ends In Wis.

Fighting Spirit of Farmers Running High in 19 Counties

SAYS HALT TEMPORARY

1500 Militia, 5000 Deputies Used by State Against Farmers

ELKHORN, WIS.—(Special)—Some people out here think the war between the rich and the poor has already started.

The government called out the militia to help the sheriffs and the law put down the greatest strike ever witnessed in this section. Farm masses throughout 19 counties declared a milk strike that involved thousands of pickets patrolling highways and several pitched battles between militiamen, sheriffs and poor farmers. Two farmers have been killed.

At present the strike is apparently temporarily ended by an agreement reached between Schmedeman, governor of the state, and the farmers Cooperative Milk Pool, but the fighting spirit among the farmers is running high.

They are not going to forget soon the tear-gas bombs and the rifles used against them by the government.

Battle Along 200 Mile Front

Starting on May 13 the farm uprising spread over a 200 mile front. Pickets were active in all effected centers. Sheriffs and deputies rushed to the aid of scab farmers and truck drivers attempting to drive through the lines with low priced milk. Repulsed by the pickets, 1500 militia were hurried in by the governor as reinforcement.

Many farmers offered to deliver milk free to city workers. They declared they were fighting milk dealers who keep farmers in poverty while selling milk to city consumers at huge profits. Milk farmers here have been pushed to the

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Tom Mooney Not Guilty; No Evidence

State Has No Case Court Is Told—But Tom Is Sent Back to Jail

WORKERS MUST UNITE

Philadelphia Defense Meeting Brings Together Many Groups

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Tom Mooney has been acquitted because the district attorney refused to present evidence he knew was insufficient for conviction—yet Mooney has gone back to prison to serve the rest of his life unless the power and protest of the workers force a pardon for him.

"The tragedy of this case today," Mooney told the court when acquittal was ordered, "is that although the district attorney declares the evidence not sufficient to introduce in this trial, it was sufficient for four governors of this state, the appellate and supreme courts to hold that I should stay in prison."

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Labor stepped forward here May 22 when Socialists, Communists, CPLAers and trade unionists gathered in Hungarian Hall in a Tom Mooney defense meeting. One hundred and seventy-five delegates from 125 organizations joined forces for Mooney in the most inclusive united front of labor the city has known.

Despite refusal of the official Socialist Party to participate, the Philadelphia branch joined the gathering. Speakers were David H. H. Felix, secretary of the local S.P. branch; William Mills, Communist organizer; J. B. Matthews, Fellowship of Reconciliation; A. J. Muste, chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and vice-chairman of the National Mooney Council of Action; Philip Van Gelder, Socialist; and William Leader, vice-president of Branch 1 of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers.

Threaten PMA System Rotten Foreign Born Says Minister

TAYLORVILLE, ILL.—(Special)—Adopting the Fascist tactic of stirring up race hatred and intolerance in an effort to check the growth of the Progressive Miners of America, enemies of the rank and file union are mailing threatening circulars to the foreign born miners.

"This is America," the foreign born are told in the circular. "Speak English. If you don't know how, learn it. If you don't like it move."

Conspirators Known

The Progressive Miner, the union paper, in commenting upon this latest move to check the PMA, states that the conspirators who aim to create racial division in the mine areas are well known.

"It is the same ilk that have pilfered, grafted, robbed, murdered and intimidated the union miners. "It is significant to note that the United Mine Workers Journal, official mouthpiece of the Lewis crowd, is discontinuing its language section just at the time when the drive against the foreign born is being instituted."

Labor Fakery? Never!

The answer to the underhanded propaganda is not only to ignore it, says the Progressive Miner, but to weld the mine ranks into a more solid unit.

"Unionism was born on the basic principle of 'No discrimination on account of color, creed or nationality.' That principle is just as true today as it was yesterday. The PMA makes unity with all rank and file miners. Unity with the labor fakery? Never!"

State Conventions Prepare For Ohio Congress July 4; Chicago Convention, 16 States, In Line

Purpose of Ohio Jobless Meet, Called For July 3-5, Columbus

COLUMBUS, Ohio (Special)—The purpose of the National Convention of Unemployed Leagues called for July 3-5 in Columbus, Ohio, as stated in the Call sent out by the Ohio Unemployed League, is:

1. To bring together existing unemployed leagues to exchange information regarding their activities and methods.
2. To draw up a complete program and policy for organizing state leagues.
3. To consider the establishment of a central clearing house which may supply the unemployed movement with assistance in organizing, literature, research material, etc.
4. To consider plans for cooperation among the various units of the unemployed movement now functioning.
5. To consider what activities—economic, political, cooperative, educational—the unemployed movement may engage in for the greatest measure of immediate and permanent success.
6. To plan nation-wide action to secure an adequate program of relief for the unemployed workers and farmers.

Effective state organizations should be set up if possible before the National Convention, the Call says, and delegates elected to the convention. But where state organizations are not yet formed, delegates may come from local leagues.

For details as to delegates, credentials, accommodations, unemployed groups are asked to write to Room 401, 8 East Chestnut Street, Columbus, Ohio.

New Leagues Organized by Continuation Committee in Pennsylvania

ON TO HARRISBURG

Relief Evils Halted by Organized; Fight Commissary Plan

HARRISBURG, Pa.—(Special)—"On to Harrisburg!" is the word heard in all sections of this commonwealth, as the organized unemployed prepare for their state convention at the capital on June 5 and 6.

New leagues are springing up under the impetus of the drive for the state gathering. As in other states where a similar campaign has been carried on the Continuation Committee here has not been content with calling established leagues to the convention, but has gone out to organize new groups in every possible community.

Five hundred men gathered in the big court room of the Clearfield County court house, to hear Louis F. Budenz, Elmer F. Cope of the Allegheny County U.C.L. and Tom Cushman of the Decatur Township unemployed, tell of the need for jobless organization. The audience unanimously decided to form an effective local body.

New Leagues Being Formed Daily

At Wallacetown, Budenz spoke from the porch of the Chief Burgess' office, and new leagues were formed for that place and for Bigler. All through the coal and brick-making towns of Blair, Clearfield and Cambria Counties, the message is spreading. Additional leagues have been established in: Altoona, Greenwood, Barnesboro, Hastings, Patton, Coalport, Curwensville, West Decatur, and Nanty-Glo.

From the other end of the state, Louis S. Briber of the Lehigh County U.C.L. reports a number of new groups, including a large league in Bethlehem which has already begun to do aggressive work.

Gross abuses exist in relief distribution almost everywhere in Pennsylvania. The State laws, in many cases, are being openly flouted by the relief authorities. Men are forced to labor on state highways for food orders, although the laws clearly call for payment in cash at 40 cents per hour. Private homes of politicians and those with political pull are repaired and revamped by "food-order" men.

Lesson of Organization Taking Effect

Where organization flourishes, a halt is called to such abuses. The action of the Northumberland County Workers Protective League in stopping work on relief projects until the workers are covered by compensation, has led to the passage of a fake workmen's compensation law for relief workers. No compensation can be received unless the man is injured for 26 weeks, and no provision is made in case of death.

There are also decided inequalities between counties in the relief allotted per family. Where organization has been effective, the distribution is better. But in some counties, the already inadequate allowances are cut to shameful depths. In one town in Cambria county, a family of 9 was found, who were expected to live on \$1.50 food per week.

The commissary system, already in force in Williamsport, is being introduced in Blair county. An effort is being made to spread it through the state. This is the infamous "6 cents for food per day" plan, under which the workless will not be allowed to choose their own food but will have it handed out to them.

In some communities, the relief authorities take an insolent and czar-like attitude, and at Phillips-

(Continued on Page 2)

West Pledges W. Va. Jobless Delegates In Hail Leagues Boxcar Loads In All States

CHICAGO, ILL.—(Special)—The big national convention of the unemployed at Columbus, Ohio, on July 4th was endorsed, through the selection of five official delegates, by the Federation of Unemployed Workers' Leagues of America, meeting here on May 13-14-15.

Delegates from the unemployed organizations of the State of Washington promptly announced that they would send "two box-car loads of delegates" to Columbus. Indiana representatives stated that a convention of that state would be called immediately, in preparation for the Ohio national gathering.

Delegates From 16 States

The Federation meeting here, called by the Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment, brought 96 delegates from 45 general organizations in 16 states together at Lincoln Center. The claimed affiliated branches of those represented, totaled 826. Three hundred of these were connected with the National Committee of Unemployed Councils and 187 with the Ohio Unemployed League. Ohio was shown to be by far the best organized state.

Battles against evictions, foreclosures and other abuses were discussed upon. It was agreed that a federation of unemployed organizations should be set up, but no definite plans for extending organization were outlined. The federation would rather be a unifying and correlating agency.

Karl Lore of the Southeastern Missouri unemployed leagues and William R. Truax of the Ohio Unemployed League were elected to the national executive committee.

HERNDON CONFIDENT IN FACE OF JAIL ABUSE

ATLANTA, Ga. (FP).—"I'm here because I was instrumental in organizing 1,000 Negro and white workers to present their demands for adequate relief to the city government. I'm here because white and black workers have struggled together, but I'm going to get out of here for the same reason—because nothing will be able to hold Negro and white workers fighting together." These are the confident words of Angelo Herndon, 19-year-old Negro unemployed leader held in Fulton Towers prison.

For six months Herndon was kept in jail without trial. He was subjected, as he says, to "101 kinds of mistreatment," including a fake electric chair rigged up outside his cell in an attempt to wrest a confession from him.

By WALTER SEACRIST

CHARLESTON, W. VA.—Splash Beach on the edge of this city, famous for its gold-domed capitol, was again the scene of a multitude of jobless men and women, many of them ragged and half-fed, when they met May 14 to solve the hunger problem. They came from the villages and mining camps of the Kanawha valley coalfields.

Unlike the hunger march of 1000 miners who camped on the Beach a year ago, refusing to move until the governor of the state dug into state funds and found a little relief money, the unemployed met this time to form a permanent organization to carry on a systematic fight for adequate relief.

Determined to Organize

"It's the first time in my life I ever saw working men and women tending to their own affairs," declared a Negro speaker. "It's the first time I ever saw them leaving the affairs of the boss alone."

Forgetting politics, religion, color and creed, the crowd, angered by relief cuts, was determined to build a league.

"We are wage slaves who are today being starved by the country that we helped to build," one said. The news that jobless workers in other states have organized and won concessions from relief officials in the form of more relief and higher relief wages, told by league organizers, brought a new light into the eyes of the men and women.

Speakers told how leagues in Ohio sent out a national call to the unemployed in the United States to meet in Columbus July 3-4 to write a Declaration of Independence for American workers. The news was hailed with cheers by the gathering.

Bosses Force Relief Cuts

Brant Scott, vice-president of the West Virginia Mine Workers who has a two-day-a-week relief job directing traffic in Charleston at \$1.80 a day, described relief conditions in the state as intolerable. Kanawha field coal operators are responsible, he charged, for the recent cut in relief-work wages from 30c an hour to 22 1/2c an hour.

The operators have forced the earnings of miners down so low that they were afraid they would quit the mines and go on relief," he declared.

The men and women pledged themselves to organize and bring into the league all the unemployed workers and their wives. They set up committees, pledged support to jobless leagues in other states and to the National Convention in Ohio.

State Conventions Prepare For Ohio Congress, July 4

(Continued from Page 1) burg they threatened Peter Demchak of the Rush Township unemployed league with a slugging if he persisted in bringing cases before them.

Preparing for Convention
The state jobless convention will thus find plenty of problems before it for consideration and action.

The various organizations already established are bringing the food to Harrisburg for the delegates. Indiana County's Unemployment Council, for example, has pledged 25 bushels of potatoes. It represents 11,000 enrolled members from 32 local branches. Lehigh, Allegheny, Philadelphia and other counties are doing their share in a similar way.

State Convention of Jersey Jobless

Newark, N. J. (Special).—"Never before have so many workers, industrial and white-collar, had to meet a problem as large as this... and we want to meet it together," said one of the delegates to the New Jersey Unemployment Conference held in Newark on May 21. The meeting brought together 55 delegates representing organizations of the unemployed totalling more than 20,000 workers.

Resolutions were adopted condemning the threats used to get boys to go to the Roosevelt dollar a day camps; insisting on the abolishment of the food order form of relief and the substitution of cash payments for work performed; for a moratorium on taxes, interests, and rents for unemployed workers for a period of two years, against evictions and foreclosures for the same period and for remission in taxes on property rented by unemployed workers; for the recognition by the State, counties and municipalities of unemployed co-operatives which are non-profit making in character in preference to profit making contractors.

The conference voted to participate in the State convention of the Continental Congress, on condition that the State convention be not Socialist dominated. The conference instructed the Chairman to gather material regarding the Columbus July 4th convention and to lay the material before the continuation committee.

Warren C. Montross of Rutherford was elected Provisional chairman of the continuation committee and Anna Fisher, of Paterson Provisional secretary.

United Protest In Conn. June 6

By FRANCIS HENSON

HARTFORD, Conn.—A statewide federation of jobless organizations will demonstrate for adequate cash relief on the capitol grounds June 6 just before the legislature closes. The demonstration will be the first in Connecticut of the state's organized unemployed.

Up to date not a dollar has been expended by this state in relief to the jobless masses. Local unemployed leagues and councils, joining in a statewide federation, have decided to take the matter in their own hands.

The demonstration will dramatize the mass need for relief. The demonstrators, men and women from leagues, councils, workers committees and unemployed associations, will demand for the unemployed an immediate cash payment from the state.

YOUTH TO RALLY MAY 30 AGAINST WAR, LOW WAGES, LABOR CAMPS

NEW YORK.—On May 30, thousands of working and student youth will rally to protest unemployment and low wages, child labor and school retrenchment. Especially they will protest the Roosevelt Forestation Camps with their dollar a day wages which are in fact military training camps. They will demand that war funds be used for relief instead of for military apparatus.

In New York City, the newly formed CPLA Youth group will join with other radical and liberal groups of students and young workers to stage an anti-war rally and dance at Irving Plaza on May 28, and will parade through Harlem on the afternoon of May 30.

The Young People's Socialist League, although invited to participate in the work of National Youth Day, has refused.

P.M.A.'S MOTHER JONES



Mrs. Agnes Burns Wieck, as president of the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America, has built an organization of 20,000 members in a little more than six months. Daughter of a southern Illinois coal digger, formerly a school teacher, and organizer in several A. F. of L. unions, Mrs. Wieck has a son of 11. The organization she leads has been a powerful factor in winning support for the new rebel union.

Something Besides Sheep Sheared To Pay Bankers

By JACK PARNACK

DILLON, MONT.—The sheep are not the only ones to get sheared in this sheep country.

Three years ago the price of wool dropped from 35c to 20c a pound, and wages for herders and camp-tenders were cut from \$90 a month to \$60 and \$75. Last spring wool was selling as low as 9 and 10c a pound, and wages were \$40 a month. But this spring wool went up to 22c whereas wages now are \$30 a month.

The sheep ranchers explain this by blaming the bankers. During the so-called prosperity era sheep men borrowed as high as \$12 a head on sheep.

Sheep were selling around \$15 and \$16. Then came the crash in '29 and left the outfits in debt to their ears. Sheep mortgaged at \$12 dropped as low as \$3 and \$4 a head. Something besides sheep had to be sheared to pay the bankers.

At present with wool up to 22c a pound and wages down to \$30 a month, the "poor" sheep outfits, greedy for more sheep and range, and the bankers, greedy for interest on loans, are making it plain that they want low wages for hired help and high prices for wool. They are taking the difference out of

Business Revival Has Not Yet Helped Starving Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

month. But, as revealed by a recent stockholders squabble, it had based its comparison on the week of the bank holiday when employment was cut to a minimum and announced a boom when its employees returned. Employment had actually experienced only a slight rise from February, the gain being less than 9 per cent.

Business activity had so boomed during April and May, says a Federated Press story, that by mid-May the index of activity published by the New York Herald-Tribune was back to the low of July, 1932.

Stock Gamblers May Be Happier

Thus the business pick-up that has taken place since the New Deal replaced the New Capitalism exists mostly in the imaginations of newspaper editors and of Administration publicity agents. The only actual pick-up is in stock speculation. Gambling in Wall Street is recovering. Nearly a quarter of a billion dollars more have been loaned to gamblers by New York banks this year than last year.

But few of the 17 million jobless workers and farmers of the country are aware of any change. They are still hungry; their children still starving. They want work and bread, and that the New Deal has not yet got around to. The bankers must be saved first. After that there will be time to look after the interests of the people of the country. A huge civilian army is being fast whipped into shape for that very purpose.

"Mill Shadows" To Be Presented By Ill. Miners

GILLESPIE, ILL.—(Special)—"Mill Shadows," Tom Tippet's play centering around the massacre of six textile strikers in Marion, North Carolina, in 1929, is slated for a first showing here the first week in June.

Pronounced by some as the finest labor drama written in America, Mill Shadows is being produced by the author, Educational Director of the Progressive Miners Union, with a cast of union miners and members of the Women's Auxiliary.

Story of Marion Massacre

The play is a life representation of events in a mill village, including a strike, leading to the Marion

"Mill Shadows" Author



Massacre. Six workers were shot down by deputy sheriffs and company guards. The author, who himself was in the strike, and knew the men who were killed, has given voice in the play to the martyred workers.

Presented first in eastern cities in 1931 by the Brookwood Players, Mill Shadows was staged in Richmond, Virginia, this spring by the Industrial Players of the YWCA.

Sympathy for the Exploited

"The play is moving in its truth and beauty. In the audience it created a new understanding and sympathy with the mountain people who moved down to the mill villages where they are exploited by industry," Mrs. Ralph Chappell of the Richmond YWCA said.

Norbert Milair, of Charleston, W. Va., is designing scenes for the play. The Auxiliary plans to take the play on tour through Illinois coalfields.

Cheap Labor Edison Policy

Workers Plan Mass Protest June 15 at Town Hall, Muste to Speak

By J. T. GODBER

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Sinclair Lewis' book "Cheap and Contented Labor" which graphically presents the low wages and horrible working conditions of the South might well describe the situation confronting the employees of the Edison combine in greater New York.

Former \$55 a week engineers are now working as collectors for \$21. If they complain they are informed that there are plenty of men outside willing to work for the wages paid. One man after working for a four-day period was laid off. After deducting the installments due on electrical appliances he had been forced to purchase, he received a check for 80 cents.

Live Wire Now Being Printed

In a letter to the Brotherhood of Edison Employees, a group of construction workers asked: "Why not come out more often? We are seeing your side of things now." In an effort to reach more men the Live Wire, organ of the Brotherhood, is now appearing monthly in printed form. It is being distributed by groups from the CPLA, YPSL, and one or two colleges.

A monster mass meeting is being planned for June 14, in the Town Hall by the National Committee on Utilities and Labor and the Brotherhood of Edison Employees. Former Congressman F. H. La Guardia and A. J. Muste are listed as the principal speakers.

A mass picket line was thrown around the home of John C. Parker, president of the Brooklyn Edison Company, protesting the "New Deal" which for the Edison workers has turned out to be a raw deal.

FROM THE FIRING LINE

A British Worker Writes To American Comrades

William Bettens writes from England to say that when it comes to fighting capitalism, the American worker, once he becomes class-conscious, is superior to British workers, because Britishers are still pumped full of parliamentary dope and respect for royalty. He would like to get in touch with the 'comrades' he used to know in America. His address is No. 2 Southside St., Plymouth, Devon, England.

And where the unrest is more active the capitalists send one of the Princes to smile and then the hungry men and women feel better for a time. With rotten fish, stale bread and prayers and groans they manage to crawl around on their hind legs looking like a bunch of prairie dogs watching the train go by.

There is no Red Movement west of London. Just some Social Reformists waiting for a Hitler to arise and tell them what to do.

Ohio Worker Wants Action

Here is a letter to Labor Action that digs down into the grass roots of reality and sets up signposts for the jobless.

It comes from Labor Actionist C. H. McCarthy in Austintown, Ohio, where the Unemployed League has struck against scab relief pay and fought its way forward through hard knocks.

Worker McCarthy writes: "We must rely on ourselves through our own power, expressed in organization, based on unity of purpose. We must decide to take things into our own hands."

"There is no adequate relief to be had from the Civil Authorities. They are agents of our oppressors. The organization should be an industrial state in miniature of the dispossessed workers. It should be the Workers' Government. They can legislate in their own behalf, regulate their own activities in relation to their social and economic life."

"The problem of relief belongs to this organization of the workers. They can work it out, pass legislation according to experience, and control all relief."

"The workers Government must function independently of the present set-up of relief bureaus that operate on the basis of supplying just enough food to keep the workers out of the grave. This way lies the danger of a let-down in the physical health of the jobless and their families, to be followed by an epidemic or gradual mass starvation."

"Organized jobless workers must fight for full standard rations and proper nourishment, first for the children, so that they are well fed and clothed and supplied with school books, and then for themselves."

"The movement must be kept free from the influence of business men and professional interests."

"Finally, the only way out is through action. It is better to attempt resistance and make a few mistakes than to lie dormant and do nothing."

"When relief is denied or withheld from the unemployed, it is my

notion that a counter attack should be launched by pulling a grocery wagon from the road or by cleaning up a store to feed the hungry, and the bill for same presented to the county relief commissioners to be paid.

"But all jobless activities should be thoroughly discussed and planned and carried out in an organized manner in the interest of the Workers."

Penna. Priest Jips Jobless

In Mount Carmel, Pa., there is a priest who thinks that unemployed workers who organize to obtain relief are hoodlums and bums. But let Felix Frazik, assistant secretary of the Unemployed League, tell the story:

One of our members went to his priest for a relief order. The priest said, "Do you belong to the Unemployed League, or are you willing to work for a food order?" Then the priest told him to go to the League and get his food order. The priest knew that our League can't issue orders for food.

The man came to our headquarters and told the executive committee what the priest had said. A committee of five at once called on the priest.

"Why doesn't this man get a relief order?" they asked.

But before they had time to finish the question the priest ordered them out of the hall, which is under the church. They went out and the priest called them a pack of hoodlums. "Hoodlums, bums!" he said. Mike Demchak, one of the committee, asked the priest to come on the outside and call him a bum. But the priest staid where he was.

At our next meeting the committee reported the incident to the rank and file. Believe it or not, the members present, about 400 unemployed, wanted to demonstrate in front of the priest's house! An effort was made to get the man arrested, on charges of slander, but no officer connected with the law would undertake it. The priest happens to be a politician. The rank and file want to know how he happened to have control of food, and they mean to find out.

Since the League's formation we have adjusted 75 cases. Well we hope to see all you comrades at the National Convention at Columbus, Ohio. Yours for a united front national organization of all jobless.

IN NEW YORK

FREE LECTURES

CPLA Headquarters, 128 E. 16th Street

Friday, June 2, 8:30 P. M. "Functioning in and Through Mass Organizations." Speaker A. J. Muste.

Friday, June 16, 8:30 P. M. "Future of the CPLA; It's Task in the American Labor Movement." A. J. Muste.

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FOREIGN NOTES
By CHARLES LAGNER

AUSTRIA

A concordat just closed between Austria and the Vatican throws a revealing light upon the increasing influence exercised by the Church on Austrian affairs. By its terms a Catholic marriage becomes legally binding, although the Catholic Church does not recognize civil marriage. Religious instruction becomes obligatory in all schools. The Catholic Church is given full liberty to teach both religious and secular subjects. . . . The National Socialist movement is growing rapidly. Entire communities are enrolling as members. During the last two weeks Hitler became honorary citizen in 16 Austrian communities. . . . In Vienna 80 Communists were recently arrested. The Communist Arbeiterwehr was dissolved by government decree. . . . The Austrian government was "radicalized" in the sense of the Austrian Fascist Heimwehr by the resignation of three conservative ministers and the appointment of Heimwehr members in their place. . . . On the first of May Austria reported 350,552 unemployed receiving unemployment benefits.

BELGIUM

The Minister of Finance has declared that the government will not be able to pay salaries or pensions for several months as the budget shows a deficit of 1,200,000,000 francs. . . . The Belgian (social democratic) Labor Party, according to its annual report of May 15 has 568,191 members; in 1931 its membership was 559,085. The Chamber of Deputies discussed the German situation. Vandervelde characterized the Hitler government as a dictatorship of bestiality, and accused the Belgian Liberals of having made their peace with it. The Liberal Minister of Foreign Affairs Hymans replied: "The Socialists were too cowardly to resist." Whereupon the two gentlemen almost came to blows. . . . When the German steamer "Watussli" entered the Antwerp harbor flying the National Socialist flag, Communist stevedores refused to unload the ship. Of 300 workers only 16 returned to work on the following day. The ship was delayed 24 hours before leaving the harbor.

BULGARIA

Comrade Napetoff, former Communist deputy and party leader, was murdered on the street by counter-revolutionists.

DENMARK

In a solemn session of the Crown Council the Social Democratic Minister-President, Th. Stauning, was decorated by the Danish king with the medal for distinguished service. The good king further presented the Premier with a silver key in honor of his valuable work for the nation. Stauning expressed his gratitude with much emotion.

FRANCE

General Wenzaw, the first Soviet Russian military attache in France since 1917 has arrived in Paris. . . . Since last week an organ devoted to the interests of the German refugees in their fight against the Hitler dictatorship, "Die Freiheit" is being published. . . . At a trial conducted against 180 workers who were indicted in Saigon in connection with the uprising in Indo-China, eight were condemned to death, eighteen to life imprisonment and nine to prison sentences totaling 100 years. . . . The motorization of the French army is making rapid progress. The French automobile industry has received orders for 250,000 vehicles for the army. The entire artillery will be mechanized by the end of the year; half of the cavalry completely, the other half partially. In the same period the tank division will be equipped with more than 4000 middle and heavy tanks. Furthermore large orders have been placed for 200 P. S. airplane motors. . . .

GERMANY

In Neukoelln near Berlin 14 Communists were arrested for distributing the illegal "Rote Fahne." In Erfurt the homes of a large number of workers were raided and 40 Communists arrested. . . . In Frankfurt distributors of Communist leaflets received prison sentences of from two to four months. . . . The Communist party official Galinowski in Allenstein was shot by Nazis "in self-defense." . . . The Bavarian Communist Landtag deputy Dressel committed suicide. . . . The Communist Reichstag deputy Bennedom was expelled from the party for refusing to return to his election district from the Saar region which is under Allied control. . . . The Magistrate of Zweibruecken has ordered that in the future no county fair concessions shall be

Continental Congress
And Socialist Party

To the Socialist Party:

The Continental Congress held under your auspices at Washington on May 6 and 7 brought together thousands of workers, farmers, clerical, technical and professional people. Many of them were of fine fighting quality. You are to be congratulated on this achievement.

That so many from all sections of the country responded to the call, in spite of the fact that in many instances they were practically penniless, shows that there is an awakening among the masses and that they are looking for leadership and action.

You evidently had in mind that this Congress might be of more than ordinary significance when you announced that it was to draft a new Declaration of Independence. When the Declaration of Independence had been adopted in 1776, it meant calling out the troops against the British and getting down to business!

If Not Concrete Action, What Was Congress Called For?

You failed, however, to use the opportunity for achievement and concrete action which was presented to you by the outpouring of masses at the Congress. The Congress remained simply a demonstration "largely confined," as one labor journal puts it, "to the four walls and the hearts of the participants."

One step that should have been taken by the Congress is pointed out in the official journal of an influential union which had a large representation at the Congress, namely, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. "The one thing at least that this Congress should have attempted to do was to create the broad base of a new political alignment to include the workers by hand and brain, etc." This seems obvious, unless indeed the idea in calling the Congress was to attract members to the Socialist Party. The resolution finally passed by the Congress provides for exploring the possibilities of a unified mass political organization. We urge that immediate serious steps be taken to carry out this decision.

In view of the tragic consequences of division among the workers, the question of the "united front" is an urgent and important one today on other fields as well as the political. You did not, however, take any steps to

given to Jews. . . . In Prussia 2158 Jewish lawyers were given permission to continue at the bar. Of these 735 served at the Front and 1283 were admitted to bar before 1904. Hitherto 14,890 Jewish lawyers have practiced in that state. . . . The Board of Directors of the Social Democratic Party has been indicted for malfeasance by the authorities, for the acceptance of moneys from trade unions and co-operatives for the SPD and its press. The Executive of the General German Trade Union Federation has been charged with patronage and connivance. . . . On May 14 the bank accounts and treasuries of the trade unions were confiscated. On May 2 the government had confiscated only the books of the trade union organizations. . . . In Bremen the entire Central Executive Committee of the SPD was arrested for the distribution of its members of a printed financial report. . . . Philipp Scheidemann has appealed to the German Pinters Union of which he, as former compositor, is a member, for disability benefits. His physician has vouched for his inability, because of old age, to find gainful employment.

JUGO SLAVIA
In the expectation of new uprisings in Dalmatia and the Croatian border regions, the military authorities have mobilized the entire Yugoslavian marine force. The sailors on many of the warships refused to obey order; however, declaring that they would not shoot their own brothers. 195 sailors and officers were arrested.

SOVIET UNION
On May 10 a Russian-Italian agreement was signed in Rome based on the principle of equality and most favored nations. By Russia this trade agreement was termed a "further step toward an understanding between Rome and Moscow." "The signing of this agreement," says the Pravda, Moscow, "at a moment when England and Russia are engaged in a commercial war, is of the greatest significance for Moscow. . . ."

draw into active participation in preparation for the Congress any except certain leaders of your own Party and a few others already very close to them.

What Do You Mean by Disruptionists?

Then at the Congress itself and in statements subsequent thereto, the position has been taken by these same elements that those who brought up the question of the United Front at the Congress did so far the purpose of disruption. Obviously this was not the way hundreds of the delegates including S. P. members felt about it, for they responded to the appeal for a United Front with such vigorous applause that those who dominated the Congress felt that only by raising a point of order could favorable action be staved off!

We contend that only those whose minds are somehow distorted or who are afflicted with fear and nervousness could possibly charge anyone at the Congress with having engaged in any activity that might even remotely be described as disruptive. The message to the delegates of the Continental Congress signed by certain individuals belonging to various unions, the S.P., the CPLA, the C.P., etc., was couched in moderate language, included in it very little criticism and that of the mildest sort, and advanced a program practically every item of which the Congress adopted.

The delegates from L.I.P.A. branches and others who desired to have the idea of a united labor-farmer party discussed certainly were not obstreperous or obstructive in their manner.

When your Credentials Committee debated certain delegates, no attempt was made to raise an issue on the floor as might easily have been done, but the matter was quietly reported to the Committee and adjusted.

The members of the Progressive Miners Union of Illinois created no disturbance when those in charge of the Congress declined to give them the floor, for fear that mention of this independent union might offend some in the A.F. of L.

The Committee appointed by the Free Tom Mooney Congress to appear before the Continental Congress and appeal for support of the United Front Mooney Action Council did not attempt to force itself on the Congress when those in charge declined to give it the floor. This although the Committee included in addition to Phillip Van Gelder of the Socialist Party, a member of the C.P. and the chairman of the CPLA who is attacked by certain Socialists as a disrupter.

We recognize the difficulties in the way of achieving a United Front, including the special difficulties which the S.P. confronts. We submit however, that we shall get nowhere by impugning the sincerity of anybody and everybody who raises the question. Fundamentally, the issue is raised not by any individual or group but by the very situation in which we all find ourselves—by the tragic spectacle of Hitlerism triumphing over a divided labor movement in Germany, the tragic weakness of our own divided labor movement. Therefore the issue will not down. The local and state Councils of Action which the Continental Congress proposed must face the issue, must achieve united action if they are to achieve effective action!

Signed
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

An Open Letter Addressed
To Franklin D. Roosevelt

By A. J. MUSTE
Executive Chairman, CPLA

WITHOUT doubt the most important question before the American people today is whether the National Industrial Recovery Act and similar acts of your administration will achieve the remarkable results for the well-being of the masses which are being claimed for them. It is true that you and other spokesmen for your administration do not use the coarse and materialistic language of Herbert Hoover when he spoke of "a chicken in every pot and two automobiles in every garage." It is natural that you should wish to disassociate yourself from all connection with the efforts of the late administration to maintain or restore "prosperity by proclamation."

The claims which are being made in more subtle language for the measures sponsored by your administration are really, however, much more extravagant than those that were made under the late lamented Republican regime. Hoover was going to extend or restore the prosperity which we had known. You are giving us a complete "New Deal," a new economic order. It has been said that what is happening under your inspiration is as revolutionary as anything that happened in the United States in 1776, in France in 1789 or in Russia in 1917. To a people suffering as the American masses have been since 1929, living in the midst of a world of poverty and woe, it is a terribly important question whether the way is actually being opened to a new era of well-being, security, justice and peace, or

whether we are being utterly and completely fooled.
is Your "New Deal" Same As Wilson's "New Freedom"?

This is not the first time that the masses of workers and farmers in the United States or elsewhere have been promised a New Deal. There was, for example, Wilson's "New Freedom." Under that dispensation the Clayton Act was passed which by forbidding the use of injunctions in labor disputes, and recognizing that the labor of human beings is not a commodity, was to give Labor the right to organize and was hailed by Samuel Gompers as the Magna Charta of American Labor. The courts found a way to emasculate the Clayton Act. Labor is still not organized. Woodrow Wilson, reelected to the presidency on the slogan "He kept us out of war" led the United States into the World War. We are still suffering from that New Deal!

The liberals in the United States such as Woodrow Wilson, the liberals in England, such as Lloyd George, Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, promised that out of that war would come a new world. It was to be a world of peace, justice and plenty, "fit for heroes to live in." Their promises were not fulfilled. The masses were tricked, led to slaughter by the profiteers, and those that remained were then again tricked and fleeced in the post-war madness which culminated in 1929.

Under the circumstances do you blame us if we do not accept promises now made at their face value? And what evidence can you give us that these new promises are better than the old?

Can the Leopard's Spots Be Changed by Proclamation?

Under the National Industrial Recovery Act the government is to enter into "partnership" with business and finance (as well as labor, farmers, etc.) Every day brings new revelations, such as those in regard to Muscle Shoals and certain prominent bankers which now figure in the news, of the brazen robbery and deceit perpetrated upon this government and this people by these industrialists, profiteers and "money changers," as you yourself called them in your inaugural address. Some of them who "got caught with the goods" are, of course, being made scapegoats; most of them are to remain where they are. Are we really to believe that these profiteers and money changers are reborn, filled with a new spirit?

Are we indeed to be blamed if the very fact that the proposals for a "planned economy" are being so enthusiastically received by those who only a few months ago were rugged individualists and insisted upon their right to run their own affairs to suit themselves, makes us suspicious? They accepted government control during the war too and profited unconscionably, even at the expense of the men at the front, and then immediately after the "emergency" was over, demanded complete freedom from

camp would feel obliged to put a little something on the tree for the preacher.

"Though, poor old devil, I guess he needs it bad enough," she said. "He looked a bit starved," I said. I remembered that Jim Ball had been a preacher.

"Probably is," Jim Ball said. "The men give him nickles and dimes along, in scrip, and a package of coffee, maybe."

"If you didn't know it," Mary Ball said, "we're all on starvation. The whole camp, I've lived around mines going on twenty-six years and it's the first time in my life I ever saw miners loading coal for twenty cents a ton. And two days a week! Lord only knows how we manage."

"And the less the people in a mining camp have, the louder they praise the Lord," Anna said languidly.

She sat with her feet on the chair rung, her chin cupped in her hands, her green eyes gazing dreamily and sleepily out the window at a schoolhouse set in a muddy field.

I wanted to ask about the union. "Are the people religious?" I asked, instead.

"Opium," Anna said. "They got drunk on it."

Jim Ball glanced at her for a moment—dourly, I thought. (To be continued)

government interference. What assurance have we that this performance is not to be repeated?

Robbing Not to Be Abolished—Only Curbed

The profit system which landed us in the present mess is not to be abolished under this National Industrial Recovery Act. On the contrary the "revolution" which is supposed to be under way is an American one, we are assured, and therefore individual initiative is to be retained. But to say that the profit system is to operate, only it is to be curbed, is much like saying that there is to be war but with 6 inch instead of 8 inch guns. Business is badly scared at the moment. Its profits are largely gone. It wants to make profits again, and on the basis of the prevailing \$10 a week wage for adults and the \$1 per week being paid to children in the sweat shops in many states, it should be possible to pile up handsome profits again before long. Under these circumstances, will not the chief effect of the National Industrial Recovery Act be, not to achieve a revolution, but to save the profit system and to guarantee continuing profits to industrialists and financiers?

If we are told that it is the liberal, far-sighted, socially-minded employers and bankers who are going to run business under the New Deal, we ask for specific details. Does this mean, for example, the heads of the great corporations such as the steel trust, the automobile companies, the General Electric, the Standard Oil, the public utility combinations, who have bitterly and relentlessly fought and are still fighting every effort on the part of their workers to organize?

Role of Liberals To Wash Reactionaries' Dirty Linen

The role of liberal employers is usually to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the capitalist system when the reactionaries get things into too bad a mess. In Germany after the war these liberal employers were willing to accept even Socialism, consent to the nationalization of basic industries, social insurance, etc. We have seen what that was worth to the German workers. The end was Hitlerism. What reason have we to suppose that the end in the United States will be any different?

Be it said in passing that we are not impressed by the fact that liberal professors, economists and publicists are loud in their praise of the New Deal and its possibilities. This same crowd marched behind Woodrow Wilson into the war to save the profits of Wall Street. If they are now marching behind another Democratic president in order to save capitalism once more, that is not unexpected, and it does not hold out any very rosy hopes for the masses.

Certain other questions occur. In the trade associations which are to be set up under the National Recovery Act and which are to be free from some of the restrictions of the present anti-trust laws, is it not inevitable that the big aggregations of capital should control, even though the bill orders that this must not be? The anti-trust laws too were supposed to curb trusts, vast aggregations of wealth!

Will Government Regulate or Be Regulated?

These trade associations in which government enters into partnership with employers and employees are, so far as necessary, to be "regulated" by the government. Governmental regulation of public utilities, however, has everywhere broken down. The utilities control or flim-flam the regulating commissions.

What reason is there to suppose that the big corporations under government regulation are not going to swallow up all the little fellows and establish a dictatorship, just as has happened under government regulation in the utilities field? The head of the United States Chamber of Commerce recently sagely observed that under the National Industrial Recovery Act everything will depend upon the spirit of the administrators, and big business does not seem to be afraid of them.

Under this act workers are presumably given the right to organize. We wonder whether there will be any real vitality and fighting spirit in unions created by such a hothouse method. Suppose these (Continued on Page 4)

... KENTUCKY MINERS ...

A Four-Part Story About the Harlan Coalfields

By TESS HUFF

Part II.
THE PARENTS

I KNOCKED at the door. "You here!" It was Anna Ball. Jim Ball got up to shake hands.

He bent forward and jogged across the room with his hands clasped on his back. The stooped walk and the deep-set, dust-circled eyes spoke poignantly of his forty-five years under low mountains.

Two years ago I had met Jim Ball for the first time, and under very different circumstances.



"The less the people in a mining camp have, the louder they praise the Lord."

"See that?" he had asked. And he had lifted a corner of his coat and patted the black butt of a revolver. "If the sheriff's men bother us tomorrow you'll read about it in history."

The miners were having a picnic and he was collecting money to buy milk and bread for the children.

"Last night they tried to blow my house up," he said. "They put a stick of dynamite under the front porch."

Jim Ball was a union man, and he did part time service as a Holiness preacher. Now, however, he threw away the Bible, took his union card, and buckled on a gun. Apparently the show-down had come. The miners were holding secret union meetings in the woods. The mountains began echoing sharp gunfire and dull distant blasts.

The reign of terror had started. And it was so beautifully staged that even town-people got wild eyed and silent.

Thinking of a union and higher wages, the coal operators shook publicly with fear and rage. They couldn't pay more. The industry was shot. And being good business

men with money invested in a bad business they took the side of God, Country and Capital against the miners.

The coal operators may have re-

alized that more than theatrical effect was needed to silence thousands of miners who were asking for more and more bread. Anyway the noise and ado was touched up with realistic effects. Some of them very startling. Dead miners. Whipped miners. Miners aghast at blown-up soupkitchens.

It was in this period that I first met Jim Ball. That summer the Ball family managed somehow, mostly by picking blackberries and selling them in town at twenty-five cents a gallon. The daughters, Anna and Marie, came to town with buckets of blackberries, and returned with the buckets stuffed with union literature.

Ann Ball's husband was in prison in Atlanta for running a moonshine still. Marie's first husband had been killed in an explosion, and she had married again. The story is told through the coalfields. After the death of her husband the mine foreman, Bird Baker, told Ed Crider, a young miner, that he should make him a present of a fifty-dollar bill the day he should marry Marie, so he made love to her and they got

married. Afterwards they went to Harlan town to see a lawyer about collecting the insurance. The lawyer got very angry. He showed them the law. A widow who marries again can't collect a penny. The mining company gets out of having to pay the four thousand dollars provided by the compensation law for the death of a husband killed in a mine. The lawyer was pained and very sad. "When will you miners ever learn?" he said. "They'll need the money," said Marie and her husband. "Let them keep it. We got fifty dollars. What do we owe you for your trouble?" And without bitterness they accepted the whole thing as something they had expected.

The last time I saw them they were living with the Ball family, Marie and Ed, Anna and her daughter, Flossie. Jim Ball, berry-stained, poverty-stricken, blacklisted, was having difficulty getting cartridges. Fifteen months had passed. And now Jim Ball was living in the same house, four rooms, the sitting room small and dark as ever, like a room in a mine with a small light glowing. And there was Anna, Marie, Ed, and the little girl, Flossie. Nothing had changed. Nothing except their faces. Their faces appeared drawn and darkened in a constrained silence. I saw this at once and I felt that something was lost. The rebel cries that had howled through the coalfields were now lunging voicelessly through their thoughts. And bread was scarcer than ever.

THEY were glad to see me, I think. But at the same time they were fearful. Ed Crider gave me his chair and got a box for himself, and we sat close up to the grate-fire. The camp preacher had come in and was outlining to them the plans for the Community Christmas tree. "I'll tell you, Brother Day," said Mary Ball, Jim's wife, when the man had finished. "You're making a mistake. You know what will happen? If you let just everybody put things on the tree some people won't be there. And you can't blame them. You think I'd take Flossie? There ain't nobody going to put anything on for Flossie. I know that, and I won't take her and have her unhappy seeing the chosen children getting everything. And you can't blame me."

When the chagrined preacher left shortly Mrs. Ball gave it as her opinion that he wanted the tree thrown open to everybody for a good reason. Every family in the

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CAPITALISM THIS IS HOW IT WORKS

By H. A. H.

VIOLENCE

"Oh, but you believe in violence!"
This has become the stock accusation hurled at class-conscious radicals. Point out the reasons why it is impossible to change the present unjust and cruel social system into a just one by the methods of reform and you become a blood-thirsty "red," you don't believe in democracy, you believe in "bloody revolution."

Sure, most of your accusers will readily admit, something has to be done, the world is in a terrible state, but why not give Roosevelt a chance? Or if he fails, then we can elect someone else to do the job. We must be patient. We must use democratic methods.

Should you ask them what they mean by democratic methods, they will tell you, "exercising the franchise, of course. Going to the polls on election day, like good citizens, and voting for honest men."

"But haven't we been voting for honest men for years and years, now," you will reply, "yet you admit that the country is in a terrible mess. Is it because we have been fooled into believing we were voting for honest men while in reality we were voting for crooks? And if this is the case, what reason have we for believing that we will not be fooled the same way in the future?"

"Well, anyhow, I don't believe in bloody revolution," they reply. "I believe in change by non-violent methods."

It is strange, but few of these same good, gentle people get very much excited about the violence that is inherent in our present system of society. More than 17,000,000 workers are unemployed in the United States today, many of them are actually starving, their children are undernourished. Any attempts on the part of these workers to organize against the system that makes their lives unbearable are put down with the most brutal ruthlessness. Yet, few except the radicals, the "bloodthirsty revolutionists," make any protest whatsoever against this capitalist violence.

Roosevelt, idol of these American liberals, has been in office since March 4. He knows that vast numbers of American workers are dying from exposure and starvation; that thousands of American children are growing up under the most terrible handicaps. Yet what has he done thus far?

He has done a lot to help the bankers, stock gamblers and income-evaders to pull themselves out of the hole into which their greed had got them, but he has not done one single thing about opening the factories of the country so that starving and destitute workers could get back to making the things they need so desperately.

Neither has he done anything to compel state and local authorities to refrain from using violence in dealing with workers and farmers who organize to better their conditions. State troops are called out almost daily to help bosses fight striking workers. Gunmen, many of them released from penitentiaries for the purpose, are deputized by the hundreds to shoot miners, textile workers, farmers. Militant class conscious workers, such as Tom Mooney, are kept in jail even after the governments' own investigating committee proved conclusively that he had been framed.

Violence, indeed! If it is not violence to starve and maim workers and their children in order that the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Mitchells, the Harrimans and their ilk may remain in power, then I should like to know what violence is. Why, the very existence of capitalism, our present system of society in defense of which the patriots and old ladies grow so eloquent, is dependent upon violence. It is maintained by violence. Violence is its religion.

The section on convict labor is the strongest. The forced labor in the South is more fully and adequately exposed than that in other parts of the United States and in the colonies. The title does not cover the scope of the book, proof that it is the United States that is guilty of the charge of forced labor and not Soviet Russia. This carefully selected, forcefully arranged documentary evidence every thoughtful person should read.
MIRIAM BONNER

PREPARING FOR THAT WAR



Along with all the rest of the world, the United States is preparing for the war which it is now generally admitted is more imminent than at any time since the 1918 armistice. Here is a group of bombers above the Pacific Coast after theoretically destroying a California City. It is a pretty maneuver in peacetime.

Dual Medics' Union Scores "Regulars" An Open Letter Addressed To Franklin D. Roosevelt

CHICAGO.—Doctors in Chicago are rebelling against their regular union, the Chicago Medical Society and are organizing a dual union, the Cook County Medical Society, which holds its first regular meeting at the Palmer House. The reasons for the new organization read like those put forward in any labor union when reactionary officials and selfish policies call for a rank and file revolt.

The regular doctors union, it is charged, is blindly reactionary. It fights all efforts to lower the cost of medical care and all progressive plans for socialized medicine. The regular union is run by a gang of doctors, small in number, but who tie up with the medical machine in the rest of the state and in the country. It controls the hospitals, and good jobs, the publication and medical education world. It cares only about its own selfish interests, the rebels say.

Dr. George W. Funck is temporary chairman of the New Cook County Medical Society, which has in its membership the socially minded and progressive doctors of Chicago.

WHOSE CRIME IS THIS?

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—A young mother, who said she had no home, gave birth to a baby girl in the street here at Grays Ferry avenue and Alter street. A patrolman, making his beat, found the woman with her newly born child. Questioned at Graduate Hospital where she was taken, the young mother, whose name is Mrs. Marion Sullivan, said that her husband has been out of work for more than a year and that he left several weeks ago for Chicago to hunt for employment. Mrs. Sullivan didn't have a cent.

FORCE RELIEF CUT

WARD, W. VA.—Fearing that the miners in Kanawha valley would quit and go on relief rather than work for the prevailing wages, coal companies got together and forced a relief cut effecting the entire coalfield. Relief work was cut from 30 to 22½ cents an hour. Two days a week is all a relief worker is allowed, regardless of the size of his family.

(Continued from page 3)
business." Surely somebody is being fooled, or rather the attempt is being made to fool somebody. Is it an attempt to elp a real revolution over on the profiteers and money changers? They seem to be miraculously free from worry! And if not, then what can this turn out to be except a colossal fraud upon the suffering workers and farmers of this nation?

Are Unions Also to Be Regulated?

It is assumed that business is to be regulated under this act. Are the unions also to be regulated, and precisely what will this mean?

Suppose, on the other hand, that a minimum wage is set in some industry and the employers contend that under those conditions they cannot operate at a profit. What is to happen then? Are the employers to be compelled to operate without profit? Are they to be forced to reduce their capitalization, or are workers to be compelled to accept wage cuts? The example of what has happened in other countries under what virtual amounts to compulsory arbitration is not encouraging to labor.

In the past legislation passed in the interests of workers and farmers has often been nullified by the courts. It seems pretty certain that a tremendous amount of litigation is bound to occur under the National Industrial Recovery Act. Again, what reason have we to suppose that the courts, at the behest of predatory interests, will not betray the workers once the emergency is over?

It Looks Like a Colossal Fraud

That leads to a final observation. This National Industrial Recovery Act is an emergency measure. It is to be in operation for two years. Everyone knows, however, that the job of seriously reconstructing our economic order so that the purchasing power of the masses will be permanently maintained and security guaranteed to them, is a long and difficult one. Only the merest beginning can be made in two years. If the job is approached as a two-year one, it is, in fact, bound to fail miserably, and thus the way will have been beautifully opened for revival of the cry to "take government out of

Dismiss 18 From Scottsboro Group

NEW YORK—Eighteen members of the National Scottsboro Action Committee have been expelled on charges of sabotaging and racketeering.

The expulsion follows the march of a small delegation, led by William H. Davis, publisher of the Amsterdam News, conservative Negro daily to President Roosevelt on May 5, two days ahead of the Mass march led by the National Committee.

Davis, through his paper, started a drive for funds to save the Scottsboro Boys. It was thought in Harlem that money collected would be turned over to the National Committee. It is estimated that some \$300 was secured by Davis. Instead of turning the money over to the National Committee, the Committee charges Davis used it to take his friends to Washington. Some of those expelled with Davis include, Rev. Lorenzo H. King, pastor of St. Marks M. E. Church; J. Dalmus Steele, portly "mayor" of Harlem; A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Aaron Smith, president Community Forum Abyssinian Church and deputy collector of Internal Revenue, and Lionel A. Francis, president of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, members of which nightly stand on the streets of Harlem, garbed in flowing robes and turbans, preaching that only a Negro Capitalism can save the toiling Negro masses of the world.

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The Devil You Say

By TESS HUFF

The King of the Cowboys

"Business sure is bad," said the Negro boy shining my shoes.

"What makes you say that?" I asked.

He was about 10 years old. He had a dilapidated shine-box and a green cloth.

"What makes me?" He looked up to see whether I was serious. "This is the first nickle today."

"But you have some good days?" "I made a quarter one day last week. Yesterday and the day before I didn't make nothing."

In the distance a cop was standing on a corner, looking toward us. "Do the cops bother you?" I asked.

"Sure they do. Sometimes they chase me."

"Are you afraid of them?"

"No."

He stretched the green cloth tight and beat a tattoo. The leather began to gleam.

"You'll make plenty nickies some-day," I said. "You'll be in one of these swell shoe-shine parlors."

"Who? Me?" he said. "Not me."

"Well what are you going to do?"

"I'm going to live on a farm." He looked up to see whether I understood that. Seeing that I believed him absolutely, he asked if I had ever lived on a farm. When I told him that I had, he jumped up, his black and white eyes glowing.

"They's a boy and me had an argument. He said you can't ride pigs nor cows. I told him you could. Reason I know, I saw it in the movies. And he said horses on a farm ain't the kind cowboys use."

Alas for the country in a city boy's mind!

But I wondered how the boy lived, and why he day-dreamed of leaving the streets of New York for a farm. So I brought him back to New York.

"Does your daddy work?"

"Sometimes he does. But not much. He don't make enough to feed the family. It would take a farm to feed our family."

"And the money you earn, what do you do with it?"

The question astonished him.

"Why I give it to my mother. I have to. On Sundays she gives me a dime and I go to the movies."

"And see cowboys?"

"Oh boy! Tom Mix! How that bugger can ride! He's the king of the cowboys, better than any of them, don't you think? I'd like to be a cowboy, but—"

"But what?"

"I can't. I'm the wrong color. I guess."

"Anyway," I said, "you don't like New York?"

"I have to like it," he said.

"But you're going to live on a farm?"

"If I can," he said. "That's what I want to do."

He pocketed the nickle, and picked up his box. He waved goodbye and disappeared in the passing crowd.

.....

The next day I happened to pick up a copy of the "Negro World," a newspaper published "in the interest of the Negro race."

"Make Harlem Greater!" says the leading editorial. "The very stones will cry out at us in derision if we refuse to obey this divine injunction. . . . Can we build here factories, stores, skyscrapers, gigantic apartment buildings . . . which will render us able to stand on our own legs, and look the world in the face? Infinity shouts back at us, 'You can! You can! You can!'"

If the editor had listened carefully he might have heard another voice a little nearer than infinity. The workers on the streets are not entirely silent. In fact, after building stores, factories and skyscrapers for white capitalism, they now find themselves worse off than before. And so far as I can judge from their protests they have failed to find in the system anything exactly divine.

.....

When I see the Negro shine-boy again, I'll try to be a little more sympathetic with his admiration for Tom Mix. After all there is some justification for youngsters who want to escape from such an ugly capitalism.

WATCHING THE P.M.A.

ESKDALE, W. VA.—Coal miners in this valley are watching the Illinois fight. The rank and file see in the Progressive Miners a hope for rebuilding the union in West Virginia.

Large bundles of the P. M. A. paper, the Progressive Miner, are shipped in regularly.

MORGAN PAYS NO INCOME TAX

YOU, fellow-worker, are probably without a job, perhaps near starvation. "Your" government has been pleading poverty as an excuse for not giving adequate relief.

Senate investigations in Washington have just revealed why the government is poor. J. Pierpont Morgan and all his partners paid no income taxes at all during the past two years! They have millions—but not for relief.

Do not think, however, that Morgan and his pals are exceptions. All the bankers and bosses who dominate the present system are robbers and murderers. Under the guise of patriotism they rob their "own" government and murder the workers and farmers by slow starvation!

We must kick them all out and take things into our own hands.

WHAT ABOUT IT, MR. PRESIDENT

THE Conference for Progressive Labor Action demands that President Roosevelt immediately fire Secretary of the Treasury Woodin and Norman H. Davis, special U. S. Ambassador to Europe preparing for the London Economic Conference. Woodin, it has been shown, got special favors from the House of Morgan as an insider in stock deals. Norman Davis got a big loan, some of it not yet repaid.

Woodin as Secretary of the Treasury runs the Federal Reserve, is supposed to collect income taxes, has to carry out the new banking law which is supposed to clean up our financial system. Morgan stands to gain or lose millions by Woodin's actions and Woodin has secretly taken favors from Morgan. Davis who deals with war debts, Morgan investments in Europe, etc., in the name of the U. S. is in the same fix.

If Roosevelt expects any one to believe that he even half meant his line about "driving the money-changers out of the temple," let him fire these men.

But what the workers and farmers of the nation do is much more important. Roosevelt won't save us. We must save ourselves. We must kick out the whole gang of politicians, bosses and bankers who have been getting favors from Morgan. Smash the House of Morgan! Smash this whole system! Why patch up the wreck? Why throw perfume on the stinking mess? Away with it all! Build a workers' world!

AN URGENT MATTER

A PETITION addressed to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, asking the exclusion of John L. Lewis, John H. Walker or any other official of the United Mine Workers of America from the proposed commission which will be established by the Administration's Coal Regularity Bill, has been sent out by the Educational Department of the Progressive Miners of America. The Petition reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The present Administration is expecting to introduce a Coal Regularity Bill, whereby a commission will be appointed to regulate same, in the near future, and

WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, have reason to believe that if such bill should become law, appointment would be rendered to John L. Lewis, John H. Walker or any other official of the United Mine Workers of America, and

WHEREAS, Past history indicates that they have racketeered, stolen, betrayed, abused and conspired against mine workers,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That your office give just consideration to the rank and file, in your recommendation and selection of a commission, administering this law.

Every person interested in the welfare of the coal miners of this country should sign and help to circulate this petition, a copy of which can be had by writing to Educational Department, Progressive Miners of America, Gillespie, Ill. Prompt action is essential.

BOOKS FOR WORKERS

Forced Labor in the United States by Walter Wilson. International Publishers, New York. \$1.50.

THIS is a timely book. The motion picture "I'm a Fugitive from the Chain Gang," the book "Georgia Nigger" by John Spivak the sentence of the young Negro, Angelo Herndon, to the chain gang for eighteen to twenty years for leading a demonstration of unemployed Negro and white workers in Atlanta, the campaign for the recognition of Russia, all of these and more turn the searchlight on forced labor.

Challenged by the attempt of the American capitalists to shut out Russian products from the United States on the charge of forced labor, Mr. Wilson set to work to expose the hypocrisy. In a style which is simple, direct, and occasionally ironic, he presents evidence collected from officials, commissions, government reports, newspapers books, observers, and participants to prove conclusively that the United States uses forced labor within its boundaries and in its colonies, as do the other capitalist and imperialist nations, and that Soviet Russia is the only country where the workers obtain the fruits of their toil. This book will convince the reader that the American capitalists are concerned only with the preservation of their economic system based upon exploitation and oppression of the working class and with the destruction of the Soviet system which is building a socialist society.

Goods produced in American abroad are sold at home and imported in competition with free labor (free to starve if they do not or can not sell their labor). Roads are built in the South by workers on the chain gang; farms are cultivated not only in the South but also in the North and West by peons. Abundant testimony is provided to show that the prisons and chain gangs are for the working class, especially for young workers, working class fighters, and Negroes, and that the machinery of government-courts, officials, guns,—are used to crush any revolt against this brutal exploitation.

The author shows why the law against the importation of goods produced by forced labor had to be worded so as to include the imports from the sections dominated by American finance capital. Good-year, Firestone, United Fruit, Anaconda Copper, Mellon, Rockefeller, Morgan, Ex-President Hoover are cited among those who have profited from forced labor. Numerous statements made by officials, labor leaders, journalists, engineers, workers, Representative Rainey of Illinois are given to show the conditions of workers in the Soviet Union. The Soviet prisoners are rehabilitated; workers are safeguarded by strong labor unions; most of the workers have a seven hour day; wages have almost doubled the pre-war figure; workers are protected by social insurance; the educational and cultural opportu-

Shall Labor Action Continue?

"LABOR ACTION must be kept alive." This is the sentiment of workers and farmers throughout the country. "It is the kind of paper we need to help us fight the starvation system."

But the truth is LABOR ACTION cannot be kept alive unless we get more help. Dimes and quarters and half dollars must come in faster. Our creditors will not hold off much longer.

We know that most of you who read this are unemployed; that few of you have enough to buy sufficient food.

We also know—and this is the important point—that without your own publication, you, the workers and farmers of this country cannot know the truth about why you are in your present condition.

Your bosses, the rich men of the country, want you to remain ignorant. They do not want you

to read LABOR ACTION. They want you to read their papers.

Which means that unless you can somehow manage to get hold of pennies and nickels and dimes for your own paper you will not have one.

1. Take up collections. 2. Get subscriptions in clubs of 4 three months subs for \$1. 3. Solicit contributions from people able to give. 4. Order bundles and sell them. 5. Arrange money-making affairs for LABOR ACTION.

READ LABOR ACTION.
SUPPORT THE PAPER OF YOUR CLASS.

RUSH ALL MONEY WITHOUT DELAY
TO LABOR ACTION, 128 E. 16th St.
New York City