

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

LABOR ACTION

What Kind of A Party? See Page 3

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Build The American Workers Party

Unrest In Auto City Increases

Workers Ripe For Organization In This Key Industry

NEW UNION GROWS

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ
Detroit, Mich.—Automobile workers in this great industrial area are ripe for organization. Unrest is increasing among the production workers as a result of the partial success of the Mechanics Educational Society in the recent general strike of tool and die makers. Announcement of the wage rates on C.W.A. work has added fuel to the flames. The minimum for such workers is 50 cents per hour for unskilled labor, in contrast to the 43 cents per hour for production workers under the NRA automobile code.

Almost overnight the Mechanics Educational Society rose from a small and recently formed group to a union with a membership of 17,000. Its strike was conducted militantly. Mass picket lines were maintained before the shops affected. The wives and daughters of the strikers joined the picketing, and have now formed an auxiliary of the organization. Shop after shop was settled until the M.E.S. had some substantial grip on the tool and die industry.

Briggs Strikers Join New Union

The union is new, and is still in an embryonic condition. Originally it was based on strictly craft lines. In the adoption of its new constitution and by-laws, provision is being made for a production workers' department, thus bringing automobile workers of this type into the organization. As a nucleus for this department, the M.E.S. has taken steps to secure the affiliation of the group of former Briggs strikers, who were known for a time as the American Industrial Association. In the view of Matthew Smith, general secretary, Jay J. Griffin, organizer, and other active members of the M.E.S., the organization must transfer itself from a craft to an industrial basis. This is rendered easier at the present time by the prestige which it enjoys in the Detroit area.

The Briggs strikers, who are now seeking affiliation with the M.E.S., walked out of the three Briggs shops in January of this year. The Communist-controlled Auto Workers Industrial Union took the leadership of this strike, but lost it. The strikers fell into the hands of three outside professional organizers, who incorporated the American Industrial Association, with themselves in sole control. They destroyed the spirit of the strike. But the consciousness of organization was strong, and the members of the A.I.A. have not only continued their group but have now rid themselves of their "incorporators." With James Kay as secretary, they have now formed the Auto Workers Relief and Education Committee, to begin anew the work of agitation in the big production factories.

100,000 Workers Still Unorganized

There are 40 major plants in this basic industry in the immediate Detroit area, with over 100,000 workers still unorganized. The American Federation of Labor is making efforts to get them under its banner. William Collins, former A. F. of L. representative in upper New York state, is in charge of the campaign. Under the slogans of the NRA, the A. F. of L. has succeeded in securing some 10,000 members.

West Va. Unemployed League Leads March On State House

Charleston, W. Va.—With the rattle-snake flag of the early American revolutionists unfurled, 2,000 members of the West Virginia Unemployed League marched to the State Capitol in this city on Dec. 9 and demanded action of the special session of the legislature.

A weekly payment of \$13.50 for all persons on direct relief, instead of the present \$1.20 and \$1.50 per week was one of the chief demands of the marchers. Establishment of a rate of 45 cents per hour for unskilled labor on relief work and \$1.10 per hour for skilled labor, with the 30 hour week, was another.

The marchers carried banners, bearing the inscriptions:

"Down with capitalism—we demand action." "We have starved as Republicans, we have starved as Democrats—let's try something else." "Tax the parasites."

The men, women, and children entered the Capitol Building and stood under the golden dome while Walter A. Searcist, president of the state league, conferred with William N. Beehler, Deputy Federal

Administrator. Beehler admitted that he had worked in relief in 13 states and that of these West Virginia was the worst so far as relief goes. He denounced the political set up in West Virginia. Governor Kump was conveniently "out of town" for the demonstration.

The march was a climax to a stirring week in Charleston. A mass committee of 500 called on Beehler two days before the demonstration. He "passed the buck" to the county board. Thereupon, 3,000 unemployed league members marched to the court house to meet the board, forcing a conference between that body and Beehler.

The league is spreading rapidly through the state, the organization in Huntington extending the work into the south. Arnold Johnson, Secretary of the National Unemployed League, came here to cooperate in the demonstration and was a chief speaker at the overflow mass meeting at the Court House which followed the march to the Capitol. Other speakers included John Wesley, Joe Stockton, Ed Snyder, and Fred West, Sr. Plans were laid for further vigorous action in regard to relief.

Lore To Write Foreign News For Labor Action

Ludwig Lore, former editor of the *Volkszeitung*, will in the future conduct the "Foreign Notes" column for *Labor Action*. Comrade Lore, a fighter in the ranks of the workers since youth, is one of the best informed men in America on the International Labor movement.

Turn Coats Oust Allard From PMA

Former Editor Progressive Miner, Suspended by Reactionary Officials

THIRD VICTIM TO GO

GILLESPIE, ILL.—Gerry Allard, left wing mine leader and member of the CPLA, was suspended from membership in the new Illinois miners union for six months by the reactionary machine. Allard was also ordered to cease publishing the "Fighting Miner."

Allard is the third victim to be excluded from the ranks of the Progressive Miners Union because of his militant opposition to the capitulatory role of the Peary-Keck machine of the P. M. of A.

Specifically, Allard was charged with being harmful, detrimental to the P. M. of A. by literature and "insubordination." Joe Angelo and George Voyzey, two other left-wing miners, had been previously expelled.

The real motive to suspend Allard was to carry out the agreement made by the P. M. of A. officials with government and coal officials who had demanded the weeding out of radicals.

"Don't mourn for me," Allard addressed the Illinois rank and file miners, "mourn for yourselves. You have the power to change the policies of the new misleaders. You still have the power to win your fight against Lewis and the coal operators and to regain the jobs of the 13,000 striking Progressive diggers who have weathered hell for a real cause."

"Through your local unions the rank and file can eradicate the evils now destroying the P. M. of A.," he continued. "Take the situation in your own hands. Open your eyes and see what is happening in your union. Clean out Peary and his machine and institute real leaders with vision and courage. The fight will continue. I shall be as ever in the front ranks of the struggle."

In answer to the demand that he cease publishing the "Fighting Miner" Allard said: "The Fighting Miner will continue publication. It will continue its fearless expose of all shades of fakery and opportunists. It will live to celebrate the political funeral of all reactionaries in the mining industry."

Allard has appealed his case to the District Trial Board.

A.F.W. Grows In Numbers And Militancy

By LARRY COHEN

NEW YORK — The last two months have seen nearly 3,000 new members enrolled in the Amalgamated Food Workers Union. Bakers, Butchers and Hotel and Restaurant Workers have responded to the membership drive, because it has been made on the basis of a fight for better conditions. The same handling of the NRA by CPLA speakers at mass-meetings and in Free Voice, the union paper, edited by Herman Gund, a member of our National Executive Committee, has helped considerably. The AFW has avoided dogmatism and sectarianism, and has taught the workers that NRA or no NRA, only a strong, fighting union can protect their interests.

The Hotel and Restaurant Branch has taken tremendous strides, which include the opening of a Brooklyn section. Progressive speakers have addressed enthusiastic mass-meetings and a real attempt is being made to teach the many new members the meaning of unionism. Efforts by a few backward elements to foster craft divisions have failed. The membership as a whole stand four square for industrial unionism.

In support of the Branch, CPLAers have contacted a number of girls working in Macy's enormous restaurant. Quite a few are ready to sign up but the post-Christmas mass lay-off will unfortunately find most of them outside Macy's. Dec. 6, some CPLAers gave out Union leaflets in the Macy locker-room and succeeded in evading the special policemen who tried to arrest them.

Butchers' Local 454 in Paterson and Vicinity has lined up 23 new shops and have five out on strike. At the last meeting those working pledged a dollar a week to the strike fund, and a special collection of \$13 was taken for the same purpose.

Those who think the NRA gives the right to organize are invited to observe the fight of Bakers Local 1 against an injunction applied for by Kooper and Miller. This firm charges only one thing; that the strike of their workers for union recognition hurts business.

The Factory Workers Branch, which now has over 800 members, has delivered an ultimatum to Cushman's that the old gag of firing union men by transferring work

Demonstrates How "We Shall Not Be Moved"

THE PLAINS, O.—Keeping the office force in the relief office virtual prisoners for several hours, the Unemployed League here forced an end to the abuse of "holding over" relief payments.

For some time attempts have been made by relief authorities to postpone payments of relief for several days. When, on December 2, the authorities announced that the relief would not be available for two days, the unemployed league members marched in a body to the relief office. They refused to let the office force leave until payment was made.

Relief authorities called upon the police, but the league members announced that they would "wait with the office force until the checks came in, if it takes two days." The police were non-plussed and so were the "prisoners."

After several hours hurried telephoning, the relief checks arrived, at 6 in the evening. The unemployed members, led by Ed Michael, sang "We shall not be moved," and told the office force that they were now "released."

TO KEEP IT HIDDEN

BALTIMORE — Maryland does not want the rest of the world to enjoy its lynchings. The movie censor board of the "free state" has ordered newsreel concerns to stay away from scenes of lynchings and riots. Cameramen were treated badly in the recent Princess Anne riots.

Carry Out The Decision of The Pittsburg Convention; End Poverty and Misery

Why The New Party

(From the report of the National Executive Committee adopted by convention)

The task of a labor movement in the present period is clearly a revolutionary one. Capitalism is no longer in a position to make real improvement in the standard of living. It becomes a positive obstacle to the well-being of the masses. It brings want in the very midst of plenty. It must be removed in order that a system which can make use, for the common good, of modern technology, may begin to function in its stead.

The revolutionary struggle of the masses against the capitalist system which more and more depresses their standard of living, takes various forms. The primary form is the economic struggles of the worker and farmer. The struggle is, however, inspired, coordinated, carried to its goal of taking power, by the revolutionary political party.

Nationally and internationally, there are two parties which in the past have claimed the leadership of the working class, the Socialist and the Communist. Neither has established, or can establish its claim to revolutionary leadership in the United States.

So far as the S. P. is concerned, in all the decades of its existence, it has never, save for a brief period before and during the War, been followed and trusted by the militant elements among the workers. Its adherence to pure and simple parliamentarianism, its utter failure to see economic and political life in terms of an actual class struggle for power, its flirting with liberal elements and tendencies, its toleration of and often alliance with reactionary forces in the A. F. of L., its failure to battle vigorously against racketeering and allied evils in the unions, render it unfit for working class leadership in the present momentous crisis.

The events of 1914, 1918 and of the years since the War have demonstrated beyond doubt that Social Democratic, Socialist, Labor (or Farmer-Labor) parties, the parties of the Second International, are not revolutionary. Parties like the British Labor Party and the

Militant UCL Local Fought By Cops, S.P.

PITTSBURGH, PA. — Twenty members of the East Liberty Local of the Unemployed Citizens League, cooperating with the CPLA, were arrested here on December 9, while stopping a constable sale.

The jobless workers were inside the house, when the constable and six policemen appeared and put them under arrest. The police have been unable to place any charge against them. One Negro worker was accused of having been a picket in the packing house strike.

E. R. McKinney charges that the police action is a deliberate attempt to harrass this local, which has carried on continuous militant activities in contrast to the servile attitude of the locals controlled by the Socialist Party. The East Liberty local has been attacked by both the Socialists and the police because of its vigorous activities.

16 FREEZE TO DEATH

NEW YORK — Sixteen unemployed workers have been reported frozen to death since the beginning of what is forecast to be New York's most severe winter in many years.

Martin Ryan Framed by Coal Barons

(Special To Labor Action)

UNIONTOWN, PA.—Martin Ryan, militant leader of the western Pennsylvania miners, was convicted December 8, by a prejudiced court on a frame-up charge growing out of an alleged altercation that took place during the November 7 political elections.

George Bakulich, a close associate of Ryan, was also convicted. A third defendant, Nick Dominick, was acquitted. Ryan and Bakulich face a jail sentence of not less than three months and a fine of not less than \$100. Defense attorneys stated they would demand a new trial.

The case grew out of a fight between Malloy, a Frick Coal Company foreman, and Ryan in an election place at Grindstone twelve miles from here. Malloy had challenged several anti-Frick voters. To do the job Malloy had a written document which according to Ryan was illegal. Ryan demanded that the document be taken out of the polling place. When Malloy refused Ryan proceeded to forcibly tear the paper up. According to defense witnesses no blows were struck. No evidence was introduced to prove that Ryan had done physical harm.

Judge, "Tool of The Frick Interests"

The trial had previously been set for December 11 by the county prosecutor. Judge Henderson, who Ryan called "a tool of the Frick interests," ordered Ryan to appear for trial on December 6, at a time when Ryan was in the midst of a fight to retain a checkweighman at Colonial mine number 4.

Ryan, who is a checkweighman at the mine, refused to heed the arrest orders of industrial police when they attempted to serve papers on him the morning of December 6. "I am not interested," Ryan resolutely answered. Later, however, he was brought in by the Sheriff forces of Fayette county.

Organize and Agitate For The New American Revolution

FORM AWP BRANCHES

By KARL LORE

Out of a CPLA convention in Pittsburgh, the heart of American industry, has come the American Workers Party.

The 150 delegates all came from the battle line. The West Virginia delegation had to leave early to get back in time for the state hunger march of the West Virginia Unemployed League. The group from Columbus, O., rolled up in the car of the eviction committee of the Ohio Unemployed League. The New York delegation was composed largely of members of important unions. Gerry Allard, leader of the left-wing in the Illinois Miners' Union and editor of the "Fighting Miner," Elmer Cope and Ernest McKinney active in the steel strikes and among the unemployed of Western Pennsylvania; J. B. S. Hardman, editor of the "Advance," organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Louis F. Budenz fresh from an organizing campaign among the Detroit automobile workers were active figures at the convention.

The question of political action was the major one before the convention. Speaker after speaker proved conclusively that the actual situation among the workers made the formation of a real, native-born revolutionary party an absolute necessity. The American worker was shown to be moving definitely toward political action of a revolutionary character. The con-

vention voted to live up to its responsibility and to follow the logical course of development of the CPLA by organizing a provisional committee for the American Workers Party, by voting to hold a formal organizing convention not later than July 4, 1934 and by reorganizing the machinery and structure of the CPLA so that immediate organization of branches of the new party could be carried on. The CPLA will continue its existence as the sponsoring organization for the AWP until the organizing convention takes place at which time CPLA will dissolve as an organization.

The American Workers Party will be frankly revolutionary in purpose and will be composed of a disciplined membership of active workers. Membership is open to any worker without distinction of color, race or sex in industry or on the farm working for hire and not deriving his or her income from the proceeds of exploited labor. Persons engaged in the professions or services come under the scope of this definition.

The AWP plans to make use of campaigns and elections as but one means of bringing the masses of people into motion. It will include support of and active participation in strikes, demonstrations and other mass movements, and the organization of all means available to win mass support and gain power for the workers.

In its mass work, according to the National Committee report as

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BUILD LABOR ACTION!

At a convention in Pittsburgh on December 2 and 3, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action took a step that we must immediately translate into action.

That convention made American Labor history. By its decision to organize a new revolutionary party to be known as the American Workers Party, it served notice that a real movement had arisen to challenge the forces of capitalism, to beat down the attacks of Fascist reaction and to build a Workers and Farmers Commonwealth in the United States.

That convention decided that Labor Action was to be built into an instrument of organization and education that would rally the masses of America into a clear and determined movement for the overthrow of the vicious system of exploitation and misery that we live under today.

The Job is up to us all. The workers in the Unions and in the Unemployed Leagues, in the shop, mine and mill must put their shoulders to the wheel. The intellectuals, white collar and professional workers cannot lag behind.

WE NEED ACTION—LABOR ACTION—NOW!!

This is not the time for shirkers or for those who are faint of heart. This task—the greatest ever undertaken—must and shall be carried out.

WORKERS OF AMERICA . . . Are you strong enough and far-sighted enough to answer the challenge that the American Workers Party throws out to you? BUILD LABOR ACTION, THE FIGHTING PAPER OF THE WORKERS. JOIN THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY AND STRIKE A BLOW AT STARVATION, POVERTY AND INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY!

The thing that had to be done—has been done.

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Unrest In Auto City Increases

Auto Workers Union Fails to Gain Workers' Support; Strikes Imminent

(Continued from Page 1) ships throughout the auto plants. When William Green spoke in the Naval Armory in November, however, a comparatively few auto workers turned out to hear him.

The Auto Workers Industrial Union and the Industrial Workers of the World have also been busy in this section. The former has taken the leadership of several vigorous strikes, but has been unable to hold the workers. It has a possible scattering membership of 6,000 in the district. The Murray body strike was I.W.W.-led. It resulted in temporary defeat, and slowed up the progress of that group among the auto workers.

In upper Michigan—Lansing, Bay City and Pontiac—active members of the Socialist Party have formed the Chamber of Labor, a combination of employed and unemployed workers. It is frankly anti-A. F. of L. and is largely at present a propaganda organization. It has made no moves for the unemployed, who are severely exploited by the relief authorities in Michigan, but has demanded recognition as a union from the Yellow Cab Co. and other companies.

Why the AWP

(Continued from Page 1)

German Social-Democratic, flourish during the period when capitalism can still make concessions in the form of wages, social services, etc., to the masses, and they help the workers to get such concessions. When capitalism itself was threatened, they took the position that at least "for the time being the national unrest" required that all classes sink their differences, make "mutual sacrifices," keep the business system going!

The Communist Party, despite the many struggles which it has carried on in its decade and a half of existence, despite the fact that it started out with tens of thousands of the most militant former Socialists in its ranks, despite the prestige which it had because of its connection with the U.S.S.R., has so far failed to establish its title to leadership of the American working-class. It has never in fact been regarded by American workers as a part of their own existence. The CPUSA was born primarily as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the repercussions of that revolution in certain circles in the United States, mainly foreign-born, rather than as a result of factors in the American scene itself.

Throughout its existence, the Party has thought and felt in terms of Russian and European rather than American working-class experience. There are no indications that it can overcome this handicap in the critical period before us. Furthermore, it carries the handicap of having alienated large sections of the working-class by its sectarian and disruptive activities in the unions and other mass organizations, and has no given any evidence in recent months of having overcome its sectarian approach.

A new situation confronts the American workers and farmers, Capitalism, whose life force is private profit, has reached the zenith of its power. All over the world it is becoming increasingly evident that a social order based upon exploitation cannot much longer continue; that modern technological developments cannot possibly be utilized under a private profit economy.

Here in America, the stronghold of the profit system, millions of workers are without jobs, farmers are bankrupt, and misery stalks the land. Despite the desperate efforts of the Roosevelt administration to save the bankers and big business, the crisis deepens. The standard of living of the workers and farmers of the United States is being inexorably driven down. Fascism, the last desperate attempt of the profit system to save itself, may be resorted to here as in the countries of Europe.

To meet this critical situation a new approach is required, a new party must be built, a party which will rally the support of the workers and farmers of the United States.

P. M. of A. Women Issue Record of Heroic Fight

By TOM TIPPETT

THE coal miners' women in Illinois have been making history during the past two years, since their men broke away from John L. Lewis' union and started the dual Progressive Miners of America. Much of their activity was unknown outside the coal zone, and that is unfortunate, for what they did made perhaps the most inspiring news to labor in the depression years. Now the story appears in printed form in the First Annual Report of the Women's Auxiliary to the new union, made to the second convention of the women in Springfield a week or so ago.

But it isn't like a convention report at all. It is a pamphlet, cleverly illustrated and written as dramatically and is as moving as the actual drama itself was. The report is dedicated to the twelve men and one woman who lost their lives fighting to establish the new miners' union. On the first page the thirteen martyred dead are named, in a square set off in black. Following that is the history of the Women's Auxiliary. And what a story it is! There are 20,000 women of the mines in the auxiliary. Each of them wears a class uniform, all of them participated in the auxiliary's work, setting up strikers' soup kitchens, making quilts to raffle for relief, producing labor plays, singing labor songs, conducting labor educational classes—but these women did not stop there.

They were on all the picket lines shivering in the dawn at the mine tips, marching from one county to another in unemployment and strike demonstrations. Ten thousand of them went to the state capitol to demonstrate before the governor for civil rights in the coal camps. The women were clubbed, tear-gassed, insulted by thugs, thrown into jail and murdered by the forces opposing them in Illinois. And with it all they continued to march throughout the state singing as they went:

"It is we who plowed the prairies, built the cities where they trade.

Dug the mines and built the workshops, endless miles of railroad laid;

Now we stand outcast and starving, mid the wonders we have made,

But the Union makes us strong!"

The published report catches all the spirit and beauty of that marching, fighting, singing band of militant women, and because it does it is bound to become one of the most important labor pamphlets to come out of the depression struggles. Agnes Burns Wiecek headed the auxiliary in its first year. The report covers her administration and is signed by herself and her entire executive family. And thereby hangs a tale. Without Agnes Burns Wiecek the auxiliary could not possibly have accomplished what it did. And if she never does another thing for labor she has justified her existence by the marvelous record of the past year.

Agnes Burns Wiecek is a daughter



Agnes Burns Wiecek

of the mines, born and brought up in an Illinois coal camp. She left the coal field for college and several years organizing work for the American Federation of Labor. Returning to coal in Illinois she married Edward Wiecek, a miner but also an intellectual and a radical. She had a son and settled down to the everyday business of bringing up a family. As her boy grew she wrote for the labor press, she took to the field on the soap box now and then and she kept informed. When the auxiliary was organized her great opportunity came. How well she handled it is told in her report.

In Illinois thousands and thousands of mine folk love her and revere her name in the same manner as they worship the memory of old Mother Jones. She is much like the older woman except she is better informed. She is still young, very attractive, very wise and as fearless as they come.

I said she was loved in Illinois. She is, but she is hated too. Not only by the coal operators, the old union and the state forces whom she was fighting, but also by the official family of the men's new union which her auxiliary served so well. And that's the tragedy of the new union in Illinois. The report under discussion will show to all who read it how unfortunate it was for the miners that the men's organization was not blessed with a leadership which understood the social forces against which it was fighting, as well as the head of the women's auxiliary did.

And if there is still a debate concerning the contribution to social progress of women and men, then this report from Illinois ought to perk the women up. Every woman—and man—in the labor movement should get a copy of Agnes Burns Wiecek's report and read it. Then if they commence to doubt, commence to wonder what can be done in these times with the American working class, they can take it out and read it again.

The pamphlet reviewed above sells for 10 cents and can be secured from Labor Action book service.

Industrial Progress Seen In Workers' State; As World Capitalism Decays

MOSCOW—While unemployment, factory shut-downs, starvation and misery run rampant in all the capitalist countries, industry sweeps onward in the land of the Soviets. Transportation, heavy industry, collective farms are all hitting new highs in industrial achievement.

The outmoded transportation system of Czarist Russia has been reformed under the workers' state into a highly efficient network reaching into the remotest corners of Siberia. The most serious laggard in the ranks of Soviet industry has set a new record for arloadings on November 13 at 59,140, compared to a plan of 60,358.

Cooperation between farmers and railroad workers has helped in such provinces as the Ukraine and the Donbas in keeping up the transportation work at such a high rate during the winter. The collective farmers help clear the tracks, and do other important jobs. In return, railroad workers are assisting farmers in repairing machinery and assuring normal deliveries of goods assigned to the villages.

All industries issue calls for voluntary labor. In the North Caucasus a call brought out 20,000 to work voluntarily on a railroad. Donbas and North Caucasus min-

ers, the Magnitogorsk and Kuznetak steel workers vie with the transportation workers for production honors, having exceeded their plans.

Provinces like the Ukraine, Central Black Earth and the Lower Volga, which lagged in their agricultural campaigns in the last few years, are fairly advanced with their sowing this year, after one of the best harvests in their history.

LABOR ACTIONISTS ACQUITTED IN N. C.

HIGH POINT (Special)—The state of North Carolina has dropped the case against the last of the workers active in the relief strike of the Unemployed Leagues at High Point who were arrested on trumped-up charges in July. A nolle prosequere was handed down after the attorney representing the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the American Civil Liberties Union exposed the attempted frame-up.

Among those arrested were Labor Actionists Larry Hogan, W. E. Presswood, President of the North Carolina Unemployed League, Beulah Carter, Secretary of the League, Hazel Dawson, and I. M. Ritchie.

Union Pact Broken By Steel Boss

Weirton Co. Bans Union Election; NRA Board Ineffective

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Company unionism was "officially installed" by the Weirton Steel Company in its West Virginia and Ohio plants on Dec. 8, bringing out into the open labor charges that the National Labor Board is in reality a union-smashing device.

Announcement by Ernest T. Weir, president of the company, that the company union would be the only organization in the Clarksburg, Weirton and Steubenville plants tears into pieces the agreement made with the national board and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers in October. Under that agreement elections were to be held as to the form of unionism in the plants.

Fourteen thousand Weirton company workers walked out in September. Despite caution on the part of the A.F. of L. union officials the strikers carried on a vigorous fight, which led to arrests and clashes with the police forces. Then, under agreement between the officials of the union, Senator Wagner of the National Board and the company, the men were sent back to work. The promise of a free choice of unionism was held out to them as the condition for their return.

The National Labor Board has threatened an injunction against the company, but President "Shoot a Few" Weir states that such a restraining order will not deter him or his concern. In the meantime, the 14,000 strikers find themselves "double-crossed" in their demand for a union of their own choosing.

AFW Grows In Numbers and Militancy

(Continued from Page 1) from one plant to another will no longer work. Next time the firm tries it, the Branch has decided, all Cushman plants will be pulled out on strike.

Cushman shop meetings are now being held to ratify shop demands which call for an immediate increase of 20 per cent, time and a third for overtime, and recognition of the shop committee.

Bakers Local 3 believes in the united front and tries to practice it. When Local 138 of the A.F. of L. Teamsters and Drivers organized a few dozen drivers at Duggan Bros. and called them on strike without notifying Local 3, the latter responded by pulling out 225 organized bakers in solidarity. The only condition they made was that no separate settlement should be made.

While Local 3 managed to close down two plants completely and tie up the others, Local 138 reached only one-third of the drivers and was unable to reach the retail drivers in Newark, Connecticut, Westchester, and other places, who deliver the bread after the wholesale drivers leave it at Duggan Depots. Other locals of the International Union of Teamsters, Drivers and Chauffeurs claimed jurisdiction over these men, but refused to pull them out. Finally, Local 138 made an agreement to go back and accept arbitration by the NRA. This left the bakers isolated, and they, therefore, decided to return also.

The strike has not discouraged them, but they believe more strongly than ever in industrial unionism. Organizer Fritz Mayer, with the help of Newark CPLAers, is going after the Duggan Newark plant.

During the strike, CPLAers spoke and picketed and organized a few housewives to go to local stores and protest the sale of scab bread. Communist forces in Local 3, at least one meeting, advanced the absurd proposal that instead of the Union making the settlement agreement, rank and file committees should be elected in each plant to do this. The idea of a Union voluntarily giving different plants of the same company in the same city different terms for settlement was indignantly rejected by the membership, who saw in it only an attempt to disrupt the union.

Because of lack of space "My Uncle Abner" had to be omitted from this issue. The next installment will appear in the next issue.

Watchful Waiting Upheld As Technocratic Way Out

By O. R. FUSS

There isn't a Technocrat in all Tasmania. Such was the announcement of a publisher advertising a popular novel in the pages of the New York newspapers. He might have added that apparently the situation was duplicated in the United States. For, where are the Technocrats? What has happened to those Technocracy groups which last winter chilled the spine of Wall Street by day and made uneasy its dreams by night?

Who are the Technocrats today? Have they accepted the NRA and the New Deal? Do they believe that their blue-printed New Jerusalem can be reached by way of Washington? Of will they follow the road through Rome? or perhaps Moscow?

The Great Unknown

No one knows and the Technocrats won't tell. That is—the two distinct Technocracy groups evade the question. M. King Hubbert, young Columbia University geophysicist, and right hand man of Howard Scott, the father of Technocracy, says little. What he does assert is—

"Technocracy is functionally aligned. It is a skeleton army in which the general staff will dictate the tactics varying with the circumstances. No general staff discusses its tactics toward overthrowing the enemy with its privates and Technocracy certainly will not discuss theirs with the public."

Harold Loeb of the Continental Committee on Technocracy expects the number of unemployed to grow by leaps. When a sufficient number have suffered long and deeply enough they will rise and call in Technocracy to run society. For, propaganda, lectures, and pamphlets will have convinced the mass of the population that only Technocracy and technicians can save civilization.

Technocrats Quarrel

The two Technocracy groups are not allied. Hubbert argues that there is but one group which may legitimately term itself Technocracy; and that is his. The Continental Committee, he contends, is an ungrateful bastard offspring which lacks members as well as shelter. Loeb has no counter-charges except to assert that his committee knows as much about, and will do as much for Technocracy as the Scott-Hubbert group.

Hubbert claims a national organization for the Technocracy led by Howard Scott. Technicians in leading cities of the country have been and are being organized under the Technocratic banner. Yet he refuses to disclose the actual number of members his organization can legitimately claim. For, he says, this must remain secret data never to be made public since the actions of the controlling Technocracy group depend upon it.

The Continental Committee on Technocracy which is led by Harold

Carry Out The Decision of the Pittsburgh Convention; End Poverty and Misery

(Continued from Page 1) accepted by the convention, "constant emphasis will be placed on the fact that the masses in the United States can easily have abundance and leisure if they will. Utmost use will be made of applied science and the closest contact maintained with technicians. They in turn, need to be made aware of their futility and ultimate defeat unless they join with the workers in overcoming the vested interests opposed to a fully scientific order."

On the Provisional Organizing Committee, are militant working-class leaders from seven key industrial states. The officers of the POC are: A. J. Muste, chairman; J. B. S. Hardman, vice chairman; Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary; and E. J. Lever, treasurer. Labor Action, edited by Harry Howe, will be the official organ of the POC of the new party.

NEWS of the **British Labor Movement** WEEK BY WEEK in the **NEW LEADER** Organ of the British Independent Labor Party Sample copy free. Address **LANARK HOUSE** 7 Sisters Road, London No. 4, England

Loeb, a writer and Felix J. Frazer, research engineer, has its main office in the New York home of the former. It claims divisional offices in Denver, Minneapolis, and Los Angeles. Precisely how many people this committee can call upon with any assurance that its call will be heeded is but vaguely indicated by Loeb and Frazer. Yet at their annual convention at Estes Park, Colorado, on July 4, 1933 they held that if the Administration refused their plans they would attempt "to assume leadership of the American people and obtain a backing of sufficient numbers of the people themselves to force the issue."

System Analyzed

Technocracy's aims and analysis of the present system can stand repetition even though they are popularly known. Briefly then—Hubbert, as well as the Continental Committee on Technocracy, contends that the productive capacity of the present economic machine is great enough to furnish the people of the North American continent with a standard of living several times above that of 1929. Technocracy is the blue-print of that society which will enable the American people to enjoy such a standard of living. The greatest obstacle towards realizing this blue-print is the price system. The price system stands in the way of mass consumption. It must be abolished.

The earlier Technocrats pointed out how machines are displacing human labor. Take, for instance, the flour-milling industry. In the thirty years from 1899 to 1929 it lost sixty-five hundred plants. The number of wage earners in this same period dropped from 32,000 to 26,000; but the number of bushels of wheat ground increased seventy-five million. In short, workers were producing more and more, yet losing their jobs for doing it. And with the loss of jobs comes loss of income, means of buying the necessities of life.

No New Ideas

None of the present technocratic groups have added any new idea. The Continental Committee contends that it is just about to begin its work on energy research. Hubbert is secretive about his data. It exists, he asserts, but only technicians could understand it. To the general public it means nothing. Nor has Scott ever submitted to impartial verification the thirty charts which Stuart Chase claims he saw; and which, he held, proved the thesis of Technocracy.

Hubbert prophesies on the basis of his charts that the present system is heading for a bigger crash than that of 1929. He holds that any palliative taken by the administration may alter things for a short period, but it cannot stave off the doom which is inevitable.

What Shall Be Done?

If the validity of the technocratic analysis of present day society be granted—and let it be noticed that it differs only in minor details from the analysis held for years by all left-wing organizations, — what shall be done in the immediate

emergency? Hubbert says; do nothing. Let the system go to smash. Then call in Technocracy.

The Continental Committee, however, demands that sufficient food-stuffs shall be requisitioned to ration the entire population and paid for under the power of Eminent Domain. Idle factories whose products can be consumed by the population should be taken and operated by a personnel drawn from the unemployed. A central administration should be set up to gradually increase the purchasing power of the masses. The committee does not expect these short time demands to be met.

It expects one of two things. The continuance of the present patching system which ultimately will lead to collapse and consequently to Technocracy. Or the introduction of a Fascist regime which will strictly limit production by breaking down machinery and plowing up lands. The price system will start again from scratch and to another crash.

Is It Impartial?

Technocrats hold that it is impartial, being neither Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Communist, or Fascist but only scientific, in that it will work for any regime that allows it to effect its goal; though how a Fascist or capitalistic regime could allow it to abolish the price system and still remain capitalistic or Fascist is an unexplained mystery. Technocracy says it can come only with a collapse; consequently it cannot bother itself with untiring the unemployed or unionizing the workers in their present fight to force the capitalistic system into adequate unemployment relief and the recognition of fighting unions.

Peace On Earth

By RAYMOND ROBBINS

THE Theatre Union has produced a propaganda play which clearly and forthrightly states in realistic terms that the only way to stop war is to militantly fight it. "Peace on Earth" was written by two class-conscious playwrights, Albert Maltz and George Sklar, who realize that effective propaganda does not attempt to ferret moral lessons out of the mess of capitalist war but portrays the methods of anti-war struggles in vivid fashion. Thus "Peace on Earth" rises above the common run of expose plays by actually providing a practical blue print for those who would stop the next war.

Fast moving scenes, depicting with a freshness and vitality so alien to the rubber stamp Broadway production the strike of marine workers against munition shipments, the arrest of students for attempting to speak out against war, the shooting of workers by company gunmen, tell the story of one anti-war fight at a locomotive tempo. The last act satirizes the innocent protests of the liberal and pacifist ilk and the flag-waving preparations for war without descending to the pointless trivialities of such concoctions as "Let Them Eat Cake."

"Peace on Earth" has the distinction of being a working-class play at working-class prices. Every worker should support this honest artistic effort to tell the truth about how to stop war.

IN THE DECEMBER ISSUE OF **The MODERN MONTHLY** JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS: The Magazine Philosopher. by Ernest Sutherland Babes JEW-BAITING IN AMERICA, by George Britt THE BLACK MAN IN WHITE AMERICA, by Sterling D. Spero PRIMROSE CHEESE: An Advertising Accouchement. by James Rorty THE DEATH OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, by Ludwig Lore GOD AND THE FASCIST STATE, by S. E. Garner THE MODERN STUDENT: The Columbia Anti-War Conference. by S. L. Solon 25 cents a copy \$2.50 a year SPECIAL OFFER: FIVE MONTHS FOR ONE DOLLAR READ THE ONLY REVOLUTIONARY MONTHLY! SUBSCRIBE NOW!

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FOREIGN NOTES

By LUDWIG LORE

Austria
The Dolfuss Christian-Social Heimwehr government is at the end of its rope. The dissatisfaction and disunity in its own ranks has become too general to be ignored and the Nazis are preparing for the blow that will bring Austria under their control. The Social-Democracy, reatively speaking the largest socialist organization in the world, issues paper protests and threats of general strikes which never materialize. The "Wiener Arbeitzeitung" is suppressed day after day. Protest meetings are forbidden. The once great Social Democracy of Austria is dying an agonizing death.....

Finland
The municipal elections of December 4 and 5 brought large gains for the Social Democracy, although the exact figures are not yet available. It is already certain that the SP received a majority in more than 200 community elections, (compared to 160 in 1930). The Finnish Manchester, Tampere, again secured a Socialist majority for the municipal council. The Vice President of the Reichstag, Dr. Hakilla remains mayor of the city. The anti-Communist law under the terms of which the Communist Party of Finland has been suppressed, is now being used against the Social Democracy. Notwithstanding this the Lappo—the Fascists of Finland—were defeated.....

France
The Neo-Socialists held their first full session on December 4 and the new party was officially founded. It will be known as the "Socialist Party of France Jean Jaures." The leaders of the new party, Renaudel, Marquet, Compere, Morel, Deat and Aurey, developed the program of the party "on the basis of order, authority and the supremacy of the welfare of the state." In the declaration which was adopted by the conference—which was attended by 450 delegates and 1000 guests—we read: The party recognizes that it must break with past policies, that a government must be created which will take the rudder of the ship of state into a firm hand, opposing the principle of national sovereignty to that of international sentimentality and giving the nation a new impulse. The "Neos" are rapidly sliding downward into Fascism.....

Germany
According to information received by the secret state police in the last week before the Reichstag election and the plebiscite not less than 15,000 Marxists have been arrested for their activity against the state. On December 2 a Red Sport movement of the SPG was uncovered in Dresden and 45 persons were arrested. More recently an SPG organization was unearthed in that city which had organized the smuggling of the "New Vorwaerts" printed in Karshad, Czechoslovakia, and 200 persons were arrested. A secret organization of Communists was also uncovered and 72 victims were taken to police headquarters. In Bielefeld 79 Communists were arrested. In Wuerzburg 107 Communists were sent to the Concentration Camp charged with treason. The great Reichstag Fire trial will not end with a victory for the incendiaries in the government. Not even the prosecuting attorney, carefully chosen by the government, dares to insist on the guilt of all five of the accused. He moved a death sentence for the menfully-unbalanced victim of the Nazis Van der Lubbe and for the leader of the Communist Reichstag group, Torgler. But this paid instrument of the murderous government was forced to move acquittal for the three Bulgarians the government sought so persistently to implicate in the Reichstag "crime." The heroic Dimitroff and his comrades, Popov and Taneff will be released but it will require the greatest vigilance on the part of the workers the world over to protect them from the vengeance of Fascist murderers and to tear the innocent Torgler from their clutches..... The Socialist Workers Party (SAP) in Germany is doing splendid work. We have just learned that the Party Executive that the organization has branches in 23 districts in Germany with 10,000 members. Its largest district organization has more than 1500 members in 41 local branches..... The SAP has just published a 67 page programmatic brochure, "The Victory of Fascism

Labor Internationalism

By A. J. MUSTE

INTELLIGENT workers cannot espouse a narrow national isolationist attitude. What happens to the workers in one country has its effect on workers elsewhere. Just as the bosses try to create all kinds of divisions between workers in one country, so they whip up false patriotism to divide workers in various lands from each other, and then lead them to slaughter.

The problem of the revolutionary movement in one country has important similarities as well as differences from that of the movement in other lands. International conditions and events effect the life of the workers in each country. As distinct from Fascism, labor moves to an international world, a universal human brotherhood.

Capitalism and Fascism organize internationally, so must labor. Wars made by imperialist interests threaten all the workers of all lands. Unquestionably international machinery is needed through which the labor and revolutionary movements may exchange views and organize joint activities to advance the ultimate object of a workers' world. Under certain circumstances, the most direct and practical kind of cooperation between the labor and revolutionary movements of two or more countries is possible, and may profoundly influence world movements, as e. g. a general strike against war in several countries. Joint revolutionary movements may conceivably be carried through simultaneously in several countries in some international crisis, and an international revolutionary general staff would be required in such a situation.

There is danger, however, of being sentimental and unrealistic in this matter of labor internationalism and putting the cart before the horse. An International with nothing but weak and insignificant national sections is only a thing of paper, a discussion group that exercises no real influence over events. The primary contribution revolutionary workers in any country can make toward building an effective International is by building an effective revolutionary movement in their own country. This is not to say that an International cannot in its turn contribute to the building of its affiliated national movements but there is something ludicrous in the pre-occupation of some parties and groups with the "grand strategy of world revolution" when there is as yet only a mere beginning of a revolutionary movement in their own country and they exercise little or no influence within even that.

The matter goes deeper, however. The primary and fundamental problem of any revolutionary work in Germany and the Task of the Working Class," dealing with the history of the recent past and giving a clear outlook into the future. It may be procured at the cost of 25 cents from the headquarters of the CPLA, 128 East 16th Street, New York.

Ireland
In the parliamentary election in Protestant North Ireland (Ulster) two Labor Party members (a gain of one) were elected. A Communist lacked 45 votes for election.....

Latvia
The Initiative and Referendum moved by the Social Democratic Party for the introduction of an Old Age, Invalid and Unemployment Insurance Bill has received the required support. The motion now goes to Parliament. If it is adopted there it becomes a law. If rejected, as it probably will be, it is voted upon by the people.....

Switzerland
In recent elections in Zurich, Lausanne and Geneva the Social Democrats were successful. The Communists, on the other hand, lost votes almost everywhere.

Spain
The after-election underscored the results of the first vote. They showed a general advance of the reactionary and bourgeois parties and retrogression on the part of the Social Democracy which has now become a minority Opposition Party. The semi-Fascist Leroux will become the Prime Minister of a Conservative Cabinet and will make his peace, first of all, with the Catholic Church, to pave the way for a Fascist dictatorship.

ing class party in the present period is to get possession of state power. State power is national, not international. It has to be taken in Berlin, London, Paris, Washington, not e. g. in Geneva. The thought of any effective revolutionary party must be concentrated upon this specific job. The workers in each country, furthermore, are faced with certain conditions, they have a certain background, tradition, psychology. A revolutionary party must "feel" all this, feel how the workers in the country feel and think. It cannot acquire this by reading or even direct observation from outside.

Furthermore, since revolution means the transfer of state power, in other words, the overthrow of existing government in any given country, it is certain that the surest way to defeat the revolution will be to have it come or appear to come not from the working masses of that country but by order from without, i. e. from a rival country. This consideration will, in many instances certainly, place limitations upon the idea or the functioning of a general staff of the International. The chief weakness of the Second International was not that it was a loose federation, but simply that it and its affiliated bodies were not at all revolutionary.

It should be pointed out also that Labor Internationals are dominated inevitably by the parties of the more powerful and advanced national affiliated with them. The Socialist Party of Germany in the Second International did not accept the leadership of the Socialist Party of Bulgaria or Denmark, but the other way around. If there had been no indigenous movement in Germany it could not have been created by missionaries from the Balkans. No revolutionary movement can be created in the U. S. by missionaries from other lands. When an effective revolutionary movement exists in the U. S., it will unquestionably be the leading factor in the American-European labor world at least, and it may well be that the reconstitution of a truly effective international of revolution must wait upon the building of an effective revolutionary movement in the U. S.

SOME of these facts were obtained for a time by the position of the Bolshevik party of the USSR in the Third International. It is now clear that there was something artificial and inadequate in the set-up of that International. The Third International came into existence toward the close of the war with the successful Bolshevik revolution which put the working class in power and abolished feudalism and capitalism in Russia. Because it was the International brought into being by the Party which had achieved the epoch-making victory in the USSR, it enjoyed at the outset an immense prestige.

Had the Russian Revolution been followed by a labor revolution in other, especially Western European, lands, the history of the Third International would have been entirely different. As it was, the Bolshevik party of the USSR came completely to dominate the International. This alone seriously limited its international outlook and character. The International became the appendage of the Foreign Office of the USSR, waxing and waning, following this line and that, according to the desires of that office rather than the needs and developments of the revolutionary movement in countries where capitalism still prevailed. Also, as years passed and the USSR committed itself more definitely to the so-called policy of "Socialism in one country," the problem of the revolutionary party in a country like the USSR became more and more different from that confronting the revolutionary movement in capitalist lands, and it was less and less possible for an International practically completely dominated by the C.P.U.S.S.R. to properly envisage and meet the needs of the



—From "Common Sense."

revolutionary movement in these advanced capitalist countries.

It should be needless to add that these observations, as well as our criticisms of the C.P.U.S.A., do not affect our position in favor of vigorous and untiring defence of the workers' regime in the USSR against the machinations of any of its capitalist and imperialist enemies.

Obviously the problem of developing an effective international of revolutionary labor is an exceedingly complex one. We have dealt with only a few of its phases. We shall continue to be concerned to do all that is in our power toward its solution, and remain in sympathetic contact and engage in discussions with all who are interested in that problem, and especially with those parties which like ourselves cannot accept either the Second or the Third International today. The American Workers Party stands for one compact revolutionary labor international built up by actually functioning revolutionary parties of various countries and fusing their parties into a unit for waging the battle of the workers for the defence of the Soviet Union and against unemployment, war, capitalism, Fascism, on a world-wide front.

Emphatically, however, we assert that our absorbing concern is with the colossal job on our own doorstep, building a revolutionary party in the U. S. rooted in American soil, its eyes fixed primarily upon American conditions and problems, attracting American workers concerned about their own situation. This is not chauvinism; it is the only way chauvinism will be defeated. This is not to desert the workers of other lands or the international labor movement. Capitalist-imperialist America would crush them. Only the American working class can defeat American capitalists and imperialism. When, and as we do that, we shall best serve the toilers of all lands, shall indeed play a leading part in their emancipation.

What Kind of A Party?

By J. B. S. HARDMAN

(Speech Delivered at CPLA Convention)

THE discussion of the National Executive Committee has brought out two encouraging facts: First, that the delegates possess a keen sense of political discrimination, and second, that a report of the NEC carries no odor of sanctity about it, and is not so regarded. The latter fact is especially promising. Indeed, there have been too many organizations in the field strong on the point of preparing perfect reports, and weak on everything else. It is an added gratification to speak for a document that is not the sole achievement of the organization which produced it.

Much of this afternoon's debate centered around the question: What kind of a party is ours to be? We certainly do not propose to create just another party in a field that is crowded enough. We do not propose to duplicate any of the functioning, or merely existing, efforts.

The proposal is to launch, or more correctly, to decide here that following certain preparatory work we launch, an American workers' party. For one thing, this does not mean we are out to form a labor or farmer labor party. We could not do that if we wanted to. A farmer-labor party, by definition, is one primarily constituted of functioning trade union and farmer organizations. But the labor unions today, with but rare exceptions, if any, won't organize for independent political action. Unless the NRA, the AAA, and the other recovery devices of the present Administration drastically collapse, and very soon at that, the present leadership of labor will continue to bet on capitalism generally and on Mr. Roosevelt in particular. The

farmers, again, are rebellious in many cases but with few exceptions they are not ready for decisive action. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota, strong in its own state, voted in the national elections for Mr. Roosevelt. There has not been a marked change of heart there, not yet. It is not important, at this point, to speculate upon what course labor will follow should the recovery activities of the Administration prove a decided failure. There is equal likelihood of more than one reaction. It will all depend upon when, that is, how soon, that failure becomes obvious and how much of a failure it will prove to be, that is, how deep the resultant crisis. The political and psychological set-up following the collapse of the capitalist recovery efforts cannot be determined in advance. The mass of the American people who voted Mr. Roosevelt into office primarily because they wanted to vote Mr. Hoover in, may yet vote another Hoover in to write fins to Roosevelt.

The formation of a farmer-labor party by the present leadership of the existing mass organization is conceivable of course, and that would be one kind of a labor party. But there is also the possibility that the rank and file of both organized labor and the farmers might rebel against their officialdom, hopelessly entangled in conservatism, and form a mass or rank and file party. And that would be a party of a different political color. We can not foresee what will follow either one of these eventualities. But we want to be prepared effectively to meet either. We want to organize politically.

It is likewise clear that we do not propose to launch either a new socialist or a new communist party. The old ones are still here and whoever wishes to join either, will find his chosen one in a receptive mood. We are out to organize a party that will follow neither the patterns of the socialist or communist organizations. The success of their respective performances, or for that matter, their intellectual content, do not encourage imitation. And by the same political and theoretic logic we do not propose to attempt to unite the various factions and split-aways into a new and better split-enterprise. The groups whose major achievement has been failure cannot, in good reasoning, be expected to form, when combined, the basis of success. Which is by no means a reflection upon the value of the individuals who constitute these organizations. We speak of them as organizations.

The party of American workers with which we are concerned must start with a clear slate. It must begin in the United States, Union Square and environs must not be an immediate objective, and cannot be the springboard. If we start with the circle of that square we are sure never to reach the U. S. A. If, on the other hand, we succeed in getting the U. S. A., the Square will not secede from the Union.

Bpt, it was asked, will the American Workers Party be a revolutionary mass party? Well, it may not be quite the case. Let us bear in mind that a revolutionary mass party cannot rise, let alone exist, at a time which is not revolutionary in the full meaning of the term. But we may attempt to organize either a revolutionary party, that is, a party of individuals, determined to work for the acceleration of the pace of revolutionary development, or we may organize a mass party, that is, one that aims to include into its affiliation the largest possible number of people, in our case, workers. The first would not be a mass party, for membership would only be open to people who accept a certain minimum of revolutionary orientation, and are willing to be active propagandists for that minimum, and there aren't enough of these to make a mass party. The second would, of necessity, be a reformist or a progressive party, not one that can rightly be described as revolutionary. A revolutionary party may, in time of upheaval, become a revolutionary mass party. Under the same upheaval, a mass party may become revolutionary in character. Obviously, we cannot create the upheaval but we propose to form a revolutionary party which may be able to contribute toward developing the crises under which we live, to a revolutionary head.

The NEC proposes the formation of a party of revolution-

ary workers. We use the latter word in a sense inclusive enough to cover all those who work for hire or independently, and not those who derive an income from exploitation of labor. The term revolutionary implies neither devotion to conspirative methods nor preference for a particular type of strong methods of action. Again, it is more than a mere espousal of the word revolution. We are interested in the kind of revolution which matters most to the workers and that is the attainment of political and social power for the abolition of capitalism in all its manifestations. The subsequent establishment of a classless society administered by and for the workers, and that means—everybody, is the positive goal of our revolution.

And so we want a revolutionary party, not of dogmatists, not of fanatics, not of conspirators. Nor do we want a hodge-podge party. We propose to talk to the people in the language of the country. This does not exclude a theoretic grounding. It only forbids the use of an-understandable words. The language of the country is not necessarily the language of the street. Neither vulgarly nor oversimplification are parts of clear-talking. It is clear thinking that makes talking plain and understandable. Our quarrel with the Communist party, for instance, is not based on their obvious devotion to certain terminology. Their hopeless ineffectiveness is largely due to the fact that they hold it to be more important to use revolutionary terminology than to be advancing the chances of the revolution itself. We object to the Socialist party, not because it uses tame words, but because it is wedded to a formalistic understanding of what constitutes a legitimate or constitutional course of action. The party would not violate the constitution even in order to defend the constitution. It will let the fellows on the other side do all the violence, and then call them bad names, perhaps from a prison cell. The cause of the workers under capitalism will not be advanced that way, yet it is rightly chosen by those who don't mean to get anywhere anyhow.

We want to organize a compact party, not unlike what the Communists think they have organized. Ours, if we are to succeed, is to have a broad basis in reality and consequently will be entirely unlike what the Communists have brought about. We favor the formation of an open, above-board party, capable of expansion, just as the socialists claim they favor. But an open-door policy need not exclude the right and the means of shutting the door in the face of undesirable entrants. We want a party of convinced revolutionists who won't lose their ardor because the revolution is slow in coming, but capable of fighting the forces which obviously delay the development of revolutionary situations. The members of the party will be expected to do a day's work so that the crisis at hand may be brought to the fore. We want to strive for the type of an organization which combines a sound philosophy with a realistic policy, in such a way that it may attract a sufficiently large number of people to make the movement matter. The party that wishes to be the vanguard of a revolutionary class must be strongly and deeply rooted in that class, if it is to matter politically.

Now, we will not come out of here with a set of principles and formulated policies for which we claim perfection and infallibility. We mean to evolve our procedure as we go along. But we can have no divided council as to aims and major lines of attack. We are not using, in the designation of the party, the words socialist or communist. Marx and Engels named their manifesto "Communist" because of the discredit brought on the word "Socialist" by the socialists of those days, but later on Marx and Engels returned to the term socialism. Lenin and his party again resorted to the term communist because of the disrepute into which the socialist parties of the war period had plunged the concept. Yet, they named their country the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. As things stand at present, neither term is an asset. But there is one term by which we must stand. It is—worker. For it is with the working class that we will either rise or fall. It is in the social soil of this class of this country that we must be rooted if we are to show growth. And hence it is to be the American Workers' Party.

COAL DUST

By GERRY ALLARD

FAYETTE COUNTY, Pa.—Scattered through this rolling country choked by a sickening sky of smoke, live the tens of thousands of miners, who for many weeks have held their own in the struggle for unionism. Oppressed by the Steel Trust, tricked by the state and national government, their valiant efforts sabotaged by the Lewis machine, the fight in these parts is far from ended. Yet, the press from coast to coast has informed the people that peace had come to the turbulent coke region of western Pennsylvania. "Peace, peace," how many times we workers have heard that lying statement.

THE heart of American Imperialism, is no exaggerated label for this section. Here is mined the coal that is transformed into coke which supplies the energy that makes steel. For many years the steel industry has been capitalism's greatest power. Its resourcefulness was unlimited. Today, capitalism finds itself in the most serious crisis of its history. A crisis in the cosmetic trades is immaterial. But a crisis in the steel industry, and a permanent one besides, runs cold chills down the spine of a tottering social order.

A war may be a temporary solution. But wars cannot be carried on forever. Steel today is merely a replacing or repairing commodity. Railroads are its largest market. Experts tell us that 20,000 miles of railroads are obsolete under present arrangements. If Marx was correct in his analysis of capitalism cracking down in its most powerful sections, we of the American Workers Party can look to this region with assurance that the profit system is crumbling, because here it has been strongest. Industrial feudalism was here during the boom period. Imagine what the situation is for the workers in this period.

WE met Martin Ryan, a man in his forties. Proletarian, a powerful physique, handsome, a catching personality, you like the fellow as soon as you meet him. This is the man who, with his army of 75,000 miners is anathema to the Steel Trust. The Steel Trust does not like him. Among his enemies

are Babbitts, the John L. Lewis regime, the "law" of Fayette county and all their allies. "A square deal, fairness and honesty in every detail," sums up his philosophy as he himself explained. Even with this inadequate program the Steel Trust and their ilk are scared of this mine leader and are framing him as I write this article. "I've met that Judge before," said Ryan. "He is a Frick tool of the first order." In the court room Ryan smiling, faced the judge. Defiance and an air of complete independence made him look comfortable as he answered the questions shot to him by the Frick Company prosecutors. The judge had reprimanded Ryan for not heeding a warrant that was issued for his arrest. "When you want me, Judge, you tell the smallest child in Grindstone. Me and those coal and iron police live in two different worlds. I am not interested in what industrial police tell me."

During the trial I overheard Babbitts discussing the trial. "I am going to the court room to see this guy, Ryan," said one of the bespectacled fossils. "Why are you going to see him?" came the rejoinder of another. "Well, I want to get a good look at that fellow because I want to stay out o' this way when I see him."

Late into the night news boys shouted, "Read all about Martin Ryan's trial. Martin Ryan charges frame-up."

Coal diggers crowding the streets never blinked an eye. Strolling Babbitts breathed a sigh of relief.

I ATE one evening our group at tended another trial in the court of Squire Matt Allen. Coal and iron police and Brotherhood men (Company Union) were prosecuting witnesses against union coal miners. A fellow called Roscoe, a coal and iron police had tried to rape Jim Martin's daughter. Martin is a United Mine Worker and has been very active in the strike. Martin resisted the efforts of the coal and iron police and a fight ensued. Martin was badly beaten by a group of thugs who rallied to aid the coal and iron police. Not content with trying to rape the girl and later beating the girl's father, the thugs dragged the union miner to jail. Martin was bound over for the Common Pleas Court.

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THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

THE Conference for Progressive Labor Action has always stood upon a revolutionary platform. It believes that just as kings and lords had to be overthrown in 1776, so today industrial and financial lords and barons must be swept from their seats of power by a NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The profit system must be abolished and a republic of the workers, for the workers, by the workers established.

To put this program into effect, the CPLA decided at its Pittsburgh convention, reported elsewhere in this issue, to organize the American Workers Party. Delegates at Pittsburgh who have been active in unions, unemployed leagues and among other organizations voted unanimously for this action, believing that it expresses the needs of the masses of workers with whom they have been in contact.

The DAILY WORKER, Communist Party organ, rushed into print the moment the action of the Pittsburgh convention became known, with the statement that the American Workers Party was a party "between the Socialists and the Communists." It did not take much brains to think that one up, and it hasn't any meaning.

The American workers want to get away from the old arguments about points of doctrine, away from the old names, away from the old confusions and divisions. They want a party of their own, a party that will unite them for doing the simple and straightforward job of overthrowing the profiteers, abolishing the profit system, putting the workers in control of their own destinies.

That is what the American Workers Party is. It stands for a fresh start in line with the requirements of the American situation. It stands for ACTION. It stands for UNITY. It stands for THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION!

C. W. A. AND THE UNEMPLOYED LEAGUES

THE dramatic stroke of the Roosevelt administration in creating the Civil Works Administration to put 4 million men and women to work, at least until February 15, makes the work of the Unemployed Leagues more important and urgent than ever. For one thing, there are still 5 to 6 million unemployed who will not be provided for by C.W.A. With rising prices and a drive to cut families off relief wherever possible, the plight of these unemployed is worse than ever and only through organization can they effect substantial improvement. Furthermore, those who go on C.W.A. jobs will get their rights under the law only if they are organized. That rule holds as good for them as for workers on private or other government jobs.

Already organizers of the National Unemployed Leagues report many specific grievances arising in connection with C.W.A. work. Men unaccustomed to outdoor work are sent out in rain, snow and cold without adequate work clothing and with no suitable shelters available. Accidents are numerous among men on strange jobs and while the compensation laws apply to them, union experience has shown that workers continually fail to get what is coming to them under these laws unless they have advice such as only their own organizations can provide. It is notorious, furthermore, that a tremendous amount of "politics" is played in connection with the distribution of relief, assignment of jobs, etc. Under C.W.A., instances have already occurred where "deserving" Democrats or Republicans are taken care of, depending upon the politics of the officer in charge, those who are not connected with either of the old parties getting no look-in at all. No matter how good its intentions may be, the federal government cannot possibly put enough inspectors on the job to curb this evil. Only as the workers on the job are organized and therefore have the courage and the means wherewith to protest effectively will impartiality prevail.

The Unemployed Leagues are the natural agency to organize C.W.A. workers. Many already belong to the leagues. Many of them are certain to be unemployed again soon. The A. F. of L. has notoriously failed to deal intelligently and effectively with unskilled and miscellaneous workers.

It is interesting under these circumstances to note that the National Unemployed League officers report from headquarters in Columbus, Ohio, that a new impetus has been given to N.U.L. organization work and that already important actions dealing with such grievances as the above have developed, including a "hunger march" by 2,000 West Virginians on the State Capitol at Charleston, reported elsewhere in this issue.

Not only, however, must the workers fight for their "rights" under C.W.A. but above all they must fight against the whole damnable system of putting American workers on a \$10 to \$15 a week wage level, instead of giving them the \$5,000 per person per year which even representatives of the administration indirectly admit would be possible if instead of cutting down production and maintaining the profit system, we made full use of modern technology and ran the country for the benefit of the workers and farmers instead of the profiteers. The fact that in many cases C.W.A. wage rates are actually higher than those paid in private employment only illustrates how low the

level of wages has dropped. The workers must not be fooled into thinking of the government as "square and friendly to labor" while private employers are wicked. The government and private employers alike are part of the system which is inexorably driving down the standard of living in order that profits may be maintained. Let the workers organize on the economic and the political field to get rid of that system without delay.

HOW ABOUT IT, PRESIDENT GREEN?

THIS is a cock-eyed world, as Shakespeare would say, and you expect crazy things to happen. Yet this past week R. D. Denise, Eastern representative of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, an American Federation of Labor union, pulled a real surprise. He openly and blatantly announced a scheme for going to the chain store heads in this section of the country and organizing their clerks not into the Retail Clerks Union but into company unions. The company union constitutions were actually to contain provisions that the A. F. of L. be forbidden to organize the clerks once they were in the company union! Thus an A. F. of L. organizer would, for all practical purposes, go around organizing company unions and getting their members to sign yellow-dog contracts!

Crazy as this sounds, it is after all a natural development of certain tendencies in the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. leaders, from President Green down, have talked long and hard about the common interests of employers and employees, of unions cooperating with employers, of peace in industry. Talking against company unions, they have tended to develop unions that functioned about as company unions would, except for the fact that there was more prestige or graft or both for union leaders in the so-called independent unions. Denise's idea is the class-collaboration idea carried to its legitimate, albeit absurd, conclusion. What are President Green and the Executive Council going to do about Denise and the Retail Council International? They are already enough to denounce progressives and radicals in the trade unions. What have they got to say about this open and flagrant violation of every principle of trade unionism?

More important still, let this treasonable proposal, like a flash of lightning on a dark night, reveal to A. F. of L. members the path on which they are walking. It is the path to the abyss. Let them rise in revolt against present leaders and policies and make their unions clean instruments for fighting the workers battles, in which it will be forever impossible for such proposals as Denise's to arise!

WHO PAYS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE?

IN many state legislatures and the Federal Congress the question of unemployment insurance will soon be taken up. A conference of welfare workers, churchmen, etc., recently held in New York City to discuss a bill for introduction into the New York Legislature brought forward again an evil against which we have always fought. It was proposed that premiums for the unemployment insurance fund be paid by three parties: the employers, the government and the workers. *The workers should not pay one single cent into any such fund and should fight against any bill containing this item.*

Workers do not have enough now to buy back what they produce. Nothing is to be gained by their saving money to put into an unemployment insurance fund. Unemployment insurance, insofar as it means anything at all, means establishment of the principle that workers are entitled to wages the year around. When they hold a job they get a pay envelope from the boss. When they are out of a job they get a pay envelope from the state. In either case should they not go down into their own pockets to put money in their own pay envelope!

WHAT THE WELL-DRESSED WORKER WILL WEAR

Investigators for the Emergency Relief Board have been instructed to find out from every unemployed family their "minimum requirements for clothing" this winter. In this connection it is interesting to see what, in the opinion of the Relief Board, the well-dressed American worker should wear this year. Roughly as far as we can find out, the unemployed will wear: a single pair of underwear, one shirt, one pair of socks, and one pair of working trousers. So much for the men. As for the women they will receive one pair of stockings, in two colors, the result of storing for many years. Material will be handed out for dress making.

So the picture we will see this year will be somewhat as follows: men in socks but without shoes, wearing a pair of pants so stiff that they creak at the joints and a shirt without a tie, no hat, some in sweaters, none in topcoats. For clean underwear wash every night.

Women will sport faded stockings in house slippers setting off a shapeless gingham or cotton gown, also hatless and in sweaters, some of them.

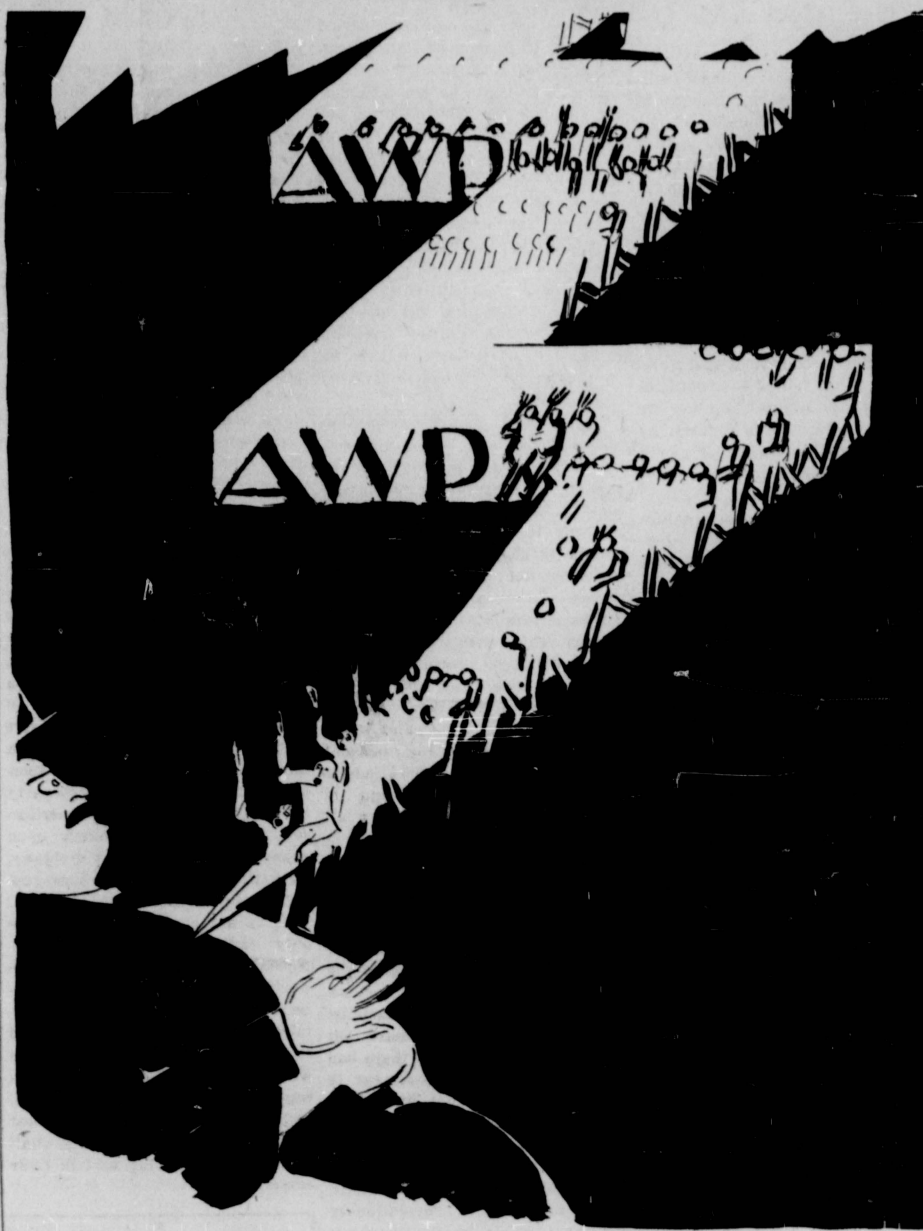
Some time ago there was a movement for "Rational Dress." People wore too much clothing, said these people. There is some sense in this, but we thought the movement had died out. We are pleased to see that the Relief Board is reviving it. Next summer, perhaps the Relief Board will see its way clear to experimenting with nudism. There is nothing like unemployed workers for the purpose of experimentation.—Voice of the Workers, organ of the Unemployed Citizens' League of Lehigh County, Pa.

WE NEED A NEW PARTY

Revolutionary movements and fascist movements spring out of the same soil. They are variants of the same tendency. They represent a popular loss of faith in the possibility of economic recovery. . . . Fascism is not inevitable in America. But if conditions become worse, it can be prevented only by a revolutionary movement that can win the support of the masses to its side.

To get such a movement, we need a new party. If we fail to create such a party—but we must not fail! The emergency is too great.—F. F. Calvert in The Modern Monthly.

POWER!



The Revolutionary Movement and the Negro

By LEE HEWITT

"The revolutionary party has the task of waging a relentless struggle for the complete equality of the Negro people. The working class has been constantly divided by the race prejudices instigated by the capitalist class. The interests of whites and Negroes is identical in the fight to overthrow capitalism."—from the A.W.P. program.

During the past two decades there has been taking place a fundamental change in the economic life of the Negro masses. From a predominantly agricultural role, carrying with it a memory of southern oppression, the Negro toilers have migrated northward in numbers estimated at from a million to a million and a half. In response to the propaganda of the capital-subsidized labor agencies, the Negro population of the industrial cities of New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, and other centers of manufacturing have in the period from 1910 to 1930 increased by more than 400 per cent! Has this been in response to the demands of the labor market?

From an estimated 970,000 Negro workers in the five industrial cities mentioned above, liberal Negro welfare agencies admit more than 395,000 unemployed Negroes "out of a job, able to work, and looking for a job." Certainly this would disprove the assertion that this movement northward has been necessitated by the needs of industry.

The Negro's participation in northern manufacturing has been distinctly in the form of a labor reserve. His insecure economic and social position has forced the Negro to underbid white labor in the open market, to assume at times a strike breaking role, to stand ready to fill the menial positions scorned by the "labor aristocracy."

This has been seized upon by the capitalist-ruling class, to further its usual role of playing off native against foreign born workers, of one nationality against another, of one race against another, always preventing the unity of the workers as a class. The wave of race lynchings now sweeping over this country, are but further manifestations of the efficacy of this ruling-class strategy.

Application for membership in the trade unions has been denied

the Negro, or defeated through so-called "federations." Only too well have these organizations, controlled up to now, for capital, rather than for labor, understood the necessity for keeping the working-class divided; for deliberately misrepresenting the position of the Negro worker, for deliberately picturing the Negro as a "scab, who stands ready to tear down your high (?) standard of living."

With the awakening class consciousness of the workers, however, this mumbo-jumbo no longer serves to explain to the working class the contradictions of the capitalist system. Workers of all races now look to the class struggle rather than to the race struggle of the ruling capitalists.

The Manager Speaks

By CARA COOK

AL SMITH will now have to add another set of initials to his "alphabet soup," A.W.P.—American Workers Party. And what a flop these Roosevelt combination pills are compared to the A.W.P. social cathartic. The very explanations given of the Administration's palliative measures condemn them from the start: "stop gap," "emergency," "compromise," "temporary," "relief." But we don't stop halfway. We speak in terms of permanency, principles, fundamentals.

Speaking of fundamentals, this issue of Labor Action ought to reach hundreds of thousands of new readers. Will you dispose of ten copies, selling them if you can, giving them away if you can't? Write me, and they will be in your hands as fast as the Christmas mail rush allows.

One of the first "average Americans" to hear about the A.W.P. was a hot-dog stand owner somewhere in the heart of the Pennsylvania mountains. About 4 a. m. the returning New York delegates stopped for revival, and we poured in on the astonished proprietor. While cleaning out his supply of coffee and hamburgers we asked him what sort of outfit he took us to be. He made a guess at a foot-ball crowd. Mike Demchak put him straight on that, and explained about the new party.

"That's fine," said the man. "We need a party like that. I'll vote for you." Which may have been good business on his part, but I prefer to take it as an omen!

Three solutions have been offered the Negro to offset the misery of his present condition; the reactionary "Garveyism," the pseudo-revolutionary "right of self determination," and the revolutionary path of the American Workers Party.

Garveyism while recognizing the need for change—still not to be found in the liberal programs—talks vaguely of a movement back to Africa. There is to be found the heaven pictured by generations of Negro religious. In Africa the Negro "will build from the sands a society for the black man, of the black man, by the black man." Movements of this type, while having a demonstrable appeal, in themselves offer no solution. Garveyism today can give to the Negro no recompense for the America he has had so large a share in building.

Self determination speaks to the Negro in the same language. Falling upon nerve endings made sensitive by years of race jingoism, self determination is made welcome even by the very forces hostile to workers' rights. Language, common heritages, wane workers in Negro population centers, all are swept aside in the pell-mell rush for Communist Party members. Figures proving the fallaciousness of the "black belt" theory are disregarded in the pandering to this lowest form of nationalism.

The American Workers Party makes no concession to race prejudice. Calling upon the workers, of all races and nationalities, to fight the common cause of working-class freedom, it looks to no mechanical ruling determining nationality problems peculiar to other countries, but not applicable to the United States. The American Negro is no nationality with problems, culture, heritage, apart from the general background of oppression which is the common memory of the American working class. The Negro has no problem apart from the problem of the producing class—to produce in the interests of the masses as against the interests of the ruling class.

A pamphlet, telling all about the American Workers Party, is now in preparation and will be published within the next few weeks. The price will be 10 cents. Orders will be taken now.

RADICAL INTERLUDE

By LOUIS BRIER

Diplomacy: A New Deal For The Labor Movement

The Labor Movement having laid up so many treasures in David Sapos, now receives reward a thousand fold. In a recent article on the United Front Mr. Sapos makes the latest and perhaps most colorful contribution to this business of winning workers away from the consuming embraces of capitalism. "The diplomatic tactics and policies of the Socialist Party and the Continental Congress," says Mr. Sapos, "should make it possible for them to win the confidence of the progressive farmer and labor organizations, thereby giving them the advantage (over left-wing groups)."

To our sorrow, Mr. Sapos has not pursued this new "diplomatic" approach beyond the quotation, thereby leaving a panting proletariat to its more or less unfutored devices. We should like to know, for one thing, more about the actual mechanical aspects of the "diplomatic" approach. What, in Mr. Sapos's ripe judgment, is the proper course to pursue under circumstances such as the following:

Diplomacy and a Cop's Tender Corns

A "Free Tergler, Dimitroff and Popoff" demonstration is being held in front of the Latvian Consulate and, immediately after Comrade Minor finishes an oration on the Chang Kai-Chek Counter revolution an I. L. D. member jostles an I.W.O. comrade who inadvertently steps on a cop's tender corn. What is the I. W. O. member to do in order to avoid being clubbed? What are the proper sentiments to voice on such an occasion? A number of them occur to me—but I would prefer to let Mr. Sapos speak for himself. The example is not a flippant one and is an excellent test for the "diplomatic" approach. Mr. Sapos need only remember what it feels like to have one's corns militantly tramped upon to assure himself of this.

Apply It to A Jackass

How would Mr. Sapos surmount the difficulties inherent in begging the pardon of a Socialist leader who has just replied to a United Front proposal by saying: "The quickest way to get Fascism is by uniting the workers. Unity of the workers will cause unity of the bosses and the result is, of course, fascism?" This ought to keep Mr. Sapos awake several nights. Certainly it is a most difficult problem in diplomacy.

A Sock in the Eye Would Be Better

Application of the "diplomatic" approach to the following problem, if successful, may produce greater revolutionary results than the application of the Marxian concept to history. The unemployed in a certain locality are told that they must earn their relief orders by digging ditches five days a week. The relief orders amount to an average of five dollars per week. The unemployed are anxious to protest this proposal (whether wisely or unwisely I leave to Mr. Sapos's discretion) and to avoid, if possible, forced labor of any kind.

The usual procedure is well-known. Demonstrations are called, speeches are made, committees to demand workers' rights from relief officials are chosen. If these methods fail and officials insist on going ahead with their plans then a relief strike (read Ohio news in Labor Action) is commonly called and picket lines thrown around the ditches. Too often this results in violence, which Mr. Sapos deplores. But we are interested in learning how Mr. Sapos would handle the situation. Would he suggest to the relief officials that forced labor is inadvisable? But what if they failed to see it that way. Would he gently remind them that clubbing striking workers is not quite gentlemanly? But what if they refused to stop clubbing them? What would he do if one of these officials told him (as League Leaders were told in Allentown) "that if the workers didn't like what they got, then they would get nothing"? Diplomacy in this case might be good. But a sock in the eye would be better.

Somewhere else Mr. Sapos's article is discussed from the theoretical point of view, though I don't know why. There is not even enough theory in Mr. Sapos's new "diplomatic" approach to add another soap box to Union Square.