

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

# LABOR ACTION

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## New Budget Message Presents No Method For Obtaining Money

### Workers Will Pay for Deficit by Indirect Taxation As No Increase in Income Taxes Is Scheduled By Roosevelt Program

### INFLATION MOVE

#### Money Will Be Given To Capitalists, Not Workers

By HARRY A. HOWE

Ten billion dollars must be raised by the United States government between now and July 1, said President Roosevelt in his budget message to Congress. One billion five hundred million dollars per month! This rate is greater by one-third than the average monthly borrowings in 1917 and 1918, when the country was imbibing for war!

How is this enormous sum to be raised, what method is to be used? This is the question that is agitating the country today. And on this point the President has not yet made any clear statement. Are we to have campaigns similar to the war time Liberty Loan drives? If so, who will be the Hun this time? Against whom will the preachers, the college professors and the dollar-a-year men rally us to protect "our homes and firesides"? Who is at our gates today—the big bad wolf?

#### Who Pays the Bill?

Although the President's message did not make clear the method to be used to raise the ten billion dollars which he figures is necessary to bring back prosperity, he did make pretty clear who is to pay the bill. And it will not be the rich. There is no substantial increase in income tax revenue in the budget estimate. And what increase there is based on the hope that there will be less stealing by the Morgans, the Mitchells and their class. The bill will be paid by indirect taxation, that is, by an increase in the cost of living. You and I and the rest of us will pay it—unless we are all starved before then. Which brings us to the purpose for which the money is to be raised.

#### To Save Capitalism

Substantially that purpose seems to be to keep us from starving so that business may be put back on its feet; in other words, to save the capitalist system.

The NRA has been called revolutionary. But if by revolutionary we mean fundamental social and economic change, a transfer of economic and political power from one class to another, than Roosevelt is no more revolutionary than Herbert Hoover. His whole recovery program proves this. Of course the methods he uses to save the profit system are different from Hoover's. But his belief in the capitalist class is just as firm. The reputation for humanitarianism which Mr. Roosevelt has built up is a result of these methods, and not of any fundamental quarrel with the system which has caused all the suffering and misery he knows so well how to deplore in his public speeches.

#### Who Gets the Money?

Thus we should not be surprised that, of the ten billion dollars to be raised between now and July 1, at least four billion of it will go to meet maturing obligations; in other words, to the banks. The remaining six billion, it is estimated will be necessary to finance the recovery program for the balance of the current fiscal year.

And what are the recovery program expenditures? The largest item, \$3,970,000,000 will be used by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Having been organized for the purpose of saving the banks, the railroads, etc., for their owners, it is very plain to whom this vast RFC sum will go. Other items are: \$1,277,000,000 for public works; four hundred million to carry out the program of the Civil Works Administration; \$342 million for the Civilian Conservation Corps; further appropriations of

\$1,166,000,000 from which it is expected \$400 million will go toward continuing the Civil Works Administration after February 15.

#### Will Congress Revolt?

Can the money be raised? Will Congress support the President's budget program? To the second of these questions there seems to be no doubt now but that the answer is, yes. That Roosevelt is still strong, and that he still has the support and confidence of the mass of the American people, cannot be doubted. His program will be put through by Congress without any fundamental changes. The Tories in both the ruling-class political camp, for the time being at least, have been whipped into line by his popularity. The liberals and the "radicals" in Washington all believe in him. The American Federation of Labor officials, although they have been compelled to accept defeat after defeat, swear by Roosevelt and consider the saving of capitalism their chief job.

#### Can NIRA Succeed?

But can the Recovery program succeed? Can American capitalism be saved for another orgy of "prosperity"? Undoubtedly Roosevelt and his advisers believe it can. "President Roosevelt has staked his financial program for underwriting national recovery on the biggest gamble in United States history," (Continued on Page 2)

## Productive Capacity of U.S. Offers \$6,000 a Year Income

How would you like to have an income of \$6000 a year? And the movies and theatres as free as the museums and libraries are now?

That is what the productive capacity of the United States promises to every man, woman and child in the country, if the economic system were run not for profit but for service.

In the past year, enough foodstuffs were produced so that if they had been divided equally among the 128,000,000 people in the United States everyone would have had enough to eat, and then 40 per cent of it could have been dumped into the ocean (as a lot of it was).

#### Owners Sabotage Production

In 1929 the mills of this country turned out one and a third million pairs of hosiery. The same amount of machinery could have produced three times as much, if the owners had not deliberately cut production to maintain prices. By the 1929 mill and factory capacity, five times as many overcoats could have been made; there could have been produced four times as many suits and trousers; four and a half dresses could have been made to each one made in 1929.

Do you need shoes? Ethelbert Stewart, whom Hoover fired from the Labor Department, says that the shoe factories can turn out 730 million pairs as compared with the 300 million pairs consumed in 1927. Out of the 1329 plants, 260 could take care of the needs of the country.

Does it get cold sometimes during the winter in Pittsburgh, Illinois or Minnesota? If it does, remember that bituminous coal mines, working 219 days a year, turned out a half billion tons of coal. If they had worked 308 days, they could have produced three quarters of a billion tons of coal, or 40 per cent above the amount usually demanded.

The same story repeats itself in almost every field of commodity production. Enough can be produced to give everyone an income equivalent to \$6,000 a year. But in order to make profits, the owners of the means of production will

## Ohio CPLA Organizes Conference

### Farmer - Worker Meeting Takes Aggressive Attitude

Toledo—While the rich were buying legalized liquor in preparation for their annual New Year's Eve revelry, 108 grim-faced delegates, representing 47 unemployed labor and farmer organizations in Northwestern Ohio, participated in the Lucas County General Farmer-Worker Conference, sponsored by the Toledo unit of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the Lucas County Unemployed League, held December 30-31 in Toledo.

The delegates pledged themselves to a finish fight against starvation, and for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Republic in which all the natural resources and means of production and distribution shall be owned and operated in common, by and for the workers and farmers and not for profits.

Without a single dissenting vote, the conference adopted the program of action proposed by CPLA as a basis for an immediate fight for decent living standards for the unemployed and CWA workers, employed wage-earners and farmers. The conference was notable for its lack of the usual petty conflicts and disruption, the unanimous determination of the delegates to get down to real fundamentals and was a tribute to the clean-cut and sound policies of CPLA.

The report by Elmer Cope, a member of the national executive (Continued on Page 2)

## Notice!

February 2nd at the Town Hall, New York, will be the time and place for the first dinner meeting to discuss the American Workers Party. Reports of activities from the field will be given in a review of "The Workers Firing Line in 1934."

Agnes Burns Wieck, former president of the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America, will tell of the continued struggle of the miners in Illinois. William R. Traux, president of the Ohio Unemployed League, and Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, will outline the campaigns of the unemployed. A. J. Muste will act as chairman, and Louis F. Budenz and J. B. S. Hardman will speak on the development of the new party out of the industrial fight.

For reservation, write Margaret Rodgers, A.W.P. Dinner Committee, 112 East 19th St., New York City.

## AWP Stirs Discussion By Workers

### Groups and Individuals Throughout Country Show Enthusiasm

The American Workers Party is on its way to the convention at which it will be formally launched. The announcement of the party's birth has created discussion both in workers' groups and in national publications.

In the "Modern Monthly" for January the principles of the party were outlined by A. J. Muste, chairman of the Provisional Organizing Committee. Endorsement of the new organ of American workers' political expression has been expressed by this publication in other ways. In both the "New Republic" and "Common Sense" there appeared comment on the party's appearance out of the American scene.

Writers and artists immediately evidenced interest in this new workers' development. Groups of professional workers, who have been seeking a revolutionary political agency: that would meet the American situation, have indicated their support of the party and its program. Discussion of the great need for such an agency will definitely increase through the cooperation of these groups.

The American Workers Party grew out of the needs and demands of militant organized workers. From them a generous response has come. "The Fighting Miner," organ of the Left Wing Miners of America, in its new and improved form, devotes considerable space to the new party and its place in the American scene. "The Voice of the Workers," published weekly by the Unemployed Citizens League of Allentown, Pa., announces the new organization and refers to its connection with the revolutionary Farmer-Labor Party already in existence in Lehigh County. (Continued on Page 2)

## Union Labor Hit By Gov't Negligence

### Organized Labor Begins To Rebel Against Roosevelt

Washington—Indications that organized labor, hitherto united behind the Roosevelt program for recovery, will rebel at the President's neglect of labor legislation became strikingly apparent here this week. Roosevelt has called for the closing session of Congress by not later than May 15. This would confine the activities of that body to passing tax measures to offset the ten billion dollar budget and reviewing appropriation bills. Proposed legislation to amend the NIRA program on wages, hours, unemployed insurance, old age pensions, and the powers of the labor arbitration boards will be shelved, it has become apparent.

More than 3,000,000 organized unionists have already protested against the 15 per cent wage cut imposed by the government upon its employees. Present plans call for the restoration of only 5 per cent of the original 15 per cent slash for the next fiscal year. Roosevelt having already positively stated that he would not consider amendments to this schedule, the unions plan to go over his head in a direct appeal to Congress.

President A. T. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, chairman of the railroad labor executives, stated the position of his organization. "The government set a bad example," he said, "by cutting wages and lengthening yearly working hours at a time when it was striving to persuade private employers to increase wages and reduce working hours."

## Unemployed League Organizer Demands CWA Wage Increase

### Arnold Johnson Asks \$1 An Hour As Minimum Wage On All Government Projects; Scores Political Control in West Virginia

### Pa. Jobless Choose Allentown As Place For League Meeting

ALLENTOWN, PA. — Delegates from the unemployed leagues of this state will meet in this city on January 27 and 28, to form the Pennsylvania Unemployed League, affiliated with the National Unemployed League.

It is considered appropriate that the gathering should be held in this home of the oldest unemployed organization of its type in Pennsylvania and in the birth-place of the revolutionary workers party development.

Arrangements have been made for housing and feeding the delegates. Louis Brier, secretary of the Lehigh County Unemployed Citizens League, states that all details are in his hands and are being taken care of.

The demand for a state agency through which the unemployed leagues can carry on their work in an effective way has been growing for the last several months. The problems raised by the C. W. A. and other developments have made it imperative that the state organization be formed. E. R. McKinney, R. C. Reilly and John Sullivan report that Western Pennsylvania will be well represented.

## ATTACKS OHIO CWA

### Fight Against Wage Cuts Continues Throughout Entire Nation

By AURELIA RICCI  
Washington: — The effect of a bombshell explosion was produced in the headquarters of the Civil Works Administration, here, when Arnold Johnson, representing the National Unemployed League, demanded that "not less than one dollar per hour" be paid to workers on CWA projects. Although General Johnson has been conducting a drive to cut CWA workers to the level of NRA codes, a Mr. McClure of the CWA administration admitted that the amount paid to CWA workers is not enough.

Figures were produced by Johnson showing that workers in Toledo, Ohio, were not getting enough under either NRA codes or CWA to meet the bare necessities of life. What was called the "nose-bag" system, under which workers on relief in Toledo were forced to live on 6 cents per day per person, until the system was smashed by the strike of the unemployed last August, was scored by the League representative.

On November 15, 1933, Johnson pointed out, the Federal government stated that "the purpose of the Federal Civil Works Administration is to provide regular work on public works at regular wages for unemployed persons able and willing to work."

"On November 22," continued the spokesman for the unemployed, "President Roosevelt sent a letter to all banks stating that 'the nationwide Civil Works program which the government launched in order to give men and women employment in place of relief is now under way.'" Mr. McClure now says that the CWA was intended to take care of only part of the unemployed, and that the CWA administration has no plans for anything after February 15.

Johnson then went into denunciation of the political and boss controlled set-up of state and local relief administrations, and specifically demanded the removal of the West Virginia State Relief Commission which, he asserted, is in the control of the coal operators, including a wealthy banker, a big coal operator, and a \$10,000 a year preacher—Rev. Cass, as the ruling trio.

"Twenty-one babies died of starvation in one month in Kanawha county alone," Johnson pointed out. "Families are living in tents, pastboard shacks and caves. Yet the Rev. Cass declared over the radio that 'no one is in need of anything in West Virginia!'"

"Mr. Beeher, the administrator in West Virginia, has admitted that conditions in that state are the worst he has ever seen. Three mass demonstrations at Charleston in one week by the West Virginia Unemployed League exposed the buck passing from the state administration to the county commissioners and back again, and then on to the federal government.

"Now Mr. McClure says that 'it is up to the governor or legislature or up to the President by an emergency decree.' The buck is passed and repassed while the unemployed starve. At one time according to a secretary in the state administration office \$79,000 was withheld from the hungry unemployed by the refusal of West Virginia county commissioners to ask for it. Yet the Federal Administration says, 'We must trust the local officials.'"

When the NUL representative demanded that discrimination against the Negro be stopped, Mr. McClure admitted that he knew there is discrimination but did not (Continued on Page 2)

## THE DAILY STRUGGLES

From the Statement of Program of the American Workers Party.

THE A. W. P. pledges support to the struggles and strikes of the workers, farmers and unemployed, to every effort to organize in order to beat off oppression and gain concessions from the oppressors.

We call upon workers, farmers and unemployed—

- To build the unions and unemployed leagues;
- To strike militantly;
- To defend the independence of the unions and other economic organizations against all government interference;
- To fight injunctions in labor disputes, yellow-dog contracts and company unions;
- To clean out of the economic organizations corruption, racketeering, gangsterism, autocracy and other evils which prevent the growth of a militant unionism.
- To demand an immediate 30-hour week and a \$30 per week minimum for all workers, employed and unemployed, and to organize for a General Strike to enforce this demand;
- To combat all steps toward closing schools attend-

ed by children of workers and farmers and any other curtailment of educational and social services;

- To demand a moratorium on payment of rent on homes and farms, or interest and principal on home and farm mortgages until the \$30 per week minimum has been established, and the minimum need of men, women and children for food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care and healthful recreation have thus been met;
- To demand immediate payment of the veterans' bonus;
- To oppose all preparations for war and to refuse to make and transport munitions of war;
- To combat vigorously all capitalist and imperialist attacks on the workers' and peasants' regime in the U.S.S.R.;
- To wage 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 interest of whites and Negroes is identical in the fight to overthrow capitalism.



# Ohio CPLA Organizes Conference

## Farmer - Worker Meeting Takes Aggressive Attitude

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committee of the CPLA, who spoke on "What Lies Ahead for the Industrial Worker" received tremendous applause. "Minimum wages have already become the maximum wages" asserted Cope. "Further unemployment is inevitable, due to further technological improvements whereby the industrialists hope to lower their labor costs and increase their rate of profits. The increasing drive for profits compels the capitalists to force down purchasing power in relation to production, leaving huge unmarketable surpluses."

Fellow-worker Cope pointed out that the present standard of living of the American worker is actually lower than it has been for nearly a century, and that the economic condition of the world is not just another depression but an indication that the system is collapsing. "The administration is faced with the necessity, in order to save the capitalist system, of fostering huge inflation, and finally of putting over a fascist dictatorship," fellow worker Cope declared.

### Discuss Woman Angle

Grace Mettiss, CPLA live-wire from Youngstown, Ohio, who hitchhiked through snow and bitter cold to the conference, spoke on "The Job For Us Women," in which she showed that it was the duty of the women as well as the men to fight against the system of exploitation of the workers and for a workers' society. "The curse of prostitution, industrial slavery, the shattering of home-life, will never cease until the cause of these evils has been done away with," she declared. "Poverty breeds these evils, and the profit system breeds poverty."

A stirring moment in the conference occurred when Raymond Lowry, president of the Toledo Teachers Federation, an A. F. of L. local, stated as a climax to his talk on the break-down of our educational system: "We teachers were led to believe that we were somehow above the workers. Now we know that we are workers, that we are exploited by the same class that exploits all workers. We stand ready and willing to fight shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the workers. Your problems are our problems."

### Lawyer Speaks

Edward Lamb, CPLA sympathizer and a prominent Toledo attorney who has been waging a single-handed fight against municipal corruption, speaking on "Can Government Be Reformed?" declared, "The workers are being fooled if they think that mere honest local officials can improve their conditions in any way. Their conditions arise out of an economic collapse that is national and international in scope. Reform may temporarily relieve certain effects of our economic disease," continued fellow-worker Lamb, "but it never cures the real cause. Reform actually hinders progress in the long run, because it lulls the workers and holds back the necessary revolutionary action until the job becomes a hundred-fold more difficult. We must face the fact boldly, that a strong militant minority of class-conscious workers can, must and will do the job. I attended the national convention of the CPLA held in Pittsburgh, December 23, when the American Workers Party was born. I could tell from the start that this was a real outfit, with leadership, intelligence and fight. They mean business. It is up to every delegate in this conference to support this movement to the last ditch. These fellows are going places."

Special reports were made on "War and Fascism," "Unemployment Is Permanent," "Russia—A World Leader," "Real Planned Economy in a Workers' World" and "CWA—the Crazy Works Atrocity." The conference ended on a clear note of unity, with one fixed goal in the mind of every delegate and one fighting determination to win through to that goal, a real workers' society.

Since the conference, the Unemployed Leagues have been moving forward at a quickened pace, and the Toledo CPLA unit has assumed its duties as a part of the American Workers Party with new membership and increased drive. Northwestern Ohio marches on!

# Budget Message Lacks Method To Get Money

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says the Washington correspondent of the Federated Press. "The gamble that by 1936 industrial production will stand at 98 per cent of normal."

On what does the Administration base its hopes? On the success thus far, of the NIRA program? What about that success?

### What Was to Be Done?

When Roosevelt took office last March there were at least 17 million workers in this country without jobs. Banks were closing, farmers were rebelling, industry was at its lowest ebb. "The trouble with the country is that there has been too much selfishness in business," said the new president. "The masses of the people do not get enough to buy back the goods they produce. Before there can be recovery the purchasing power of the workers must be raised, the unemployed must be put back to work."

To accomplish this job the National Industrial Recovery Act was brought forth. The central idea of this act was that if business can be organized, "unfair competition" eliminated, the depression would be ended. The purpose was to increase mass purchasing power and to put the unemployed back to work. The method was to establish codes for the various industries, shorten the hours of work, establish minimum wage scales.

### Section 7 (A)

The bone thrown to the workers in the recovery program was the now famous section 7 (a). This section, perhaps an after thought by one of the "brain trust," supposedly guaranteed to workers the right to organize into unions of their own choosing in order to bargain collectively with the bosses. In substance, Mr. Roosevelt told the employers of the nation that for their own good they were going to be compelled to organize. Well, if the salvation of the country depended upon the bosses organizing, why didn't the same reasoning apply to the workers? The workers saw this at once, but the bosses thinking of workers as their property, fought this idea. If the workers were to be organized, they would have to be organized by the bosses themselves, they said. And that is what they are still saying, with louder and louder voices.

### What Has Been Done?

To what extent has the NIRA accomplished its objectives? Has the purchasing power of the masses been appreciably raised? Have the unemployed been put back to work? Has there been a pick-up in industrial activity? The answer to all these questions is that there has been slight improvement. Crit-

ics of the administration say that this improvement would have come, NIRA or no NIRA, that it is only a reflection of world improvement. Some of them, like J. Maynard Keynes, even go so far as to assert that NIRA has retarded recovery.

"Mass buying power," according to the American Federation of Labor report for the year, has gained, partly from re-employment in industry and partly from jobs created by the government through the PWA and CWA. Income of all workers in industry is 11.7 per cent higher this year-end than last. An additional 14.7 per cent increase in buying power has been added by PWA and CWA payrolls, according to this same report. But, says the report further on, the "general price level is 12 per cent higher this year than last." So that in fact the increased purchasing power has not been added by industry but by the relief work of the government, by "doles."

Less than two million workers, who were out of work last year-end, now have jobs in industry, continues the report. Four and a half million have temporary jobs under CWA, PWA and CCC. Thus, according to this most friendly report, not more than one third of those without jobs last March have any kind of jobs today. At least ten and a half million workers are still totally unemployed.

To continue with this A. F. of L. report, "in wages there have been definite gains under codes for the lowest-wage groups; but workers of average or higher wages have been forced to a lower living standard. Hourly wage rate gains average by 5 1/2 cents per hour, but in many cases this is not enough to compensate for shorter hours, and in no case is it enough to compensate for higher prices." Business activity, it is thought, is around 10 per cent higher this year-end than last, the greatest gain being in steel (can this be due to increased armaments activity?)

### The Courage of the Damned

We see, therefore, that in spite of all the hallelujah of the administration, recovery is still a long way around the corner. A few days past some one in the press called Roosevelt a courageous and a wise man. Perhaps so. But it seems to be the courage of one unable or unwilling to see dangers rather than the courage of one fully conscious of dangers and determined to face them out. It is not courageous to fool ones self into believing what is not so. That kind of courage will lead the world into another slaughter, in fact leading the country toward fascism.

# Unemployed League Hits Cuts and Discrimination

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know what could be done about it. "Stop it," said Johnson. "We have organized thousands of white and Negro workers into the same leagues—and I can tell you there is no discrimination or jim-crowism in the Unemployed Leagues."

In an interview, after the meeting in the CWA office, the organizer of the National Unemployed League described the problems confronting the unemployed workers today, and of the work being done by his organization. "The CWA has failed to meet the demands of the Unemployed Leagues," he said. "Where the unemployed have found jobs, they have recognized that this temporary work is an effort to quiet their voice of protest. Instead of becoming satisfied they are organizing more solidly than ever before. Calls are coming from all parts of the country for the National Unemployed League to come in and organize. Work is now going ahead for a Southern States regional convention."

"In North Carolina the League have carried on strikes and have stopped efforts of the manufacturers to cut wages of CWA workers to 30 cents per hour. Bill Presswood, a leader in Highpoint, refuses to be bluffed by Miss Smart, relief administrator in High Point, on the basis that she is a 'nice lady.' Beulah Carter was cheered in Greensborough when she refused to stop distributing leaflets on a CWA project. The foreman found that Beulah Carter was not to be bullied. That night, at the meet-

ing Negroes and whites showed that CWA jobs were being used as political whips, and one worker declared, 'We won't be whipped. We have got to fight!'

"In some parts of the country, where the unemployed are not organized, the CWA workers have had to wait as long as three weeks for their checks. Such conditions result in three weeks of starvation. Those workers can learn from the Unemployed League of Athens County, Ohio, that militant action will bring pay checks on time. When efforts were made to delay pay checks for two days, League members demonstrated at the Court House and kept the officials and office help locked in the office by putting guards at every door. The officials tried to put them off by lies and bluff, but the unemployed were determined to eat that week-end and refused to move. Within two hours the pay checks came."

"This is a time for organization of the Leagues. The workers, farmers and unemployed are determined to fight this out and gain freedom for themselves. The coming generation must not be sold out to slavery. The CWA does not give the worker his job, the job he had before the depression. In some instances it is worse than prison punishment. They are forcing the unemployed to crush rock by hand labor. That method of punishment has been abolished in prisons. Workers must become masters of the machines and of their own destiny. A workers and farmers republic is the goal of the Unemployed Leagues."

# 2nd 5-Year Plan Dwarfs Old Results

## Soviet Workers Gain Increase in Living Standards

MOSCOW—Having completed the first great step on the road to Socialism, the Soviet Republic is now entering into its second five year plan. The enormous achievements of the workers and farmers of Russia, the building of factories, railroads, mines, farm collectives, far ahead of the planned schedule; these accomplishments are dwarfed before this new project.

While technological advancements will be carried forward in the same rapid manner that has made Russia third among the industrialized nations of the world, special emphasis is being placed upon the improvement of social relationships.

It is planned to more than double the real wages of the workers and farmers, with a resulting increase in living standards. More than 80 per cent of the arable land of the Soviet Union having already been socialized, 3,600 new machine-tractor stations will turn out agricultural machinery. This will permit an increase of more than 30 per cent in the number of workers engaged in industry. In 1937 twelve million more students will attend educational institutions than in 1932. Similar advancements are planned in other fields.

These figures stand in direct contrast to the alphabetic arias that have poured in a steady stream from the throat of President Roosevelt, and that have already demonstrated the complete inability of capitalism to guide production and consumption. This project advanced by a workers' government offers to the producers of the world, the workers and farmers, meat and gristle upon which to nourish.

# N. Y. Labor Action School Gets Ready For Winter Session

Following a successful Fall Term, during which at least a hundred workers attended its classes for the first time, the N. Y. Labor Action School is sending out announcements for the Winter Term which begins early in February.

In addition to a course in "Elementary Trade Union Principles," intended for workers who are new to Trade Unionism, there will be one dealing with "The Fundamentals of Socialist Theory," for those who want to gain an understanding of the workings of the capitalist system, and a knowledge of what is wrong with it, and why it can not be patched up.

Another course, entitled, "History and Development of the Labor and Revolutionary Movement Here and Abroad in the Post-War Period," will trace the events and happenings of the last 15 years, and attempt to analyze the failure of Socialist and Communist Parties to win the workers, farmers and intellectuals or to stem the tide of fascism. Particular attention will be given to the Second and Third Internationals and the question of a new international alignment.

Competent teachers have been secured for these courses, each of which will last ten weeks. There will be a charge of one dollar for each course, with fifteen cents for a single lecture. Special rates are offered to unemployed workers and to members of trade unions.

Finally, the School announces a series of special weekly discussions on "Problems of Industrial Organization," under the leadership of A. J. Muste and Louis F. Budenz. Outstanding authorities have been invited to handle special topics, such as utilities, department stores, office workers, opposition work in unions, etc., but continuity and purpose are assured through the direction of comrades Muste and Budenz.

Those interested are invited to communicate directly with the N. Y. Labor Action School, 112 E. 19th Street.

A pamphlet, telling all about the American Workers Party, is now in preparation and will be published by February 1. The price will be 10 cents. Orders will be taken now.

# Evils In Textiles Force U.T.W. Toward Strikes

By O. R. FUSS

On December 12, 1933 the executive council of the United Textile Worker adopted a resolution calling upon the A. F. of L. to lead a general strike for the purpose of inaugurating a thirty hour week in American industry. What compelled such a conservative as Thomas F. MacMahon to even consider the necessity of such a radical move as the general strike?

A general strike led by the A. F. of L. would mean that that organization has completely reversed its traditional policy of opposing political action by workers as a class-conscious group. For, the A. F. of L. must be ready to take over the state in case the government calls for a showdown when the general strike begins to be effective.

Though the general strike is a desirable weapon in the hands of labor, it can only be used when the mass of workers are determined to carry it to its conclusion, the leadership is prepared, and the moment opportune. Under the weak and reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. at the present moment, defeat would mean for the American labor movement such severe restrictions as were forced upon British workers under the Trades Union Act of 1927 by the Conservative government after the unsuccessful general strike of 1926.

It is unlikely that MacMahon or his executive council considered the implications of their demand. Yet such a demand is important not alone because it demonstrates that the minds of workers are turning towards political action as a means of gaining their aims, but also because it shows that despite codes, minimum wages, and shortened hours, the conservative leadership of one A. F. of L. union, at least, is vaguely aware that conditions have not been improved.

### Textiles Usually Weak

Along with all the other important American industries, cotton textiles not only suffers from the characteristic weaknesses and failures of the present economic system but it also adds some of its very own. To cite one in each category: (1) spindle capacity is overbuilt, and (2) its distributing system is so inefficient that not alone the workers but also the mill operators suffer from its effects.

Spindle capacity in the cotton textile industry outruns not alone present demand, but possibly even potential demand. Not, it is true, the potential demand of an intelligent economic system; but merely that demand functioning within a system of severe competition between cotton, wool, rayon, and silk. Ralph Borsodi has estimated that between 1914 and 1927 cotton goods lost some 11 per cent in its approximate share of the consumers' dollar while silk was gain-

ing some 13 per cent. Since 1927 the index of rayon deliveries in the "Textile Organon" shows an intermittent but steady growth of some 300 per cent; silk consumption remains steady, while cotton and wool fall some 25 per cent.

In light of this shrinking market—especially in sheetings, gingham, stockings, and cloth linings—consider the amount of cotton spindles. In 1923 they reached a high of 37 million. In 1933, it is true, they declined to 31.5 million; but in June of that year when the level of production was one and a third that of the normal year of 1926, only 80 per cent of the available spindles were necessary. In round figures, 26 million spindles were employed with production a third above normal. But this unused machinery must be paid for; and that will be taken care of, by a price rise to consumers and an extension of the stretch-out system to workers.

### Operators Extend Stretch-Out System

There are other "reasons" for extending the stretch-out system. The "mill-margin" (the difference between the cost of the raw material and the selling price) is low. In 1931, for instance, the spread between the price of grey print cloth and the cost of raw cotton was above 18 cents per pound. Out of this margin, payrolls fixed, and variable expenses were to be met. To make a profit the turnover must be extremely great.

Greater volume, if it can be sold, means a greater share of the market to the individual mill owner. It also means that the cost per unit of the finished product will be less. To the worker it means that he will have to take care of more looms and spindles at the same rate of pay.

Aside from the question of cost, the mill operator worries over the selling price which is the function of the distributive end of the industry—the converters, the brokers, the commission houses, the jobbers, and the wholesalers. These individuals determine the price by a severe price-cutting competition amongst themselves. If the price level of 1926 be taken at 100, in March 1933 prices stood at 50. In June it rose to 67.1; in August it was at 93.5 and in October it was at 88.

There are two considerations involved here—the large drop from 1926 to 1933 and the swift rise within a few summer months together with the beginning of another decline after August. In some five years, the price of cotton goods were cut 50 per cent because brokers and converters operate a good deal of the time on volume basis. It is to their profit interest to sell so many thousands

of square yards of good even though they must cut the price continually. This price cutting means that the mill owner must turn out more and more if he wants to make any profits at all.

Thus at the height of production in June 1933 the stock of goods on hand at the end of the month was some 75 million square yards; but in October when production had been cut some 40 per cent, the stock had risen to 103,371,000 million square yards. Taken in conjunction with the 5 per cent drop in price from August to October, it appears that the converters and brokers have begun once again their usual methods of price-cut distribution.

### Production Fell Fast

The increase of about 45 per cent in prices within the space of three months was no doubt partly the cause of a drop in production. Those that had the money did not want to buy in view of such increases. (Those who wanted to buy, of course, did not have the money.) Thus spindle activity fell from 9 1/2 billion spindle hours to 7 1/2 billion. In respect to the 1926 level of 100, it represented a drop from 133 to 92.

There are other reasons why production fell so fast. During the summer, production was abnormally stimulated so that the mill operators could avoid the processing tax about to be imposed upon cotton as well as the minimum wages, meagrely as they were, which the code proposed.

The processing tax was small enough to be absorbed by the mill owner. It added little to the price of the cotton. In the past, between 1921-26 for instance, as a Harvard School of Business report shows, while the price of spot cotton advanced 166 times, the price of a 36 inch sheeting advanced 53 times, fell 45 times and remained the same 68 times—there was little direct ratio between cotton prices and the price of the finished goods. But the mill owners found one and the consumers paid.

### Code Cuts Wages

When General Johnson was organizing for the small increase which the code gave the lowest paid workers, he assured mill owners that it would not raise the ratio of labor costs to the mill-margin, that profits would not suffer. If he could have foreseen what did happen, his assurances could have been louder and more picturesque. If 1926 is taken as equal to 100 by October 1933 prices, production, and the employment total hovered around the 90 mark. But wages in the cotton goods, cotton small wares, dyeing and finishing branches of the textile industry stood at 72.2! Including silk, rayon, knit goods, and woolen and worsteds workers, making a total of some 650,000 the wage index stood at 74.6!

In ratio to other elements, consequently, wages are lower. The period of the code has been but a period of spreading work at the expense of workers. The complaints of the mill owners become ridiculous on examination. And the demand of a conservative labor leader for a 30 hour week would be almost meaningless, even if it were granted, in an industry which suffers from the diseases inherent within the capitalistic system.

### "FIGHTING MINER" CHANGES TO TABLOID SIZE NEWSPAPER

SPRINGFIELD, ILL. — "The Fighting Miner," a semi-monthly labor journal edited by Gerry Allard and Loren Norman, has now become a 16-page tabloid size newspaper. The six first issues were mimeographed.

The new publication, "organ of the militant Left Wing miners of America," supports the Progressive Miners of America against the United Mine Workers of Illinois. But it is highly critical of the present leadership of the Progressive Union.

## BOOKS FOR WORKERS

LABOR ACTION recommends the following books and pamphlets which can be ordered directly from LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

CPLA Program—Policies	.....	\$.05
Labor Age Cartoons	.....	.05
Economic Geography—by J. F. Horrabin	.....	.75
Short History of British Empire—by J. F. Horrabin	.....	.30
The Communist Manifesto—by Marx and Engels	.....	.05
For Revolution—by V. F. Calverton	.....	.25
The American Workers Party (ready about Feb. 1st)	.....	\$.10
Marx and America—by Bert D. Wolfe	.....	.25
Value, Price and Profit—by Karl Marx	.....	.25
Reminiscences of Lenin—by Clara Zetkin	.....	.20

THE FIGHTING MINER (printed semi-monthly; edited by Gerry Allard, of the left-wing miners.)  
 Per Copy ..... \$.05      6 Months ..... .50  
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# ABROAD

By LUDWIG LORE

## Austria

In a session of its National Executive held in Vienna on January 10 the Heimwehr decided to demand of the government the complete fascization of Austria and the removal of the social democratic national government of Vienna.—A decree issued by Dollfuss abolishes all shop council elections in federal shops. The shop councils in the future will be appointed instead of elected.—In the middle of December 127,625 persons in Vienna were receiving unemployed benefits, 3,328 more than two weeks before.

## Belgium

The National Convention of the Belgian (Social Democratic) Labor Party which closed December 25 decided unanimously that it shall be the aim and purpose of the party "to strive for the realization of a plan of industrial reconstruction based on state control of credits as the chief means for the raising of mass purchasing power, an increase that is necessary to assure all workers of an adequate income and the nation of satisfactory prosperity."

## Denmark

Two Danish seamen, Ludwig Hansen and Julius Jensen, of the Danish steamer "King Haakon" were arrested in the harbor of Stettin on board their ship and were held in the prison of Stettin for six weeks for having in their possession a number of the Danish Communist "Arbeiterblad" and of the "Neue Vorwaerts." They report mistreatment in the German prison.

## Finland

The results of the municipal elections just published show an increase of 10 per cent in the Social Democratic vote. Altogether the party elected 57 municipal councillors. Among the bourgeois parties, the fascist, Lappos, lost and the progressives won votes.

## France

The neosocialist "Socialist Party of France" which gives itself the supplementary title, "Union Jean Jaures," held its organization convention which showed the great disunity, lack of clearness and confusion that characterizes the movement. Ernest Lafont favors cooperation with and support of the Radical Socialist Party, while Marquet proposes the fascist parole, "Authority, Order and Nation," and Renaudet supports a traditional reformist brand of socialism with strong emphasis on democratic ideals. 403 delegates represented only 1,290 party members.

## Germany

The Central Committee, Socialist Workers' Party (SAP) of Germany, reports: "At the end of November we suffered a sharp blow in Berlin. In the possession of a Berlin Communist, the Nazis found two copies of the illegal SAP paper. He was tortured until he told where he had secured them. In this way the Nazis succeeded in capturing about 15 SAP comrades. Ten others got away just in time, some of them having to leave Germany. This affair has depleted the treasury of the party down to the last mark and money is urgently needed. Foreign comrades are earnestly asked to help at once. The Ernest Eckstein Fund was created in the memory of this unfortunate victim of Nazi murderers, to assure the continuation of the cause for which he gave his life. Contributions to this fund should be sent to Delol, 3, rue Chateau d'Eau (10e) Paris, France.—The jury court of Dusseldorf condemned 10 Communists to death and an eleventh to prison at the beginning of December for the murder of an SA man. The Reich court of appeals confirmed the death sentence of the ten and changed the prison sentence of the eleventh to a death sentence as well. The Berlin Boersen-Kurier, one of the oldest of Berlin newspapers, ceased publication on January 1.

## Great Britain

The National Association of Unions in the textile trades is pressing for an inquiry by the Ministry of Labor into the working conditions and wage rates of the industry. Twenty-three unions are concerned.

## Holland

Comrade Peter Schmidt, National Secretary of the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, is still in an Amsterdam prison where he is

# The Middle Class' Role

By A. J. MUSTE

IF profiteers and the profit system are to be abolished and an economy set up under which the masses will have plenty, security and peace, the workers will have to do it. By workers the American Workers Party means all who labor for hire or independently, workers of hand or brain, in industry, agriculture, trade, the professions.

Primarily we look to the industrial workers to lead the way in achieving the revolution. It is upon them above all that the revolutionary party must be built. Others must come to see that their position is the same as that of wage earners, that their fate is bound up with that of the industrial workers.

The industrial working class is something new in history. It was produced by the machine, the factory, the industrial city. The very conditions of its life and work have compelled it to organize. Trade unions, cooperatives, political parties, have been developed by it. They all stand for the idea of solidarity rather than individualism.

Social ownership of the earth's resources and fair distribution of goods has been a vague ideal for ages. The working class made it a practical political program. In Russia, under the leadership of the industrial working class, that program is actually being carried out for the first time in history on a large scale.

It is natural that it should be so. When the worker realizes that he is not and cannot be free because the machine on which his livelihood depends is owned and controlled by another, he cannot win freedom by owning his own factory and having every other worker do the same. They must own and manage jointly.

Furthermore, when the workers

thus free themselves, mankind is freed forever. There is no other class left enslaved. By and large there is no chance for anyone to improve his lot under such a social system without also improving the lot of others.

This does not mean that workers automatically, without the leadership of a revolutionary party, are carried, as it were, into a new social order, nor does it mean that leaders may not be persons who come from other classes which they have forsaken in order to join the workers' movement. The working class will try to gain concessions under the existing system so long as that holds out any hope. But it is forced to broader and ever more intense struggles and when it does seek a way out, when it seeks power, it must be along the path we have indicated.

FASCISM as in Germany, for example, has found its mass support in the middle class, or classes—farmers, small business men, professionals, and white-collar workers who have a middle class point of view. Some now argue that these groups are very numerous in the U. S., that they are the "revolutionary" or rebellious elements rather than the workers whose unions remain conservative, and that, therefore, our aim now should be to "sell" the idea of a revolution for a cooperative commonwealth to the middle class as an alternative to Fascism. Then they will do the job that we used to think devolved primarily on the industrial workers. Otherwise, we are told, the middle classes will go Fascist and the industrial workers, even if they put up a fight, will be defeated.

We believe that this is a false and very dangerous approach. If the farmers as farmers, and apart from the industrial workers, organize, it will be to raise the price of

farm products, raise the value of their land—that is, maintain or improve their status as small capitalists. If the small business men as such organize—apart from the industrial workers—it will be to improve their business, fight the chain stores, make more profit—again, that is, in order to maintain and improve their status as small capitalists. Or take the teachers as we know them, and let them organize, apart from the industrial workers. It is hardly likely that it will be to establish a cooperative commonwealth!

There is no reason to think that a mass movement dominated by such elements would not be bought up, as such movements have been in Europe, by the big capitalists in order to prevent the overthrow of capitalism. The fact that such a movement used very radical talk would not prevent that.

BUT, we are asked, if the middle class elements tend in this way to get Fascist, are we not doomed to get Fascism in the U. S. also? We answer emphatically, No, not if we have a revolutionary movement that knows its business and can "talk United States." Among those called farmers, are hired hands, share croppers, poor tenant farmers, farmers with huge debts on their land. They can be made to see, are seeing, that they are in the same boat as the industrial workers. They are striking and demonstrating. There need not be a solid front of all farmers against the workers.

Small business men are being put out of business and transformed into chainstore clerks. Technicians become employees of big corporations or of government. White-collar workers become insecure, have their pay cut. They get the status of workers. Through revolutionary education and through the struggles into which they are forced, they come to think and feel as workers. They organize. They see a new social order, a scientific economy, under the control of the workers, as the one way out.

One other point must be emphasized. Many fear a revolution because they think it means that "ignorant and untrained" workers take control chaos will result. As a matter of fact, chaos and war, wholesale slaughter, will result precisely if capitalism is not overthrown. But the workers must be conscious of the task before them. They must be in the closest contact with the technicians. They must make it clear that they alone stand for an economic order which makes full use of modern technology, and their revolutionary party must be ready to deal with the difficult technical problems involved in taking control of industry, and in keeping the machinery of production and distribution going when control has been achieved.

Thus, by working out an intelligent and realistic policy, and by uniting all the workers by hand or brain, all those who know themselves to be workers and who therefore want to get rid of all shirkers and exploiters, in a solid organization of which the fighting industrial workers are the core, the spearhead, the American Workers Party, will march to victory.

I think he is taking the wrong course. His reactions to the damnable affair is natural. But what he should do is take the fight against the assessment in his local union. Pass a resolution specifically pointing out that there are no provisions to collect assessments from relief allocations. The resolution should then be circulated throughout the state before the whole membership of the union. Local to local visits, backing up the resolution, would add more pressure. The miners of Illinois are intelligent enough to defeat such a ruling. They can do it if they bind their efforts in the common effort to make the P.M. of A. officers recall the decree even if it takes a referendum or a convention.

The whole scheme to collect the bean money from the striking and unemployed miners is disgusting when one is reminded of the fact that George W. Dowell, head of the P.M. of A. legal staff, gets \$500 a month salary, unlimited expenses and the partial maintenance of his office. Nine other lawyers, imagine it!—get a little less. There is not one single constructive piece of work the head of the P.M. of A. legal staff has done all through the struggle. Some people wonder how he does it. It is all very simple. Foxy Mr. Dowell calls Claude Percy, president of the union, "the greatest little man in the labor movement." Whereupon the naive Mr. Percy swells up like a

balloon.

I sympathize with the West Frankfort fellow worker. But I

# The "American Approach"

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

AS a workers' revolutionary movement, growing out of the American soil, demanded by the events of today? An increasing number of voices say Yes. It is a far cry from the first reception of "the American approach" five years ago, when it was decried as "nationalistic," to this year 1934, when all radical forces are discussing it.

Such a movement being required, the American Workers Party has already made the beginnings of it in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The front of the CPLA is American. Its membership grows out of the American scene. The composition of the delegates to the Pittsburgh convention was overwhelmingly from the grassroots of this country. Its mass organizational work among native American workers has been more successful than that of any other so-called radical group.

The peculiar contribution of the CPLA to radical thought has been this very insistence on the necessity of rallying the American workers. It is the CPLA which has made the issue and brought it forward.

In our mass activity we have always emphasized the class struggle. When the unemployed leagues halted the eviction of 3,000 families in July, in the league educational classes the reason for evictions was discussed as well as the best way immediately to combat them. In eviction demonstrations, it was stressed that this difficulty arose out of the profit system. "This worker is fighting with his fellows to keep a miserable roof over his head," it was pointed out, "whereas there are enough machinery and resources in this country to provide comfortable and decent homes for everybody." When we have raised the rattlesnake flag or

referred to other past revolutionary traditions of this country, we have interpreted them in the light of the present class struggle.

THE American Workers Party has arisen out of our experiences and activities in seeking to carry through this job. The CPLA grew out of the A. F. of L. attack on the former policies of Brookwood Labor College. The forces that rallied to the defense of Brookwood and for militant action were of various types. One of them was the group around "Labor Age," which since 1921 had been demanding a fighting labor policy on the basis of the American scene. Others were Socialist Party elements.

These S. P. members acquiesced in CPLA policies as long as they were purely educational. When the organization began to engage in actual industrial struggle and to fight racketeering in the unions, S. P. dissent began to grow. Soon it became clear that the Socialist Party, through its policy of "neutrality" in the unions, was hopelessly enmeshed in the reactionary and corrupt leadership of many unions. Out of the same ground roots grew likewise its hesitancy in endorsing militant union action, while some of its membership aggressively opposed and sabotaged our fighting program.

It was clear to those active in the CPLA that the Socialist Party was bankrupt in the American scene, as the Social Democracy had proved itself to be throughout the world. The S. P. influence had to be purged from our organization—and this was done in the discussions within our ranks in 1931 and 1932.

One of the cardinal principles of the CPLA had been the insistence on united action. In the Paterson general strike of 1931, we had gathered together under our leadership every group willing to act uni-

tarily—Socialists, Socialist Laborites, I.W.W.'s, "Communist Majority" followers, Associated Silk Workers, and United Textile Workers. When the official Communist Party announced a change in its line, stating that it would stand for a real united front, the CPLA was the only group which welcomed this move. The S. P. was clearly against united action. But in the united front, the CPLA learned that the Communist Party could not shake off its sectarianism and that it could not play a revolutionary role in the U.S.A.

## C. P. Halts United Front

To quote one example of many: In Pittsburgh, the CPLA, which had formed the unemployed leagues had fought strenuously against Socialist opposition for the united front. The Communist Party and its affiliates now seek to strangle those very forces which stood for unity with them, although the C.P. itself could never rally such forces to its banner. This sterile policy has been carried on throughout the country. It has resulted in the further discrediting of the C. P. and its affiliated organizations. From another set of reasons, the C. P. was as impotent to act in a revolutionary way as the S. P. itself.

There was but one further course open, and that was the creation of a Party which could act in the American background. In our mass organizations it had been found difficult to convey the revolutionary message of the seizure of State power except through its personification in a political party with a well defined program. At the same time, the demand for political expression has become a burning issue in unemployed leagues. It must be answered—and the A. W. P. has furnished the clear and needed avenue for such political action.

The American Workers Party, to do its job, must extend its mass organizations. That is its special function. Work in unemployed leagues is not enough. We must raise our banner further in the basic industries—coal, steel, textiles, automobiles, transportation, electric power. The Party recognizes that duty. Already it forms the most effective militant force in the mining industry. It cannot be content with that role. It must march forward to participation in the fight of the workers in every large industrial field.

## AWP to Open Militant Campaign

We call upon those who agree with these fights to join us, to put them through. In each instance, we must seek to build our Party forces, in order that these efforts will mean a growth in revolutionary sentiment and in organization to make that sentiment live.

We realize above all that no revolutionary Party can function which refuses to take part in the daily battles of the workers. In doing this thing, we speak in the language the workers understand. Out of this realization and action upon it, will come that driving force which can and will abolish the profit system in America.

that's it," he said, "and you—you believe?" "I believe in people fighting for their rights," I said. "But I'm not a Red."

The man put his glasses back on his nose and looked at me wonderingly. He said confidentially: "Who believes in violence? Who uses violence? Come on, I'm asking you—Who uses violence?"

But before I could answer we both turned and ran up the street. For up there, mounted on a ladder on the street a young man was shouting and hundreds of fur workers were crowding about. Hearing him shout "workers," "our union," "the bosses," "struggle," others came running. The cops came running too. Breaking a way through the crowd they rushed for the speaker. The blue coats with my Uncle Abner were in front. Giving his club a quick flourish Uncle Abner struck the speaker over the head. The speaker fell back, the blood pouring. But to tell the truth the cops were not satisfied. I guess their craving for blood and action had been aroused. They suddenly turned upon the crowd, striking men with their clubs.

A long string of blind flashes passed through me and I stumbled away. Later my crazy spell wore itself out and then I got angry. So angry to tell the truth that I gripped the iron bar of the bench where I had sat down to rest. Then I felt silly and had to cry.

(To be continued)



# COAL DUST

By GERRY ALLARD

Springfield, Ill., January 11.—A lot of funny things are happening within the Progressive Miners of America which ought to be of interest to all militant unionists. The officialdom of the P.M. of A. has decreed that all striking, unemployed and destitute members of the union who work on CWA projects should pay dues. Failing to comply with this ruling will automatically cause the CWA members to be suspended.

The outrageous instructions call for the assessment of \$2.10 per month from all miners working on CWA. This is a great sum to an unemployed worker. In most instances he can pay his light and water bill with this amount. The most tragic thing about the outrageous decision is how it effects the striking 13,000 Progressive Miners. It is now 22 months since the strikers entered the struggle for a union of their own choice. No one can understand the woeful conditions these miners and their families have gone through unless they themselves have been in long strikes.

The appreciation by the Percy-Keck-Dowell machine is to place greater burdens on these brave fighters. Legally or morally the P.M. of A. officers have no right to assess these dues. There is no serving a four months sentence for insulting the government. He thanks his American friends who thought of him and sent him their greetings.

## Poland

Police, thirty strong, surrounded the offices of the Independent Socialist Party in Warsaw, and after searching the premises, arrested 54 leading comrades of the Polish ISP. They were taken to the Central Prison and have not yet learned of what they are officially accused.

## Soviet Russia

On December 28 Wassilief Lunatscharski, Ambassador of the USSR in Madrid, died. He served for many years as Commissar of Education in the Soviets and his services in this capacity were extraordinary.—In 1937 Moscow will hold a World Exposition of Technology.

# My Uncle Abner

By TESS HUFF

## WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE

The country lad who tells the story witnesses the murder of a neighbor by soldiers and despoiled things sent into his county to break the milk strike called by the farmers against the large milk distributing companies. His father, one of the strikers, is arrested for the murder. Having heard his parents speak well of his Uncle Abner, who is on the New York police force, the boy decides to appeal to him for help. With his Uncle's address and a few dollars in his pocket and a bundle of food the boy starts out for the big city. After witnessing much misery wondering about the city the boy at last finds his Uncle Abner who appears to be sympathetic. "I'll see what I can do," promises Uncle Abner as he leaves for his beat, swinging his club. Now read on.

## PART IV.

When my Uncle Abner came back home that evening he stuck his pistol under the pillow where he slept and put his club on the table.

I picked the club up. It was the same as the club the fat hulk had struck my father with. I shivered.

"How would it feel, Uncle Abner," I said, "to be struck with this?"

"Not so healthy," he replied, smiling.

"Do you ever strike anyone?" I asked.

"Not unless I have to."

"But you do have to."

"Not often," he smiled. "Of course, sometimes..... Tomorrow I'll probably have to use it."

"Tomorrow? On whom?"

"The Reds are raising hell again on Eighth Avenue, in the fur district," said my uncle.

"But Uncle Abner," I cried, "who are the Reds? In Midway they say the farmers are being stirred up by the Reds. Who are the Reds?"

"They believe in violence," said he. "They're out to overthrow the country. As fast as Roosevelt builds it up they want to tear it down. Violence, I'm telling you."

"Like the thugs?" I cried. "Like the soldiers who come in to break the strike, and the sheriff's men? You mean they hit you over the head and shoot you?"

Uncle Abner frowned, pinched his cheeks and looked at me.

"What is it?" I asked, startled.

"You talk too much. I'm telling you."

I was bewildered. I didn't know why my uncle said that. The soldiers and the sheriff's men back home in Iowa use violence and if the Reds use violence then they must shoot people and crack their

heads, so what's wrong with that? I thought. But I didn't say a word more. I put the club down on the table and walked out and went to the bathroom which was made of green slate or something, and to tell the truth it was very beautiful. The folks back home never saw anything like it. I'll bet.

Then at supper, which they called "dinner," being city folks, my Uncle Abner said to me: "Be patient. In a couple of days I'll know what I can do." Then he got his violin and Maxine went to the piano and they played the "Side-walks of New York" and Maxine sang. Then my uncle went to what they called the "club" and Maxine and I went to the picture show. It was a gangster picture, with plenty of shooting, the same as we have back in Midway.

Then that night I couldn't sleep. I lay there a long time. I heard Uncle Abner come in and drop his club on the table, and I kept thinking things over and something kept me awake. I was thinking about violence and the Reds and the war in the fur district which would start tomorrow, in which clubs would be used. That was on my mind I think, for when I made up my mind to go and see the Reds I went to sleep, and the next day it happened so. I was on Eighth Avenue.

There was a mass of heads, mostly without hats, as far as you could see. It was a strike of the fur workers and the cops stood with their clubs, more cops than I had ever seen. They were big, healthy, square-shouldered, round-bellied fellows. And as I stood there expecting the Reds to break out in violence a group of cops marched down the street, and in front of them was my Uncle Abner.

Uncle Abner was swinging his stick and looking important and powerful.

"Skunks!" said the man beside me. He was a small hatless man with curly hair and glasses. I knew by the language he used that he was a Red.

"You are not a Red?" I asked him. And I thought he would jump through me.

"A Red," he hissed. "What?" He lifted his glasses and looked at me in such a way—I can't describe it. Then he went on in a soft way, just like speaking to himself: "What is a Red?" I didn't answer.

"I'm asking you," he said. "What is a Red?" "I don't know," I said. "They believe in violence." "So

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# LABOR ACTION

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Under Direction of the  
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## ROOSEVELT'S "GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY

MANY think that President Roosevelt is making a great contribution to the peace of the world. We hold that his policies are war policies. In his Wilson Day speech he proposed that the nations stop making "offensive" weapons of war. That might make the first week or two of a war less destructive. After that it wouldn't matter. Besides, President Roosevelt must have known that it was easy to make such a proposal since nobody would accept it so long as the underlying problems which make nations go to war are untouched.

In the same speech the President announced that we would not invade the territory of any other nation, especially the Latin American nations, modified the Monroe Doctrine, and stated that we wanted to be a "good neighbor" in our foreign relations. There is an intense struggle for Latin American markets going on today between Great Britain and the United States, and, of course, we cannot afford to alienate the Latin Americans now. It would mean less trade for the United States, that is to say, for American financiers, industrialists and imperialists.

We recognized the U.S.S.R., because we want a means to curb Japanese imperialism in the interest of our own imperialism in the Pacific Ocean.

Meantime, nationalism is rampant here as elsewhere. Senator Borah went into ecstasies about it in a recent widely quoted speech. The Roosevelt administration encourages this nationalism in spite of all the talk about neighborliness. It wrecked the London economic conference because it wanted to be absolutely free to manipulate the American dollar in the interest of American trade, that is, American capitalists. And it is building battleships. When other nations make guns, poison gas and battleships, we know what it is for. It is no different in our case.

The workers must organize swiftly against the war danger. Nations are no longer talking about "if war comes" but about "when war comes." The workers in each country must fight against the war policies of their own government and refuse to support any war preparations or measures. Capitalists may need another war to get themselves out of the mess which they have created. The mess is not of our making.

## GREEN ATTACKS THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS

WORKERS do not want unions controlled by the boss. Where company unions exist they have in one way or another been forced on the workers. Neither do workers want the government to interfere in any way with the independence of their unions. A government-supervised and controlled union is a Fascist union which is worse than no union, so far as the interests of the workers are concerned. Therefore we have fought along with trade unionists and other workers against such pronouncements as Hugh Johnson made some weeks ago stating that the NRA would put a representative of the government on the Executive of every union in the country, and against all attempts of the NRA or any other government agency: to interfere with the right to strike or any other union activity.

On the same basis we condemn as a crime against the trade union movement President Green's suggestion in a document which has just been made public to the effect that "our government should warn American wage earners from joining these camouflaged unions (he is referring to unions affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League) by placing a catalog of these revolutionary organizations in the home of every worker."

That, President Green, is a suggestion which will yet come back to plague you and the American Federation of Labor. When the government cracks down on A. F. of L. strikes, as it is already doing, if one day a Fascist regime takes control of the unions and destroys them, you will be one of those who put the sword into its hands.

We, too, are opposed to the policies of the T.U.U.L. and have criticized many of their activities severely. It is one thing, however, for trade unionists to criticize them. It is a very different thing to call in the government to interfere in any way with the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively "through representatives of their own choosing." Certainly it is no part of the government's business to interfere with the political views and activities of unions or union leaders.

President Green has made no answer to the question put in the last issue of "Labor Action" as to what he was going to do to discipline the Retail Clerks Union which had actually made an agreement with a professional organizer which authorized him to form company unions in the chain stores. Apparently he is still more interested in red-baiting than in eliminating racketeering from the trade union movement.

## WHO WILL FOOT THE BILL?

THE opening of Congress showed that Roosevelt retains great popularity throughout the country and for the present has Congress under his thumb. Nobody dares to be against him. In some cases the workers who have been put to work on CWA jobs, and for the first time in months have a few dollars in their pocket, feel much the same way. In several places, we are informed, they have even been raising flags on CWA jobs in honor of the President.

To finance the recovery program the President laid before Congress a budget which involves an addition of 7 billion dollars to the national debt during the next year, and will raise that debt to over 30

billion in the next year or two, way above the war time peak.

We may well ask what has been happening to American workers when they become tremendously elated, and some of them even satisfied with a \$15 a week job and one which may last only three or four months at that. More important is the question, how the money is to be raised for this so-called recovery program. Who is to pay the bill?

The President makes no suggestion about increasing income taxes, though some attempt is going to be made to plug up the holes in the latter so that it may not be quite so easy for people like Mr. Morgan to escape paying the tax altogether. The people who have money, instead of being asked to disgorge it, are going to be given an opportunity to lend their money to the government and draw interest on these bonds. After a few gasps at the size of the budget Wall Street calmed down, evidently satisfied at this opportunity to invest its ill gotten gains in good securities backed by the government itself.

Since the administration is going to depend upon this source for its funds the financial editor of the New York Times draws the obvious conclusion that the government in spite of all its "radical" talk is really not going to interfere seriously with private incomes and industrial profits. "All official efforts must now converge on turning the ordinary deficit into an old-time surplus and tapping the accumulated private savings. It should be evident that the lately popular objective of forcing to a minimum private incomes and industrial profits" just won't do! Thus once again the Roosevelt administration is imposing a low standard on the workers, and while imposing some "reforms" on the capitalists, making them in reality more secure than ever.

Fight for higher wages on CWA jobs! Above all, build the American Workers Party with a thoroughgoing revolutionary program, which will put the workers and farmers in control, and by which alone they can be delivered from the millstone of debt, public and private, which now hangs around their necks!

## PROGRESSIVES AS WAGE CUTTERS

THE teachers of New York City led by the Teachers' Union are in arms against Mayor LaGuardia's proposal to cut their salaries. They are deeply hurt because they regard him as a friend, a progressive, even a "radical." For Tammany Hall or reactionary Republicans to cut wages is one thing, but for LaGuardia with such men as "brain trusters" Berle, and a former Socialist, Paul Banhard, in his cabinet, that's another thing! LaGuardia answers that the city has an agreement with the bankers and just can't get loans from them unless it cuts expenses!

At the same time another great progressive and friend of the people, no less a champion than Franklin Delano Roosevelt himself, announces that the 15 per cent pay cut of federal employees is to be extended for another six months, to June 30!

Let the workers take the lesson to heart. What the progressives have to offer does not fit the bill. In a sense they are perfectly right, that under the present system they have no alternative but to cut the wages of the workers. To them that may seem an excuse for cutting them. To workers it can only be an argument to smash the wage system and to establish a workers' republic under which the insanity of want in the midst of plenty will be forever impossible.

## "FREEDOM'S CALL"

THE first issue of "Freedom's Call, official organ of the Ohio Unemployed League, came to our desk last week. It is a four-page, tabloid-size paper, alive with news about the fighting unemployed workers of the Buckeye State, and will be published every week.

"Labor Action" extends its heartfelt greetings to "Freedom's Call." This is another step forward for the OUL, a demonstration that the CWA, in Ohio at least, has failed to achieve the effect desired by the "New Deal" Administration. The jobless workers of Ohio are becoming more, not less, militant. The OUL has taught them not only the truth of their slogan, "United we eat, divided we starve," but it has also taught them to expect nothing good from the political parties of the boss class. The ballyhoo of the Roosevelt "brain trusters" will not fool the members of the Ohio Unemployed League.

"The Ohio Unemployed League is entering its second year of militant activity," says the leading editorial.

"It has grown from a small number of organized unemployed to a membership in the neighborhood of 200,000 with 240 units located in all sections of the State...."

"Freedom's Call," as the official organ of the Ohio Unemployed League, has been established to serve the membership of the League. Through its columns the activities of the OUL will be reported. Its editorial policies will be the policies of the Ohio Unemployed League."

The paper is published at 214 East Rich Street, Columbus, Ohio.

## OTHERS SAY

"What is attacked by the Tugwell bill, and even more by the attempt to embody quality standards in the codes, is this enterprise in 'creative psychiatry' and the largely irrational and uneconomic consumption habits which advertisers manufacture and capitalize. In 'Recent Social Trends' Dr. Lynd notes that the Maxwell House coffee habit of the American people was bought in 1928 for \$42,000,000 and the Jell-o habit in 1925 for \$35,000,000. Doubtless the asking price for the Listerine habit and the Crazy Crystall habit would also be impressive if we knew them. 'When the ad men and the medicine men howl about the Brain Trust's attack on the 'whole system on which not only advertising but profits depend,' this is the system they are howling about, and the loudness of the howl is directly proportioned to the size of the howler's stake in the matter.'—James Rorty. In the "Nation."

## NEW HEADQUARTERS

The offices of "Labor Action" and of the CPLA have been moved to 112 East 19th Street. We have not yet been able to get our new telephone number, but you can reach us by calling our old number, STUYVESANT 9-2131.

Our new headquarters are larger than our old place, with lots of light and air—and heat.

# Preparing For War!

By RAYMOND ROBBINS

The mobilization of potential soldiers, the frenzied navy-building program, and the rapid stabilization of war industries go forward with great strides under the efficient supervision of the NRA war lords. Behind a screen of National Recovery propaganda, the munition makers prepare for the next world slaughter. Many of these super-patriots have been appointed to prominent administrative positions on the NRA boards. Colonel Scullen, owner of the Scullen Steel Co., is a member of the NRA Advisory Board in Missouri. He has "an enviable record for national defense." Mr. Pierre duPont, chairman of the Board of the E. I. duPont de Nemours and Co. which manufactures heavy chemicals, rayon and explosives, is a distinguished member of the industrial Advisory Board. His unceasing concern for adequate national defense may be attributed to the fact that his business is 40 per cent ahead of last year with "every branch of activities working at a profit."

In the official organ of the munition makers, Army Ordnance, the editors mention the splendid possibilities under the NRA for advancing education in industrial preparedness for war.

"The NRA will have the same effect upon industry as the coordinating industrial boards of the World War, hence the task of industrial war planning would have under the NRA a big jump on any coordinating measures which might be required in another national emergency."

The jingoes are as good as their word, for already the announcement of plans for merger of all communications is a definite step toward the "industrial preparedness" ideal of monopolies under government supervision. The War Policies Commission reports 17,000 factories ready to supply the needs of a nation at war.

Under the cover of the Public Works Administration, more than one billion dollars have been spent



From the Nation  
"This new poison gas of mine completely dissolves the lungs and intestines."

on actual war preparations since the Blue Eagle began to scream. For the coming year there will be an increase of \$31,000,000 in the appropriations for the Army and Navy. Last year the Navy Department received allotments out of the Public Works Fund amounting to \$274,763,924. As for the Army, a report for allotments up to October 30 pile up to \$318,473,820. Secretary of Navy Swanson justified his request for \$238,000,000 for the construction of 54 new warships on the grounds that the expenditure of this sum would give work to thousands of the unemployed, "in upbuilding our Navy," remarks Secretary Swanson "we are building prosperity." Prosperity for whom? The millions of starving unemployed who live in noisome

tenements, or for Mr. duPont, manufacturer of death and destruction, who paid out \$21,842,957 in dividends during the first nine months of 1933 as compared with \$36,000,000 in 1933.

The Japanese have used the Roosevelt-Swanson Naval Program as an excuse to appropriate huge amounts which dwarf previous expenditures for the navy. The naval race between the U. S. and Japan sweeps on at a break neck speed. Great Britain is far on the way to the construction of a navy of treaty strength. France continues to rehabilitate her military defenses, though they are the best in the world. Germany is openly arming. International conflict, not prosperity or a world up turn, looms large on the horizon.

## Workers Commemorate Lenin

By LEE HEWITT

TEN years have passed since the death of Vladimir Ilych Lenin. Ten years, and one hundred and sixty million people, free from the oppression of an exploiting class, stand as a great monument to his intelligence and his courage. Today the working-class of the world commemorates the death of this man who drove the revolutionary locomotive of history.

"He was not content to work only in the field of pure theory," said Lenin of Karl Marx, "but also gave unremitting attention to the tactical problems of the working-class struggle." In these words may be found not only the essence of Marx, but also of Lenin. To Lenin, the two, theory and practice, were integral parts of the same whole, the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Frequently, his biographers note, he deplored on the one hand those intellectuals who found in Marxism a vantage point "above the masses," and on the other those revolutionary workers contemptuous of theory.

Forced into exile by the Czarist government, Lenin gave much time to study, yet he kept a finger on the pulse of the Russian revolutionary movement. Voluminous correspondence, visits from workers, these gave him a gauge for the tempo of the upsurging masses. Krupskaya, his wife and companion in exile, relates how the smallest details affecting the Russian workers would keep him pacing the floor, deep in thought, throughout the night.

Marx and Engels repeatedly insisted that their theory was "not a dogma, but a guide to action." Lenin, many times, fought against the applying of "phrases of the dead past....converted into an empty and harmful tinsel, into a rattle."

As if to refute the present mechanical domination of the international revolutionary movement, he wrote: "To imagine that the advice of Marx and Engels to the Anglo-American workers movement can be simply and directly adapted to Russian conditions means to utilize Marxism, not to elucidate his method, not to study the concrete historic peculiarities of the workers' movement in definite countries, but for petty factional grudges of the intelligentsia."

with great confidence in the revolutionary creativeness of the masses, in the years that followed he wrote for them, guided them, with a hand that never paused, never wavered.

At the unveiling of a monument to Marx and Engels, on the first anniversary of the Proletarian revolution, Lenin said: "The great service of Marx and Engels consists in their having shown the proletarians of all countries their role, their task, their call...."

The great service of Lenin consists in having revealed to the proletarians of all countries, beyond all further doubts, the path to be followed in heeding that call.

All who were close to him have marked the great human qualities he possessed. His innate modesty, his complete naturalness in dealing with workers, these endeared him to those who were with him. Ruthlessly opposed to those revisionists of Marx who babbled insanely of "peaceful revolution" (yet set workers at each other's throats in defense of imperialistic fatherland!), Lenin wept on hearing great music, saying, "I can't listen to music too often. It affects your nerves, makes you want to say stupid, nice things, and stroke the heads of people who could create such beauty while living in this vile hell."

Much has been made by these democratic - gentlemen - revisionists of the picture of Lenin as dictator, harsh, heavy-handed, without mercy. That he was firm, not given to yielding an inch when it was a matter of principles, none will deny, but the memories of the Russian workers attest to their regard for him. "Dear Grandfather Lenin" they called him. He meant death and oblivion to those who opposed the revolution; he meant new life to the workers and farmers.

To Lenin it was not a question of humaneness, it was humanity that he sought to lift from the morass of ruling-class oppression. "He who is not with us is against us," he said. "This was his motif, the workers of Russia, freed from an oppressing-class are his justification."

He sought to raise the political level of the Russian workers that they might understand well the necessity for building the new society. "There is nothing I would like so much, there is nothing I have hoped for so much, as an opportunity to write for the workers," he wrote in 1897. Endowed

with great confidence in the revolutionary creativeness of the masses, in the years that followed he wrote for them, guided them, with a hand that never paused, never wavered.

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## The Manager Speaks

By CARA COOK

Renewed activity and enthusiasm in all our work is apparent since the convention. One expression of this is the increase in subscriptions to LABOR ACTION since the last issue announcing the new Party. More than 75 new paid subscriptions have been added in three weeks, and the number of bundle orders has also increased.

Little chance for the "Manager" to speak much these days; too many workers writing in:

"Send me ten copies of the last issue to distribute. The new Party sounds good!"... J. R. Midway, Ky.

"I am a revolutionist without party affiliation. I think the workers can and must be organized here because conditions are terrible. A strong, active, revolutionary organization is an absolute necessity."... C. R. Brainerd, Minn.

"As an unemployed teacher and sometime farmer who is now groping toward the left, I think this new Party is what I have been looking for. Enclosed is my sub."... J. G. Callias, Maine.

"LABOR ACTION gets better and better each issue. The only thing is we don't get it often enough."... G. M. Canfield, Ohio.

(And let me say here, it looks like a regular bi-monthly publication now—if you keep those subscriptions rolling in!)

AND REMEMBER TO WRITE LABOR ACTION NOW AT ROOM 702, 112 East 19th Street.

# AT HOME

By KARL LORE

Due to the fact that Louis Brewster's copy for "Radical Interludes" did not arrive in time for this issue, "At Home" is being run in its place.

"At Home," by Karl Lore, will be a regular feature hereafter, but will occupy space on the second page. Lack of space forbids further notice of this excellent new feature at this time.

"The Chronicle had prepared for the lynching. It had the advance information of the forming of the vigilante group."

The Kern County (Cal.) Union Labor Journal reprints the above from the San Francisco Chronicle as that unprincipled rag described how it "scooped the world" with its story of the San Jose lynching.

Pointing out that the Chronicle editors knew in advance that "a mob of drunken speakeasy habitués would take the law into its own hands and didn't lift a finger to stop the outrage," the Labor Journal editorializes: "But why take it out on the paper. It is a true representative of the system of blood dripping exploitation that holds us in its grip. Everything fair if there's a dollar to be made."

## The Fight Keeps Up

And still workers flock into the unions. A few spectacular battles have been only the reflection of a great movement of the forces of labor. The Akron Rubber Workers Union claims a membership of 20,000. Twenty-five thousand new members are reported in the Midwest for the Oil Workers Union.

By some queer coincidence the company unions in the packing houses of Swift, Armour and Wilson announced that they had won a ten per cent wage increase for the workers just at the time when things were getting uncomfortable for the meat monarchs. "Officials of the company hoped that the pay increase would end strike talk," according to the labor hating Chicago Tribune. In many places the workers, whose strikes were called off by the National Labor Board, are getting hot under the collar again as the bosses refuse to deal with them or to grant decent wages and hours.

To one who has some personal experience with the ruthless and feudalistic policy of the great lead mining and processing companies, it is good news to hear that lead workers in Philadelphia and in Collinsville, Ill., have organized and gone out on strike.

## Industrial Union Issues

The industrial union question is going to clamor for attention in the period just ahead. According to the American Federation of Labor it has chartered 902 Federal unions (directly affiliated to the AFL) in the last six months of 1932. Whether to weld them into an industrial union structure or hand them over to the various International unions to tear to pieces is causing plenty of headaches.

In the meantime, a number of these new unions are taking action. When a rubber workers local was ordered to turn over 800 machinists to the Machinists Union, it rebelled and is taking a leading part in the organization of the International Rubber Workers Union. In the electrical industry three local unions have formed the Electrical Industry Employees Union. Closer cooperation between these and other unions with the same idea is planned and should make a hot seat for the official family of the A. F. of L. These unions would like to be in the Federation but they are determined on the industrial form of organization.

Three cheers for the United Shoe Workers Union formed by an amalgamation of four independent unions. Especially strong in New England it claims 70,000 shoe workers.

## Best Jokes of the Week

"The CPLA with its Brotherhood of the Mills sided strongly and definitely with the old union and the bosses and against the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union" (In the Warren, O., steel strike in 1931).—From Steel and Labor by Horace B. Davis.

"Because of this failure of Wiecek, Allard and Company at Springfield, the Communist organization has accused them of selling out to Peary, which is only a smoke screen to hide this Wiecek and Allard gang's Communistic associations."—From the editorial wizard of the Progressive Miner.