

Labor Age

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The Outlook for 1932

A. J. MUSTE

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EDITORIAL

The Hosiery Workers

"Modern Economic Society"

Reviewed by J. C. KENNEDY



LABOR AGE

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MARINE WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

TWENTY-FIVE to forty year terms in prison face John Soderberg, Thomas Bunker and William Trajer, members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union, arrested in the middle of November charged with being engaged in a plot for "the wholesale bombing of barges in New York harbor." The three men are now in the Tombs Prison, New York, awaiting trial. They are held in \$100,000 bail each.

When a group of active workers in the labor movement became convinced that the three men are being framed-up for their union activity, the Marine Workers Defense Committee was organized with headquarters at 82 East 10th Street. It is a real united front of all shades of the labor movement, including the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, Communist Party (Majority Group), Communist League (Opposition), Industrial Workers of the World, the Il Martello group, the General Defense Committee, Students Council of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Young Peoples Socialist League and American Federation of Labor local unions. New affiliations are taking place every week. The American Civil Liberties Union has offered its aid, and will soon start action based on the brutal third degree torture given the men when they were first taken into custody.

A protest mass meeting was held at Webster Hall on January 7 which was addressed by speakers from all sections of the labor movement. Plans are now being laid for a broad, city-wide conference of working class organizations which will be held in about a month.

A detailed article on the case and the conditions among the marine workers in New York harbor will appear in the next issue of LABOR AGE, written by Sylvan A. Pollack, a member of the Marine Workers Defense Committee.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

BECAUSE OF ILL HEALTH—from which he has been suffering for sometime—Louis F. Budenz has been compelled to take a three months' leave of absence from all labor activity. This will curtail his work with the C. P. L. A., although he will continue to keep contact with what we are doing.

This illness, coupled with the refusal to submit to reactionary policies within the Associated Silk Workers, also brought about Budenz' resignation as organizer for the Broad Silk Department of that union. A complete statement on the Paterson silk situation up to date will appear from his pen in the next issue of LABOR AGE. In the meantime, we present a program of action for the building of a militant union in Paterson which is being distributed around that city and other silk centers by the Paterson branch of the C. P. L. A.

We are happy to state that this silk workers branch in Paterson is vigorously carrying on a campaign for a militant union. The officers of the Branch are Joseph Brooks, chairman; Wm. Hulihan, vice-chairman, Mrs. Anna Bombardi, secretary.

NOTICE

Conference for Progressive Labor Action
New York Branch

Meets every Second and Fourth Friday of each Month

Harlan Needs Relief

With the acquittal of William Barnett, there still remain 42 defendants indicted for murder by the coal barons of Harlan, Kentucky. Funds for defense should be forwarded at once to the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference, P. O. Box 109, Station D, New York, N. Y.

LABOR AGE

January, 1932

EDITORIALS

FROM time to time we have referred to shining lights of our business and political world, the brains without which the "hands," namely the workers, could not move.

Happy New Year

Recently one of them, Col. Leonard P. Ayres, vice president of the Cleveland Trust Company and "a nationally recognized business analyst" delivered himself of a great and weighty thought in his annual address before the (open shop) Chamber of Commerce of his home town.

Hold your breath fellow-worker, fellow-dumb-bell, we should say perhaps, and listen to Col. Ayres' wisdom—his precious thought to help you through the New Year. The papers say that the chief policy recommended by the good banker for 1932 is that of balanced budgets. "Income should be coaxed up and outgo should be pared down," he advises.

You never realized that it was so simple as that? No, of course not. It takes an educated man like Col. Ayres to grasp such a great truth. So like the good fellows you are, get busy, wage slaves who are making around \$10 a week if you are lucky, and see if you cannot coax that up to \$10.50 per week. Maybe if you coax real hard the boss will get generous and boost your wages that much. Doubtless 1932 will be a great year and miracles may happen.

But of course "outgo should be pared down." Some of you are still eating two square, or not so square, meals per day. Don't you think that you could pare that down to one meal per day to help the cause of better business along? Most of you actually still wear shoes and clothing of some kind. We suspect some of you of the extravagance of buying a new pair of shoes for the kids in these hard times. How about paring down all of these things and going naked this year?

In other words, insofar as the workers are looking to the big boys to set things right for them, they are doomed to a pretty black New Year, worse than the one just ended. Let the workers of America give themselves a "Happy New Year" by pledging each other to organize, to fight this damnable system under which we suffer, to build for all who toil a nobler and saner world in which no shirkers will be able to exist.



SAID Heywood Broun recently in his column in the New York World-Telegram: "I believe that even an extremely radical program can be carried out through democratic processes if only

Democracy Again!

there is a disposition upon the part of every one to look facts in the face." Like the honest man that he tries to be, Broun straightway adds: "Of that disposition in America at the moment I can see only the slightest trace. It took us more

than two years even to admit a nodding acquaintance with unemployment, and today we are behaving as if it were no more than a seasonal problem."

Exactly, and under the circumstances Broun's remarks about "democratic process" amount to saying, "If my aunt had been a man, he would have been my uncle."

Under our present system where one class owns and rules and another works and obeys, democracy is a sham. The class which owns will not look facts in the face. Why should they? They are sitting pretty, and therefore can spare themselves the hard labor of thinking.

The workers, on the other hand, can seldom "face the real facts," because everything possible is done to hide the facts from them and to fill their minds with jazz and fables. When the workers do find the hard facts of poverty and joblessness staring them in the face, are they permitted to do anything about it by "democratic process?" Let them try it—if they don't mind losing their jobs or getting a gentle rap from a cop's club, or suffering the fate of Tom Mooney or Sacco and Vanzetti.



IN the January issue of Harper's Magazine which, by the way, contains a number of articles which radicals and laborites will find useful, Louis Adamic, author of

Is the A. F. of L. On Its Deathbed?

Dynamite, and a keen student of the labor movement in the United States, contributes an article entitled, "The Collapse of Organized Labor." The nature of the article is further indicated by its sub-title, "Is the A. F. of L. on its deathbed?" to which Adamic gives an affirmative answer.

In the author's opinion, "the immediate future for organized labor in the United States looks black indeed." He thinks it is possible that the present depression will be followed by a period of industrial feudalism or fascism. "If this comes about the A. F. of L., of course, will cooperate with the employers in keeping the proletariat in line."

Adamic does not believe, however, that this will be the end. His vision of future possibilities he states in these remarkable words: "I think that after the decline of the (labor) 'aristocracy' has gone still further than it has today and after the old, weary, suspicious, sour and frustrated workers have died off, there will spring up a fresh, militant national labor movement, radical and revolutionary along industrial and political lines, but not in the current Russian sense. It will be a realistic *American* mass movement, born of the economic and social problems of labor, in tune with the future psychology and philosophy of American life, just as the A. F. of L. was in tune with the American psychology and philosophy in the past." Our readers will recognize here a statement of the basic aim of the C.P.L.A. and almost the exact language which we have sometimes used in describing that aim.

THE recent election in Branch 1 of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers in Philadelphia showed that there is a pretty powerful opposition to the officialdom which sponsored the national agreement referred to elsewhere in this issue of LABOR AGE and under which the union accepted a terrific reduction in wages. The administration candidates averaged about 600 votes and the Communist opposition candidates about 160. In one instance a C.P.L.A. candidate, Edmund Ryan, ran against both, an administration and a Communist candidate. He received 119 votes more than the Communist. In the election for delegate to the Philadelphia Central Labor Union, the highest administration candidate polled 648 votes and Ryan received 317.

There is no question that there is a basis here for a genuinely militant rank and file opposition free from the fundamental errors in policy to which the Communists are committed.

One of the cheapest and dirtiest pieces of election propaganda that it has been our privilege to run across in many a moon, was used against the communists in this election. It was a despicable attempt to stir up religious prejudice which is dangerous and wicked enough under any circumstances but particularly so in the trade union movement.

A slip of paper was passed around in the shops shortly before the election, bearing the title *Mathematical Description of Communism*, and followed this statement:

A human being, controlled by a brain not accepting "God" is therefore faithless, hopeless, and soon becomes a "bore."

Human Brains accepting "God"—"Success."

Human Brains accepting "Satan"—"Destruction."

Human Brains accepting "Nothing"—"O."

It is charged that people known to be close to the administration in the hosiery workers union distributed this statement. Obviously it was meant to prejudice workers against the Communist candidate and, by that token, to influence them to vote for administration candidates. Whoever may have been responsible, we trust that the administration of the hosiery workers union will immediately repudiate all connection with it and will take measures to discover and to rebuke the perpetrators of this despicable offence against the fundamental principles of trade unionism, namely, solidarity among the workers, regardless of religious or other differences.



"The Bethlehem Steel Corporation recognizes that the Stagger Work Plan adopted early in the depression, in order to spread available work over the payroll as widely as possible, has now reached the limit of its usefulness. It has found that a large number of men are now getting less than is necessary to sustain life."

THIS quotation is part of a memorandum issued by the general manager of the Bethlehem Steel plant at Lackawanna, New York, near Buffalo, in conjunction with the executive director of the New York State Emergency Relief Administration, after conference with Eugene Grace himself, the head of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Thus the powers that be are compelled to admit once again that they have fooled the people and that another much-touted remedy for the unemployment situation is not so hot after all!

LABOR AGE pointed out long ago the fundamental economic fallacy in this "spread the work around" movement. We are suffering from a depression chiefly because the mass

of the people do not get enough pay to enable them to buy back the things which they have produced. If we fail to increase the total purchasing power of the masses, it doesn't make any difference in the long run whether that purchasing power is used by one million or by two million workers! Goods will still continue to pile up on the shelves. If the total amount of water running into a barrel is only enough to fill it one-half full, the barrel will still be only half full even though the water is poured into it through two pipes rather than one.

Even from the humanitarian standpoint, it is doubtless better, in the short run, that all workers should go a little hungry rather than that some should die of starvation and others have plenty. But when, as Bethlehem Steel has been compelled to admit, the wages of all the workers are decreased because of short time, way below the level of decent existence, the question of degree becomes unimportant. The man who drowns in only five feet of water really has no great advantage over the one who drowns in ten feet of water.

Something more fundamental than stagger plans and charity drives will have to be thought of, our masters!



THE campaign for unemployment insurance should be pushed forward vigorously everywhere this winter. Progressives and radicals should emphasize the point on which C.P.L.A. has insisted from the beginning that contributions to unemployment reserves should be made by industry alone, or by industry plus the State through funds obtained by taxation on high incomes and inheritances. In no case should workers be compelled to contribute.

Many people ask whether the thing doesn't become a dole if the workers don't contribute. One way to answer a good many of such folks is to say:

"Call it a dole if you get any satisfaction out of that. The workers will refuse to starve. Neither will they be satisfied to depend forever on haphazard and humiliating charity. They will insist on getting their dole regularly, on being insured in advance that they are going to get it, and getting it from society as something to which they have a right rather than from individuals who respond to sob appeals."

In the strictest sense of the term perhaps none of the so-called unemployment insurance plans are insurance. You have insurance when a number of persons who are liable to the same danger, each save a small sum so that the particular person on whom the danger actually falls may get some compensation. On this basis people pay for life or automobile insurance. If workers, while they have jobs, were all to save in a common fund, on which, when jobless, many of them could draw, that would be insurance.

Unemployment insurance in that precise sense we cannot have. In the first place, because it is impossible under this crazy economic system to calculate how much unemployment there will be and, therefore, just how much it is necessary to save. In the second place and chiefly, because the workers do not get paid enough now to live on and therefore cannot save adequately for the long rainy days of joblessness. In plenty of places in the United States a family living off the charity societies actually gets more income without working than an unskilled laborer can make by working.

Does it then follow that a worker who is paid when jobless really gets charity or a dole? People fall for this reasoning only because they still live in the eighteenth century and think, as somebody has put it, that unemploy-

ment is a problem of individual character rather than of industry. Whether a man is laid off or not in our complex industrial system, depends not upon himself but upon the requirements of industry. Industry requires that he be on call. It needs a labor supply that can move swiftly into a new enterprise or locality and that is subject to being just as suddenly laid off. That being the case, industry (or industry and the State) must also be prepared to pay the worker wages throughout the entire year. It cannot cheat him both coming and going—insist that he be on hand when needed and yet not pay him except when he is actually working. Unemployment insurance in other

words is just wages—recognition of the principle that the worker who is ready, able and willing to take a job is entitled to his wages not two months, or eight months, but twelve months in a year.

The simplest way to meet the situation, therefore, is for industry as a whole to set up reserves, supplemented possibly out of taxation, to pay wages to workers within a particular industry or firm which does not happen to require their services. Industry can thus “insure” itself against a risk which society demands that it assume just as it has demanded that industry assume responsibility for compensating workers who suffer from industrial accidents.

Labor Party and Unionism in W. Virginia

ON March 19, 1931, the independent West Virginia Mine Workers Union was founded by the miners of the Kanawha Valley led by Frank Keeney, Brant Scott and Boots Scherer, and aided by such C.P.L.A.ers as Tom Tippet and chairman A. J. Muste. On December 15, 1931, 40 delegates, representing 20 local unions of the Kanawha Valley, met in the union office in Charleston and definite steps to found a Labor Party and thus to put into effect the resolution of their first convention which had pledged the union to independent political action, were taken.

It requires a little knowledge about the background to enable one to realize just how brave, clear-sighted and important a thing this Labor Party conference was. Following the March convention, as the readers of LABOR AGE know, the union organized nearly all of the 23,000 miners in Kanawha Valley. It asked the operators to confer about a contract, checkweighmen and wages. The operators refused. In July the union was forced into a strike against starvation. The battle was bravely fought. The operators were made to realize, in the words of a song written by one of these miners, Walter Seacrist, that “there’s a union in them West Virginia hills.” The strike was, however, “lost” in the ordinary sense of the term. They did not get a contract. They did not get a raise in wages.

In other days and under other leadership this would have meant the end of the union. The leaders would have told the workers a cock-and-bull story about a “moral victory”—and then would have vanished. In this case, as Tom Tippet pointed out in a recent LABOR AGE article, the union stayed on the field. It was helped to do so by friends in the C.P.L.A., the Emergency Strike Relief Committee and others. Keeney and his colleagues told the men that their battle was lost but that the union would stay by them if they would stay by the union and that they would get ready to “fight another day.”

The result has been amazing, or maybe not so amazing, but at any rate encouraging to those who had insisted that the C.P.L.A. policy, of not abandoning a situation after a strike, would bring results. Already the union is again nearly as strong as it was before the strike began. Union meetings are attended by hundreds. The union is carrying on educational work, it is looking after the worst cases of destitution. There is actually a chance that the union may soon spread into the historic Mingo and Logan counties.

Now, in laying the foundations for a Labor Party the union has taken another forward step. Its leaders have once again demonstrated that they are genuine militants and progressives—men of action and not of empty words.

The resolution which summarized the action of the conference contained the following points:

1. Reaffirmation of the March decision that just as the workers need a fighting industrial union, so they must organize their own labor political power.

2. Decision to take immediate steps to get out petitions for candidates for local offices, such as, constable, Justice of the Peace, etc. in order that in the next organizing campaign or strike these so-called officers of the law may not be mere tools of the operators. This decision applies for the present to the five Kanawha Valley counties—namely, Kanawha, Fayette, Raleigh, Putman and Boone.

3. Decision to give further study to the question of extending the Labor Party move to other sections of the state and also to the question of national affiliation. Representatives of the Socialist Party were present at the conference by invitation; but while the miners welcome all possible assistance both in their union activities and in carrying out their policy of independent political action, they decided that for the present they wanted to build a Labor Party and to leave the question of national affiliation open.

4. The conference appointed a committee of seven to carry out the above decisions and to issue a call for a Labor Party convention to be held early in 1932. Harold W. Houston, prominent Charleston attorney who has appeared for the miners in many historic cases, is the chairman of this committee. The other members are working miners. The committee will have the enthusiastic support of President Frank Keeney and the other officers of the West Virginia Mine Workers union.

The final paragraph of the conference resolution was noteworthy. It stated that the principal purpose in the minds of the miners was the establishment of “a fighting, progressive, powerful union for the coal miners of West Virginia” and that any steps taken on the political field must be taken with that purpose in mind. The conference had previously cheered Chairman A. J. Muste of the C.P.L.A., who was also present by invitation, when he had stressed the same point saying:

“Your union is primary. The struggle on the industrial field against the boss is the fundamental thing. Let that be your guiding star. If you follow that star you will not be led astray in the bogs of politics. If you fail to follow that star your politics will become a racket like any other. A labor political party which has not the backing of a powerful industrial organization is a scrap of paper.”

LABOR AGE extends heartiest congratulations to the West Virginia Mine Workers Union for this fresh evidence it has given in the movement to found a Labor Party of its fighting spirit, its realism and its sound sense. Political action in the hands of such a union can prove a very useful weapon for the workers.

The Outlook for 1932

By A. J. MUSTE

IN his usual forcible manner, H. L. Mencken, surveying the scene at the opening of the New Year, finds himself "forced to admit that the human race has got itself into what, without exaggeration, may be called a hell of a mess."

Since what we say on this subject of the bankruptcy of our economic system is likely to be discounted, because we are "reds" and are supposed to insist that capitalism is on the rocks as a part of our professional ballyhoo, it may be well to quote a few people on the subject who believe in capitalism, hope that it will survive and can be trusted to put the best possible face on the situation.

The other day, for example, a committee of the world's biggest financial experts, who had been studying the problem of whether Germany could pay her war reparation bills under the Young Plan, issued a report, every word of which was doubtless weighed carefully so as to create as little alarm as possible. This report contained the remarkable sentence: "We can recall no previous parallel in time of peace to the dislocation that is taking place and may well involve a profound change in the economic relations of nations to one another." The Governor of the Bank of England, writing sometime ago to the Governor of the Bank of France, said: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year."

Raymond B. Fosdick, who is close to the Rockefeller interests, has recently said: "A paralysis which we do not seem to be able to diagnose has overtaken our machine civilization. The year 1931 has seen this creeping paralysis fasten itself with a sure hold on the industry of the world. . . . The anxiety that marked the passing of 1930 has deepened. . . . Western civilization has begun to look furtively around, listening behind it for the silent tread of some dread specter of destruction." Or does he mean Soviet Russia with its planned economy and no unemployment?

Wreck, bankruptcy, paralysis, destruction — — these are the words which the defenders of capitalism are

using about their own system as this New Year opens!

"A Hell of a Mess"

Needless to say that the facts bear them out! We, in the United States of America, are living in the richest nation on earth. This is paradise compared to other capitalist lands—Germany, e.g., where out of 32,500,000 gainfully employed persons, 29,500,000 or 91 per cent earn less than \$50 per month, and 50 per cent less than \$25 per month.

What has happened here in the home of the New Capitalism? All values have been slashed, commodity prices are down to 1913 levels, wheat, e.g., 20 per cent below that. There has been a cut of not less than 10 billion dollars in wages from 1929, and the slashing still goes on. Our exports, on a value basis, are 40 per cent below last year. During the past week, after the most frantic efforts have been made by the Hoover administration for months to have private funds raised for relief, the administration's own representatives on these drives have come before a senate committee and testified one after another, that neither private funds, nor city, county and state funds can meet the need. The Federal government must find hundreds of millions soon, or thousands of Americans will starve to death.

Meantime the political situation throughout the world is so disturbed that the days before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 seem like a peaceful, charming summer afternoon in comparison. The building of tariff walls in the mad scramble to make each nation a self-sufficient economic unit (which means ready to go to war with another, since on any other basis there is no sense in making a farmer in Poland, e.g., pay a heavy duty before he can buy a dozen eggs from a storekeeper a few yards across the German border) goes merrily on—even England, classic land of free trade, is now going by the slogan, "a tariff a day keeps the boggy-man away." Germany is on the brink of economic catastrophe—or revolution or both. If she does not actually go over the edge, it will be a hair-breadth escape.

Tension between Germany and Poland is serious, as also between France and Italy. Japan has marched rough-shod into Manchuria and helped herself to actual control of its political and economic life, though there is no war, mind you, and Japan wouldn't take an inch of Manchurian soil as a gift. The Nationalist government in China is divided and shaken. A nation of four hundred million is in a state of upheaval.

England has not satisfied the advocates of independence for India. Indian discontent is being repressed by military means. Desperation is driving idealistic Hindu youths to assassinating the Indian representatives of Premier Ramsay MacDonald just as in the last century desperation drove Russian youths to murdering the minions of the Czar. Gandhi seems about to proclaim another civil disobedience campaign. Another three hundred fifty million human beings in world commotion! But why go on?

Verily, Mr. Mencken, the human race has got itself into a hell of a mess!

If space permitted, there should come now an attempt to analyze the position in which the labor movement or movements of the world find themselves, their probable effectiveness in meeting the situation into which capitalism has gotten itself, and so on. Space doesn't permit, so we shall have to hint at our views on this crucial subject as we go along. We have to take our courage in our hands now and ask, as we stand in the midst of this mess, what do we see ahead for 1932?

What's Ahead for 1932?

Prophecy on paper is dangerous business. Somebody may dig up your prophecy a year or ten years from now and show you up. Even so, we have always thought that it's better to have some guess as to what's coming than to try to navigate the present stormy seas without any chart, either good or poor! First let us look around for a moment.

Will there be a Disarmament Conference, and will it accomplish anything? In all probability the Conference will meet. Failure to do so

would be a flat admission that the League of Nations is bankrupt and that the peace efforts of the last 13 years have been worth exactly nothing, or a few cents less. The powers can't afford to admit that. A man doesn't admit he has an incurable cancer, until long after he has had it.

The Conference will accomplish nothing. It cannot, in face of what is happening in Manchuria where Japan has impolitely told the League and its brother imperialist powers to go to hell, and in view of the terrific disturbance in the economic life of the nations. France will put over her doctrine that everybody has to feel secure before disarming.

To those who care to see, the Conference will once more demonstrate that war cannot be abolished under the capitalist system. No capitalist nation will really disarm, if only because it needs its army and navy to keep down discontent at home.

What is coming in Germany? The big Powers, meaning the international bankers, will make a strenuous effort to have a further postponement of reparations payments and to get a scaling down of the debts. They will probably accomplish something, but not enough and not soon enough.

France and the United States hold the key to the situation. France still thinks she can take care of herself, even if the German economic system collapses, and is obsessed with a desire to keep Germany weak. The United States bankers will want to let up on German reparations in order not to lose their own private investments in Germany, but France will probably thumb her nose at them, and the peanut politicians in Congress, drinking out of a bottle marked Nationalist Isolation, will probably succeed in keeping Hoover and the bankers from doing anything big enough and quick enough about Germany. They will not get it through their heads, of course, that in so doing they spell doom of the capitalist system in Europe, except one or two of the brighter ones who may figure that, even so, we can keep the show going here in the United States for some time after it breaks up on the other side. And why should a Congressman worry about 20 years from now?

If no adequate and speedy action to ease the burden of the German people is taken, there is a chance that Hitler and his Nazis will come into power this winter or spring. More likely, in my opinion, the present Bruening dictatorship will be made more drastic and, with the backing of



Bruce Liss '32

Young Plan Experts Confer on Capitalist Crisis

France (or under the whip of French threats, if that phrase is preferable), will still further bleed the German people. My reason for thinking that Hitler may not come into power, even if things get worse in Germany, is that any party which squarely repudiates reparations must face the probability of a French invasion. That invasion must be repulsed or the party in question will be torn to bits by the German people.

But how can a party like Hitler's, which has no support from the Jews or from the mass of the workers, rally enough forces to engage in a war against French invaders? If Hitler does come into power, it may mean that he has arrived at a secret understanding with France on the reparations business, France being willing to pay a fairly good price for Fascist insurance against "Bolshevism" in central Europe. Should Hitler come into power, and really attempt to carry out his present announced program, that will almost certainly mean invasion by France, and that in turn chaos in central Europe, and that in turn God knows what—war of France against Russia, world war, anything!

In short, the outlook for Germany is dark, the only question being one of degree, something between the present slow misery and a complete upheaval which may mean Fascism, war, possibly a Communist revolution, but not very likely at this juncture.

What will be the outcome of the Manchurian situation? Japan will establish her control over the economic life of that rich country, creating Chinese political instruments to execute

her will. This will not be so good for other nations eager to exploit Manchuria. For the present year, the chances are that conditions in Manchuria will continue so upset that nobody will make much economic gain out of the country. Japan will thumb her nose at anybody who tries seriously to interfere with her Manchurian adventure.

Will China Go Bolshevik? The Nationalist party, at least the Nanking faction, has lost prestige by inability to stop Japan in Manchuria. I doubt whether the more radical Canton faction which is now taking part in the government will be able to pull things together. This year will probably see the Chinese Communists who already dominate important sections of the country extend their control, and certain generals setting up independent control in various provinces. There is only the slightest chance that conditions will be stable enough to bring much trade and money to western nations.

Will Gandhi proclaim a new campaign of civil disobedience against Great Britain in India? Almost certainly yes. He has already, it seems, in the few days since his return to India encouraged non-payment of taxes by the peasants and the illegal manufacture of salt. If he does not meet the practical failure of Britain to give independence to India with passive resistance, the more radical elements in his party will take the reins in hand and adopt more drastic measures. The British authorities in India are taking most extreme steps to repress the independence movement,

but repression at the stage at which that movement has arrived simply provokes revolution. A disturbed year is in store for India, and that will increase the woes of the British ruling class, already in a very unpleasant hole.

How About the U. S.?

Will 1932 see the return of prosperity to the United States? In any big way, certainly not. Nobody, not even Hoover, dares to promise that. With all the money we have invested abroad and the extent to which we are at present dependent on our foreign trade, we cannot possibly have any big prosperity, with foreign nations in the fix we have described. It is barely possible that we might in time build an almost self-sufficient Fascist nationalist regime here, but not likely, and in any event it would take time, lots of it.

Broadly speaking, three possibilities are before us as the year opens. One is that, with the collapse of Germany, etc., the bottom may drop clean out of our stock and bond market and that we may face a major financial and economic crisis with a lot of actual starvation and intense misery. The second is that we may just avoid that by patching things up a bit in Germany and that we shall have the same sort of slow fever, dull headache, general economic debility, we had in 1931, only quite a little more so. The third is that our bankers and politicians, having some luck in Europe, may get together and, by a supreme effort, pump some oxygen into our economic system, so as to have the *peepul* in a happy frame of mind when election day comes round. They can be counted on to make a herculean effort to do this, and there is a chance that they may succeed. Even a little prosperity will look big to a lot of Henry Dubbs this summer. In any event, next winter will be another tough one.

What is the political outlook? How is the presidential election coming out? If we have a big smash Hoover will declare a virtual state of war and will be the dictator for the bankers. If there is an election under these circumstances, he will get the Republican nomination and be elected. It is doubtful if the Democrats would dare to run anybody.

If the second of our alternatives turns up, i.e., we have a tough year but not a real smash, Hoover may yet lose the Republican nomination or collapse under the strain before June. If he is nominated, he may lose the

election to a deserving Democrat. In any event the election will go, of course, to the party that can put up the most money. Those who have the cash will prefer to give it to the G. O. P. They may give it to the Democrats if they think that will fool the masses into thinking they are going to get a new deal. There will be no spontaneous uprising of the masses under Democratic leadership, actually to force a new deal, as there was in Jefferson's and Jackson's time. There are not enough independent farmers and small middle class folk left for that. Money will determine in any case and so nothing much will happen. Only, if things are pretty sour, the people may insist on beer and a feeling that something is going to happen to take them out of their misery, and in that case they will be given a Democrat, that is to say, if the Democrats can manage to make up a program by that time. A party which since November has looked forward to control in Congress and the chance of electing a president and by January is still miles away from being able to announce a program, may just not be able to sit up and accept an election victory if it is handed one!

If, one the other hand, the gods smile on our glorious republic and we have something that looks like returning prosperity by next summer, we shall probably have Hoover for another four years. In that case the money-boys will probably not want to experiment even with a nice safe Democrat, though there would be just a chance that they would feel so relieved and magnanimous that they would give the Democrats a chance just for fun.

Labor in 1932

What is going to happen in the labor world in 1932? Plenty of excitement whichever way the economic pendulum swings.

If there is a smash and intense misery grips our people, we shall have, I was going to say, our 1905 Revolution. I think I had better put it, the first rehearsal for our 1905 Revolution. An attempt to strike back at the economic system which is driving them to destruction in the very midst of plenty, the workers would have to make. But they have no organization to speak of, very inadequate leadership, and only a faint idea of what this world upheaval is all about anyway. Our revolutionary rehearsal will be short and bloody. Bill Green, Matthew Woll and the other boys will help Hoover and the Legion and the

Army to jail and shoot miners and steel workers and office girls who have the audacity to refuse to submit without a protest to the American brand of Fascism.

Will a Labor Party get under way if things are tough but don't really crash? I doubt whether ideologically, organizationally or financially the workers are ready or will be in time for the presidential campaign. They are bewildered, unorganized, scared of their jobs, poor. With the possible exception of the railroad unions, the existing unions are mostly rotten to the core and, even if not tied fast to dirty old party machines, in no mood to lead a brave adventure in politics.

There is a chance that Senate progressives and others may attempt a "third party" move. If they do, it will have to be very carefully watched. If it could possibly serve as an instrument for reaching the masses of workers with new ideas and to promote the formation of fighting unions, such an instrument should not be lightly cast aside. On the other hand, the day for progressivism and liberalism is gone in the United States. Any political movement not linked up with the industrial struggle, any 1932 version of the Bull Moose or La Follette movement, will be too weak to do anything and would do the wrong thing if it weren't too weak. Any party the workers can afford to play with will have to have an industrial working-class base and lots of guts. Admirable as some of the Senate progressives are as individuals, they have yet to demonstrate the desire or the ability to build such a party.

If there is no labor or third party, the Socialists will gain some votes in the next election, especially if the Democrats don't run a progressive. That last phrase suggests that an increase in the S. P. vote won't mean much. It will come mainly from intellectuals and liberals who vote for able and honest men, not from labor. If there is any sort of mass movement toward independent labor political action, it will almost certainly take form as a Labor or Farmer-Labor party, not as a movement of individuals or groups into the Socialist Party.

Before American workers can be expected to act effectively on the political field they must be educated, must get a labor philosophy. That means that groups with a revolutionary point of view like the C.P.L.A. will have a tremendously important role to play in the year ahead. The

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Racketeers

and the Amalgamated

By CARLO TRESCA

The author assumes full responsibility for this article. We publish it primarily because many rank and file members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have urged that conditions in their union as they see them should be brought to light. Rank and filers have so little opportunity to get a hearing inside most unions today that we feel we should afford them every chance to speak out, even though things are not always just as they see them. Complaints about the Orlofsky machine in the Cutters Local were brought to certain officers of the C.P.L.A. some months ago. When they took the matter up with President Hillman, he urged them to go ahead and make a thorough investigation, assuring them that he was only too anxious to have things cleaned up in that local. Before any investigation got under way, the national office of the Amalgamated had launched its attack on the corrupt Orlofsky machine.

Whatever may be the true interpretation of the situation in the Amalgamated, that situation is bad. If the corruption and gangsterism in Local 4, the existence of which no one seems to question, continued for a long while because the national office was unable to do anything about it, that argues a tie-up between Tammany politics, gangsters and the local union fatal to the cause of true unionism. If, on the other hand, the national office tolerated or perhaps even supported the corrupt regime in Local 4, that is even worse. In the first case we could say that enemies from the outside, an evil inherent in our American political life, were destroying a local union despite all the resistance that could be offered by a mighty national union like the Amalgamated. In the latter case corruption had developed within an apparently progressive union which was therefore bound to become impotent to serve the workers.

If in the recent struggle with the Orlofsky machine, the national office of the Amalgamated won its victory by some such method as is indicated in this article and it has given hostages to Tammany and the underworld, whether because it wanted to or was forced to do so, how can it possibly have its hands free to battle for the workers in the future? If, on the other hand, such methods were not used and conditions are nevertheless such that many Amalgamated members believe they were, and have no more genuine affection for or confidence in the national office than in the Orlofsky machine, that also argues a sad state in the union movement.

We do not publish this article as an attack on a particular union or individual. A condition is here set forth, which is all too general in the movement. It has helped to create a psychology of despair, defeatism, and cynicism among both leaders and rank and file. We hope that among the latter an opposition will develop which will strive in a fearless, militant and yet realistic fashion to bring back in all our unions a spirit of aggressiveness, honesty and working-class idealism.—EDITORS.

SOON after the colossal jest that was dubbed general strike of the tailors, a jest that cost the tailors very dear, for they saw their salaries reduced and a 5 per cent assessment levied on their wages for the benefit of the union, President Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, opened fire on the Orlofsky, Beckerman & Co. band of Cutters, Local 4, of New York City.

Orlofsky, together with his minor followers, was charged with misappropriation of the unemployment relief fund of the local. In the heat of the fight the specific charge was preferred, first indirectly and then directly, that the misappropriated fund had been used to pay the gangsters, to whom Orlofsky and Beckerman had entrusted the task of propping up their dictatorship over the members of the Amalgamated.

Orlofsky, claiming to be the victim

of persecution, refused to submit to the judgment of Hillman's tribunal and mustered his henchmen with a view to starting the process of secession that led to the formation of a new union rivalling the one over which Hillman was holding sway.

The battle, short and fierce, was fought in the bourgeois courts, in the newspapers, in public meetings and in the dark recesses of the underworld.

The phase of the contest which had the courts as its scene of action clearly demonstrated that Hillman, who had long and patiently prepared for the onslaught, had already ousted Orlofsky from all the positions that the latter had secured from Tammany Hall previously to his starting the fight. It is an undeniable fact that no person engaging in any sort of racket can hope to succeed in his enterprise unless assured of the complicity and connivance of Tammany Hall. It is also unquestionable that Orlofsky was

looked upon, for years and years, as the unopposed Tammany man in the council of the Amalgamated. Proof of this may be found in the fact that during the campaign for the latest municipal election the Big Four, that is Local 4 of the cutters affiliated with the Amalgamated, was turned into a veritable agency for the support of Walker's candidacy.

Orlofsky, under the impression that the earth turns around himself, felt so sure of his position as a Tammany man that at the outset of the struggle he scoffed at the visits that Hillman paid to the mayor and to the police commissioner for the purpose of denouncing to the authorities the racketeers and the gangsters hired by Local 4.

It was the belief of Orlofsky that Hillman would strike his head against a wall. He even felt sure of himself when there appeared in court, as counsel for Hillman, none other than

Steuer, who is recognized as the right arm of Curry, the dictator of Tammany Hall. He thought, this man Orlofsky, that Steuer's influence, formidable as it was, would not succeed in depriving him of the favors that Tammany, the political organizer of the underworld, had been lavishing upon him.

Hillman, who, in marked contrast to Orlofsky, is impassive and cunning and yet a determined fighter once he has carefully chosen his course of action—never takes a step without sounding his ground, as is evidenced by his establishing, through his building enterprises, a close friendship with vice-Governor Lehman, and by his securing the expert assistance (richly remunerated) of Tammany's able lawyer. One link follows another in his chain of acquaintances.

On this ground the battle was fought and won. The first encounter saw the unwary Orlofsky losing his foothold. Then, as an interlude between charges and counter-charges that were aired in the newspapers and in public meetings, there came up the proposal made by the Socialist Party, which had secured the support of Abe Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, for the appointment of an Investigating Committee to be composed of neutral elements chosen and approved by the contending parties.

Hillman declared himself ready to prove that in checking up the accounts of the administration of Local 4 in the preceding year, under Orlofsky's rule, considerable sums were found missing. Orlofsky demanded that the proposed Investigating Committee should extend its auditing to the whole period of his administration of Local 4, that is from 1922 on. What he was aiming at was simply this: to show that the funds of Local 4 had always been used for the same purpose, in other words, that each and every year mysterious transactions had been entered in the ledger with a view to concealing payments made to gangsters, and that the main office, though appraised of the situation, had not only sanctioned, but also abetted the hiring of gangsters.

The interlude lasted for some time. The Socialist Party threatened to raise hell; Cahan was puffing like a locomotive; Orlofsky and Beckerman were

playing blind man's-buff. Then everything was hushed up and the report was circulated that peace negotiations had been opened. In effect discussions were being held in secret, but . . . between Hillman and the gentlemen of the underworld. And while all this was going on, those "in the know" were asking themselves: Will Orlof-

man's dictatorship, was on a par with Hillman's attitude as the savior of the Amalgamated from the nefarious influence of the underworld.

There remained nothing but force. Brutal force.

Both Orlofsky and Beckerman thought they could rely on that.

There was the terrible, inexorable, implacable Brooklyn gang with wide ramifications throughout New York and surrounding territory; there was the underworld that for so many years had been in the pay of the Orlofsky-Beckerman band. What would they do? Would they remain loyal to their bosses of long standing or would they betray them? This question mark held the solution of the problem that was represented by the feud between Orlofsky and Hillman.

Not to the court, not to the mass was the final word reserved. With the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, under Hillman's rule, the ultimate decision is always to be left to the underworld. It is a sad, cruel truth, but truth nevertheless.

Orlofsky—this vainglorious man who had so unwittingly played into Hillman's hands and allowed himself to be stripped, quite unawares, of the peacock feathers he had put on—entertained the hope that the underworld, true to its code of honor and to its discipline, would remain loyal to him.

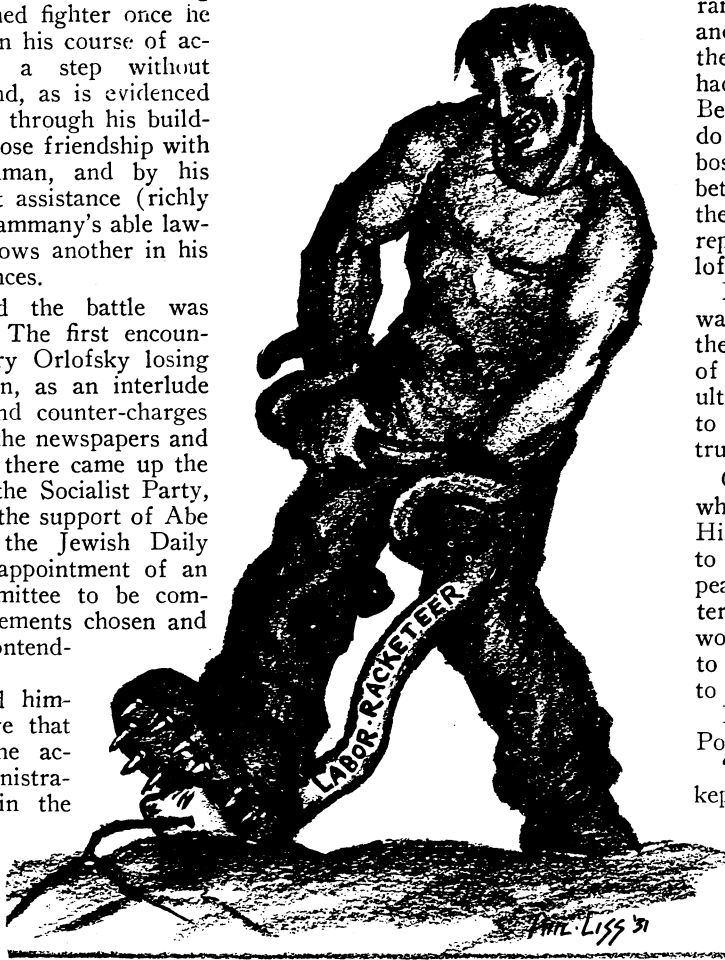
Hadn't Hillman called upon the Police Commissioner?

"He is a stool pigeon," Orlofsky kept saying in his speeches. His purpose was to arouse in the souls of his friends and accomplices of the underworld an invincible aversion to the traitor, the informer, the man who had appealed to the police.

It was Orlofsky's conviction that he could apply strong-arm methods in the struggle; that he could utilize the underworld, which had remained loyal to him through so many years. This time, however, he did not intend to entice his gangsters, as he had done in the past, by the sound of money—the money of the Union members—but by playing on the flute the arietta of the moral question that only finds response in the souls of respectable people.

Let's be frank. Had Orlofsky been dealing with the Mafia—the organization whose adherents are effectively held together by a moral code of their own, which forbids forgiveness of police informers and traitors—his appeal

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Workers, Crush Its Head!

sky and his gang succeed in making a breach in Hillman's fortress? Will the new and rival union, the International Tailor Clothing Workers Union, be able to gain a firm foothold? Orlofsky and Beckerman could not hope that a wave of enthusiasm would sweep the discontented tailors. Having no faith in themselves, they could not expect to inspire it in others.

In order to arouse the tailors, and to keep alive the rebellion of the cutters who had remained loyal to them, a program would have to be worked out. Orlofsky and Beckerman, however, had no reformation plan to offer. Their attitude as the saviors of the tailors, who were the victims of Hill-

YOU CAN'T BEAT THE LAW!

By TESS HUFF

SOME citizens were playing poker with a sheriff one day, and the sheriff was losing. Finally, when there was a big pot, the sheriff took out his pistol and calmly raked the money in. 'You can't beat the law! Elect me, and I'll enforce the law. I'll give a square deal to all, rich and poor, black and white.'

Thus thundered D. C. (Baby) Jones, candidate for circuit judge of Harlan and Bell counties.

The miners were dubious. They had been fooled before. For 20 years they had been hooked and crooked and stripped of power. "Anyway," they said, "Baby Jones is too wealthy; his wife owns an interest in too many coal mines; and he's an operators' man." Others were apathetic. "What's the use? It doesn't matter who's elected." If they voted contrary to the wishes of the coal operators, they'd probably lose their jobs.

And, as a matter of fact, they spoke from experience. In 20 years the miners had elected three candidates; two of them sold out, one for \$1,100, one for \$9,000. "The operators would have had us killed," they explained. The other, a one-legged man, elected in a sympathetic landslide to the office of Tax Assessor, had immediately forgotten the miners and small property holders who had elected him.

The "Law" Is "Elected"

While "Baby" Jones campaigned on the slogan, "You can't beat the law," and the army tough, John Henry Blair, candidate for sheriff, warned the voters to elect a man who would fearlessly uphold and enforce the law, their opponents, Grant Forester, for judge, and Joe Cawood, for sheriff, made a direct appeal to the miners.

The election got hot. For one thing, hard times were beginning to pinch the miners, and they were growing restless. The coal operators were busy. Money, liquor and force corralled the vote. An election officer was killed. Hundreds of miners were kept from the polls. At Black Mountain, a stronghold of the miners where there were several hundred voters, a clever trick was pulled. An old man was election clerk. He scribbled a long time on each ballot. Although hundreds were crowding to get into the polls, less than a hundred votes

were cast during the day. And the polls closed.

But it was not enough. When the returns came in it was discovered that Joe Cawood, despite the power and pressure of the operators' political machine, had won for sheriff. And Grant Forester really defeated "Baby" Jones for judge. This is common knowledge in Harlan county. He was



W. B. Jones, Victim of Harlan "Law"

counted out. Yet "Baby" Jones is judge and John Henry Blair is sheriff. "You can't beat the law."

As one veteran of the tunnels, ragged and hungry, and begging for the wife and kids, put it: "Workingmen who are republicans or democrats are fools. I have been a fool all my life. But now I think I've learned something." The last I heard of this toil calloused miner, fired, blacklisted and evicted for joining the union, he was living with two other families in a one-room plank garage.

30 Minutes to Move

The "law," thus elected, proceeded to show the miners that you can't beat the law.

Early one morning the Black Mountain guards turned their machine guns loose over the tops of the camp houses. Several thousand shots were fired. The miners were terrified. "We were shooting at snipers," the guards explained. Next day a blanket injunction was issued against 400 miners, the leading spirits of the union. But it was only a temporary injunction, and had to be made permanent. So 16 houses were burned.

"I ordered some families to move out of the camp; I gave them just 30

minutes in which to move, and it must have made them mad," explained Bill Randolph, expert gunman, killer of four (five that he shot didn't die), and in the pay of Elmer Hall, brother-in-law of Judge Jones. Investigation revealed that the families moved into other houses belonging to the same company! The sheriff had bloodhounds handy, but he didn't use them. The houses were insured. Next day the blanket injunction against the 400 miners was made permanent.

No one knows the horror through which the miners passed, and through which they are still passing. More than a hundred were arrested and jailed under heavy bonds, 44 on triple murder charges. How many babies died from malnutrition, and how many will yet die? How many men have been beaten up and kicked or shot, and how many will yet be victimized? Difficult questions.

"Talk Their Damned Heads Off"

Some conception of the situation in Harlan may be gained, however, from the fact that several preachers were jailed. The sheriff was quick to nab people who "talked their damned heads off"—people who cried out against the reign of terror, against the injustice of the law and the misery of the miners.

But in Harlan town, county seat of Harlan county, where the preachers are paid by the bankers and coal operators, they preached against the union, and stayed out of jail—the sheriff doesn't consider that "talking your damned head off."

Anything against the union in Harlan county is safe, and not only safe, but glorified and good. This includes the big churches, the American Legion, the local Red Cross, the local press, the Kiwanis club, the county government, the state government, and finally, behind them all, the powerful Harlan County Coal Operators' Association, representing some of the chief financial interests in America.

Operating in Harlan are the Mellon interests, Commonwealth-Edison interests, Peabody interests, Insull interests. The Association, run by George Ward, a good presbyterian, besides directing the sheriff and furnishing the wherewithal to crush the



W. B. Jones, Victim of Harlan "Law"

miners during an emergency, exists for one main purpose: to keep the workers unorganized; and it has built up an elaborate machinery for keeping track of every miner coming and going (the color of his eyes, the color of his thoughts) in the Harlan coal-fields, so that union miners may be weeded out, blacklisted, and kept moving.

Law and Order—Whose?

The miners have large families; they work hard, earning an average of \$1.50 a day, two and three days a week. When they try to escape from company bondage, as they did in 1931, they are branded by the "law" as criminals, and the so-called wholesome institutions of society begin immediately to hound them into silence. But plainly, quite openly, this drive for "law and order" is nothing more than the tyranny of wealth over impoverished illiterate miners.

It's the old story that American workers must by this time know by heart; intolerable working conditions, exploitation, property more sacred than life; an effort of the men to organize; an army of legalized gunmen; then trouble—followed by a quick move of the "machinery of justice" (the wealthy elements of the community) to railroad the leaders of the union to the electric chair.

"You can't beat the law!" rings hollow, becomes irony.

W. B. Jones, the quiet voiced miner who started the Harlan union, was recently given a life sentence to the penitentiary. "Baby" Jones, faithful servant of the coal operators, is well on the road to becoming governor of the state!

"I am a poor man doing hard work for a living," wrote W. B. Jones after a hostile judge and a jury of well fed merchants and tenant-owning farmers had found him guilty. "I have a

wife and seven children. I have tried to teach my family right, and I have always advised my people to obey the law. But today I stand convicted of murder and face the rest of my life in prison for something I did not do and something I had no knowledge of. And I am wondering what it is all about, and I am asking why in the name of justice and right this has happened to me."

What of the 43 other miners and union leaders for whose lives the state will ask? Perhaps they are also wondering. . . .

But there is something good; the miners have seen the "law" unmasked, and learned a lesson. Who are their enemies, who are their friends? This they know. And all the so-called forces of law and order won't be able to stifle their sense of justice. They want justice, and they are willing to fight for justice. *The Harlan miners will march and sing again.*

The Situation in the Hosiery Workers Union

By THE N. E. C.

ENCOURAGED by the conference for Progressive Labor Action, progressives and militants in the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers are getting together in opposition to many of the provisions of the present National Agreement under which the hosiery workers took a terrific cut in wages. These progressives are fighting reactionary tendencies in the union such as are indicated by this agreement.

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action is glad to cooperate with hosiery workers in this effort to develop sound union policies and a fighting spirit among the hosiery workers. The C. P. L. A. has its own political views and ideas, and its groups in various centers agitate for the spread and adoption of these ideas. In industrial situations, however, such as this in the hosiery workers, the fundamental concern of the C. P. L. A. is to give all possible help to the workers in the terrific job of battling against wage cuts, fighting the boss, building effective industrial unions.

The Progressive Hosiery Workers group is announcing a provisional program which seems to us sound and promising and which we are glad to publish here.

Progressive Hosiery Workers Program

The Progressive Hosiery Workers program reads as follows:

The sole purpose of the Progressive Hosiery Workers is to help make the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers the fighting, powerful union it needs to be in order to protect its members and advance their interests under the terrible conditions which now confront the workers everywhere. We warn in advance against anybody, whether reactionary or a so-called radical, whose purpose is division and destruction. We disassociate ourselves from any policy of "smashing the union." Our purpose is unity and solidarity in the union and among all workers in the industry.

I. WE CONDEMN THE PRESENT NATIONAL AGREEMENT and demand that under the sixty-day clause in article J, Section 2, of the agreement, the union shall, not later than June 30, 1932, give notice of the termination of the agreement at the end of the fiscal year, namely, on August 31, 1932.

There are two chief reasons for this proposal. First, under the present National Agreement wages of hosiery workers are so low that it is utterly impossible for the vast majority of

them to maintain a decent American standard of living. It is no exaggeration to say that many workers with families, even when they have work, are on the edge of want. This situation is intolerable and disgraceful, and an end must be put to it at the earliest possible moment.

In the second place, the big argument for accepting this National Agreement and the wage cut which it imposed, namely, that it will bring work to the union shops, is bunk. Even if temporarily it brings a little more work to union shops, this is at the expense of non-union workers. This creates bitterness and hatred between workers instead of bringing them closer together. The union worker and the non-union are set over against each other as enemies, when the fundamental purpose of unionism is to bring workers together. Thus it becomes much harder to organize the industry, and only through organization on a large scale can we bring about real improvement.

Furthermore, with wages what they are in the union shops, there is no incentive for non-union workers to join the organization. The union, under the present National Agreement, has nothing to offer them. The only way in which workers can be brought into

the union under this agreement is by being forced in by the employers. Under this condition they will not be real union men, and the union will be simply a company union.

"Over production" has been the great evil in our industry. But when did low wages ever do anything except encourage "over-production"? Experience in other industries has repeatedly shown that wage cutting does not lead to stabilization. In the coal industry when union miners took a cut, non-union miners were immediately forced to take a further cut; then the union miners were compelled again to take a cut, and so on until in West Virginia today, at the end of the week of work, the miner owes money to the boss instead of having money coming to him!

2. WE PROPOSE THAT THE FIVE-AND TEN SYSTEM BE IMMEDIATELY RESTORED. Under this plan, until recently, night workers received 10 per cent above the basic rate and a day worker whose machine was operated at night received an additional 5 per cent. This system should be immediately restored because it would give a much needed, even though a small increase in wages to impoverished workers. Furthermore, imposing some penalty on the double-shift system will be more effective by far in combatting the evil of "over-production" than wage cutting.

3. WE PROPOSE THAT THE WORKERS GIVE WARNING IN ADVANCE THAT when, on March 1, the auditors report on the earnings of firms for the first six months under the National Agreement as provided for in Article H, Section 6, of said agreement, and the Joint Negotiating Committee, consisting of eleven nominees of the association and eleven nominees of the union, goes into session, *union workers will not tolerate any further "reduction in rates to go into effect during the period of this agreement."* The workers have a right to voice their sentiment in this matter for the simple reason that there is absolutely no basis for any further cut in wages. Another cut will push us over the brink into poverty and misery. Besides, this proposition of a raise or a cut depending upon whether the firms make a profit or a loss during the first six months under the agreement, is a cat in the bag proposition. No standard accounting system has been set up in advance. No stipulation was made about cutting big salaries of officials of hosiery firms, and no definite provision against schemes for concealing profits, which employers in all industries are known

constantly to use. The workers should get more pay at the earliest possible moment. No basis for even another penny of reduction exists.

4. WE PROPOSE THAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE NEXT AGREEMENT THE WIPING OUT OF THE LAST WAGE CUT BE MADE ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING DEMANDS OF THE UNION. Anybody but a fool knows that the struggle to get back to a comparatively decent wage standard will be a mighty hard one for the hosiery workers. It is none too early to begin preparation for that struggle.

5. WE PROPOSE THAT IN NEGOTIATING THE NEXT AGREEMENT THE UNION DEMAND A REDUCTION OF HOURS OF WORK TO NOT MORE THAN AN 8-HOUR DAY AND A 5-DAY WEEK. Railroad workers will propose legislation for a 5-day week and a 6-hour day on the railroads. The maximum for hosiery workers should be the 40 hour week. As quickly as possible we must get to an even lower basis of hours. Cutting down hours of work will help toward a degree of stabilization, and will again give an incentive for non-union workers to go into the organization and join in the struggle for something that will be of real benefit to them.

6. WE DEMAND THAT OUR OFFICIALS IMMEDIATELY STOP ISSUING BOASTFUL STATEMENTS ON THE PLATFORM AND IN THE PUBLIC PRESS ABOUT THE PRESENT NATIONAL AGREEMENT. Workers may sometimes be put in a position where they are forced to take a cut in wages. No self-respecting union ought to boast about it. For the hosiery workers' union to be spreading boastful propaganda about an agreement providing for such a drastic wage cut at the very time when hundreds of thousands of railroad workers, for example, are engaged in a bitter struggle against wage reductions, is for the hosiery workers' union to betray their fellow workers.

7. WE PROPOSE VIGOROUS EFFORTS TO CARRY THE MESSAGE OF UNIONISM AND OF THE VARIOUS DEMANDS IN THIS STATEMENT TO THE NON-UNION HOSEIERY WORKERS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. Organizing the unorganized is still the only hope of the hosiery workers' union; and appealing to the interests, the solidarity and the fighting spirit of the unorganized workers is still the only way to bring them into the union. Any union which hopes to get the bosses to bring their workers into the union is building a house on sand.

8. WE PROPOSE THAT ALL DISTRICTS IMMEDIATELY TAKE STEPS TO SEE TO IT THAT THE 11 MEMBERS OF

THE UNION WHO ARE TO SERVE ON THE JOINT NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE UNDER ARTICLE H, SECTION 6, OF THE AGREEMENT, SHALL BE RANK AND FILE WORKERS WHO REPRESENT THE REAL SENTIMENTS OF THEIR FELLOW WORKERS.

9. WE URGE PROGRESSIVES IN ALL BRANCHES OF THE ORGANIZATION TO GET TOGETHER to work vigorously and constructively for the above program and for such other measures as may be to the interests of the hosiery workers and will serve to develop fighting spirit and strength in the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Let all union men and women, regardless of political or other differences, unite in this great cause.

10. WE DEMAND THAT PROGRESSIVES BE GIVEN FULL AND FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR PROPOSALS AND VIEWS AND TO DEFEND THEM IN THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNION. In this way we believe that an honest discussion of the issues involved, which will be of great educational value to the members, can be carried through.

11. This program is a provisional one. It may be amended and enlarged by progressive hosiery workers as they get together and take steps to carry out their program for the strengthening of their union.

Hosiery workers who may be interested in getting further information on these matters may write to Progressive Hosiery Workers, Room 1, 128 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Philadelphia Workers!

All workers and others in Philadelphia who are interested in becoming members or cooperators of the C. P. L. A. are asked to communicate with Edmund P. Ryan, Jr., 2143 Stenton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. Ryan is the C. P. L. A. organizer and National Executive Committee member for Philadelphia.

The Northeast Philadelphia Branch of the C. P. L. A. will meet to organize and elect officers on Saturday afternoon, January 9 at 2:30 P. M. at the Lighthouse, Room 3 on the 3rd floor, 154 W. Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia. Those who are definitely interested in joining the C. P. L. A. are urged to attend this meeting without fail.

Wage Cutting

on the Railroads

A Statement from
GEORGE SOULE

THE following terse statement on the financial and economic aspects of the railroad wage controversy is from the pen of the eminent economist, George Soule, one of the editors of the *New Republic*:

"The controversy over wages between the railroad unions and executives is, essentially, a controversy concerning whether railroad security owners, whose capital is at present partly unemployed, are to receive a dole at the expense of labor.

"A number of railroads are facing the danger of default on some of their bond issues. The executives, the Boards of Directors, and the bankers behind them have been eagerly seeking some source of revenue with which to avert these defaults. They asked for a general rate increase, which was not granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission, largely because the Commission did not see how generally higher rates could bring in more revenue at a time when other prices are falling and the real trouble is due to lack of volume of shipments. Limited increases were granted, with the understanding that the proceeds from them would be pooled and used for the benefit of the necessitous roads. But this will not be enough. The railroads are now asking for donations from the taxpayers, through Mr. Hoover's "reconstruction finance corporation," and from the workers, in the form of a wage cut.

"Of course, if bond interest were defaulted, railroads would go into receivership, and the workers might suffer as a consequence anyway. That fact, combined with the hope that a voluntary reduction might be made terminable after a limited period, whereas an enforced reduction would stick, are arguments which might lead the unions to compromise. But they surely would not consent to a wage reduction if they knew that the proceeds were not to be used to prevent bankruptcies, but rather to increase the profits of roads which are in no danger. And that effect would fol-

low if the executives do not consent to pool the wage-cut saving.

"The unions likewise want some concessions on stability of employment. Railroad labor, in spite of the fact that wage rates have not been cut, has up to now borne the brunt of railroad hard times through unemployment and part-time. It suffered in this respect even during the period of prosperity. It has submitted to the managements a far-reaching program for the future, involving unemployment reserves for the permanent force, and a means of stabilizing as far as possible the employment of all the workers the railroads need. If the executives will proceed along this line, the unions will have a stronger motive to help them out of the present difficulty.

"The financial status of railroads is peculiarly affected by a depression of this size, not because their earnings have shrunk more than those of other industries, but because so much of their capital is in the form of bonds, on which interest must be paid regularly if receivership is to be avoided. A concern like the United States Steel Corporation, on the other hand, which has no outstanding bonds, can lower the dividend rate on its stocks without danger of bankruptcy.

"The railroad workers are to be congratulated in this emergency that they have strong organizations which can bargain for the best results obtainable, rather than being forced to accept the decree of the employers.

"Steel workers' wages were cut without consultation or concession. The railroad workers are able to bring the real situation to the front. If they are to pay a dole to capital, they will know the reason why, and will be able to get at least something in return."

There is another aspect of the situation which must inevitably be foremost in the minds of laborites and that is the effect of this situation in the railroads on the labor movement in the United States. Looking at the matter from that angle, we most em-

phatically hope that the railroad unions will not accept a cut of even one per cent, that they will not compromise, but that they will fight to the limit if necessary in order to back their stand.

We are glad that so far the unions have resisted the proposal of a "voluntary" reduction. We trust that certain indications that they may yet compromise will prove misleading.

True, the no-compromise position will be a hard one to take. It will be bitterly denounced by practically all the politicians and the bankers from Herbert Hoover and J. P. Morgan on down. Through unemployment and part-time, as George Soule points out, the workers on the railroads have already been bearing the chief burden of hard times. But the powers that be are insatiable. They will fight to maintain their dividends at the expense of the workers even if it means bringing the railroad workers down to the status of the miners of Kentucky and West Virginia who do not get any money in their pay envelope at the close of the week but instead owe money to the coal operators.

If it sounds extravagant to say that railroad workers in this country may be brought down to that level, just ask yourself how many people would have believed a couple of years ago that in 1932 there would be seven million unemployed in the United States and another seven million working such short time that they are barely able to support their families on their wages.

The railroad barons will do their utmost to persuade the railroad labor representatives to accept a "voluntary" cut not only because they want desperately to maintain their dividends but because a strike or even a serious threat of a strike on the part of the railroad men now would shake the structure of the capitalist system in this country to its very foundations. The railroad unions may as well face the fact that if they dare to strike they will be met with injunctions,

(Continued on Page 25)

People Who Can't Keep Their Mouths Shut

Or How the R. C. A. Victor Company Helped to Solve the Unemployment Problem

By JEAN BLOOM

WHEN the R. C. A. Victor Company, in Camden, N. J., hired about 10,000 workers in August and September of 1930, the papers made a great to-do about it. They gave the company many columns of free advertising because they had 20,000 workers in their plants, thus helping to do away with unemployment.

The city of Camden gave the R.C.A. Victor Company permission to use the streets for a parade to the Airport. The firm paid their employees for the afternoon, *even though they didn't work*. Any one of these 17,000 (not 20,000 as the papers stated), who was in the line of march, will tell you that walking five miles in the heat on that September afternoon was harder than working at a machine. The parade was badly organized and the streets were not kept clear. The watchers crowded us into bunches, tore our banners from our hands, and hooted us. I believe now that we deserved this treatment for not protesting against making a spectacle of ourselves.

What the papers forgot to tell the public was that in the line of 17,000 employees, about 4,000 of the 8,000 women were working for 28 cents an hour, the rest for 32 cents. Among the men, sprayers and general laborers received 48 cents an hour, and electricians 86 cents, assistant electricians 76 cents. Later the electricians were laid off and others hired for 76 cents experienced and 56 cents for assistant electricians.

Twenty-eight Cents an Hour

When I was hired, they put me at learning how to solder, despite the fact that I told them that I had soldered before and that I was an experienced drill press operator. As a learner, I got 28 cents an hour and a promise of more when we started production. After working there for five hours, they made me a forelady and teacher and said that in three weeks I would get 48 cents an hour, which is \$22.50 a week.

After a three weeks' period of learning, the whole group was put to work as assemblers on conveyors. Production having started, they put off the raise and promised us a raise *and bonus* as soon as we could put out 2,000 finished sets each day.

In the beginning, each girl did a single operation, such as fastening one wire, or soldering one wire or putting a small part in place. The conveyor moved at the rate of ten seconds for each eighteen or twenty inches. A girl has to work very fast to finish her operation in ten seconds. It left her not even a second for straightening up to rest. Sometimes the conveyor would go faster than ten seconds, and then the girls complained and asked to have it slowed down.

When we began making 2300 to 3000 sets a day, we asked for the raise and bonus. There was always a new excuse for the delay. Sometimes, it was that there were not enough perfect sets, or too many repaired or untidy joints. They found many reasons for keeping back our raise and bonus. Their claim was that our bonus paid the repair men, who were hired to repair imperfect sets; they led us to believe that as soon as all sets were perfect, these men would be dismissed.

We Get a Raise

Then one day the girls rebelled. When we got our checks on Friday, (they paid by check and we had to go to the bank to cash it), all the girls on our conveyor—a small one—arose and told the supervisors that unless they guaranteed the raise for the next Friday, the whole group would quit. The four supervisors went to the foreman and gave him the ultimatum.

In the meantime, the girls on the other conveyors heard what these were doing, and thought it was such a good idea that they, too, threatened to leave unless the raise was coming.

All the foremen and the superintendent of the building got together and talked it over. The result was that all those getting 28 cents an hour got a four cent raise. That amounted to \$15.20 per week, when we worked a whole week, a thing that seldom happened.

The supervisors were still getting the same wages as the operators on

the conveyors. We were promised a raise on December 1, but when that date arrived, all supervisors were told that because of the lay-off to come, no raise would be given.

About one-third of the girls were laid off during the first week of December, the remaining two-thirds did two operations instead of one. The conveyors were slowed to 20 seconds, and we made only 2,000 sets each day.

Progress—Speed-Up

We were all laid off on December 21. On January 3, when we came back, a new type of set, requiring fewer operations, was on the conveyor. But only about half of the girls who had been laid off just before Christmas were called back. These girls, a third of the original group, each did three operations. The conveyors were slowed down to 30 seconds and only 1,000 sets were made each day. Most of the supervisors were put on as operators.

Gradually, the conveyors were speeded up to 10 seconds, with each girl doing three operations. That meant that each girl did the work formerly done by three girls. It was hard enough to do one operation in 10 seconds, let alone three. It left you no time even to wipe your perspiring brow.

But now that we could put out 2500 sets each, we had enough work for only three days a week. Some weeks we worked two, and some weeks three days. This kept up until February 10, when we were all laid off. We were to be notified when to come back to work, and some were called back later.

When I didn't hear from them for three months, I went back to the factory and asked about my job. I was told that there were no girls needed and as I went out, I overheard this remark, "people who can't keep their mouths shut when the boss talks to them can't expect to work here." I wasn't called back because I was spokesman for my group, and seemed to be the only one not afraid to talk to the foreman.

**TOM MOONEY IS STILL
IN JAIL!**



Outside the Fence Watching the Bosses' Game

Organizing

Brooklyn Edison Workers

FROM an obscure affair arousing scant comment, interest, or attention, the Brooklyn Edison Campaign has suddenly leaped into the front pages of the Metropolitan press. Company officials, who previously gave emphatic assurances that the Brotherhood simply did not exist, are suddenly compelled to burst into frantic and continued public defense and apologies for their policies. Prominent men and women, ministers, city officials, the courts and the police are swept into the maelstrom of this stirring struggle. The Edison Campaign has come to the fore as a significant public question.

The Brooklyn Edison Company is a section of the Greater New York Edison system. Over 98 per cent of its stock is owned by the Consolidated Gas Company. The whole "outfit" in turn is controlled by two powerful utility combines, stretching from coast to coast, who dominate a great part of the public utilities of this country and at the head of which are the J. P. Morgan and Andrew Mellon interests.

In 1930, a year of severe depression and unemployment, the Brooklyn Edison Company was able to declare a dividend of 57 million dollars, which is an increase of 11 million dollars over the year 1929, the high year of American prosperity. It was also able to make a profit of 69 million dollars out of a total revenue of 239 million dollars in 1930. The Brooklyn Edison Company at the same time is enjoying an unlimited franchise from the people of New York for which it is not paying a cent to the city. And it is guaranteed an 8 1/2 per cent profit on its padded investments by the Public Service Commission.

Mr. Matthew Scott Sloan

At the head of the New York Edison System stands Mr. Matthew Scott Sloan, a Southern bourbon, who is affiliated with a social philosophy dat-

ing back to the inglorious days of Southern slavery, and who draws his inspiration and ideas of social organization from that social order in which the community was made up of a very few absolute despots, and a very great many abject slaves.

Mr. Sloan is an active spirit, and was at one time chairman of the

How the Company Treats Its Men

The Brooklyn Edison Company is maintaining a system of slave-driving, forcing men under constant threats of discharge to complete work in half the necessary time, work often of a highly dangerous nature, under conditions involving their lives and safety. The truth of this is attested to by the company's own statement recently sent out to the workers of the distribution department, which declared that, "this department, from the standpoint of frequency and severity of accidents, has so far this year made the worst showing in several years. When taking into consideration that there are practically no 'green' employes, nearly all of them being in the service two years or longer, the department is open to serious indictment."

A system of "safety" and "welfare" (for which the men pay) which is often used as a means of victimizing them, is maintained by the Edison Company.

The company maintains a spy system functioning on a scientific basis, throughout all bureaus and departments, from which no one is immune. This spy bureau is directly responsible to president Mat Sloan through his right hand man and chief, Wm. J. Deevy (who appears in official records of the company under the euphemistic title of "chief investigator"), retired lieutenant of detectives of New York, who receives \$10,000 a year for plying this despicable occupation, in addition to a monthly pension from the city of New York.

The Brooklyn Edison Company is systematically developing and encouraging snooping among its employes by preying upon the weakness of characterless men with promises of ad-

The collage contains several overlapping text elements:

- Church Admits Sloan Quit Over Labor Crusade**
- LABOR CHARGES THREATS FORCE JOBS FUND AID**
- CITY'S STREETS HELD AS UNSAFE HARLAN AREA**
- Brooklyn Edison Head Vexed by Aid of Dr. Melish Trying to Unionize**
- Sloan Silent On Attack Upon White's Group**
- Violence Used to Prevent Organization**
- VIOLENCE LAID TO COMPANY**
- EDISON SHIFTS ITS PAY LINES**
- Accuse the**
- Edison Co. Things Tugged**
- Union Director's Con- Attack or Drive to Enroll Edison Work**
- A significant industrial struggle has been waged the past few months in New York City where the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees has been attacking a mimeographed organization has been attacking the men as they organize...**

notorious power utility "poison propaganda" institution known as "The National Electric Light Association." He is a member of a host of organizations, such as Y. M. C. A., National Guard, Safety Council, Athletic leagues, a member of the local and national unemployment relief committees, and a patron of the Boy Scouts, women's clubs, church societies, etc. In fact, wherever there is an organization of any importance that is vulnerable to power utility propaganda, you will most likely find Matthew Scott Sloan in person, or some agent of his active.

With the above as a background I shall now proceed to briefly state the conditions under which the employes toil, and their grievances, because these and not "outside influence," as Mr. Sloan claims, are the real causes underlying the movement for organization among the men.

vancement. In the name of "company loyalty" these creatures are set to stool upon their fellow workers. This practice is used to create an atmosphere of distrust and hatred among the men, so as to forestall the possibility of mutual co-operation for the attainment of common aims through organization.

The Brooklyn Edison Company maintains a system of arbitrary and forced collection of funds and forced sales of company equipment. Two of the most disgraceful examples of this were the so-called "president's campaign" for the sale of electric ice-boxes, which many men were forced to buy, under various veiled threats of discharge, and the notorious "voluntary" unemployment relief contributions scheme, whereby the employes were confronted with already prepared registration cards, with the sum to be "voluntarily" contributed fixed by the bureau heads in the office, and the victim told to "voluntarily" sign on the dotted line.

Many of the men who resented this autocratic procedure and offered to subscribe a lesser sum on plea of low wages and many family obligations, were forced to sign on open threat of discharge. Characteristic of this method was a remark made by John Maye, assistant general foreman in the Wiring Bureau, notorious slave-driver and incompetent, to one of the men: "It would be better for you to pay into the unemployment fund, than to have to be paid out of it."

The Brooklyn Edison Company is known for its low wages in all its departments. Wages of skilled mechanics, whose mistakes would endanger their own lives and the lives and property of the public at large, receive from a little over a third to half of union wages paid in this city. In addition, pledges of periodic raises to reach the prevailing low scale are very seldom kept by the company. This is especially true among the office force, where the wages are the lowest.

There are many other features of abusive treatment, and a perfect system of red tape which taxes the energy, self-respect and patience of the men, makes life miserable, and often drives them to the point of desperation.

From the above it could be readily seen that some act on the part of the company was needed to serve as the proverbial straw that would break the camel's back. Matthew Scott Sloan, president of the Brooklyn Edison Company, was not slow in furnishing it. Beginning with January and

roughly ending with April, 1931, the company had laid off over 2,000 men at a time of severe unemployment and distress among the people of this city and at the same time, as has been shown, in a year of the greatest prosperity and enjoyment of the greatest profits in its history by the company.

To get an idea of the brutality of the Brooklyn Edison Company, it is important to note that a great number of the laid-off men were robbed by the thrifty Mat Sloan and his board of directors of the vacation money due them for past service to the amount of about \$50,000, and sent penniless to the breadlines to become objects of public charity.

It was in the midst of this situation in which the employes, confronted with intolerable conditions and faced with a wage cut and another large scale lay-off, of which company officials spoke openly, that groups of men representing several bureaus got together and decided that they could no longer continue to place faith in the promises of the company and that only through an organization of their own and an appeal to the public could they ever hope to get relief. Thus the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employes, with its organ, the *Live Wire*, came into existence.

There followed then a period of comparative peaceful development of our organization, lasting about five months, during which the Brotherhood grew rapidly in membership and influence. Organization was conducted on the basis of squads functioning in the strictest secrecy so as to exclude company spies. The *Live Wire*, by its very effective fight, soon captured the imagination of the men and became very popular with them. It threw the spotlight of publicity on some of the worst slave-drivers, exposed their abusive treatment of their workers and, in many instances, succeeded in bringing relief to the men. During this period there were serious attempts at interference by the police with the distribution of the paper which were instigated by known officials of the company. On several such occasions our distributors were arrested, even after Judge Folwell of the Adams Street Court made a definite ruling that distribution of the *Live Wire* was legal.

Throughout this period the Brotherhood also conducted a vigorous public campaign and succeeded in bringing the issues to the attention of the city in a very dramatic fashion.

On September 23, at 11:00 a. m., on the fourth floor of the Edison Company offices at 380 Pearl Street,

Brooklyn, H. M. Morgan, supervisor in the auditing department, held a meeting, attended by about 30 officials. At this meeting Morgan issued instructions, in the name of the company, that immediate steps must be taken to suppress the Brotherhood and the *Live Wire*. The company pledged full legal protection to those participating in event of arrest. The reason given by Morgan for this decision was that the Brotherhood and the *Live Wire* were seriously influencing public opinion against the new demand meters, one of the biggest steals ever put over by the company. At 4:00 p. m., on the same day, I was brutally assaulted by three company foremen and one slugger attached to the wiring bureau and left unconscious upon the sidewalk.

The Reign of Terror

Immediately following this attack, the company enlisted an army of thugs numbering easily several hundred, who appeared each week on the De Kalb Avenue pay line. These thugs operated under the direct instructions of company officials and passed in and out of the company building at will. The police, in spite of repeated notifications regarding the company's campaign of lawlessness and violence, was ineffective, first, because of the insufficient number of men detailed and, secondly, because the men assigned, for some reason or other, did not happen to be on the spot when slugging took place. It is significant that at no time was a single arrest made by the police during the entire campaign of lawlessness. The police were evidently unable or unwilling to cope with the Edison Company's deliberate and open reign of violence.

At this point the Brotherhood succeeded in enlisting in the campaign the co-operation of such men as Rev. Eliot White, Rev. David M. Cory, Rev. Charles C. Webber, Rev. Bradford Young, a number of Union Seminary and Columbia students, professional people and others. In face of the most ominous array of company thuggery outside of the coalfields of Harlan, Kentucky, these men and women displayed splendid courage in the fight for the right to distribute the *Live Wire*.

Bent upon stopping the campaign of organization at all cost, the company drew no distinctions in its orgy of frightfulness. The thugs of Sloan, the "devout" churchman and "philanthropist," slugged ministers and lay-

ment without discrimination. On October 7 there was an attack upon a group including Rev. Bradford Young, Rev. Eugene P. Link, Rev. Charles S. S. Houk and others, in which two were beaten, a girl was struck on the chin, a girl's glasses were broken, stink bombs were thrown, a reporter was beaten and his camera smashed.

On October 21, Rev. David M. Cory of the Cuyler Presbyterian Church, suffered a severe laceration of the eye requiring seven stitches; Chester S. Williams, a bystander, suffered a fractured kneecap, necessitating a three weeks' stay in the hospital; H. H. Fuller and others, including a number of women, were severely beaten.

On Wednesday, December 2, a six-foot foreman in the employ of the company, slugged the slight and elderly Rev. Eliot White who was attempting to protect Anna Lawrence, one of the distributors. A veritable avalanche of protest arose against this outrage. Meanwhile the company maintained "a tight-lipped silence." Matthew Scott Sloan, who had been informed beforehand of the distribution by a number of prominent persons, was for some unexplained reason in Washington at the time of the assault. Still the flood of criticism continued until, finally, Sloan himself was compelled to come out of his shell and do some explaining.

Mr. Sloan "Explains"

Mr. Sloan in his lengthy statement issued to the press spoke in the name of his "contented and loyal working force," and denounced the Brotherhood, which because of its growing strength he had just attempted to exterminate by violence, as engaged in "no good faith attempt to unionize anybody or anything." In spite of the cut of 11 cents per hour previously made in the cable bureau, Sloan declared that "neither the management nor the directors have considered such action (wage-cuts)."

While welcoming this repudiation of

the wage cut policy, we asked whether Mr. Sloan meant to imply that these cuts were made without the authorization of the management and the directors or was he simply lying? "Another (statement) equally untrue" pleads the innocent Mr. Sloan, "is that there will soon be a large-scale lay-off by the Brooklyn Edison Company." Yet on June 23, 1931, the company in an official statement to the press, which was printed in the *N. Y. Times* and which also appeared in *Metropolitan Electric Topics*, a company paper, declared the following:

"An extra appropriation of \$5,000,000 for the removal of overhead distribution lines of the Brooklyn Edison Company, which will permit the company to keep 1,500 men at work until February or March who otherwise would have had to be laid off by August, was authorized yesterday by the company's board of directors."

The attacks by gangsters upon individuals, Mr. Sloan ascribed to "employees . . . who feel themselves insulted." Mighty queer that every man arrested on a charge of assault was immediately bailed by the company through Oscar B. Diffley and defended by the company attorney, and that all witnesses in their defense were company employes, forced to appear on company time! Mighty queer that the thugs in every case were marshalled by general foremen of the company, like Dundon, Maye, Storey and others! Mighty queer that this violent resentment "of the employees" should first find expression after the memorable meeting at 380 Pearl Street on September 23! And mighty queer also that all the thugs should suddenly disappear when the company decides to change its strategy! The fact is, of course, that the entire campaign of violence was at all times officially directed and inspired by responsible officers of the company, including President Sloan.

The battle continued with a broadside signed by Rev. Eliot White, Rev.

Bradford Young, Rev. David M. Cory and Rev. Charles C. Webber in which the guilt of the company was firmly established. "In the attacks we witnessed," these ministers declared, "the gangsters were thoroughly organized. They had free access to the company building. A company employe reported that on one occasion they had assembled and been instructed in one of the company offices and another employe informed us that company officials have solicited their employes to do this work as 'overtime'."

Sloan Quotes the Bible

Mr. Sloan then attempted to quote the Bible against the offending ministers. (He had previously resigned from the Church of the Holy Trinity to vent his spleen against ministerial interference with his campaign of lawlessness.) "The devil himself can quote Scriptures," remarked Dr. Cory, very aptly. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," thundered Matthew Sloan.

"First cast out the beam out of thine own eye and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye" counsels Matthew Sloan as he quotes his patron saint, Matthew, in defense of his money-bags. To which Rev. White replied with the innocent query, "Was that the intention of Mr. Sloan when his thugs nearly took out Dave Cory's eye on October 21? And would Mr. Sloan advise me to turn the other cheek the next time his gangsters sock me on the jaw?" Whereat Mr. Sloan abandoned the risky job of fighting preachers by quoting Scriptures.

On December 2, Rev. White brought John J. Dundon, general foreman of the wiring bureau, who was in charge of the thugs, to trial for assault. After a lengthy and hard-fought legal battle by our counsel, Jerome Count, Dundon was finally held for Special Sessions by Magistrate Curtis of the Adams Street

(Continued on Page 29)



THE BOMB PLOT!

By BENJAMIN MANDEL



HOWARD H. WERKHEISER, John House, post office clerks, and Charles V. Weaver, bomb expert, lie dead, the victims of one of the vilest bomb frame-ups of recent times. Federal officials, local police and detectives are supposed to be hunting diligently for the criminals. In the meantime they have issued a number of public statements holding the anti-fascists and the communists responsible for this cowardly crime. Yet the facts point indisputably to the entire affair as a fascist provocation involving persons high in business and political circles, in fact so prominent that the indications are that the investigation will be hushed up as "too hot" by officials whose duty it is to bring the responsible criminals to justice.

The diabolical game of provocation and frame-up is not new to the minions of fascism, as numerous instances will show.

In 1925, at Jean Les Pens, France, two fascists were expelled by the French authorities, because they were directly involved in a bomb plot.

In 1928, the fascist agents, Sacchi and Canovi, attempted to stage a bomb plot at Nice, France, but were frustrated by the French authorities.

In the same year, Barduzzi, Italian fascist consul at Tunis, North Africa, was recalled for his complicity in a bomb plot in that city.

Menapace, notorious fascist provocateur, was proven to have placed bombs in the homes of a number of moderate anti-fascists, residing in France, including Gianca, Tarchiani, Sardelli and Professor Berneri. He then had the police raid their homes.

On October 28, 1931, a bomb said to have been thrown through a window of the Italian consulate at Chambery, France, was exposed as being of fascist origin. All windows in the consulate were found on investigation to have been locked.

According to the *Evening Post*, which quotes a prominent member of the Paris police force, "To have bombs sent to himself is an old trick of Mussolini. If you recall, the investigation of an attack made upon the Crown Prince of Italy while in Brussels was suddenly dropped. It has been asserted that this was because the whole business was traced to Fascists."

In the presence of four witnesses, including two representatives of leading conservative dailies of New York, Carlo Tresca telephoned four times to Lieutenant Newman of the New York Bomb squad, on Saturday, January 2, offering to give him certain leads and information of an important nature, and yet so anxious was this official to follow up the case, that in spite of his promise to appear, he never showed up, although these men waited over an hour. What are the salient facts?

The bombs involved a total expenditure of an enormous sum of money, which must have come from a wealthy source, having definite contact with dealers in dynamite. The dynamite found in the various bombs is of Du Pont manufacture, which is used in quarrying and stone manufacture in the vicinity of New York City.

Known fascist leaders have utilized the occasion to mount the pedestal of public martyrdom and glory. Generoso Pope, "a millionaire in control of the sand and gravel business in this city and a very close friend of Mayor Walker" (*N. Y. Times*, Jan. 1, 1932), said to be "the chief object of the bombers' attacks," has been deluged with telegrams of congratulation and sympathy. So deeply affected was Generoso that he voluntarily offered \$1,000 each to the families of the victims. It is not easy to understand just why Mr. Pope should feel called upon to shoulder the responsibility for these victims.

Pope's entrance into the limelight of fame comes at a particularly fortunate moment for him. Mr. Pope has just been called as an important witness before the Seabury Committee in its inquiry into his monopoly on the sale of building material to the city of New York. Private sources disclose the fact that he was deeply worried about this investigation. Mayor Walker, his close friend and associate in Tammany Hall, struck upon the happy idea of espousing the cause of Tom Mooney, in order to escape the searching eyes of the investigators, and lift him from possible ignominy into the spotlight of national publicity and public approbation. By some curious combination of

circumstances, the bomb plot has come just before Pope's appearance before the Seabury Committee. Verily God is kind to both Mayor Walker and Mr. Pope!

According to Mr. Pino, one of Pope's secretaries, the publications of which Mr. Pope is the head (*Corriere d'America*, *Bollettino della Sera* and *Il Progresso*) are "neither fascist nor anti-fascist." Yet Mr. Pope has been thrice decorated by Mussolini.

Vincent Comito, private secretary of Pope, is the founder of the Fascisti League of North America. He got this job just after Stimson ordered the disbanding of the League. He is the man who handles all of Mr. Pope's most confidential business. This seems to be a common practice among prominent Italian fascists. Giacomo Caldoro, for instance, organizer of *Il Duce Fascisti League of North America*, professional fascist provocateur, is at present in the employ of the Clemente Construction Corporation, headed by Mr. Clemente, one of the largest building contractors of the city and a large user of dynamite for construction purposes. On the Saturday before the bomb outrages occurred this notorious provocateur arranged a procession of auto trucks owned by the Clemente Construction Corporation and carried banners with the slogan, "Viva Mussolini!" with Mussolini's pictures through the heart of the anti-fascist section of the Bronx.

In spite of his protestations of non-partisanship, Mr. Pope, through his agents, bought up the stock of the *Nuovo Mondo*, originally an anti-fascist paper, discharged the entire staff, installed one of his henchmen, Bogiorno as the editor, and immediately established an editorial policy in support of Mussolini. This occurred just prior to the visit of Dino Grandi to this country.

Other peculiar aspects of this case are worthy of note, apparently escaping the attention of the vigilant sleuths of the police department. Not one known fascist was injured. All those mentioned as the target for attack seemed to know just in time how and when to avoid the infernal machines which have been scattered around the country so generously. The fascists have been markedly slow in welcoming an investigation of their activities in this country.

Notes from the Steel Districts

WHEN THE SHARON STEEL HOOP COMPANY, of Youngstown, manufacturers of sheet and strip steel, brought Henry Roehmer from Kokomo, Indiana, to be their General Manager, he swore to break the union or break his neck. The sheet department of the plant works under a signed scale with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Union.

In the past few months he has been active toward this end. In that time he has brought in over 40 non-union workers from Kokomo. Union members interpret this as a direct attack on their organization and standards. It has been impossible for the union to get these "imported" workers into their organization.

FORCED OUT OF PENNSYLVANIA, the Coal and Iron Police of that state have found ready berths in the plants of the Republic Iron and Steel Company, at Youngstown, Massillon and Warren, Ohio.

Many of them were formerly employed by the Jones & Laughlin Company, notoriously one of the most feudal minded and anti-union organizations in the steel industry. The captain of the police force of the Republic Iron and Steel at Youngstown was formerly the head of the Jones & Laughlin force.

In the past, it has been the custom to hire the old and faithful employees who have spent their lives in the company's service. All these men have now been laid off and these new men put in their place.

Officials of the Warren plant of the Republic recently called their workers together, and informed them that "we now have young active men on our police force, which means that we no longer have an old men's organization. We want you men to respect them."

This new force is prepared for anything. They walk around the mill in bright new uniforms with guns, cart-ridge belts, handcuffs, and blackjacks fastened to their belts.

THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE to prove that the steel companies are tightening up and preparing for the worst. The Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company recently erect-

ed heavy steel gates at the entrances to its large Campbell plant. At Niles, Ohio, the Republic Iron & Steel has forbidden any of its employees to bring any reading matter into the plant. Many sheet mill men who work doubled up, and, consequently, are only on the job half of the time that they are actually in the plant, have been in the habit of bringing reading material into the mill. Now they are stopped from doing this. They can play cards, but reading is prohibited.

DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS THE WARREN, OHIO, locals of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers have intensified their efforts to make the sheet and tin departments of the Republic plant one hundred per cent organized.

At one time the workers in this department were solidly organized, but in recent years the membership has dwindled considerably. In an effort to regain this lost ground these locals have put a full time organizer in the field and are sponsoring a number of open meetings to reawaken the interest of the workers in the mill. Three of these meetings have been held with good attendance.

These lodges are determined to build their membership to a point where they can exert real influence for progressive organization in the entire industry.

IN A SPARE MOMENT some weeks ago a group of the men at the Open Hearth furnaces of the Ohio Works of the Carnegie Steel Corporation talked things over and were decidedly unflattering to the present rulers in politics and industry. A week later the superintendent came around and showed all the men a letter from the offices at Pittsburgh, warning them that such sentiments were uncalled for and that everyone was trying as hard as possible to pull out of the depression.

COLD METAL PROCESS COMPANY, subsidiary of the Standard Slag Company, has been using the depression to rob its men at its Youngstown works.

A few months ago several of the largest banks in Youngstown failed,

and Standard Slag immediately issued orders that all wages of subsidiary companies had to come out of earnings of these branch firms. This, in spite of the fact that Standard Slag has bank accounts in many of the large cities in this section.

The men are now working on their second month without pay, and there seems to be no prospect of a pay day in sight. The company has had fairly continuous operation and the men feel sure that the company is simply holding out on them in order to accumulate money in the bank to draw interest.

The men, of course, are afraid to appeal to the courts to uphold their legal rights for fear of losing their jobs.

AFTER PROLONGING ITS ANNUAL CHARITY drive for several weeks Pittsburgh was forced to bring it to a close with \$1,400,000 of the \$6,000,000 goal unaccomplished.

Andy Mellon, second largest income tax payer in the U. S., who recently handed the Mellon family a \$100,000 tax refund, gave only \$300,000, although Pittsburghers had expected at least a million from his coffers.

It is estimated that if Andy had donated the entire 6 million dollars asked for, he would have been giving less than 20 per cent of his earnings in 1929, if he had earned only 3 per cent on his investments.

Twelve Pittsburgh Corporations, having an estimated total surplus of over one billion dollars, gave a little over \$540,000. The U. S. Steel Corporation, employing in normal times well over 100,000 men in the Pittsburgh area, and having approximately \$440,000,000 surplus, contributed a measly \$100,000. It is estimated that at least 70,000 of the Steel Corporation's employees are unemployed at the present time and dependent on charity.

THE OLIVER IRON & STEEL CORPORATION of Pittsburgh, has put into effect another wage cut of 10 per cent in addition to the cut of 10 per cent of October 1. At the same time they are cutting hours from 10 to 6, thus making a total reduction of 50 per cent.

Labor Scene in France

By LAWRENCE COHEN

THE labor scene in France today resembles very much that of the United States. There are, of course, differences. The workers are more developed politically, and the labor movement is stronger. There are Socialists and Communists holding almost every elective office and controlling many towns and large cities. There is a large consumers' cooperative movement, and, of course, there is a much larger percentage of workers organized in unions than in America. Also, the main trade union center, the C. G. T., is further left than the A. F. of L., and in close touch with the Socialist Party (S. F. I. O.).

And yet, in spite of these apparent differences, there is a fundamental and tragic similarity. Both countries present what Comrade Saposs would probably call a "sterile reformist movement, tempered with liberalism and seasoned with a dash of real militancy; and a revolutionary Communist movement completely isolated from the masses of workers."

The Socialist Party seems to be almost completely dominated by its parliamentarians. Though it urges friendship for Germany, and disarmament, and mocks the French demand for "security," I have never seen or heard a forthright call to French young workers to refuse military service, or an unequivocal demand for prompt, unilateral disarmament.

On the other hand, there exists the Paul Boncour Law for National Defense providing for a sort of universal draft of men and machines in time of war, and as far as I know, Boncour is still in the Party. At the time of MacDonald's treason they condemned it as such, and yet, in some ways, they seem victims of his "community of interests" illusion. For example, the Paris Socialist daily, *Populaire*, continually publicises and popularizes France's gigantic effort at imperialist propaganda, the Colonial Exhibit.

There is no doubt, however, that there are signs of health in the Party as well. Its membership, vote, and press circulation seem to be gaining steadily. Furthermore, there are constant debates on what is known as "Socialist Incompatibilities," that is, the right of lawyers, bourgeois jour-

nalists, plant managers, and others to aspire to any leading post in the party. Also, there is an attempt being made to develop a Labor Culture as seen in the efforts to build a Labor Sport and Labor Dramatic group. As yet, the Sport movement is weak, and the Dramatic Group is not recognized in its own right, that is, it does not perform at Party affairs, but bourgeois artists perform instead. The Party is making a serious effort to get the women and the youth; they oppose the French equivalent of the National Women's Party, etc., but they make no real effort to win the women workers a vote, and raise no specific youth demands. I believe they are committed to Proportional Representation, but they do not talk about it much.

As is natural, in view of the hesitancy of the Socialists, the attachment of the workers to the U.S.S.R. and the suffering from the crisis, the Communists can show some gains. They gain in votes, in the numbers attending their demonstrations, and probably in the circulations of their press. I have no idea of the Party membership but it fluctuates according to *L'Humanite*, Paris Communist daily. The Communists are active, and they are aggressive, but readers of American Communist journals will recognize such excerpts from *L'Humanite* as "Make the turn, stamp out sectarianism," and, "We are still isolated from the masses."

That the Communists are "isolated," is probably due to their physical breaking up of working-class meetings under auspices other than their own. Their severest enmity is reserved for a Syndicalist minority within their union center, the C.G.T.U., and, on the political field, for the Socialist Party. The Syndicalists are working within both union groups for unity. In the C.G.T., they have won certain concessions. In the C. G. T. U. they constitute a strong minority and by their vigorous and able criticism, they have gained control of some locals and even national unions. At the C. G. T. U. national Congress now sitting, admission is made of the loss of one hundred thousand members since 1929. I cannot give all the figures, but the railroad workers' union lost sixteen thousand.

Against the Minority, the Majority invokes the ever-potent authority of the U.S.S.R. and Comrade Losofsky.

The Communists are everywhere very busy. They do youth work, work among aliens (the Socialist Party does some Italian and a little German work), and hold unemployment demonstrations. Both Socialists and Communists have tenants' organizations and veterans' groups. The Communists have also defense, relief, sport, and artistic groups or organizations. These last, especially the dramatic groups seem to be growing and perform regularly.

Most of the Consumers' Cooperative movement seems to be tied up with the Right Wing. The Communists accept this good-humoredly and in retaliation try to bring their employees out on strike and then call upon the workers living nearby to support the strike by boycotting the store. The Communists do a good deal of anti-imperialist propaganda in their press, and seem to be active in France's colonies. They also claim to be doing work in the army.

The Communist press is disposed to lie here as elsewhere. I have read things in *L'Humanite* about the U. S. that I know to be untrue. This case is interesting. On October 1, *L'Humanite* published a picture of a New York demonstration, with the caption, "A huge demonstration. A hundred thousand workers demonstrated in New York last week against wage cuts, etc." I asked a New York comrade to look up the *Daily Worker* and he found that the only demonstration the last week in September was for Mooney and Billings, and that the *Daily Worker* claimed only ten thousand. But honesty towards workers is not to be expected from a group who want to make puppets of workers and use them like chessmen on their own revolutionary chess board.

American workers who are not menaced by either Socialist or Communist rule and who must nevertheless stand on bread lines, would be amused to see a poster which covered the walls of Paris during the recent Canton election. The poster, about six feet by four, depicts the troubles that have befallen nations under Socialist rule.

Australia in debt because New South Wales repudiated certain debts; England with unemployment due to the dole; in Spain workers shooting each other down in the streets since the revolution; and so on around the world. Unfortunately, the poster failed to explain why Soviet Russia, the reddest country of them all has no bread lines and why the U. S., with no Labor movement worthy of the name, has thousands on the bread line. That, perhaps, is why the workers voted Red.

France today is in a bad way. Ragged children, reminiscent of the "War orphans" a decade ago, roam the streets of the workers' quarters. On the Seine, which flows through Paris, lies the gigantic "Floating Asylum," the floating flop house of the Salvation Army. Here one may flop for about a cent a night, and yet walking along the Seine at night you can see small fires and around them, shivering groups of unemployed workers, too poor even for that. To call these men,—yes, and women, — to call them unemployed workers is almost a mockery. Most of them have had their last job, for wage-cuts, speed-ups, and lay-offs are the order of the day, and these men and women of the working class are being turned into Bowery bums by the life they are forced to lead. Unkempt, ragged, they stalk along deserted streets. On their back is a burlap bag and into it goes their booty. Here a cigarette butt, there a piece of orange peel, searching in garbage pails, seeking in gutters; when the hunt is over they return to the river bank, there to join their comrades and divide the spoil.

I do not know the laws about unemployment insurance, but there seem to be many who go unhelped. Some there are who have not yet reached the river. They are almost clean, look almost like human beings. They can still approach and ask for a nickel. In the morning they go to the push-cart markets and gather spoiled fruit and the outside leaves of cabbages, and scraps of meat. But they too are

doomed; soon they too will go and sit by the river bank.

Can France get out of the crisis? It is a world crisis, and the French capitalists are trying what their American brethren are trying. They are trying to rationalize; trying to make the workers bear the cost of the crisis. Will that work?

It is interesting to note that the defeat of British Labor which at first pleased the French capitalists very much, now worries them. They are afraid of a Conservative Tariff which

will mean another blow to French industry. There are already far too many derelicts on the banks of the Seine. There are far too many mutilated worker veterans. If there are not to be more veterans, for French bosses do not care how many workers they sacrifice to save themselves, if there are not to be more veterans of war on the streets, and more veterans of industry wasting away on the banks of the Seine, then France needs a live, powerful, united, militant labor movement, and needs it soon.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS NOTES

(From The British "New Leader")

The German Socialist "Left"

We have received this interesting and encouraging report of the progress of the German Socialist Labour Party, formed by the "Left" Opposition within the Social Democratic Party, when "discipline" made its activities within the S. D. P. impossible:

"Three weeks after the formation of the new party there were 50,000 paying members. It is now estimated that there are at least 100,000. The membership has come mostly from the Social Democratic Party, but it also contains a considerable element who have been for a long time unattached to any party. Many are Ledebour's old 'Left' Socialist Party members and groups who have remained unattached to the S. D. P. since the war. Madame Balabanoff is a notable recruit. She is taking an active part in the work of the new party.

"A Socialist Schuttbund (volunteers to protect meetings and processions) has been formed. A Youth section has also been established to which large numbers of the S. D. P. Youth Movement have transferred. Indeed, it is confidently anticipated that by the next Congress the Youth Section will have more members than the S. D. P. Youth Movement.

"Branches of the new party have been formed all over Germany, but its great-

est strength is in West Saxony. A daily paper is being published, with local editions in various districts, and, in addition, there is a weekly paper. The monthly periodical, "Klassenkampf," is, of course, being continued. The provisional National Council of the party consists of Seydewitz, Rosenfeld, Stoebel, Zeigler, Eckstein, and Siemens.

"The policy of the new party is completely opposed to the policy of toleration of Capitalist Coalitions pursued by the S. D. P., and to the latter's reformist and gradualist policies. Its policy is roughly analogous to that of the L. L. P."

The growing menace of the Nazi Movement in Germany is encouraging tendencies towards united working-class resistance. Even the Social Democrats recently made approaches to the Communists through Breitscheid, one of their most moderate leaders, and, though nothing came of it, the step was indicative of a spontaneous feeling which is springing up among the rank and file. That the new Socialist Labour Party is acting as a bridge between Social Democrats and Communists is indicated by this further quotation from the report we have received:

"An interesting development is that in Chemnitz a Cartel of Communists and Socialists has been formed to oppose the Fascists. This ad hoc group in Chemnitz is working quite successfully, and its example is likely to be followed in a number of other districts throughout Germany. The national leaders of the Communist Party do not like this development, but they have been forced by mass pressure to acquiesce.

"The advent of the new party is indicating that there is a real desire all over Germany in all sections of the working-class for a united front against Fascism. Before very long this desire will probably find expression on a nation-wide scale."

HAVE YOUR FRUIT DEALER SIGN THIS BLANK

CALIFORNIA FRUIT GROWERS EXCHANGE,
Box 530, Station C, Los Angeles, Calif.

I wish to inform you that we have received objections from a number of customers against the purchase of California fruits because it is claimed that injustice has been done by that State in the case of Tom Mooney. Will you help keep our customers by doing everything in your power to secure the pardon of Tom Mooney?

Very truly yours,

FRUIT DEALER
ADDRESS CITY STATE

Post card copies of this blank can be obtained through the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, Room 1002, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

SLING SHOTS



By Hal

ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

Congressman Sweeney contributes this one, "We are discussing now the President's message on the state of the Union, and I am reminded of the story of the little boy who was called upon one day to answer a question in geography. The teacher said, 'Johnny, what is the shape of the world,' and Johnny said, 'Teacher, it is in a hell of a shape.'"

THIS U. S. A.

Whereas Congressman Eslick rises to confirm Johnny's truthful statement. Says he, "Look out upon the cities and the great army of unemployed. It is greater in America than in any country in all the world. . . . Organized labor says that we have 7,000,000 unemployed in America. . . . Allowing four to a family that means 28,000,000 or more than 28 per cent of the American people, idle, hungry, and half naked. . . . In the last 10 years, by involuntary sales, 1,200,000 farms have been sold out of the 6,000,000 farms in the United States. . . . What country in the world can match 3,000 bank failures, with \$2,000,000,000 liabilities?"

AN AWFUL CONFESSION

We leave it to Herbert Hoover himself to give his opinion of such a cock-eyed state of affairs. The following remarks were made in 1921 during an unusual attack of sanity:

"There is no economic failure so terrible in its import as that of a country possessing a surplus of every necessity of life in which numbers, willing and anxious to work, are deprived of these necessities."

STATUS QUO

However, a Negro preacher, quoted in the December 26 issue of the American Guardian, hits the nail on the head most accurately:

"Bredern," says he to his congregation, "we must do something to remedy de Status Quo."

"Brudder Jones, what am de Status Quo?" asked a member.

"Dat, my brudder," said the preacher, "am Latin for de mess we's in."

WE ARE IN IT NOW!

J. M. Daiger in this month's Harper's tells the following instructive tale:

"A borrower, whom for convenience we

shall call a cloak and suit merchant, goes to his bank to ask an additional loan. 'But we have let you have too much already,' the banker protests; 'you can't pay what you owe now.'"

The cloak and suit merchant gives a moving story of his business troubles but the banker is obdurate in his refusal.

"The cloak and suit merchant is pen- sive for a moment, then realizes that the appeal is hopeless. 'Have you ever been in the cloak and suit business?' he suddenly asks. 'No' replies the banker, disdainfully. 'No?' rejoins the hapless and now desperate fellow. 'Well, you're in it now!'"

American bankers "are in it," according to Mr. Daiger, "all told, for some twenty-five billion dollars."

100 PER CENTER ESCAPES THE DOLE

Knowlton L. Ames, owner of the Chicago Journal of Commerce and notorious enemy of old age pensions, shot himself at the age of 63, the other day. Financial difficulties occurring in the Booth Fisheries, American Steel Foundries and other enterprises whereby this old pirate managed to eke out a substantial dole from the American people, are assigned as the cause of the suicide. Rather than face the poorhouse or the breadline, to which he had driven many workers himself, Ames shot himself. The old duffer, in spite of his football fame, showed a yellow streak when it came to facing the hard facts of life under capitalism.

HOW THE BOSSES "RELIEVE" THE UNEMPLOYED

A department store in Chicago fired a clerk without notice recently after he had worked for the firm for 10 years. When he called for his pay, \$10 was missing. The manager explained, however, that "that was deducted for the unemployment fund."

A DELIGHT FOR THE ELECT

Professor Morris R. Cohen believes that philosophy is "a sweet delight to be tasted by the few elect only." If bourgeois philosophy made any sense and maintained a close contact with the masses of the people and their needs, then it would not only be understood by them, but would be sought after eagerly—but then it would not be bourgeois philosophy.

A BLOW TO THE SCOTSBORO BOYS

In its frantic anxiety to hog the show, the Communists have succeeded in ousting Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays from the Scotsboro Defense, leaving the case in the hands of George W. Chamlee and the International Labor Defense. The fight against Southern bourbonism will have to be waged on a much broader basis if it is to succeed. The loss of these prominent attorneys by the defense is to be deplored, for they certainly would have given power and prestige to the case of the eight Negro boys.

NUCKLES DOAK PEPS UP THE SHYLOCKS

Speaking recently before the American Association of Personal Finance Companies (in plain language, the loan sharks' organization), William Nuckles Deportation Doak, according to Robert S. Allen in American Mercury, gives us an illuminating glimpse into the softer recesses of his heart in the following moving remarks, "I am not trying to cramp your style, gentlemen, rather I am trying to point to your opportunities. They are unlimited if you grasp them firmly."

"THE BEST LAID PLANS OF MICE AND MEN AFT GANG AGLEY"

We thought the fixers had fixed it for good and all. We thought the Wise Men who devised the Dawes Plan had solved our economic problems for all time. And now comes the Young Plan Advisory Committee and dashes our hopes to the ground by calling to the "attention of the governments to the unprecedented gravity of the crisis, the magnitude of which undoubtedly exceeds the 'relatively short depression' (where did we hear that before?) envisaged in the Young Plan. . . . The Young Plan, with rising series of annuities, contemplated a steady expansion in world trade. . . . in which the annuities payable by Germany would become a factor of diminishing importance" . . . yet "the opposite has been the case."

TOM MOONEY IS STILL IN JAIL!

LABOR AGE FORUM

AMERICAN democracy is a colorful political plaything with which the rich reward the poor in exchange for absolute economic power. Ever since the days when our property-owning, noble forefathers persuaded backwoods farmers, exploited laborers, and poor tradespeople to wrest their country from beneath the feet of English mercantillists and deliver it into the hands of American land-owners and industrialists, by filling their heads with the glowing phraseology of liberty, equality, and fraternity, democracy has been a political make-believe given the masses to play with while statesmen and businessmen filled their pockets. Ever since James Madison and others made the country safe for property-owners in the great constitution of the United States, American democracy has propounded the principle that the good of the many lies inherent in the good of the few. So the poor have been hoodwinked into believing the best way to help themselves is to help the rich, and so the rich have kept the power.

American democracy today, therefore, is a crazier hodge-podge of prosaic exploitation and poetic melodrama than any great political thinker with his well-formulated abstractions could ever have devised. We have the spectacle of Samuel Insull, who owns the Chicago public utilities, giving \$500,000 to the campaign of a Republican candidate for governor of Illinois, and \$400,000 to the Democratic candidate in a recent election, because whichever side won he must perpetuate his economic power. And the spectacle of Pierre Dupont, one of the fifty-nine rulers of the United States, as financial godfather of the Democrat Party, and his brother pouring profits from the Dupont silk and munition factories into Hoover's election coffers, because whatever happens the Dupont dynasty must keep its hands on the controls of American government.

This money which capitalists accumulate through the exploitation of their workers, which is given to politicians in exchange for an economic strangle-hold on the government, is used to support a great mass of petty politicians who serve the workers with the romantic bunkum that delivers votes. Over a million people in the United States make their living through politics, according to Frank Kent, author of "The Great Game of Politics." Besides, there is an entire society of gangsters and thugs who make their living acting as strike-breakers for

Weapons in the Struggle for Working-Class Political Power



the Duponts in industry and manning the polls for the Hoovers and Smiths in politics. It is their speak-easies which are precinct meeting places and their liquor which oils the rough spots in campaign speeches. An "unholy three" combination of the Sam Insulls, Al Capones, and Bill Thompsons buys economic power, reinforces it with "gats," and promises the people to "smack King George on the snoot" in return.

Education and Agitation

Against this holy trinity of big business, racketeering and politics, the American radical movement is still trying to oppose the political weapons of fifty years ago—"education and agitation." (I except the Communists who are using methods which I consider to be even more unsuited to American conditions).

It is time we pulled ourselves up to take our bearings. The political methods of education and agitation presuppose an electorate which is as much interested in the affairs of the nation and of society as they are in the world's series and the latest tabloid scandal. In other words they are based on a conception of the workings of American democracy that is entirely false. The first job of the radical American labor movement is to bring its political methods into line with a realistic conception of what American democracy is, and what it can become.

Most radicals know pretty well what democracy is, but few seem to have any clear idea of what it can be expected to become. Those few, so far as I can tell, agree with Bernard Shaw in the conviction that the older type of democracy as government by the people, for the people, and of the people, must be superseded by a new type of democracy in which the actual exercise of government shall be by a small group—but in the best interests of the majority of the governed. Max Eastman, in his "Marx, Lenin, and the Science of Revolution," defines the new conception of democracy as the rule of the "best democrats."

In other words, it has become necessary to take the function of government out of the hands of the mass who are

unskilled at the job and who bungle it hopelessly, and put it into the hands of a small group of professionals who will exercise it in the interests of the working class. They must be, as the Communists are in Russia, more interested in exercising power than in comforts and luxuries—and they must give evidence to the workers of this fact by adhering strictly to a program of personal abstemiousness. These experts must be the modern equivalent of the "guardians" of the Republic of Plato. They must be experts in the science of government and, during the transition period, they must also be experts in the science of revolution. As democracy is now constituted, it is government by the people alright, but under the control of a few industrial rulers—which in reality amounts to government by the few for the benefit of the few. Our job is to see that it becomes government by the few for the benefit of the many—who are the workers!

Tactics Necessary

Keeping in mind what democracy really is today, and what, we, as revolutionists want it to become, let us examine the implications in regard to tactics in making the transition. First, what kind of an organization will be most effective in working for the change?

Here we can learn much from the history of the Bolshevik party. The split in the old Russian Social Democracy came about over just this question of the type of organization the party was to become. Lenin insisted that no one should be considered a member who did not submit to discipline and actively participate in the work of the party. He saw clearly the differences between "workers" and "talkers," and the necessity of building a fighting organization of the former.

The same kind of disciplined organization which must be set up to handle the complicated business of government for the workers in a workers' republic will be most effective during the revolutionary period. As I have indicated before, I believe this organization must be a small group of experts, and that to insure this, stringent requirements for admission should be set up. The persons joining this group of professional revolutionists should be willing to sacrifice pecuniary advantages as well as a great deal of time and energy. In return he should receive power—power to be exercised in the interests of the working class.

It is extremely important that this po-

licy of strict fidelity to the interests of the workers should be constantly adhered to by every member of the organization. Deviation in this respect will inevitably destroy the confidence of the workers in the revolutionary organization and make it impossible for its members to remain leaders. Such a departure from working-class fidelity as was recently presented by the spectacle of the national chairman of the Socialist Party entering suit against a workers' republic on behalf of capitalist interests is inexcusable. The Communists are right when they make this sort of thing cause for expulsion from the party. No organization will go one step on the road to the creation of a workers' republic which does not have the confidence of the working class. To get this confidence the revolutionary group must make itself a symbol of efficiency in the use of power in the interests of the workers.

This means, concretely organizing unions, helping in strikes, holding members of the group who reach positions of power in trade unions to account for their conduct in such positions, and letting the workers know that such officers who are members of the group are disciplined. And it means using political power delegated to this organization by workers to further working-class interests under the same strict discipline.

But suppose we have a disciplined organization of professional revolutionists? How are they to get control of the state?

Things We Need Not Do

At this point I would like to mention some of the things which I think we need not do. First, we need not set out to "foment revolution." The capitalist rulers of America can do that job more effectively than any small group of "revolutionaries," if it is to be done at all. Just now they seem to be doing it. But I believe it would be to the advantage of the future workers' republic if it could be brought to birth without widespread violence, and that we should work toward this end. We dare not forget that the stupidity and greed of our ruling class may at any moment make a violent revolution inevitable(and we should prepare for this emergency. But the working class would be at too great a disadvantage in case of such violence to make that end desirable. After all, they own the guns!

The second thing we need not do is to wait for the conquest of political power until a majority of the working class is "educated" to believing in socialism and voting for it at the polls. If we wait for this to happen we will never get into power.

There is an alternative to both these

methods which is better than either in view of the American worker. Lenin was a master at developing techniques for influencing mass action. His method was essentially the use of slogans which appealed to the psychological needs of the working class. He was able to define his objectives in such a way that they symbolized the fulfillment of the needs of the workers. He knew what these needs were because he lived at the same standard as the majority of them and he was in direct, daily contact with workers.

Our American revolutionary movement must keep these two objectives clearly in mind: First, to get close to the "pulse" of the working class in order to know its needs at any given moment. Hence the necessity for every member of the organization being required to live on a small income. A fixed sum should be set as the maximum for paid organizers, secretaries and other officials of the organization, who should be exempt from dues. All other members should pay dues which are confiscatory of the amount of their income above this maximum.

Second, to work out clearly in terms of immediate working-class significance, the objectives toward which it is moving,—and to embody these objectives in slogans which symbolize fulfillment of the workers' psychological needs. To cite a few examples, first from the Bolsheviks: The October revolution which put them into power was remarkably peaceable. The Bolshevik leaders were surprised at the ease with which they came into control. They got the support of the war-weary peasants, starved for food and land, by their famous slogan: "Land, Bread and Peace." I doubt if any more masterful slogan was ever devised. They got the support of the second largest group of people, the industrial workers, by the slogan: "All Power to the Soviets." Examples of slogans from American political history could be cited by the hundreds. To mention a few: "The Big Stick," "The Full Dinner Pail," "I didn't raise my son to be a soldier," the

war "To Make the World Safe for Democracy," and the recent Thompsonian slogan, "Throw Away your Hammer and Get a Horn."

Our Slogans

Our slogans must appeal to the immediate self-interest of the worker, to his desire for security and comfort. They must also appeal to his desire for adventure, his pugnacity, and his sentimentalities. Our slogans must dramatize the struggle and the workers' role in it; and they must also come as near as possible to counteracting the influence of the cash bribe which capitalist parties offer, by direct appeal to self-interest.

To put across these slogans, and other propaganda material, we must have a daily paper under direct control of the revolutionary group. It would be advisable to attempt consolidation of several existing radical papers into a central labor press. Pamphlets will be of supplementary help only. The all important means of making contact with the bulk of the working class is this specially-controlled press. Some publicity could be gotten, no doubt, through existing labor papers, and through regular publicity channels, but these mediums must not be depended upon. If the revolutionary organization presented a sufficiently dramatic appeal, a good deal of publicity might be obtained in the ordinary press. In any event, the keynote is dramatize! Dramatize the role of the organization in the struggle to create a workers' republic. Dramatize the role of the worker. Dramatize the objectives—through slogans.

Instead of education and agitation to aid the workers in taking control of industry and government, we need discipline and dramatization. Discipline in fidelity to working-class interests, and dramatization of the struggle to create a workers' republic!

MANFORD ETTINGER

TOM MOONEY

Is Still

IN JAIL!

LETTERS

Come in and Help

Dear Editor:

Alfred Baker Lewis in the December number of *Labor Age* says he does "not know how any one can honestly describe the Socialist Party as a "middle class affair catering to small business people and professionals." Does an outsider need to tell a member 'how'? A glance up and down the line of Socialist Party leaders and spokesmen must convince any honest person that the statement is true.

Moreover, many an effort by militants to bring "honest" socialists into the party has been repelled by statements and deeds by some of the leaders. The latest Hilquit stunt—the oily one—is an example.

The Socialist Party position towards C.P.L.A. is the position of the small business man who will advise you to start any other kind of business anywhere else, but not his kind of business and not in his neighborhood.

Socialist Party has professed, and still does, that it favors a Labor Party. But when C.P.L.A. attempts to form such a party, Socialist Party finds all sorts of make-shift excuses why it should oppose it.

May I also remind A. B. Lewis that the famous "Class Struggle" clause was deleted from the application blanks so that a certain liberal intellectual element might be inducted into the Socialist Party. (And which, by the way, did not happen, in spite of the removal of that objectionable "class struggle" clause.)

The Socialist Party attitude towards reactionary trade unions is no boast to a labor movement, in that it protects middle-class minded "labor leaders" and middle-class edited daily newspapers, principally Yiddish. Their campaign speeches are decidedly reformistic. Socialist Party speakers seem to know nothing about socialist theory or philosophy, at least those whom I have heard in New York or, if they know, they take good care not to mention it. The class struggle does not exist. The abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the workers commonwealth do not seem to mean anything to them. Socialist Party municipal victories are middle class tax payers' victories.

Allowing to S. P. all that its friends claim for it, the fact remains that it has not been able to reach the great mass of the American workers. Neither

has the C. P. The C.P.L.A., therefore, has quite a field to work in. Why not help it? Why oppose it? Heresy hunting will do no one any good. It is to be remembered, too, that so long as we fight among ourselves the capitalist class can "sit pretty" and the workers are kept in slavery and submission.

There was a time in the not very distant past, when the I. W. W. was legislated out of the S. P. The S. P. lost scores of thousands of its membership by that legislation. Is it not time for all of us to learn?

Just now we witness the extraordinary spectacle of a Socialist Party school—The Rand School—taking upon itself to give the capitalist point of view and present as working-class educators, open-shoppers, reactionary trade unionists and company unionists such as Otto Beyer, Ordway Tead, Noel Sargent, Francis Gorman, Walter Drew, Matthew Woll, Walter Merrit, et al. Comrade, there is room for a real labor party in these United States, a labor party upon new labor lines. Come in and help!

JENNIE D. CARLIPH.

Wage Cutting on the Railroad;

(Continued from Page 12)

sheriffs, and the machine guns of the United States army. Has the capitalist system dealt so kindly with the railroad workers that they need hesitate to challenge its right to further existence?

To put up a straight fight against this bankers' inspired move for wage reductions will be hard for the railroad unions because in recent years, unfortunately, the psychology of those unions has not been that of struggle against the boss, struggle against an unjust and iniquitous system on behalf of the workers but one of "co-operation" with the operators to make the railroad industry more efficient! That would mean, so it was said, more work and more pay for the railroad men. After all these years of "co-operation" the industry doesn't work so efficiently! And as far as the workers are concerned it has gotten down to unemployment and wage cuts and a brazen demand on the part of the operators that these same workers should pay them a "dole" in order

Labor Age a Necessity

Dear Editor:

It happens that I am getting my share of trials in these changing times and I, too, am forced to retrench on certain expenses I was able to carry in other years.

There are, however, certain expenses that one must carry in order to live; it is then that one must make choice of what will be discarded to make the load lighter.

I have had to discontinue certain subscriptions I have maintained in previous years. It happens that your notice of renewal came last week and I am sending you the required payment while I have the money and to prevent a possible interference if later changes should make my affairs harder to carry.

Labor Age has filled a special field and need and it would be most unfortunate if any of its subscribers should desert it at this time. It is a time when every agency aiding the interests of the workers should be supported with determination.

Fraternally yours, P. J. KING.

that dividend payments may be kept up.

Though it may be hard, is not this the time for the railroad unions to get back into their old fighting mood, to give notice that the workers have stood as much as they can and therefore as much as they will stand?

If on the other hand the railroad unions accept this reduction without a real fight what will that mean for the rest of the workers? As we pointed out last month, it will mean: first, more wage cuts for everybody else; second, further loss of faith in unionism; third, probably, at least for the time being, a further disintegration in the labor movement as a whole and deepening of discouragement and confusion among the workers so that the road will be clear for the bankers to set up a Fascist regime in the United States.

Fascism, of course, the dictatorship of big business, would not prove permanent and some day the workers in this country will come to their own. Unquestionably, however, surrender on the part of the railroad unions now will make the immediate future for the American working class more dark and bitter.



“Say It With Books”



Will Liberal Economics Meet Working-Class Needs?

Modern Economic Society, by Sumner H. Slichter. Henry Holt & Co. 909 pages. May, 1931.

WE have before us a college textbook in Economics of more than 900 pages. It is written frankly from a humanistic, liberal viewpoint. In the words of the author, “We cannot be content with simply explaining how industry functions. Our ultimate concern is the problem of social control, with how to bring our methods of making a living into harmony with our conceptions of the ideal life.”

Slichter makes no claim to originality in this work, but chapter after chapter affords abundant evidence of a painstaking search for facts and penetrating thought in the interpretation of materials. Probably the most significant characteristic of the book is the well-worked-out balance between factual material and theoretical analysis. In these days when some economists are becoming lost in the realms of esoteric mathematical theory, while others as “behaviourists” are content to become good reporters, it is refreshing to come upon a work which combines in a truly scientific spirit abundant data and real economic theory.

“Modern Economic Society” may well be considered the best text book yet written by a liberal economist in America. In our review we shall not dilate on the many facts justifying this judgment, for we are concerned primarily with another matter, namely, can any kind of a text book in liberal economics serve the present needs of the working-class?

The workers of capitalist countries today find themselves confronted with economic and political problems literally involving life and death. What is to be done? Outstanding educators and working-class leaders agree in stating that the guide to action must be found primarily in the science of Economics. But what kind of Economics—for it must be admitted, alas, that there are many kinds of Economics—Classical, Marxian, Austrian, Liberal, to mention only a few of the schools?

Our reply is that the workers must have a science of Economics built up

consciously and definitely to solve the problems of the working-class. As with Slichter, “Our ultimate concern is the problem of social control.” We differ with Slichter in one respect. In order to deal with our problem intelligently and effectively we hold that we must recognize the class basis of the present social order. A science of Economics built up to meet the needs of the capitalist class or the middle class will be a different kind of Economics from that built up to meet the needs of the working-class. This will be manifest in the importance attached to various phases of our economic life, and the manner in which the facts will be assembled and interpreted.

We can best illustrate our contention that the workers’ quarrel with liberal Economics is not with this or that particular theory or detail but with the entire approach to the subject, by comparing Slichter’s treatment of certain subjects with a working-class approach to the same subjects. Part Two of “Modern Economic Society” deals with “Some Basic Characteristics of the Existing Economic Order.” This section contains much illuminating material, including such observations as, “Evolution applies to economic organizations and institutions no less than to animal structure. Hence it is reasonably certain that capitalism will not always endure. But how long it will last and what will succeed it, no one knows,” and, “During the next several decades we are likely to witness an extraordinarily interesting test—a test of whether a people, fairly prosperous and well supplied with cheap amusements, can, by tact, liberality in adjusting minor complaints, skillful publicity, employee representation, customer ownership, and such other schemes as experts can contrive, be induced to permit capitalists or their representatives a relatively free hand in the direction of industry.”

For the working-class it is not enough to know that capitalism will not always endure. A thorough analysis must be made of the conditions and forces that have brought capitalism into being and

give it strength. Likewise what are the conditions and forces now developing which tend to undermine capitalism and give rise to a new social order? This requires an evolutionary study of social development, with emphasis on the economic factors and their relation to the formation of social groups and classes. We find no such study in Modern Economic Society with statistics to show what is really happening in our economic life. Consequently the worker is left in the dark regarding one of the crucial questions affecting working-class programs—how stable is capitalism, and how long is it likely to endure? It is not easy to answer these questions, to be sure, but the liberal economist never makes any real attempt to answer them.

Another example may be taken from Part Three of “Modern Economic Society.” Here Slichter attempts to explain “The Operation of the Existing Economic Order” with emphasis on the workings of the price system. In one of his footnotes Slichter quotes the Federal Trade Commission to the effect that 55 per cent of the national income is paid out in wages and salaries and 45 per cent in profits and property income. To the workers, this matter of the distribution of the national income is of tremendous importance. Yet it is safe to say that one may read carefully all that Slichter has to say on this subject and not be at all clear as to what really governs the ratio of distribution of the national income between workers and capitalists. Of course it all runs back to the analysis of the workings of the price system, and Slichter does tell us that in the long run the prices of reproducible goods are determined by the expenses of production.

Marx made a somewhat similar analysis and decided that values (and as a rule prices) are determined by the socially necessary labor time required to produce commodities. But now note the important deduction which Marx made from his analysis, while Slichter makes no deduction at all. Marx says that if the values of commodities are determined by the amount of socially neces-

sary labor time required to produce them this must apply to labor power (which is a commodity) and that the value of labor power, therefore, will equal the means of subsistence required to produce and reproduce it. If Slichter applied his general theory of price to labor power would he come to the same conclusion as Marx and declare that the price of labor power is determined by the expenses of its production, which amounts to the price of the means of subsistence?

We are not concerned here with the correctness of either Marx or Slichter's theory. The point is that Marx does build up and present his theory in such a way that it explains the division of the social product between wage-worker and capitalists. With Slichter the issue is touched at many points, but nowhere do you get a clear and convincing answer. If Marx's logic is sound any wage-worker can see that under capitalism the working-class is bound to be exploited of all that it produces above the means of subsistence. Perhaps the most realistic statement made by Slichter on this point is found on page 64 where he says, "Not by cooperating to increase output or to reduce costs, not by devising labor-saving methods or by working harder, do the employees of an establishment gain higher pay. By doing these things, they simply increase the profits of the proprietors." This confirms the wage-earners' practical experience, but how can it be reconciled with such statements as this which we find on page 633: "All machines are aids to labor production. To the extent that they enable men to turn out more goods and, therefore, make labor more valuable to employers, they increase the demand for labor and raise wages. Consequently the last two centuries, which have seen such an extraordinarily rapid development of machinery, have also seen an unprecedented increase in wages."

There are many points at which we might criticize Slichter's theory of price and the division of income between wage-workers and capitalists. We are not so much concerned with that here however. What we wish to emphasize is that the matter is so presented in "Modern Economic Society" that it is difficult for the wage-earner to perceive from the evolutionary standpoint how the capitalist has gotten his position of dominance in the economic structure, and likewise from the functional standpoint, just how and to what extent the capitalist exploits the wage earner.

At least four other important matters are not dealt with satisfactorily in this work from the working-class standpoint;

the effect of the introduction of machinery on working-class standards, unemployment, business cycles, and the possibility of a planned economy. As was pointed out above, Slichter holds that the introduction of machinery leads to increases in real wages. This generalization must be subject to several important qualifications, if it holds at all. In the light of conditions in the United States during the years 1929-31 it surely is apparent that only under certain conditions does an increase in the productive capacity of industry lead to an improvement in living standards for the workers. The analysis of the causes and remedies for unemployment is inadequate. The explanation of business cycles does not make the chief causes of these cycles—underpayment of the workers, and lack of a planned economy—sufficiently clear. The discussion of social planning is defective in that it tells us nothing about what is actually being done in Soviet Russia on the basis of planned economy, and of the basic impossibilities of reconciling social planning for the common good with the conduct of industry on a capitalistic basis. Slichter does indicate that little is to be expected from the kind of a "National Economic Council" that we may possibly get in America, but an atmosphere of illusion is still left that somehow or other capitalism can be reformed.

In a certain sense this review fails to do justice to Slichter's work. As was stated at the outset its many excellent chapters and passages entitle it to a foremost place among liberal economic text books. We are simply affirming that another kind of Economics is now needed by the workers. Marxian Economics still constitutes the most valuable contribution to working-class literature, but in many respects it is out of date. The problems of our day present a tremendous challenge to working-class thought and action. We need men of Slichter's calibre who are not only sympathetic with the workers' cause, as he undoubtedly is, but who can approach the whole subject systematically from the workers' viewpoint.

JOHN C. KENNEDY.

GESTURES TOWARD THE SUPER-NATION

International Administration, by Professor Norman L. Hill. McGraw Hill Book Co. \$3.00.

IN the current madness of revived and intensified economic nationalism, it is well to remember that already it has been necessary to develop varied international institutions to safeguard health, maintain communication and to look

after many things upon which our modern economic life depends. The wildest nationalist has not yet proposed that the Universal Postal Union, with its 186 member-countries, be broken up. Ever since differing groups used the same river-way some sort of joint regulation had to be developed, and aviation and the radio can not be utilized unless there be codes of international regulations. Professor Hill gives a detailed description of the existing commissions, bureaux, institutes and other international bodies who look after plebiscites and pests, rivers and copyrights and allocate mandates. Since the League of Nations was formed such bodies have made a remarkable increase, although as early as 1838 the spread of the plague compelled the European nations to take joint action.

The weakness of the book is in its glossing over the real character of the "co-operation" of nations. Without a trace of satire, the author describes, for example, how the United States went into Haiti and Nicaragua to co-operate and participate in the government. In the same way the gangster co-operates to help his victim empty his pockets. The book contains much useful description of the educational and informational work of the League of Nations but it does not face the realities concerning the weakness and dangers of that body. How tiny and unimportant seem the international administrations of Memel, Danzig and Tangier in the presence of the raging nationalism and the war dangers.

Now that modern means of transport have made the seas as narrow as the Danube once was and economic interdependence on a world scale has become obvious, the way is ready for real international administration, but only a successfully organized and triumphant working-class will be able to set that up and relegate national sovereignties and rival imperialisms to the discard. Until then attempts to set up the international administration will remain vain gestures. The broadcast stations of rival groups will join each other. The airplane will be used to rain death from the sky.

M. S.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment: A Problem of Insecurity, by Wm. Haber. Published by the Educational Department of the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry, 218 Madison Avenue, New York City.

PROF. HABER and the publishers have done an important service to workers' education by issuing this at-

tractive 80 page booklet. It provides an outline for the study of unemployment by workers. While it does not try to provide any new reading material on the subject, it provides a brief and yet comprehensive and interesting summary of the available material.

Five sections deal respectively with the problem and its consequences; the extent of unemployment; the relation between it and other workers' problems; causes of unemployment; and solutions.

Each section and sub-section is prefaced by one or more questions. Then the study material is followed by a carefully selected list of readings and this in turn by further "problems and questions for discussion." Also at intervals are blank pages for notes by the student.

We have one serious criticism. In the opening sentences of his introduction Prof. Haber says: "From the point of view of what can be done about it, unemployment is a problem of industry and government. But, looking at the problem from the point of view of its effect upon workers—unemployment is definitely a problem of labor." If these words mean what they would ordinarily be taken to mean they suggest that labor suffers from unemployment but we have to look elsewhere for a remedy!

It seems to us of the utmost importance in such an outline as this to make it clear, if the matter is to be touched upon at all, that labor is not likely to get any relief from this evil unless it exerts itself. In this same connection, the booklet, in our opinion, is likely to leave the average worker who reads uncritically with an exaggerated idea of the extent to which unemployment can be controlled under capitalism.

We desire to emphasize again, however, in closing that the workers' education movement has here a much needed piece of work excellently done.

A. J. M.

AGRICULTURE AND THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Red Villages, by Y. A. Yakovlev, 121 pp., Paper, 50c, Cloth, \$1.50; and The Success of the Five-Year Plan, by V. M. Molotov, 77 pp., Paper, 50c, Cloth \$1.25, International Publishers, New York.

WILL the Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union succeed or fail? This question is occupying the minds of millions of workers, and others, as a result of the many contradictory opinions brought out of the Soviet Union by technical experts and industrial authorities who visit that country. Those interested in the true

facts will therefore welcome the two books under review.

Authenticity of the facts dealt with in Red Villages is assured by the fact that the contents were delivered in the form of a report to a Congress of the Soviet Union Communist Party by the People's Commissar of Agriculture (Secretary of Agriculture), the highest Soviet official authority on that subject. But in true "Bolshevik" fashion the author, instead of minding his own business, "butts in" in "our" affairs by starting off with a chapter on agriculture in the United States.

This, incidentally, makes the book of greater interest to American workers and farmers, as we are given, in the brief space of ten pages, the most important facts about our farm situation.

In 1929 about four per cent of peasant farms were organized in collectives; in 1930 about 28 per cent; and in February, 1931 the number of collectivized farms had reached over 41 per cent. This was due not to intimidation of peasants on the part of the government, as capitalist reporters of all kinds tried to make the outside world believe, but because of results shown the peasants by example. They saw that on State farms, cultivated by machinery, it took nine man-hours to do the work which took a peasant 280 hours; that even by the old methods peasants got about 150 per cent better results when working in collectives than when working individually, and their incomes increased about 50 per cent.

An excellent supplement to Red Villages is "The Success of the Five-Year Plan." Its author, as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, speaks with the authority of the head of the Soviet Government and in broad sweeps covers the internal conditions of the country as well as its relations with the outside world.

Reviewing briefly the economic crisis of the capitalist countries, Molotov shows by contrast how in the Soviet Union the national income increased between 1921 and 1930 fourfold, the cultivated area $1\frac{1}{2}$ times, and the total production of industry $12\frac{1}{2}$ times.

The concluding pages deal with the Soviet's attitude toward the imminent war danger, about which Molotov says:

"Our slogan remains, struggle for the consolidation of world peace, struggle for the consolidation of peaceful relations with the other States... We shall not only not give up our struggle for peace, but shall continue it all round. Our fight for the Five-Year Plan is inseparably bound up with the struggle for peace."

IYMAN BARUFKIN.

The Outlook for 1932

(Continued from Page 6)

whole problem of building an effective, realistic revolutionary vanguard in the United States is of primary importance.

Workers are educated, however, not so much by the things said to them as by the actions they perform. And workers during this year can be gotten to act, will want to act in at least three different ways, all on the industrial field.

First, we are going to see a lot of unrest in the unions, a lot of revolt against the machines which have dominated them. The union bosses are not able to give jobs to their members as they once were, and dissatisfied members cannot be so easily shut up. The big showing made by both Communists and progressives in the recent I.L.G.W.U. elections in New York city, the building of an opposition in the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, the revolt against the Kaiserism of Broach which we hear is about to break out in the big Electrical Workers Local 3 in New York, are straws which indicate the way the wind is blowing. It won't be an easy year for labor fakery.

Secondly, it will be a year of more and more militant demonstrations against unemployment, on Tom Mooney, against Fascism, on discrimination against Negroes, etc. Workers will be marching this year despite tear gas and machine guns, or we miss our guess.

Thirdly, it will be a year of strikes and organization efforts, whether things get worse or better. Lawrence will flare up again. There will be outbursts in the coal fields. Paterson and other silk centers will witness strikes. It is altogether likely that Southern textile labor will stir again. Automobile workers may revolt.

We are in for a definite lowering of our standard of living. Workers will be cured of the notion that in America all good things come on a silver platter. In the industrial struggles that will inevitably result, workers will become conscious of the class character of that struggle and of their class-mission to overthrow capitalism and build a sane and just economic order. Then, too, they will be fitted to build and will naturally turn to building an effective political weapon.

Finally, as the class lines tighten everywhere in 1932, repression will become more intense and brutal. Just as in 1919-21 Palmer, Daugherty and their cohorts planted bombs and

engaged in other provocative acts so as to whip up the passions of the mob and discredit all militant labor activity, so on the eve of this new year some sinister agency planted the bombs in Easton and immediately the press put forth blazing headlines ascribing the outrage to anti-Fascists or Communists. There will be more of this. Labor spies, department of justice agents, police detectives will have a big year. Many a worker will make the acquaintance of the policeman's club, the third degree, the inside of a cell. Terrorism will prevail in the "sweet land of liberty." American labor which has buried so many martyrs through the year will doubtless follow others to their graves in 1932. Happy New Year!

Racketeers and the Amalgamated

(Continued from Page 8)

might have fallen on willing ears. Orlofsky, however, has always dealt with Irish and American gang leaders, who are not restrained by scruples of any sort, with men who bring to their criminal transactions the thoroughness of the American business methods. Money they wanted, and nothing else.

Thus it happened that Hillman, who had at his command the money of the Amalgamated, was able to best Orlofsky on this ground also.

The battle was won by him all along the line. The underworld, which until then had been in the pay of the Orlofsky-Beckerman firm, was induced by Hillman, with the help of \$50,000, to go over to him, arms and all. The group of accomplices that formed Orlofsky's staff, was also won over by the aid of thousands of dollars. Beckerman pocketed \$7,500; Alexander, Strauss, Sternberg and McLeen, \$4,000 each; Philip Rosenfeld, \$3,000. Gold has won its day.

The man who had declared war on the racketeers, who had all the daily newspapers greet him as the courageous leader of a Labor Union bravely warring on the worst form of organized criminality, the labor racket, has won because he has placed directly under his control the racketeers that formerly he had been paying through Orlofsky and Beckerman.

Beckerman is in hiding. But he will come back. It is agreed that he shall return and be assigned to a commanding position in the Amalgamated. Not

that Hillman wants it, but it's the underworld that so wills.

And all this has been made possible by the dollars wrested from poor workingmen, from the tailors whose salaries have been reduced to a minimum, from the tailors whose conditions are well nigh desperate.

And all this has been done to enable Hillman to maintain his dictatorship as alive, as firm and unchallenged as Mussolini's.

Go down, you who study the conditions of the organized mass in the United States of America, go down among the tailors, mingle with the cutters, ask them, as we did, ask the officers of the International Tailor Clothing Workers Union, ask the officers of the Amalgamated, and you will hear from all of them, for all know it and this is the talk of the day, that the gang which formerly had been taking orders from nobody but Orlofsky, was paid \$50,000 by Hillman.

This is a crying shame.

But a still greater shame is the fact that the press remains silent. Is it possible that the voice of thousands and thousands of workingmen cheated and robbed, does not reach it?

And the Socialist Party keeps silent, too.

Is not Beckerman one of its men? Why this conspiracy of silence regarding crime that is being committed brazenly, in broad daylight, against the interests of the tailors?

Who will arise to point an accusing finger? it may be asked.

We.

We say that all the facts related above are the result of a special, minute, painstaking inquiry.

Organizing Brooklyn Edison Workers

(Continued from Page 17)

Court, in deference to the storm of public protest aroused by the tactics of the company.

The company could not continue to hold its untenable position. Its policy of violence and frightfulness was bringing it into wide disrepute, which no public utility corporation can afford. Finally on December 16 came the "Retreat from DeKalb Avenue." The gangsters suddenly and mysteriously disappeared. The men were transported like school children to the distant 3rd Street Yard, where they were paid from guarded cars and

given an hour and a half off, in order that they might not be exposed to the baleful influence of the *Live Wire*. The giant Goliath retreated before the valiant David with his tiny but effective little sling shot.

Achievements by the Brotherhood

Summarizing the Edison campaign to date, the following definite results are to be noted:

1. A considerable body of public sentiment and support has been aroused for the campaign. On this basis a meeting of prominent citizens was recently held at the Civic Club, which has since resulted in the crystallization of the *Live Wire* auxiliary, founded for the purpose of giving outside support to the campaign of the Brotherhood. These sympathizers see in the Brotherhood campaign a sound method by which workers can be assured of their pay and their jobs in a period of profound economic crisis.

2. The extensive publicity and the support of ministers and public men have given the workers new courage and confidence in their organization. It has already resulted in establishing valuable contacts in New York.

3. Definite concessions have been made to the men in an attempt to stem the tide of organization sentiment and public condemnation of the company's policies. The wage cut policy has been publicly repudiated. Last year a considerable number of men were laid off prior to the close of the year, in order to save the payment of bonuses and vacation money. This year there were no lay-offs and bonuses were paid without restriction.

4. The company's attempt to impose a compulsory unemployment relief tax was exposed in the press and the Brotherhood's plan of relief for the laid off men was widely popularized.

5. The campaign of lawlessness and terrorism has been checked for the time being.

6. Due to our efforts, we have succeeded in stopping one lay off of 1,500 men in August, and secured a public pledge from Mr. Sloan not to go through with the intended lay-off of 1,500 workmen in February or March.

With these gains to our credit, the New Year holds forth the bright prospect of an active, and virile organization extending not only through the Brooklyn Edison Company but throughout the entire Edison system.

PROOF!

Oscar Ameringer's new journal of opinion, in seven months' time has shown the following growth:

April 3, 1931.....3,618	Aug. 1, 1931.....8,942
May 1, 1931.....5,012	Sept. 1, 1931.....11,216
June 1, 1931.....6,326	Oct. 1, 1931.....15,829
July 1, 1931.....7,842	Nov. 1, 1931.....18,027

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This course will cover 15 weeks, two sessions of two hours each, every week, beginning Monday, December 7th at 8 P. M. Instruction will include training in public speaking, writing and drill in accent, designed to make foreign-born workers more effective in the labor movement of the United States. All subject matter will be drawn from the labor field. Miss Kohn is a highly trained teacher with much experience in workers' schools and classes. As there are special tutors to assist individuals, nobody need hesitate to enroll for the course. Fee for the entire course \$2.00.

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"I have had to discontinue certain subscriptions I have maintained in previous years," writes a reader of **LABOR AGE** in renewing his subscription for the coming year.

"But," he continues, "LABOR AGE has filled a special need, and this is a time when every agency aiding the interests of the workers should be supported with determination."

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