

# Labor Age

OCTOBER, 1932 . . . . . 15 CENTS

**New Illinois Miners Union**

TOM TIPPETT

**Allentown Stops Evictions**

LOUIS BREIER

**The Soviet Union in 1932**

J. B. MATTHEWS

**'Stacked' Union Constitutions**

JEROME COUNT

**The Race for Votes**

A. J. MUSTE

**Chaos in Great Britain**

MABEL B. BEAUMONT

**Whither the A. F. of L.**

AN EDITORIAL



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**MORE ACTION FOR OUR WEEKLY**

The job of raising the "starting" funds for a militant Labor paper that will inevitably wallop the bosses and plague the government may be a difficult one, but it doesn't faze some people. In a money gouging land where bullion is stacked record-high in government vaults and uneasy Wall Street clings morbidly to its plunder while workers starve, things in the Labor Movement don't do themselves but have to be done by people who know how to do them. And this requires faith and courage. But even this fails to make some workers sit down. So it appears from the progress made by the Labor Action Committee which has been up and around since the CPLA convention decided to raise \$2,500 to publish, by January 1st, the first issue of **Labor Action**, a CPLA new year's present to American Labor.

Tackling the job with zest, the Committee held two or three councils of war and emerged with a plan of action. Letters, bulletins, personal calls, some more letters, bulletins and personal calls—and some more, not to mention affairs to raise money.

It was a hurry job to forge a stimulating, guiding, inspiring CPLA weapon in the midst of social chaos and too much muddled bewilderment and apathetic waiting for somebody else to do something.

The Committee in its work emphasizes the fact that there are masses of workers who have not been

reached by CPLA's message, and that wherever it has been carried to them it has met with warm response. Hence the significance and immediate need for **Labor Action**.

"If our gang stays on the job and CPLAers keep hammering away," according to E. J. Lever, Chairman of the Committee, the \$2,500 will be raised and the first copy of **Labor Action** on the press by January 1st. This doesn't mean that we are to let up. It means that we're going to do everything in our power between now and the dead-line to raise every possible dollar. If we go ahead without let-up like we've started we'll do the job."

Comrades, workers, CPLAers, friends of Labor, keep hammering away!

You can strike a blow here, now—

**LABOR ACTION—One Dollar a year,  
25 cents for 10 weeks.**

I pledge to raise or give \$.....between now and December 1 for **LABOR ACTION**. I also enclose herewith \$..... for ..... Years subscription to **LABOR ACTION**. I can handle bundle orders of .....copies.

Signed .....

Address.....

Mail all communications to Labor Action Committee, 128 East 16th Street, New York City.

# • LABOR • AGE •

VOL. XXI.

October, 1932

No. 10

**T**HE job of making a real organization out of the CPLA is going ahead. New membership books are being issued to branches and members at large. The sale of dues stamps from the national office has begun. In the anthracite, in Ohio and elsewhere, new branches have been formed. Comrades in St.

## The March Continues

Louis have gotten together several hundred dollars to support a CPLA organizer in that city for some months. Executive Secretary Budenz is on a month's trip to stir up the branches, help build new ones, put new spirit into all CPLA activities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. The N.E.C. has drafted a list of instructions and suggestions for organizers. A charter is being made up and will soon be ready to send out to the locals already formed.

Above all, the special committee on *Labor Action*, which is to be the new weekly paper of the CPLA, is on the job. Blanks for contributors and subscribers are ready and being sent out to members and sympathizers by the hundreds this week.

All this is humdrum stuff. It is not as exciting, at least to many, as strikes, unemployed league activities, or fights against corruptionists in unions, or even debates about Manchuria. But without this work we cannot build an effective organization. Without a CPLA organization we cannot do our job toward building a powerful and fighting labor movement in the United States for there is no other organization through which we can work. So on with the march! Build up your branch. Get in new members. Do missionary work. Spread out. Build new branches. Sell and distribute CPLA literature, get subscribers for *LABOR AGE*. Get contributors and subscribers to build up the fund which we must have not later than December 1 in order that the first issue of *Labor Action* may appear on January 1, 1933!



**A**S we go into the fourth winter of the depression, let us examine what are likely to be some of the important immediate developments here in the United States.

## Unity in Action Chief Need

To begin with, millions will suffer from cold and hunger as they have never suffered before. More and more will have their personal reserves exhausted and will face winter empty-handed. Relief will continue to be handed out by the politicians in amounts just large enough to prevent widespread revolt. Some of the States will adopt unemployment insurance as a long time policy. Later on this will become a national policy. Such small upturns as seem to be ahead—particularly in textiles—will be on such low wage bases that a sharp attack upon these wage scales will have to be made by the workers. And therein lies the hope for further industrial activity.

Yet out of such a set-up there is not in sight any promise of a substantial trend toward a radical labor expression. The job of developing a militant labor force that will be effective calls for patience, persistence and understanding.

One plague that damns the radical labor camps today—and which is a big factor in this picture—is the total lack of unity in action. There is too much calling of names. There is not enough fighting against the common enemy.

Unity does not mean the absence of criticism. It does not mean that the chair warmers and boss-conscious should be allowed to run the labor show. But it does mean that sectarian fault-finding with everything another group does merely because it is different, is out of order. It does mean that a genuine working together against the common enemy should be engaged in.

It is to the credit of the CPLA that this unity in action idea has been a guiding principle in its work. We emphasize it again as the chief need of the present hour. The American worker has had his faith in extreme individualism shaken by recent happenings. But he has not lost that faith altogether. And when he looks radical-ward, the confusion of voices which greets him is not reassuring.

The constant chanting of "faker" may give some kind of emotional kick to the chanter. But among workers it gives comfort only to the scab-minded. And it seriously hampers those who are genuinely seeking to arouse the working class to a real fight.

Sectarian bickering is as serious an injury to the workers' cause today as racketeering and do-nothingism. It should be replaced by genuine unity in action.



**I**N presidential years A. F. of L. conventions are held after the election instead of early in October as in all other years. Consequently, the convention will meet in Cincinnati about the middle of November.

## Whither the A. F. of L.?

Three subjects will undoubtedly occasion long and hot discussion at this convention. One is *racketeering, gangsterism, and allied evils in the unions*. As is known to our readers President Green and the Executive Council have recently made some strong statements against corrupt union officials, going so far as to threaten to fire out of the A. F. of L. international unions which tolerate corruption in their locals. That President Green and some other important figures in the labor movement would like to curb the inroads of gangsterism and similar developments is certain. Outside gangsters of the Al Capone type are building "unions" of their own or bodily seizing hold of A. F. of L. locals in cities like Chicago, and the thing has become serious. There is even a pre-convention rumor to the effect that hard-boiled elements in the A. F. of L. much resent Green's attacks on gangsters, and are going to defeat him for the presidency and elect Matthew Woll in his place! We do not believe that will come to pass. The business of Matty replacing Bill comes up nearly every year. The game seems to be to give Bill a scare every so often and then re-elect him.

Furthermore, in our opinion the attack by President Green and the Executive Council on these evils has so far consisted of words rather than deeds. Kaplan is still in power in the Motion Picture Operators' Union in New York. Brandle and Fay still flourish in New Jersey. John L. Lewis, the head of Green's own union, is at this moment

wantonly disregarding the often expressed wishes of the miners of Illinois (one of his henchmen recently stole the ballots in a referendum vote on a wage settlement, when it was found the vote was going overwhelmingly against Lewis's position), and together with the coal operators compelling miners to dig coal at the point of machine guns. So long as such conditions prevail in the A. F. of L. unions that started out to be bona-fide, how can the A. F. of L. make a successful stand against racketeers who attempt to conquer it from the outside? Racketeering will not conquer racketeering.

Will the A. F. of L. show something like the same energy and spirit in getting rid of crooks, autocrats and racketeers that it has sometimes shown in getting after "reds"?—that is one of the big questions before the Cincinnati convention. The critics of the A. F. of L. have often said that its days were over, and it proved not to be so. Its days as part of a genuine labor movement are certainly numbered, however, if it does not clean house. It is to the interest of those internationals, local unions and other trade union bodies which are on the level, to put all their forces behind a movement to clear the good name of labor.

The second big question before the A. F. of L. is that of *unemployment insurance*. Two years ago at the Boston convention, hardly a voice was raised, hardly a vote recorded for the resolutions on that subject. The chief of these resolutions, by the way, came from the American Federation of Teachers largely as a result of the efforts of our CPLA chairman, A. J. Muste, who is and has been for a number of years a vice president of that international union. Those were the days when the CPLA was almost the only voice insisting that this issue of unemployment insurance must be put forward and pushed hard. Matthew Woll, of course, delivered a scathing denunciation of unemployment insurance, as unsound, Bolshevik and so on. Last year at Vancouver a great change had occurred, so great as to surprise even the most optimistic advocates of the measure. Influential and conservative figures in the A. F. of L. such as Tobin of the Teamsters and Mahon of the Street Carmen, spoke for the measure. Matthew Woll, of course, still violently denounced it, but he got rapped on the fingers. President Green had to step into the breach with an impassioned personal appeal, assuring the delegates that he would go to Washington and demand "millions upon millions" of dollars in relief from Congress, in order to stop a stampede to put the Federation on record for unemployment insurance.

The depression was having its effect. Business agents were unable to find jobs and to keep up wages for their members, and some other way of satisfying them had to be found. The depression has continued and so the "die-hards" in the labor movement have had to retreat another step, and it has been announced that the Executive Council is bringing in an unemployment insurance measure to the Cincinnati convention.

Two points must be watched here. In the first place, Matthew Woll is not convinced. He is indeed engaged in what he is trying to make out is a tremendous campaign in cooperation with the Advertising Clubs of the country to restore prosperity, one of the chief aims of such campaigns being to defeat unemployment insurance. All the elements which are tired of the haphazard, private charity or dole system with which we are now trying to take care, or not to take care of our jobless millions, must be careful not to be lulled into a false security. They must rally for determined and effective action at the Cincinnati convention.

In the second place, it still remains to be seen what kind of a measure the Executive Council is going to propose.

The CPLA calls upon all organizations to see to it that their delegates stand for a plan which will not demand contributions from the workers, who ought not to be compelled, out of their already too meager wages, to protect themselves against the failures of a crazy economic system. Also the plan must be in accord with sound insurance principles, and not make the workers dependent for relief on a fund confined to a single shop or a single industry, but must enable all workers to draw out of a single state or federal fund contributed either by industry alone or by industry and by government, out of taxes on high incomes, inheritances and unearned increment on land. There is no good argument against such a system except those based on individualistic ideas which are as much behind the times as Model T Fords.

Still another big issue before the forthcoming convention is that of *independent political action*. The delegates of the United Textile Workers of America will bring in a resolution seeking to commit the A. F. of L. to the formation of a labor party, as a result of unanimous action by their convention last month. That resolution in turn came from the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers' Convention, where it had been introduced largely as a result of the efforts of the Philadelphia branch of the CPLA. In the days before 1926 the issue of independent political action was frequently raised in A. F. of L. conventions. In 1924, in connection with the LaFollette-Wheeler campaign, the A. F. of L. officially took at least a grudging step in that direction. Then came the dark days of Coolidge-Hoover prosperity, and even mention of a labor party or other progressive measures was taboo in A. F. of L. conventions.

That the A. F. of L. should now have to face the issue again is a sign of progress which we hail with satisfaction. Just how much sentiment there will be at this particular convention for a labor party depends to a considerable extent on the outcome of the election. If Roosevelt is elected it is likely that most A. F. of L. unions will believe that a great victory has been won for Labor, that Labor is going to have a "friend" in the White House for the next four years, and that it would be foolish not to play the game with him. Should Hoover be elected to the presidency, and some of his kind to other important offices in federal or state governments, the disposition to experiment may prove stronger than most people would now expect. Those who want to see a mass labor party must watch this convention both in order to promote the general idea to the utmost and to guard against the movement being led astray in the direction of a hybrid third party or a party dominated by corrupt labor leaders who will try to use it for their own vicious and selfish purposes.

But this is a situation, we believe, when the producing elements can accomplish more for their interests by splitting their vote and registering a protest against the capitalist system and the two old parties, who represent it, than in any other way.

Norman Thomas for the Socialists and Wm. Z. Foster for the Communists represent two parties pledged to a planned order of society in which production will be for use and not for profit. There is difference of opinion as to the best methods to be followed in arriving at this goal, but there should be no disagreement in the necessity of such a change.

Hoover and Roosevelt stand for a continuation of the present capitalist system of unemployment, poverty, misery—the exploitation of the many by the few. If you vote for either you certainly throw your vote away.

—*The Vanguard*, Seattle, Wash.

# A.F. OF L. CONVENTION

1932

1932



CLEAN·OUT  
THE  
RACKETEERS!

UNEMPLOYMENT  
INSURANCE  
PAID BY  
THE·BOSS!

WE·DEMAND  
A  
LABOR  
PARTY

PAL·1932

OUT OF THE WAY!

# A New Miner's Union in Illinois

by Tom Tippet

**T**HIS is being written in Gillespie, Illinois, while the convention of the Progressive Miners of America is in session. The publication date of this paper does not permit the whole story. But there is news being made here now and significant news for the labor world at that. It is the second convention of the union; a new union, dual too, and independent of the old United Mine Workers of America and therefore, outside the pale of the American Federation of Labor. It is the end of a three years struggle of coal diggers in this state to "bore from within" their forty year old union, to rid it of a policy with which they disagree and of an official family whom they mistrust and despise.

There are 206 bona fide delegates representing 100 local unions whose total unpadding membership is 32,000 mine workers. One month ago the first convention of this group was held. That meeting established the Progressive Miners of America, elected an official family, created a union machinery, scheduled the current convention, ordered a strike throughout the state and declared war to the death on the United Mine Workers of America. Then they adjourned to translate their resolutions into action, and here they are assembled again to examine the state of their new organization.

One short month has passed. But what a month! The state has been in constant turmoil every second. One mine after another has been won to the new union until it covers two-thirds of the coal belt. *The Progressive Miner*, a four page, standard-size newspaper is being published weekly and broadcast throughout the state and national coal fields. Miners formed automobile parades, one of them 45 miles in length, to shut down operating companies. Women's auxiliary organizations sprang up in every striking community; the women made uniforms, put them on and pitched into the battle beside their men. Soup kitchens opened, relief units went forth for bread, men trudged into the woods to chop fuel. The coal zone in Illinois became a mass meeting of the Progressive Miners of America. Electric amplifiers got rigged up and the fight of the coal digger agitated the very air one breathed and set the whole population on its ear.

When the convention met yesterday in this typical mining town of 4500 in-

habitants all business closed while the cheering masses of the union paraded on foot, led and followed by two crack coal miner bands. The parade choked the streets and wound up in the city park two blocks from the convention hall. The crowd remained in the park from 10 a. m. until dark. A loud speaker was hooked up and while the convention was getting under way one speaker after another went from the convention hall to the park to "entertain" the Progressive Miners of America. From 11 a. m. until night fall there was a crowd of not less than 10,000 people from mining families, assembled in the park to warm the blood of the delegates and to give the weight of their enthusiasm to the convention.

Unity of that sort has been unknown in the miners' union since the early days when the rank and file had faith in the men who headed the young United Mine Workers of America. For the last decade or so the membership of that union has been suspicious of its officers and that suspicion has grown until today the name of John H. Walker, President of the Illinois district of the U.M.W. of A. and John L. Lewis, who heads the national union, have become synonymous with the most despicable words in the English language.

## Theft of the Tally Sheets

The straw which broke the camel's back was the theft of the tally-sheets of a referendum vote of the membership against a wage cut contract which was then signed by the union officials and the coal operators and jammed down the throats of the miners. As a result the current revolution in the union has occurred and a new organization has been born. But there is more to the situation than a giddy mob of coal diggers cheering and parading throughout the state.

While the convention is writing a new constitution a scale committee is in session with the coal operators for the second time negotiating a wage scale. Later this convention will act upon a proposition that may establish the union in the field as a recognized union, with a wage contract that will transfer the wishes of the shouting mass meetings into a concrete foundation upon which a new national miners'

The West Virginia Mine Workers, created for similar reasons two years ago, is represented at this convention. Secretary George Scherer of that union is here and has spoken at mass meetings and to the convention. In his speeches Scherer burnt the air with condemnation of the old union and started tears down the faces of hundreds of miners as he told the horrible story of West Virginia. Walter Seacrist from West Virginia's hills is here also and he too is speaking to the crowds meeting in all the mining towns. President Frank Keeney arrived today and now his voice is added to that of the West Virginia delegation and all speak the same language. The Amalgamated Miners of Nova Scotia, Canada, sent a message here urging the Progressive Miners 'to broaden their fight to all coal regions' because "we are willing to go along with a militant, responsible group such as the Progressive Miners of Illinois." More than 100 coal operators have already recognized the new union and are now operating their mines, paying the scale of wages in effect before the U.M.W. of A. accepted a reduction.

About thirty miles away from the convention hall at Taylorville, U. S. soldiers stand on guard at the Peabody mines, but all the Taylorville mines are down and the local unions from there are represented in the convention. Yesterday additional militia men marched into the Peoria field at Canton to break the strike but the mines remain closed and the Canton locals also have delegates here.

In Franklin County, south, the mines are operating, paying the wage rejected by the miners in a referendum vote. It was into this county that the 45 mile caravan of strikers was headed several weeks ago and ran into a reign of terror set into motion by the old union, the coal operators and the county authorities. Stories of that terror told here paralyze ones' blood and spur the delegation farther and farther away from any connection with the Walker-Lewis union.

The new union lost one man in Franklin county when he was called from his home and shot dead by enemies of the union. Another young miner in the caravan headed for Franklin county when he was called out—others carry bullet holes and thousands of them were clubbed and

beaten. The convention contains many delegates scarred in the Franklin terror. In the Springfield hospital still another young miner lies dying with a hole shot through his body in a riot on the streets there a week ago. This convention represents a union that is still in the stages of early revolution and while it conducts its sessions the terror rages on every front. Blood is drawn hourly and much more is expected to flow.

**The Union's Enemies**

Arrayed against the new union are the United Mine Workers of America, the Peabody Coal Company and some other coal operators, the state militia and a number of county authorities. Assisting these agencies is hunger and want, the inevitable hand-maidens of every boss. In this convention, all these obstacles to the success of the new union are obvious. But in spite of that one feels the sure conviction of the delegates that they are right, that the current struggle is the price they must pay for their too-long patience with a corrupt union.

The speed with which the wage conference with the operators was obtained indicates that the Peabody crowd are losing control of the Illinois coal field. The scale committee will bring back a contract to this convention and that fact marks the difference between this revolt and all the others which have preceded it. The delegates are not here debating economic theory—they are here to build a union after the fashion of the old organization in the days before it had become a labor racket. No one is blowing off steam. Except for the story of West Virginia there have been no convention speeches. The Mayor of Gillespie opened the sessions in a speech of two sentences which lasted one minute. But then he is a miner and a delegate to the convention.

The Communist Party sent a delegation from the National Miners' Union which was politely but very firmly excluded from the sessions. This action set the

work of the convention back exactly five minutes and in that action can be measured the strength of the communist movement among the rebel miners of Illinois with whom the Communists have been attempting to work for years. The West Virginia group were given a voice in the convention and seated as fraternal delegates. Every one else was barred. The press was excluded and given prepared publicity by the secretary of the convention.

The Gillespie Women's auxiliary cooked food for the convention and served it in a hall. All the delegates were put up at night in the homes of other coal diggers in the community. There were no elaborate convention badges, no daily printed convention proceedings and none of the other expensive tinsel which always accompanied the U. M. W. of A. conventions. These coal miners are broke, and desperately poor but they burn with indignation. By their action in the past month they have again stirred the soul of the coal miners and given once more that inspiration to Labor elsewhere that in the past was the special contribution of the miners to the American Labor Movement.

In the U. M. W. of A. office in Springfield the old officials are stationed, attempting to stem the tide of

the revolt. Somewhere in the maze of economic theory there may be a formula by which those officers can explain why they recommended a wage-cut but nowhere in the scope of sanity can they find justification for flaunting, in the manner they did, the sober decision of the men who were to live by those wages.

Mr. Lewis has succeeded during the past 10 years in forcing his will—no matter what it was—onto his union in every other state. As a result of his success the union is in ruins wherever he has had his way. The coal operators insisted that Lewis come into Illinois to help Walker and his policy committee persuade the Illinois miners to accept the \$1.00 a day wage reduction. Lewis was invited in—there followed rapidly the second referendum, the theft of the tally sheet, a state of "emergency" declared, a contract signed and the miners ordered back to the pits. And that was the spark which started the flames.

The Progressive Miners of America have not achieved complete victory as yet—but one thing is pretty sure: in Illinois the United Mine Workers of America is dead.

If you wish to follow the story of the fight by the Progressive Miners of America read *Labor Age*.



*Upholding the Law*

From the *Progressive Miner*.

# Allentown Stops Evictions

by Louis Breier

ON the last day of September Larry Heimbach, organizer of the Allentown Unemployed Citizen's League, was approached by a very excited person who announced himself to be Mr. Francis Williamson of Orefield, a little farming town near the Pennsylvania Slate Belt.

Mr. Williamson was in need of help: immediate help. His little farm, he told us, with all its machinery, buildings, furniture and crops, was to be sold at public auction by the Sheriff the very next day (October 1st) to satisfy a debt of two hundred dollars. Despite Williamson's repeated pleas for at least enough time in which to harvest and sell his crops, Mr. Werley of Hamburg, the debtor, insisted on the sale, piously invoking the time-honored principle "let the Devil take the Hindmost."

No one to whom Williamson in his desperation had appealed, seemed able to do anything. It seemed certain that he, his seven children and his wife were to be sold out of farm and home and thrown out on the roads. Williamson was at his wits end. All his life he had been a hard-working, well-behaved citizen, content with little: now this horrible thing was happening to him, and nobody, not even the great Mr. Hoover for whom he had enthusiastically cast his ballot in the good old days, seemed able or willing to help him. Now he had come to us as his very last resort. He had heard that the Unemployed League had stopped several evictions in Allentown. Could the Unemployed League undertake to help him in the same way?

Heimbach told Williamson to go back to his farm and not to worry. He could not promise anything definite; but he could promise him this: that the Unemployed League would do everything within its power to help him and to even halt, if possible, the Sheriff's sale. Williamson was sceptical; he had heard all this before—charity agencies, public officials had replied to his requests in precisely the same language. He went away, murmuring something about having to trust in God in a tone which implied that he was doubtful about help from those quarters, too.

I immediately wrote a letter of protest to Henninger and Snyder, attorneys representing Mr. Werley. I pointed out that Mr. Werley's stand was obviously based more on his determination to profit privately from a

fellow being's misfortune, than on any necessity, since Mr. Werley was a rich man. These tactics were considered by the Unemployed Citizen's League to be entirely un-American in spirit and principle. We wondered whether Messrs. Henninger and Snyder would not take the matter up with their client and persuade him to reconsider? We wished it understood, furthermore, that if Mr. Werley persisted, the Unemployed League would publicly oppose him and attempt to defeat his purpose.

Meanwhile, Heimbach had taken up Williamson's case with the branches of the Unemployed League. Would the members of the League volunteer to help Williamson? The response was immediate. A committee was formed on the spot to wait on Henninger and Snyder with my letter. If Henninger and Snyder would not or could not act then a company of volunteers would hold themselves in readiness to travel to Orefield in a body.

Of course Henninger and Snyder could do nothing. Mr. Werley was merely their client, their hands were tied and so forth—. Snyder, who is State Senator, made a little speech of the finest Republican variety in which Abraham Lincoln was mentioned five times in three minutes, a record, I believe, in these parts.

## Eighty Good Men and True

The next day, just before the sale, eighty men arrived on Williamson's farm. A large crowd of farmers was grouped in front of the house, ready to purchase some of the "bargains." Mr. Werley was there—a little man of the beer-barrel variety, smug, shrewd and thoroughly certain of his privileges under a "business administration." Williamson was there—a beaten man, cowed, ashamed to show his face to his neighbors, his friends, now gathered to buy him out quite as a matter of business, you understand. The Sheriff was there, and his deputies—they immediately surrounded Heimbach, who assured them, however, that he had come merely to speak to Mr. Werley. His eighty men? They were spectators. The Sheriff was not taken in; but he was no great admirer of Werley and if there were no violence—

Heimbach talked to Werley. He appealed to his humanity. He appealed to his duties as a citizen. He reminded him, that he too was the father of a family. Could Mr. Werley, in all conscience, go through with a thing like this? Would he never regret it? And what, after all, could he lose? He would get his money. All that was wanted was a little time. Mr. Werley listened patiently. He agreed with Heimbach. Yes, Mr. Werley had humanity—did he not buy Liberty Bonds to make the world safe for Democracy? Yes—he was the father of a family and he could feel for Mr. Williamson and his wife and children. But—what would you? Business is business. Williamson must take the consequences. Well, said Heimbach, Mr. Werley must take the consequences. What did Mr. Heimbach mean by that? Well, Mr. Werley would see.

The time had come for the sale; but instead of the auctioneer, Heimbach mounted the block and launched into a speech. Werley appealed to the Sheriff; but the Sheriff merely pointed to the eighty men.

"If any of you men," said Heimbach, "have come here to bid for Williamson's property, then you are greater fools than ever I took you for. Are any of you farmers so prosperous that there is no possibility of the Sheriff coming to sell *your* house and *your* machinery, and *your* horses and to throw *your* kids and wife out on the street to starve and freeze this winter? You all know that instead of prosperity the sheriff is just around the corner—this man (pointing to Williamson) has turned the corner just a little ahead of you, that is all, but in coming here and helping to sell this man's home and to throw his family out on the streets, what you are doing is sanctioning your own ruin when *your* time comes. When you come to sales like these, you are helping Mr. Werley and men like Mr. Werley to take advantage of your misfortunes—misfortunes that neither you nor Williamson are responsible for—you are patting Mr. Werley on the back and saying: Go ahead, Mr. Werley, suck us dry; throw us out on the streets—you are doing good work."

Heimbach called to Williamson to bring out his wife and children. When they appeared—the shrivelled white-haired little woman old before her time, and her seven children in rags, patently underfed, frightened by events



all the more fearful because they could not understand them—the crowd was heard to murmur in a manner that did not please Mr. Werley. Heimbach lost no time.

### What Crime?

"Look at these children," cried Heimbach, "look at their clothes—rags. Look at their feet—bare, at this time of the year. Mrs. Williamson tells me that she cannot send them to school because they cannot afford to dress them decently. They cannot afford to even feed them decently.

"Now, what I want you farmers to tell me is this: what crime have these children committed, what have they done that you have come here to sell them out of their homes, to take away from them even the few rags that they have, even the roof from over their heads, poor as it is—what has Williamson done to deserve this—has he not worked all his life, honestly, uncomplainingly? Has he not been your good neighbor, your good friend?—and is this how you reward him—by helping in his ruin? And is this how the state rewards him for being a good citizen and for bringing future citizens into the world—by making his ruin legal?

"I tell you that Mr. Werley is pressing this business because he is greedy. I tell you that Mr. Werley is a parasite. I tell you that Mr. Werley's business principles are the principles of a thief. I tell you that no one will be safe from Mr. Werley until honest people refuse to aid him, to sanction him and to agree that in ruining families Mr. Werley is only standing on his rights."

This was too much for the Hamburg Plutocrat. He agreed at once to extend Williamson's time; to allow him to harvest his crops and to accept payment in fifty dollar installments.

In announcing Mr. Werley's change of heart Heimbach pledged the support of the Unemployed League to all people in Williamson's position. He furthermore stated that members of the League would help Williamson to harvest his crops and in every way assist him to pay his debt.

"But," said Heimbach in closing, "the most effective work can only be accomplished by you—you must resist, you must fight greedy landowners, mortgage sharks. Above all you must fight for state and national relief. There should be a moratorium on taxes as well as on debts. Mr. Werley from Harrisburg is no better than Mr. Werley from Hamburg. Remember this—remember that nobody will help you

but yourselves—and then you will get something done."

### ... And There Are Other Things!

The growing popularity of our Unemployed Citizens League, its increasing importance as a factor in local relief work has resulted as much from other less spectacular causes as from this incident. . . . an incident played up here only because it effectively demonstrates the essential timidity and weakness of the owning class when faced with organized protest. Furthermore, it again proves the necessity of popular appeal—of a little Uncle Tom's Cabin dramaturgy. Our Orefield melodrama has gained for us a respect and confidence we could not earn by months of our regular work of hauling potatoes and peaches and wood.

Another important factor in our advance was the appointment of Heim-

back to the Governor's Local Committee for the Distribution of Talbot Act Relief Funds. Heimbach was not originally appointed. The Committee included, besides the Chief of Police and a Judge, several of the bright-haired boys from the Poor Board, a few high-minded Emersonians from the Woman's Club and a Banker. We immediately communicated with the Governor reminding him of his previous endorsement of the League and expressing surprise that we had been overlooked. Meanwhile, before the Governor had time to answer, we invaded a private meeting of the Committee and were seated by motion of one of the members before anyone had time to throw us out. Heimbach outlined the work of the League and proposed several methods for the distribution of funds without unnecessary expenditure for administration.

(Continued on page 25)

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## Brookwood Opens

By HELEN NORTON

*"From railroad, from mill and from mine,  
From workshop and office and factory,  
Men and women from industry come  
Of all races and colors and creeds."*

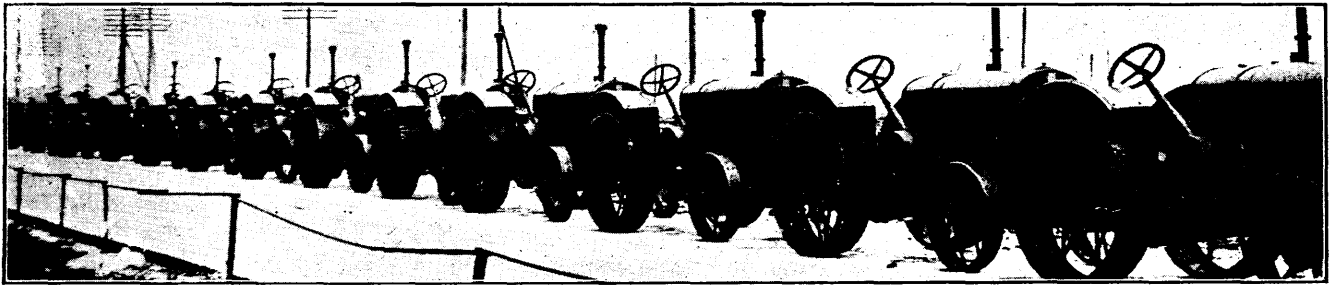
ANOTHER group of worker-students are singing that song at Brookwood Labor College these days, getting acquainted with one another, with their teachers, with themselves as part of the great working-class rather than as isolated individuals. Miners from Pennsylvania and West Virginia and Illinois — nine of them—are finding out about wages and machine loading and unionism in coal fields that have been mere names to them before. Textile workers from New England and from the South talk about the stretch-out and night shifts, and find both difference and likeness in their situations. A Detroit auto mechanic, a Chicago Pullman porter, and a Cincinnati clothing worker find their middle western experiences a common bond, though their industrial problems may differ. And a teacher of workers' education in Norway talks with farmers and factory workers, finding their diction and slang at once puzzling and interesting.

Last summer the Brookwood executive board, looking at a sizeable deficit and diminished prospects for money this year, decided, in hard-boiled, practical fashion, to limit the student body

this year to 25 instead of the usual 40 as one measure of economy. But faced with a long list of desirable applicants whose only crime was poverty, they compromised on 31. These 31, from 12 states and 17 industries, and with four more men than women, are busy now, studying economics and labor history, public speaking and journalism. They are finding out how trade unions, political parties, cooperatives and unemployed leagues may be organized and financed. Nor is their discussion wholly in the realm of theory, for many of them have already had experience and learned from that experience that they needed more information, and technique.

They have learned also, that no one-man effort has much chance of success, and so they're making plans to start classes among their fellow workers when they go back, to make workers' education available for those who can't leave their jobs and family responsibilities to get it.

The Brookwood faculty, also, profiting by the successful local classes which Brookwood graduates conducted last summer in West Virginia mining camps, and in response to definite demands from centers in Pennsylvania, where Brookwood put on a successful chautauqua tour, is planning a circuit of extension classes in textile and mining towns such as Allentown, Shenandoah, and Mt. Carmel.



Stalingrad Tractors

# The Soviet Union in 1932

by J. B. Matthews

**H**URRIED visits to the Soviet Union, however frequent, have their limitations; especially when one is not familiar with the Russian language. It is not travel alone, however, that is subject to serious limitations: residence of many years even when accompanied by an intimate knowledge of the native tongue is also subject to very serious limitations. This is clearly the case when so many septuagenarians whose knowledge of the English language is unimpeachable have spent their whole lives within the borders of the United States without even so much as sensing the nature of our society. The really important question to ask of those who offer reports of their impressions of the Soviet Union is one concerning their fundamental understanding of modern social problems and not whether they speak Russian or whether they were born in the land of the Czars.

Five annual visits of short duration have left an indelible impression of progress in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. True enough, this impression is accompanied by the recognition of a number of grave problems not yet cleared up. These problems, considered separately or together, give no ground for the hope of her enemies that the Soviet regime is on the verge of collapse. More violent storms have been weathered in the past. Foreign military intervention, foreign supported counter-revolution, general disaffection like the Kronstadt rebellion, and famines that took their tolls of millions, have beat upon the house of the Soviets, but it has stood firmly to give the lie to all predictions of collapse during these fifteen years. Soviet stability has become a generally recognized feature of the international scene, in spite of the sturdy prophets of Soviet doom who live around Riga.

## Food Shortage and Other Problems

The foreign correspondents have familiarized the outside world with the fact of a serious food shortage in the Soviet Union. Whatever the correct explanation may be, there is a problem of serious proportions centering in the Ukraine. A crop failure there in 1931, together with the administrative blunder of attempting to carry out the grain procurements on the basis of the estimates instead of the yield, has made it necessary for the government to resort to some unusual measures this year. Chief among these was a decree permitting private enterprise in disposing of the crop surplus. This measure, recently withdrawn, was designed to get all possible food on the market and thus meet the real human emergency, even though a temporary compromise with private enterprise was necessary.

The Five Year Plan was designed to lay the foundations of a socialized industry. This meant that almost all the government's attention was centered on heavy industry. As a consequence little was done to relieve the shortage of consumers' goods which has kept the living standard of the people at such a low level ever since the October Revolution. The Second Five Year Plan promises to deal far more adequately with this question. Bad as the present situation is, it is erroneous to believe that there has been no progress in the living standards of the masses since the Revolution. Few will deny that there is a far greater measure of economic security for the masses now than there ever was under the Czarist regime.

In the past twelve months there has been something which closely resembles inflation, though for some un-

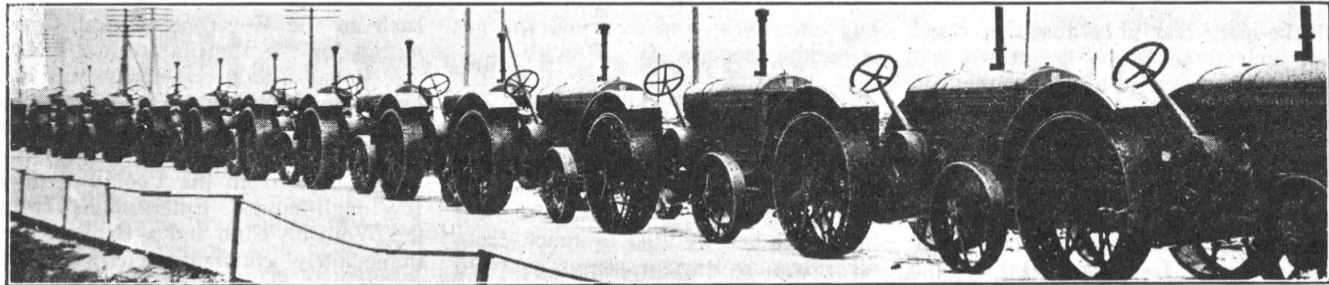
known reason the Soviets stoutly deny the existence of an inflationary movement. The fact remains, nevertheless, that there has not been an increase in consumers' goods to match the increase in printed money. Neither wages nor the production of goods has equalled the rise in prices. One may have a pocket full of rubles without being able to live luxuriously or even too comfortably.

One can spend every night for a week on Russian trains, and does not need to be told by an interpreter that the transportation problem is most acute. Schedules are slow beyond description; equipment is frightful; crowding is often heart-breaking. Annoying as this is in the passenger service, it is equally serious in the transportation of goods and raw materials. Again the Second Five Year Plan promises to give much attention to this question. It is vital to the development of the entire construction program.

There has been a serious labor turnover closely connected with the problem of food shortage. There has also been a failure to develop labor productivity according to the schedules of the Five Year Plan. Workers in the mines of the Donbas have been notably dissatisfied. Efficiency "on the tractor front" has lagged at the great plants. Mid-summer, however, saw substantial progress at Stalingrad. Workers everywhere followed with great eagerness the reports from "the tractor front."

## International Affairs

The disastrous fall in prices on the world market has made it necessary for the Soviets to export more goods in order to buy the same amount of foreign machinery as they were able to import a few years ago. This fact has increased an already serious burden. The threat of war in the Far East diverted important resources from the main program of the Five Year



**Stalingrad Tractors**

Plan. And still the Manchurian situation is unsettled. Fears of war on the European front have not decreased. Very recent reports from Paris indicate greatly increased shipments of war supplies to Poland and Rumania. Russia has not been able to remain indifferent to the extremely explosive situation existing in Europe and the Far East. The continued policy of non-recognition in the United States has left the Soviet Government without moral support for protesting against the Japanese aggressions in Manchuria, and robbed both countries of the advantages of trade relations that would improve with recognition.

In turning to the other side of the Soviet picture, there is no disposition to pose as an impartial and scientific observer. Disinterested aloofness is hardly possible for those who are sufficiently human to be sensitive to the significance of Sovietism. In the last analysis most of our judgments on present-day Russia are colored by our sharp political and economic preferences. Some want a socialist order throughout the world; some don't. Some believe that success of the socialist program in Russia is vital to the socialist movement throughout the world; some don't.

### A Classless Society

Nowhere else in the world today are the contrasts in the dress of the masses seen on the streets so completely absent as in Russia. An elegantly dressed class is conspicuous by its absence, while there is a smaller proportion of those dressed in "rags" than is to be found in the United States today. The disappearance of class distinctions in clothing indicates a very substantial movement toward a classless society. Standards and styles of dress in Russia have always been different from those of Western Europe—a fact not always remembered by visitors. A residence in the Orient is, for this reason, a good introduction to the Soviet Union.

The growth of the collectivist spirit has been a major educational achievement. Not only has the collectivization of agricultural production proceeded at a rapid tempo to a point where it now involves about seventy per cent of the peasants, but more important still the philosophy of collectivism has almost driven out the old individualism. The astonishing achievements in production and construction, which have been made without the motive of private profit, give promise to the workers of the world that our economic and so-

cial life can be organized around a new principle.

Lenin's dream of many years ago is well on the way to fulfilment. The completion of the great hydro-electric plant at Dneprostroy is only one of the triumphs of the Soviets in the conquest of "white coal." The production of electrical power in Russia has already surpassed that of every other country in the world except that of the United States. By the end of the Second Five Year Plan it will surpass that of the United States. The poor old horse of the backward peasant is giving way to the powerful steeds of electricity.

### Housing

While it would be appropriate to discuss the question of housing under the heading of an acute problem in view of the continued crowding, the achievements in this field are so impressive as to justify mentioning it here. Around every great industrial project, new workers' cities, planned along the lines of the best modern standards, are rising. There would be no point in giving the figures of new floor space constructed, since such figures are meaningless to those of us who are laymen in such matters. Moscow now has the largest apartment house in the world, an adequate description of which would require many pages—preferably of pictures. The tempo of housing construction is not lagging; and the Soviet achievements in this field are matched only in Germany and Vienna.

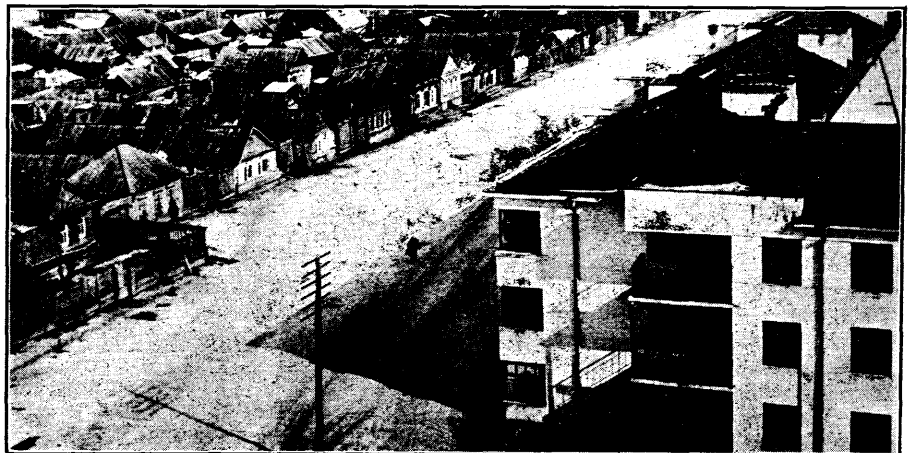
Moscow had become so much cleaner in twelve months that it was hardly recognizable in this respect. Russians can learn to drop their cigarette butts and waste paper in sanitation receptacles instead of throwing them on the sidewalks—even I as a New York-

er learned to do it after a few hours in Leningrad, showing that no one is hopeless in this matter. This advance in cleanliness means much for the public health in a country where the flies have been the most notoriously aggressive in the world. Russia may yet demonstrate that cleanliness is next to goldlessness. Night sanitarium for workers; clinics for women and children; vacation rest homes; parks for rest and culture; stadia for sports; these are some of the things with which all visitors to Russia quickly become familiar. Down in Rostov we met a traveling exhibit on birth control.

### Education

New measures have recently been introduced to counteract the undesirable effects of mass education. Greater attention is to be given to individual pupil progress. Long ago the Soviets accepted the principle of tying education in closely with the life of the people. Long before the Soviet student ever hears of Cyrus and the number of *parasangs* he marched daily, he learns of the forced marches (and the retreats) of the Five Year Plan—and why? This has been so fully exemplified in "New Russia's Primer" that it requires no amplification for those who have read that very illuminating little book. One easily gets the impression that a large part of the population is going to school. More than a million are now studying in the professional schools. The newspapers carry advertisements of institutions inviting students to come and study this or that, with stipendia stated. There is no army of uselessly educated young people being thrown into the bitter competition of a purposeless society.

Several years ago the outside world began to take notice of the idea of a  
(Continued on page 29)



In Stalingrad, old wooden houses which are now being replaced by the new houses seen on the right.



**In Stalingrad, old wooden houses which are now being replaced by the new houses seen on the right.**

# The City of "Brotherly Love"

by John Godber

AT the head of Philadelphia's famous Parkway, the Champs Elysees of America, stands the Art Museum—a \$20,000,000 reproduction of some Grecian temple that has crumbled into dust ages ago.

This building is a gem of architectural splendor. Its many fountains continuously throw jets of water high in the air for the admiration of the few art lovers who daily come to this Mecca in their costly limousines. Directly back of this magnificent temple is the "Jungles," overlooking the scummy and oily Schuylkill, a river so rotten that fish cannot live in its waters. And yet hundreds of unemployed men are forced to dwell on its banks and inhale its delightful odors.

Philadelphia is thus unique among American cities. It maintains, free of charge, two homes for homeless men, a winter home located at 18th and Hamilton Streets in the building formerly occupied by part of the Baldwin Locomotive Works; the summer home, behind the \$20,000,000 temple of art.

A short walk down the Parkway brings one to the headquarters of the Staples Committee, appointed by the State to handle funds made available by the Talbot Bill. The sight that greets the eye is a somewhat monotonous crowd that sometimes reaches the 5,000 mark. The staff of social workers on hand can handle only 1,700 cases daily; the rest are given cards to come back at a later date. A few weeks ago a young mother fainted in the waiting line from starvation. After she was revived, she was given a ticket to return on October 3 for an interview!

The sum of money allotted to Philadelphia for relief this winter will equal about \$350,000 per month. It is estimated that it will cost around \$100,000 monthly to operate the winter home referred to above and cover administration expenses. The sum remaining will provide food orders for 20,000 families! No money is to be used for gas, heating or clothing.

Last winter the Lloyd Committee provided for some 56,000 families. This winter conservatives predict that 60,000 families will be in dire need. Are these additional 40,000 families expected to lie down and die? We say no. They must organize into unemployed leagues and fight for, not a mere pittance, but at least a million and a half dollars a month.

A short time ago, at the request of Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Director of Public Welfare, a committee from the Unemployed League paid this august personage a visit. After a lengthy interview concerning unemployment relief measures, Mr. Woodruff referred the committee to his Legal Aid Bureau for information concerning the rights of the common people in eviction cases.

Mr. Stewart, the Chief of this Bureau, was more than sympathetic. He almost cried; not because unemployed families were being evicted, from their homes, but because he had to take a wage cut. We quote part of the interview with Mr. Stewart: "Landlord and tenant cases result in a most vicious circle. When the tenant can't pay his rent, the landlord can't pay his taxes; the city is about \$30,000,000 in the red. This means I get a ten per cent wage cut and am forced to work 16 days without pay, a 26 per cent wage reduction which means that George Stewart can't paint his house and *can't buy an automobile.*"

It has just been announced that, after weeks of wrangling and delay, the

Reconstruction Finance Corporation has doled out the miserable sum of two and one-half million dollars to the State of Pennsylvania for unemployment relief in three counties, namely: Philadelphia, Allegheny and Northampton.

Another fight is on. The State claims this money must be split among all the counties in the state. The R. F. C. says three counties. Philadelphia doesn't care how it is split up as long as it receives one million of it, which amount would last for about two months.

Rumor is current that this city will apply directly to Washington for a loan. Perhaps we shall get it—who knows? But if our corrupt political machine can find ways and means of building \$20,000,000 art museums and costly additions to the City Hall which never were needed, then surely it should be made to find ways and means of saving its former taxpayers from starvation.

How this is to be done it is not for the writer to say. But he will state that it is going to take more than an appeal issuing from the mouth of a prophet of "rugged individualism" to the spiritual impulses of the American nation to feed the hungry this winter.

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## Support the Brookwood Bazaar

The Brookwood Fellowship, consisting of former Brookwood students, with the cooperation of friends of Brookwood, is organizing a bazaar to be held at Irving Plaza, New York City, December 2, 3, and 4.

"Brookwood is opening its twelfth year with a seriously depleted treasury," warns the statement sent out by the Bazaar Committee, of which Sam Bakley is secretary and Anna N. Davis, treasurer. "Something has to be done. Every worker, every intellectual and liberal, sympathetic with the workers' cause, must immediately come to the aid of Brookwood.

"For more than a decade Brookwood has been in the vanguard of the workers' education movement in America. It has given inspiration and leadership to all elements engaged in building a militant labor movement in

the United States. It has carried on an uncompromising but intelligent and effective fight against the reactionary leadership in the official labor movement. It has been a place where militant workers in trouble could turn and always be sure of help.

"Now Brookwood is in trouble. The capitalist depression has not only seriously hit some of its supporters but the increasing struggles of militant and blacklisted workers have increased the demands upon Brookwood.

"Can Brookwood survive the crisis?

"The answer remains with you, the workers and the friends and sympathizers of the workers' education movement.

"Get in touch at once with Sam Bakley, 523 West 121st Street, New York City."

# The Stehli Strike

by Lawrence Hogan

**T**HE Stehli Silk Corporation is trying to make it appear that the Stehli strike at High Point is settled. Yet a worker tells me, "It is impossible for me to buy the very necessities to keep my family from being hungry." The strike is far from settled. There is a lull like the lull before a storm. The company has already broken every part of the agreement made with the strikers.

The 450 Stehli workers came out on strike August 28, against wage reductions, stretch-out, bad working conditions and slave driving. They have had 50 per cent wage reductions. After the strike they placed a strong picket line around the mill and began the fight. The company refused to have anything to do with the committee representing the workers and for three weeks refused to meet any one from the workers. After the strike had gone a week they opened the gates with the assistance of the law. Some 50 people tried to enter the mill. They had to walk over the prostrate bodies of the workers, through tear-gas, rotten eggs and other disagreeable things to get by the gates.

The company declared, when the strike occurred, that it was going broke; but immediately wages were raised in its Lancaster, Pa., plant, 10 per cent; and since then wages in its northern plant have been raised 17 per cent more. Meanwhile here the workers tell stories of suffering. They are unable to pay house rent and buy the simple foods, meat and bread and beans, on their low wages. The company apparently operates on the policy that Southern labor needs less to eat than workers in Pennsylvania.

## Workers Tricked

At the end of three weeks High Point politicians and "public spirited citizens" managed to trick the workers into a settlement. Strike-breaking police were protecting anybody who wanted to enter the mill. The number of scabs had grown from 50 to 125. All the local strike leaders were being placed under heavy peace bonds, making it almost impossible for them to be active. People were hired or intimidated into bringing charges against them. No money or trouble was spared to break the strike. But they were up against a militant bunch of workers, anything but docile workers who are easily frightened or satisfied.

The local civic organizations and politicians, thinking they would save the good name of the town (cheap and contented labor) and get more votes by posing as the workers' friends, began working to settle the strike.

Then the company promised the workers—if you will return to work, we will give you a 17 per cent wage increase, take all the people back within a few days without discrimination. But the company stood out against a grievance committee. The workers decided to accept. They went back to work. Then the company began black-listing with a vengeance and around 200 have been blacklisted and they are working them out as fast as they can. Like the Marion settlement of 1929 they are passing the buck, each official claiming that the person who is out of town is the one that remedies these things!

The strike was unorganized. The workers didn't belong to any union and the strike was on the spur of the moment, as it happens so often in the South. They were all so dissatisfied that the moment the word "strike" started, the revolt occurred. Their eyes have been opened by this experience. It has shown them the need for an organization. It has convinced them that they must have a labor party. They have learned that the company to gain its ends can use and will use old party public officials that the people have elected to legalize the spilling of workers' blood.

## Strike Hard Fought

The so-called law tried to make it appear in the beginning that it was for the workers, but when the show down came the law lined up with the boss. When the company announced that the mill gates would be opened all of High Point's sixty policemen were on the job. Cops were carried here from Greensboro. The county sheriff was here with all the thugs he could muster. But the workers, as in many previous Southern strikes, were filled with a spirit of fighting militancy. Still, as in all Southern strikes, when the situation came to a show down, they found themselves ranged not only against the boss, the politicians, and the civic organizations, but against the "law" itself.

Yet Highpoint police praise them-

selves for "leaning away from duty on the side of leniency" during the strike; but when Stehli shook the bag of gold at them and the politicians began to shuffle about, the cops were not with the hungry devils who were fighting for bread, but they were ready for "duty"—ready to break the strike.

Scores of strikers were arrested for merely standing by telephone posts. They were charged with inciting to riot and assault and placed under bonds. Policemen and scabs weighing 200 pounds swore on the stand that they were afraid of 16 and 17 year-old girls, underweight at that. They gassed and clubbed men and women alike. Several women are seriously ill from tear-gas used by the police to clear the way for the scabs to get into the mill. Some have bruised and scarred bodies from being kicked, after they had been felled by the police. Three of them have been under the care of doctors for more than three weeks, and many others should be. Their relatives and friends were knocked unconscious when they tried to pick them up and carry them away from the gas.

## Myrtle Carden's Story

Myrtle Carden, one of the victims, is not expected to live, the doctors say, unless great care is taken of her. She is only 17 and worked before the strike for about \$4.50 a week. Just because she was on the picket line she was clubbed down by the police. After being knocked down she was again clubbed, trampled upon and gassed. The doctors say that she is hurt internally, that her lungs are injured. Unless her condition changes North Carolina will add another victim to the lust for dividends.

Myrtle Carden had worked for the company five years. Her mother and father have always respected the law. They can't understand why their daughter was beaten and gassed by the strong policemen, arrested for inciting to riot, carried to jail nearly dead, and there kept from them for several hours. They can't understand why the father and younger brother were clubbed and beaten and arrested when they tried to rescue Myrtle, or why Ruth, her sister, was arrested when she tried to help Myrtle up from where she had fallen.

Myrtle Carden doesn't understand. "At first," she says, "I was over-

(Continued on page 25)

# Organizing on Fifth Avenue

by Three Musketeers

ON Thursday, October 6th, a general strike of the Fifth Avenue dressmakers and tailors was called by Local 38 of the I.L.G.W.U. In the needle trades these workers are known as the aristocrats. They make the beautiful gowns that are worn by the wives and mistresses of the successful and would-be successful rugged individualists of capitalist America. No gown made by these workers retails for less than \$100 and the high mark runs into the thousands.

But what are the working conditions of these "aristocrats"? Tailors, the highest paid workers in the trade working from 50-65 hours per week in open shops have been earning on an average of \$40. Does this seem high? Wait. For the past three years tailors have not been able to get more than 16 weeks' work in a year, which means they have actually been able to earn the magnificent sum of \$640 per year, a fraction of the retail price of many of the gowns they make to be worn by women who never do any work in their lives and who perhaps wear the gown a half dozen times. A few may make more than this but a great many more do not make even this much.

Drapers, also highly skilled and working in open shops average around \$25 per week. These workers who must cut and fit the gown, working from 50-65 hours a week are able to earn during the year about as much as the tailors, because they get more work.

Finishers, young girls mostly recruited from trade schools (for whose support the public pays and which act as employment agencies for the bosses) are able to earn anywhere from \$10-12 for a 60 hour week. In the shop of Nettie Rosenstein they manage to make a little more—by working 72 hours per week they can make as much as \$25 in this shop which caters to the high-class Fifth Avenue trade. Bergdorf-Goodman, one of the largest and most successful shops in the industry, which in the strike of two years ago spent thousands of dollars and succeeded in eliminating the union is again ready to put up a battle to keep sweatshop conditions. This firm spends a quarter of a million dollars a year for advertising. Yet it can not pay its workers a living wage.

## Union Shops

Contrasted with conditions in the open shops, conditions in the union

shops are much better. Up until now these shops have been working under the following schedule: Tailors and pressers—\$55 for a 40 hour week; drapers—\$41; finishers—\$31. In addition there is an equal division of work by a committee of workers, time and a half for overtime, and pay for holidays.

The contracts which the union had with the employers expired on September 15, and the employers refused to sign up under the old schedule. They demanded a 15-20 per cent reduction in wages, because, they said, they can not compete with non-union shops. They also demanded a reduction of the working staff by half. This latter demand they made because they feel "sorry for the workers who are not able to earn a living by working part-time." How these workers are going to be benefited by having no work at all only the brilliant intellects of bosses can answer. The unions answer was a 6-hour day instead of part-time—suggesting that this would do away with the expense of having a new staff every other week. This demand was turned down flatly by the bosses.

However, after a few conferences the union succeeded in convincing the employers that the way out of their difficulties is not to lower the work standards of the trade but to maintain a high standard and leave it to the union to organize the non-union shops. The only concession the union was forced to make was that 15 days after the calling of the general strike the employers can go to the impartial chairman and ask for a reduction in wages not to exceed 10 per cent. On the other hand, if the union has been at all successful in its organizing campaign it can go to the impartial chairman and insist that there should be no reductions, because it has been successful in eliminating at least part of the competition about which the bosses complained. With this understanding a general strike of the industry was called on October 6 to establish union conditions and control in every shop on the Avenue. This strike is actually an attempt to save the union, for it becomes increasingly evident that a union in the needle trades industry must either go forward or die. It can not stand still—it must organize the

open shops—get a larger control over the industry or it will not be able to hold the union shops. Realizing this the members of Local 38 are putting forth every effort to make this strike a militant, organizing campaign.

However, we do not want to leave the impression that everything is harmony among the members of local 38, that there are no discordant notes. In our union, just as in every union in the needle trades, there is a group of "revolutionists." At the beginning of the strike in a large shop meeting this group of "disciplinarians" bitterly opposed and succeeded in defeating a motion for any check-up on the picket lines. They were opposed to discipline, they said, "a person's conscience should be his guide."

A number of smaller shops have already signed agreements and are working under union conditions. As this goes to press, greatest pressure is being brought against the larger shops which have managed to collect all of gangsterdom, both legal and illegal to safeguard their workers from the "evils of unionism." A few of the more clever bosses have voluntarily increased the rates since the strike began hoping thus to keep their workers from walking out. After the strike, of course, these shops will return to their old rates, unless the workers refuse to be fooled, and organize while they have an opportunity.

But the campaign is only now getting under way. This article deals only with the conditions existing within the trade at present, and with the events leading up to the general strike. An article in the next issue of *Labor Age* will deal more specifically with the progress and results of the strike.

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# The Harlan Trials

by Lawrence Seco

**H**ARLAN County, Kentucky, is situated in the southeastern part of the state and borders on Virginia and Tennessee. Coal mining is the chief and practically the only industry in the county. Until early in 1931 the miners had been for some years unorganized. Then Coal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 220 of the I. W. W. entered the field, and shortly thereafter the United Mine Workers of America attempted to organize. Successive wage-cuts accelerated the progress of the unions. The bosses countered by bringing in gunmen, all under the direction of Sheriff John Henry Blair. A strike called by the U.M.W. of A. local was quickly turned into a lockout.

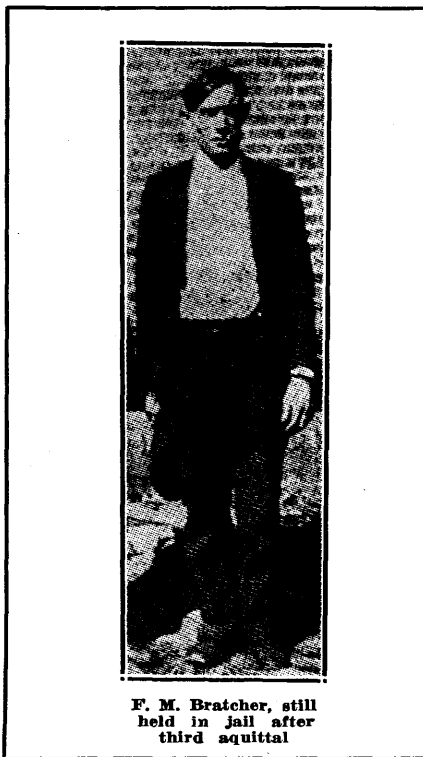
In outlying sections the strike was partly broken but the "free town" of Evarts, where the I. W. W. miners predominated and which was named "Red Evarts" by the coal operators, remained unsubdued. Evicted miners and their families had been brought to Evarts and taken care of by the union men. There, with fighting spirit unbroken and ranks strengthened by blacklisted miners from other parts of the county, the strikers withstood the onslaughts of the gun-thugs. "Red Evarts" became a thorn in the side of the gunmen and a challenge to open-shop bosses.

The coal operators, fearful that the example of Evarts would spread to other coal camps, determined on a plan to wage open warfare on the town. Squads of gunmen in automobiles would speed through the main street with machine-guns and rifles pointed menacingly at the strikers. Failing to intimidate the miners more drastic action was attempted. One squad under the leadership of Jim Daniels attempted to kidnap and beat a colored striker, Johnson Murphy. Bill Burnett, a white miner, protested and was shot at by the thugs. Drawing his own gun Burnett killed one deputy, Jesse Pace, and wounded another, Frank White. Burnett, badly wounded, was put in jail and charged with murder. Losing in the first battle the company deputies became more careful, and the miners picketing more effective.

The first attempt at "wiping out" the picket lines occurred on May 5, 1931, and resulted in the famous "Battle of Evarts." Pickets had stopped a truckload of household goods being transported by the Peabody Black Mountain Company for a strikebreak-

er who had formerly lived at Verda, a few miles from Evarts. Three auto-loads of gunmen led by Jim Daniels, sped down from the Black Mountain mine.

At sight of the gunmen the pickets sought cover behind rocks and bushes. Daniels and his crew immediately began the "wiping out" process by firing with machine guns into the bushes up



F. M. Bratcher, still held in jail after third acquittal

and down the hillside. Unable to escape the deadly machine gun bullets by running away the miners remained under cover and by lying flat on the ground behind rocks and trees escaped injury. In self-defense some of the besieged men who were armed returned the fire of the gunmen. Fifteen minutes later when the fighting had ended Jim Daniels, the leader of the gun-thugs, was found dead, and with him two other gunmen, Otto Lee and Howard Jones, were killed. One miner, Carl Richmond, was killed by the gunmen.

Within a few hours after the battle the militia was called in and martial law declared. Under cover of the troops 43 persons were arrested and indicted for murder on charges growing out of the clash, and 63 others were charged

with criminal syndicalism. Included in the wholesale arrests for murder were the Evarts chief of police and his assistant, W. B. Jones and W. M. Hightower, secretary and president of the Evarts local U.M.W. of A., and other active union men, among them being four colored miners.

The trials were started at Harlan, August 17, Bill Burnett being the first defendant. During the selection of the jury the prosecutor suddenly halted the trial and moved for a change of venue, specifying that the cases should be moved to counties far removed from the mining district. Judge D. C. (Baby) Jones granted the motion and sent the cases to Montgomery and Winchester Counties, two hundred miles distant from Harlan, and in the Bluegrass region where the jurors would be drawn from rich farmers and race horse breeders. Moreover the state of Kentucky does not pay witness transportation and the defense would be handicapped in raising funds to bring them.

Despite the terrific financial handicap the General Defense Committee raised enough money to bring in all witnesses needed for Burnett and on November 20, after a four day trial, he was acquitted. W. B. Jones was the next miner scheduled for trial. He, like Burnett and all the other forty-two defendants, was charged with direct murder. The prosecution, after their defeat in the Burnett case, knowing they could not convict on charges of direct murder had Jones and the remaining defendants indicted for "conspiracy to murder" and by a grand jury in Montgomery County!

W. B. Jones was convicted at Mount Sterling, December 12, and sentenced to life imprisonment. W. M. Hightower was convicted at Mount Sterling on January 14, and also sentenced to life imprisonment. Then the General Defense attorneys succeeded in having all the cases sent back to Harlan County where a special ten-weeks term of court was set to open May 31 to hear the murder cases.

At Harlan the prosecution first brought to trial Elzie Phillips, one of the colored miners. Putting their reliance on race prejudice, so deep-rooted in the South, the prosecution succeeded in securing the conviction and life sentence of Elzie Phillips. His trial was followed by that of F. M.

(Continued on page 28)



**F. M. Bratcher, still  
held in jail after  
third acquittal**

# The Race For Votes

by A. J. Muste

**H**ERBERT HOOVER, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the LaFollettes of Wisconsin, Geo. W. Norris, Al Smith, Norman Thomas, Bill Foster, Sam Hofstadter and Jimmy Walker, Tammany Hall, farm strikes and the United Textile Workers of America are among the persons and organizations which figure in the news and also symbolize underlying forces as the Presidential Campaign drives to its close.

To millions of Americans the election is primarily a sporting event and they are thus interested not in issues but in who is to be the winner, as would be the case in a prize fight or baseball game. The political sports writers at this writing are nearly all predicting a victory for Roosevelt, many of them believing that it will be a landslide. The factors which will determine that result, as they see it, are first, the personal unpopularity of Herbert Hoover; nobody can get up any enthusiasm over the fish. And he can't hit anything off right. A red scare has always been good for a lot of Republican votes and Hoover tried it in chasing the B. E. F. out of Washington. For a few days it looked as though the country was with him on it, but presently the act proved a flop. Second among the factors making for a Roosevelt victory is the strong disposition everywhere to turn down the guy who is in. "The peepul" want a new face to look at, another horse to bet on. In politics the thing is to bet on a Democrat when the Republicans are in, and vice versa.

Third, a lot of people want beer and wine back in a hurry, and they think they will get it sooner from Roosevelt than from Hoover.

When one considers these factors, the reception Roosevelt is getting on his tour, the direct or indirect support given him by Hiram Johnson, Norris, Farmer-Laborites like Olson and Mahoney in Minnesota, by Cutting in New Mexico, etc., the straw votes by papers in various parts of the country, it seems hard to question the forecast that there will be "another Roosevelt in the White House" soon.

Nevertheless, we still have lingering doubts. The country is normally Republican. For decades it has been almost impossible to elect a Democrat unless there was more than one Republican candidate in the field. Tammany Hall and the New York City Republican machine are apparently

making a deal to knife Roosevelt in New York State, to which we shall refer in more detail later. New York has a lot of electoral votes. A lot of people thought in 1924 that that other fish, Calvin Coolidge, couldn't be elected, but he was. Some last minute scare that a revolution will occur, all the banks crash, etc., if the G. O. P. is not kept in the saddle, may be worked up. It looks like most of the big money in the country is against Roosevelt, much as it dislikes Hoover personally, and money can still talk.

## The Roosevelt Campaign Strategy

The Roosevelt campaign has developed in a way which raises some serious issues for radicals and for all who are interested in realism in American politics or in independent political action. Roosevelt has some very conservative streaks in him. He is a pro-navy man. He changed his mind on the League of Nations, at the behest of Hearst's ultra-nationalism, and said our entry was not a live political issue (at the same moment that we were all messed up with the League in connection with the Chinese-Japanese scrap in Manchuria). In dealing with Tammany corruption he has stepped gingerly and tried above all to avoid making enemies. In spite of his apparent rather advanced stand on public utilities he is very close to such men as Owen D. Young of the General Electric.

As his campaign has progressed, however, he has more definitely posed as a liberal and progressive and has appealed to the liberal vote. He praises Norris, Cutting and Phil LaFollette, progressive Republicans, speaks well of the University of Wisconsin when Republicans are attacking it as Bolshevik, solicits the support of Farmer-Laborites. He reaffirms his determination to look after the interest of "the forgotten man." He insists we must adapt our traditional American ideals to new economic conditions. He is unquestionably more humane than Hoover and surrounded with a considerable number of advisers, who have a fairly progressive social service slant. It must be admitted, too, that he has made some choice enemies. Wall Street is still, at this writing, against him (easily scared, many will conclude), so are

Al Smith, Raskob and Tammany Hall. Whether the latter will in the showdown knife him depends probably upon whether or not he gives assurances that he will play the game with them when it comes to Federal patronage. He does not hesitate to denounce certain big business men—Insull, for example. We are not now discussing just what all this means beneath the surface. We are simply making the point that the issue in the campaign has been posed as Roosevelt, the liberal candidate, as against the conservative Hoover. Even so critical an observer as Harry Elmer Barnes has recently said that the issue between the people and plunder is more clearly drawn in this election, as between Roosevelt and Hoover, than any time since the Bryan-McKinley campaign of 1896.

This is unfortunate and confusing and may mean a set-back for many years for the movement for independent political action. Of course, if conditions are bad after Roosevelt enters the White House in March and he has an opportunity to show that he will repress popular revolt in exactly the same way as the conservative Hoover or the liberal Wilson, the illusion that his election means a real change in the White House might soon be dispelled. But suppose the winter is bad and Hoover does some nasty repressing and then things brighten a bit in the spring, and a lot of social workers and liberals get jobs with a Democratic administration, what a lovely dream a lot of nice people are going to have, and what a dangerous one!

## A Liberal Pipe Dream

In the first place, while Roosevelt unquestionably wants to curb some of the excesses of big business, he frankly states that he wants to retain our present economic system in its main features. But, the time for that is past. Nothing but a fundamental reconstruction of the social order will avail. Better to have Hoover and the issue clear, than Roosevelt obscuring the real issue, and putting rouge on the patient's cheek while in reality he is getting sicker all the time.

In the second place, even if the way is still open to save the present system by reform, the counter forces are terrific and only a fighting man could meet them—Al Smith, e. g., if he had not gone complete haywire. Roosevelt is not that kind of a fighting man. The financiers like Barney Baruch and

Owen D. Young who are Roosevelt's playmates are no more going to permit drastic changes than Hoover's banker playmates are.

In the third place, banking on Roosevelt to put across a really liberal program means banking on the Democratic party to do so, for it is the organization and not the individual that alone can do the job. The Democratic party is such a hogde-podge with its Protestant, orthodox, dry, conservative, native American base in the South and its Catholic, wet, foreign and somewhat radical composition in the North, that it still remains to be seen whether it can hold together to do any job. Certainly it can not be expected to be any less capitalistic in the show-down than the G. O. P. Consider its big business, labor-baiting leadership in the South, the Al Smith-General Motors-General Electric element in the North and Tammany Hall. Radical economic measures will come out of that party, when all the ice has melted away in the Arctic circle. Roosevelt could not possibly buck these forces if he wanted to, and he will not want to buck them all (though occasionally taking on a little bout with one or the other of them) because no one who opposed that combination could continue to head the Democratic party.

Since the Democratic party cannot be made over, the only chance of building a party that would really offer an alternative to the Republican, rests in smashing the Democratic party. The Roosevelt campaign on the liberalism issue, breathing new life for a moment into the Democracy, bringing Farmer-Laborites, and Non-Partisan League farmers into alliance with it, giving trade unionists hope that their interests are going to be safe in the hands of such a "friend" as Roosevelt,—all this seriously confuses the issue, is likely to split the potential farmer-labor party elements, and to postpone and make more difficult the formation of such a party.

### The Non-Partisan Policy Nightmare

That there should emerge at this late date in our imperialistic development the possibility that progressives should once more give their faith to one of the old parties, seems a colossal and ghastly joke when one considers the rottenness of the old parties as it is being anew exposed in this campaign. Take two illustrations. In New York, Tammany Hall and the Republican city machine under the malodorous Sam Koenig have made a deal. The deal involves one of the

highest courts of the state. The Republicans have joined with Tammany in nominating for the bench, the son of Steuer, defender of Tammany crooks and one of its inner council, and the Democrats in turn have nominated none other than Samuel Hofstadter, State Senator and head of the investigating committee of which Seabury is counsel and which is responsible for the unceremonious exit from the Mayor's office of that darling of Tammany and Broadway, Jimmy Walker! Nomination by both major parties of course means election. So Tammany honors its Republican arch-enemy and its arch-enemy accepts the honor. This may be a deal to defeat Roosevelt by depriving him of the New York State vote, Tammany supporting Hoover in return for favors it gets from New York Republicans. Will Hoover or Roosevelt accept votes from these machines? Of course, all they can get. What difference is there between these parties?

Take another illustration. Al Smith, that great "friend of labor," that fearless radical or at least progressive, that staunch defender of the common man, is now editor of a weekly paper. His chief contribution to its first number contains this gem:

"We should stop talking about the Forgotten Man and about class distinctions," writes Mr. Smith. "There is no other country in the world where individual initiative counts for so much, where opportunities to rise are so great and where class distinction is so unimportant. In no other country is there so little evidence of economic class hatred, so little encouragement to the Communist, the Fascist or the Junker, and such responsible, far-sighted and loyal leadership of labor.

"Just now all our people are in trouble. The old rich are the new poor. What is needed in the crisis of today is the united, cooperative effort of all good citizens of whatever class or creed to fight our way out of the bog of depression to the solid ground of good American enterprise and prosperity.

"The Forgotten Man is a myth and the sooner he disappears from the campaign the better it will be for the country."

What is the difference in underlying philosophy between this man and Herbert Hoover whom he loves so to lambast? Nor will it do to dismiss the matter by saying that Al Smith has undergone a personal degeneration from too much contact with Park Avenue millionaires. That is true. But

the basic fact is that in the last analysis he is for the capitalistic system, as is every politician in either of the old parties, and therefore, had to eventually land just where he has landed. Franklin Roosevelt will land there, as Woodrow Wilson did, and Grover Cleveland and Teddy Roosevelt and any other noble progressive you care to name.

Think on these things, and then reflect on the tragedy involved in the fact that that really honest old war-horse, Senator Norris, is heading a Progressive League for Roosevelt, with the profound slogan, "What this country needs is another Roosevelt in the White House!" This is a pretty cheap campaign trick, but what serious defense of the Democratic party or our economic system could a man as intelligent and honest as Norris offer?

The plight of the LaFollettes in Wisconsin is another illustration of the absurdity of playing with the old parties. For years they have stuck to the Republican party, helping to keep that monster alive, while other Progressives stuck by the Democratic party, thus nobly cancelling each other's efforts. Now a combination of sore voters wanting to put every "in" out, Democrats who used to vote for the LaFollettes in the Republican primaries now voting in their own when they think they have a chance to win, and small middle-class folks, to whom the LaFollettes have always catered, resentful about taxes for unemployed relief, have defeated Phil LaFollette for Governor and Blaine for Senator in Wisconsin primaries. Now the LaFollettes have a choice of sticking to the Republican machine in their enemies' hands and not even being too nasty about Hoover, or supporting the Democrats openly and thus running the risk of having an effective Democratic party rebuilt in the state. Surely American politics is cock-eyed!

### Socialist and Communist Prospects

What are the prospects, then, of the minor parties in this election? It would seem that they ought to be pretty good, but it is not so certain that they are. The Socialist Party is certainly experiencing something of a revival. The Thomas meetings everywhere are large. They get good publicity in the press. A lot of education on certain specific issues is being put over. From a conservative Socialist standpoint the appeal that is stressed is sound:

Vote for us and you an get a new

deal by peaceful methods. There will be certainly a substantial increase in the vote over that of 1928. A lot of individuals will be won over.

However, a 300 per cent increase over 1928 would still mean only a million votes. It would be almost beyond comprehension if Thomas did not poll that many votes under present conditions. I am inclined to think that anything over that will be velvet, as the boys say. No observers seem seriously to figure on more than two million, which will still be a small percentage of the total. The votes that count are the votes that come in groups, not by individuals and I still do not see any substantial blocks or groups going Socialist. The people in the country who vote at all and who are not attached to either of the old parties are most of them progressive or liberal in slant. The Socialist appeal is essentially a left-wing progressive one, but most of the unattached voters will probably still prefer to take their progressivism with a Roosevelt rather than a Socialist label. There are, on the other hand, some voters who want or sense the need of a definitely Socialist, i. e., revolutionary party, but by no means all of them will vote enthusiastically, or at all, for the Socialist ticket.

From the standpoint of immediate and narrow interest the Socialists may have been wise in being luke-warm about any move to get a Labor Party in the field for this election. From a broader and more long-range point of view we still think it a great misfortune that there is not in the field a Labor or Farmer Labor Ticket, for which unsophisticated but militant workers and farmers would vote without having to jump the hurdle of the Socialist label and for which left-wingers could vote without implying any belief that the Socialist party as now constituted is a truly left-wing or revolutionary organization. Such a ticket, all the signs indicate, would have polled an impressive vote.

As for the Communist campaign, it seems to us amazingly weak and unimpressive. We do not rejoice over that fact, in spite of our well-known quarrel with present C. P. policies. It would be healthy for a country where people starve in the midst of abundance and where not a single real step toward preventing similar catastrophes in the future has been taken, if some out and out revolutionary party were actually creating a stir. Bill Foster's illness (and the experts seem agreed it is real) has taken out of the campaign the only Communist in the U. S. to-day who has any popular following,

and that accounts in some measure, perhaps, for the slump. The C. P. can not dismiss the matter by saying it doesn't believe in parliamentary action. Of course, it doesn't. But it believes in the educational and agitational value of election campaigns and there is precious little agitation from C. P. quarters just now!

That means something in regard to C. P. tactics which the Party will do well to ponder. It means something also in regard to the mood and temper of American workers, which we all shall do well to ponder.

We postpone until after the election a detailed discussion of the question whether we are moving toward a mass labor party. It is important, however, to make the observation that while in one way an election campaign may contribute to building a party, in

another sense it may be a distraction. The basic consideration is whether revolt is astir among the workers, whether struggles are occurring on the economic field and whether the economic organizations on which alone a genuine working class party can be built are developing labor consciousness. From that angle, it is important and encouraging that farmers are still striking, that more and more unemployed leagues are springing up, that the miners of Illinois are still fighting desperately to build a clean union and wipe out Lewis and Lewisism, and that the United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with A. F. of L. and by no means a Bolshevik outfit, voted unanimously at its recent convention for a Labor Party and is bringing a resolution on the subject to the A. F. of L. convention next month.

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## Report of the Librarians' Division of A.U.C.A.

By JULIA NELSON

**T**HERE is a serious situation facing the trained librarian today.

Library training agencies from the accredited library schools down to the summer sessions in library science, have increased out of all proportion to the demand for trained librarians. Last year in the second year of the depression, the University of North Carolina opened an accredited library school. This past summer, there were 98 known summer sessions in library science. Large library systems, such as the New York Public and the Brooklyn Public have continued their own library training classes throughout the depression. There has, also, been an increased enrolment in the classes attending all library training agencies. There are, therefore, many, too many trained librarians.

On the other hand, there has been a steady decrease in the number of jobs available for these trained people, due in part to the economic upheaval with its attendant cutting of budgets. Many trained librarians who had jobs have been dropped. Then while the library world in general seems to have been unaware of it, large systems, such as the New York Public have so systematized the work done in libraries, that many fewer trained librarians are required to perform the work. These libraries train in clerical workers who now outnumber the professional staff in many of the branch libraries. Furthermore, these same libraries conduct their own training classes for the lower ranks of

their professional workers. Add to this the practice of emergency relief bureaus of dumping untrained, indigent people as free help on libraries, and you will see that a trained librarian unemployed at this time is likely to be unemployed for considerable time to come.

There is a crying need for an organization of some kind which shall represent the interests of the rank and file of librarians—an organization with its own publication through which the rank and file can discuss its problems. This same organization should conduct an alert, free personnel bureau.

I was first appointed to organize a Librarians' Division. I set about it by getting publicity through official library channels. In this manner, I managed to get a small group together. The great difficulty is getting a group of any size. We have had to date three meetings, but our group still remains very small. Small as we are we have accomplished a little in the nature of a guerrilla war. We have visited and written copiously to prominent people in the library world to get them to come to earth and realize the situation in the library world. I like to think that Dr. Williamson's article on the need for limiting the enrolment in library schools, which appeared in the papers October 3, was in part the result of two personal visits to the office of that library school.

# Are Union Constitutions "Stacked"?

by Jerome Count

THE trade union Constitution Racket has flourished for decades. Behind a screen of parliamentary pretense, union czars have concocted intricate constitutional systems for the complete subjection of rank and file members.

Neatly bound and vari-colored little volumes are handed to union members by their officials to suggest that here in black and white is protected and defined the fundamental inviolable rights and privileges of trade unionism. Woe to the rank and file member who leans on this "protection" in time of trouble!

He finds, in fact, a mass of rules, regulations, bylaws, working rules, rules of order, fines and penalties obviously designed to surround him with strait packet restrictions at every turn and intended to place him in technical wrong if he resorts to the law for the protection of his most elementary right.

The activities of trade union members are confined, regulated and suppressed by a Constitution of the "International" consisting of hundreds of sections, sometimes by rules of a State body with a few hundred more sections, sometimes by a set of District Council regulations containing another hundred or two provisions and finally by a set of by-laws of his own Local with another hundred-odd sections.

It is not unusual for trade union members to be actually restricted by some one-thousand rules and regulations. A rank and file member who can unscramble this oppressive mass of "law" will find that the entire cumbersome system is designed to wipe out rather than protect, his rights within the union—confining them to the "right" to pay dues and assessments, fines and penalties.

## Rights of Members?

In this mass of verbiage, headings and subheadings, let the hopeful union member hunt for a division entitled "Rights of Members." Let him find sections beginning: "No member shall be expelled unless," etc. "No member shall be fined without," etc., "A member shall not be suspended unless." Such provisions are unknown where administrative czarism and racketeering has flourished. Only a casual reading is necessary to show clearly that the draughtsmen of these elaborate

systems were not intent on protecting members' rights.

Union czars have learned much from modern political democracy. They have learned how to pass union "laws" without the consent of the governed, by devious methods of parliamentary trickery or by outright dishonesty. The entire set of by-laws and working rules of the New York District Council of the Carpenters' Union containing about 150 regulations, has been attacked by the membership as having been "enacted" without their consent. Another method is that employed by H. H. Broach, International president of the Electrical Workers' Union, to revise constitutions by hand-picked committees. While union members have been occupied with day to day problems of bread and butter, their czars and union-paid assistants have been devising fool-proof constitutions by which to control dissenting members.

A net work of fines and penalties is typical of union regulations. Members may be fined hundreds of dollars, suspended indefinitely or virtually deprived of their livelihood by expulsion, for such vague crimes as: "improper conduct," "wronging a fellow member," committing a "nuisance," using *his own* automobile "in a manner considered unfair to other members or against the best interests of the local," creating or attempting to create "dissatisfaction or dissension," working in the interest of "any cause which is detrimental to—or opposed to—the union," disturbing the "harmony" of meetings, refusing "to parade on Labor Day," violating "his obligation"—such is a partial catalogue of high crimes in the realm of unionism!

In the Carpenters' Union, a member who, in appealing to his International President from a local ruling, accuses a minor official of diverting funds, is guilty of slander. In the same union, a member who attends an Emergency Committee to deal with unemployment, violates a provision against attending meetings outside the local and one who insists on the right to be heard in a meeting is guilty of disorderly behavior. In the Electricians' Union, a member who brings an action in law to compel officers to account for vast sums of money is expelled.

Most charges are deliberately couched in meaningless generalities. They may include any act used by an arbitrary trial board against a refractory member whose thoughts may have a different hue from his czar's. These vague charges, when combined with the penalizing powers — which often mean a loss of a member's livelihood—is a powerful, almost irresistible weapon in the hands of the administration and against the rank and file.

## Union "Trials"

Union trials (and often the conviction is had without any) are notorious farces. The trial board is hand picked, evidence has no meaning, the procedure is indefinite, the charges vague and the decision is usually known in advance. "Hang 'em first and try 'em later" is the accepted rule.

Not satisfied with a "stacked" constitution and by-laws, any oversight in drawing them up is promptly corrected by the trial board. The New York District Council of the Carpenters' Union, for instance, disqualified a member from holding office in his local for five years, although its own by-laws limited this penalizing power to disqualifying members from holding office in its own body (the District Council). This ruling was upheld by the International President and the reason for this interpretation became apparent when the "disqualified" member defeated the candidates favored by the District Council by receiving more votes from his local than the combined total of five other candidates for the same office. He was never seated and the ominous threat of expulsion hung over him if he attempted to fill the office to which he was elected.

After a mock trial, all constitutions solemnly provide that a guilty member may appeal if he is dissatisfied with the conviction. What must the guilty member do to appeal? He must first obtain the stenographer's minutes of the trial and he must pay his fine or suspend work and comply with all the technical requirements, or his appeal will not be considered. If he is suspended or expelled he cannot work until his appeal is decided.

And when will these important appeal proceedings be decided? Well, that depends! First, the convicted member must appeal to the International President—there is usually no time limit within which he must ren-

der his decision. (Expelled member is still not working!) If the International President sustains the trial board (and he does!), a member may appeal to the International Executive Board. Again no time limit to decide. Finally, if the Executive Board sustains the International President (and it does!), a member may appeal to the International Convention. And when is that? Every two, three or four years usually, provided the International President doesn't decide to "save expenses" that year, which means that convicted-unemployed-member may wait eight years! And when the International Convention too has affirmed the conviction, if the still unemployed member is not beaten into submission, he may, in a rare case, resort to law.

There is an old established legal principle that a member must exhaust his remedies and appeals within the union before he may resort to the courts for relief. In the light of this rule, it is readily understood why union czars are so liberal with the number and variety of appeals "allowed" to convicted members. There is a common delusion that these numerous appeals are allowed so as to insure against mistakes and miscarriages of justice. On the contrary, the elaborate system of rubber-stamp appeals effectually prevents all but the most courageous and determined member from carrying his fight to the bitter end. In the Carpenters' Union, during the last eight years, 102 appeals were taken to the Executive Board from rulings of the International President. Every case resulted in affirming the decision of the infallible International President.

Recently, the courts in a few cases have permitted resort to the law where the member shows that his remedy of appeal within the union will be futile or ineffective. These cases have been rare, however, and the burden of proof is upon the embattled member. His chances of success are meagre against a powerful opponent employing eminent counsel and other frills of successful litigation.

The power of work or starve exercised by the administration machines over the rank and file is direct and swift. It is more arbitrary and complete than any governmental agency and is wielded with the brazenness of organized gangsterism.

## Who Can Organize the Victims?

(Editorial, reprinted from the New Republic)

EVER since the depression began, people have been expecting those affected by it to make themselves heard and felt. The unemployed certainly have a stake in relief which is more vital than that of those who pay the dole — charitable contributors and taxpayers whose interests are represented by politicians and newspapers. Workers whose wages are being cut below subsistence levels ought, above all others, to be heard about wage-cutting policies. These and all other members of the wage-earning class should be more vitally interested than anyone else, except the destitute farmers, in a reorganization of society which could offer them security and better standards in the future.

The official labor movement—a loose federation of established unions which fails to cover many important industries—has made little attempt to organize the worst sufferers from depression and has been prevented by its conservative philosophy from pressing vigorously for a new social order. The Socialist party, its eyes concentrated on gathering votes and preaching general doctrines, has not until recently paid much attention to actual organization of workers in the field. The Communists, who in theory are more concerned about mass movements and who have devoted considerable energy to field work, have not been conspicuously successful in building permanent labor organizations, though they have led a number of unemployment demonstrations.

Another group, however, working along this line, seems to be having a higher degree of success. This is the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which has been operating for a number of years, and has recently had its first convention. It has helped to organize and lead strikes of miners in West Virginia and elsewhere, textile strikes in the South, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and it has stimulated the organization of unemployed leagues in numerous localities, which have performed real services for their members. Its inspiration has been derived principally from the faculty and graduates of Brookwood Labor College.

This organization not only calls for an eventual workers' republic to operate a planned society in the interest of the masses, but concentrates on

practical work and immediate struggles, with the aim of building a strong labor movement both economically and politically. It is not itself a tight sect competing either with the A. F. of L. unions or existing radical parties, but is willing to work with and through any organization which will cooperate in the main job. It does not devote its energies to denouncing rival groups, but rather strives by its acts to prove to the workers that there is a leadership which is worthy of their confidence. Its members, grouped both by locality and industry, are in many cases members or prospective members of the old unions who want aggressive action and who stimulate their associates to undertake it. Its organizers have in several instances cooperated closely with the established unions. In other instances, where the old unions could not or would not undertake the job—as in West Virginia and Illinois—new unions have been formed.

One of the advantages of this group appears to be a combination of practical good sense and energetic devotion to the cause which is lacking in many sectors of the labor movement. Experienced men frequently have not the ardor to advance under troublesome conditions, while the more radical theorists often do not know, or do not practise, the difficult art of successful organization and administration in labor struggles—which, after all, is as much a skilled job as the successful administration of a factory. It is an almost inconceivably heroic task to create an effective labor movement in the United States and weld it together for action, but all those who look upon such a consummation as an essential condition for basic change should watch with sympathetic interest the activities of the CPLA.

### A Few Left

A few of J. C. Kennedy's pamphlet, "Ending the Depression," are still left. You can get this pamphlet, as long as they last, for 5 cents, from

**The Labor Book Shop**  
128 East 16th Street, New York

Enclose 3 cents postage for mailing.

# Chaos in Great Britain

by Mabel R. Beaumont

**G**REAT BRITAIN today is in a state of industrial and economic chaos. This chaos, the child of Capitalism, is even now sounding the death-knell of its mother. But Capitalism can survive for some time yet. The National Government, composed chiefly of capitalists who are trying to help themselves by increasing cuts in wages, unemployment insurance, social services, and by imposing higher taxes which fall mainly on the workers, is prolonging the life of Capitalism for a time. But it is fighting a losing battle. The workers cannot take further cuts—they will refuse to starve, as the Lancashire cotton strike plainly indicates.

The workers of Britain were tricked into voting National at the last election by stories about losing their meagre savings in the Post Office Savings Bank if Labor were returned to power. Many were scared into voting National who would otherwise have voted Labor. They know better now!

Chaos in Britain is marked in two ways:

Industrially, by increased attempts to cut wages, resulting in strikes; and by growing unemployment.

Economically, by cuts in social services, insurances, and by savings in interest by War Loan conversion schemes to help the Capitalists.

## Wage Cuts

There have been negotiations for drastic wage cuts in all the basic industries during the last few months, particularly in printing, cotton, coal and iron and shipbuilding.

In January, 1932, the British Federation of Master Painters and the Newspaper Society requested the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation to enter into conference for the purpose of considering the possibility of reducing production costs. At this conference the agenda did not mention a cut in wages. The Printing Trades Unions accepted the invitation, but at the conference in March, discussion, which considered a wide range of possible measures likely to reduce production costs, included *wage reductions*.

After several conferences between the employers and union executives, the original demands, which included a 20 per cent wage cut, the extension of the learnership period for women, and a cut in the learner's wages, were

### *Editorial in the British New Leader*

**T**HE London busmen have not struck and the Lancashire weavers are returning to work, but the significant fact is the strength of the "rebel" minorities in both cases. The busmen's decision to accept the compromise was carried by only 39 votes to 21, and the cotton agreement was accepted by only 97 votes to 53. In view of the heavy weight against successful resistance after the leadership has compromised, these minority votes are remarkably large and indicate the new spirit of militant revolt which is arising among the workers. A year ago there would have been little hope of such minorities. A year hence such minorities may easily become majorities. The I.L.P. must completely identify itself with the militant rank and file members of the Trade Union in their struggle, and must take its part in creating the spirit of revolt which will lead not only to a united resistance to wage-cuts but to the overthrow of Capitalism itself.

The result of the weavers' struggle is nevertheless a tragedy. That men and women whose average wage is 38s. a week should be asked to accept a decrease of wages of 1s. 8½d. in the pound is infamous. The conduct of the strike should be taken as a model of how not to fight. Look at it. The weavers, spinners, and cardroom workers in turn, decided by overwhelming majorities not to accept reductions. Instead of resisting unitedly, the weavers are left to go into the struggle alone, and the masters postpone the cuts for the spinners and cardroom for a month in the hope that the weavers will accept a reduction first. In such a situation the weavers' representatives should have recognized the ballots of the spinners and cardroom workers as fortifying and justifying an attitude of uncompromising resistance to any wage-cut, and the spinners and cardroom workers should have refused to play the employers' game of postponement, and should have acted with the weavers at once. Who can doubt that, under such circumstances, the cotton workers would have got better terms? The struggle might have gone beyond that. Even with the weavers out alone, there have been signs of a new solidarity among the workers. If it had been a County strike of all the cotton workers, James Maxton's appeal for an extended resistance might have fallen on more willing ears.

reduced to the following: a 15 per cent wage cut; revision of the women learnership period; a short time working arrangement; revision of "the more favourable conditions" clause; the revision of London workers conditions.

The employers' demands centered largely on the women in the trade. Under the National Government, thousands of women have been struck off the unemployment insurance register by means of the Anomalies Acts and the Means Test. Now the employers are wanting cheap labor by extending the period of learnership from 17 to 21 years of age.

In June, last, the Printing Trades executive informed the employers that while it authorized the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation to continue the discussion on the general position of the industry, the unions were not prepared to agree to any wage cuts.

No more conferences have been requested by the employers.

The cotton operatives have fared worse. While J. & P. Coates, the \$101,250,000 cotton thread manufacturing combine, announces a quarterly dividend of 12 cents on the ordinary stock, which is a slight increase over the same period last year, and a yearly dividend of 10 per cent, demands are being made for a reduction in wages.

On August 27, 150,000 workers in the cotton industry went on strike against a proposed wage cut of 15 per cent. On September 9, the cotton spinners voted against the same cut. Soon all the cotton industry will be out and only starvation will beat the workers. But they will die starving and fighting rather than starve while working 48 hours per week for less than \$7.50, and on the stretch-out system too.

A nation-wide campaign for funds has been started to help the cotton weavers win their strike. British workers know that they are fighting to uphold the standard of living for them all.

Increasing unemployment figures and lower production figures reveal the state of other industries in Great Britain.

## Dividends for the Owners

The large coal and iron companies continue to make satisfactory returns to their shareholders. For example, two coal and iron companies with a



combined capital of over \$25,000,000 have paid 6 per cent and 5 per cent respectively, according to the *Daily Herald*.

Against these figures we have the review in the *Board of Trade Journal* for August which states, "The number of colliery workers in Great Britain at the end of June was the lowest recorded during the past 30 years. The average number of wage earners, 817,500, declined in all districts except four where it remained stationary. The number of wage earners on colliery books at the end of June was 34,900 fewer than at the end of March."

The Sheffield Social Survey Committee reports that more than half the workers in iron, steel and coal; more than two-fifths in cutlery and tool trades; and more than one-third in building, engineering and silver trades, were out of work in Sheffield at the end of June.

The Newcastle employment committee reports 64.6 per cent unemployed in marine engineering and 73 per cent in shipbuilding and repairing.

The total number of unemployed persons registered on July 25, last, was 2,811,782. This was 64,438 more than on June 27, the month before, and 98,432 more than a year before. The Ministry of Labor estimates that there were 170,000 persons no longer on the register who would have been included in these figures were it not for the new government regulations. This means that 170,000 persons who continue to be unemployed have been struck off the register under the Anomalies Acts (Oct. 3, 1931) and the Means Test (Nov. 12, 1931). These figures also exclude farm workers and others who are not covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act.

### Starvation for the Workers

Economy, at the expense of the workers, is the keynote of the National Government. While thousands of pounds have been squandered on useless conferences abroad, the workers at home are being reduced to starvation.

Terrible reports on unemployment and of increased burdens on ratepayers as a result of the Means Test and cuts in unemployment pay come from Bradford. Bradford is spending \$5,000 per week more than a year ago on Public Assistance. This means the equivalent of an extra rate of more than 2 per cent. The number of cases in receipt of outdoor relief for one week in July was 4,324 and the cost \$15,930. About 10,000 workers in

Bradford have been refused transitional pay as a result of the Means Test.

There is a serious possibility that attempts will be made in the Fall to impose further sacrifices on the insured employed. One government economy suggestion is that the duration of benefit which has already been reduced from 74 weeks to 26 weeks should be reduced to 10 or 12 weeks. Insured persons who have exhausted prescribed benefits become claimants for transitional pay and are subjected to a Means Test. This suggestion, if carried out, would greatly increase the local Poor Rate.

At the present time a single woman gets just over \$3 per week unemployment benefit, a married woman gets a little over \$4. I know a married man with two children getting \$5.50 per week. The standard of living is not as high as in the North Eastern American states, rent is not as high, except in the large cities, but food is dearer. Fruits and vegetables, for example, which in America are cheap, are only for the rich in Great Britain.

### "Economy"

Cuts in Unemployment Insurance are not the only cuts pending. Arthur Greenwood, Minister of Health, in the late Labor Government, said: "We may expect to see developing before Autumn an onslaught on education, housing, public health and pensions." The National Government did not adopt the recommendation of the (May) Committee on National Expenditure that the Empire Marketing Board should be abolished, which would have saved \$2,000,000 per year. Instead a reduction of \$50,000 for the year was passed and a saving on home agricultural marketing services of 10 per cent reduced the 1931-32 costs to \$450,000. Among other economies is a saving of \$450,000 on research.

The worst economies are the cessation of loans and subsidies to municipalities which mean higher rates, fewer houses, cuts in education, child welfare and maternity work.

The 1932 Rent Act, which decontrolled houses coming into the possession of landlords, has resulted in



From the British New Leader.

Lancashire Cotton Worker (to Mahatma Gandhi). "Six months ago they told me YOU were the enemy. I know better now."

# Will Hitler Triumph?

We present a brief summary of a lecture recently given in New York, under the joint auspices of the CPLA and of the German Branch of the CPLA, by Prof. E. T. Gumbel, formerly of Heidelberg University. He was deprived of his chair in that German institution of learning because of his fight against Hitlerism. This article reproduces Prof. Gumbel's thought, but he is not responsible for the exact wording.—Editor.

What is Fascism? We must not apply the term to any and every manifestation of conservatism or repression, for in that case it no longer has a distinct meaning and there has always been Fascism.

Fascism has the following characteristics. First, it is anti-labor, is out to destroy the labor movement. Second, it is a movement primarily of the feudal and middle classes. Third, it exists only in a capitalist environment and is an attempt to meet certain problems growing out of the development of capitalism. Fourth, it is promoted by the same methods of large scale, popular propaganda and demonstrations previously mostly confined to Socialists and other radicals. Lastly, it uses the method of terrorism. The attack of Fascism on the labor movement is especially dangerous and subtle. On the one hand, it tells the masses that it can fight capitalism much more effectively than the labor movement can and that it will build a co-operative society! On the other hand, it can not exist if the unions and labor parties exist and so drives relentlessly to destroy them.

The question, Will Fascism Triumph in Germany? does not depend for its answer on what happens to Hitler. Hitler is only one manifestation of German Fascism. Hitler may be defeated, may lose votes in the forthcoming election, and yet Fascism may advance.

has launched a national attack on wages and unemployment insurance. It is making drastic economy cuts in social services. It is trying to reduce its debts at the expense of the workers. By doing this it is sounding its own death-knell and the death-knell of Capitalism.

The present Von Papen government is essentially Fascist in many respects. It is a government of a very small minority, ten or fifteen thousand Junker (big landlord) families, the old aristocracy. It is doing what the Fascists want done, seeking to undermine the German Republic, to break down the labor and socialist movement, to foster extreme nationalism, build a big army, et cetera. It differs from Hitlerism in that it makes no pretense of giving Socialism to the masses.

A mighty turning point in the history of the German labor movement occurred in July when the Von Papen government dismissed the Prussian administration in which the Socialists had a dominant place, and set up a dictatorship in its place. The trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party offered no real resistance. They did not strike. They said, "There will be an election in a few days and then we will show our power," but the Von Papen regime had already made it perfectly clear that it had no intention of paying the slightest attention to election results. The labor movement just simply did not fight when that momentous crisis arrived.

Now the results are being felt by the German trade union movement. The dictatorship is carrying out systematic measures to sap the power and the membership of the unions. For one thing, social insurance benefits are being cut down constantly, the unions and S.D.P. are powerless to resist and so lose the confidence of the workers. Secondly, encouragement is given to "yellow" unions, or company unions. Third, those receiving relief are urged to give "voluntary" service in exchange, but all such service or work is carried on apart from the unions and in disregard of trade union standards as to wages and other matters. Fourth, the government makes loans to employers in order that they "may put workers to work" and so meet the serious unemployment situation, but again this work is performed apart from the unions and in disregard of union standards.

In a very real sense we do not need to ask whether Hitlerism or Fascism are going to triumph in Germany. Fascism has already come into power. The German Republic is gone save on paper. The Socialists who voted for Hindenburg have discovered that he was not a Socialist. The collaboration policies followed by the labor movement since before the Great War are bearing bitter fruit.

decontrolled working-class rents being about 85 per cent above pre-war level. This includes one-sixth of all working-class tenancies. The government economies have reduced the 1930 Housing Act (Slum Clearance) to nothing. The Society for Socialist Enquiry and Propaganda states that in the Potteries district in Stoke-on-Trent, 8,585 out of 51,000 working-class houses have been condemned. This means that these condemned houses house 44,000 persons, and that one out of every five is living in a place unfit for human habitation. The death rate for children under one year is 70 per thousand.

The final report of the Departmental Committee on maternal mortality is an indictment of the present methods of dealing with child birth. The National Government is economizing by refusing to provide \$7,500,000 per year for maternity and child welfare, yet the maternity death rate in Britain is the highest in Europe. Many nursery schools have been closed and in Bradford the supply of milk for babies was stopped. Our average milk consumption in Britain is 20 gallons per each per year.

In Goldthorpe the population has increased 50 per cent in the last ten years. A scheme for a school to hold 1,200 children was turned down on the grounds of economy. The Congregational Sunday School room has to be used for a boys class room, yet the country has 350,000 building trade operatives unemployed.

Recently the National Government has cheapened the cost of its debts to save \$600,000,000 per year by conversion of \$3,000,000 war loans from 5 per cent to 3½ per cent. The solicitors and stockholders may be richer by the \$25,000,000 that the government has paid them for stamping the conversion forms, but the holders of the converted loans will be poorer unless they happen to come in for the reduction of taxes for the wealthy which will probably result. An extract from a stockbroker's circular dated July, states: "The success of the War Loan Conversion Schemes will, I believe, embrace substantial cuts in local grants with a possibility of some amendment in widows' and old age pensions" (\$2.50 per week at present.). A further cut in unemployment payments is also within the bounds of possibility. On the assumption that these or equivalent reductions are made in the national expenditure, gilt-edge stocks may well advance to a 3 per cent basis.

In order to bolster up and prolong Capitalism, the National Government

# Labor Realism

THE aim of a labor movement representing the exploited and enslaved must necessarily be a revolutionary one—the overthrow of the exploiters, the abolition of the system under which some work and have not while others have and work not. The CPLA strives to make the working masses of the U. S. and the labor movement conscious of the true revolutionary nature of their task.

That it should be deemed improper and criminal to speak of “revolution” in the U. S. is evidence of a changing conception of “Americanism.” Thomas Jefferson thought that the tree of Liberty needed to be watered with the blood of revolution every nineteen years or so. Abraham Lincoln said in an Inaugural Address as president of the U. S.: “This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.”

One hundred fifty-five years ago the Declaration of Independence spoke of the right to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” and added: “To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.” This task of devising political instruments under which the economic, social and cultural life of the people might flourish, our forefathers did not shirk in their day. Workers of America must now perform a similar task under the vastly altered conditions of the twentieth century.

## Social Democratic Fallacies

The means, however, by which the labor movement seeks to achieve a new economic order must, we hold, be realistic. This involves, on the one hand, avoidance of certain fallacies to which Social Democracy has fallen a victim. One is the notion that the labor struggle is basically a relatively simple revolutionary affair in which labor forms a political party, as capitalists have done, persuades more and more voters to vote the labor ticket, eventually gets a parliamentary majority and then votes a new economic order into exist-

*(From the report of the N.E.C. to the Labor Day Convention)*

ence, retaining for the most part the present state machinery, legislative, executive and judicial. This evolutionary and educational process would indeed be the only sensible course if democracy truly obtained, if men were free to think, speak and vote as their conscience dictates, if the channels of propaganda and education were open. Actually workers in this country are free to think, speak, organize, strike, peacefully picket, vote some other than the Republican or Democratic ticket, provided they are ready to lose their jobs, get beaten up and possibly killed! The school, the press, the radio, the pulpit, the courts, the police, the control of the job, are almost entirely in the hands of the possessing classes. Though they consent occasionally to slight reforms, usually only after terrific pressure and provided they retain the reality of power and the right to profits, for the most part they make increasingly lawless and violent use of the institutions which they control. Under the circumstances, unless American workers choose subjection to a Fascist dictatorship, they must oppose this lawlessness and tyranny by struggle on every front—economic, political, cooperative and educational—and by realistic and fearless use of such means as can accomplish their final emancipation. They must depend on their own organized strength, rather than on the machinery of a capitalistic government.

Another fallacy to which Social Democrats have fallen victim and which we must avoid, is the notion that there exists something called a “national community” (in which profiteers and proletarians both somehow participate) and that when this “imperial community,” i. e., the business structure, is threatened, the first care must be for all to sacrifice and rally to the rescue of business. Then when business is on its feet again, steps looking toward a fundamental reconstruction of society may again be discussed. It seems to us to require very little insight to see that if no positive steps toward a new social order are to be taken when capitalism has been weakened and brought near to collapse, then no such steps will ever be taken.

This notion is akin to the fallacy

which underlies many so-called union-management cooperation schemes, viz., that the workers in any given industry can best secure their own welfare by helping to “stabilize” that industry and make it profitable under capitalism.

Against this fallacy in all its forms, we again affirm that there is and can be no community of interest between the profit taker and the worker whom he exploits, that security, justice and peace are impossible until the master-slave relationship has been broken, that the only legitimate or possible goal of a labor movement in modern society, is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a planned cooperative order, and that the workers must, therefore, engage in a ceaseless, intelligent, realistic but relentless struggle for a new social order.

## Communist Tactics

On the other hand, realism as to method implies adapting strategy and tactics to the stage of development, intellectual and organizational, which the movement has achieved and the conditions which it confronts. It is not revolutionary or courageous, but simply foolish, to try to put the roof on the building before the foundation has been laid. Constantly in general propaganda to mouth phrases about civil war, proletarian dictatorship and barricades when the workers have not yet advanced to the point of joining or building unions to deal with the problems under their very eyes and are still voting the Democratic and Republican ticket, is worse than useless, it is dangerous. It makes a movement which constitutes a happy hunting-ground for the agent provocateur. It is counter-revolutionary in its effect, whatever the motive may be, for it leads to neglect of the elementary, indispensable preliminary work of organization on the economic and political field. Workers who possess no organizations and who are in the stage of development just mentioned, will not in a serious crisis follow a handful of radicals to the barricades. They will be material made to order for Fascism and will help the powers-that-be to wipe out the last vestige of radicalism.

We affirm our uncompromising opposition, therefore, to the fatal theory on which the C. P. in the U. S. is acting today, though it may not say it in so many words, that we do not need to build first and at once functioning militant, industrial unions in

the basic industries and a mass political party of farmers and workers.

### Labor Unity

One other basic point in CPLA strategy must be noted. We stand for Labor Unity—unity in action, not on paper. By this we do not mean uniformity. Complete agreement can be found only in a movement that is already as good as dead.

We are aware of the fact to which David J. Saposs has cogently called attention in his *Left Wing Unionism* and other writings, that all wings and tendencies in a labor movement tend to expand or contract together. The fact that one type of radical organization is strong does not mean that another will probably be weak, and vice versa. When, e. g., the I.W.W. was strong outside the A. F. of L., progressivism and radicalism also flourished inside the Federation. The fact that various organizations are in the field, that a certain amount of division exists, is not necessarily so completely an evil as might at first appear.

Nor does our stand for unity mean that we have no distinctive position of our own and do not propose to stand by it and defend it. If we did not believe that we had a distinctive and important position to maintain, we would pass out of existence or merge with some other organization. Believing in our own position we expect to defend it vigorously. We maintain, furthermore, that it is not only permissible but necessary to criticize acts and tendencies in other organizations which seem to us dangerous. Only in a movement where criticism is free and vigorous can there be continued vitality and progress. The tradition which the bureaucrats and reactionaries in American unions have built up in the post-war period to the effect that any opposition and criticism is treason, is one of the important reasons why the trade union movement is today so weak and fatuous.

When due account has been taken, however, of all such considerations, we face the fact that unsophisticated workers are all too often needlessly confused by the babel of voices which comes to them from radical and progressive ranks, that often today the ranks are divided even in the midst of strikes, when the workers are in direct conflict with the boss, and that the experience of the post-war period seems to have demonstrated conclusively that in industrial countries at least a divided labor movement cannot effectively oppose the advance of Fascism even among the masses of work-

ers and farmers. We stand, therefore, for genuine and effective labor unity.

We shall cooperate on the international field with those forces and movements seeking to establish world-solidarity of labor.

### Our Trade Union Policy

At home our firm belief in the necessity of united action largely determines our policy on the trade union field. We are absolutely and irrevocably opposed to the philosophy of business unionism and subservience to capitalism which dominates the A. F. of L. and a good many independent unions. We recognize that the leadership which stands for this philosophy, as well as those who are definitely corrupt and racketeering, must be fought without gloves, by the building of effective rank and file opposition against them and not merely by general idealistic preachments which leave these leaders secure in the saddle. We do not worship the A. F. of L. as a fetish. We regard it as a means, not an end in itself, a means which must serve the workers and if it does not, will be cast aside if it does not perish from internal poisons. There are consequently occasions when we do not hesitate to support independent unions.

Nevertheless, we are not out to disrupt and destroy unions. We oppose a general policy of dual unionism at this time as tending to confuse and divide the workers. In particular we oppose the present Communist policy of building sectarian "unions," rigidly and mechanically controlled by a single political group, which are in reality not unions but propaganda clubs and cannot maintain contact with the masses of the workers or effectively represent them in dealing with the encroachments of the employers. Even where we assist or sponsor independent unions we shall strive to bring them into connection with other organizations, not to allow them to become isolated, though we should fight against an organization of workers in a basic industry such as steel, e. g., affiliating with the A. F. of L. at the price of abandoning its industrial structure and taking a craft form. In each instance, the aim and the touchstone of our policy will be the greatest possible measure of unity in all struggles against the boss.

The emphasis on Labor Unity also affects our policy on the political field. We have our own "political" or theoretical position and aims. We do not, however, seek to be simply another party which puts up candidates to so-

licit votes from workers in rivalry with some other labor party. We believe that the pressing need of the moment is an impressive, united, mass effort on the political field.

We believe that existing political and theoretical groups which are definitely independent of the old parties and aim to serve the interests of the producers as against the profiteers and exploiters, as well as unions, cooperative organizations, etc., should combine to build a mass party of workers and farmers. Such a move would catch the imagination of millions of workers. Until existing elements combine in such a move they will remain propaganda organizations without the reality of political power. We oppose and condemn those who strive for disruption and domination rather than unity. United action is the basis for strength on the political as well as the economic front.

## Branch Notes

### Newark Advances

The Newark branch is glad to be able to announce some progress during the past month. We have established permanent headquarters in the Workmen's Circle at 190 Belmont Ave., Newark. Regular business meetings are held every Tuesday evening at 8:30.

Our Funds and Finance Committee has arranged for a series of Wednesday night socials to be held at headquarters. We shall try having speakers, dancing, card-playing, discussion, etc., and combinations of these until we hit on the most successful entertainment.

A class in foreign affairs and another in labor literature and writing have been started, successfully. Non-members are attending these and getting some valuable education which will prepare them to play a part in the labor movement, and, we hope, in the CPLA. We made our bow before the public in a "Free Mooney" meeting in Military Park, featuring Byrd Kelso; this meeting, we hope, will be only the first of a number this year.

However, most of our energy is being spent in the organization of a self-help league for the unemployed; developments so far are mighty encouraging.

One result of this activity has been a gain in membership—a very welcome gain for our small and overworked group. What are chances of corresponding with other branches and exchanging visitors?

# News From Workers . . .

## SUPPORT THE ILLINOIS MINERS

Thirty thousand striking miners in Illinois need public support in one of the most significant labor struggles of recent years. They are fighting not only for a living wage but, still more important, for the right to have an honest union under leadership of their own choosing. Miners throughout the country are looking to this Illinois movement as the nucleus for a militant, national organization to take the place of the old United Mine Workers, which, dominated by corrupt and unscrupulous leaders, has completely lost their confidence.

The Illinois strikers are having to fight against gangsters, troops, and a reign of terror in Franklin County that rivals Harlan, Kentucky. Union leaders have been shot down; a peaceful march into the southern counties was met with the machine-gun fire.

Already operators covering more than 10,000 miners have signed up with the new union, the Progressive Miners of America. All possible relief is being raised in Illinois but outside help is needed to carry on. The organization has the wholehearted support of the rank and file and is under their control. They are resolved that it shall be an honest, democratic, progressive organization.

The miners' union was once the largest union in the United States and a stronghold of progressive ideas. Now that the old organization has fallen into evil hands and disintegrated, the very miners who, through long sacrifice, brought it to its position of glory, are determined to build a new union founded on a sound, progressive basis, and are ready to sacrifice, in its behalf as loyally as they did before. The success of the Progressive Miners of America will mean much for the whole effort to build an effective labor movement in this country.

The New York Committee for Progressive Miners' Relief, composed of liberal individuals and representatives of labor organizations, has been formed to arouse all possible aid in their behalf. Organizations are urged to allow a representative of the miners to make an appeal at meetings they are sponsoring, and to do all else in their power. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief will forward clothes left at its office.

The strikers need relief at once. Rush contributions to Armand Rossi, Treasurer, N. Y. Committee for Progressive Miners Relief, First Floor, 128 East 16th Street, New York City, or to the Emer-

gency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

KATHERINE H. POLLAK,  
Secretary, N. Y. Committee for Progressive Miners Relief.

JOHN HERLING,  
Secretary, Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief.

## THE CENTRALIA CASE

John Lamb

The eleventh day of this coming November will be the thirteenth anniversary of the imprisonment of the Centralia victims. There have been so many important labor cases since our imprisonment that it is not surprising the Centralia Case seems almost to have been forgotten. My object in writing this letter is to call the attention of our friends and fellow-workers to our case again and to ask them to try to do something for us.

It has been a long time since any money has been received by the Centralia Publicity Committee, P. O. Box 37, Centralia, Washington. Thirteen years in prison is a long time, and I would like to ask that our friends on the outside do not completely forget about us.

Your friend and fellow-worker,

## FOSTER OR THOMAS?

By A CPLA-er

Workers who have given up the Republican and Democratic parties and have not joined either of the radical parties are wondering who to vote for, Thomas or Foster. This is true also to some extent among members of the CPLA. There is difference of opinion. It is my opinion that a vote for Foster will mean more than a vote for Thomas for the following reasons:

First, a big vote for Foster will show that the workers themselves are beginning to think and going left. It seems to me that a big vote for the Socialists will not prove much, since they make their appeal to all sections of the people, including small business people, professional people and liberals. To me this is objectionable because I firmly believe that a muddled mix up like this where there is no clear line of distinction between the workers and people who are merely protesting and registering their disillusionment in the old parties will lead to further muddlement. It should be noted that it is expected that many

disappointed Democrats and Republicans will cast their votes this time for the Socialist Party, as a protest or compromise or as a lesser evil. These are not class-conscious people.

Secondly, a big vote for Foster will throw a bigger scare into the government and the capitalists. This to me seems important because our job is to shake the confidence of the people in the system.

Finally, I must admit that Thomas, while a good man, as a candidate does not appeal to me. I have seen McDonald in England, who was a splendid man, throw his hands up and turn to the workers' enemies for salvation when it came to a show-down where only ruthless action at the roots of capitalism could have done any good.

Foster is a Communist and I am a member of the CPLA, and I disagree with the policies and tactics of his party, but as the situation is I intend to vote for him.

## MORE CONFIDENCE IN THE MEMBERS

Edith Goldbloom

This letter comes from a non-member of the CPLA. I write in the hope that discussion of some of the points I mention may help to make the CPLA a better tool of its cause.

My criticisms—and I think I am not alone in them, are: first, a lack of frankness with the membership. Policies seem to be beaurocratically determined by the small group most concerned with their development. This may seem natural, for excessive democracy often leads to endless confusion and inefficiency. However, I think that the policies decided on by the small group of leaders should be very fully explained to the membership as a whole. The New York membership need not be too unweidly a body to permit such discussion.

My second criticism is rather a tribute to the noble ambition of the CPLA. It is that the organization tends to undertake more projects than it can adequately deal with, hence inevitably neglecting some of them. Illinois, West Virginia, Paterson, Superior, Seattle, "Labor Action," work in the electricians' union, the painters' union, and the carpenters' union in New York, and an anti-eviction crusade—all these make too great a mass of work for so small an organization. I think that several New York City projects have suffered in the rush.

\$2.00 PER WEEK

By A Welfare Worker

We are doing a continuation of an unemployment study we made in 1930—getting information on the amount of time worked during 1931-1932, something on wages for the last month, and general information on family hardships.

We are running into all kinds of heart-breaking tales. If ever good leadership was needed it is now. Occasionally we run into talk of "war"—meaning civil war—in our home visits, but for the most part there seems to be a surprising lack of bitterness or resentment.

My record low wage to date is that of a young man who earns \$2.00 per week working from 7:00 a. m. to 7:30 p. m. 6 days—he drives a car for a dry cleaning firm. And my "exhibit A" is a 15 cent pay check. I cashed it for a woman who couldn't afford the 14 cents carfare to the bank to get it cashed.

#### RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

The National Religion and Labor Foundation which has just opened its headquarters at 304 Crown Street, New Haven, Connecticut, has among its 114 supporters such prominent men as Reinhold Niebuhr, Jerome Davis, Harry Ward, F. J. Schlink, Edward Israel and Stephen Wise.

According to a statement released to labor publications, the Foundation is unalterably opposed to the present capitalistic organization of society. "Its aim is to help inspire the workers by hand and brain to take control of our economic life by organizing as workers, consumers and citizens. While having these more general objectives, it seeks to help the workers in their daily struggles for food and clothing and against injunctions and other anti-labor influences and to interpret the mission of labor to the churches."

The activities of the Foundation will include the scheduling of round table conferences in key cities, publication of a monthly bulletin, aiding strikers in industrial conflicts, research on labor conditions, assistance to religious leaders who lose their positions because of activity in behalf of labor, and helping secure support for workers' education projects like Brookwood and maintenance of a loan library.

The executive secretaries of the Foundation are George A. Douglas, formerly professor of sociology at Hood College, and Francis A. Henson, New York economist, participant in a number of labor struggles in the eastern states and active in the CPLA.

## The Stehli Strike

(Continued from page 11)

come by tear-gas and fell to the ground. The pickets all ran and a girl helped me up. Then policeman E. E. Batley knocked me down. He hit me on my breast several times. While I was on the ground Batley and policeman Brindle kicked me in my sides and stomach and on my legs until I was skinned and bruised. They would not let anyone help me up. My father and my brother tried to get to me and the police arrested them and wouldn't let them touch me. When my sister finally got to me and helped me up they arrested both of us. I was sick and about to faint when they arrested me and carried me to police headquarters. I can't sleep and I feel so queer ever since they beat me."

Dr. C. D. Thompson, who has been treating Myrtle every day, states: "Miss Carden is in a serious condition. She has bruises on her neck, sides and legs, below her knees, and she is hurt internally. Her shoulder is also wrenched. She has not eaten a mouthful this week and seems to be nauseated from tear gas."

I saw women go on the picket line spitting blood as a result of being gassed; they said they would fight just as long as they could stand and get to the line. They didn't stop to explain why, but I knew—they had for a long time been slowly starving. Jane Freeman was only able to stay on the picket line short turns each day by taking dope. She was painfully injured by gas and the strong-arm trick of the police. Bessie Eghert got her side wrenched by a cop. Doctors say it will take her years to recover.

So ends another Southern strike—but is it ended? People who are working with the blacklisted are inclined to believe otherwise. Since the ending of the struggle the workers have found out how they were gipped and they are holding meetings. They are assisted in this by Mr. Richie, local president of the U.T.W. and Central Body Secretary, and myself working in the interest of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers and the CPLA.

Already the workers have set up machinery to carry on the fight. A relief committee has been formed, Richie and myself on the committee. And this week they voted to carry on in dead earnest. With 200 blacklisted and now out for five weeks, relief is the pressing problem. The committee is doing all it can. Farmers are bringing in food, but more is needed. If these

## Allentown Stops Eviction

(Continued from page 6)

He was favorably received and a modification of his plan accepted: several members inviting him to attend their next meeting. But before the next meeting, Heimbach received the Governor's answer appointing him to the Committee.

Heimbach's appointment to this Committee and the Unemployed League's semi-official position have already boosted its membership and districts are asking for organization which turned a deaf ear to us before. It is possible that within a short time the Allentown Unemployed League will become one of the most thoroughly organized Leagues in the country.

Another significant feature of Heimbach's appointment to the Committee is his position with regard to industrial conditions. What he said about long hours and low wages as Organizer of the Unemployed League was considered rant—now, as a member of the Relief Committee, it is weighty advice. Today's paper carries a report of Heimbach's resolution that industrial conditions undergo investigation by the Committee with a view to determining how manufacturers are aggravating conditions.

A recent and thorough census by the Unemployed League of the needy points to a severe and hectic winter. Unless thoroughly adequate relief is supplied soon, nobody can safely forecast the events of the next few months. But whatever happens, the Unemployed League of Allentown will be in the thick of it. We are teaching people to fight for, not ask for help—to take aid, not accept charity. The Republican and Democratic wardheelers accordingly are not so cheery these days. Some of them are even losing weight. And that too, is a public work.

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people fight to a finish they will have to have the assistance of laboring people all over the country.

Comrades! They are fighting! They need your help!

The lull before the storm inspires the civic organizations to send about word that things are once more quiet in High Point. They will be surprised.

The eyes of Southern workers are opened, organizations are springing up everywhere, Southern labor stirs.

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Note: Send communications to Stehli-Silk Relief Committee, Box 219, High Point, N. C.

# New Books . . .

## MANY PLANS BUT LITTLE POWER

**British Trade and Industry**, G. D. H. Cole, Macmillan. \$5.

**Economic Tracts for the Times**, G. D. H. Cole, Macmillan, \$4.

**A Guide Through World Chaos**, G. D. H. Cole, Knopf, \$3.75.

If only plans and not power were necessary to free the British workers from their present grievous difficult plight, they would soon be happy. The indefatigable Cole excels Edgar Wallace in output. No other of the intellectuals works so ceaselessly. Shaw gibes the follies of the capitalist rulers and inverts their accepted notions by his destructive wit but on the constructive side he has only the idea of equality of income which he propounds without any suggestion of how it is to be obtained. Wells fusses over new heroes and grows bitter over his oldtime idols of President Wilson, the League of Nations and the Labor Party, retaining only his healthy but unrealistic anti-monarchical attitude. The Webbs have left their desks as the historians and would-be guides of British Labor and in their old age have been wide-eyed and honored pilgrims in Soviet Russia. But Cole still goes on writing and even these weighty volumes are only a part of his recent output, for pamphlets and articles also flow from his pen. Others wander and investigate people and conditions; Cole remains in his extensive library busily thinking, always with his pen in his hand.

**British Trade and Industry** was the sequel to his **The Next Ten Years In British Social and Economic Policy** in which Cole had abandoned his Guild Socialism and advanced a plan of immediate reforms. The chief of his suggestions were: specialized production for export, conscious development of the home market, a national board of investment to control the rentier activity, encroaching control of industry in part by Works Councils and the socialization of the Bank of England. Cole could see the Labor Party drifting, and his program was based on the idea that in England the Gosplan would come by instalments. These ideas are still in his mind when he writes in 1932 his book giving a complete history of British trade and industry. It is a book for the student and we do not know anywhere else a better summary backed with such statistical evidence. Cole shows the economic absurdity of a self-sufficing British Empire. He makes a weighty case against the "remedy" of tariffs and the

madness of economic nationalism and its fragmentation of the world. His eclectic Marxism comes out in his references to the recurring crises of capitalism and to his analysis of gold distribution as a factor in the crisis. Although he is at pains to insist that national planning cannot succeed and that the international approach must be adopted, at times he fails to distinguish between the ruling group of the country and the country itself. He seems to be trying overmuch to persuade farsighted British capitalists to adopt his views to solve their problems. Such a paragraph as the following, while of interest to American readers, could be conveniently quoted by the British politician anxious to find a scapegoat in "world causes:"

" . . . the American boom and the American slump were both, for the world as a whole, disasters of the first magnitude; and I feel no hesitation in laying upon them the main responsibility for the world economic collapse. They were not the only causes of it; for, as we have seen, monetary factors and disequilibrium in production both counted. But the economic instability of America outweighs all other causes in importance."

Among the conditions necessary for recovery, Cole mentions cancellation of war debts and reparations, trade with Soviet Russia, international financial cooperation between the nations, and cessation of fall in wages and prices. And while he writes he doubts the ability of capitalism to swallow its medicine, and produce the leadership required to overcome the worldwide depression.

**Economic Tracts**, is a collection of studies with no central theme. Not content to be historian, Mr. Cole has turned economist and rejecting the Marxian labor theory of value has attempted a synthesis of his own much too involved to be covered here. The most valuable part of the book deals with the methods of running a socialized industry and examines the activity of semi-government corporations. In a tucked-in postscript Cole shows the ethical basis of his socialist creed—a basis which makes it clear why he does not need the Marxian theory of exploitation of the working class, although he previously makes it clear that only by the organized power of that class will social changes be made.

Not only for its bulk and price but also for the nature of its appeal **A Guide Through World Chaos** is the best bet for the general reader. Here in a quarter million words, Mr. Cole shows how

the world got into a mess and shows the proposed ways out. Here he writes as a "citizen of the world" not, be it noted, as a member of the international working class. Here again with abundant descriptive and statistical material, Cole frankly states that even if his advice is taken in regard to the present chaos it will not finally save the capitalist system. In the light of the agitation with Soviet Russia for diplomatic relations and trade in the United States by the Scripps-Howard papers and various groups of business interests, it is interesting to note that Cole in his world survey states that Russia is needed far more by the rest of the world as a market than Russia needs the rest of the world.

The encyclopedic range of this book rules out even a list of its main contents and, as in an encyclopedia, one uses the detailed index to look up special items. Regrettably, here again Cole, in treating of Marxism does not include in his explanation the idea of "socially necessary labor" which would overcome his confusions. The laborer does not "get paid for the individual effort;" he gets the price of his labor power. And it is not merely the capitalist appropriation of increasing productivity which is the root of the trouble as our author would suggest.

Another point provoking criticism is Cole's exaggeration of the high standard of life in the United States which he thinks enjoyed by all but the Negroes and the "poor whites" of the South. Then too he overestimates the power of recovery here and lightly proposes that America forego her creditor relationship to the rest of the world and thus right her ship in her own waters. Mr. Cole has evidently been over-impressed by the books of Foster, Catchings and others which paid much lip service to the conscious payment of high wages. Despite even Ford's abandonment of the process, Cole apparently still believes that practice followed preaching in the matter. Granted the author's assumption that capitalism can afford to lift up the workers' standard of life in the United States without endangering American capitalism—still a growing force and not a declining one as the European—it is not so certain that capitalist leaders will do this. On the whole Cole's analysis of the position in the United States rings true—capitalism has been working too successfully and has too great unexploited resources at its disposal for proposals of radical social change to win

attention. Cole sees the need of an effective, disciplined workers' party with a clearly understood body of social doctrine and a wide, educated following in the country as preliminary steps. While closing partly on the note of interrogation, Cole does not leave the reader in doubt on his own solution for world chaos, which is a strongly organized international socialist movement.

MARK STARR.

### A THIRD PARTY?

**The Coming of a New Party, by Paul H. Douglas. McGraw-Hill. \$2.00.**

**T**HIS is a timely and for the most part, useful book. The first section deals with present conditions in the United States, which call for a new political party, and with the objects which such a party would try to achieve. There is much valuable material profusely illustrated with concrete examples on such matters as social insurance, labor protective legislation, yellow-dog contracts and injunctions, the tariff, taxation revision, power, housing. The section which deals with the farm situation and possible ways out is especially good. Douglas is not too much impressed by the present economic planning fad, and comes to the conclusion that if the beginnings toward a genuine planned economy are to be made, "they must be carried through over the opposition of the capitalists themselves—a truly planned economy is almost impossible under capitalism, and only practical under socialism."

The second part of the book deals with the tactics which should be followed in forming a new party and the methods which that party itself would employ. There is much excellent material on the difficulties arising out of our governmental set-up, as well as out of recent legislation seeking to prevent expression of minority opinion. The author has done a beautiful job of describing how the Republican and Democratic parties in the various states and cities are actually composed and managed, and in exposing the dilemmas which involve those so-called progressives who are trying to bore from within these old parties.

In taking up practical tactics the author emphasizes the need for local organization and activity as against mere presidential campaign fireworks. He holds that the Socialist party is not itself the new mass party and probably never will be, but does not want the new party to be in any sense a rival to the S. P. He advocates support of Norman Thomas in the present election and thinks that the S. P. should eventually "occupy approximately the same position inside the American movement that

the I.L.P. occupied for so long within the British Labor Party." He holds that some unions may be expected to affiliate with the new party but fears that many of the present trade union leaders, if they came in, would do so only in order to pursue their own sinister and selfish ends. He advocates keeping these "pirates" off the ship. He evidently believes that the party will be built up and controlled mainly by individual dues-paying members who organize local branches from which district, state and national organizations develop. Though he recognizes, in passing, the connection between economic and political organizations and states, for example, that "experience has demonstrated that the workers must be organized in unions in the economic field if they are to be collectively articulate in political matters," he pays too little attention, in the opinion of the reviewer, to the problem of getting mass economic organizations of workers and farmers behind political action.

Though Douglas definitely declares for a planned economic system under the control of the producers, and does not object to calling his objective Socialism, his position is decidedly not radical or revolutionary. He recognizes that capitalists as a class are going to hang on to their power and privileges if they can, and his weapon for meeting this problem is the building of a political party which will replace the Democratic party, become the progressive party as opposed to the conservative Republicans, and eventually outvote the plutocrats.

He thinks of this party as to the right of the present S.P. and certainly does not regard the S.P. itself as revolutionary. He hails the fact that it has abolished "the former requirement for membership that one must believe in the class struggle" and thinks that it is no longer liable to be swept away by extremists. The S. P. representatives whom he mentions with approval include Thomas, Hillquit, Ameringer, Maurer and Hoan, no reference being made to S.P. militants and left-wingers. The great dynamic by which he sees the new party sustained is "faith in the ultimate power of democratic methods."

Since this book is not an academic essay on politics in America and aims to present a practical program on which the author calls progressives and radicals to unite, it is a great shortcoming that he fails to give any consideration to the question whether the economic problems of the twentieth century can be solved with the methods of eighteenth century political democracy. Because the author has failed to go into this question and does not occupy a sufficiently clear and

consistent class point of view, he fails to make any contribution to the important question as to how a truly effective left-wing could be developed in his new party. He fails likewise to consider whether very drastic changes in our governmental and political institutions will not have to be made if we are to have a government which under conditions of the twentieth century really serves the masses. The book makes it clear that those who are striving for a mass party of the workers, whether industrial, agricultural, clerical, technical or professional, firmly based upon economic organizations and closely linked up with the daily economic struggle of the masses, must be on their guard lest an attempt be made to set up a hybrid third party which will be utterly inadequate to cope with the opposition it will encounter, and will go the way of the Bull Moose, the LaFollette and similar "progressive" political adventures of the past. We may have to wait a good while before existing unions are honestly won to independent political action and there are unions in the great unorganized industries to back up a political party. In the long run, however, we shall make more progress if we are sure that the foundations are securely and correctly laid.

A. J. M.

### REVOLUTION

**Against Revolution. By Gilbert Seldes. No. 10, The John Day Pamphlet Series. Price 25 cents.**

**A**FTER some very brilliant name calling (or is it psychoanalyzing the masses) at the expense of radicals, chiefly because they insist upon talking about the inevitability of the downfall of capitalist society (Mr. Seldes believes nothing is inevitable), and a few friendly gibes at the busy money makers for their lack of foresight; and after proposing as our saviors such men as Mr. Gerard Swope, Mr. Wiggin, Mr. Filene, Mr. Mazur, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Stuart Chase, the author concludes his essay with this profound thought:

"We brought the panic upon ourselves by bad thinking. We can save ourselves from revolution only by good thinking."

So, you good thinkers for the profit system get busy! Perhaps you can save revolution from its inevitability.

**For Revolution. By V. F. Calverton. No. 15. The John Day Pamphlet Series. Price 25 cents.**

**T**HE author of "For Revolution" is editor of the Modern Quarterly Review, and has recently been classified as a social fascist by Comrade Bill Fos-



ter and the Communist Party (although it does not appear that his magazine has yet been put on the index expurgatorius).

Perhaps one reason that Calverton is now a social fascist is his contention that there is not at present a revolutionary situation in America. In the pamphlet under review, after declaring that to advocate making a revolution when the conditions are not ripe for it is one way of "betraying the cause of progress," Calverton asks: "Are the conditions ripe for a revolution today in America?"

His answer is, no. "No other country in the world is so objectively prepared for a social revolution. Our technological advance has ideally equipped us for just such a revolution....but we have not built up a working class which has learned as yet the advantage of cooperation or the wisdom of communism." The latter half of his pamphlet is taken up with telling why this is so.

Despite the social fascist cloud under which Mr. Calverton at present must toil, the reviewer believes that this pamphlet is well worth reading and that it will not greatly injure the cause of revolution.

## The Harlan Trials

(Continued from page 13)

Bratcher, a white miner. The jury from nearby Whitley County stood 11 to 1 for an acquittal and a mistrial was declared. Chester Poore, another white miner, was then tried before a jury from Laurel County, also near the mining regions. Chester Poore was acquitted but remanded in jail to stand trial on a charge of killing one of the other three gunmen killed in the Battle of Evarts.

F. M. Bratcher was brought to trial again, before a jury drawn from Mercer County in the Bluegrass region. After being deadlocked for 75 hours the jury was discharged. Chester Poore, previously acquitted, was placed on trial before a jury from Boyle county, also in the Bluegrass region. Several of his principal witnesses were arrested and charged with murder for alleged participation in the Evarts battle. His second trial was concluded in less than four days. The jury deliberated a few hours and sentenced him to life imprisonment. William Hudson was the next victim. A Bluegrass jury from Madison County "deliberated" exactly 20 minutes and gave him life.

Another special term of court was set for September. Bratcher was brought to trial for the third time. His jury was selected from Owsley County, which adjoins the mountain regions.

**The Human Price of Coal.** Published by the Association Press. New York. Price 40 cents.

As announced in the sub-title, this pamphlet is "a study of certain aspects of the bituminous coal industry." In a foreword by the sponsoring Committee, among whom are Eleanor Copenhaver of the industrial division of the Young Womens Christian Association and James Meyers of the Federal Council of Churches, it is pointed out that "much of the relief work which has been carried on in the bituminous coal areas during 1930-31 will have to be continued for another year."

"It is natural," continues the foreword, "that the churches and the general public which are being asked to contribute money, food and clothing in vast amounts for this relief should want to know what are the causes of these conditions, and what are the possible ways of effecting constructive reorganization of the industry.

"To help meet this need, the present study outline has been prepared."

That jury promptly acquitted Bratcher. He was remanded to jail, however, for trial on a charge of killing Howard Jones, another of the three gunmen. Bratcher is now out on bond. Jim Reynolds was then brought to trial. The prosecution demanded and obtained a Bluegrass jury, this time from Jessamine County. Once more the frame-up machine functioned smoothly and swiftly. Jim Reynolds was found guilty and given a life term.

Bill Burnett who was tried and acquitted of killing Jesse Pace last fall, was arrested in Bell County in August and was brought to Harlan to be tried for shooting with intent to kill. He was sentenced to three years.

Murder charges against five miners held in jail since May, 1931, were reduced to voluntary manslaughter to which the defendants pleaded guilty and they were given varying terms of two and three years. The charge of murder against five other defendants was dropped and they were released after being confined for more than 16 months. The General Defense Committee which has been defending the miners had nothing to do with the compromise and pleas of guilty. All men were advised to stand solid and fight through to the end. Had funds been available to continue the fight the prosecution would have soon collapsed. Commonwealth Attorney W. A. Brock said in connection with the compro-

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of Labor Age, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1932. State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared William Beedie, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of Labor Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and managing editor are:

Publisher—Labor Publication Society, Inc., 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

Editor—Harry A. Howe, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager, William Beedie.

2. That the owner is (if owned by a corporation its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given).

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); A. J. Muste, President, Brookwood, Katonah, New York; Louis Francis Budenz, Managing Editor and Secretary, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

WILLIAM BEEDIE,  
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of October, 1932.

PETER K. HAWLEY,  
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1933)

mise: "I did not like to agree to these defendants pleading guilty to manslaughter. However, as I believed I was saving the county a lot of money by avoiding costly trials, and the relatives of the slain men agreed, I considered it the best thing to do. The cases against the ring-leaders have not been dismissed and they will not be dismissed. Although their trials will cost a lot of money they must be tried and settled."

The disposal of ten cases leaves many more to be tried, the cases of the six miners sentenced to life imprisonment must be appealed. Court which has been adjourned temporarily will soon reconvene. All friends of the miners are urged to remember the men who still remain to be tried and those whose cases must be appealed.

## Soviet Union in 1932

(Continued from page 9)

planned economy as a result of the achievements of Soviet Russia. The idea did not originate, as many have pointed out, with the Soviets, but they have been the first to give it serious consideration. Its success has been scientifically demonstrated. This is, however, far from proof that *plans* will work under any kind of a philosophy. It is basic to know for what and for whom the planning is to be done. The answer to that question in Soviet Russia is :for the social security of the workers. That is a very different answer from planning to insure more regular dividends and larger profits. It may be well to state here that planning in Russia is a method of coordinating the entire resources of the land, and not simply a periodic setting of goals as some have thought from the familiar Five Year Plan. The essential success of planning does not depend upon reaching this or that goal within a given period, but upon an orderly development of the economic resources of the country for a purpose that is more human than the enrichment of a small class of investors.

### A Land with a Future

The particular stage of development reached in the exploitation of a country's resources is not the only thing to be described in making an estimate of a civilization. Some countries which have reached very high degrees of industrial advancement now confront the future with a good deal of gloom. Others which are more backward in economic development have no less cause for worry. The direction in which a society is moving is as important as the particular point at which we find it at any given time. This is a pertinent observation to make when considering Soviet Russia. If capitalism has served its day, just as feudalism came and went, and we are under the necessity of speedily socializing life, then Soviet Russia with all of its unsolved problems and unliquidated backwardness is out in front of the rest of the nations. It is in the vanguard of the workers' struggle.

# The Modern Thinker

is not a magazine you read and cast aside. It is an encyclopaedia of reference on everything that is happening in contemporary thought. Many of the essays which have appeared in THE MODERN THINKER have assumed permanent significance. For example:

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Future issues of THE MODERN THINKER will carry material of equal importance. Of special note will be articles by the following:

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for yourself, for friends, for unemployed workers. Do it now — while news from the industrial battlefield is alive with rebellion and action. Miners, farmers, workers in all fields, are beginning to move, to march, to struggle. The whole South is like a volcano. The unemployed millions are building thousands of leagues to fight for relief. This is the news that LABOR AGE brings. News that gives courage. News that points the way out. But it is up to you, Comrades, to see that these inspiring reports are widely read.

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