

LABOR MAGAZINE



THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Miners Try For A Clean Union

By TOM TIPPETT

Russia Marches On

By FRANK L. PALMER

Do We Need a New Political Party?

By A. J. MUSTE

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IN THIS ISSUE

MINERS are confronted with another of the many crises in their union. The industry in which they work is suffering from permanent depression. Along with textiles, it gave danger signals years in advance of what would come to other "over-produced" industries. The "sickness" of Coal is world-wide, but in the United States alone has it led to such terrific loss of union membership. President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers has been intent upon snuffing out district organizations, putting them under "provisional" leadership which did nothing but destroy what union skeletons remained. His thugs have been busy beating up protesting members of the union. Organization has been criminally neglected. The bituminous coal miners have been shot to pieces except in Illinois, and there has been a substantial weakening of the union in the anthracite. Under pressure of such conditions, Illinois decided to go it alone, allying itself with Alexander Howat. But now the politicians of the "re-organized" union have made a peace-pact with Lewis, put through significantly enough by an injunction judge. How the miners are reacting to this arrangement, made without their consent, is told in the editorial and in Tom Tippet's account of the West Virginia miners' organization drive and of their decision to remain free of Lewis and Lewisism.

WEST Virginia miners on the march back to unionism provide hopeful and significant news. What Congress failed to do is a sorry subject, in contrast. Ben Marsh, who has been valiantly trying to secure genuine relief for the unemployed during the past session through the People's Lobby, knows his Congress and Congressmen well. The record of the last talk debauch at Washington is set forth in "Congress Didn't." The non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L. has gotten us further and further away from any

semblance of power for the workers in "our" legislative halls. In a great economic crisis, Big Business overshadowed the alleged representatives of the people and paralyzed them into inaction. Can it be wondered that there is more and more talk about the failure of "democracy"?

AND that leads to still another question. Do we need a new political party in the United States? "The political party we need must have a class basis," declares A. J. Muste, in a thoughtful analysis of the present American political situation. It must have a number of other characteristics, it is also clear—above all, less concern about "safe," "legal" methods than the term "political party" has generally been associated with. He who thinks that the workers can get far toward the possession of those things which belong to them, along the "safe" and "sane" route, is tilting with windmills. But we will let Muste speak for himself—and what he writes is worth reading over more than once. It furnishes a real challenge.

MEANWHILE, "Russia Marches On," as Frank L. Palmer narrates in some detail. Capitalism looks on, with vain effort to understand this phenomenon. The Five Year Plan should have failed long ago, by Capitalist measurements. Instead it goes forward—painfully, relentlessly, triumphantly. It is the beginning of a great Fifteen Year War against Poverty, Disease and Ignorance. They who have enjoyed Health, Wealth and Education are not to hold it as a monopoly any longer.

WORKERS' Education received a decided pull forward in these United States, in the plans that were laid at the eighth annual conference of teachers in workers education at Brookwood on Washington's Birthday week-end. Helen Norton presents a succinct account of what took place, and what is in store for the future, out of that conference. We welcome the proposed clearing house for workers' educational institutions, as it is sadly needed.

WIDER and wider become the demands upon the C. P. L. A. Its activities grow with these calls upon it. The miners' crisis has found it in the forefront for a clean and militant union. Airplane strikers come to it for aid and counsel. Oppressed groups in various unions look to it for championship of their cause and for aid in "cleaning up." The unemployment insurance campaign, at the same time, must be continued among the rank and file of the workers. All of which—and some more—is recounted in the pages devoted to the C.P.L.A. work of the past month.

JERGER'S full page cartoon is "At the End of the Rainbow" this month. It continues the Jerger tradition of vividly portraying the vile position in which the unemployed worker has been placed by the vicious forces in control of this Midas Land.

MARK STARR, from London, tells us of British Labor's difficulties. Then, as usual, there is "The March of the Machine" and the book review section.

LABOR AGE

April, 1931

EDITORIALS

THE A. F. of L. organizing campaign in the South has come to an end about sixteen months after it was solemnly resolved upon at the Toronto convention in October of 1929. The signal for ringing down the curtain was the abandonment,

End of Southern Organizing Campaign

or in the language of diplomacy which is the art of using words to conceal thought, the "settlement" of the Danville strike.

It may be that the A. F. of L. and the United Textile Workers will go through the motions of keeping up some activity, though it seems doubtful whether they have energy enough even for that. If they do, however, that should deceive no one.

The A. F. of L. as at present constituted has again shown what it can do to organize unskilled and semi-skilled workers in a basic industry. The U. T. W. put all the energy and brains at its disposal into the Southern campaign. President Green himself went on a series of triumphal tours from one Chamber of Commerce to another offering the A. F. of L. as the bulwark against Communism and as the agency to get workers to cooperate with employers for greater efficiency and so greater profits for all concerned. A vast amount of patient and careful educational and organizing effort went into the Danville campaign, though the attitude of conciliation toward employing interests was carefully maintained throughout. When a strike was none the less forced on the workers, great efforts were put forth to make it a success.

The A. F. of L. as at present constituted has done what it can, namely nothing or worse than nothing.

Progressive laborites worked hard to have this Southern campaign launched. When clear signs were given that they were desired to keep their hands off, they did so.

They pointed out when the campaign was still under discussion that success would require: 1. A militant campaign appealing to the fighting spirit of the down-trodden Southern workers. 2. A campaign on a wide front since any one employer involved in a strike would get the support of all his fellows and no union victory was possible on that basis. 3. Careful advance organization of research, publicity and legal aid. 4. Ample relief funds and scientific administration of relief. 5. The use of progressive elements willing to cooperate to make the campaign successful.

Not one of these measures, except perhaps the third, was taken. The outcome, symbolized by the disgraceful collapse of the Danville strike and the betrayal of the Danville workers who with touching faith in the A. F. of L. leaders sacrificed so much, is the logical result of the principles and methods followed by these leaders. Elizabethton, Marion, Danville proclaim that the progressive way is the only way workers can do anything for themselves.

DURING the past month industrial unrest has continued to grow. Having pulled through the winter without serious unemployment riots, the employing interests have begun to feel a bit more cocky. They have noted that the unemployed still remain largely unorganized

Worker Unrest Continues But . . .

and unwilling to fight. The Communist demonstrations have been falling in strength, with each repetition. The newspapers have taken the unemployment situation off the front pages, as though by agreement. Scandals of various sorts now excite and distract the citizenry.

Those who remain inside the mills and factories are being subjected to a brutal speed-up and to continuous wage slashings. At the Botany Mills in Passaic, N. J.—as one of many like instances—the number of looms per worker is increased, amid some murmurings. Over-production having caused the depression, our all-wise employers proceed to meet the depression with more work per worker. Union establishments have not been free from driving methods, and many standards have been broken down under cover of the work shortage.

Spontaneous strikes are becoming the answer. The Philadelphia hosiery workers have extended their campaign. Mass picketing brings out more and more workers from the non-union mills. At least nine of the struck mills have signed up with the organization. In Hazelton, Pa. 2,200 employes of the Duplan Company walk out, and join the banner of the U. T. W. A union agreement is secured, although the speed-up is not thoroughly checked. West Virginia's mining organization drive gains momentum, under the leadership of Keeney and Mooney. There are other strikes, and more unrest than the strikes portray.

The A. F. of L. as a whole stands paralyzed in the crisis. The international unions have come to wait until victory for dues-paying members is assured before making any move. Business unionism and crusading do not mix. An example of the remoteness of many union officials from the firing line is seen in the attempt of President Arthur Wharton of the International Association of Machinists to raise his salary from \$7,500 per year to \$12,000 in the midst of depression. Membership referendum defeated the effort by a vote of 14,000 to 6,000 of those voting.

Under the non-partisan policy, leading spirits in the central bodies have become enmeshed in petty local politics. They have lost all voice in the community, except as minor politicians. Opportunity after opportunity to advance the cause of unionism by stands on public matters is lost. When strikes do break out, these central body officers, tied up with the political machines, encourage a soft-peddling policy on the part of the strikers. "Soft-peddling" invariably leads to a snuffing out of the strike, for local politicians can only be coerced into fair dealing for labor, as a

rule. In practically every community that a strike breaks out, the "public" is unprepared by the central bodies for a pro-labor attitude.

The voluntary agitator of 1917-18 must return. His is not merely the task of going into industry, pulling strikes. He also has to aid in the building of a new Labor Movement. Until we have through the country young men and women prepared to do this arduous work, labor revolt will lag behind the unrest among the workers.



IT is significant that President Green's recent relatively vigorous statement, in which he warns employers that the American Federation of Labor will oppose any movement to cut wages, appears at the same time as a survey made by the Standard Statistics Company, in which that organization openly asserts that there must be wage cutting all along the line. "A universally lower range of dollar wages" is what the Standard Statistics Company advocates. So, as to leave no room for misapprehension as to what is meant, its survey goes on to say that "unequal declines in wages, such as have been recorded so far, served only to aggravate the business depression." These reductions simply meant that "the purchasing power of one employed class was increased, relatively, at the expense of other employed classes." So, there must be drastic wage cutting all down the line.

Wage Cutting Must Be Resisted

Of course, since we cannot give up in a single instant "the high wage policy" on which American business is supposed to operate, we are solemnly assured that the workers will be no worse off because "a correspondingly lower cost of living" will "eventually permit wage earners to purchase at least as large a volume of goods as formerly." Few workers, however, will be deceived by such talk at this late date.

Well may President Green and the American Federation of Labor now be apprehensive, for the report goes on still further to reveal just exactly what the American employing class has in mind, by emphasizing the necessity of further declines, particularly in many of the "more immobile sections of industry"—in other words, in those industries which are relatively well organized and up to the present have been relatively successful, therefore, in stemming the tide of wage reductions. Thus, the building and printing trades are warned as to what is coming.

The pity is that the American Federation of Labor's pronouncement appears so late in the day, after a tremendous amount of wage slashing has already been done. By its idiotic agreement at the beginning of the depression, advising workers not to ask for wage increases in order that business might get back on an even keel, it played into the hands of employers, some of whom were determined to cut wages in any case, others of whom under the stress of competition and with no strong union movement to hold them in line had no other choice. By continuing to mimic the Hoover administration's talk of prosperity when it had long been clear that a serious and very extensive depression was upon us, the American Federation of Labor misled the workers and thus again made it easier for employers to carry out their own designs. It has permitted wages to be cut in the vast majority of the unorganized trades, some times through direct cutting of wage rates, at other times in less direct ways. Will it now be able to resist the attack upon the wage standards of its own affiliated unions?

Nevertheless, it is well if the seriousness of the situation is now realized in official labor quarters and some effort at least to put up a fight is made. Progressive laborites

everywhere should encourage and stimulate resistance to wage reductions. They should organize the fight against reductions not only among organized but even more among the great masses of unorganized workers. They should strive to make the opposition to wage cutting take the form of vigorous mass revolts which will give notice to the employing class that the workers are not to be trifled with.



CONGRESS having adjourned safely without having aided the suffering American jobless, Herbert Hoover lays plans for a trip of "mercy" to the Caribbean. Press dispatches state that the conditions among these Latin-American countries wring his heart. Over the horny handed Herbert may weep, but it is danger to the investments of fat-bellied American exploiters that prompts his little voyage. Latins have a peculiar habit of resorting to force and violence when hit by desperation.

Young-Rockefeller Report Outstrips Hooverized A. F. of L.

While cruising in Southern waters, Hoover should have at hand the report of the Industrial Relations Counselors, to which reference has been made in these pages before. Specific words from the report deserve quotations, particularly since the Board of Directors who are responsible for it include Owen D. Young, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and Cyrus McCormick, Jr. On page 221 of this 700 page book we read:

"Within their proper sphere as contributing to business efficiency, increase in the number of (company unemployment insurance) plans will be slow. As knowledge of the subject broadens, the most capable managements may be expected to set up schemes, but as in every other progressive movement the mass will lag. It would seem that a wide coverage of unemployment insurance . . . will come only through legislation. Representatives of the company plan managements consulted in this investigation have expressed an almost unanimous view that while properly planned and administered schemes of unemployment insurance would be an aid to industry, their adoption would proceed slowly unless stimulated by legislation. Certainly, compulsory legislation will be necessary to bring about the general acceptance of any measure of compensation beyond the point of efficiency in the individual firm, however advantageous it may be to business at large for its stabilizing influence on purchasing power." (Published under title, "Unemployment Benefits in the United States.")

Thus speaks out the left wing of Big Business, those very captains of industry who have been busily engaged in deluding the workers with their "voluntary" pension and insurance schemes. It is one of the ironies of the occasion that those little brothers of Big Business, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, do not even stand with Young and Rockefeller. They follow blindly the lead of Hoover, Mellon, et al.

So far behind the times has the A. F. of L. fallen that it can not even keep pace with company unionized employers or "liberal" politicians. What a sight it must have been the other Sunday, when Messrs. Green, Woll, etc. met Governor Roosevelt in that private conference at the New York Athletic Club, arranged by Pete Brady! The Governor proceeded to launch into the advantages of unemployment insurance, to the consternation of the "leaders of labor."

The Hooverization of the A. F. of L. is only the logical outcome of its non-partisan, pure and simple philosophy. But where the distinction is, between such antics and those of a company union is somewhat difficult to see.

THE MINERS' CRISIS ... AND PROGRESS

ON another page of this number of LABOR AGE, Tom Tippet, himself a coal miner, tells the story of recent developments among the miners: The peace terms agreed upon by John L. Lewis and John H. Walker, after these two gentlemen have been calling each other all the vile names in the labor calendar for a year and more, and the revolt in West Virginia and elsewhere against this high-handed method of quietly turning the miners back to John L. Lewis, presented to them month after month as the wrecker of the union, with the solemn assurance that this is the only way now to save the union; all this without even going through the motions of consulting the miners themselves as to what they think or wish to do!

Since Tom Tippet's article was written a conference of miners has been held under the direction of Alexander Howat and a call issued signed by Howat, Powers Hapgood, Bill Daech, William Stevenson, John Watt, Frank Keeney, James Johnson and many others for a rank and file convention of miners to be held at St. Louis, Mo., on April 15. The miners at this convention are called upon to decide whether: 1. They desire to go back to Lewis as per the compromise, or 2. Prefer to let their union collapse altogether, or 3. Desire to clean house thoroughly and build a new union under rank and file control.

LABOR AGE heartily approves of the calling of this convention. Decent men among the miners have no other course open. When the miners gather in St. Louis on April 15, if they have any amount of courage and decency left, any of the spirit of Mother Jones and John Mitchell and the rank and filers of the heroic past, they must decide to clean house and build a brand new union. When we say this, we are not butting into somebody else's business. We recognize that the miners themselves must in the last analysis make the decision. It is of the utmost concern, however, to all workers, to all decent people in this country, what the miners do in this crisis. Coal is a great basic industry and unless the miners are organized in a clean, fighting, intelligent union, there is little chance that steel, automobiles and other big industries can be organized. Little chance, in other words, of a vigorous labor movement in the United States, which shall deliver the workers from the misery of unemployment, poverty and fear into which they have been plunged in this era of the new capitalism. If, on the other hand, the miners are organized, they will inspire others, will fashion the backbone of a great American labor movement.

If this is to come about, then the miners in St. Louis must take their courage in their hands, clean out all the old gangs and build a union according to their own plans.

This may be called "unconstitutional" procedure by so-called labor leaders who have torn every constitution by which they were supposed to abide to tatters. The reorganization convention in Springfield last year made it clear, if, indeed, it needed to be made clear, that there was no constitutional way to get anything done under John L. Lewis' regime. Now the reorganization crowd (except for Alexander Howat and a few others) have perpetrated a sell-out which makes Lewis look like a piker.

In the Declaration of Independence of these United States our forefathers declared, speaking of the treatment accorded to the colonists by George the Third: "When a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably

the same objects evince a design to reduce them to absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide a new guard for their own security."

If the time has not come for the coal miners of this country to write such a Declaration of Independence, and build themselves a new government for a new union, then the signers of our national Declaration of Independence were lunatics, for they certainly had no such grievances against George the Third as the miners have against Lewis, Walker, etc.

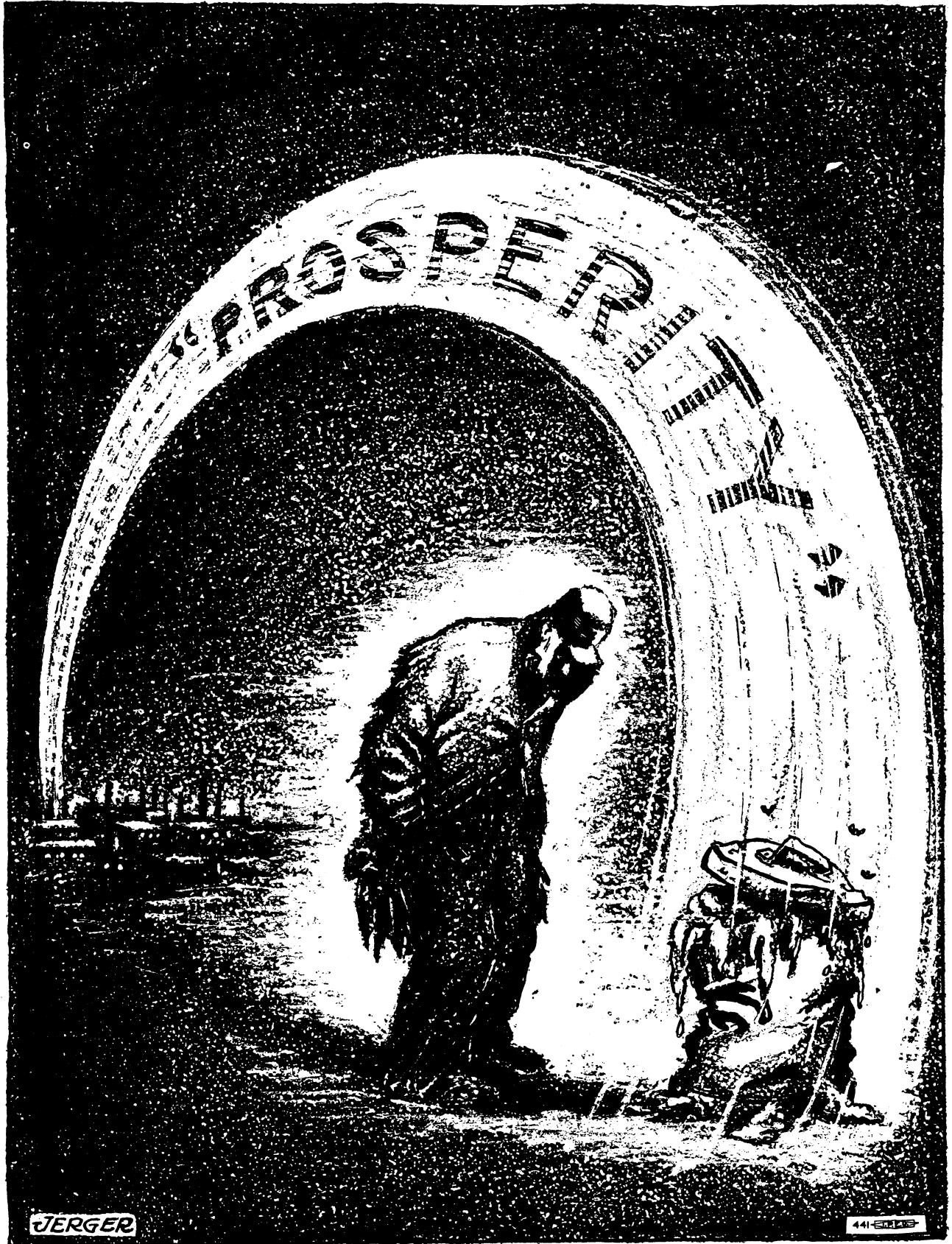
Let the miners not be held back from carrying through the job now before them by any sentimental attachment to the name of U. M. W. of A. That name, it seems, has been taken away from them by a court decision. In this injunction-ridden country it is possible for judges to take all kinds of things away from the workers. They can prevent a union from striking, from peacefully picketing, from distributing relief to its striking members and what not, and what is to stop them from robbing the members of the name of their union? It is not a name the miners now want but a union. Let crooks keep the name U. M. W. of A. if they will, the soul of the true U. M. W. of A. will be with the miners who have the manhood to build again a union such as the U. M. W. of A. set out to be.

There are indications that John L. Lewis' move may be to get an Illinois district convention called—for such purposes as he will reveal in his own good time. If the miners show a disposition to come to the Howat convention in large numbers, the Illinois district outfit—Walker, Fishwick, Farrington, et al, may try to break the Howat movement by calling an Illinois district convention and promising to give the rank and file its way there. Even Oscar Ameringer wishes an Illinois district convention called in a so-called constitutional way. After what has recently happened, imagine Lewis, Walker, Fishwick, Germer and Farrington as exponents of constitutionality. It is to laugh! Any Illinois district convention called now under the old gang with the usual quota of paid officials among the delegates, as well as representatives from dead locals, will be controlled by the old gang, no matter what promises they make before hand. "Hell hath no fury like a labor leader about to be separated from his job."

Anyone who now advocates an Illinois district convention under so-called constitutional methods and in control of the old gang, is either a crook or a fool. Let the miners beware of both these breeds. The only way in which the rank and file under present conditions can get its will expressed is by going to the Howat convention. The miners, whether they have followed Lewis or Walker in recent months, have no real grievances against each other. Let them forget the so-called leaders scrambling for jobs. Let them act on their own behalf.

The very fact that all the old gang are now exposed gives the miners themselves a glorious chance to cut loose and build a clean organization for Illinois and all the other states.

Honest, progressive and militant laborites throughout the land will watch with bated breath during the next couple of weeks whether or not the miners will respond to Howat's call. We hope it is on to St. Louis and victory!



AT THE END OF THE RAINBOW

Drawn for Labor Age by Jerger

"Unemployed Men Are Compelled to Look for Food in Garbage Cans"—News Item.

The Miners Try for a Clean Union

By TOM TIPPETT

THE coal diggers of West Virginia have organized an independent and separate union, leading the way, perhaps, for other districts in the old United Mine Workers of America to do likewise. It will be called "dual" by the American Federation of Labor, although the U. M. W. of A. has nothing but a paper organization in the State. The miners here have made their decision and have elected to go "dual rather than corrupt," to put it in their own words.

This has all come about because of the "compromise" entered into by the officers of District 12 (Illinois) of the U. M. W. of A. and a majority of the executives of the new national union which was organized a year ago in Springfield, Illinois, called the Reorganized United Mine Workers of America. When the convention was called to "reorganize the union," it was attended by a delegation from West Virginia and from almost every other coal field in the country. The convention unanimously decided to strike out from the leadership of John L. Lewis, who headed the U. M. W. of A., and attempt to rebuild the union that had been very nearly completely destroyed under his leadership. At its head, the reorganized union elected Alexander Howat, Adolph Germer and John Walker as president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer, respectively.

At that convention and every day until the "compromise," John Lewis was called every vile name in the calendar — from a common thief to a high-class racketeer, in collaboration with the coal operators and on the payroll of the United States Steel Corporation — and especially engaged in a deliberate attempt to wreck the miners' union for the operators. He had flagrantly betrayed the coal diggers. For evidence, the Lewis accusers pointed to the obvious wreckage of the union all over the

¶ *West Virginia Begins Again*

¶ *Call for Rank and File Convention*

¶ *Howat, Hapgood, Watt, Stephenson Act*

country, and indicated other seemingly convincing evidence of corruption to prove their case. These charges against President Lewis were not only made in the Springfield convention—they were boldly printed in the *Illinois Miner*, the official organ of District 12, later changed to the *American Miner*, to become the official organ of the reorganized national organization, and edited for the union by Oscar Ameringer, peer of American labor journalists.

Keeney and Mooney Enter Lists

The delegates at the Springfield convention from West Virginia were headed by Frank Keeney, who had been president of the union here until he was forced to resign his office by Mr. Lewis seven years ago. Keeney joined in the anti-Lewis chorus and returned to West Virginia to reassemble his old district under the auspices of the newly reorganized union which set up a national office in Springfield.

Fred Mooney, who had served in

the old days as secretary to the West Virginia miners, and who also had been forced out of office by Lewis, returned to the State (he had been in California earning his living as a union carpenter). Both Keeney and Mooney were appointed organizers by the reorganized group, and shortly had a West Virginia union going, and were elected to their old positions of leadership. They went up and down the State denouncing Lewis, and in that way inspired a new hope in the coal diggers here who, under these men, had a powerful union, and who lost it completely shortly after Lewis kicked them out of office.

Ten Thousand Join

A year went by, and West Virginia had 10,000 miners in the reorganized union, and 20,000 more astir and taking the union obligation in droves, and as quickly as they could be assembled into meetings. Two strikes occurred and two compromise settlements were of necessity made, but the campaign went on. A check weigh-

man appeared once more on at least one tippie in the State; mine committees were reorganized here and there; and an opening wedge of the union began to penetrate the coal belt. Meanwhile, miners were fired; some were evicted from company houses; and the West Virginia district went into debt for strike relief. The reorganized union sent money in to help pay the bills; it also paid the salaries of the officials.



View of a Coal Camp, Whitesville, W. Va., March 15, 1931

President Howat journeyed to West Virginia to lend his voice to the campaign. The valleys echoed with his challenge to Lewis and with the wild applause of the coal diggers. The whole State began to quiver with unionism, and some of the coal operators stopped dismissing union men because of the sheer size of the mass meetings that met nightly and on every Sunday in the open, all through the coal zone. The union campaign was so successful that President Lewis sent a corps of "organizers" into the State for the first time in seven years to block its progress. It was too late, however; the union army marched on.

Then, as though a bolt of lightning had struck out of a calm sky, the reorganized union's officers were laid off, and all strike relief abruptly stopped; the Springfield office became as silent as a grave. The whole campaign in the State was quickly spiked on the cross and left crucified in mid-air. This at the very time when miners were having their goods chucked out of company-owned houses into the mud of West Virginia creeks. The campaign, with its throat cut, began to tremble. Springfield remained dumb.

Howat Attacks "Compromise"

A statement then appeared in the Associated Press, quoting President Howat. From that press account, it was learned that a compromise was being worked out between Lewis and Springfield; and that Howat, being against it, wanted a convention of the miners, to hear what they had to say. That was Howat's only way of letting the "cat out of the bag." Since then, the bag is split open, and the whole scandal is known.

A judge in a civil court in Springfield has decided that the reorganized union is out of order, and that John L. Lewis is the president of the one and only United Mine Workers of America. It also decided that John H. Walker is the duly elected president of District 12, and that it is a part of the Lewis union. Walker, as secretary to the reorganized union, stood for the presidency of District 12, and won a majority of the votes in a district election in December. He takes his new office April 1. It might also be added in passing that Lewis has repeatedly ruled Walker (unconstitutionally) off the miners' ballots in the past, and that the Springfield convention and the recent court decision serve as happy coincidences to give Mr. Walker a position he has coveted for many years.

THE WEST VIRGINIA CONVENTION

Tom Tippet Sends in The Following Last-Minute Account of the West Virginia Meeting

The convention adjourned March 19th, after having established the West Virginia Mine Workers. The officers elected were Frank Keeney, President, Brant A. Scott, Vice-president, George A. Scherer, Secretary, and an executive board of seven members, two of whom are negroes. Forty-seven delegates representing 10,000 already organized miners were in attendance.

The convention enthusiastically endorsed the call issued by Alexander Howat for a national convention of the "Reorganized" United Mine Workers in St. Louis, Mo., April 15th. It also sent Howat a telegram pledging him their loyal support in his fight against the compromise with John L. Lewis.

The convention made it plain that the West Virginia Mine Workers will affiliate with a national organization if and when one is formed but they made it just as plain that they will never again join a union that is in any way connected with the current Indianapolis U. M. W. of A.

Resolutions adopted called for the release of Mooney and Billings and all other working class prisoners, for federal unemployment insurance, for federal employment bureaus, and for the creation of a department of Workers Education and Labor Research as a regular part of the West Virginia Mine Workers. The convention was addressed by Harold Houston, the miners' attorney and by A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College and The Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

Following the convention the executive board of the union met and worked out a plan to organize the 24,000 coal diggers in this immediate field in order that they can meet the coal operators in a joint conference by April 1. The first mass meeting of the new organization will be held Sunday afternoon, March 22nd.

When the court decision came, it served as an excuse for District 12, and Secretary Walker of the reorganized group, to automatically kill the new national union that was created with such enthusiasm by the "rank and file" a year ago. Vice-president Germer made no public comment, and by his silence gave consent. President Howat alone, as usual, kicked over the traces. His associates in office refused even to call a conference of the field men or a meeting of the reorganized executive board.

That attitude, however, was their only recourse. There is absolutely no way by which Mr. Walker, or any other man, can successfully "explain" their action to even a small conference, let alone a convention of the rank and file. One can not say, even if he is John H. Walker, to coal diggers on Thursday that John L. Lewis is a crook, working for U. S. Steel to wreck the miners' union, and on Friday that Mr. Lewis is the president of the United Mine Workers of America who must be paid dues. Therefore, Mr. Walker chose another method to put it over. On March 8, he wrote the field men, or to those in West Virginia, at any rate, as follows: "Dear Sir and Brother:-

The decree entered by Judge Edwards at Dixon, Ill., Friday, March 6th, which is dated as of February 13th, 1931, declared that the organization of the United Mine Workers of America with headquarters at Indianapolis, Ind., is the true U. M. W. A. That decree abolished the international section of the United Mine Workers of America that adhered to the Springfield convention.

Fraternally yours,
J. H. WALKER."

That is an expeditious and rather simple manner in which to settle an ugly problem—but there are some ugly problems that just won't settle, no matter how cunningly they are maneuvered; and this is one of them.

Rank and File Convention

As I write, Howat is calling his executive board and field men together in St. Louis. This action is against the orders; so it will be termed a rump meeting; and out of that gathering, unless I misgauge Howat and the Illinois coal diggers, there will come a rank and file convention in Illinois again; and when it meets, it will not be as successfully machined as the so-called rank and file convention of a year ago was. Moreover, all those reasons for calling the other conven-

tion, that have been carefully sidetracked, may come forward and exert themselves—namely, that the rank and file may rid themselves at last of *all* corruption in their union, and begin again with a clean slate.

This seems likely, because, in the last few days, Oscar Ameringer has violated the orders of Springfield, and exposed the whole sorry mess in a poignant editorial, which tells the whole dirty tale. Oscar Ameringer is a power, that mere wind-jamming of labor racketeers does not effect; and,

The union officials should have known better. They ought to have dismissed Ameringer long ago. They always did distrust intellectuals!

Now, to return to West Virginia: The group here could not swallow the compromise. Before Howat and Ameringer had time to speak, the West Virginia miners had made their decision. When the truth worked its way through from Springfield, they were stunned, but not for long. They went on with their work as best they could, telling the story to their rank

35 local unions, are assembled in convention at Charleston (for the first time in 7 years). They are adopting a policy, selecting a name, electing their own officers, and going ahead with their campaign. Who is helping to finance them? Their own union dues and the Emergency Committee for Strike Relief, and similar organizations, which have sent more money into the recent textile strike area than has the American Federation of Labor. If the West Virginia miners can continue to receive the support of some such friends for a short while,



Mass Meeting of Coal Miners, Ward, W. Va. on Kelley's Creek. Frank Keeney Addressing the Crowd, March, 1931. The Flag is the One Carried by Mother Jones.

Picture sent in by Tom Tippet

moreover, the *American Miner* goes into the home of every member of the reorganized union, and into the homes also of thousands of other miners, as well as to a great many other places of importance. Let all those parties to the conspiracy now come before the miners assembled in a convention and answer Ameringer's charge!

and file who remained with them to a man, and with ringing cheers, when they said: "If it means back to Lewis, they can all go to hell; we'll make a stab at it alone!" And alone they are. But they are organized — and growing hourly. As this goes to press, 47 delegates representing 10,000 already unionized miners, organized into

they will win; and if they do, they will have proven much—mainly, that there is one way by which the coal diggers may rid themselves of crooked leaders. If they cannot have honest elections or conventions, they can keep their dues in their own treasuries. Even Al Capone would go out of business if his racket did not "pay."

CONGRESS DIDN'T

By BENJAMIN C. MARSH

THE immediate power issue in the last Congress was not Muscle Shoals. The Government owns that. It cannot be over-capitalized. It cannot be used to validate the watered stock of the great power companies. It cannot be alienated without affirmative action by Congress—and that action can be prevented.

The immediate power issue in the last Congress was whether power sites should be leased before the Federal Power Act was amended, not only to create an "independent" Federal Power Commission, but to empower the Federal Government through this Power Commission to regulate rates charged for energy developed from power generated from waters located on public sites.

The Flathead Power Sites was a case in point. The Montana Power Company controlled by the Electric Bond and Share Company and operating through a dummy, the Rocky Mountain Power Company, with a capitalization of \$2,000 sought to obtain a license to develop these sites with about 210,000 primary horse power on Indian owned lands. The Indians are wards of the United States. The Montana Power Company already has some 200,000 undeveloped horse power in Montana, which it was developing at the rate of about 10,000 horse power a year. It wanted to create a monopoly. Senator Norris said on the floor of the Senate that the men trying to obtain this license should be in jail looking out from behind the bars. Senator Walsh of Montana wanted to have the Montana Power Company get this license. It finally got one for about 90,000 horse power.

Mr. John Collier, secretary of the Indian Defense Society, stated of this license:

"It establishes price-fixing by the government through a contract going beyond the act of Congress. It fixes a low price. It prohibits from taking advantage of the low price, all parties without exception save only the power trust, owner of the dummy licensee. It truncates with the dummy—a dummy thus monopolistically bound to the power trust—all authority and all responsibility of the United States over accounting, over the character or

amount of securities, over rates, over anything whatsoever. It immunizes the Montana Power Company from federal oversight, in so far as matters of the Flathead power site are concerned, for the next fifty years, for not Congress itself can disturb the vested right to immunity which has been granted by this dummy scheme.

"And in return, the license gains for the public or for regulation not one compensation, not one convenience even, that is not insured by the Federal Power Act with respect to whatever licensee, be he a dummy or the real party."

The People's Lobby tried to get nearly all the progressive Senators to block this license—by a resolution opposing it, and other measure—including Senators Norris and LaFollette. Senator Frazier vigorously fought it as chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, but not one other of these progressives would touch it, largely influenced by friendship for Senator Walsh of Montana. He claimed the Indians wanted the lease.

On June 14th, Caville Dupuis, President of the Flathead Tribal Council in Montana, wired Senator Frazier, Chairman the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs as follows:

"Indians Watching Flathead Power Sites. Will prevent trespassing of Rocky Mountain Power Company or anyone else bitterly opposed terms of lease. We object white settlers equity to power site while our land is left for confiscation."

A copy was sent to Secretary of the Interior Wilbur, who on June 16th wired this encouraging reply:

"Your wire June fourteenth. License to develop power site number one Flathead has been issued to Rocky Mountain Power Company by Federal Power Commission with concurrence Secretary Interior. This is under authority of act of Congress approved June tenth, nineteen twenty, and as required by the law, proceeds are to be placed to the credit of the Indians. The development and terms under which it will be made considered beneficial to the Indians and utilization of the site by the licensee company will not be a trespass, but will be under the express authority above referred to. Interference with lawful

acts licensee will not be countenanced by this Department."

While the license granted covers only some 90,000 horse power, it controls the other Flathead sites, and the granting of this license so vigorously opposed by the Indians, will be a powerful factor in helping the Power Trust to unload their inflated stocks on the public. The overcapitalization of the Electric Bond and Share Company is reported by the Federal Trade Commission to be about \$400,000,000.

The fight over the confirmation of George Otis Smith as Chairman of the independent Federal Power Commission is futile. Congress has the power to determine and designate the functions of the Federal Power Commission, and it failed to do so. By withholding appropriations it can force an agency it creates to comply with the law. The House can also vote impeachment proceedings.

About the middle of December, representatives of some twenty organizations in interviews with Chairman Jones of the Senate Committee on Appropriation, Senate Minority Leader Robinson, Speaker Longworth, Majority House Leader Tilson, Chairman of Rules Committee Snell, and Minority Leader Garner, urged Federal appropriations to help care for the unemployed, and Federal subvention of State Unemployment Insurance systems.

They told Senator Jones that Col. Arthur Woods, Director of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment, Judge Payne of the Red Cross, and others who knew the facts should be asked before that Committee to give the facts. He agreed.

Senator LaFollette introduced a resolution directing the Senate Committee on Appropriations to invite these two gentlemen and others to testify and state what relief they thought was needed.

He absented himself from the hearing and no essential information was obtained, failed to put in any bill for relief funds, and failed to press for the information.

He was again asked to put in some measure to be referred to the Committee on Manufactures of which he is Chairman, so he could subpoena witnesses and get the facts.

Nearly two weeks before adjourn-

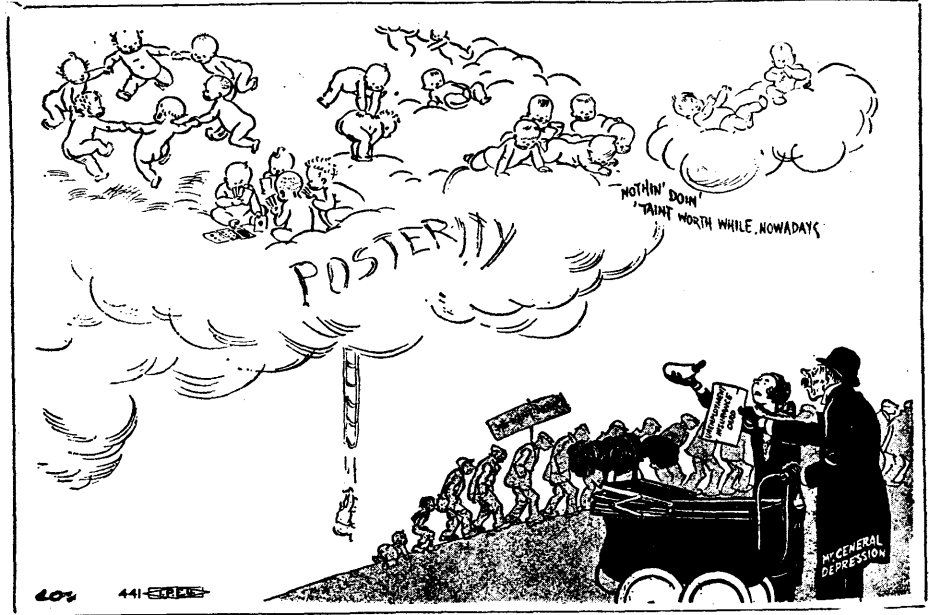
ment, Senator Wheeler told Senator LaFollette he wanted to put in a bill appropriating \$100,000,000, but this was opposed. Finally the week before adjournment, Senator Wheeler introduced such a bill, and on Monday asked Senator LaFollette to give a hearing of his Committee, but he declined.

The abject attitude of Congress, when Judge Payne stated that the Red Cross refused to accept an appropriation by Congress to be expended by it in the relief of the unemployed and drought victims gave the measure of Congress. This organization was created by act of Congress and supposedly subject to legislation enacted by Congress since Congress created it. It set itself above its creator, and the creator did nothing to assert its sovereignty.

Where Did Labor's Measures Go?

Labor's preferred measures as announced in the last Congress were the anti-injunction bill and Senator Wagner's bill on unemployment, including his bill for planned public improvements and his bill creating Federal employment exchanges. The President, of course, signed the bill for planned public improvements carrying a very small appropriation and not effectively or appreciably meeting the situation. The President's veto of the Wagner Unemployment Exchange bill came in the last few days of Congress—when it was too late to pass it over his veto, as was also the case with Senator Norris' lame duck amendment bill. The criticism of Congress for failure to enact legislation should not lead us to overlook what it actually did, to which Administration spokesmen pointed with more outward pride than inward approval. Congress did appropriate several hundred million dollars for public works, but according to the most liberal system not over one hundred million dollars more than in many preceding years when there was no such need for emergency employment.

The 71st Congress also enacted the law creating the Federal Farm Board, which, whatever the defects of Administration, constitutes one of the most important pieces of legislation ever enacted by the Congress of the United States—potentially. It permits the handling by the Federal Government of major farm crops. Probably the most



London Evening Standard

Ca'Canny on the Birth Rate.

useful service it has performed has been the encouragement of the organization of farmers' commodity marketing and other business agencies, which farmers can usually control themselves.

As far as actual relief is concerned, however, the record of the Congress was practically nothing. The twenty million dollar fund voted for loans to farmer victims of the drought who have adequate security, was at best a gesture, since the twelve immediate credit banks loaned last year twelve times this amount and required about the same security. They will probably loan nearly a similar amount this year.

Aggressive Tactics Needed

This brief statement of what Congress Didn't is not intended as a criticism of the motives of any progressive nor of all progressives. The record of the past Congress, however, proves the need for aggressive tactics by the Progressives in Congress, if they are to get the results which they want and which their constituents earnestly desire. This fact should be emphasized because in the next Senate there will be only two or three more Progressive Senators than in the Congress just closed who can be relied to stick when there is a genuine fight, and measures such as those we have just discussed involve a genuine fight. Until the progressives realize that after they have voted the Administration the appropriation bills essential to carry on the functions of government, they cannot expect to get their own legislation through, we shall continue to have our own legislation blocked. The progres-

sives can blame the Administration, but the facts remain. It may be held that such "strong arm" tactics are not justified. That depends upon whether the progressives consider their program of importance or not. It is extremely significant that the only filibuster conducted in the Senate this past session was by Senator Thomas of Oklahoma on behalf of the Independent Oil operators—primarily a filibuster for property rights, however justified. No filibuster was attempted by the progressives to get justice for the million of unemployed and their families and for the victims of the drought. They knew that every progressive measure ran the risk of a pocket veto and might have forced a special session of Congress by a filibuster for even the last ten days of the session, since ten days before adjournment at least five vital appropriation bills had not yet been passed by the Senate, and the failure to enact these would have necessitated the calling by the President of a special session of Congress. It will be observed that we have discussed the tactics for the Senate, since the House is still almost as controlled as in the dark days of "Cannonism." "Longworthism" is almost as bad as "Cannonism." No matter what program the progressives may adopt they are almost certainly doomed to defeat in the special session of Congress, whenever it may be called, unless they organize to get effective consideration and a record vote, including a record vote of measures vetoed by the President before voting like regulars for regular appropriation bills.

Do We Need a New Political Party In the United States?

By A. J. MUSTE

DO we need a new political party in the United States? This article is written for the purpose of encouraging discussion, and not for the purpose of launching a new party.

The question divides itself naturally into two parts: first, can the American people, especially the workers, gain their end through either of the two old parties, Republican or Democratic, or through some non-partisan combination of progressives from the two old parties? Second, if this is out of the question, will one of the existing minority or working-class parties fill the need, or must a brand new political organization be built up? The first question can be disposed of in comparatively short order; the second requires a somewhat more extended analysis.

Is there any hope in either of the old parties, or in any conceivable non-partisan combination of progressives from those parties? As for the Republican party, there can be no doubt that since the collapse of the Bull Moose movement, and especially since the close of the Great War, it has definitely become the political instrument of big business and finance, and more and more indifferent to the interests of workers and farmers and the small business elements. In recent months we have been shown that this is just as much the case under the great engineer, Herbert Hoover, as it was under politicians like Harding and Coolidge. The Republican party represents those forces in the modern world which plunged us into the Great War a decade and a half ago, and then after assuring us that the new capitalism had brought a millenium in which there would never again be unemployment or want, plunged us into the great depression a year and a half ago. This article is not written for those who are still unable to see that, so we pass on.

There are still people who have some claim to the name of liberal or progressive, and a very considerable number of workers, who place great confidence in the Democratic party. Many of them are getting ready to vote for Franklin Roosevelt or Owen Young in 1932. The Congressional elections in 1930 showed that the

American plan for escaping from the evils of Republican rule is still to vote the Democratic ticket.

The Democratic party is, however, a hopeless instrument. We used to describe it by saying that it had two legs: the Southern leg being dry, Protestant, native American, anti-Irish, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, mill-owning, conservative; the Northern leg being wet, Catholic, foreign, Irish, Jewish, pro-Negro, mill-working and inclined to be progressive. Now we have noted that the Democratic party has developed a third leg, that of the Smith-Raskob faction. This leg may be said to be to the east of north—it is very wet, very Catholic, very social reformist (superficially), and seeking on all important economic issues such as the tariff, its attitude toward the big corporations and the banks, to prove itself much safer for the big industrialists and financiers than the G. O. P.

No two of these legs, as the reader perceives, move in the same direction. Anybody who expects to get anywhere on the back of this animal is doomed to be disappointed. What these legs are very good for is for standing on, and staying put. That is just what the Democratic party has been doing for a long while and will continue to do until it decides to lie down for its eternal rest.

If there is no hope in the party of the elephant or that of the jackass, may it be that you could, so to speak, take the sounder parts of these two animals and make a healthy, vigorous creature out of them? Is there some combination of progressives from these two parties which can meet the need of the day?

Judging by the number of other-wise intelligent people who attended the recent progressive conference in Washington, called by Senators Norris, LaFollette, Wheeler, etc., there are still a considerable number of folks who do think that such a combination may get us somewhere.

"Progressives" Are Playboys

The author is prepared to pay due respect to the personal character of

many of the spokesmen and members of the Progressive Conference and also to their ability as theorists and program-makers. In the realm of practical politics in a machine age, they prove, however, to be mere playboys.

Two things are needed in American political life today, one, a more carefully worked out program of the measures needed in order that we may get rid of unemployment, raise the standard of living and substitute intelligent planning for the present chaos of our economic life; the other is an effective political instrument through which this program may be translated into reality. Neither can be overlooked. Nevertheless, we already have a pretty good idea of where we have to go and there is surely intelligence enough available to work out the details of a program. The job of forging a political instrument through which the will of the workers can really be expressed is far the harder and more perplexing of the two. Unfortunately, our progressives are theorists and program-makers, and very amateurish, from anything we have seen to date, when it comes to action.

An effective political tool must be your own, fully under your own control. The old party locomotive is not going to carry the workers to any desirable destination, so long as it runs on the same old tracks and in control of the same old crowd, even though there are some eloquent people in the observation car who have the best of intentions.

The progressive senators instinctively hang on for their life to the old party machine in their own states to which they got elected to office; yet, they apparently persist in clinging to the notion that things being as they are, they cannot build a new national party and that they can get somewhere nationally through old party machines which they do not control and never will control.

The political bankruptcy, and indeed the silliness to which they are thus condemned, was clearly illustrated at the Progressive Conference when even so great a character as Senator Norris pinned his hopes on having the Democrats nominate

Franklin Roosevelt or someone like him, for president. Otherwise, Norris opined, voters could only choose in 1932 between two nominees of the power trust, and in that case he did not see what else he could do except "go fishing!"

Unquestionably it is difficult to build a new party in the United States. Nevertheless, it has been done in the history of the country—witness the Jacksonian Democracy and the Republican party itself. It has been proven impossible, moreover, to solve any fundamental economic and social issue in this country by means of two old parties, one of which had its mind clearly made up to maintain the status-quo and the other of which could not make up its mind to take a clear and vigorous stand. With the Democratic party committed to slave-holding feudalism in the 1850's and the Whig party incapable of definitely taking the other side, a new party—the Republican—had to be created in order to enable the new capitalist economy of the North and East to realize itself. Anyone who can't see that we have a parallel situation today, and that under the new circumstances a new party irrevocably committed to the development of a planned economy, is necessary and that anything else is child's play, must either be blind or unwilling to look facts in the face.

Thus we are brought to the more important half of our question. If there is no hope in either of the old parties or a so-called non-partisan progressive combination, have we already a minority working-class party which meets the requirements of the situation, or can readily be made adequate to meet the situation, so that all that is necessary is for that party to go on with its work and for all intelligent and honest laborites to join it; or do we have to pretty thoroughly revolutionize some existing party, or build a brand new one in order to meet our needs?

What Characteristics?

Perhaps the simplest way to approach the matter is to set down what seem to be the chief requirements of an effective political party in America today.

1. *The Political Party We Need Must Have a Class Basis.* To quote so respectable an organ as the New Republic: "Parties which are going concerns must have behind them economic interests." And again, "A lasting and successful party cannot be formed merely out of intelligent idealism and the widespread desire of some

intelligent voters." To say this is merely to state a fact which the Founding Fathers of this nation, for example, understood and proclaimed long before Karl Marx appeared on the scene. It does not mean committing oneself to a particular type of class warfare. It does not mean that intellectuals may not have an opportunity to play a part in such a political party; they do, as a matter of fact, play an important part in every political party from the most conservative to the most radical. But political struggle reflects the underlying conflict of economic interests. Under an advanced industrial regime such as we have in America today, the class whose interests differ definitely from those in control, which is subject to insecurity, subject to being drafted into wars not of its own making, subject to poverty, or at least to a very inadequate share of the product of its own toil, subject to having its destiny determined by agents over whom it has no control, consists of the industrial workers or those farmers who have been reduced to a wage earner's status. The political party we need must, therefore, be based squarely on the interests and ideals of these workers and must depend chiefly upon them for its support.

2. *The political party we need must be out to do away with the present capitalist economy, the unplanned, individualistic chaos of our present economic life, and to substitute for it a planned economy under the control of the workers and operated not for the benefit of private individuals or groups, but of the mass of those who do the creative work of the world.*

3. *The political party we need must have a sound attitude toward Soviet Russia.* Specifically, it must stand for recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States. From the standpoint of our commercial interest, it would be much better for the workers of the United States if we had normal business relations with one of the biggest potential markets for our manufactured products and machinery, with the one big country with which our trade has increased rather than diminished, even during the present depression. The argument that we cannot recognize Russia because we don't like the Russian economic or political system is ridiculous; we have recognized plenty of other governments with whose ideas we could not agree.

Furthermore, the sound attitude toward Soviet Russia means a positive determination to combat efforts on the part of militarists and imperialists in the United States and elsewhere to

weaken or to destroy the Soviet experiment.

The issue is a crucial one and it cannot be evaded. Certain events in history are symbols. In the Europe of the closing years of the 18th century you were either for the maintenance of the status-quo, that is, feudalism, or you were against it, and your place was determined by your attitude toward the French Revolution. This, despite the fact that the Revolution committed excesses and did much that was foolish; despite the fact that it ended in restoring a ridiculous Bourbon, temporarily, to the throne of France. For all that, "the king business" was never the same in Europe after that, modern democracy and capitalism had been definitely born.

So today Soviet Russia is a symbol and an acid test. It is to be feared that the Russians being human, make mistakes. We are not now arguing for Communist tactics in the United States. In Russia, however, there is under way a great experiment in a planned economy, such as all the world will have to come to in this machine age, whether under a dictatorship of capitalists or a labor regime. "The private property business" will never be the same again regardless of how things may turn out in Russia in the immediate future. All the forces of reaction throughout the world, and not least in the United States, as witness Hamilton Fish and other antics of the Hoover administration, are seeking to discourage and overthrow that experiment. Individuals and groups are either definitely and positively for the protection of that experiment or they are against it. There can be no middle course. If it fails it will be an evil day not only for radicalism but for every form of liberalism and progressivism all over the world.

4. *The political party we need must have a correct attitude toward the problem of the organization of the workers upon the economic field into industrial unions.* For one thing, the attitude of any effective labor party toward already established unions must be clear and correct. I do not believe that in normal times trade unions can flourish if they are mere puppets under the domination of a political party, any more than a labor party could flourish if it were a mere puppet in the hands of the trade unions. Nevertheless, labor political activity and union activity are just two sides of the same labor movement, the same people and forces, using now one instrument and now another. The two cannot be kept

separate in water-tight compartments. The unions of the workers are bound to have an influence on the political party; the party is bound to have an influence on the unions—even if it takes the position that it is going to keep its hands off the unions whatever may happen, it is exerting a very definite influence on the situation. Specifically, a party claiming to be working-class and not requiring its members to belong to the unions of their trades and industries, would be ridiculous. It is equally ridiculous for a working-class political party to permit people to pose as bona-fide Socialists, for example, and to be the worst kind of reactionaries, conservatives or crooked labor fakirs in the unions.

For another thing, no working-class political party can in these days be indifferent to the problem of organizing the workers in the basic industries into industrial unions. No labor party of any importance can flourish in the United States if the workers on the economic field remain apathetic and helpless. It may not be possible, under existing circumstances, to organize permanent functioning industrial unions, operating under agreements with employers, but activity of some kind there must be on the job, in the shop. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether much can be done to organize on the economic field unless that activity is supported by vigorous political education and activity. The political party we need, therefore, must regard the stimulation of activity on the union field as one of its primary tasks.

5. *The political party we need must think through and define its attitude toward parliamentary methods and toward the thing we call Democracy.* On the one hand, it is certainly not advisable in the present state of development to give up parliamentary action. In the first place, certain concrete improvements for the workers are achieved in that way—legislation affecting hours of labor, social insurance, the legal status of unions, etc. In the second place, while it may prove true that workers cannot vote a new social order into existence, that is a lesson which will have to be learned from experience. Where democratic institutions, so-called, exist, and workers have to vote, they will see how far they can go by that method before they are ready to abandon it altogether. Most important of all, perhaps, political activity (election campaigns, etc.) have a great educational value. Conditions, in the last analysis, determine action, and when

conditions are ripe, the masses will act with surprising speed. There is a limit, however, to what can be done by way of forcing any class prematurely into action, no matter how courageous and determined a militant minority you may be. No matter how desperate conditions are, the masses must be educated up to a certain point to understand those conditions and how they may effectively deal with them. For this purpose of mass education political action is indispensable.

Parliamentary Methods Limited

It seems doubtful, on the other hand, whether the various Socialist and Social Democratic parties have clearly thought their way through the problem of possible limitations on political action and what the practical course should be in view of these limitations. There are good reasons to doubt whether it is possible by parliamentary methods (or even by political action plus pure and simple trade unionism) to abolish the chaotic and iniquitous capitalist system and put a more stable and intelligent economy in its place. If thought, education, the press, speech, were really free, that should be possible. Under such conditions it would probably be foolish and futile to try to force a new order into being before the majority were ready to vote it in, but thought, education, the press, speech, are not free. The avenues of propaganda are in the hands of those who are bound to maintain the status-quo. Is it conceivable that thought, education, the press and speech should ever be free so long as a minority controls the economic destiny of the many? The latter are free to think and act provided they are ready to lose their jobs, go to jail, get beaten up, massacred!

Furthermore, suppose that even under these circumstances a labor party were to get a clear majority and undertake to put genuine Socialistic measures into effect. Would the masters permit it to go ahead peacefully? That is not what the slave-holding feudal economy of the South did in 1860 when Abraham Lincoln was elected. It does not seem to be what the Fascists in Europe are doing with the growing Labor and Socialist movements there.

There is still another consideration of a different kind which has an important bearing on our problem. Our methods of political democracy were devised for the simple and agricultural order of the 18th and early 19th century. Since then the machine has

revolutionized all other spheres of life. Is it likely that in spite of this the political methods of a century ago do not need changing? Are they as well fitted to enable the people to get their will executed as they ever were? To quote again from the respectable New Republic: "We must not dodge the possibility that the scepticism of the average citizen about politics is correct in a larger sense than is usually understood. It may be not merely that the two old parties are failing in the face of the economic crisis but that our whole political and constitutional system devised during the infancy of the machine age is floundering, when the need is for real industrial government." Nobody can look abroad upon what is happening in these days and not see, if he is willing to look facts in the face, that the political democracy of an earlier day is nowhere effectively coping with current problems, is everywhere already greatly modified. Any political party which fails to take account of these things and to adopt its policies to them is bound to be ineffectual.

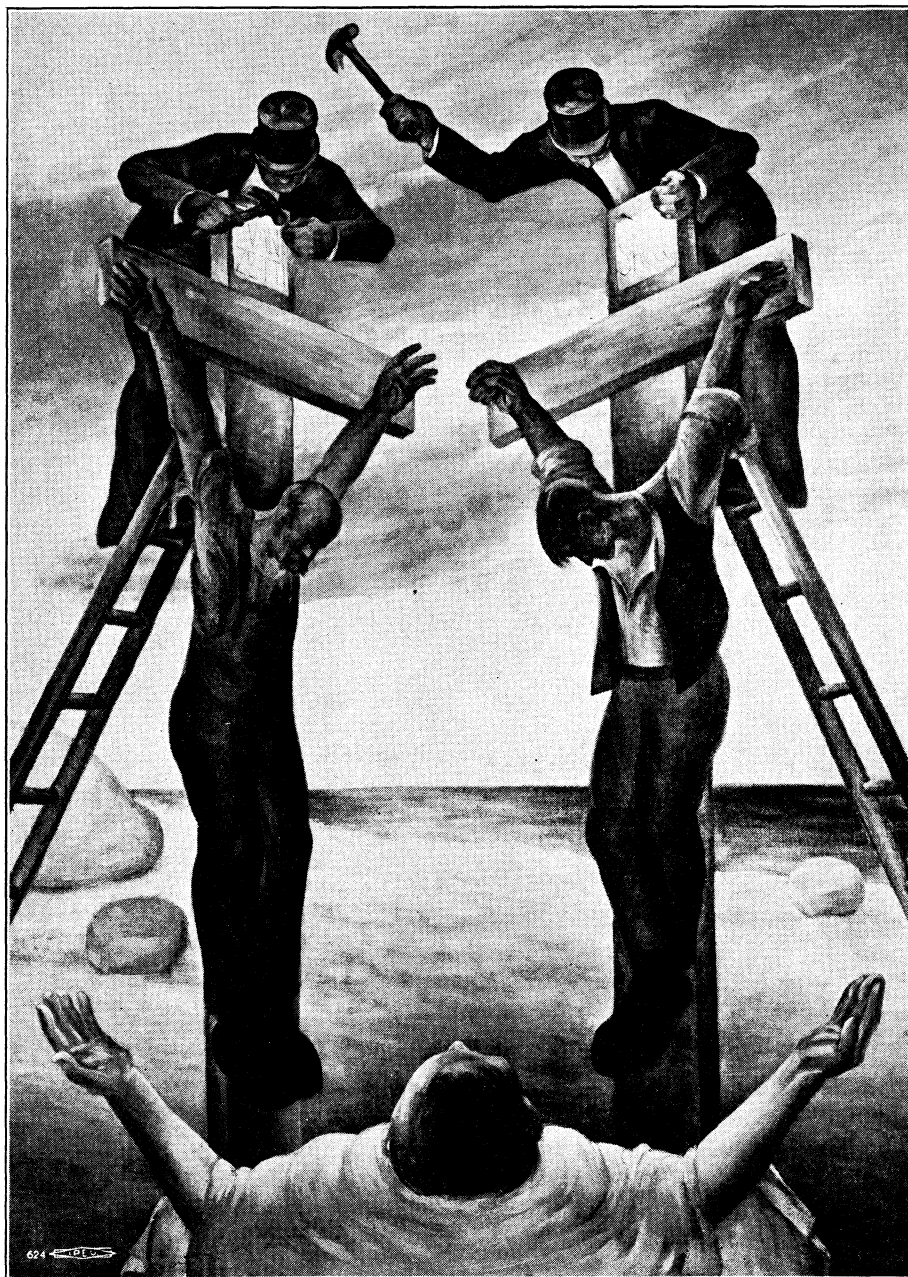
This does not necessarily mean that the working class has at no time and in no country any recourse except to a particular type of violent revolution. It does mean that it is inconceivable that a new age can be brought in by purely "respectable," "safe," "legal," "constitutional" methods. Those who are in control define what is respectable, safe, legal and constitutional and declare that to join a union, to picket peacefully, to demonstrate against injustice and tyranny, to vote the Socialist or the Communist ticket, or to join one or other of those parties is not respectable, safe, legal or constitutional. Under the circumstances, it appears that methods such as our forefathers used when this nation achieved its independence from Great Britain, or the early Christians in their attitude toward the Roman State, or the Russians when they overthrew the Czar, or the Irish when they liberated themselves from centuries of British tyranny, or Gandhi in India today, will undoubtedly have to be used in gaining for the workers the right to organize on the economic and political field, and to build for themselves a new world in which the good life shall be possible for all. Under certain conditions, then, the refusal to use violence may mean for the workers not choosing a higher and nobler order, but supine submission to greater and more outrageous violence and injustice. Likewise, conditions may arise where the actual choice open to a people is not that between de-

mocracy and dictatorship but between a temporary dictatorship in their own control and for their own interest and a permanent dictatorship under the control and in the interest of an unscrupulous, selfish minority. A poli-

ing and expression of the whole being of the human individual. Only I am certain that in the machine age this highest good will have to be achieved by social means.

6. *The political party we need*

A BOSTON SUNSET



Painting Now on Exhibition at Society of Independent Artists, Grand Central Palace, New York, Depicting Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

tical party which does not see these issues, and try to think its way squarely through them, is bound to lose its way, and in so doing to lead the workers astray.

Perhaps I should add in order that there may be no mistake, that I believe the highest good is in the flower-

must be realistic and must grow out of the American soil. What the American workers need is not a dogma as to how "the revolution" may or may not be achieved, or a blueprint of the new social order carefully drawn in order to please some radical high priest or conform to

some radical bible. They need to be organized, and to be educated to deal realistically from day to day with the issues confronting them. They need an international outlook and a political party which regards itself as part of the labor movement of the world, but Americans will have to build with a certain measure of freedom from meticulous dictatorship from anywhere the instrument through which they are to make their special contribution to the world labor movement.

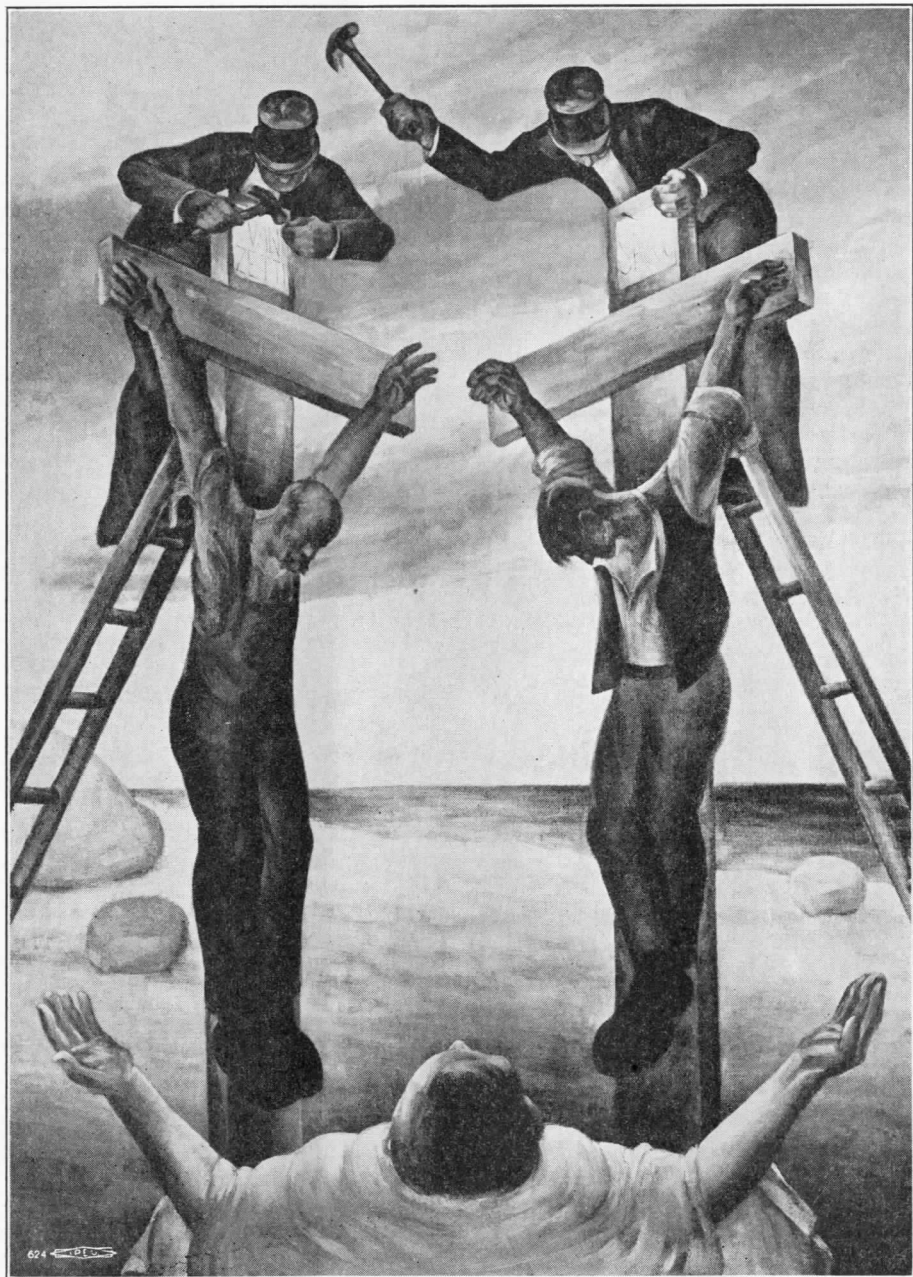
The political party we need must therefore not seek or expect to gain power immediately, it must regard itself as primarily a force for educating the working class. It must avoid the get-rich-quick fallacy born of our boom psychology. Americans are apt to think that nothing is worth doing at all unless it can be done on a big scale and can be finished tomorrow, or at the latest the day after. Thus on the eve of a presidential election we blithely launch a new party, often achieving remarkable results, but in any case permitting the whole thing to disappear within a month or two after the election. Then we go through the same performance again when another presidential election rolls around. An effective political party will have to be built by patient and continuous effort year after year without expectation of immediate and obvious results.

Still another fallacy our party must avoid is the big man fallacy, the notion that if we could persuade a couple of big politicians to desert the old parties and lead a new one, we should be safe. It is likely that American workers will have to build their own party and develop their own leadership as the labor parties in other countries have done, though an intelligent political organization will, of course, welcome all the help it can get on honorable and self-respecting terms.

Do we have in the United States such a party as we have been describing, or anything like it? A broad labor party having the allegiance of the great mass of industrial workers such as the Labor and Socialist parties of Europe, we obviously do not have at the moment. If such a party were to come into existence it would at first undoubtedly have a much less advanced and clear-cut program than we have outlined. That might not be serious if it were truly a mass party in which there were sound, vigorous, militant elements who would keep it headed in the right direction. On the

(Continued on page 29)

A BOSTON SUNSET



Painting Now on Exhibition at Society of Independent Artists, Grand Central Palace, New York, Depicting Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.



Davidov, Organizer of the First "Shock Brigade" in the Donetz Coal Basin.

Russia Marches On

by
Frank L. Palmer

THE greatest war in history is on. The three greatest enemies of mankind—Poverty, Disease, Ignorance—have been engaged in battle by 160,000,000 people determined on their annihilation. Beside this struggle the World War dwarfs into insignificance.

For the driving of Poverty, Disease and Ignorance from among a tenth of the people of the world will mean driving them from the face of the earth. And once driven out they can never come back.

Against fictitious enemies across national boundaries the tremendous force of organized millions of human beings has too often been mobilized. Millions of lives have been blasted, billions of wealth destroyed. Then a few palsied old politicians have shuffled the deck for a new deal.

But never before in history have a people declared war on their real enemies. Now Soviet Russia has. Facing the facts that their people were living on one of the lowest standards of life of the modern world, that preventable disease ravaged the country, that only half the adults could read and write—the workers laid out a 15-year program of lifting those people to the highest standard of wealth and

health and knowledge the world has seen.

Picture a young peasant plowing his scattered "strips" with his one skinny horse, dragging tired, straw-clad feet into a stuffy hut at end of day where a sickly wife coughs away her little strength; unable to read to understand her disease and her needs; never having seen a train, let alone having thought of sending her on one to a hospital; too poor to buy medicine, too ignorant to live healthfully so that medicine would be unnecessary.

Fifteen years later see the same man come out of a modern apartment house at the Cooperative Farm Village, ready to take his six-hour shift on the tractor plow. First he will let his boy drive the wife over to the school to give her lecture on sanitation and hygiene, and himself to the agricultural high school, then the father will take the wheel to drive 10 miles to the other side of the farm where the plowing is going on. "Hurry, son," he calls out. "You listened to that radio so long I'm late, and my buddy has to catch the mail plane to Samara if we're to get the fleet of trucks we want in September."

The 15-year war on Poverty, Disease and Ignorance means that and

more. In "The Soviet Challenge to America," Dr. George S. Counts of Teachers' College, Columbia University, gives an idea of the real goal: "Industrial production mounting nine-teenfold by 1940, an agricultural yield valued at 74 instead of 14 billion rubles, the complete electrification of industry and the 50 per cent electrification of transport, 20 million automobiles and two and a half million tractors!"

That's no "Soviet Challenge to America," Dr. Counts. That's the challenge of the workers of the world to the owners of the world. That's the challenge of the poor and sick and ignorant of all peoples to the rich and well and educated. Before a program to wipe Poverty, Disease and Ignorance from the world what do the hungry, sick and illiterate care about national lines, finely spun theories or academic philosophies?

5-Year Plan

The first battle of the 15-year war has been mapped definitely and with detail. It has become known around the world as the Russian 5-year Plan. In the five years between 1928 and 1933, the Plan calls for the increase of real wages by 71 per cent while hours are shortened; it calls for an increase in industrial productivity of



Davidov, Organizer of the First "Shock Brigade"
in the Donetz Coal Basin.

- - Triumph of the Five-Year Plan

180 per cent, in agricultural productivity of 56 per cent, in electrical energy production from 5 to 22 billion kilowatt hours, in oil from 11 to 22 million tons, in coal from 35 to 75 million tons, in pig iron from 4 to 10 million tons, in value of machinery produced from 500 to 2,000 million rubles. Out of every five days (the seven-day week has been abolished) the worker will toil 28 hours, and industry will be ready to cut that to 24. The amount spent on social insurance annually will be raised 500 million dollars. Between 18 and 19 million adults will have been taught to read and write. The number of children in elementary schools will increase from 10 to 17 million; compulsory education will have been started in the lower grades. The number of books published will jump from 221 million to 619 million. The number listening to radio will grow from 2 million to 40 million. Moving picture houses will increase from 8,521 to 34,700. Preventive medicine will expand greatly, the number of sanitary doctors growing from 2,080 to 3,430, and of village medical centers from 7,061 to 8,796. One-fifth of all peasant households will be brought into collective farms. All this the Russian workers modestly set out to accomplish in five years!

Dr. Counts quotes from the chapter on "New People" in Ilin's book, "The Story of the Great Plan" as to the purpose of it all: "Why have we begun this tremendous work which will last not five years but 15 or 20 years or even longer? Why do we mine millions of tons of coal and ore? Why do we build millions of machines? Do we do this merely to change the world around us? Certainly not! We change the world that people may live better. After all, man is not just muscle, he is not a machine. He has a mind that wants to know, eyes that want to see, ears that want to hear, a voice that wants to sing, feet that want to run and jump and dance, hands that want to row and swim and throw and catch. And life must be so organized that not only a few lucky ones but all may feel the joy of life. After socialism is achieved there will be no dwarfs, no people with tired faces, no children reared in basements without air and sunshine. Healthy strong giants, red-cheeked and happy—such will be the new people."

Who would oppose a war against

Poverty, Disease and Ignorance on behalf of such a goal? Strangely enough, the wealthy, healthy and educated of the world fight on the side of Poverty, Disease and Ignorance against these people. Military invasion, propaganda, embargoes against their goods, intrigue, "holy crusades" block their progress.

Then who is on their side in this war?

Ranged with the workers, for one example, are the children of the workers. For instance, Dr. Counts cites the 4,000,000 Young Pioneers, boys and girls between 11 and 16, as having taken this program as their part in the 5-Year Plan: "They have assumed special interest in the liquidation of illiteracy and have contracted to teach thousands of adults to read and write; they have concluded an agreement with the Commissariat of Trade to collect all kinds of useful scraps, such as paper, old iron, bones, rags, and twine, amounting to 20 kilograms for each Pioneer; they have agreed to help in the protection and the repair of roads and bridges; they have engaged to install 75,000 radio receiving stations in the villages and to place a loud speaker in every school; they have pledged themselves to explain to their parents and to the population at large the importance and the advantages of collective forms of economy; they have promised to insure the 100 per cent sorting of seeds in communes and on their parents' farms; they have accepted from the Commissariat of Agriculture the task of guarding the harvest from pests and of thus saving the country 2,621,800 rubles during the five years; they have each undertaken to catch or destroy 5 rats and 10 mice annually; they have signed a contract with the Poultry Trust to organize in the course of five years 5,000 collective poultry breeders, and to build 5,000 chicken houses; they have promised to add two good laying hens to the possessions of every peasant household and thus give to the state 50 million hens, five billion eggs, and approximately 150 million rubles; they have assumed responsibility for waging an unrelenting warfare on mosquitoes, bedbugs, roaches, and flies in 500,000 households."

Aiding the workers is the fact that they are the only producers in the world destined to get all they pro-

duce, a fact that lets loose an enthusiasm in work which cannot yet be measured in results; the fact that industry is planned so that there is no lost time because of panics or crises; natural resources are exploited scientifically not for immediate profit; no labor is wasted in foolish selling, advertising, speculating, stock peddling; no inventions or plans are withheld to hurt competitors; 11 million workers are organized into trade unions, ready for united action and giving them a sense of responsibility and power.

But any estimate of the forces on one side or the other in the war is now somewhat beside the point. Nearly half of the five years of the first 5-Year Plan has passed. The enthusiastic acclaim of Russian optimists means nothing now; the sneering laughter of the business leaders and economists of the rest of the world, who met the Plan with hoots of glee, mean less. What has been accomplished?

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Vital to the success of the plan for industrialization was the socializing of agriculture, since agriculture must pay the bills. Admitting the difficulty because of the low level of education among the peasants, the Plan nevertheless called for bringing one household in five into the collective farms in five years. They didn't do it in five years; they did it in five months!

A renewed drive for socialization is now on and figures for this year cannot be given. American reporters say peasant families are joining at the rate of 10,000 a day; certainly there is another surge forward. It is probable that the 5-Year Plan has been doubled by now—half through the five years. The result last year was a collection of 21 million tons of grain net against 14 million tons the year before.

The production of large state industry was scheduled to increase 21.4 per cent the first year, actual achievement was 23.4 per cent. On top of the new production level, there was to be an increase the second year of 21.5 per cent, it was actually 24.2 per cent—and meant that production now doubled pre-war. When it is remembered that production increases in other countries of 8 per cent are considered marvelous and the average increase is about half that, an idea of the tremendous strides forward of the Rus-

sian workers may be obtained. Measured against the background of the difficulties in the Soviet Union, they become world-shaking. And when it is realized that the new slogan adopted, "The 5-Year Plan in Four" means that the goal of annihilating Poverty, Disease and Ignorance in 15 years may be changed to 12 years it can be understood why the poor, diseased and uneducated of the world are stirring restlessly.

Also it may explain why the wealthy, healthy and educated are taking up the struggle on the side of Poverty, Disease and Ignorance. Recently Frederick J. Libby, executive secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War, published a warning that war-mongers in the United States are apparently preparing for armed attack on the Soviet Union. They are already preparing the American mind for that war, Libby says. Propaganda intended to make American workers fight for Poverty, Disease and Ignorance in the belief they are fighting against some danger to themselves, has already had wide distribution.

One phase of that propaganda is that Russian goods are being dumped in America, thereby hurting American workers. The fact is that America sells \$5 worth of goods to Russia for every \$1 worth sold by Russia in America! Russia sells us raw materials—manganese ore for our steel industry—while we put our highly skilled mechanics to work and sell her back her manganese in costly electrical equipment, tractors and automobiles.

Embargo Hurts U. S.

Embargoes or boycotts against the Soviet Union by the United States will hurt Russia, it will cut off \$30,000,000 worth of business. But her workers have more jobs than they can fill anyway. On the other hand, these embargoes and boycotts would cut off \$150,000,000 worth of our business, closing more factories, throwing more thousands of our workers in the breadlines.

In "Soviet Foreign Trade," J. M. Budish and Samuel S. Shipman show that last year American foreign trade fell 27 per cent while our trade with Russia increased 35 per cent; that during the period since we resumed trade with Soviet Russia in 1923 the balance in our favor has been \$391,000,000; that Russia buys more than a fourth of her imports from us; that our exports to her were 465 per cent of pre-war in 1930 and that the balance in our favor was 2420 per cent of pre-war! We talk of sacrificing a trade 24 times as profitable to us as trading with the Czarist regime! Surely warring for Poverty, Disease and Ignorance calls for deep sacrifice.

Imports from Russia exceeding a million dollars a year in value include undressed furs, anthracite coal, manganese ore, sausage casings, pulpwood, lumber, rags, unmanufactured flax, caviar. That was the order of importance in 1930.

Furs were imported to a value of almost \$6,000,000, a fifth of our imports from Russia. However, they were about 5 per cent of our fur im-

ports from the world, following Germany, United Kingdom, China, Canada, Australia, Belgium and France. If Russia is hurting our fur raising animals, she has lots of help doing it.

One spot in which the pleaders for a boycott against Russian dumping seem to have real ground for their campaign is on the question of manganese ore. Manganese is important in the production of steel and therefore vital to American industry. If our manganese industry is to be destroyed by Russian dumping so that we shall become dependent on importation, it seems a serious matter.

Yet what are the facts?

The United States in the last five pre-war years averaged producing 1 per cent of the manganese consumed in America. During the war the proportion climbed. Since 1921 in only two years have we produced 10 per cent of our domestic consumption and the average has been less than 9 per cent. We must import from some foreign country 10 times as much as we produce at home! We have imported Russian manganese since 1886. Pre-war Russia produced half of the manganese of the world; by 1929 she was producing 40 per cent again. Before the war she furnished about 40 per cent of American imports, she is again averaging 40 per cent. There is little basis for excitement here.

Anthracite coal is another matter. The United States produces and consumes 40 per cent of the world's coal supply, according to "Soviet Foreign Trade," or 569 million tons of 1,430



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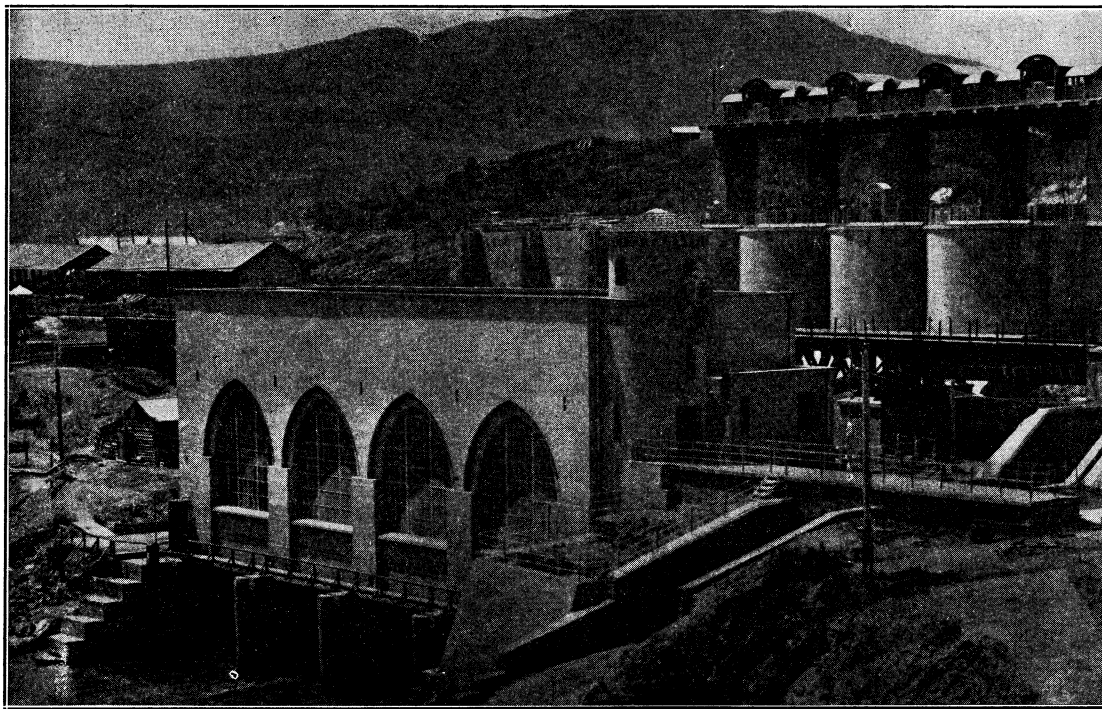
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The New Zemo-Avchal Power Plant Near Tiflis, in Transcaucasia.

million. We export 19 million tons; we import 435,000 tons of anthracite. Of that import, the Soviet Union furnishes less than half. In any case, the total coal imported from Russia amounts to about 1-28th of 1 per cent of our production! It wouldn't seem enough to justify kicking a good customer into the street. One wonders if there isn't more coal than that consumed in making that \$150,000,000 in exports.

Lumber and pulpwood just now hold the center of the stage in the effort to keep Soviet goods out of America. Lumber produced in the United States in 1929 amounted to 36,000 million board feet. We exported 3,000 million board feet and imported 1,500 million feet. Of that 1,500, some 29 million feet were from Russia. Again the figure is less than 1-10 of 1 per cent of our production. It doubled in 1930 to about 1-5 of 1 per cent but that year it was made up exclusively of spruce of which we import 500 million feet from Canada alone, so it was a small part of our imports. How that will destroy American industry is difficult to see.

The Howl Over Pulpwood

Pulpwood is even more interesting. It is the raw material from which

newspapers are made. Forty years ago we imported no paper practically but imported the pulpwood and our workers made the paper. Then in 1891 Canada restricted the exportation to the United States of pulpwood. Since that the import of pulp and paper has increased greatly, Canadian workers getting the benefit. The United States uses half the paper of the world; of that consumption, Canada produces 40 per cent, we make 44 per cent and the rest of the world sends 16 per cent—the Soviet Union furnishing 2 per cent. The howl over pulpwood then is over a raw product which is being brought to American workers to be made into finished product in our factories in an industry where we already import well over a half of what we consume, in one form or another.

That's enough to show the actual situation. We'll pass up rags, sausage casings, flax and even caviar, unless you want to get "Soviet Foreign Trade" and get all the details for yourself. This is enough to make our point—that it isn't to protect American industry that Soviet goods are to be barred but to put America on the side of Poverty, Disease and Ignorance and against the Russian people.

What of their politics, their eco-

nomie creed, their religious belief or disbelief?

Shall we stop to argue politics in a struggle to wipe starvation from the world? What is economic theory beside economic fact? Have we not dealt with Turk Moslem monarchist slaveholders?

We stand on the sidelines of a war to drive Poverty, Disease and Ignorance from the world. We dream of a people no longer bound by superstition, want and weakness, a people strong with the power of economic might,

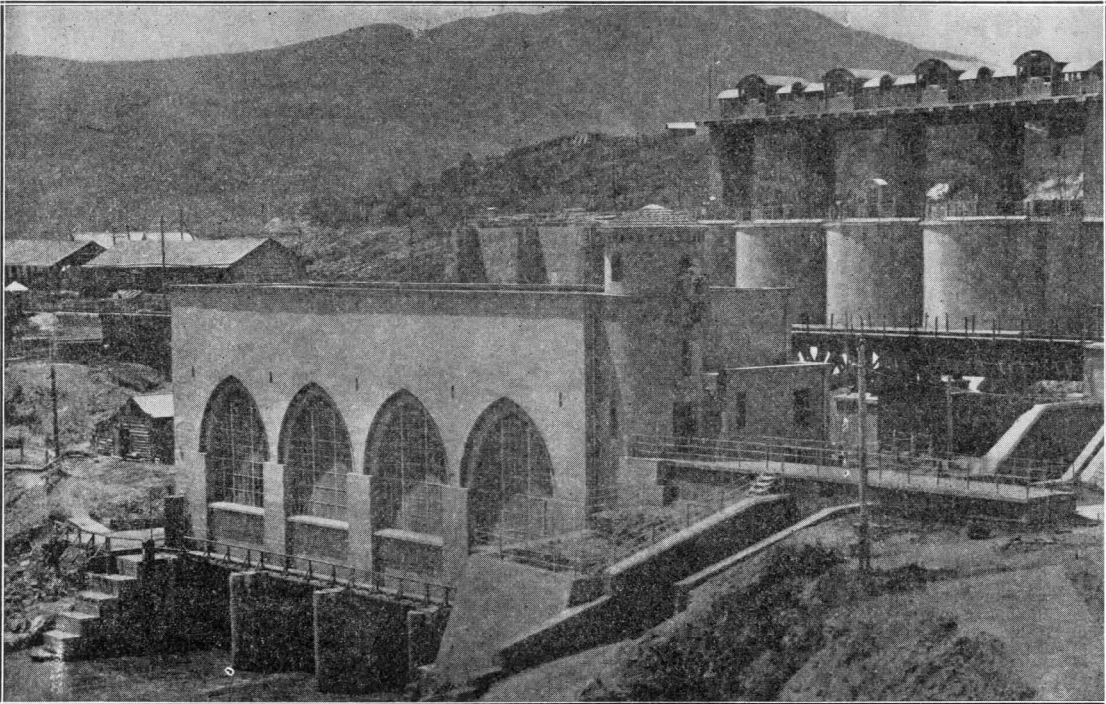
free with the power of science mastered to their aid, happy in the boundless life brought by good health.

We turn from their fight to our own. Why can we not be free of this curse of unemployment that brings hunger in the midst of plenty as the Russian workers are free of it? Why cannot American industry be planned to better workers' lives, build homes where slums have been, take the children out of industry as they are out in Russia? Why cannot American industry raise pay instead of cutting it, shorten hours to seven a day, insure the old, the weak, the sick?

You want us to fight the Russian workers, Mr. Boss? We answer, No! We glory in their great achievements and wish them well. We, too, want powerful industrial unions unbroken by spies, police, courts, militia. We, too, want a voice in the management of industry so that the failure you have made may not crush us so again. We, too, want a social plan directed not at the profit of the few but the better life of all of us.

In the face of the Wealthy, Healthy and Educated we throw this challenge:

We, too, mean to smash Poverty, Disease and Ignorance and if you line up with them, we'll smash you!



The New Zemo-Avchal Power Plant Near Tiflis, in Transcaucasia.

Flashes From The Labor World

By all odds the second biggest news in American labor during the last fortnight has been the patching up of peace between the Illinois miners' officialdom, Fishwick, Walker, Germer, and others, on the one side and the United Mine Workers officialdom, John L. Lewis and cohorts, on the other. The biggest news is the fight that grew out of that peace. Men who had faithfully and sacrificially given effort to build the Howat reorganized United Mine Workers because they had faith in a real rank and file movement among the miners, revolted immediately and demanded a renewal of the battle against Lewis and all he stands for.

The peace was patched up in an injunction court! It was arranged by the lawyers for the two groups, ostensibly. It provided, in effect, that the Illinois district should go back into the U. M. W. A. under Lewis but that Lewis should keep his hands off the Fishwick-Walker crowd in their running of the district. It was fair enough, from a per capita standpoint. It gave the national dues to Lewis and the district dues to the Illinois officials.

Then the fireworks began. West Virginia revolted and formed their own district union, The West Virginia Miners Union, under the leadership of the men who led the real fighting in that state years ago before Lewis stepped in and fired them despite the votes of the rank and file. Illinois and Ohio and Indiana locals revolted, stopped paying dues to anyone, and demanded a convention to decide what the coal miners would do.

Finally a convention call was issued after a conference of the men who had been in the field doing the actual organizing for the reorganized union. Backed by locals in many states, signed by nearly 100 leaders, organizers and delegates, the call was for a convention to take place at St. Louis on April 15. Three alternatives will be faced: Submit to Lewis leadership; give up all hope of a union; start a new union, independent, aggressive, fighting, rank and file controlled. Time will tell but it looks like a real scrap from here.

* * *

When it was announced that the A. F. of L. Executive Council had voted in favor of the adjournment of Congress at the behest of certain unnamed bosses, as the members explained, Federated Press carried the statement that friends of labor in Washington were shocked at the way

labor had been left open for a wage-slashing attack. At least the progressives in Congress had been able to show up the worst attacks on the workers. Now that was to be stopped.

Congress adjourned March 4. Nineteen days later, Pres. William Green of the A. F. of L. came out with a statement on wage-cutting. Reports showed that wage cuts were not only numerous—for two months out-numbering increases 120 to 24, according to the Labor Bureau, Inc.—but that there was a growing public campaign on behalf of further wage-cutting. In addition, it was shown that while there had been much talk of wages being kept up, as a matter of fact there had been steady pay drops for many months.

The average for many of the most important industries just reported showed that in January the 12-month decrease had been 21 per cent, according to Standard Statistics. This is not the way to bring back prosperity but to add two years to the depression, Green pleads. Government statisticians have already got two years jump on Green. They have reported secretly to the Hoover machine that there will be at least four more years of panic and that government financing and Hoover political plans must be based on that expectation.

* * *

Mal Daugherty—named by somebody with a Latin education—has just been sentenced to 10 years in the pen for mishandling his friends' and depositors' money in his Ohio bank. Will the Harding stench never die? We had almost forgotten Harry Daugherty and his attack on the railroad shopmen.

A movement is under way to get a pardon for Daugherty's old pardner in the Harding cabinet, Albert B. Fall. Not that Fall is in prison, you understand, but that all the legal tricks that can be discovered to keep him out have about been exhausted and his friends not wanting to take any chances on his spending even a short time in jail over one mere oil field—the campaign is on. Their chief argument is that Fall is old. He is. Everyone who can keep out of jail after committing a crime as long as he has is bound to be along in years a bit. We're in favor of the pardon, though on different grounds. The Sing Sing warden wrote a magazine article recently in which he told how patriotic the criminals are. Think of the danger to their patriotism in having to associate with a former cabinet member who

was willing to sell the oil reserves for the United States Navy! Fall must be kept away from our young, patriotic, unsmirched gunmen and bank robbers.

* * *

The best laugh of the month was the lawyer who wrote Gov. Rolph of California that he knew nothing of the Mooney-Billings case except that the judge who presided at the trial was now asking for their release. "I base my plea on my faith in the American judiciary," he says. He doesn't know anything about the Mooney-Billings case! Nor the Sacco-Vanzetti case—but why go on.

Not so humorous was the experience of C. J. Coder and Lewis Hurst, two Communist organizers, who were kidnapped on the steps of the Dallas city hall with their attorney, George Clifton Edwards. The attorney was threatened and dropped outside the city. The two organizers were taken to a lonely spot and flogged with double rope until they were bloody and delirious and one was thrown into a creek, apparently with the idea he would drown.

After eight days of search and reports of their death, the two turned up. White Texans, they had been rescued from a Ku Klux Klan mob by Negroes, nursed back to strength while hidden in the Negroes' huts, and sneaked out of the danger zone.

That police and district attorney connived in the mob actions has been charged with a great deal of supporting evidence. A reporter got the story immediately after it happened—and just as it had happened—from the secretary to the district attorney. The police told Edwards' son his father would come home unhurt while he was still in the hands of the mob. The mob knew just when the prisoners were to leave the city hall. The city has been stirred by the events, and not entirely on one side by any means. Prominent Dallas citizens have complained bitterly of the way their city officials are mixed in a disgraceful incident and fail to bring the lawbreakers to justice. Probably nothing could have happened that would have supported the claims of the Communists more effectively or obtained for them a larger hearing.

* * *

In California, Jakob Hullen, a Socialist, has been denied citizenship because he admitted he did desire to see certain changes in our government, though by peaceful and educational means.

In Oregon, Ben Boloff has been sentenced to 10 years in prison for membership in the Communist Party. Fred Walker, arrested with him, has been acquitted.

* * *

It is baseball time on the vacant lots and our minds turn to the matter of score-keeping. So let's go back over the record of southern textile strikes again. There have been four great strikes recently and pessimists among us were likely to say that the score was 4 to 0 against labor.

Then two things happened within a short time. Just as the textile boss sheets were filled with the story of Harry Fitzgerald's success in crushing the union at Danville and running columns on whether the union could organize again within 10 years, came the news that Fitzgerald had died. The strain of the strike had been too much, they wept. And hastily added that it really was from a broken heart because his old friends had turned against him. Imagine those ungrateful \$10-a-weekers not appreciating Harry! Not a line of type has since been noticed telling how the union was broken at Danville! The score was 4 to 1.

Within a few days came the news that the Manville-Jenckes outfit that had fought the union at Gastonia so bitterly had gone broke, the financial strain of the strike had been so great that the company had not been able to recover, it was explained. Hurried explanations were made that the company would be re-organized at once and that everything would be all right, it was just a temporary embarrassment. The company was so big that the bosses didn't want that score checked up, but here it goes—the score is 4 to 2.

Maybe the unions didn't win in the South, but it's a cinch Harry Fitzgerald didn't and a pretty good hunch that Manville-Jenckes didn't, either.

* * *

Labor has been having a rough trip with most of the state legislatures. Much was expected because it was so obvious that "something ought to be done" about this unemployment situation. They have been doing "something." Roger Baldwin says that not since immediately after the war has there been such a flood of anti-civil liberty legislation as has been introduced this winter. Southern states which have never had criminal syndicalism laws are passing them; New England states are making theirs worse. That is what the lawmakers are doing about the unemployment situation.

There has been so much talk about "capitalism being on trial" that these

capitalists with \$8.77 in the savings bank—the one which just closed but may re-open any time—are flocking to the defense of their faith and passbook. Dreams of unemployment insurance in 10 states this winter have come down to hope that there will be some kind of a bill passed in Wisconsin, no matter how poor it may be. A few anti-yellow-dog bills may come through. There is less hope for much help on the injunction.

* * *

What a lesson for labor in the way the veterans got their bonus loan bill through. Last summer the American Legion shelved it. The Hoover administration was bitterly opposed to it with a



New York Herald Tribune

Just About That Much Sense to It.

a safe majority in the House. One Congressman came at the beginning of the session in December insisting on the bill. No one paid much attention.

Ninety days later it passed over Hoover's veto by such a wide margin there's no use counting the votes. Why? It's the old story of the chap who wouldn't stir up the hornets. Only part of the ex-service men are organized but that part is organized and ready to crack down hard on anyone who doesn't line up. They are not interested in getting petty jobs for business agents—they crave action for the whole crowd. Say what you will, it doesn't take many people in this ex-democracy who know what they want and insist they're going to get it to bring home something mighty close to specifications. The railroad men do it, too, by the way.

* * *

On a recent Saturday a meeting was being held in Denver under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches to dis-

cuss the industrial situation in Colorado with special reference to the coal strike of 1927-28 and a young man was dying in a tuberculosis sanitarium in California, a victim of that strike.

The preachers' report tells how nice the Rockefeller company union welfare leader plan was (that isn't news, you have to be smooth to get away with murder constantly as the Rockefellers do) but it also tells a little of the story of the struggle. If you know industrial war, you can trace the story even in this soft-spoken, carefully guarded report. There is a hint of the fact that a striker and a 16-year old boy bystander were killed enforcing a "declaration of martial law" which the governor had never issued; there is a suggestion that there is something queer in the Columbine massacre, though a reader would never know that it is probably unique in that the owners of the property where the killings took place say that it was "probably a frame-up." A part of the story is told of how strike leaders were openly arrested on the charge of being leaders, hidden away from courts and habeas corpus proceedings by being spirited from jail to jail and county to county. No mention is made of the deportation where some 19 were taken 100 miles out on the desert and left at midnight by state police driving Rockefeller cars—that was far too hot to tell.

But if some of those things had been told, there would have been an explanation of that young man, Byron Kitto, coughing his last breath away in California. They might have told of the beatings, the hunting through the hills, the working day and night when the other leaders were in jail, that this young man went through despite the fact he knew he wasn't strong enough to stand it—until his health broke completely and his friends took him out to the sanitarium where he made the three-year, hopeless fight for life.

Kitto died. Rockefeller lives on, protected by the publicity of "Poison Ivy" Lee, protected more by "liberal Christian" preaching of Harry Emerson Fosdick—both of them bought by the money Rockefeller makes out of the wages he drives down by his Ludlows, Columbines and murdered Kitto—lives on as powerful and safe as—well, as Czar Nicholas was 15 years ago today.

FRANK L. PALMER.

Workers' Education Teachers Meet

By HELEN G. NORTON

OPTIMISM and unity were keynotes of the eighth annual conference of teachers in workers' education held at Brookwood February 21-23. The 40-odd teachers and leaders of the movement gathered there were optimistic because a weighing of the work of the last decade warranted a certain amount of pride and because all indications seem to point to an increase and intensification of interest in workers' education for the future, despite the bugbear of financial depression.

At no previous conference has there been such unanimity of viewpoint and plan as at this one. Quite spontaneously and from a number of quarters came the demand for the pooling of experience and resources so that textbooks, syllabi and reading lists used by each group could be made available for every other group and class. Out of this grew a discussion of the need for a national clearing house which would not only dispense information on materials and recruiting methods, but provide an "employment exchange" at which persons looking for paid or volunteer positions in the field could register, and make possible cooperation among all the agencies on such matters as recruiting, financing, and routing of speakers and instructors.

A call for a conference to consider the establishment of such a clearing house has been issued by the informal committee named at the conference—Ernestine Friedmann of Vineyard Shore and the Barnard Summer School, Lois MacDonald of the Southern Summer School, A. J. Muste of Brookwood, Eleanor Coit of the Affiliated Summer Schools, Freda Siegworth of the industrial department of the Y. W. C. A., and William E. Zeuch of Commonwealth College. The conference will be held in New York on April 25-26.

"Ten Years of Workers' Education—A Survey" was the subject of the conference, and an earnest attempt was made to evaluate workers' education since 1921 when Brookwood and the Workers Education Bureau were founded. Questionnaires for practically all the projects that existed for longer or shorter periods during that time were sent out to elicit information on developments and present status in teaching methods and ma-

terials, policies of control and finance, recruiting, and results.

Types of Education

Though a diversity of types of workers' education was represented—night classes, residence schools, summer schools, itinerant-tutor classes—certain likenesses appear in all. Student ages run from 18 to 40 in most instances. Courses in public speaking, economics, trade unionism, and labor history were popular in the order named. In the night classes and itinerant-tutor groups, public speaking with economics as the subject matter was most popular. The residence schools offer a greater variety of more detailed courses than the other schools, and the summer schools and Y. W. industrial classes for women teach science and cultural courses in addition to economics.

Teachers have been drawn largely from academic circles, though all the questionnaires attested to the desirability—and difficulty—of finding persons with adequate teaching technique who had also a background of labor experience and a sympathetic understanding of labor's problems.

Lectures followed by discussions were the most popular teaching method. These are supplemented by research in the resident college and by individual tutoring in the summer schools and Brookwood. The night classes, owing to the fatigue and preoccupation of their members, confine themselves largely to lecture and discussion with little attempt at outside study unless it be of simple outlines and leaflets.

As for the results of workers' education, there are two possible ways of measuring them—through the activities of the workers who have come under its influence in classes, and through the influence which the movement has exerted indirectly inside the movement and out.

Graduates were found to be active in trade unions as local and international officers, as strike leaders and organizers; in labor political or cooperative organizations; teaching workers' classes under the auspices of union groups, summer schools, and industrial Y. W. C. A. groups; as writers for the labor press; and as leaders of workers' youth groups.

"Fifty per cent of our students are more active now than before they attended the school and 25 per cent more would be if there were any organization through which to work," one school reports.

The present tendency seems to be toward rank and file and organizational activity rather than toward official union jobs. Unemployment, machine control in the union, blacklisting by employers, and personal maladjustment were given as causes for lack of activity or lessened activity in the case of some individuals.

The influence of workers' education in molding opinion inside the movement and out is less tangible and harder to measure. But in Seattle, for instance, the labor college has for years been pushing such measures as the five-day week, public ownership of public utilities, the right of teachers to organize, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance, and has exerted real influence both on unions and the general public. In Baltimore, the mayor was forced to appoint a committee to investigate the unemployment situation, partly as a result of unemployment conferences held by the labor college there. The effectiveness of workers' education in forcing the American Federation of Labor to defend and even alter its reactionary policies has been amply demonstrated in recent years.

Action for the Future

Not content with looking back at the past, the teachers' conference also attempted a look ahead into the future. I can do no better here than to quote pertinent, if unrelated, sentences from the masterly speech of Hilda W. Smith, director of the Affiliated Summer Schools:

"It is the independent school or class which seems to be holding its own, even though the school which holds itself free in its teaching program from the intricacies of labor politics pays the price of constant criticism from all groups involved. . . . Reorganization in the labor movement itself may in time bring greater recognition of education. In the meantime it is the rank and file workers who are insisting on an educational program in spite of the indifference of the aver-

(Continued on Page 29)

Wider Fields Open for C. P. L. A.

ON the sidewalks of New York C. P. L. A. street meetings on unemployment relief continue. Large crowds gather to hear the message. Literature is distributed in great numbers, and recruits secured for spreading the campaign. Meetings are now being extended to Northern New Jersey, one being held in Elizabeth just as this issue is going to press.

Out in St. Louis miners will gather for a Rank and File Convention. Chairman A. J. Muste has been out there, cooperating in the conferences which led to the calling of the convention. Those who have decided upon this move have received encouragement and inspiration at every step from the C. P. L. A.

In West Virginia the oppressed coal diggers once more raise the banner of unionism. They hold a convention and form the West Virginia Miners Union. Tom Tippet is there for the C. P. L. A. and Muste speaks to the Charleston convention. The C. P. L. A. speeds up further moves to give aid to the fighting mountaineers.

In Paterson, N. J., the Wright aeroplane workers are out in a long and bitter strike. They come to the C. P. L. A. Organization Department for counsel and advice. The strike has been on for a long time, but the C. P. L. A. jumps in to assist them. Dramatic features are prepared, to bring out their story to the public.

In that scene of many industrial conflicts—the Paterson-Passaic textile sector—the C. P. L. A. enters for organization purposes. The workers' conditions have sunk to a parallel with those of the South, particularly in dyeing. Competition between unions and by conflicting workers' groups places obstacles in the way. Patient work has to be undertaken by Louis F. Budenz to bring about some unity among these elements, preparatory to the organization drive. Conferences, meetings, contact with this group and that have been necessary, in order that there may be united effort against the bosses.

Across the country from Ohio to Illinois, the "Coast to Coast Tourists" proceed with their C. P. L. A. message. By decision of the National Executive Committee, they halt in Springfield, Ill., to cooperate in the work of arranging the Rank and File convention. A branch of the C. P. L. A.

Cooperation with Miners, West and East— Wright Aeroplane Strike and Paterson-Passaic Action—Unemployment Agitations—100 Young "Agitators"

is formed in Cleveland, as they pass through, and the Detroit branch is also born.

Our contacts with workers in the basic industries increase, limited by lack of personnel only. To correct this defect, a drive is begun to make the beginning in placing 100 young "agitators" in industry, under central direction. Those who are working for the C.P.L.A. in the unorganized industries speed up their work, as the depression provides fertile soil for organization messages.

The needs of the American workers produce wider fields in which the C.P.L.A. can work. Even from the far Pacific coast comes the request that we enter the metal mining and smelting field, to speed up unionization there. Beginning in a small way, we must continue to drive ahead, increasing the intelligent personnel out in the field, in industry, to meet these demands. At the present time, the C.P.L.A. has not the resources to answer all the calls of the workers for aid and action.

In the New York City unemployment insurance campaign, committees of Brookwood students, headed by Larry Hogan of Marion, N. C. and Edmond Ryan of Philadelphia, Pa., have taken over part of the street speaking work. The speaking is being extended through the cooperation of other volunteers, and the first section of a League for the Unemployed is being formed. The long contest with the Police Department over the use of amplifiers has ended temporarily in the Department's ruling against the use of such devices for the unemployed, although politicians seeking office can use them on any and every occasion. There is nothing left for the C.P.L.A. but to "test" out this arbitrary refusal of the permit for amplifiers by using them in spite of the police. This is to be done this month.

Work Without Wages

The miners' situation is covered in part in Tom Tippet's article. Down in West Virginia, the reign of non-unionism has led to a return of appalling conditions. At the end of the work period, the miners find that they owe the companies money. Investigation shows that this is so in 90 per cent of the cases. Company money is now the means of payment, which compels the men to trade in company stores and with other company agencies. The Lewis machine has done nothing to correct this evil, its "provisional government" having rented out the former headquarters of the district as apartment houses. No attempt at real organization has been made. When Frank Keeney again began work, after 7 years, the miners were given their first hope. The C.P.L.A. is throwing all its energies into the task of helping them to realize these expectations.

The New York branch of the C.P.L.A. held a meeting on March 27th to get the first hand news of the Illinois and West Virginia situations. Muste and Tippet spoke, and there was generous and enthusiastic interest in the development. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief has also sent out an appeal for the West Virginia men, as relief is needed very badly there. In this action the Emergency Committee continues its excellent record of aiding workers on strike, or in organization work.

The call of the Howat-Happgood-Watt-Stephenson group for a Rank and File convention states the case for the miners in part as follows:

Whatever anyone may think, however, about the merits of this so-called "settlement" or of the various officials who have been involved in recent controversies, the most outrageous factor in the whole situation is that the miners who made the Reorganized Movement were never consulted as to

whether they desired it to be dissolved, and wished to "go back to Lewis." A small group of officials have totally and absolutely dissolved the Reorganized U. M. W. A. and have voluntarily given up the legal right of appeal against Judge Edwards' decision, without showing even common courtesy to the membership. Thus, they have in their turn torn a constitution to tatters. Little wonder that the miners are overwhelmed with confusion and disgust and that thousands of them have already stopped paying dues to any organization, sub-district, or international, until this situation is cleared up to their satisfaction.

The rank and file of the miners have, therefore, no choice, unless they are to submit to such indignity, but to meet in a Convention of their own and decide after free discussion what course they wish to pursue.

That this is the only attitude fair to the coal diggers can be readily understood by any one free from bias. Chairman Muste, as previously stated, took part in the conferences which led to the decision to call this convention. He was also present at the meeting of the Staunton, Ill., locals where 800 miners decided upon the convention call, with only 4 dissenting.

Antioch College Meeting

En route to Cincinnati, the "Coast to Coast Tourists" received a fine welcome from Professor Wm. Leiserson at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O. Mufson spoke before the College Assembly, 350 students and faculty. The subject was organization and the place of college men and women in industry. Before that, Cleveland, Detroit, Lima and Dayton had been visited. In Detroit acquaintance was made with groups of auto workers, who are meeting quietly, and with other workers. The chief difficulty in that city is the numerous groups into which the radical and labor movements are split—each small and ineffective. The C.P.L.A. plans to cut through some of the fog resulting, in time, as Detroit is an important spot on the industrial map of America.

The trip was cut short at Cincinnati for the time being, due to the miners' crisis. Mufson and Bellaver went immediately to Illinois, where they are taking part in arranging meetings and in speaking at them, and in doing much other work to aid in the Rank and File Convention.



Why Should He Worry—As Long as the Workers Do Not Act!

While the miners are confronted with serious problems, the aeroplane strikers of the Wright Company have been carrying on a fight for months against wage cutting and the speed-up. They have appealed to the C.P.L.A. for assistance, and Louis F. Budenz and Louis Stanley were appointed as a committee by the National Executive Committee to take care of this situation. Budenz has suggested a number of moves for them to take, which they are following up, and Stanley is cooperating in the relief and publicity work in liberal journals. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief is helping here also. These men have put up a good, stubborn fight—without relief for months. Some of them have been evicted; others have lost their homes, and yet they fight on. Despite the lateness of the hour at which we were called in, the valiant effort of these newly organized workers has appealed

deeply and the C.P.L.A. is doing all for them within its power.

The problems raised by the entry of the C.P.L.A. into the Paterson-Passaic textile scene have been very great. Weeks of conference and personal interviews with union representatives and others have been necessary, in the attempt to get order out of chaos. There has been no use to begin serious organization work until some of these differences can be reconciled. Budenz has spent a great deal of time, cooperating with Carl Holderman, Vice-President of the Hosiery Workers, in working out these difficulties. As soon as they are overcome, action will begin immediately. There are fully 20,000 unorganized textile workers in the Paterson district, including 9,000 dyers. These are working under deplorable conditions, the average wage now running from \$12 to \$22 a week for married men.

BRITISH LABOR IN DIFFICULTIES

By MARK STARR

DIFFICULTIES crowd thick and fast upon the path of Labor in Britain. The cuts in the wages of the Government employees in accordance with the reduced cost of living are now in operation because Snowden, faced with a big deficit in his forthcoming budget, can postpone them no longer. Many of the lower grades in the Government service are badly made and they naturally are incensed against the Labor Government. Their union representative, W. J. Brown, staged a suspension for himself in the House of Commons to protest against the action.

The National Wage Board has decided for a 2 1-2 per cent cut for the railroad workers and unions are likely to accept this finding because it only gives the companies about one-third of what they had asked and leaves the guaranteed week untouched. But the cut is graduated and the man now earning \$21.60 weekly will suffer a cut of about 19 cents and also reduction in over-time rates.

Much more resentment, with a probable strike action, will be caused by the award to the S. Wales miners of a reduction in their basic daily minimum down to \$1.68 for unmarried and \$1.80 for the married man with children to support. Instead of securing an increase in the percentage of 28 paid on the base rates, the miners' representatives saw their case for an increase of 42.22 per cent turned down and a lower percentage of 20 set up.

These are the more outstanding cases of attempted wage cuts but in many other trades the employers are on the warpath. The workers are naturally disappointed that their Labor Government is not saving them from this suicidal remedy for hard times.

On the political field the Labor Government has been thwarted in almost every direction. Parliament with its antiquated and wasteful methods is the paradise of obstructionists and as the leader of a minority Government MacDonald cannot over-ride the delays created by his opponents. A Bill to repeal the Scabs Charter was drafted with an eye on Liberal support but the Simon group in the Liberal Party triumphed over Lloyd George and put in such amendments that the trade unions asked that the bill be abandoned. In the struggle over the religious schools, some even of the

Labor M. P.s proved that they were Catholics first and by defeating the compromise put into the Education Bill made its rejection by the House of Lords later an easy matter. Failure to get this measure through and the refusal of the Exchequer to provide the cash for free secondary education led to the resignation of Trevelyan, the Minister of Education. This was a harder blow to the Government than the breakaway of Sir Oswald Mosley to found the New Party. This was publicly launched in a London meeting on March 5.

Mosley's Party

The program of the New Party is an adaptation of ideas about social planning of industry and the control over imports and banking which have been current for some while. Coupled with these *The National Policy* (the published program of the group) advocates the setting up of a small Emergency Cabinet to get things done to meet the abnormal crisis. Mosley hopes to capture the discontented elements in all the old parties. His appeal throughout is to save England and there is no mention of Socialism or the class struggle in the literature of the new group. While many of the Labor M. P.s sympathize with the Mosley proposals only one M. P. outside of Sir Oswald's wife and his brainy friend John Strachey have joined the group. Left wing opinion is more likely to gather round the new weekly which G. D. H. Cole is starting with the aid of the influential trade union leader Ernest Bevin. Most people think Mosley's impatience and ambition have caused him to abandon foolishly his position in the Labor Party for a costly adventure which will only end in his defeat at the next election. The Communists call him the British Hitler although his program is certainly better planned and there is lacking so far in Britain the empty stomach and the humiliated nationalism which made the Nazis' short-lived triumph in Germany possible.

Mosley is reputed to have enough cash to start the New Party but there is little doubt that the official Labor Party will endeavor to defeat him in his own constituency and a party has to be founded on more certain eco-

nomical interests. Newness is a claim which dies an early death. He will certainly be a thorn in the flesh of the Labor Party in the House and may possibly be the means of gingering up the policy adopted. The reply of the Labor Party to its critics of the Left is that it has no mandate to carry through a militant Socialist policy. It points to the successes achieved in setting on foot plans for the self-government of India and in the naval treaty now endorsed by Italy and France. If trade is resumed with India and if the good feeling secured by harmonious relations between the great nations create the conditions for a revival of trade, then unemployment lessened also by the work schemes put through by the Labor Government will tend to decrease and this will be a more opportune time to appeal to the electorate than now when the economic blizzard rages throughout the world.

Grave doubts exist about this forecast and many Labor supporters feel that Snowden should revert to his old policy of using taxation in his next Budget due in April to remedy the inequality of incomes and thus drive enough Liberals into the Tory camp to secure the resignation of the Labor Cabinet and rally behind a militant program at an early election. Better this than continue with fettered hands and the probability of discredit to try to clean up the mess of capitalism which has broken down all over the world at the moment. Even if Labor lost it would later return to power with a mandate to carry out fundamental and necessary changes.

Tory Division

One factor which would hamper the possible victory of the Tory Party is the continuance by the press lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook of their attacks upon Baldwin to the extent of running rival Tory candidates at by-elections. They hail the die-hards Churchill and Brentford as rivals to Baldwin who has been committed by the Round Table Conference to "scuttle out of India." Baldwin, however, at the moment of writing looks like holding his own. Indeed in his denunciation of the Russian dumping, in his advocacy of a general tariff up-

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“Say It With Books”



The General Strike: Rehearsal for Revolution

The General Strike. By Wilfrid Harris Crook. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. 649 pp., \$6.00.

TAKE care! Do not irritate this people, which produces everything, and which, to make itself formidable, has only to become motionless.” Thus spoke Mirabeau, “first apostle of the general strike,” during the French Revolution. He referred then to the Third Estate, including the bourgeois as well as the working class.

That threatening shadow of the folded arms of the producing classes, adopted by the workers in the Chartist agitations, has attracted a considerable section of the laboring people ever since. France gave the idea a philosophy, particularly through the lead of Georges Sorel; but the more phlegmatic nations were the ones to try it out most extensively.

Professor Crook has sub-titled his monumental work on the general strike, “A Study of Labor’s Tragic Weapon in Theory and Practice.” He has written in the “faint hope” that capital and labor will learn from it, in some way, and that a more rational method may be found for “channeling” the heroism and sacrifices of labor than resort to this catastrophic measure. But he does not see only harm in the general strike, for he looks upon it as “a permanent warning” to governments and reactionary ruling classes. From these premises, he proceeds to give us a comprehensive view of the philosophy woven around universal paralysis of industry, and detailed accounts of the use of this weapon, carefully and beautifully done.

There are those of us who, like myself, look upon the General Strike as an almost inevitable prelude to an inevitable Revolution. They will be inclined to disagree with the conclusions which the author reaches as to the results of past specific attempts of that sort. Thus, in depicting the Russian general strike of 1905—“the greatest political mass strike that the world has known”—inference is left of its failure. In the wider knowledge which we have today, it was gigantic rehearsal for the Revolution of 13 years

later. In that sense, it was a success. And so with “The Great Silence”—the peaceful Belgian mass strike of 1913 for universal suffrage. While full suffrage did not come there until the Great War, the remembrance of the gigantic challenge had its effect. But with these reservations, we can express admiration for the profound scholarship and extensive research which the author has put into this book.

It was precisely because the British labor leaders did not wish to rehearse for revolution that the “national” strike of 1926 ended in the confusion that it did. Almost one-half of the book is given over to a painstaking study of the origins of that strike, the experiences of the Triple Alliance and of the Council of Action, and what took place during the strike’s various stages. The Government prepared in detail for almost a year before the coming of the strike. In contrast, Labor’s refusal to prepare is almost astounding. As a British writer remarks, “The T.U.C. stood as a combatant in a war which had been forced on it and which it feared to win.” In a word, it feared to go through the initial motions of Revolution.

In descriptions of the propaganda used by both sides in the general strikes, of the various steps taken, and of the respective preparations made, the author has provided valuable data for any active labor agitator. Many of the measures necessary for the conduct of a general strike are important in the handling of local organization shut-downs. The elaborate preparations made for the Belgian general strike of 1913 are particularly informative. We recall that Bill Haywood did use in Lawrence the idea of sending strikers’ children away, which he learned from the Belgian tactics. The importance of organized publicity—so little understood by many of our trade unions—can be gleaned from any chapter of the work. Studies of localized general strikes—such as those in Seattle and Winnipeg in 1919—are of particular value, as any near future general walk-out in this country will be of such a localized character.

Professor Crook deserves congratulations on his masterly accomplishment.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ.

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP IN AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS

“Negro Membership in American Labor Unions” represents a study of the subject matter by the National Urban League under the direction of its capable Research Director, Ira De A. Reid; and sells for \$1.00.

THE book is misnamed. A more appropriate title for it would be “The Negro Workers’ Factual Indictment of American Labor.” For, on the one hand it presents in a most scholarly and convincing manner, the vast chasm existing between the eloquent professions of official labor with respect to the welfare of Negro labor, and on the other, it exposes the deeds which negate these professions. That the labor movement suffers by the comparison is evident.

In his preface Mr. Reid disclaims any efforts to “present a critical analysis” of the methods by which Negro workers have entered labor organizations or the methods employed to exclude them. Mr. Reid did not have to make this disclaimer. The facts he has gathered speak far more eloquently and convincingly than anything which he or any one else might say.

Proportionately, the number of Negro workers exceeds that of the rest of the population. Of the total number of fish packers and curers in the country, 42% are Negroes. Of every 100 longshoremen, 32 are Negroes. Of every 100 railroad laborers 28 are Negroes. Of every 100 fertilizer workers, 75 are Negroes. Of every 100 tobacco workers, 33 are Negroes. Of every 100 iron and steel workers, 14 are Negroes. Of every 100 workers in the lumber and furniture and the building trades, 20 and 33 respectively are Negroes. Between the period of 1910 and 1920 semi-skilled Negro workers in the slaughtering and packing houses increased 1,832%. In the iron and steel industry an increase of over 237% was registered. During the same period, the number of Negroes in occupations called “Negro jobs” showed a marked decrease.

A careful reading of the book will

give one the inescapable impression that it is only at such times when the Negro worker appears to be gaining a foothold inside those trades from which he had been carefully excluded by ignorant white labor that the labor movement gave him any sort of sympathetic consideration, and not very much at that.

It took organized labor thirty years after the emancipation of the Negro from slavery, to recognize him as a worker. At a convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1900, affiliated unions were urged to repeal constitutional and other clauses which excluded from membership persons on account of race, creed or color. However, nothing was done in a constructive way until 10 years later, when the Negro worker began to scab his way into industry; then a plan to organize Negroes into separate unions was formulated. One year later a charter was issued to a Central Labor Union in Danville, Va. Immediately after, Negro unions began to spring up all over the South, most of them were composed of Negroes in the building trades. Today both the A. F. of L. and the Communists pose as pioneers going into the South with the message of trade unionism. The fact of the matter is that for many years the Negro worker held aloft the banner of labor organization in the South. At one time the city of Charleston, S. C., was considered the best organized labor city in the U. S. This credit came to the "City of the Sea" because of the presence there of many powerful Negro labor unions.

When Negro delegates began to appear at conventions of the Federation, immediately they sought to bring to the attention of their white fellow workers the plight of the workers of their race. In the convention of 1917 Negro delegates presented four resolutions: (1) demanding a charter from the metal trades and charging their International with discrimination; (2) a protest resolution against the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks who had consistently refused to aid Negro freight handlers and station employees; (3) a plea by Railroad Coach Cleaners of St. Louis for a charter for an international union; (4) a request for an organizer to work in Alabama. Every one of the above resolutions was turned down by the resolutions committee.

Thereupon the Federation decided to grant Federal charters to Negro workers whenever they were excluded by internationals of their crafts. This policy has resulted in there being today more "ex" Negro trade unionists in the United States than active members of unions. Another result of this suicidal

policy has been to alienate the influence and support of Negro institutions, including the church, and thus arraign them against the best interest of labor. In 1919 there were affiliated with the Federation 109 Negro Federal local unions. Ten years later only 38 remained. Of these 14 belonged to the Pullman Car Porters, while 7 of the remaining locals are classified as "inactive."

A phase of the book which should prove of great value to all who are sincerely interested in labor's struggle is that which deals with the constitutions and rituals of several units of the A. F. of L. which not only exclude Negroes, but "foreigners" and people who are not "Christians" and those who were not born "white". The Blacksmiths believe that "Colored helpers may be organized in an auxiliary under the jurisdiction of a white local." These colored helpers "shall not transfer except to another auxiliary local composed of colored members" and "Colored members shall not be promoted to blacksmiths or helpers' apprentices" and "will not be admitted to shops where white helpers are now employed." Approximately 10,000 Negroes are employed in the blacksmith's trade. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance which still fights to gain control of the Pullman Porters' Union insists that that when a colored member goes into a city where there is no jim-crow local "he must remain a member of the local of the city from which he came."

In his treatment of the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers and its attempt to organize the laundry workers as well as its successful organization of the Motion Picture Operators by this reviewer, Mr. Reid does not display that thoroughness which characterizes his statistical criticism of Labor's treatment of the Negro. This is also true of his unduly magnified reference to the fantastic claims of Renzi Lemus who poses as "President" of the Dining Car Waiters.

Albeit, "Negro Membership in American Labor Unions" deserves an important place in the library of every labor organization and individual who desires to see the American labor movement through a microscope of realism, and who seeing, will work to hasten the day when organized labor will adopt a more class-conscious attitude toward Negro labor and thus win over to its side of

the battle line the millions of Negroes who by right belong to labor.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH.

IS IT FUNCTIONAL DEMOCRACY?

Making Bolsheviks. By Samuel N. Harper, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 162 pages, \$2.00.

WE always like our own habits best, even though they may eventually kill us. For this reason we can never embrace completely customs of other peoples, no matter how much we may admire them from a distance. Herein can be found the explanation for the attitude of most writers on Russia who are enthusiastic about the possibilities of the new social order being created there but always temper their enthusiasm with an if and a but. For some it is the cruelty accompanying the building of the new state which they balk at, forgetting our own bread lines. For others it is the denial of free speech which makes them unhappy, overlooking our own shambles whenever workers congregate to demand bread and justice.

"Making Bolsheviks" is not free from these usual exceptions. But in spite of them the author cannot suppress his en-



Subscribing to the "Five-Years-Plan-in-Four-Years"
Loan in the Streets of Old Bokhara Uzbekistan.

thusiasm for the plan as a whole and presents a fair and clear picture of the processes by which Russian people are brought into the building of the communal state. The book, comprising a series of six lectures delivered at the University of Chicago, is a successful effort to answer the question: How are the workers of Russia being made a part of the gigantic mechanism through which the determination of the leaders becomes the will of the land? Mr. Harper has made fourteen trips to Russia and so has had ample opportunity to observe the new methods of government. While the author avoids conclusions the reader can find in his lectures the sproutings of

a new form of democracy, more direct, perhaps cruder, and certainly more effective than what the peoples of the western world are accustomed to.

The author divides the workers of Russia into six functional groups, all of whom are made part of the state machinery for the successful completion of the five-year plan as an immediate objective and for the creation of the ideal communal state finally. They are the Communist Party, the Communist Union of Youth or Komosomol, the Shock-Brigades, the Collectivist-Peasant or the Kolkhoz, the Cultural Workers or Kultarmeets, and the army of "Workmen-Peasant Red Army."

How these groups radiate through every industrial, political and social activity, always pressing on the fronts where stiffening or "liquidation" are necessary is related with much clearness and without prejudice. It would be doing the volume an injustice to attempt to describe the functions of these organizations in a review. Better that the reader purchase the volume and obtain the most essential information yet presented in order to understand what is really happening in the land of "profitless industry." But in reading, let him not overlook that we are a people addicted to the ballot, even though the will of the people has little chance of expression through it. But being so addicted, even as astute an observer as Mr. Harper cannot overcome habits developed in a "ballot democracy" and to that extent ifs and buts are included, though not so extensively.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

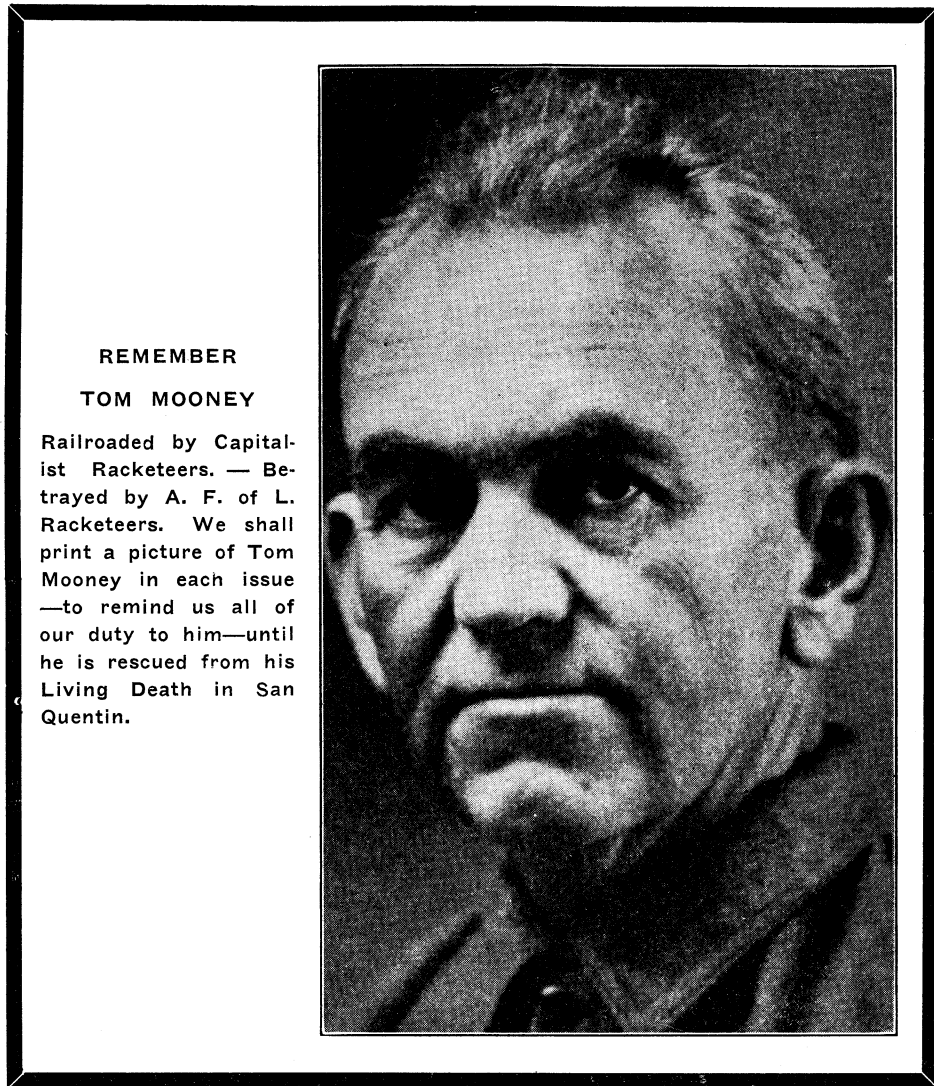
A BANK THAT "WENT BUST"

Depositors Paid in Full, by Frederick Powell. Arbitrator Press, 118 pages. \$1.50.

DURING this era of bigger and better bank failures, Mr. Powell's work comes as sixteen questions he formulated which resulted in complete victory to the depositors of the defunct City Trust Co., with its five branches, during 1929.

The author has contributed a systematic procedure of work in an interesting manner, describing the activities chronologically from the day of the banks' closing to the morning all depositors were paid in full many months later.

The many charges laid at doors of the defunct bank's directors and officers are astounding. The resemblance between these charges and those made against the officialdom of Bank of United States is identical in many instances. Why the former superintendent of banking of the State of New York, Mr. War-der, who is now serving a five to ten



REMEMBER

TOM MOONEY

Railroaded by Capitalist Racketeers. — Betrayed by A. F. of L. Racketeers. We shall print a picture of Tom Mooney in each issue—to remind us all of our duty to him—until he is rescued from his Living Death in San Quentin.

year term in Sing Sing, is the only person brought to trial as a result of the City Trust failure is beyond the comprehension of the author. In fact beyond anyone's comprehension.

When victory was assured for the depositors, Mr. Powell had the occasion to attend a banquet at which Bernard K. Marcus, and others prominent in banking circles spoke. After listening to many eloquent speeches, Mr. Powell states ironically that he "had almost been convinced that the depositors were wrong and probably should repent of their demands that their money be returned to them."

The failures of the Bank of United States and the Chelsea Bank and Trust Co., are also mentioned in a closing chapter.

Particular stress is laid on the fact that the state of New York compels its depositories to insure the state's funds on deposit, but makes no provision for the insurance of the citizens' deposits.

An interesting and informative hour is in store for those who peruse this book. STANLEY FRANCIS GUEST.

British Labor in Difficulties

(Continued from Page 23)

on all imported manufactured goods and in other matters to do with Empire trade has gone some way to meet his critics.

Probably the Labor Government will be remembered by its avoidance of the danger of any supremely foolish attempt to hold down the Nationalist agitation in India by an adroit commitment of the other party leaders to the decisions of the Round Table Conference out of which some form of self-government will come. Unless its policy at home is soon altered, despite its ambulance work and its remedial measures, it will be remembered as the professedly Socialist Government which, faced with the breakdown of capitalism, did not use that as the great opportunity for the application of its own beliefs. The danger is that masses of the people will blame those beliefs for that failure.

WHAT OUR READERS THINK

The Summer Schools Again

PERHAPS more than ever this year after Bryn Mawr has celebrated its tenth birthday and Barnard is about to celebrate its fifth can these schools be of real service to the labor movement.

Believing as they do that the curriculum of Bryn Mawr should be planned always with a view to making its students more active participants in the movement, the educational administrators have determined to have the 1931 program concentrate upon the problem of unemployment. With this project as focal point the curriculum will carry as heretofore courses in English, history, science and psychology. And it will not neglect the creative side. Last year labor drama seemed to rise almost spontaneously in the group and the annual trade party always is productive of interesting self or industrial expression on the part of the student body. Open forums with leaders from the labor world, who speak with voice of authority, round out a well balanced educational experiment.

Barnard differs little from Bryn Mawr in its general pattern except for the fact that, situated as it is in New York City, it lacks the campus flavor of the country college. However, an attractive roof for study and recreation may compensate a little for the lack of open air classes. And the city background offers a wide-range choice of speakers for the open forum and an evening audience of workers from all the industries represented in New York. For the benefit of such workers a special course in the needle trades was given by David Saposs last year. That experiment was so successful that it is going to be repeated for 1931.

Both schools are open to women workers in industry from 20 to 35 years old and both are free. Further details of courses and requirements may be had by applying to Lucile Kohn, 68 East 86th St., New York City.

THE POCKETBOOK WORKERS

Dear Editor:

Recent articles by Sam Fisher and Isadore Laderman do not convey to the readers of *Labor Age* the exact international conditions prevailing in the International Pocketbook Workers' Union.

Brother Laderman claims he repre-

sents the opinion of the rank and file on this occasion. If he does he is either indifferent or ignorant of what the rank and file is thinking. Brother Barnett Wolff knows that the Philadelphia branch made a motion in his presence to secede from the union; because they were victimized on a wholesale basis. Some individual members claim double-crossing. I claim both. Laderman must admit there is far from unity prevailing within the union. He admits they (the officials) were unable to reconcile other groups within the union.

He claims interest within the union. At a membership meeting 1,500 attended out of 6,000 members—a wonderful attendance. In other words, out of every 1,000 members only 225 attend or 2 out of every ten members—a very large percentage.

In other branches fines are imposed and only the union workers employed in union shops attended.

The expulsion of members in July because they adhered to the Trade Union Unity League, is a smoke screen to cover up real facts. If these members did adhere, as claimed, surely there would have been a dual union formed in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and elsewhere. Any student of the labor movement could understand the false charges. There are deeper reasons than that. Even to this day the expelled members have prevented a dual union.

Laderman claims democracy within the union. On the same page of *Labor Age* he says:

"A clean union. That is a union in which no suspicious members have anything to say."

Who is to judge the suspicions? The undesirable or the desirable? Only the officials enjoy such freedom.

On the part of expelled members: The charges against the union placed in writing have been ignored by the officials. So this is democracy!

Upright thinking members will demand a new deal if they were in possession of the facts as to what is occurring in cities outside of New York and in New York.

In May the union will negotiate a new agreement. Last year the union fought three months before an agreement was terminated. Can the union face the employers divided? Will they risk organization for the event of Democracy, honest and fair dealings with the expelled and unexpelled members. I trust they seize the moment now to complete unity. Undividedly prepare to build a

labor movement on tolerance, no suspicions, greed and bureaucracy. I hope and trust they shall not fail.

JOSEPH HUTTER.

Philadelphia, Pa.

ANSWER TO AN ANSWER

Dear Editor:-

Mr. Jonathan Paul said in *Labor Age* recently that "The Amalgamated is admittedly the most progressive and most successful labor union in America today." Mr. Paul apparently has personal expectations for catering to the Amalgamated but how does he expect to convince anyone when he fails to supply a single fact to make any of his statements plausible? He says that I am prejudiced and that I dealt with a few of the officials at the time when my case was acted upon by the various boards in the Amalgamated and all the general officials. Mr. Paul does not know me, but Messrs. Thomas, Muste, Baldwin, Brissenden, Saposs and Douglas know better, for I have communicated with them over a year before I received their comments.

Mr. Paul apparently had forgotten that he wrote me on December 19, 1930 about the Amalgamated as follows: "As a rank and filer I too have had my share of disappointments and struggles in the clothing shops of Chicago for the last ten years. Many times I have felt like putting my bitter feelings in writing but for some reason or other I have not."

Mr. Paul, speaking of the unemployment insurance said, "Wouldn't every American worker be glad to get even as little as the members of the Amalgamated get?" This argument sounds good as far as it goes. If space would permit I would relate what happened to Amalgamated members when they applied to the city relief bureau for help. They were refused on the ground that the Amalgamated distributes millions of dollars to the unemployed, notwithstanding the fact that the sums paid in New York are ten dollars, in a period of six months and that only some of the members get it. That is why I asked Dr. Wolman and others to speak of the specific amounts paid.

Before Mr. Paul will be able to see conditions as I described he will have to deal with facts as I have and be willing to stand up for his and the rights of others which means persecution, suspension and expulsion and blacklisting and starvation and life itself. Do that Mr. Paul and, if I should not agree with you I will at least be convinced of your sincerity and honesty.

L. KIRSHBAUM.

The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

"The fate of all issues lies in the lap of the Gods of the Machine," says Anne O'Hare McCormack in the New York Times Magazine. This in a discussion of political issues.

At first sight, with the ascendancy of the prohibition issue, this seems far-fetched. But how long can even the prohibition issue stand up before the issues raised by the machine, especially its problems of overproduction, unemployment, etc.?

Take again the issue of war—will that not be decided by the machine—the machine that shoots farthest, flies highest, turns out the most munitions, transports the most soldiers? Only the man behind the machine is a more decisive factor than the machine itself. When it comes to him, perhaps it's in his lap that the fate of our issues really lie.

* * *

However, even now the fate of some pressing issues are recognized as depending on the machine. Read this dispatch from Brazil, and see:

"Rio De Janeiro, March 11.—A decree was signed today by President Vargas prohibiting for three years the importation of machinery for manufacturing purposes, because of condition of overproduction believed by the government to exist in textile and allied industries."

* * *

Something of the same kind of restriction, if not destruction, is hinted at in a Brooklyn Eagle poem, entitled

THE ROBOT MENACE

By JOHN ALDEN

Does "Robot" rhyme with "Hobo"?

No dictionaries tell;

'Tis hard to sing the awful thing

Which we have learned to spell.

But "vision" and "decision"

Impeccable must stand;

The Robot must be crushed to dust,

Or hate will rule the land.

He cares not if he shares not

The living standard boon;

The movies-lust is his disgust;

And we must smash him soon.

He treats not, and he eats not,

He asks no pay-advance;

And decency ignored may be

In never wearing pants.

He sighs not if he buys not

A penny's worth a year;

He needs but oil to feed his toil,

And has no children dear.

No boomer, no consumer,

He sure invites a blow—

When he works, free, machinery,

Where will the market go?

The true man, who is human,

This specter may depress;

An augury this freak may be

Of hopeless joblessness!

* * *

Another reaction against the machine, one contemplating its complete elimination, is reflected in the following:

"Scranton, Pa.—(F.P.)—The idea of substituting men for machinery in the city street paving, as a method of unemployment relief, was dropped when the council discovered that manual paving costs 100 per cent more than machine work. Other means of staving off starvation for the jobless are being sought."

* * *

If we turn to agriculture, we note that in Kansas there is an outcry against corporation farms. It is claimed that their machine grown wheat at 28 cents per bushel would drive American farmers off the land into labor centers only to increase the economic crisis there. Restrictive legislation is proposed as a means to prevent these prospects.

* * *

Evidence of how modern machinery and mass production under scientific methods are effecting farming has been compiled by John S. Bird of Hays, head of one of the large Kansas wheat farming corporations.

* * *

Under the old hand-cradling methods, Mr. Bird declares it used to take three and a half hours to produce a bushel of wheat; now, under the most modern methods, the same result is accomplished in about three minutes. Here is the way Mr. Bird puts it:

"A good man with a cradle in the cradle days could cut three acres a day.

"With the self-rake a man and three or four horses could cut fifteen acres.

"With the self-binder and four or five horses one man could cut from thirty to thirty-five acres.

"With a tractor and the combine two

men can cut and thresh fifty acres in about ten hours—an operation that but yesterday required twenty-three men and the same number of hours."

Putting it another way, Mr. Bird says:

"In the earliest days of American agriculture, with the only implements then at hand, a man could cultivate approximately ten acres of land in a whole year.

"With the machinery of yesterday the average farmer cultivated eighty to 120 acres.

"Today, with modern power machinery, one man cultivates a thousand acres or more, and every year sees additional capacity for work accomplishment added to this. Each worker thus equipped with power machinery cultivates an acre in approximately one and one-half hours. If he produces an average of twenty-five bushels of barley, corn and wheat the time required per bushel is between three and four minutes. It used to be more than three hours."

* * *

Attention is called to the fact that the big farming corporations of Kansas have installed automatic time-clocks on their machinery which measure the actual operating time, and thus make it impossible for modern farm hands to "go to sleep in the shade" when the bosses are not looking.

* * *

This is what the railway workers of the country are up against:

A Great Northern freight train of 176 cars, nearly two miles long, recently passed through Minnesota. A few years ago that number of cars would have been made up into about seven trains and would have required 35 men in the engine and train crews, instead of the five who operated the 176-car train. When the train stopped at a small station the engine was at the depot and the caboose was so far back that the conductor hailed a passing motorist on the parallel highway and "hitched" a ride into town.—Cleveland Citizen.

* * *

Don't conclude from the foregoing that we believe in preventing the further development of the machine. We don't. This, under present day conditions, is inevitable. The machine will be, as Anne O'Hare McCormack implies, the decisive factor in all issues, especially the issue of its social ownership and control. This is the best solution of all the problems created by it. At least, so we think.

Do We Need a New Political Party in the United States?

(Continued from Page 13)

other hand, there is a real danger that a third party or a so-called Labor or Farmer-Labor party launched in the United States under present conditions might be such a milk and water affair that it would soon go the way of other third party efforts of the past. Such a movement would deceive the workers and discourage them and it might be the duty of progressive laborites to oppose it.

It is possible that we should do better not to be in a hurry to launch an abortive, though imposing, labor party movement, but to encourage the development of a party along the more advanced lines sketched. But do we not have such a party already in which honest, intelligent, progressive laborites can find a home?

Communist and Socialist Defects

If there were an intelligent Communist party in the United States, it would meet the specifications. I do not see an intelligent Communist party in the United States.

The first three specifications we set forth the C. P. in the U. S. today can meet at least approximately. It has a class basis, in so far as it has any basis in this country; it wants to establish a planned economy under worker control; it has, from my standpoint, an essentially sound attitude as to the critical character of the experiment going on in Soviet Russia. The other three major specifications it woefully fails to meet. Its policy, for example, of building unions that are to all intents and purposes exclusively Communist and of exercising a minute party dictatorship over the unions when it can, is utterly unsuited to such periods as the present, and obviously suicidal. It has a mechanical notion as to just how a proper revolution must be achieved, at times indulges in amateurish adventures in violence, and has plainly not thought out the problem of method in achieving social change in nations where political democracy has been achieved as contrasted with nations like Czarist Russia in an earlier period of political evolution. It is subject to a kind of dictatorship from Moscow which

keeps it from being rooted in American realities.

If the Socialist party were a thorough-going Socialist party, occupying substantially the role in American working-class life which the S. P. before the war under Debs did occupy, were what certain militant Socialists desire it to be, it would be such a party. I venture to express doubt as to whether the S. P. as at present constituted fills the bill, although I realize that in doing so I may incur the wrath of certain Socialist friends who seem to think it is perfectly all right for them and me to criticize the Republican, Democratic, Communistic, Social Labor Party, etc., but that any criticism of the S. P. activities or methods is butting into other people's business. Surely, it is as much the concern of all workers and all who are interested in the labor movement that we should have an effective Socialist movement as it is, for example, that we should have a clean and effective trade union movement.

Is the Socialist party today genuinely a party of industrial workers primarily? Has it as a party a clear and acceptable attitude toward Russia? Has it a clear attitude toward imperialism, wherever it may appear—in India and elsewhere? Has it a sound position in relation to the unions, or does it fall short in inspiring the workers to organize into industrial unions and in insisting on an honest, Socialistic and working-class spirit in so-called Socialist unions and Socialist trade unionists? Has it affiliations with ultra-conservative Social-Democratic parties in Europe from which a militant laborite must shrink? Is it uncompromising and effective in its attitude toward war? Will it go as far as Einstein, for example, in war resistance? Will it go further and urge the workers to engage in a general strike against war? Is it clinging to outworn conceptions of democracy? Has it thought through as to what will be needed to bring about a new social order? Is it everywhere among workers a force for militancy or not?

Whatever may in truth be the answer to these questions, the fact is that there are a very considerable number of progressive and militant laborites and sympathizers with labor in the country, who cannot stomach Communist methods, but who do not believe either that the Socialist party

as at present constituted can give what seem to them satisfactory answers to these questions. There are, of course, equally honest laborites who believe that the Socialist party can give such answers, or at any rate that there is an excellent chance that it can in the near future be made to serve the ends we have set forth.

If the former are right, then it would still remain a question whether it would be wise for them to attempt to form a party which would meet what they conceive to be the needs of the workers, to which elements from existing organizations might be attracted, or whether they should bide their time until existing working-class parties have undergone changes, possibly trying in their own way to promote such changes, possibly leaving that to others, while they meanwhile set about other tasks.

As we stated at the outset, this article is written for the purpose of arousing discussion and not for the purpose of launching a party. We close with the question with which we began: Do we need a new political party in the United States?

Workers' Education Teachers Meet

(Continued from Page 20)

age union. . . . Any move toward a labor party would bring workers' education into the public consciousness and promote understanding of its program. . . . May it not be practical in time for certain combinations to be brought about?—Joint programs of recruiting for all workers' schools and a systematic effort to carry on educational programs with former students; close correlation of preparation and follow-up work with local classes and labor colleges; more systematic use of former students in recruiting, teaching and administrative activities; the more extended use of correspondence and extension courses; and finally, a more sustained effort to educate the public, the labor movement and the government to the need of workers for a type of education reaching the needs of the individual and applied through the effort of many individuals to the economic and educational needs of a changing society."

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