

Labor Age

JUNE, 1932 15 CENTS

Northwest Unemployed Act

CARL BRANNIN

'Czar Brandle': Success Story

LOUIS F. BUDENZ

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Roosevelt: Jingo-Liberal

BENJAMIN MANDEL

'My Son Is Innocent'

BYRD KELSO

Congress and Unemployed

BENJAMIN MARSH



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"The whole world knows that Japan's present position in China is . . . like that of a burglar who has been caught in the home of his murdered victim, and pleads that he killed the owner of the house merely in self-defense," declares Lowe Chuan-Hua, editor of the symposium on

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VOL. XXI.

June, 1932

No. 6

MORE and more the Unemployed Worker occupies the center of the stage. For the most part he is a silent figure. But he is beginning to move and speak.

Breaking the Great Silence

War veterans march all the way across the country to Washington to demand the bonus. They commandeer a train. They hang on to it until desperate authorities give them buses to travel in. They get to Washington, and when told there is no money to feed them and that they must get out, they announce that they will stay a year if need be until the bonus bill is passed.

Staid, conservative A. F. of L. trade unionists, United Textile Workers from Paterson, picket the New Jersey State capitol at Trenton demanding adequate relief legislation.

It is rumored that the little town of Franklin, N. J., was completely in control of the unemployed for a short period recently. How many such incidents the newspapers suppress nobody knows, of course.

Less spectacular, but perhaps more fundamental activities are also being carried out by the unemployed. In Seattle and Tacoma on the Pacific coast they take charge of the organization of their own relief—a Soviet of the jobless maybe? Read the story elsewhere in this issue.

Read also of how a group of jobless in Superior, Wisconsin, built a Labor Party which elected several people to office at the first try, and what is more important, established a genuine united front of labor.

In this connection, the plea presented to President Hoover the middle of last month by the heads of seven leading railway unions may yet prove the most significant sign of a new stirring in the labor movement as a result of the unemployment situation. The Locomotive Firemen, the Conductors, the Trainmen, Switchmen, Telegraphers, Train Despatchers and Maintenance of Way Employes spoke.

Much of what they said still has a peculiarly individualistic note and perhaps not all their proposals are equally sound. But listen: "Mr. President, we have come here to tell you that unless something is done to provide employment and relieve distress among the families of the unemployed, we cannot be responsible for the orderly operation of the railroads of this country." And also: "There is a growing demand that the entire business and social structure be changed."

A new note of internationalism is sounded by these railroaders: "Why should we demand the flesh that is closest to the heart of our brother laborers abroad?—The bond of fraternalism encircles the world." This is in connection with the war debts and reparations issue.

We ask these fellow-unionists, is there any answer to the question you face except a Labor Party?

Meanwhile there are a few indications that some of those in power sense the seriousness of the situation—the Mayors e.g. who met at Detroit the other day. But the two old parties in Congress are chiefly concerned about jockeying for position in the fall elections, and the utter incapacity

of the industrial and financial lords was strikingly, even laughably, illustrated this month by the bursting of the Krueger bubble. Crooks on the one hand and infants in arms on the other hand, are our "rulers."

The real ruler of the stage today is that Unemployed Worker beginning to speak and act.



TWO political parties opposed to the Republicans and Democrats and appealing for votes to the workers of the country, held their nominating conventions in May.

Communists and The Negro

of these parties, the Communist and the Socialist, must suffice.

The Communists nominated William Z. Foster for President and a Negro member, James W. Ford, for Vice-President. We were interested to notice that an audience of Negroes in Harlem the other day greeted with vociferous applause a speaker who said: "The issue of equal rights for the Negro is one of the most burning issues before the workers of this country today. It is well that a working-class party should make this clear at all times. The Communists nowadays, however, seem to be flattering and condescending to Negroes and exploiting the issue for their own rather than for the Negroes' purposes. If Ford is one of the best men they have for the vice-presidential candidacy, well and good. If not, then this flattery is a subtle insult to all Negroes, just as surely as when Republicans or Democrats put up an Oscar DePriest for office in order to catch Negro votes."



THE Socialists nominated Norman Thomas for President and James H. Maurer for Vice-President. Like the Communists they will reach a good many people in their election campaign this year, and

The Socialist Convention

carry them farther away from the allegiance to the old parties, the individualism, the fight about anything collectivist which have been the curse of the masses of the American electorate. All of which will be that much to the good.

We cannot share the feeling of one or two enthusiastic acquaintances we have met who think that certain resolutions carried at Milwaukee and the election of some militant Socialists to the N.E.C. mean that the party has definitely and permanently "gone left." Militants said for months that the defeat of Hillquit for the chairmanship of the N.E.C. would be the proof that the Party was soundly left. But Hillquit is still chairman. He will have to work with some more or less militant members on the N.E.C., but so will they have to work with him. Where will that leave us?

Another very important question is whether the resolutions on the trade union question are going to be translated into action of a positive and vigorous character against corruption and bureaucracy in the unions—e. g. in the New York needle trades—however many votes for the ticket that might cost, and whether building solid industrial founda-

tions for the labor movement rather than piling up votes is really to be the chief concern.

Our chief regret for the moment is that neither Communists nor Socialists are paying any real attention to the problem of building a unified mass Labor Party. That still seems to us the chief job on the political field in the present stage of American development.



MORE surely and in a more sinister fashion than in the fateful year before the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 forces are preparing for mass slaughter of the workers, unless the workers themselves rebel and decline to be cut up into cannon-fodder.

Preparations For Slaughter

In Japan the militarists are in the saddle. She is pressing forward in Manchuria as fast as possible. Her attitude toward Soviet Russia is more and more threatening.

In Germany Hindenburg who was recently re-elected to the presidency as the savior of the Republic, with the help of liberal and Social-Democratic votes, has suddenly in disregard of parliamentary procedure and of these recent supporters, thrown out one Prime Minister and put another in his place. This time the cabinet is made up of generals who are, needless to say, right wingers. It seems the only result can be an early election, and the only result of that a Hitler Fascist victory!

Meantime the Geneva Disarmament Conference of the big and little capitalist nations passes the time and gets nowhere. Each Big Power is jockeying for a position of advantage in the next war. To all appearances none of the Big Powers know what is going to happen at the Lausanne Conference which is supposed to meet the sixteenth of this month to perform the simple little job of getting the world out of the economic mess in which it finds itself!

Capitalists know no other way out in the show-down except war. Workers of the United States, fight against war! Tell the bosses you will never again go out to slaughter and be slaughtered by your fellow-workers! Build a labor movement which can fight war! Let the greatest mass-strike in all history sweep this land at the first sign of any attempt to drag us into war!



IN his column in the Scripps-Howard papers, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes recently referred to the plan of cooperation between certain Colorado coal miners and the Rocky

Union-Management Cooperation Today

Mountain Fuel Company as an illustration of how an "enlightened capitalism" might go about saving itself. He speaks with approval also of the part the miners have played in the situation, how they have organized committees to get a market for the company's coal, for example, and voted to "loan to the company" half of their wages during August, September and October, 1931. He quotes a notice sent by these miners to the "coal operators who reject unionism and slash wages." The statement reads: "We and the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company will mine and put coal in every market at prices which will meet any and every price made by non-union operators, who are viciously taking advantage of widespread unemployment and hunger to crush out the rights of workers to fair wages and decent American living standards, until this conspiracy is broken." We quote these words because they show graphically just what all these union-management cooperation plans in the last analysis come to.

There is no question that under certain conditions a small percentage of the workers in a given industry by "cooperating," working hard (production per man per day in the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company has increased $\frac{3}{4}$ of a ton) can get for themselves at least temporarily some increase in wages and stabilization of employment. But how do they get it? They get it by competing in the capitalist market "at prices which will meet any and every price made by non-union operators." If they get the market other companies lose it, which means that the workers for these other companies lose the work. Under the B. & O. Plan workers on that railroad try to persuade merchants and other consumers to give business to the B. & O. rather than to the Pennsylvania. Is this of any real or permanent advantage to the working class? It is a disadvantage because it pits some workers against others, instead of uniting them to advance the interests of all.

The workers of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, for example, are members of the United Mine Workers of America. In that union a terrific struggle has been going on in recent years against inefficiency, corruption and lack of militancy in leadership. The Colorado miners have shown little interest, so far as we have been able to learn, in that struggle. Do they think that they can get along without a genuinely militant and progressive national organization?

There is no evidence that the example of union-management cooperation has ever led non-union employers to encourage the organization of their workers. There have been repeated cases of unions working under these plans confining themselves to a section of the industry, where they had pleasant relations with the employers, and making no effective effort to organize other workers. Take the much touted cooperation plan in the Naumkeag mills in Salem which sell Pequot products. The local union used to talk at least about organizing other sheeting mills. There is not so much as a whisper that one can hear nowadays in regard to such organization work.

This is natural because under these plans workers begin to think in terms of the particular industry or company involved. It is "we and the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company." Helping that company to survive bulks so large that they cannot see the larger problems of the industry, certainly not of all industry under the capitalist system. Besides, if all the plants in the industry were organized and "cooperating," the special competitive advantage of the company whose employees advertise its product as superior to those of other companies would be lost.

A union cannot operate on the basis of making it harder and more expensive for union employers than non-union to do business, but when it passes from that to the position that it must help a particular firm to make profits, there is not the slightest guarantee that it can succeed because it cannot control the forces involved. If it did succeed it would only help in temporarily keeping up a vicious system.

There is no way under the sun of stabilizing a particular industry, much less a section of an industry, under the present competitive system. The problems of production and distribution must necessarily be handled on a larger scale. There must be national, indeed international, economic planning. Planlessness is of the essence of the present system. Any scheme which suggests that some small section of an industry, or even any one industry as a whole, can be stabilized under that system, is simply throwing up a lot of dust, and in spite of small advantages which it may bring to a minority of workers, is of no help to the workers as a whole, but rather an injury.

A STATEMENT of the greatest authority and importance has just been made by the Communists. It is published in the April issue of *The Communist*. In the fantastic language which they insist on using, it is called "Resolution for the Central Committee Plenum." It is of importance to the C.P.L.A. and militants allied with us for two reasons.

The Communists On the C. P. L. A.

In the first place, it concedes that the CPLA is a big influence in the labor movement in the United States today and that this influence is decidedly greater than six months ago. It does this in the first place by concentrating the Communist attack on the Musteites, so-called, even more than on Hoover, J. P. Morgan and others of that stripe. No less than twelve times in this pronouncement, the Musteites, the Muste group, the Muste crowd, are singled out for notice. At one point a whole page is devoted to the analysis of our position and activities. Furthermore, the definite statement is made that the CPLA "as the present strikes and the elections show, have increased their influence among the ranks of the workers." This is some concession for Communists to make. Our Active Workers Conference in March and our Textile Conference at the end of April certainly demonstrated that in many strategic situations we have gained ground and struck firmer root.

In the second place, this statement of the Communist Party is largely devoted, as is their custom, to "self criticism." We note with interest that it admits that the Communists in the United States have been guilty at every point on which the CPLA has criticized them in recent months. We have, for example, contended that for left-wingers to abandon work in the old unions is incorrect. The statement confesses to "the extremely weak development of the work in the reformist trade unions." We have criticized Communists for building sectarian unions in which only Communists are given a real opportunity to be active and for a general attitude of sectarianism which divides and confuses the workers. The statement includes among "the chief obstacles which stood in the way of carrying out a correct mass policy—the strong sectarian tendencies in the entire work of the party." We have condemned them for introducing the same autocracy, the same brazen disregard of the rank and file into the Communist unions which they condemned in the old unions. Their statement says "The bureaucratic methods of work, which are expressed in the 'circular letter' method of leadership and in an excessive number of paid functionaries at the head of the Party and the auxiliary organizations, paralyzes the work."

And again, "Within the red trade unions there is not yet real trade union democracy and a narrow sectarian tendency exists with regard to the acceptance of members."

We have criticized them for not approaching American workers where they are, on the basis of the grievances which they actually feel, etc. The statement sets forth that the "correct mass policy consists in developing the mass struggle of the workers, the working women and the young workers on the basis of their immediate economic and political needs as they arise from their life work and conflicts with the employers, reformist bureaucrats, the state, etc." In another place it mentions among the questions that interest the workers and that must be made the basis for trade-union activity, "reduction of wages and piece-work rates, increase in working hours, discrimination against Negro workers, etc."

Finally, and this is certainly an event of the greatest importance, American Communists have discovered the U. S. A. and decided to recognize its existence. Our read-

ers will remember how often we have insisted that the American labor movement must be built by American workers, taking account of American conditions and having for its object making America a decent place to live in, a workers' republic linked up with workers' republics throughout the world.

Now listen: "The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be concretized by showing the masses how a revolutionary workers' government—a United States of America—would, through the nationalization of the means of production, railroads, commerce, etc., by taking them from the hands of the big exploiters and placing them in the hands of the workers' state, immediately eliminate unemployment by starting the machinery of production at full speed, producing the commodities needed by the masses; how it can at once make available to the starving workers the full stores of foodstuffs, fuel and clothing now withheld from the workers; how it can solve the pressing problems of housing; solve the needs of the toiling farmers; guarantee full equality for the Negroes; carry out a peace policy of the proletarian state as exemplified by the Soviet Union in contrast to all imperialist powers."

If the Communists were to operate on such a basis and in the spirit seemingly indicated in these pronouncements, there might be a real chance of a united front of all genuinely militant and revolutionary elements in the American labor movement. That is a condition which every honest class-conscious worker must eagerly desire. Our divisions today make us well-nigh helpless in face of the present crisis. If they are continued they will assure a victory for Fascism.

Unfortunately, in these very pronouncements Communists give another illustration of how "their self criticism" is often like that of the man who gets drunk at night, criticizes himself when he wakes up with a headache and makes resolutions not to drink again and then gets drunk again the next night. So we shall wait and see. In the meantime the CPLA must strive to measure up to the responsibility arising from our increasing influence among the workers, and to speed up its activities for building an effective, militant labor movement in the United States.



ONE of the epics in current depression occurrences is the direct action of the war veterans for a just deal on the bonus. It is an indication of the real underlying spirit of the American workers.

The Veterans' Fight For the Bonus

The marches of the ex-soldiers from all corners of the land to Washington is more than the drive of a few. It is a sample of what desperate, determined men can and will do, when they see an issue clearly. The conscription of trains and the other free transportation won by these men will raise the morale of their fellow-workers throughout the country.

This rich, powerful nation can readily pay the bonus, just as it can readily help all the unemployed. The men who were conscripted into our armies for the benefit of Wall Street were compelled to risk their lives for the most meagre of wages. The very newspapers and other capitalistic agencies which today condemn them for asking a morsel of bread cheered their going forth at a starvation wage in war time.

These agencies now cheer on the National Guardsmen and the police, being used in an attempt to halt the veterans' march. They applaud any crowd which will defend the interests of the few. But such applause will not befuddle the American worker, when he can see his way clearly.

Northwest Unemployed Organize

"IF the bankers and captains of industry who admit their helplessness in solving unemployment, would stand aside we'd show them how to deal with the problem."

This is the challenge of the 13,000 families, representing 50,000 persons, in the Unemployed Citizens League of Seattle to the propertied class. Nor are these mere empty words, for since early last Fall when the League was organized, its members have been engaged in building a society within a state, which, considering the handicaps to be overcome, has proven that bankers and bosses are not needed to supply those who require commodities with what they need.

Started in a suburban district of the city by a group of labor college students and teachers with self-help and a public works program as its chief aim, the League established itself in 22 city districts in a short time. People who were cold to cut and dried programs for revolutionizing our social order were interested in cooperating to help themselves. They flocked into the locals and put themselves to work.

The cutting of wood for fuel on land donated by timber companies and the State was the first undertaking. Saws, axes, tools, trucks and gas were borrowed and begged from the city and private concerns. Workers were given a part of what they cut and the balance went to supply others who had no wood cutter in the family.

Next, expeditions were sent to scour the farms for surplus potatoes, fruits and vegetables. Thousands of tons were brought in. Then each local established a commissary for the distribution of its products. Fish from the surplus brought in by salmon and halibut boats was secured to the amount of thousands of tons. Much of it was frozen in the municipal cold storage plant for later use. Some food donations were made by local firms. At the present time the League is handling 1,200 tons of wood per week, 100 tons of coal, 400 tons of food stuffs, and 300 tons of fruit. Local housing committees have made minor repairs on hundreds of dwellings donated rent-free for the use of evicted families. The unemployed have contributed labor, free, in return for a certain period of occupancy. There are no central feeding stations but most of the commissaries have a kitchen which serves free meals to those working around the depot and in the shops.

by Carl Brannin

While regarded at first with some suspicion by the city administration, the League was soon able to command respect and forced the City Council to reverse its proposal for a special unemployed wage scale of from \$1.50 to \$3.00 per day. The League demanded a minimum of \$4.50 and this was adopted when a large delegation packed the city hall on this question.

This respect deepened later into recognition when the County Commissioners and the Mayor's Unemployment Commission jointly agreed to distribute food purchased with public funds through the League commissaries. This is still continuing at the rate of approximately \$150,000 per month. A little of this goes for gas, for hauling wood and truck parts.

The unique feature of this relief system is that all the investigation of applicants and checking in and out of rations is done by the unemployed themselves. All draw on the basis of the number of mouths to be fed. All able-bodied persons are expected to be available for two days' work per week of 6 hours—at wood cutting, investigating, committee work, etc. All wood and food gathered is now turned into each commissary and rationed out to those in need on a "communistic" basis.

No one connected with the League receives any pay. All meeting places, such as churches, community club houses and store buildings for commissaries, shops, and garages are given rent-free by the owners. Small funds for incidental expenses are raised by dances and entertainments, but the League operates almost entirely without money. To expand its industrial program with the establishment of factories, where commodities will be made for the use of League members, not for sale, a drive is on now for a special fund of many thousands of dollars. Public moneys will be demanded and wealthy individuals will be asked to give. This will have a strong appeal as it will tend to make the unemployed self-supporting.

Each local is responsible for the proper operation of its commissary to the Central Federation of the League. This body in turn is responsible to the County Commissioners for a strict accounting of all food bought with

public funds, but the League maintains itself as an independent body.

The set-up of the League takes the local branch as the point of beginning. Committees on relief, housing, transportation, fuel, investigation, child welfare, garden, health, etc., take care of the needs of the members. Each local sends delegates to the Central Federation for the mapping out of general policy and other delegates to central committees on relief, housing, industrial operations etc. These act as a clearing house to co-ordinate local activities and avoid duplication and cross firing.

While the League started on a non-political basis, the pressure of conditions last spring forced it to endorse candidates in the municipal election. Politicians rubbed their eyes in amazement the morning after when the full slate was elected. Three were men virtually unknown, who were conceded before the polling date, to have little chance of winning. Official attitude at once took a marked change for the better. A request by the League for the use of the Civic Auditorium for a mammoth mass meeting and free street car transportation was freely granted. (In the Fall this had been bluntly refused). The organized unemployed had proved that they were a force to be reckoned with.

Expands To Other Cities

In the last two months organization along similar lines has sprung up in adjacent cities and towns and in many county districts. Unemployed workers and deflated farmers are finding that they have a common problem and can go far together toward solving it. Self-help and the interchange of products will be a cardinal plank in the platform but emergency legislation and political action to put progressives in office will also have an important place. There is much talk of running an independent ticket in the coming State election. A state wide convention is being held, as this is written, to perfect and spread the movement in the Northwest.

The general program of the League, aside from its industrial self-employment feature, includes:

1. Full and adequate relief, at the expense of the county, state, and federal governments for every unemployed person.
2. Unemployment insurance along

the lines proposed in the bill, which will be submitted by the League through the initiative to the voters at the Fall election.

3. No evictions from homes or apartments, because of inability to pay rent.

4. No light, water or gas shut-offs, because of inability to pay bills.

5. Lowering of legal interest rates.

6. All relief work on county and state jobs to be at a minimum rate of \$4.50 per day, and done by day labor without the intervention of contractors.

7. A program of public improvements, city, state, and nation, to provide needed work.

8. A moratorium on taxes, mortgages and bank loans, where people are unable to make their payments.

9. Free medical, dental, burial, and hospitalization services for unemployed workers, needy farmers and their families.

10. Legislation to tax employers a fixed amount for each hour worked by any and every employee in excess of six hours in any day or more than 30 hours in any calendar week. The funds thus provided by such taxation to be used exclusively to care for the unemployed.

11. The five day week, and the six hour day in all public employment.

The development of the Seattle movement has demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that the unemployed can be organized if they are approached as normal, human beings with wants to be satisfied. They are not interested in radical philosophies, but will not balk at action which is revolutionary in its implication, if it seems to promise them something which they want. Their daily experience in working together and fighting for their bread and butter, develops solidarity and group consciousness and opens their eyes to the fundamental nature of a winning program.

What Seattle, Tacoma, and other Washington unemployed have done can be duplicated elsewhere if these points are kept in mind. Following are suggestions for procedure in any city or community:

Instructions

1. The work or organization may be undertaken by any group who have some understanding of the social factors involved in the unemployment problem.

2. A meeting of the unemployed, however poorly advertised, will draw a crowd. Contact churches, schools,

community club halls, etc., for a free meeting place. At this meeting should be formed an organization committee to extend activities to other sections. The central idea is for the unemployed to go to work to produce their own necessities. This is a sound policy which will get the support of taxpayers and business men upon whom

the relief burden is heavy. The co-operation of these classes is almost essential to success, as they own the resources and equipment which the unemployed need.

3. In this and subsequent organization meetings, stress the fact that the workers have produced all wealth heretofore and that now, being shut out from industry, they should again



“Beer Is What We Need—”

produce wealth for themselves using such idle machinery and land as is available.

4. The formation of small locals, close enough together to be in walking distance of the members is recommended. Two or three hundred is as large as a local should be. When they grow larger than that they should divide themselves and their districts to avoid becoming unwieldy and inefficient.

5. Upon the formation of a local, a president, secretary, relief committee and delegates for a Central Federation should be elected, and instructed in their duties. The relief committee should be urged to secure as soon as possible a vacant building for free use as a relief commissary. A store building is best, and craftsmen in the organization can make what repairs, painting, etc., is necessary.

6. Get a centrally located room or building, on the ground floor front if possible, for a central office.

7. The executive secretary should be the general overer of all activity and, with his contact group, conduct relations of the organization with public officials, business men, etc., and should be chosen for these qualifications as well as his understanding of fundamental problems. The heads of all working departments should be chosen on their merits for the job in

hand. Gardens should be under the direction of the best agriculturalist available in the organization, fuel operations in charge of a logger, if in the timber, or a construction man, if from wrecked buildings or bridges; clothing manufacture and repair shops supervised by a tailor and so on.

8. Contact with public officials should be made as soon as the organization reaches any considerable numbers. Lay the plan before them as a constructive business proposition which will lift the major portion of the public relief burden if it is rendered the aid necessary in its beginning, a money saver to county, city and business. Appeal for their cooperation and that of the press in getting the necessary land, tools, gas and equipment, with which to get into production in a modern manner. Later, when the mass of the unemployed are organized, pressure may be applied to the county to get temporary aid in the way of direct food relief for the local commissaries. This should be attempted only after adequate machinery has been perfected in the local and central relief committees for "investigation" requirements in the manner of community chest agencies. If this is done the league can establish its own standards as to what constitutes a needy family.

9. Avoid political entanglements, endorse no candidates in the begin-

ning. Political policy can be worked out later after the organization has the members. Avoid alliances with relief agencies who promise cooperation with the idea of holding their well paid jobs. Stand for the independence of the League as the only constructive relief program and the support will be compelled to swing your way. Avoid money in the organization. Cash contributions, cash receipts from entertainment functions, relief funds from public sources should be handled by some prominent individual trusted and respected by all classes and dispersed according to instructions of League officers. No graft charges can then be made. Avoid any trading or selling of league products. These are produced for use and not for profit and must be consumed by members, not put on an already demoralized market to compete with established business and employed labor and alienate their sympathies with the unemployed. Turn all commodities into a central commissary and distribute them through local depots.

10. Establish a rule requiring each member to do his share of the work of the League—so many days each week in rotation. Avoid red flag waving. This cannot be a revolutionary organization. It must consist of all the unemployed and conform to the level of mass intelligence and raise that level by the example of deeds, not words.

Unemployed Citizens' League of Tacoma

by Bystander

PERSONAL contact with some of the leaders of the Labor College movement in the United States led to the formation last fall of a labor College in Tacoma, Washington. After an intensive winter's work on the part of four or five persons, the members of the college were inspired to undertake the organization of the unemployed in that city. The factors which contributed most to such a decision were: the ever impressive lesson from Marx on Surplus Value; the fact that workers are denied the existing surplus and yet are ready and anxious to apply their labor power to the now idle machines of production; and the idea of using such machines for the production of goods for use and not for profit; as well as the fact that the members were weary of pure education which was not harnessed to action.

Why could the unemployed not have the city and county governments, and landlords, turn over to them the idle tractors and land to use for a cooper-

ative garden? The produce would supply them with the food they cannot now buy. Why could not the timber companies of the county and state turn over to the unemployed, timber they cannot afford to cut, owing to the present demoralized market, and which stands in many cases as a fire hazard? Why could they not use the idle logging machinery? Such timber and machinery would provide them with the fuel they need so badly. Then, too, Fort Lewis is near Tacoma with its seldom used army trucks. Why could they not secure the use of the trucks for wood hauling and transportation to and from their gardens? Such questions led to more questions. Why not their own tailor shop, barber shop, shoe repair shops, health clinic, machine shop and bakery?

Word that came from the neighboring city of Seattle seemed to indicate

that to a considerable degree these things have been accomplished there by the Unemployed Citizens' League. Organization seemed to be the key to the situation. If the unemployed of the city were organized, they would be a strong enough unit to deal with city, county, state, and even national governments, and private interests and monopolies. On March 23, 1932 the task was undertaken. A count of the membership on May 10th showed 3,400 names, nearly half of the estimated unemployed in the city.

Today the U. C. L. has better than 60 acres under cultivation and 30 more being planted. More will follow if seeds can be procured. They are cutting timber given them by the Weyerhaeuser interests. A shoe shop and tailor shop are in operation, and other similar projects are being planned. Fourteen locals are operating woodyards and commissaries, but as to the commissaries—there stands a problem. As yet they are nearly like Mother

Hubbard's Cupboard. The food that has been obtained is scanty, and hungry men clamor for relief, a situation which will be alleviated as the League's machinery of production gets under way, but immediate relief is needed. True, some food has been obtained through benefit entertainments, and from donations, all of which has helped but not enough. Something must be done! Then, too, there remains the problem of gasoline to operate the trucks, tractors and logging machinery. To date funds solicited by the Mayor and contributions from oil companies have furnished us with gasoline, but this supply is nearly gone. Seeds have been donated, but not enough. Something else must be done!

At the present writing, the members of the executive committee of the U. C. L. have requested the Mayor to call a meeting of 100 leading business, industrial, and financial men to meet in conference with them to find ways of supplying their needs. If such a conference fails, then the agitators of the extreme left may have their way and a demonstration of the Communist sort will be arranged.

Speaking of Communists, they, too are active both within and without the League carrying on agitation, demanding a course of direct action, and the securing of the existing industrial surplus. On the other hand, at the right is a group who clamor for the League to enter competitive bids on public work, and the selling of their labor power at distress prices. A third group are those who stand opposed to any wholesale buying which might distress the small merchant. They feel the League should exist to aid the small business man. Such diversified opinions, however, will probably be found in any rank and file movement that exists today, for during the past 15 years the workers have been a contented lot and few have taken the trouble to acquire a radical economic understanding.

It is hoped that the plan of organization adopted by members of the labor college will keep the League clear of the snares set by these factions so that it can steer the course originally charted. Each local elects its own officers, committees, and five delegates to the Central Federation. This Federation is charged specifically with speaking for the organization as a whole. The Federation elects an executive committee of five, which in turn selects an executive secretary who supervises all work of the League. He is directly responsible to the executive committee for all actions, and works under their direction at all times. The

executive committee also selects the central relief, garden, fuel and other industrial committees, such appointments being ratified by the Central Federation. The Central relief committee is responsible for the distribution of all goods furnished by the central garden, fuel and other committees, to the locals. Local fuel, garden and industrial committees exist for the purpose of completing the work of the Central Committees and turn their products over to the local relief committee for distribution to the membership. All members working under the direction of the League receive benefits in proportion to the work they perform.

Since organization work was commenced in Tacoma, Seattle has put state organizers into the field and it now appears that Unemployed Citizens' Leagues will exist in every principle center in Washington. A state convention is being planned in Tacoma on May 29th at which time it is hoped plans for a unified state body will be accepted.

The fact that the unemployed are able to provide for themselves and that

they need no leaders from above to point the way and do for them is proving somewhat disconcerting to political aspirants who look on themselves as modern Moses. They remind us, you know, that what's wrong with the country is the lack of leadership. Yet this leadership is proving a myth. Workers can and are doing for themselves. The present sick economic state (sick in spite of "great" leadership) has forced it upon them. No longer will they permit the school, the church and press to do their thinking. They are slowly overthrowing such hokum produced by capitalist society, and for the first time are doing their own thinking and are discovering their own creative ability.

Will the U. C. L. accomplish all it has undertaken? Time alone can tell. Yet this much is certain; the unemployed are learning for the first time the value of organization, for only a small per cent of the League members have ever before been a part of a working class movement. If it does succeed, it will be perhaps the kindergarten step towards creating a greater cooperative society.

Operating Economy

The following item, clipped from "Bradstreets," we reprint here without comment, as an excellent example of what planning and efficiency under capitalism inevitably leads to.—Ed.

IT is common knowledge that practically all of our larger corporations have effected operating economies during the past year, and recent railroad reports are now showing just how extensive these economies have been. The Baltimore and Ohio, for example, in February, 1932, nearly doubled its February, 1931, net operating income despite a \$2,750,000 reduction in gross. The New York Central lowered its operating ratio to 74.5, the lowest for any month since 1929, and also increased its net with a smaller gross. Altogether some 20 railroads were able to report higher incomes. Mr. W. W. Colpitts, of Coverdale & Colpitts, railroad engineers, has estimated that if railway carloadings return to but half way between their present level and the 1929 figures, the

net operating income for the roads in the United States as a whole would be greater than in 1929.

Striking as this record is, it can, no doubt, be exceeded by many of our manufacturing concerns. The larger banking houses, it is understood, are exerting themselves to see that the companies, with whose finances they are identified, are putting their operations on as an efficient basis as possible. Confident predictions are made by industrial leaders that most concerns could now produce at the rate reached in 1929 with many fewer workers than were employed at that time. Company organization and control systems have also reduced the need for clerical workers and executives. Such economies are excellent from the standpoint of the individual company and are absolutely required to meet present business conditions. *They do create a social problem, however, in the fact that many men would still be unemployed even if business were to go back to normal.*

Twenty Workers Came Together....

by Tess Huff

TWENTY workers came together in the city of Superior, Wisconsin. They met as workers to discuss immediate problems. Victims of a system that makes a few millionaires and millions of paupers, they were out of jobs, and they didn't like the city's scanty relief. That was six months ago. Something came out of the meeting. At first there was only a resolution which the "city fathers" cold-shouldered; then there were mass meetings, the movement grew, 17 Labor candidates were placed in the field, the battle warmed up, Labor's enemies came into the open, Labor's forces united—and today, as a result of the meeting of the 20 jobless men, 9 of the 17 city and county offices up for last election are held by *Labor*, not by "friends of labor," not by professional politicians; and the stalwart young Labor Party, fighting for relief, points out to the city that "the wealth and resources of this nation, if rationally owned and administered by the people in the interest of society at large, would make such relief work totally unnecessary."

All this happened in Superior, Wisconsin in six months. But it wasn't done by magic. It took backbone. When Labor begins to stir it steps on the toes of its enemies, and there's bound to be some yelling. So the story of how it happened has its funny side.

There was a mass meeting on December 10 of 700 workers (200 were turned away: no standing-room) and the unemployment relief resolution, containing 17 concrete demands besides a sharp condemnation of the profit system, was unanimously adopted. A committee of nine was elected to present the resolution to the city council and the county board. This Superior Labor Unemployment Committee, so named, was immediately enlarged by representatives from the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Superior Trades and Labor Assembly, and the Building Trades Council. And representatives came to the committee from The Co-operative Club, Co-operative Youth League, Workers' Educational Society, and the English and Finnish branches of the local Womens' Co-operative Guild. By this time it was the most representative city-wide organization of Labor ever seen in Superior. It represented the employed and unemployed, the organized and unorganized.

"We really didn't expect Utopia from the 'city fathers,' but that resolution set a darn high mark for them to strike at," said a Superior worker (unemployed), "and it was up to the Committee to see that there was some 'heat' put under the 'city fathers' to move them to action."

But the "city fathers" were not moved. The workers got a chilly reception. And it was this chilly reception that turned the trick. The Committee, realizing that Labor's professional office-holding "friends" do not often care or dare to speak out for Labor, but that Labor must take office and speak for itself, was forced, in logical pursuit of its aims, to enter the political field.

Seventeen officials were to be elected—5 city councilmen, 10 county supervisors, and 2 members to the county school board. Selecting its best timber the Committee named a full slate of 17 candidates. All workers. Religious beliefs, race, creeds, were not considered. A large mass meeting discussed and approved the 17 candidates and the race was on. The fun began.

Publicity. Meetings. Innumerable meetings. Committee meetings and mass meetings. Ward meetings. Meetings at the homes of different people. Radio talks. Leaflets and more leaflets. Large leaflets. Emphasizing labor principles, appealing to Labor Unity. Messages to the "Working men and women of Superior." Not a "popularity" or "beauty" contest, but a real, genuine workers' political campaign, drawing fire from "patriotic" clubs and the "upper" class, the silk-stocking streets and big business. The Communists chiming in with denunciations. And then—the inevitable red-baiting.

America First

One night the America First Club, an exceedingly "patriotic" organization, flowered to spread its soporific odors throughout the city. The workers, obviously shaking off the old hypnotic lies of capitalism, were to be reassured and put to sleep again!

In newspaper ads (costing from \$20 to \$25 each) the America First Club, to save the workers from the folly of voting Labor, said:

"Arnold Ronn, who admits that he

was a member of the Communist party in 1928, is chairman of publicity for the so-called 'Official Labor Candidates' and the following are a few remarks made by him in 1931-32:

- a. Soviet Russia is a fine country.
- b. The American Legion is not a fit organization to belong to.
- c. George Washington was a bootlegger and a slave-driver."

Helen Hayes Lanto, Labor candidate, and A. J. Hayes, prominent Laborite and editor of *The Co-operative Builder* were likewise attacked; it was pointed out to the voters that, among other things, they were born in an almost unpronounceable town in Finland!

A sharp reply from Karl Milde, president of the Superior Trades and Labor Assembly:

"You and your kind will no doubt be disappointed to know that your cheap demagoguery and red-baiting makes the issue involved very clear, and encourages us and strengthens our Labor Unity."

One more reply, sincere and good-humored, and the America First Club is silenced:

"May your funds last long enough for you to let the anxious and waiting world know the color of my underwear and what I eat for breakfast!" Anyway, what's the purpose of your club—if not to fight Labor? History writers and the Encyclopedia Britannica say that Washington was a slave-owner, a very strict master. The rank and file of the American Legion has good intentions, but it is a military organization, and the working class does not benefit from militarism, but the master class does. How about disproving this? Nobody said Washington was a bootlegger. "Keep up your nonsense and by next election you will have driven all the people under the protecting wing of labor."

Plain Talk

Meanwhile the Superior Labor Unemployment Committee, now more determined and enthusiastic than ever, met weekly, and these meetings were warm with labor discussion. The workers', employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, stood solid—no friction—and the campaign rolled along.

Labor ads (calling a spade a spade) plastered the city:

"To the Working Men and Women of Superior—"

"This city and county—and, in fact, the whole of the United States—are today in the clutches of a panic the like of which has not been seen before by any man living.

"This condition is *not* because of any natural reason; no devastating plague or natural calamity has destroyed our industries, or laid waste the fields, or stopped the flow of goods from the glutted stores and warehouses to those who need them.

"This cruel and artificial famine (panic) is due to no fault of the workers of this city, county or nation. Yet, friends, it is the worker who must bear the *full* burden of this disaster! The workers have produced all the wealth, tilled the soil, grown the food, mined the mines, built the homes, spun the yarn, woven the cloth, run the factories . . . and, still, they and their beloved wives and children are denied the very necessities of life."

Mr. Private Politician (who is skilled in calling spades by other names) must have felt horribly ill-treated, for much of the campaign literature of the Official Labor Candidates was given over to a study of his habits.

"Friends! Remember! Do not be fooled by the same old pre-election taffy that has fooled us in the past! The same old wily tricks of Mr. Private Politician will soon be in full swing again. Men who have not spoken to you for 20 months will be very 'concerned' about your conditions. They will offer you a five-spot to 'help you along because you have been out of a job.' Don't sell your political independence for that!

"Mr. Professional Private Politician will also play upon your sentiments as a neighbor or 'friend.' But if he claims to be a friend and yet asks you to vote for him and against any of the Official Labor Candidates he proves himself a traitor to such friendship and questions your honesty and slights your intelligence."

And this sort of plain talk:

"If you are not FOR the Official Labor Candidates you are AGAINST them; if you are against them you are against LABOR UNITY; and if you are against Labor Unity you are against the very foundation and fundamental and basic principles of Organized Labor."

This was straight shooting. This was calling a spade a spade.

"Labor Friends" Go Into Action

Not daring to come back with an open attack upon Labor, the non-Labor candidates dug up old labels—

labels calculated by politicians to make the workers see red and remain confused—and tried to fasten them to the Labor candidates. "Communists." "Atheists." "Free-Lovers." "What not." At the same time the Communists leveled an attack on the Official Labor Candidates. But they in turn refused to permit the issue to become confused, and the campaign, focused upon working class issues, went merrily on.

Publicity. Lots of good Labor publicity. And meetings. That's the game! Committee meetings and mass meetings and ward meetings and home meetings. Leaflets and ads, little and large, emphasizing labor principles, appealing to Unity. The workers must have been ready for this. Thank the

depression. But the results, astonishing as they are (and this is only the beginning), were not magically produced: it took backbone and intelligence and loyalty and hard work. Smoke of battle clears away and Labor is represented in the government of the city and county by 9 workers. Three on the city council and six on the county board. Six months!

And it happened because six months ago 20 jobless workers came together in Superior to see what could be done toward getting the "city fathers" to provide more adequate relief for the unemployed.

The "city fathers" wouldn't.

The only answer to that was the workers would have to do it themselves. And up sprang a Labor Party.



Then and Now

Silk Workers March

by Joseph Brooks

TRENTON admitted that it was unusual. Never before this May 31 had a group of 100 pickets, representing American Federation of Labor unions, demonstrated before the New Jersey State Capitol.

On that day every local union connected with the American Federation of Silk Workers in Passaic County was officially represented on the picket line. Loomfixers, warpers, twisters, weavers and winders were there. Their officers were with them, and joined in the picketing.

The demonstration grew out of a resolution presented to the Central Executive Board of A. F. of L. silk unions in Paterson by the local silk workers branch of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

The demands of the pickets, in brief, called for: 1. Adequate unemployment relief, according to American standards, secured by income and inheritance taxation, not by a sales tax, as proposed in the Legislature; 2. Permanent unemployment insurance, to guard against "the utter unpreparedness" of the present depression; 3. Drastic legislation for the restriction of the hours of labor, and enforcement of the labor laws.

These were "emergency" measures. Permanent legislation was also demanded, so that "industrial reconstruction for the benefit of the workers" might be assured by the State.

Memorial to Assembly

A memorial embodying these demands was presented to Speaker of the Assembly Joseph Greenberg, who conferred for an hour with the committee chosen to present them. This committee was composed of Frank Schweitzer, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Silk Workers; James Ratcliffe, business representative of the Horizontal Warpers Union; Alex Smith, general organizer, United Textile Workers; Louis F. Budenz, secretary of the C. P. L. A.; and myself.

The committee emphasized that this was no time for hesitation on the part of the Legislature, and that bold action was needed. The police powers of the State must be broadened, by legislative action and judicial interpretation, or there will be "an explosion." The courts had easily found a way possible, under the police powers, to nullify contracts between the public utilities and the public, concerning

rates. They could as easily use the police powers to make valid laws drastically regulating hours and conditions of work.

Speaker Greenberg agreed to two things: 1. The necessity of immediate action in the appointment of volunteer deputies for the enforcement of the labor laws, composed of workers who are unemployed; and 2. The introduction of a bill regulating the hours of labor.

The committee and the unions have decided not only to press these demands, but to fight for the whole program which they presented. When the 100 pickets got back to Paterson, they felt that they had just begun to fight.

The constant agitation of the C.P.L.A. in the silk city of New Jersey is having wider effect than just this among workers. A fighting spirit is being aroused. There is more discussion of the situation confronting the masses than ever before in non-strike times. The union meetings are better attended than they have been, even in 1927, when there was plenty of work.

Two or three times a week the activities of the C.P.L.A. appear on the front pages of the Paterson newspapers. The union is stimulated, too, to action, and is taking an increasingly aggressive role before the workers, as a result.

We are following this through with even closer contact with our fellow-workers. Open air meetings are now beginning, in various parts of Paterson. A mimeographed paper is being distributed, carrying a message of militancy to the silk workers and the other workers in the community.

Bigger Demonstrations Ahead

The two demonstrations at Trenton that have been held—the one on April 5 by the C.P.L.A. silk workers alone and the one on May 31 by the entire union group—are but preludes, in our opinion, to bigger demonstrations for more drastic demands. The significance of these demonstrations is that they have been carried on by responsible workers, who have lived in Paterson for years, and many of whom have been considered conservatives in the past.

They are the sort of workers who will affect a change in this country, if a change is to be made.

We are also happy that similar activities are on foot in Allentown. The silk workers branch of the C.P.L.A. there has also appeared before the workers, with a militant message demanding relief and other action. Their activities likewise are receiving front page notice in the Allentown newspapers, which is very important since it is the daily capitalist press which the workers read. Their program calls for open air meetings also, for a mimeographed paper distributed among the workers, and for the creation of an unemployed citizens' league.

Allentown—and New Jersey

The work in Allentown, it is realized, must not only be linked up with Paterson, but also with Easton and Stroudsburg and other silk centers, as well as with the miners and steel workers in Pennsylvania. Larry Heimbach, active in the general strike in Allentown in 1931, is chairman of the branch there of the C.P.L.A.

The Paterson group understands, too, that we must rally more than the silk workers of the country. We have the other workers in New Jersey to reach. Steps in that direction have already been made in Newark, Trenton and Bayonne, and will be extended.

Active support of the program of the silk workers has come from the Public Committee on Silk and Labor of New Jersey. This committee, composed of leading ministers, professors and publicists of the State, has just been formed and has outlined an aggressive program of action. We believe it will be heard from publicly during the coming month of June.

One big thing that should be underlined is this: We have had all sorts of agitations and agitators in our many strikes in the Paterson district. When the excitement was over, they went away. Perhaps they had other jobs to do, but the outcome was collapse of work and spirit. The C.P.L.A. has taken a different stand. It has not only been in Paterson during the strike, fighting militantly, but has also stayed after the thrilling part of the battle was over. It is working steadily, and is making excellent progress. The renewed fighting spirit of the masses in our community is ample proof of that.

"My Son Is Innocent"

by Byrd Kelso

(Member of the Tom Mooney
Molders Defense Committee)

AFTER fourteen distinct and deliberate postponements, Governor Rolph of California told the world that on Thursday, April 21, 1932, at the State Capitol, between the hours of noon and 4 p. m., he would announce his decision in the case of Tom Mooney, and "this decision will forever dispose of this case which has attracted so much notice and disagreeable publicity."

It was my lot to accompany Mother Mooney and Tom's sister, Anna, to Sacramento, the State Capitol, for the verdict. While enroute, Anna and myself spent our entire time devising plans to handle Mother (who is 84 years old) in case of an adverse decision. Mother looked so hopeful, and was firmly of the belief that at last the State would vindicate her boy, and restore him to his deserved freedom.

Alighting from the train we immediately went to the Capitol. Quite a few people had been there for some time. When Mother entered the corridors she wore upon her breast a white silk sash bearing the story: "My Son Is Innocent." Many of the people crowded up to shake hands with the sweet old proletarian woman. Others, whose dress denoted wealth, stared at us, and one could sense no good omen in their looks. Mother smiled at them all.

Photographers began to arrive by the dozens and we were subject to the constant stare of cameras. Mother hated this affair, and only consented after she had been convinced that it was all for the benefit of her boy.

Then news reporters from all syndicates swarmed up, and these professional questioners talked us nearly to death. Mother gave them up in utter disgust. She had felt the pangs of capitalistic journalism for fifteen years to her bitter sorrow.

At 1:10 P. M. Judge Matt I. Sullivan, one of the Governor's advisors, arrived, and hastily vanished into the Governor's private chamber. We all knew that it would not be long, now, until the verdict would be given. As we stood there, Mother was attracting far too much attention, or so it appeared, for we were cordially invited to enter the room where Governor Rolph would read the message. Upon entering this room, which was fitted out into a "movie studio" that would have put Hollywood to shame, we noticed that the working class was conspicuous by its absence. Nothing but the so-called elite were in evidence.

Seating Mother in a comfortable chair with Anna, I went into another room and waited for the Governor to enter. In a moment he appeared, and after a few flash-light pictures he stepped directly in front of a huge microphone and began reading his thousand-word decision. A moment more and the verdict was no longer a mystery. The final words, "the application for unconditional pardon is hereby denied," were unnecessary.

As the last word was uttered a plainly dressed worker timidly opened the door and started to step into the room, but one of the many policemen forcibly threw him out. This was the only proletarian I saw at the whole fiasco. It can truthfully be said that only the "human filth and dregs" of California were there. Outside the Capitol stood an army of policemen and officers of various brands waiting for the verdict, and they were all armed to the teeth—for the sake of justice, I presume.

We did not tell Mother Mooney the verdict until we had her on the train, homeward bound. Several newspapers claimed that she displayed no outward emotion when we told her Tom's pardon had been denied. That is about as close as capitalistic newspapers ever come to telling the truth in a class matter.

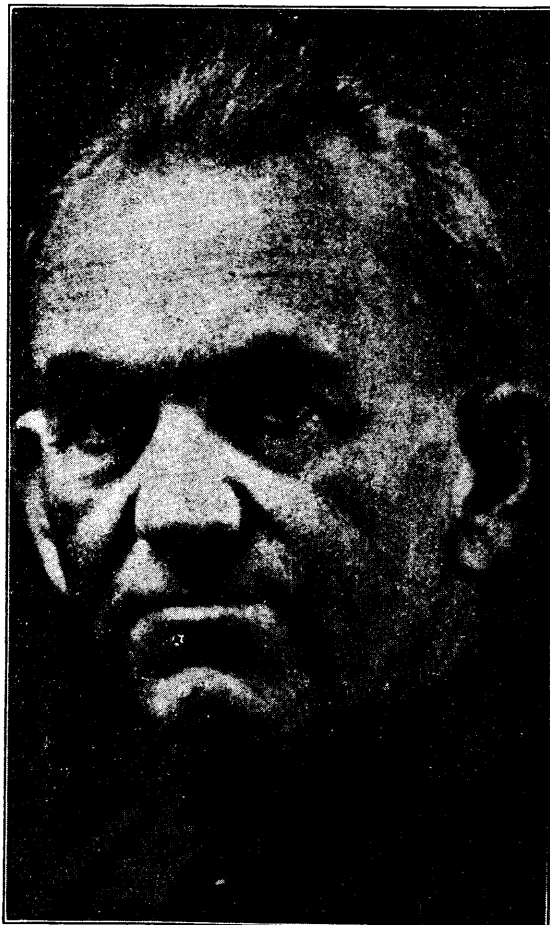
The last boast that Governor Rolph made before he dodged into his chambers was that "this would be the last chance for Tom Mooney to gain his freedom from San Quentin Prison which had held him so securely for the first fifteen years." This is the most direct challenge that was ever hurled at the working class in this or any other country, and Tom Mooney is confident that it will be answered by every class conscious worker in the world.

The office of the Tom Mooney Molders Defense

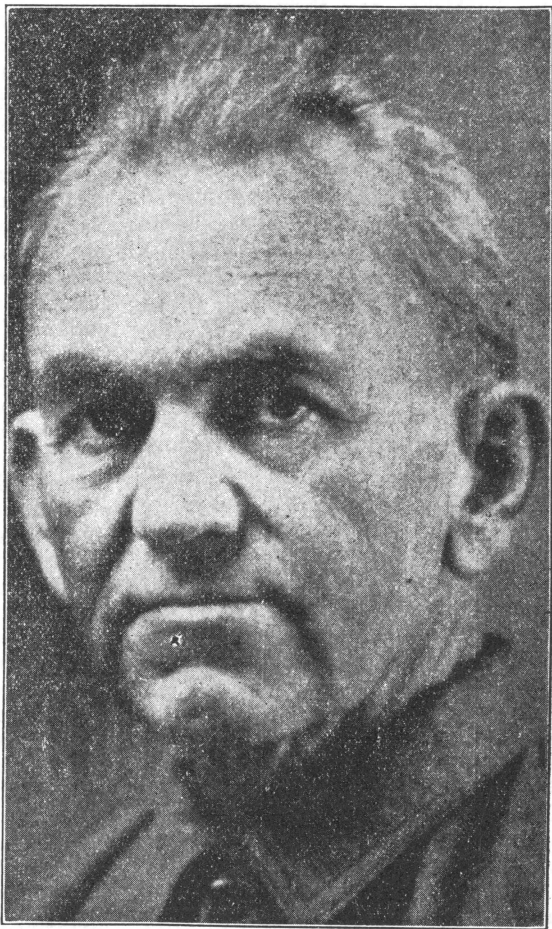
Committee here has received promises of aid and help from many new sources since this brazen class verdict was given. Cablegrams and telegrams have poured in from nine different countries and are still arriving.

You may be sure that Governor Rolph's political ambitions will get a death blow at the next gubernatorial election in this state. In licking the boots of the master class he stooped to the lowest possible depths. Even Governor Young, his predecessor, was not quite so brazen. But this is not enough. We **MUST** and **WILL** erase the cause of all class injustice, namely, Capitalism. We must usher in the new society. Evolution is crying out to Revolution for a change. What will the answer—your answer—be?

Comrades, in the name of Tom Mooney I extend to you our heartfelt thanks for the good fight you have made. Gird yourselves now for the final battle! The workers must come into their own!



Workers! We must free him!



Workers! We must free him!

The Convention of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers

by Fred Donaldson

THE Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, an American Federation of Labor union, with jurisdiction over the entire steel industry, recently held its 57th annual convention at Follansbee, W. Va. Scarcely 40 delegates, representing fewer than 20 locals, were present. It was the smallest convention ever held by the International.

As was pointed out by an unorganized steel worker in a letter which was printed in LABOR AGE last month, the Amalgamated Association, while it has the right to organize the entire steel industry which employs well over 400,000 workers during good times, has no more than 5,000 members. During the past year it has suffered a loss of nearly 2,000 members. This loss of membership is attributed, for the most part, to the wide-spread unemployment which has hit the industry. The union makes no provisions for carrying unemployed members who are unable to pay their dues. This has resulted in wholesale suspensions throughout the organization.

The delegates went to convention this year with this rapidly dwindling membership hanging over the organization. One of the problems they were forced to meet if the organization is not to drift rapidly out of existence was that of keeping their unemployed members in the union. Another issue of equal importance was that of extending their organization into other departments and plants in the industry. With the union without any representation in the larger steel corporations, it has little or no control over the industry. It has confined itself pretty much to the more highly skilled workers in the sheet and tin departments. At present it has no paid organizers in the field. The machine is gradually taking the places once held by the highly skilled members of the union. This problem also confronted the delegates at the convention.

Now how did the delegates and officers of the Amalgamated Association meet these issues at the convention? Unfortunately the convention was held behind closed doors and the delegates were sworn to secrecy. However, quite a bit can be learned of what happened by taking note of the high spots as they were recounted in the Amalgamated Journal.

Tin Workers

There were two outstanding proposals submitted to the convention which had to do with the problem of organizing and educating. The committee on officers' reports recommended "That a new department be instituted" in the organization "to be known as the Service Department." This department was to consist of five members, the two vice-presidents of the International and three others to be chosen by the executive board. These five men were to have the duties of gathering statistics and organizing new locals. After considerable discussion it was decided to hold the matter in obedience until another resolution dealing with the same issues came before the convention.

Proposal of Local 11

The second proposal was submitted by Local No. 11 of Granite City, Ill. The preamble to this proposal is worth repeating here. It said in part, "whereas, owing to the decrease in the membership of the Association . . . it is imperative that some definite plan be put into action whereby the membership must be increased at the earliest opportunity that the organization may live and become a power in its cause." This local then proposed that three of the international offices be abolished—the two vice-presidents and the assistant secretary-treasurer—and that "a new office be created to be known as International Organizer, whose duty it shall be to build up the membership of the different local lodges and organize new locals wherever prospects may be found." The international organizer's salary was to be \$250 per month.

The committee on constitution and general laws to whom this resolution was referred for action frowned upon it and recommended the following substitute, "That the international assistant secretary-treasurer be used more extensively for organizing purposes." The committee's substitute was approved by the convention and the other two proposals were thrown out. What this means in substance is that nothing was done toward organizing the unorganized. The assistant secretary-treasurer, so it is report-

ed, has done some visitation work in the past.

The problem of carrying the unemployed members of the Association was taken even more lightly than that of organization. Nothing was done to take care of these men who because of no fault of their own are unable to pay their per capita tax. They either must pay or get out of the organization. Four locals that had suffered financial reverses because of bank failures and unemployment asked that their per capita debt to the international be lifted. This the convention refused to do. However, it did consent to carry the members of these locals in good standing providing they transferred their bank accounts and books to the international office.

Attacks The Machine

Although the convention seemed unwilling to do anything about maintaining and extending its organization it did turn to the State for assistance. It demanded a national tax against labor saving devices "which are displacing men to the extent of more than 50 per cent in the Amalgamated and other industries." It recommended that the tax be levied in proportion to the number of employes displaced. The proceeds from the tax would be used to feed and clothe the workers displaced by the new devices. This plus the demand for a six-hour day and the five-day week was the convention's way of meeting the advancing machine.

The convention also endorsed the soldiers' bonus.

In endorsing three other resolutions the convention showed considerable progress. It went on record as favoring government ownership of all the banks in the country. Furthermore, it charged its delegate to the A. F. of L. convention to urge that it get behind a campaign for federal unemployment insurance. The third resolution endorsed independent political action and recommended that the A. F. of L. abandon "its traditional non-partisan political policy and sponsor a genuine Labor Party." In spite of this position against the political parties as expressed in the statement that "neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties can be counted upon to further the aims or to advance the conditions of labor" the convention saw fit to endorse Senator James J. Davis for reelection on the Republican ticket.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jingo-Liberal

ANOTHER Sir Galahad has sauntered forth into the presidential arena, clad in the shining armor of liberalism, to challenge, it would seem, the mighty hosts of privilege and champion the cause of "the forgotten man." But on closer examination the armor proves to be mere tinsel to cloak as fine a jingo, as brazen an imperialist, and as despicable a demagogue, as ever followed the dictates of big business.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt is no common product of the sidewalks of New York. He comes of conservative blue-blooded stock which traces its ancestry back to Claes Martensen Van Roosevelt, a wealthy landowner, who settled in New Amsterdam in 1636. His father was a leading railroad lawyer, vice president of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad and president of the Lake Champlain Transport Company. As the fifth cousin of Theodore the First, and the bearer of the magic name of Roosevelt, the Governor of the Empire State now comes forward to claim his political heritage. But he possesses neither the brains nor the guts of his predecessors. A mediocrity of this type by any other name would have dropped from sight long ago.

In spite of the present acute, nationwide distress, the powers-that-be have little cause to fear the benign but innocuous Rooseveltian appeals for "the little fellow," his plea for "a fundamental change in our popular economic thought," for "organized planning" and for a "more equitable distribution of the national income." He will arouse no social disorder nor fan the flames of discontent. "As a rabble-rouser," William Allen White sagely declares, "he is badly infected with weasel words . . . When he seems to be going well as a progressive or a liberal he checks himself with a string of 'althoughs', 'buts', 'on-the-other-hands', and 'on-the-contraries'."

"It is clear from Roosevelt's record," says the *Atlanta Constitution*, "that he will do no injustice to big business." In answer to Al Smith who charged him with fomenting class hatred in defense of the "forgotten man," he reassuringly replied in his St. Paul speech, "I plead not for a class control but for a true concert of interest." "This is not radicalism," says the *Omaha World-Herald*, "It is sound Americanism. It is the wisest conservatism."

by Benjamin Mandel

However, one can more accurately judge this political tight-rope walker by his specific past conduct rather than by his present utterances which are calculated to "unite East and West, North and South, in one grand brotherhood of inconclusive phrases and glittering generalities."

War Record

Franklin D. Roosevelt first broke into national "fame" as the Assistant-Secretary of War under President Woodrow Wilson. Here he showed himself as a shining understudy of the man "who kept us out of war," as a ruthless imperialist, blatant and unashamed. This indecisive, weak and wavering character, proved that he could bang the mailed fist as hard as any of the war mongers.

In the *Ladies Home Journal* of June, 1917, under the title of "What the Navy Can Do For Your Boy," Mr. Roosevelt writes: "We all know more or less that our Navy is the first line of defense and we are coming to realize that the definition of the word 'defense' does not mean alone the prevention of hostile land forces from landing on our seaboard, but that in its broader sense and in the light of modern conditions the word 'defense' means also the keeping open of our highways of commerce across the seas and along our coasts." The Navy League itself could not formulate its imperialist doctrine more clearly.

"Now at last," he declares, "the country has reached a time when a change of method must come. We have heard of universal training, we have heard of the militia system of a dozen different ways of doing individual duty to the Government. Has not the time arrived for the country to organize all this thought, all these schemes into a particular purpose, into a splendid national whole, into the definite and democratic principle that is in entire accord with our theory of government? Is it not time that the people of the United States should decide to adopt definitely the principle of national government service by every man and woman for a short period during their lives?" Mussolini himself could ask for nothing more.

In the *New York Times* of January 27, 1917, Roosevelt is quoted as fol-

lows: "I advocate military preparedness, not for the sake of war, but for the sake of safeguarding against war if that is possible, and of guaranteeing our honor and safety if war should nevertheless come . . . I wish to see our navy second only to that of Great Britain because Great Britain is the only power whose naval needs are greater than ours." Perhaps now that Roosevelt has become more "liberal," and since times have changed, he may advocate a navy second to none.

To insure the rich investments of the National City Bank, in Haiti, a force of American marines landed at Port au Prince on December 14, 1914, seized \$500,000 from the National Bank of Haiti, and subsequently placed the unhappy island under martial law. Franklin D. Roosevelt directed this invasion and drafted the new constitution whereby the Haitian people were deprived of their basic rights in the interests of the investments of Wall Street bankers.

"When war or peace hung in the balance," says the author of "Mirrors of 1932," "he announced that our fleet was sufficiently strong to conquer Mexico. He rivaled the Kaiser in rattling the sabre."

That there has been no fundamental change in Mr. Roosevelt's militaristic outlook is indicated by his letter written to Representative Collins of Mississippi as late as May 12, 1932, in which that gentleman is congratulated for not having reduced the National Guard activities in drafting the new War Department appropriation bill.

The Power Issue

The National Popular Government League rates Governor Roosevelt highest as the ally of the public against the "power trust." Fifteen United States Senators and twenty-two Representatives endorsed the survey in which this conclusion was drawn. Let us examine the record of this so-called "enemy of the power trust," in view of the fact that these Senators and Representatives claim that power is "one of the most important issues before the American people in this campaign of 1932."

The Public Service Commission of New York State, headed by Mr. Milo R. Maltbie, an appointee of Roosevelt, recently granted an increase in electric rates to the Edison Company and affiliates of Greater New York, which

resulted in an increase in rates for 58 percent of the residential consumers, the poorer consumers. In New York City, 896,903 families found their electric bills increased in a period of severe unemployment and decreased earning power, while these companies are making the highest profits in their history.

Mr. Roosevelt has repeatedly advocated public ownership of electric power systems. Plans are now under way for distributing the enormous resources of St. Lawrence power throughout New York State. In order to secure the maximum benefit for the people of the State in the form of cheap electric power, Governor Roosevelt has proposed that the State enter into the business of transmission of power if satisfactory arrangements cannot be made with private companies and that municipalities be encouraged to do so, thus competing with the Niagara Hudson Power Corporation, a Morgan octopus, controlling the power industry of the entire State. To date no municipalities have found themselves in a position to comply with this suggestion. The State has not indicated what these satisfactory arrangements are and has made no effort to construct transmission lines. Meanwhile the Niagara Hudson Power Corporation with the approval

of the Public Service Commission has almost completed constructing its own lines between Niagara and New York and is thus left with a complete monopoly over the most valuable power resources in the entire country.

The Niagara Hudson is the largest power company in the United States. Under the administration of Governor Roosevelt it has grown steadily, taking over the Buffalo, Niagara and Eastern, the Mohawk Hudson, Northeastern Power, St. Regis Paper Company, Consolidated Gas Company—controlling the New York Edison Company—and 21 affiliated companies. On June 29, 1929, Governor Roosevelt asked State Attorney General Ward about the legality of these tremendous mergers. Upon receiving a reply from Mr. Ward that the mergers were legal, he instituted his own investigation, of which nothing more was heard.

When the attention of Mr. Roosevelt was called to the fact that the Brooklyn Edison Company had laid off 2,000 men in the midst of the present severe depression, and when he was informed that this corporation was discharging men without cause, the Governor claimed that he was powerless to act, as did also the Public Service Commission.

On the power issue, there is little

reason to disagree with the comment made recently by Mr. William H. Woodin, president of the American Car and Foundry Company, chairman of the Board of the American Locomotive Company, and a warm supporter of the Governor. "I have every confidence that with Mr. Roosevelt as president," he said, "the problem (of power) will be tackled in the spirit I have indicated—of fair dealing and of equal justice to all concerned. There is nothing of a destructive nature in Governor Roosevelt's make-up and outlook on life and affairs—for which reason I have no fear that in his approach to the problem he will bring to it either inclination or desire to destroy or hamper the many companies that for years have devoted their time, care and money to the development of this great industry."

Labor

It is estimated that there are fully 1,000,000 unemployed in New York, the richest state in the Union. The State of New York has failed to handle this problem adequately except to suggest a study of unemployment statistics and to make a mere gesture toward relief. New York City boasts today of more than 100 breadlines and all relief agencies have admittedly

(Continued on Page 29)



PHIL LIFF '32

"Czar" Brandle: A Study in "Success"

by Louis Francis Budenz

IN the *Newark Evening News* of April 4, under screaming headlines, the following Trenton item appeared:

"Theodore M. Brandle, New Jersey building trades czar, pleaded guilty to indictments alleging income tax frauds today before Federal Judge Avis. He and his partner and their bonding company will pay penalties and fines aggregating \$96,221."

The "brother" in question is the leading representative of the American Federation of Labor in the State of New Jersey. He is the logical product of the political and economic philosophy of that organization. Neither Horatio Alger nor the *American Magazine* has conceived of a success more magnificent than has been his.

Honors in labor leadership have been showered upon him. Special organizer of the A. F. of L. itself, and business agent of powerful local 45 of the Ironworkers of Jersey City, he is also president of the Hudson County Building Trades Council and of numerous other labor organizations. On this May 18th, he was unanimously re-elected president of the New Jersey Building Trades Council for the eighth consecutive time.

But such positions of power among the organized workers have been mere bagatelles in the eyes of "Brother" Brandle. He has developed, through the years, into a big business man extraordinary. His feverish activities extend into the banking, bonding, insurance, investment, real estate, and material supply businesses. He has almost entire control of building permit grants, and by his own statement, "is interested in many holding concerns as well." In 1928 and 1929, he supplemented his labor and business enterprises by allowing himself to be named "director-general" of the big employers' association, the Iron League of New Jersey. The president of that body at that time was the anti-union contractor, Amos Radcliffe of Paterson. Thus, Brandle enjoyed the unique distinction of being head of the most prominent labor and employers' organizations in the State at one and the same time.

From the Iron League he received \$10,000 a year, as "a gift" in testimony of his successful services. Beyond that, the League assessed its contractor-members two and one-half per cent on the total of each contract, one and a half per cent going without accounting

This amazing exposure of the "czar" of the New Jersey building trades is of more than passing interest. "Brandleism" is but part of a cancer which is eating at the vitals of the Labor Movement and which must be destroyed.

The forceful ousting of Joseph Fay, Brandle ally, from his union in Newark, is a healthy beginning in the clean-up of New York and New Jersey labor leadership.

Brandle must go, likewise. The material appearing in this article is a portion of the Brandlean data collected by Budenz for his book, "The Labor Racket." The fight against Brandle is one of the many being carried on by the CPLA against reactionary and racketeering leadership.

to the Brandle "labor group." Hundreds of thousands of dollars were allegedly handed over to "the labor group" in this way. At the Boston Convention of the national employers' association, the Iron League of America, "Brother" Brandle hailed this arrangement as the highest type of union-management cooperation.

"Non-Partisan" Champion of Hague

In the political field he has likewise achieved a position of state-wide prominence. A devoted champion of the A. F. of L. "non-partisan" policy, for the benefit of Democratic boss Frank Hague, he has played a big part in strengthening Hague's control of the organized labor vote. In fact, he has stated publicly that his chief aspiration is to put every labor man under the wing of Jersey City's Mayor. In 1924 it was Brandle who prevented the endorsement of the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket by the New Jersey Federation of Labor, despite the personal plea to the Paterson convention by Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. for support of the National Executive Council. The rejection of the LaFollette ticket was done in the name of "non-partisan politics," while Brandle's building trades followers lustily cheered John W. Davis, Wall Street lawyer and Democratic candidate for President, as the convention session adjourned.

And the labor-leader-big-business man has done more than assist the Democratic boss politically. Financial help has also been forthcoming. In the late summer of 1930, the Jersey City mayor got into difficulties with the Federal government over his own income tax returns. Hague was finally obliged to pay to the Secretary of the Treasury, in settlement of his defaults, "both as to civil and criminal liability," the sum of \$60,000. When the smoke rolled away, it was revealed that none other than Brandle had generously paid the agreed amount, with his own personal check on his Labor National Bank of Jersey City.

By what magic can a "leader" of the hard-pressed working class pay out \$60,000 for his political friend in 1930 and again pay \$96,000 for himself and partner two years later? How can he erect as a monument to himself the tall "Labor Building," which looms up in busy Journal Square in Jersey City? How can he maintain a palatial home in Jersey City, a rich apartment in an apartment hotel in that same municipality, together with a mansion looking out upon the ocean breakers in aristocratic Deal? How can he ride around in an expensive car, with a liveried chauffeur, and take frequent trips to Europe with all the gorgeousness of a Mellon or a Morgan?

Republican Party chieftains, the New Jersey press and Brandle's revolting "brothers" in the unions have united on an answer. They charge him with "labor racketeering."

Branleygran "Racketeering"

The center of this alleged "racketeering" is the Branleygran (bonding and insurance) company. As early as 1922 Brandle launched this corporation, of which he modestly became president and treasurer. Its unique designation is derived from an amalgam from the names of the three partners: "the chief" himself, ex-Assemblyman Joseph F. Hurley and Eddie Grant, ward-heeler, life-long crony of Brandle's and sometimes barman at the Summit Democratic club. As if by miracle, the Branleygran Company hurdled to the forefront of the bonding companies of the State, where it has ever remained.

Scarcely had it been launched, when members of the Essex County board of freeholders complained that its bids for bonding of contractors on the Hall of Records were accompanied by veiled

threats. Intimations that bonding with Branleygran would insure labor peace were declared to be part and parcel of the bids. Contractors, seeking construction of a viaduct on the Wanakue watershed, let out a similarly loud wail. In the letter sent out to bidders for the contract on the Hall of Records, the Branleygran Company specifically mentioned that William J. Lyons, president of the Essex County Building Trades Council, and Thomas Sherlock, representative of the iron workers of that county, were associated with the company, and added significantly: "You will probably agree that this can work to mutual advantage."

In the 1931 gubernatorial campaign, the entire region from Port Jervis to Cape May echoed with attacks on "Brandleism." The Republican candidate for Governor, David Baird, Jr., and his associates paraded through the State, castigating the Jersey City labor czar. They produced an affidavit from an Elizabeth insurance man "of standing," which stated most precisely that Brandle had robbed him of bonding business on the Elizabeth Masonic temple, through threat of labor trouble. They averred loudly that this was no uncommon occurrence.

The Democrats frankly admitted that a racket was involved, but claimed that the Republicans were in a worse mess. For the Hague machine, Joseph Matthews, an able lawyer of Newark, answered in Paterson: "It is only that the bonding company of Brandle has come into conflict with the bonding company of Baird that all the smoke arises. The meeting of the two rackets makes all the noise."

Of course, it was beyond Mr. Matthews' ken to understand that a leader of a labor movement, the "proletariat," is not supposed to ape the capitalist racketeers.

In 4,000 words Mr. Brandle himself repelled all "racketeering charges", and defended his lucrative bonding business. He proceeded to show that practically every important Republican politician in the State was using "illegitimate" pressure for similar enterprises. And thereby he gave himself away. He demonstrated that he, a leader of labor, was nothing but a crude imitation of the racketeering capitalists, motivated solely by their ideals.

With emotion, he cried out in the public press: "Private items of my income tax assessment and report have been given the widest publicity by the Collector of Internal Revenue at Newark, in violation of the spirit and letter of the Federal Statute and the Internal Revenue regulations." Demands of the workers for publicity of all in-

come tax reports found no echoing sympathy in the bosom of this representative of the toilers. His income was a "private" matter, sacred as all "private property," even though the holy oils of the A. F. of L. were upon his head.

The first Federal trial of Brandle for income tax evasion came in March, 1931, after it was learned that he had paid Hague's tax and penalties. At that time he asserted that his knowledge of the finances of the Branleygran Co. was infinitesimal. He appeared every inch the "plain, outspoken workingman, who has no skill nor tolerance with figures," which his counsel had painted him. Accounts of the concerns were kept merely on the stubs of check books, by Hurley, it was contended. Brandle's sole function was to rustle up business and sign checks. The "president and treasurer" was uncertain whether his personal income for 1926 was \$31,053 or \$63,248. He was equally vague about other years. The one financial item that he could remember clearly was that he received a salary of \$50 and expenses of \$200 per week from his local union.

Government agents contended that deposits to his credit in the banks were much higher than his total income tax return each year, and that from the Branleygran Company alone he received \$165,139 in 1926, 1927 and 1928. Thereupon Brandle told of large unpaid "loans" made by him to the company and spoke of an old trunk, where he preserved his hidden treasure of years past, for fear of some adverse labor decision such as the Danbury hatters' case. Whenever he needed money for banking purposes, he would take the cash out of the faithful trunk and deposit it to his credit. In 1932, Sheriff Farley of New York, another labor leader of the A. F. of L. was to refer to a "mysterious tin box" similar to the Brandlean trunk.

Head of Both Employers and Workers

The defendant admitted that he had received two checks of \$10,000 each from the New Jersey Iron League, while he was director general of that employers' organization. The said checks had been presented to him by a committee headed by Amos Radcliffe, president of the League, former mayor of Paterson and anti-union contractor. These had been "gifts," he stated, made in December, 1928, and December, 1929, respectively, "in the Christmas spirit." As director general, his sole task had been to attend "social sessions" of the organization, he

averred. But the "reasons" which led these employers to hit upon the "labor czar" as their own dictator were much more pretentious. In his own words they were:

"The (contractor) members discussed among themselves and found they could not select any one who could keep them in line and in harmony with the contractors (in general). They felt if I accepted I could talk with the general contractors, the material men, the employees and themselves. In other words, they put me in as 'the big stick,' as the newspapers call me. There was something about me that they wanted. There was something they were seeking all their lives. They made no money and they felt they wanted me so that they could make some money." Money they did make during the two years of his director generalship, and the consequent Christmas tokens were "in appreciation" of the manna thus mysteriously fallen upon them.

When the Federal jury disagreed, the *Newark Evening News* opined editorially that the trial had had at least "an educational value." It had shown "some of the ways in which juicy sums can be gathered and disbursed by a labor leader without physical or mental effort." The editorial concluded with appeals to "the rank and file" and with references to "the dissatisfaction" these disclosures caused among honest toilers.

Business Agent for Life

Whatever the "honest toilers" thought, there was no ripple of revolt in Local 45. Their generalissimo had cut off the greatest chance for that, when he had been elected business agent for life. According to his own statement, he found that life tenure was unconstitutional in the international union and thereupon had himself chosen for a term of 25 years. Other agencies of compulsion were within reach. Strongarm methods quelled any dissenter. In the harsh struggle for jobs, which the depression heightened, loyalty got its reward. Jersey City men even uprooted brother union ironworkers and carpenters of surrounding cities for a time, on public construction work in those communities. Through the Union Labor Investment Co., another Brandle enterprise, most of the ironworkers had tied up their life's savings with "the chief." Moreover, for the favored circle of servitors the 25-year-termed business agent did produce results. On this subject we can quote an alleged Brandle enemy, Arthur M. Torrey, secretary of the Employers' Associa-

tion of New Jersey. In a "Labor Day" address to the smug congregation of the Sixth Avenue Presbyterian Church in Newark, Mr. Torrey delivered himself thus: "One result of the arrangement between contractors and labor leaders has been that in this locality the wage rate of ironworkers (\$16 per day) is higher than the wage rate for that work in any other community in the world."

It is in Local 11 of Newark that the pot of rebellion has been boiling over into newspaper headlines. Brandle's lieutenant, Thomas Sherlock, thick-headed Irish-American, rules there. He was likewise elected business agent "indefinitely," which was interpreted as forever. But later, under the stress and strain of criticism, he had the term changed by resolution to 10 years. A group of members from this local, charging discrimination, secured a temporary injunction before Vice-Chancellor Berry against the card-index system of allotting jobs. It was alleged that the cards were jiggled around, so that newcomers to the union who had formerly been anything but ironworkers, were given the pick of the allotments.

In this suit the magic source of the prosperity which came to Iron League members under Brandle's director-generalship was disclosed. Through the Structural Steel Board of Trade, a subsidiary, the contractor members put their bids for a specified contract into a box, at a meeting prior to the regular bidding. The "central committee" then went over these preliminary bids and decided which firm should be given the contract. Other firms, or even the successful one at times, were ordered to raise their bids to higher figures, arranging them so that the concern decided upon should secure the award. Contractors went on the stand and testified to these facts, and also as to the payment of large sums of money by their treasurers, at regular intervals and without accounting, to "the labor group." One of these former treasurers, a well-known contractor, refused to answer questions along this line, on the ground that by doing so he would incriminate himself.

That was not all. Solicitors for the Union Labor Investment Co. of which Brandle was the inevitable president, appeared on the scene just as a construction job was in a critical stage. With knowing hints as to the desirability of labor peace, they persuaded contractors to invest "in this undertaking on the part of union labor." The Iron League members were practically all

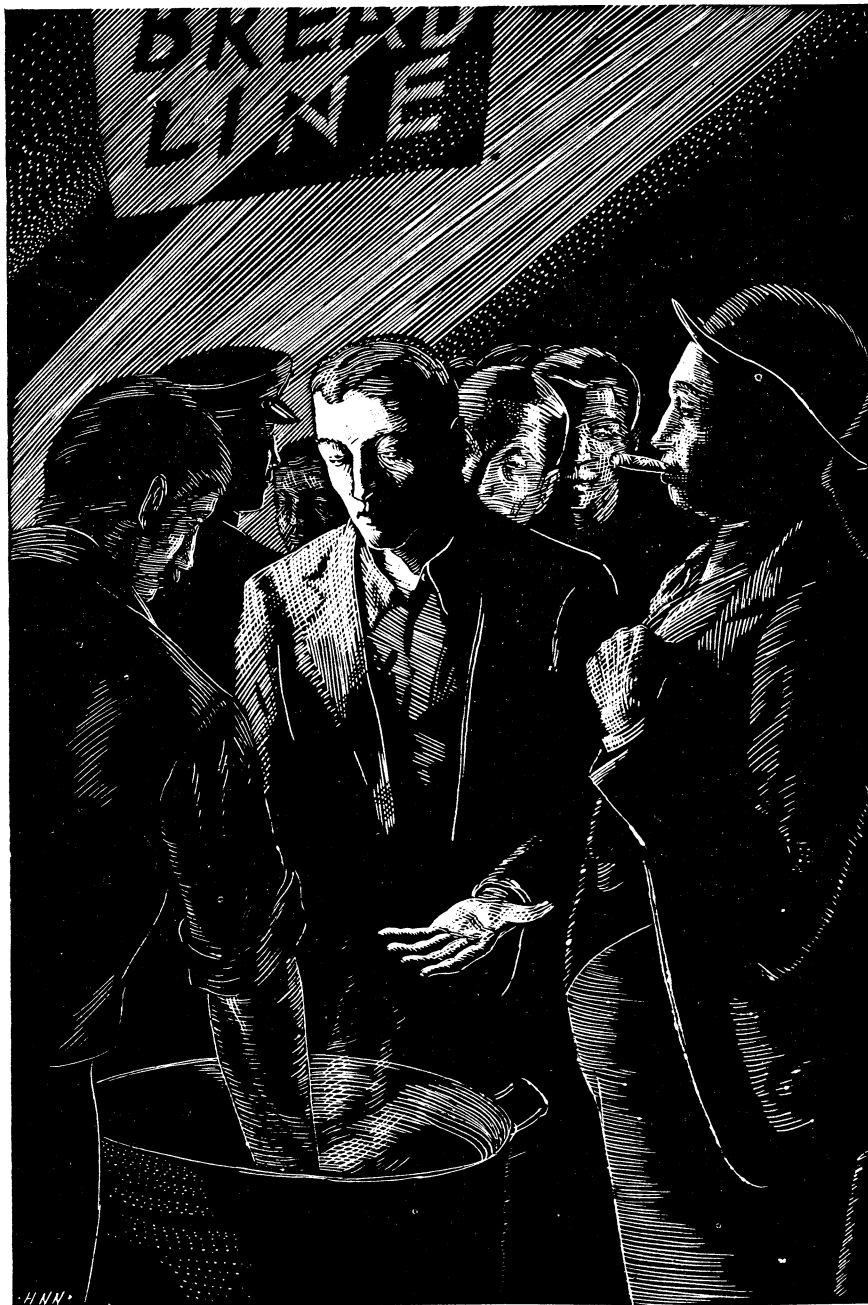
such investors, some almost up to their necks.

"Porky" Flynn in Action

In the battle over the card index system, which brought forth these revelations, physical chastisement again played its role. "Porky" Flynn, colossal bodyguard of Sherlock, kicked and beat one Cohen about the face and body, so that he was confined to a hospital. Other affrays of like sort took place regularly. At the Asbury Park convention of the New Jersey Building Trades Council last year, "Porky"

again went into action, this time with the aid of "Dutch" Jensen, another bodyguard. The victim in this case was William J. Buckley, president of the Monmouth County Building Trades Council and member of the Perth Amboy ironworkers local. Buckley's nose was broken, several teeth knocked out, and he suffered internal injuries from being kicked. This "job" was done with Sherlock's personal cooperation, Brandle looking on. Flynn was convicted of the Cohen assault, while the trio are awaiting trial. The answer of

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The Garment Workers Convention

THE twenty-first convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union opened its twelve-day session at the Elks Hotel, Philadelphia, facing the most trying period and the most difficult problems the organization has experienced in all its history. The attacks upon union standards of wages, hours and working conditions, the effort of the manufacturers and the contractors to reinstate sweatshop conditions, taking full advantage of the demoralized state of the industry and the widespread unemployment; these are the problems which the garment workers expected their convention to deal with effectively. The convention gave no clear assurance, however, that these pressing problems will be dealt with any more effectively than they have been dealt with in the past.

While the conservative administration of the International remained fully intact and vigorously resisted every threat against its continued dominance, yet a number of progressive general resolutions were passed. Among the resolutions of this character which were adopted were the following: For a Labor Party, For the Release of Mooney and Billings, For the Support of the Scotsboro Case, Against Injunctions, For Old Age Pensions, For Unemployment Insurance, For the Freedom of Hoffman, and for the Recognition of the Soviet Union.

Resolutions which threatened in the slightest degree the position of the present administration were defeated, this being easily accomplished because of the weakness of the left wing of the convention. The proposal for proportional representation was defeated. So also were the resolutions calling for the amalgamation of the New York Joint Boards, referendum, shortening the terms of office, recall of officials, and a maximum wage of \$60 for all officials. The same crowd from Schlesinger down thus remains entrenched at the head of the International, with little promise of an immediate change until a more powerful and independent left wing develops.

The progressives, headed by Kirtzman of Local 9, declared in their criticism of the Officers' Report that wages had been cut among the Dressmakers more than fifty percent, and that wages in general were far below the minimum scales provided in the Agreement. Yet he pointed out the

by A Garment Worker

G. E. B. reported that "Despite pressure for wage reductions in every market, we have, with few exceptions, succeeded in staving off all such demands." The minority criticism further declared that in the Cloak Industry, "It is a known fact that while in the Agreements we have week work, the 40-hour week, definite minimum wage scales, extra pay for overtime, etc., nevertheless it is commonly known that these conditions do not prevail in the shops." Yet the official report stated that "the position of the Cloakmakers' Union in the Cloak Industry in New York as a whole remains unchallenged." The progressives charged that certain officers "have done everything in their power in an open and covert way to defeat this policy (of maintaining week work) and to bring back the pernicious piece-work system." It was further charged that the General Executive Board hindered proper preparations for the coming cloak strike.

In discussing the recent Dress Strike, the minority report declared, "Due to lack of preparations prior to the strike we did not succeed in gaining any open shops. The condition of the organization therefore remained the same and is growing worse."

The administration defended itself by claiming that other industries were compelled to accept cuts, that times are bad and that the locals were responsible for the situation. Although the progressives made a valuable contribution to the convention in their sharp criticism of the administration and in their program, there are strong indications of an understanding between them and the administration in the election of the G. E. B., which cannot but injure the independent standing of the progressives in the eyes of the workers.

The Communists in the convention outdid themselves in stupidity by voting against the Cloak Strike, enabling Schlesinger to sound this brief but timely warning, "Scabs beware!"

Schlesinger was persuaded again to accept the presidency, not, however, until it became clear that if Schlesinger had refused, there would have been a cat-and-dog fight among the various right wing cliques.

The job of building a militant progressive wing in the International in order that the approaching struggle among the cloakmakers may be fought with the maximum effectiveness and to deal with the other crucial issues facing the garment workers throughout the country still remains most urgent and important.

News Notes About Our Branches

Injunction Test in Philadelphia

The CPLA branch in Philadelphia is taking the lead in testing the constitutionality of the injunction taken out by the Apex Hosiery Mill against efforts toward unionization. One enthusiastic meeting has already been held in front of the mill at which Louis F. Budenz was the principal speaker. Future meetings are planned. The status of the Pennsylvania injunction in the Apex case will be tested in the light of the new Anti-Injunction Bill recently passed by the Pennsylvania legislature.

Southern Textile Conference in Prospect

Larry Hogan is planning a southern textile conference for the week-end of July 23-24, exact place soon to be announced. The second number of "The Shuttle" has just come off the mimeograph with a number of live and valuable features on the struggle of the southern textile workers. As we go to

press, Hogan is leading a hunger march of farmers whose land is being held for taxes.

Steel Workers Organize

In more than 100 key centers and mills in the steel district the Brotherhood of the Mills is quietly but efficiently organizing its contacts for a determined fight against the campaign of wage cutting and speed-up now under way in the steel industry. A Progressive Steel Workers Conference will be held in June.

Hunger March in West Virginia

Five hundred hunger marchers are encamped in Charleston, W. Va., near the State House. Walter Seacrist, W. Va. miner, recent Brookwood graduate and CPLA'er, who is leading these men, announces that they will stay right there until the Governor promises relief. More hundreds of miners are marching down from the hills.

Congress and the Unemployed

by Benjamin Marsh

(Executive Secretary of The People's Lobby)

THE various suggestions on relief of the unemployed, both direct Federal appropriations to give food, shelter and clothing to the unemployed either through States or through the Federal Government, and an enlarged program of public works including Federal credit for housing, have had hard sledding in the present Congress. Naturally any Government entitled to the respect of decent citizens would not have hesitated but would have enacted this relief program in December last year, or even earlier through a special session of Congress. Scoffers should remember, however, as they so well know, that the function of Government in the United States, particularly of the Federal Government, has been to keep the American people in ignorance and subjection, while it was handing out special privileges in the way of patent rights, tariffs, natural resources, transportation monopolies, and credit graft through our present banking system, to a selected group of friends with the assumption that the crumbs which fell from the masters' table would keep the underdogs content, if not fed. Scoffers should remember, too, that the program of relief, construction, and public works is a direct challenge to this system and for the leaders of either Party to endorse it, was to admit that their masters had been in error. Opposition to this program of relief has not been due entirely, although chiefly, to the desire to save the rich from surtaxes, estate taxes, and other unpleasant methods of recovering wealth stolen or acquired by legislative enactment, but also is a face saving proposition.

At least fifty bills have been introduced in Congress to deal with the unemployment situation. The first bill for direct relief, known as the Costigan-LaFollette Bill as originally introduced last December, appropriated \$375,000,000 for relief, of which \$125,000,000 was to be available to June 30, this year—the balance the following fiscal year. This Bill admittedly was the most carefully drafted to secure proper administration and to permit the Federal Government to give part of the funds directly where local and state agencies were not in existence to meet the situation.

Relief Bills Defeated

The race question arose, and under the guise of preventing the creation of what the opponents called a "Bureau-

cracy" in the national Capitol, the bill was defeated in the Senate, though forty votes, counting those paired in favor, were cast for it. The leader of the opposition to this Bill was Senator Black of Alabama, who openly charged on the floor of the Senate that they did not propose to have Federal agents coming into Alabama to try to regulate their social practices. The administration of the relief fund was to be under the control of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, a fact which also aroused the opposition of Senator Black. During discussion on the floor the introducers accepted an amendment appropriating also \$375,000,000 for public works as loans. Several similar relief bills were defeated. The most popular relief bill up in the Senate until the recent declaration of the Democratic Committee of Five, was the Wagner Relief Bill appropriating the same amount as the Costigan-LaFollette bill but as loans to the states, to be made only upon certification by the Governors of the states that such help was needed.

Congressman Lewis of Maryland introduced the original Costigan Bill in the House and while the sub-committee of the Labor Committee favored it, the Chairman displaced it with a bill which, as Congressman Lewis said, attempted to substitute "blue prints for bread." Recently Senator Costigan has introduced substantially his earlier relief bill but the appropriation to be made as a loan to states instead of as a direct gift.

Several important construction bills have been introduced, one appropriating \$132,000,000 for roads. Senator Wagner some weeks ago introduced a bill appropriating a little over \$1,000,000,000 to carry out projects already authorized by Congress. This was opposed by the Old Guard in both Parties. Senator LaFollette early in the session introduced a public works bill carrying \$5,500,000,000, of which \$200,000,000 was for credit for housing, which has been reported out of Committee, and is on the calendar. Senator Cutting introduced the bill carrying out the program of the National Committee on Unemployment, of which Darwin J. Meserole is Presi-

dent, backed by the Joint Committee on Unemployment, for a \$5,000,000,000 credit, chiefly for highway construction and public buildings. I have not mentioned the Reconstruction Finance Corporation because its avowed purpose was not so much to attempt to provide new work, as to save the financial hide of corporations already existing and to extend credit where conservative banks, feeling the responsibility to their depositors, feared to do this. It was on the theory that when the wealthy are in distress Governments rush in where bankers fear to tread.

Three or four months' experience of the Reconstruction Corporation as well as of the Glass-Steagall Bill have shown that other measures are needed to provide work for the unemployed. The most recent and extensive, though at that inadequate, proposal is that made by the Committee of five Democratic Senators—Wagner of New York; Bulkley of Ohio; Pittman of Nevada; Walsh of Massachusetts; and Robinson, Democratic leader—which has been incorporated in the bill just introduced by Senator Wagner. This bill provides \$2,300,000,000 for immediate state loans for unemployment, Federal works, and loans for self-liquidating enterprises.

Speaker Garner has also introduced a bill of all of 90 pages, giving the President a hundred million dollars for use as emergency fund, creating a credit of \$1,000,000,000 to be loaned for relief projects by states and private corporations and individuals, including closed banks; and \$1,000,000,000 for public works, a long list of which are enumerated in the bill itself.

The Revenue Bill

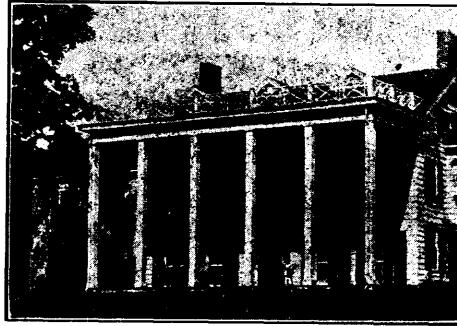
While these may be regarded as the sole relief measures by some, the Revenue Bill which will have to raise approximately \$4,400,000,000 to avoid deficiency bills, is providing not only the great battle ground between the wealthy and those with large incomes, and the docile submitters to exploitation, but very directly affects the question of unemployment, since all taxes on consumption reduce consumption and thereby increase unemployment.

The Federal sources of revenue should be considered in relation to state and local tax systems. The total of Federal, state, city and other local expenditures this year will be approximately \$13,500,000,000, of which the

Federal Government's expenditures will be roughly \$4,400,000,000, and other governments' \$8,100,000,000. At least two-thirds of the revenue of State, city, and other local governments derived from taxes are shifted, and are therefore consumption taxes. Considerably over one-third of the Federal budget is raised that way, and it is the intention of our leaders of peerless stupidity ultimately to raise two-thirds of the Federal budget by taxes which will fall most heavily upon people of small means.

While philosophizing is not in order in an article on Washington, I may be forgiven to comment that from the standpoint merely of restoring normal conditions and at least of abating unemployment, the revenue measure suggested by the real rulers of America entitles these rulers to prolonged observation—in a psychopathic ward, with possible promotion to an institution for the criminally insane. We are overplanted in every essential line of production and the task of the national revenue bill is to shift at least \$2,000,000,000 of taxes now paid by those who need that amount for consumption, to those whose surplus is awaiting investment in further plant equipment although the present equipment is as stated, one-third to one-half in excess of the present demand. The fight on the Couzens Amendment restoring the 1918 surtax rates is due not only to the desire of the rich to escape fair taxes as they did so generally under the Treasury's administration, representative of the Mellon family which controls over \$8,000,000,000 of property, but to opposition by those with incomes of \$3,000 and particularly \$5,000 to \$10,000 who object to seeing their taxes increased. Any prophesy as to what will be the outcome of the revenue bill or for that matter as to how little Congress will pass and call it an unemployment relief program, is futile at this time.

The wealthy seem to take the position that any article upon which a tax can be levied and perhaps collected is a luxury, all of which goes to confirm the writer's impression that Government as now perpetrated in the United States is our greatest luxury. In fact it is a ruinous luxury and possibly those who are trying to change the conditions moderately are merely bringing about a greater catastrophe when it comes, as it must inevitably come. Again apologies for philosophizing about conditions in the national Capitol of a country in which it isn't the crimes, but the contagiousness of capitalism, that is most alarming.



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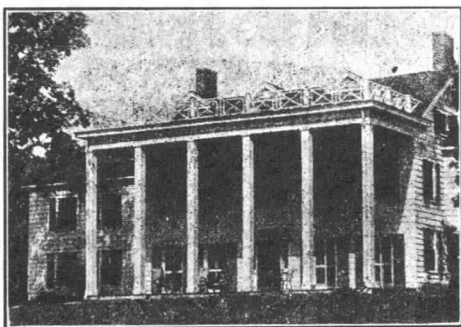
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Foreign News Notes

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

The elections to the Chamber of Deputies (Congress), which took place May 1 and May 8, are of great import to Americans generally, and especially to American workers. Americans generally are concerned with the French political scene because Hoover last winter promised Laval, now out of office, that his government might have first say on matters of debt revision; and American workers are vitally interested in France because of her position in international affairs. As mistress of Europe, she has hegemony over a number of European countries. It is she who is arming Poland and Roumania for war against the Soviet Union, as well as financing every despotic regime in Central Europe, whether in Jugoslavia, Hungary, or Serbia. So well is this known, that workers and students, demonstrating in the streets of Zagreb, shout, "Down with France, banker of Jugoslav tyrants!" Also, her intransigent attitude towards war debts, reparations, and revision of the Treaty of Versailles, together with her demand for "Security before Disarmament," is keeping Europe at once an armed camp and a seething volcano. Add to this her tacit support of Japanese imperialist aggression in China and Manchuria, and her attempt to form an armed front against the Soviet Union under cover of arming the League of Nations, and we see that workers everywhere have a big stake, not only in the final overthrow of French Capitalism, but in the immediate wresting of power from those who seek, among other things, to embroil us in a new world war.

Political Background

The French worker has never been foolish enough to support a Tammany Hall, but he has been traditionally indifferent, if not hostile, to political action, preferring to rely on the strength of his union, both for his immediate demands, and for the winning of Socialism. Nevertheless, a strong Socialist movement existed till the outbreak of the war. During the war the Party went nationalist, and lost, if not its members, its value. At the close of the war it took on new life, but was rocked by Lenin's call for a new International. Largely because of the tremendous prestige enjoyed here by the Russian revolution, the Communists won over a majority of the Party members as well as the papers and mass organizations. Since then, both the Communists and the Socialists, who rapidly gained new supporters, have polled very large votes. Everything pointed to an-

other swing to the left. France was the last great power to feel the crisis, but today her workers are suffering badly. The luxury trades, in which many workers were engaged, have gone to pieces. England's tariff policy has crippled French exports. The tourist business, which once brought much money to France, has turned sour. Finally, unemployment, to quote government figures, has grown from 40,000 last September to 300,000. Actually, the number is much greater. The last ministry, a "Business man's government," was kept busy, first denying, and later explaining away, the depression. By a parliamentary manouever, the elections were postponed till after the elections to the German Diets, with the idea that if Hitler won, the French electorate would be "patriotic" enough to vote for a government of reaction. Hitler did all that could be expected, but the French workers refused to fall into the trap.

Competing in the election were about a dozen parties representing Conservatives, Progressives, Socialists, and Communists. On the first ballot, which is the most accurate test of strength, there was a shift from the Conservatives to the Progressives, and from the Communists to the Socialists. In comparison with 1928, the Communists polled 775,000, losing 350,000, or one-third of their vote. The Socialists polled 1,950,000, gaining 250,000 or about 15 per cent.

The "Vanguard of the Proletariat"— Where?

What happened to the "Party of the Masses?" L'Humanite, May 3, says, "Between 1928-32 we underwent an extremely violent attack of the bourgeoisie which in 1929 hoped to finish with us. . . . During a long period, the Barbe-Celor group that directed the Party cut us off from the masses of workers by its bad sectarian line." It may be the fault of the Barbe-Celor group, but, judging from the latest returns, there must be some Barbe-Celors in Germany also. My belief is that the Party is losing its mass following primarily because of sectarian trade union tactics which are still in use.

Secondly, the policy of forming dual mass organizations—and wrecking or splitting the old ones—has caused much antagonism. Often it is paradoxical. In France, the Communists try to smash the Socialist sports groups belonging to the Lucerne International, as Social-fascist, while the kosher Red Sports International, or rather its Russian section, schedules matches with bourgeois sports groups.

Thirdly, it is axiomatic that a workers' organization should avoid politics which, whether or not they be theoretically correct, give rise to doubt in workers' minds. The Communists have lost much sympathy because of a stubborn electoral policy. An absolute majority is required here for election to office in the first round. If no candidate obtains it, there is a run-off election in which a plurality suffices. In general, the second round is a two man affair since most candidates retire in favor of the leading Left and Right who fight it out. Other Lefts retire for the Communists, nine of whose ten deputies won their seats in this way, but the C. P. holds that there are no Right and Left distinctions and invariably maintains its candidates, even against the Socialists. In the present election they thus assured the election of at least three reactionaries who openly and freely give them the credit of beating the Socialists. This tactic, which goes by the name of "Class against Class," is not appreciated even by Communist voters who in large numbers supported the Socialists in the second round.

Finally, non-Communists are unwilling to have anything to do with them because of the incessant lies, or rather half truths, in their press; their determination absolutely to dominate and exploit any and all workers' organizations; and their frequent physical attacks on working-class meetings. Even gangsterism is not beyond them. The Socialist candidate in my district is now in bed recuperating from a beating given him a few nights ago by a group of Communists as he was on his way home alone from a meeting.

Defend The Soviet Union!

Lenin early realized that without a world revolution, or, at least, a powerful world revolutionary movement, the Soviet Union would be isolated and lost, and today, as much as ever, a united, revolutionary proletariat, loyal to its Socialist Fatherland, is as necessary for the defense of the Soviet Union as the tanks, the aeroplanes, and the soldiers of the Red Army. Conversely, the splendid example of the U.S.S.R., where the workers and peasants are building Socialism, should help to rally and unite the class-conscious workers everywhere. The Communist Party, hoping somehow to make the Soviet Union its private property, just as it tries to "capture" strikes, as in Paterson and with the Westchester County Construction Workers, does everything in its power to show that no

one, not a supporter of the Party, can be a friend of the Soviet Union, and, in so far as it succeeds, further divides the workers and narrows the base of support for the Soviet Union.

The Socialist Party made a stirring, dramatic campaign against the "Canon Merchants," but not against imperialist war or Capitalism. The high point of the campaign was Leon Blum's brilliant speech in which he assured the voters that the Socialists were as good Frenchmen as anyone else, and that they would do nothing rash if elected to office.

LAWRENCE COHEN.

COMMON ACTION BY "LEFT" SOCIALISTS

(From The British New Leader)

AN important development is taking place in the international working-class movement. Until recently it was divided broadly into Social Democrats and Communists. Now a third section is arising—the Revolutionary Socialists. The Revolutionary Socialists are opposed both to the gradualism and class-collaboration of the Social Democrats and to the rigidity and psychology of the Communists.

The "Left" Parties

In Norway the Revolutionary Socialists constitute a majority in the Labor Party, which is outside the L. S. I. In Poland there are two Revolutionary Socialist Parties (the Bund and the Independent Socialist Labor Party), both attached to the L.S.I. In Britain we have the I.L.P., which is still affiliated to the Labor Party and the L.S.I. In most other countries the Revolutionary Socialist groups are minorities within the L.S.I. parties, only loosely organized.

There are three exceptions, however. In Germany and Holland the Revolutionary Socialists have been "disciplined" out of the Social Democratic Parties and have broken with the L.S.I. They have formed independent parties, known as the German Socialist Workers' Party and the Dutch Independent Socialist Party. In France, in addition to the "Left" within the Socialist Party, there is a Socialist-Communist Party, who increased their strength in last Sunday's election from one Parliamentary representative to eleven.

There is one further development to be noted. In many countries the Communist Party has been split owing to opposition to the tactics of the Third International. In some countries the "Communist Opposition" is strong. In Sweden, for example, the "Opposition" is stronger than the party.

It is too early to say how these Revolutionary Socialist tendencies will develop, but already considerable co-opera-

tion between various sections is taking place. For two years representatives of the Norwegian Labor Party, the I.L.P., the Polish Bund and I.S.L.P., and the Dutch "Left" have had informal conferences, at which a common programme has been formulated. At the Vienna Congress of the L.S.I. last year, "Left" Parties and groups from eight countries, including Germany, co-operated. Since then they have kept in constant touch.

A Forward Step

Last week a further step was taken. A conference was held in Berlin, at which the Norwegian, German, Dutch, British, and Polish "Left" Parties were represented. In the case of the Bund, a passport was refused to the Polish representative, but a Berlin member of the Party attended. The "Left" Socialists of Bulgaria also had a representative present.

The principal discussion was concerned with the international co-ordination of the activities of the "Left" Parties and groups. Detailed decisions were reached with a view to making the present contacts closer and more constant and to extending them to other Parties and groups. It was also agreed to ask the German, Dutch, British, and Norwegian Parties to appoint representatives to meet as occasion arises to promote co-operation and to give a lead in definite action. These representatives will confer again at the Congress of the Dutch Independent Socialist Party at the end of August.

The Conference deliberately refrained from creating a formal organization or even appointing a formal committee. There was frank recognition of differences of opinion on the question of affiliation to the L.S.I., and there were doubts about the value of attempting to form a new international organization. But there was a general desire for complete consultation and co-operation in policy and activity, and a realization that the support given to the new German and Dutch Parties, which are opposing the Social Democratic Parties, may be challenged by the L.S.I.

The impression was that the new German Party had broken too late with the Social Democrats to gain a recognized place for itself between the powerful Social Democratic and Communist Parties at the election, and that its special function now is to act as a link between the rank and file of these two Parties, insisting upon the need for united resistance to attacks upon working-class standards and to the menace Fascism, and for a united offensive for Socialism.

The Dutch "Left" is in a better position. There is no strong Communist Party to contend with. In a month 78 branches have been formed and over 6,

000 members enrolled. This compares with a Communist membership of 3,000 and a Social Democratic membership of 75,000. Many of the local Trade Union officials have joined the new Party, and large numbers of the Youth Section and Sports League are coming over. The Dutch "Left" are organizing with great spirit and enthusiasm and are evidently a real force. FENNER BROCKWAY

"THE PARTY OF PROLETARIAN UNITY"

(Translated from "Kampfsignal," organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany)

An extraordinarily important victory has been won in the recent French elections by the new working-class party, the "Party of Proletarian Unity," which is similar to the Socialist Workers' Party in Germany.

This party was able to win eight mandates in the first ballot, while the Communist Party of France added only one to its former ten mandates, losing hundreds of thousands of votes, as a result of its sectarian policies and tactics. To the eleven official Communists must be added one elected representative of the Communist Opposition in Strassburg and two Communist-Dissidents in Lothringen. It is possible that the latter will support the fraction of the new Socialist-Communist Workers' Party, that this latter party will then enter the Chamber of Deputies with 12 mandates and thus be stronger than the official Communist Party.

In the ranks of the "Party of Proletarian Unity" there are included the most qualified, former functionaries of the Communist Party of France. It was formed as a result of a number of splits in the French Communist Party, which dates back to the time when in Germany Paul Levi succumbed to the Social-Democracy. In the last few years, these old groups united, calling themselves Socialist-Communists, with the Workers and Peasants Party, which was formed in Paris against the growing stupidity of the sectarian policy of the Communist Party of France after the withdrawal of numerous leaders and founders of the CPF.

In the 12th District of Paris, Garchery, who until 1929 was the chairman of the Parisian fraction of the City Council of the CPF, won 9,812 votes against the Communist candidate, Gourdeau, who secured only 1,167 votes.

In Saint Denis, the big working-class district of Paris, the two former Communists, Auffray and Lesesne were elected by 8,625 and 7,939 votes against the Communist candidates, Maertens (3,577) and Venet (5,202).

Sling Shots

By Hal

Faithful Unto Death

The story is told hereabouts of the prominent manufacturer, who, just before his death, fired five pall-bearers for the sake of economy. Would you believe that?

Overeat on Nine Cents

The nine-cent diet devised by Mayor Marvin of Syracuse to feed the needy, contains more calories than is necessary, Jessie G. Cole, nutrition specialist of the State Health Department, has declared. Why not pay a worker a dime a day, and collect the change?

"Work Is a Lifesaver"

Alfonso of Orleans, first cousin of ex-King Alfonso of Spain, punched the clock the other day in the Ford plant in Paris. "Work is a lifesaver," his mother, Infanta Eulalia, declared. It's about time that other uncrowned parasites were given the gate and compelled to do some useful work for once in their lives.

The Oracle Has Spoken

Beer will bring Prosperity. Long may she stagger.

Modernism in The Park

We have been informed that the Park Department is planning to change its signs in keeping with the times, to read: "Don't Eat the Grass."

Personally and Speaking Broadly

"Personally and speaking broadly, I think," says Dr. Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, "that unless we descend to a level far beyond anything that we at present have known, our children are apt to profit rather than suffer from what is going on." For them kind words we propose that Wilbur be crowned secretary of the hottest part of the interior.

On the Hoover Firing Line

Any postmaster who does not wish to "get out on the firing line" in support of President Hoover, was invited to resign by W. Irving Glover, Second Assistant Postmaster General. So many of us have been fired with the help of the Great Engineer, that it is difficult to understand why these stolid postmasters are not fired with more enthusiasm for Herbert Hoover, particularly in view of the fact that if they refused they would be fired anyway.

Some Racket

Speaking before the Senate Committee investigating stock trading, Mr. Matthew C. Brush, a prominent Wall Street gambler, remarked, "No one is in Wall Street for his health." Some activities in the market, he termed "a racket that

makes Al Capone look like a piker." And yet this is the gang that is permitted to stick up the country.

Incurable

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been called by La Guardia, "an institution for financial incurables." We suggest that it is high time that we put the old carcasses away into cold storage for keeps.

The Latest Exposure

It is rumored that the Communists have completely exposed Jimmie Walker. The faker was proven to have advocated near beer instead of the genuine article.

How It Is Done

Paresis, or softening of the brain, Dr. Albert E. Roussel of Philadelphia told the American Therapeutic Society, turned one of his patients from a conservative business man into a Wall Street plunger who made several hundred thousand dollars.

Don't Be Too Sure

The American Federationist declares that "the record of wage earners during this depression is open testimony to their character and dependability." Don't take out too big a Union Life Insurance policy on that, my friends.

Overthrowing the Government by Force

"The business men of the country," says Virgil Jordan, economist of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, "have been organized by carefully prepared propaganda on an unprecedented scale in an effort to overthrow Federal, State and local government by force.... When I say that the organizations behind this propaganda are attempting to overthrow government in this country by force, I say it advisedly, for the only force that is strong enough to overthrow government in the United States is the refusal of the business community and of all who profit by the protection and privileges provided by government to be taxed for support of the collective needs of the community." Sounds very much like criminal syndicalism.

Letting the Cat Out of the Bag

Before you could say "Senator Robinson," Huey Long was on his feet declaring, "He is the leader of the democratic party here. He has no clients, but when he becomes leader of the people's party in the Senate, he represents every nefarious interest on the living face of the globe." What's unusual about that, Mr. Long?

A Pearl From Mooney's Home State

"Strikes involving violence—and practically every strike involves violence sooner or later—have no excuse for justification."

—Los Angeles Times

From the American Guardian

Would a jackass starve because he stands up to his belly in grass?

No!

Would a monkey starve because he was surrounded by too many cocoanuts?

No!

Would a bedbug starve because there are too many lumberjacks in his bunk?

No!

Would a worm starve because the apple he occupies is too big for him?

No!

Would free and independent American citizens starve because they raised too much to eat?

Sure! Can't you see 'em do it?

Echoes of Logan County

Testifying before a Senate Committee recently, Philip Murray, vice president of the United Mine Workers of America, confessed that he had been called in by President Harding to cooperate with Brigadier General Bandholtz in quelling the armed march of the Logan County, W. Va. miners in 1921. He denied that the U. M. W. A. had anything to do with the march. We did not expect that an organization so devoid of guts as the U.M.W.A. would be guilty of such an offense against the coal operators.

Think of the Gold Star Mothers

In refusing to furnish for publication official photographs depicting the gruesome aspects of war, Major General Irving J. Carr, chief of the Signal Corps, declared: "Think of the Gold Star Mothers the country sent to France. Over there they saw the lovely cemeteries in which lie the dead of the A.E.F. Perhaps their boys lie there. Those Mothers carried home in their minds beautiful pictures of these well-kept resting-places. That is what they should have—we cannot spoil these memories."

How to End the Depression

The American Society of Beauty Culturists calls for the lips to be more lightly tinted with a slight upturn at the ends. "This will give a smiling effect," they say, "and will help to end the depression."

Workers' Correspondence

The Via Group

The month of May brought a new element into the ranks of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Although a number of German workers had been active in the formation of the C.P.L.A., they had kept up their own organization under the name Verband Internationaler Arbeiter (International Labor Alliance), which was in close contact with but not a part of the C.P.L.A. Almost every member of the former VIA has taken part in labor struggles here or in the German speaking countries. Most of them had at one time or another belonged to the Socialist or Communist parties, but because of the reformist policies of the Government Socialists and the irresponsible policies of the Communist parties of various countries, they had withdrawn from them.

However, knowing the personnel of the group which joined our C.P.L.A. ranks recently, I wish to call attention to another element of revolutionary workers within this German group: the Modern Sunday School Camp Association and the revolutionary Sunday School connected with it, conducted by them for more than a decade.

An organization of about 100 men and women in Greater New York and vicinity joined forces for the purpose of giving their children an intelligent understanding of society and our economic system. The Modern Sunday Schools were their first activity. Six years ago a workers' children camp was added.

This camp, located in the cedar covered foot-hills of the Ramopa Mountains, is non-profit making; it is partly dependent on the solidarity of the various German speaking labor organizations who help pay for the care of some of the children. There is a swimming pool, baseball diamond, athletic field, and other playgrounds. Camp fires, music, educational talks, community singing, hikes and many games are included in the recreation program.

The \$5 per week rate makes it possible for the children of mill and factory workers to camp here for about the same money it costs to stay at home.

Only eight miles from Paterson, N. J., the camp offered its facilities to the striking silk workers during last year's great struggle. The controversy with the silk bosses was settled before it became necessary to make use of that offer, but the dormitories, dining hall, social hall and other facilities are always ready to receive families of workers fighting for their rights, should such emergency arise.

During the vacation season of the Sum-

mer, however, we invite our C.P.L.A. comrades and workers of revolutionary and progressive mind in general, to send their children to the Modern Sunday School Camp in Lincoln Park, Morris County, N. J.

SELMAN SCHUCKEN

Pimping For The Boss

I am a mill hand. I started to work in 1902 at the age of nine. I received nothing while learning, and for two years after I had learned to operate the machine I received ten cents per day. Then I began receiving 30 cents a day. At that time a man could buy more for 50 cents than he can now for \$1.00. After being in the mill two years I left the spinning room and started work in the card room. Having learned beforehand to run the machine there, I began at once to run three draw frames. Five years later I started fixing. We thought we had a big job to keep up then but it was only about one-third of what we run now. At this time I was receiving 70 cents per day.

In 1916 they tried to organize the South. To prevent organization the mills voluntarily raised wages. That's what's the matter with the South today—the textile workers are unorganized. We are always having to fight for democracy and never getting it. Why not fight for something nearer home and get it? Why not build a strong union? Let's stop fighting for the people who are starving us and start fighting for ourselves, our wives and children. I cannot feed and clothe my family on the wages that I am receiving, and I know that I am not by myself, for the majority of the mill workers are making less than \$7 per week and few get as much as \$11 per week. Can any man feed, clothe and support his family on such wages?

We must build a union if we are to feed and educate our children. They deserve this much at least. The bosses give their children all the advantages, paid for by the sweat and very life blood of us mill hands.

Many of us lose our loved ones because we are not able to give them the attention they need. The doctors, merchants, and our bosses are organized. They are organized against us workers. If a man fails to meet his bills on Saturday or Monday he is cut off and put on the mercy of the people. Many of my neighbors are starving, their children are barefooted and almost naked. One of my neighbors had to drop the insurance policy on one of his children just before its death because he couldn't meet it.

The strongly organized trades haven't suffered the wage cuts the textile people have. Because they have an organization they maintain a higher standard of living than the textile workers. We are the lowest paid people in the country largely because we are the poorest organized. If we are to accomplish anything, we must get together, stick together, and fight together. We cannot get anywhere pimping for the boss.

We also fail to do our duty to ourselves and families by voting for the very men who are against us. If we are to better ourselves we must not organize into unions alone, but we must organize politically. We must put people in office who will help us. The boss will pat us on the back at election time and feed us sugar until we vote for the man that he wants. Then he is through with us. The boss is our enemy. He is the man we should never take advice from when it comes to things that interest him.

J. C.

Efficiency Under Capitalism

When will the unemployment crisis come to a head? Come with me to a steel plant near here, take a peek inside, and see the forces that are working to that end.

Here is the information I have to date on this plant. It has sheet and bar steel rolling mills and Open Hearth steel furnaces. Under normal conditions and times, it employs 5,000 men.

Its program of modernization is now under way. When completed, 800 men will operate the entire plant with an increase of 300 per cent in capacity of the plant.

So far the steel trade is not disturbed. There are only 4,200 less men employed.

Let's step up the plant to its full capacity. Remember, it has three times the capacity it used to have. Now 800 men, plus modern machinery and improved technique, produce what 15,000 workers could have turned out before. Since 4,200 men were thrown out of employment at the old production level, the total labor displacement will be three times that or 12,600 men minus jobs, from this one plant alone.

How many other plants are being modernized and at what speed, to meet or beat this one? The unemployment crisis must be just around the corner!

These forces are at work in all industries throughout the world. The process of changing production from the hand-controlled machine to the automatic machine is the basic or fundamental fact of the economic revolution which we are now passing through.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

JACK DRUDGE.

"In Europe They Have the Dole—"

I can tell you, it is just disgusting for a man who has been in the labor movement most of his life to look at the docility of the American worker. If those most directly affected by the present unequal distribution of wealth cannot be aroused to do something about it, how shall we ever find a way out? The Labor unions are dead so far as the workers are concerned around here.

Let me give you an idea as to how the situation is with me, and that goes for hundreds of others. Since the stock-market crash the building trade has been hard hit and I have not been able to make a living, although I have taken anything I could get. In 1930 I went about 300 dollars in the hole, and in 1931 about 500. In other words the savings were gone. So, in January we had to apply to the welfare bureau for help. We have three children. Of course, we were asked many questions and I also had to give the names of my relatives both here and abroad.

A physical examination cut me out of emergency city work because my heart was slightly enlarged. All I could get was one day a week work through the city employment bureau from the community chest and since the funds are depleted now I can get nothing at all. This week we did not get our groceries and I had to go to the welfare bureau to straighten things out. The food would not be brought to the house anymore, I was told. I had to get it myself in Los Angeles. Having no car and no money that was a hard job and I told the social worker so. Maybe she could make some arrangements to have it brought out.

"Did you hear anything from your folks in Sweden?" she asked.

"What do you mean?" I said, "I come from Holland."

"Yes, I want to know if your folks can do something for you. We wrote them about your case. Don't you want to go back with the family?"

"Listen, madam," I said, "I am an American citizen and have no intention of leaving just now."

The same day I had a letter from my brother in Minneapolis in which he wrote that the welfare worker had been at his house to see if he could do anything for me. Now with 4 children himself he was not able to help much. "But," said the social worker, "maybe you can put him into a job." There are only 150,000 unemployed in Minneapolis. Can you beat that? And the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles has been spending millions of dollars to make the people come to California.

However, the lady gave me a ticket for 24 hours work on the City farm. Yesterday I worked 8 hours there, a dirty job, and no pay. About 10 American born fellow workers went also with the truck to the farm, all down and out, and working for their grub. One asked me for the morning paper, he wanted to know how the fight came out the night before. A discussion started about boxing, yet all were on the ragged edge of starvation.

This morning I was at the bureau again as there was no food, and I had to go over the same story about a car to get it, and which I do not have. At last I was promised that the food would be brought to my house by Saturday. I also told her that I did not like to work for nothing on the farm but wanted real employment. But here the social worker got up. "You know," she said, "in Europe they give the dole but we don't want that in the United States. That food you get is a kind of a loan and you work for it on the farm."

How necessary it is that the workers come together to put an end to that bunk, but to educate them up to that point is another story.

As soon as I can lay my hands on a few dollars I will have that book "Your Job and Your Pay" and if you have some good literature to be given away in the unemployment office or in union meetings send it along.

Pasadena, Calif. G. COLEMAN.

A Farmer-Labor Party

I have delayed in replying to your letter of February 17th so that I could get an idea of the sentiment for independent political action. It seems that there is a tendency developing towards the Socialist Party as a protest vote and may develop to some degree as the election campaign gets under way. Considerable educational work is needed to clear the minds of voters on the necessity of organized effort.

This country (Sierra County) is a mountainous section with some small gold mines and a few farms. I have not yet come in contact with the north section of the county but will try to do that a little later.

I am more convinced than ever that the C.P.L.A. program is the vital need for uniting the various labor groups. A Federated Farmer-Labor Party, based on a Socialist economy, will be the only basis for unified action, as I view it. The Communists are the only groups that could not agree. As the political campaigns get under way I may be able to give you more information.

Alleghany, Calif.

CHAS. W. GARDNER.

American Working Class Unity

To the writer it appears that the time is at hand for all sincere radicals, among others, to take stock of the present situation in the American labor movement. There never was an occasion when economic conditions so demanded a united front on the part of the working class; and at the same time found that class so nearly without organization and leadership.

The impotency of the vanguard—the so-called radical groups—reveals itself in a multiplicity of petty organizations; each with a "perfect" program; and none of them having any standing within the body of the working class. The number of these "saviours of the masses" increases daily, but with no evidence that "the masses" are paying any attention to the "messianic" calls. Add to all this the further fact that large numbers of radicals are outside their former affiliations, with no apparent indication of returning—and the situation demands earnest consideration.

Usual explanations among radicals are:

(1) The "jazz age" from which the present generation of workers for the most part has just emerged with recent "prosperity" psychology and with no previous experience with panics or industrial depressions; (2) the dominance of conservative labor unions, allied with the employing class, and which use all their influence to keep the workers from becoming united as a class and from being attracted to radical programs; (3) the individualistic psychology that still permeates all classes of the American people; (4) the inadequacy or lack of "militancy" of "revolutionary organizations" except, of course, the particular one to which the radical critic adheres.

Granting that these have been the dominating causes of disunity in the past, it is, of course, too much to expect that two years even of such devastating conditions as this country has experienced since 1929 are sufficient to have turned the American working class away from allegiance to capitalist ideology.

But, however much, in the past, "individualism," "the jazz age," and "conservative labor unions" have kept the American workers from uniting, there should be every reason to expect a diminution of these forces in the immediate future. Capitalism cannot come back to the jazz age; individualism has been severely jolted by the experiences of the post-war period including the panic; the craft unions, less than ever before, can hold back the unorganized masses from uniting at the point of production.

B. WILLIAMS

New Books . . .

THE STABILITY OF DEATH

"A Basis for Stability," by Samuel Crowther. Little, Brown & Co. \$3.00.

"Business and the Public Interest," by Benjamin A. Javits. Macmillan. \$2.50.

Mr. Crowther made himself the high priest and public intermediary first for Mr. Ford then for the United Fruit Company and now he has tried to serve an assorted collection of the chiefs of big business. It is too bad that since the writing up of the Crowther interviews with these idols they have fallen from their pedestals, notably Martin J. Insull, whose eulogies of the pyramided holding companies in electrical power read unconvincingly in view of his more recent spectacular smash. But anyhow, Mr. Crowther did not put Ivar Kreuger among his gods. He was saved from that because his suggested basis for stability, that thing desired above all else by capitalists when prices are falling, is that the bankers shall provide credit more liberally to the United States industries which will draw out from foreign trade and, in insularity, have nothing to do with match kings of Swedish or any other than American origin.

Naturally, while none of the 21 business chiefs try to live up to the pretentious title of the book, they do give a mass of interesting but unindexed information about the basic industries they represent. Some of the information given by Mr. Crowther himself is false. For example, in discussing unemployment insurance in Britain he writes:

"Thousands of British boys have come into manhood, received the dole, and have never worked."

Mr. Crowther just as falsely states that all that the Russians have achieved is "a better distributed poverty" instead of a "better distributed wealth." Then too we have Mr. Crowther's word that the theories of socialism and communism are based on assumed facts none of which can be proved.

The need for credit inflation is the recurring note in the book, plus the use of silver money at a ratio to gold of 34 to 1. John Hays Hammond, who is interested in copper and silver, specifically champions the latter step. Sharing Mr. Ford's antagonism to the bankers, Mr. Crowther does not invite their opinion. The nearest he gets to banking is the proposal of a new measure of business advocated by Carl Snyder of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, this

measure to include the volume of credit available. The head of the Metropolitan Life Insurance, like Dr. Leo Wolman, favors the adoption of unemployment insurance plans by individual firms and industries. Mr. Richard F. Whitney makes his usual plausible plea for letting well-enough alone so that free and open exchange can adjust prices on the stock exchange. (Here again events have treated Mr. Crowther's idol scurvily by showing how "free and open exchange" can be operated by hired financial writers on the payroll of interested bulls and bears.) Standard Oil (N. J.) wants trusts in oil to secure conservation of the oil resources. Senator James J. Davis thinks that mergers of the mines are necessary to regulate coal production. Martin J. Insull insists that the lowest possible price for service must be the ambition of every electric power man. Remarks like this provoke the reader to many a marginal "Oh yeah!" But Mr. Crowther believes it all. Let Americans stop drinking coffee from Brazil; use home made rayon instead of foreign silk; let American scientists rule out the last surviving dependence on foreign supplies by finding out the secrets of rubber and quinine and then in this isolated Paradise the bankers will finance the home market and all will be heavenly stability.

Mr. Javits' book is in quite another class, feeding copious facts to the studious who wish to find out to what extent trade associations and similar bodies have undermined competition; and then he proposes an amended Swope plan for the running of industry. Unlike Mr. Swope, however, Mr. Javits does not completely ignore the trade unions in his scheme for running industry; a footnote explains that "where there is a strong trade union, the author has developed a plan which makes possible cooperation between the union and the employers without violating the anti-trust laws." This far-sighted defender of capitalism gives the form of words needed to amend the Sherman and the Clayton anti-trust laws. His list of industries, which have already adopted some form of regulation runs to more than 30 pages. He explains carefully the legality of certain restrictions on competition. If capitalists were wise they would accept Mr. Javits' plan to run each industry by a united trade association. To secure the support of Labor an adequate scheme of social insurance, the six-hour day, five-day week and 48-week year are featured in the plan, although it is fair to presume that, as in the case of union recognition, that

would depend upon the strength of the union.

The fundamental weakness of the plan is the ignoring of the anti-social purpose of these super-trusts. Even if industry is run as a public utility subject to a certain amount of regulation that does not mean that the workers are freed from exploitation or that the consumer will escape monopoly prices. In the absence of the old dynamic of competition there is no guarantee that capitalism will improve industry. Its work is done and social planning, motivated not by profit but by the welfare of the workers, must replace it. For capitalism there is but the stability of death.

MARK STARR.

UPTON SINCLAIR ON HIMSELF

American Outpost. By Upton Sinclair. Published by the author, Station A, Pasadena, California. \$2.50.

"Mama, why are some children poor and others rich? How can that be fair?" As a "poor relative" Upton Sinclair plagued his mother with this question; and for 30 years now as a "radical writer" he has plagued the ruling class of the world with the same question.

He wrote pot-boilers for a while; there was a period when he turned out 8,000 words of trash a day; but he read Shelley and Hamlet; his social conscience woke up, and before he was 20 he was overwhelmed by a discovery of what he then thought was untold news to the world, the simple but tremendous truth that the masses must suffer, most children must be poor, so long as the workers, via money and machines, are exploited by a ruling class. Here was the answer; only the workers could, and the workers must, do away with these evils; and it was his dangerous lot to go counter to the purposes of the ruling class in stirring the masses to action. He proceeded to put this "dynamite" into books, and some of them have turned out to be working-class classics, and at the moment Sinclair is the most widely read American author in the world.

"American Outpost" is a jolly light-hearted account of the first 30 years of Upton Sinclair's life. Here are the influences that moulded him into Puritanism which, in turn, he writes, gave him power of concentration. What of sex and liquor and marriage and genius and health and happiness? While other bril-

liant and promising writers drank and lived promiscuously and lost faith, Sinclair poured his energies into "right" living and hard work for the Cause, and he is still an idealist. Much of the story is funny, some of it very funny, the rest gallantly told.

But aside from amusement, and aside from lessons in living, what road does the volume map out to working-class freedom? The workers must socialize the machine, to be sure, but how? There is evidence in this book—not conclusive perhaps—that Upton Sinclair in the "short run" is a realist, while in the "long run" he is too much of an idealist—if that's possible.

"The world is even worse," he writes, "than I was able to realize, but I still cling to my faith in the methods of democracy."

On page 91, however, there is the story of the professor who worked out a set of laws and constitutional changes which would enable the voters to outwit the politicians and the big business men. "From the very first hour," Sinclair, the realist, writes, "it was apparent to me that the professor's elaborate system was a joke. Before any law or constitutional change could be made, it would have to be explained to the public, which include the politicians and their paymasters. These men were quite as shrewd as any college professor, and would have their plans worked out to circumvent the new laws a long time before those laws came into operation."

Then again—reversing the "short run" "long run" business! — he wanders through Westminster Abbey among "marble tombs and statues of ruling class killers," and is "swept by a storm of horror and loathing." Elsewhere, however, writing of the ruling-class exploiters and killers who are still with us, he says: "With the wisdom of later years, I know that the business men who finance political parties and pull the strings of government cannot help what they do... But in those early days I did not understand any of this; I thought that graft was due to grafters, and I hated them with all my Puritanical fervor."

But the question arises: if politicians and their paymasters can annul laws, how about the methods of democracy? And if the tombs and statues of ruling-class killers call forth horror and loathing, how about the billionaires and millionaires who are now living, and now pulling the strings that continue to produce and perpetuate mass-misery and war—are they to be pitied as victims of the system, or shall we regard them too with loathing and horror?

TESS HUFF.

TRAGEDY OF DREISER

Tragic America. Theodore Dreiser. Horace Liveright. New York. \$2.00.

Any radical has a good case against Dreiser. Here is a man with an audience such as few writers can boast; an audience that followed Dreiser into Kentucky through its daily papers and was ready for a book from Dreiser that would tell them what is behind the scenes in Kentucky and elsewhere. And for that waiting, Dreiser gives them wild surmises and some good truths that are weakened by the obvious misstatements that are sandwiched between the truths. For example:

Dreiser wanders to Paterson while a silk strike is in progress and comes out clutching in his hands a list of the National Textile Workers' demands. Demands that those of us who were in Paterson never heard of—demands such as "the right to organize and strike" and "withdrawal of all injunctions." The right to organize and strike is a right that has been won in Paterson if it has been won anywhere. And the only injunction that existed in the silk in Paterson was the injunction at the Henry Doherty mill that was broken by 2,000 A. F. of L. pickets.

The arrest of 67 pickets at the Streng mill is recorded as a sample of militancy on the part of the N. T. W. The arrest of 125 pickets at the John Hand Mill, struck by the A. F. of L. unions under C. P. L. A. leadership, is not of importance, although the charge of unlawful assemblage entered against the 125 is a much more serious charge than the disorderly conduct charges at the Streng mill. It is of so little importance that Dreiser never records it.

And so it goes. Dreiser says in one place, "I have always been opposed to injunctions." There is an injunction in Kenosha, Wis., Mr. Dreiser, and another in Nazareth, Pa.; still another at the Wright Aeronautical in Paterson. Some day when there are no books to be written, let's go out and break some of those, eh, Mr. Dreiser.

Over two pages are devoted to the Edison Company of New York in a book that purports to be a picture of labor conditions. The rates of the Edison Company are quoted (incorrectly) but the struggle of the workers of that company to end the speed-up, the spy-system, the lay-offs and the wagecuts merits not a line.

"We must de-Russianize Communism" says Dreiser. And let us de-Americanize the American Legion and the D. A. R. Communism, according to this, must be a product of one soil, to be aired, re-

labeled and packed for export. Why can't it be grown at home?

Theodore Dreiser has yet to write the book that will shake the complacency of our rulers.

WARREN MONTROSS.

A HAND BOOK FOR SOCIALISTS

Socialist Fundamentals. David P. Berenberg. Rand School Press. 118 pp. 50c.

SOCIALIST FUNDAMENTALS is an able, comprehensive handbook on socialism, the best I know of for beginners. Written from an attractively reasonable point of view, it assumes in the reader neither a moronic ignorance of modern life, nor any previous socialistic views or knowledge. While stripping the incidentals down to a minimum—a suggestive minimum well calculated to tempt the reader to further study—Berenberg manages to develop adequately not only the socialist economics, but the historical basis of capitalism, the class struggle, and the results of exploitation. His handling of profit, rent, and interest is masterly. Considering the length of the book, this is a high testimonial to the scholarly concentration of style which characterizes Berenberg.

For these reasons the reviewer must hesitate in pointing out certain partisan interpretations which appear in the chapter on Method (for overthrowing capitalism). In attempting to dismiss violence as unnecessary, here in America, despite its success in Russia, Berenberg reasons thus: Tactics which succeeded there would not necessarily succeed here; therefore, necessarily, they should not be employed here. So he leaves out all mention of demonstrations, concedes one short paragraph to unionism, and stresses above all political methods. In view of the dismal failure of the Socialist Party here, such an attitude is unjustifiable. Any political gains made in this country (just as in any other country) are important chiefly as demonstrations to the workers of their solidarity, of their organization. That is, the important thing is education for the workers, a workers' culture built from and with the workers, for neglect of which the Socialists are to be severely condemned.

This point, while important for the labor movement and therefore meriting the emphasis given it in this review, occupies only a small part of the field which this little book covers.

CHARLES BERLINRUT

THE CHEMICAL WORKER

Fear of the new and intensified horrors of modern war introduced by the chemist cannot serve as a substitute for the work-

ers' understanding of how capitalism naturally produces war. But the terror argument has force in some quarters. Hence the Chemical Workers' Union (149 Newington Causeway, London, S.E. I, England) have done an excellent and effective job in their four cent pamphlet "The Menace of Chemical Warfare to Civilian Populations." Nowhere else can such material be found. And fellow workers in every country by securing a wide sale for this pamphlet will help to insure that the industry of the chemical workers shall not be prostituted to destroy mankind in new fiendishly cruel ways.

M. S.

"Czar" Brandle

(Continued from Page 17)

the International office at St. Louis to the turmoil in Local 11 was suspension of all meetings of the local, with Sherlock given complete control. The recalcitrant members countered with another injunction, under which some of them are working on the Union County court house, their business agent having tried to prevent them from working there.

Under Brandle's inspiration, other business enterprises than those mentioned blossomed and flowered. Improving on Chicago's gangsterdom's "protective organizations," he set up a Hudson County Truck Owners Association. Only members of this group were to be allowed on union jobs, and they were to employ only union teamsters. The idea spread to Newark, where Joseph Fay, business agent of the engineers, set a similar association on foot. As chief proprietor of the International Excavating Corporation, he was an important

member. Soon accusations were afloat that the association was being used for the benefit of the Fay concern. The expected split occurred, and Fay formed a new association with Brandle backing.*

The building material business is prolific in financial possibilities for union officers. Pre-war idealism demanded that supplies for construction purposes be not "unfair" or "unsatisfactory." The eternal friction with the National Erectors' Association and its backer, the Steel Trust, provoked a battle royal for years in the building trades. It led to almost 100 per cent non-union conditions among ironworkers in New York City, until the tie-up of the Empire State Building. The okeh of materials by union business agents is important on certain jobs, and such a sanction is easily ascertainable in advance if the purchase is made through the concern of which the agent is a partner. Brandle has not neglected this fat opportunity, and is interested with Hurley and unknown others in the Shaw, Flint Material Company, a prospering venture.

Controlling Delivery

It is in control of the delivery of building supplies, through his dominance of the teamsters' unions, that much of the Brandlean strength lies. Free use of this weapon and that of the strike of all crafts have been made to drive certain concerns, although using union labor, off of work for the benefit of others. Among many affidavits available on this subject, those in the injunction case of Posnack and Turkish, Inc., of Bayonne, are typical-

*Fay, born Kavinski, hails from Troy, N. Y. He changed his cognomen to catch the Irish vote. Upon his arrival in Newark a decade ago he first set up a saloon, which "the boys" patronized, and then the Joseph Fay Association. Built on political club lines, this association soon became a force in the engineers' union. When Matthew Woll headed the "anti-Volstead" parade of labor in Newark this past year, the Joseph Fay Association led all the rest. Sherlock has a similar association, and William J. Lyons of the bricklayers has another. In addition to the excavating company, Fay also controls the International Engineering Corporation, now engaged in big highway jobs for the State. A few months ago, a number of locals withdrew from the Hudson County Building Trades Council, charging that Brandle had compelled them to take wage cuts on one of the Fay jobs, in order to assist the engineering concern pull through on its contract. The revolt proved abortive.

The urge to widespread commercial undertakings on the part of the North Jersey labor leaders occasionally produces ironic dramas. During the past summer W. J. Lyons, "boss" of the union bricklayers and Brandle ally, found himself in the center of such a scene. The big building material supply company, in which he is a partner, fell afoul of the teamsters' union. A strike developed. Whereupon the world in general was treated to the spectacle of a union leader, as a business man, employing a private detective agency to bring in strikbreakers. A bloody riot resulted at the Harrison headquarters of the concern, hastening a settlement.

ly eloquent. The said Posnack and Turkish had sold building supplies in April, 1931, to a firm of building contractors, Meitzer Bros., erecting an apartment house in Jersey City. Both concerns were paying union wages and hiring only union men. Brandle and cohorts "pulled the men off," forced Meitzer Bros. to break their contract, compelled them to buy materials from the Ravegno-Hall Co. at higher prices and had Jack Black, a union driver, who delivered a load of sand to the job, arrested and confined in the Montgomery Street police station. All material and supply manufacturers in the state and outside, who sold their goods in Hudson County, were commanded by Brandle to sell no more goods to Posnack and Turkish. And they obeyed orders.

The unending turmoil arising from the multifold activities of our labor hero has made him one of the most enjoined men in the U. S. A. He has publicly stated, with some pride, that no Court of Chancery but has found him above reproach. Mild exaggeration there may be in this, but it is substantially correct. In the Medical Center case in Jersey City, injunction and tussle were brought to the door of his good friend Hague. Members of the Thomas P. Brennan Co. of New York are old objects of Brandle hatred. They use union riggers from the big city, for one thing, instead of the card-indexed brothers of New Jersey. They allege under oath that the latter workmen take three and four times as long to do a job as the former, because the Brandle men are largely inexperienced. The Brennans will not league themselves with the truck owners association, another grave offense. Strike, arrest, attack and other dramatic features enlivened the Medical Center construction effort on the part of this firm. This public enterprise was the apple of Mayor Hague's eye, and the conflict was painfully near at home. Finally, in the midst of the injunction procedure the firm which sub-leased the job to the Brennans paid them off in full, cancelling the contract, although the work was only partly done. Another concern, satisfactory to truck owners association and to union men of Jersey City, got the assignment to complete the work.

The question naturally arises "Why Brandle?" That is a matter for further consideration.

But this is now certain: The "success" that has been his has been built on sand. His days of leadership are numbered, as his betrayal of the workers of New Jersey becomes ever more evident.

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Franklin D. Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 14)

broken down. Unemployment insurance, shorter hour legislation, were all scrapped by the recent session of the Legislature, the Governor having made no real fight on any of these issues. Aside from attending abortive conferences, the Governor can boast of no substantial step to relieve the vast and growing army of New York's unemployed.

On December 10, 1930, the Bank of the United States of New York City closed its doors, impoverishing 400,000 depositors, most of whom were workers living in the poorest sections of the city. Mr. Joseph A. Broderick, State Superintendent of Banks, appointed by Mr. Roosevelt, knew of the condition of the bank before its collapse, and knew furthermore, that the big banks had refused to furnish funds to prevent this catastrophe. Neither the Governor nor Mr. Broderick took any action that would save the situation. In fact, the Governor is at this very moment unwavering in his defense and support of Mr. Broderick and his conduct.

Some time ago, the Mooney Pardon Conference of New York urged Governor Roosevelt to intercede in behalf of Tom Mooney, as a number of other governors had done. Mr. Roosevelt declined to do this on the ground that he did not wish to intervene in a matter which concerned the State of California.

Although he has appointed a few labor "skates" to various public offices, the Governor has given scant sympathy to the demands of labor in his own state.

His running mate as Lieutenant Governor is Herbert H. Lehman, of the powerful banking firm of Lehman Brothers, which is heavily interested in the garment industry of New York City and the exploitation of its many thousands of miserably paid wage slaves.

It should be noted further that Mr. Roosevelt was in 1922 the president of the American Construction Council, a powerful body of building trades employers.

Roosevelt seems to have captured the support of such varied elements as "sons of the wild jackass," the progressives of both major parties, the MacAdoo democrats, the Bible Belt democrats, and various confused liberal elements. "Mirrors of 1932" describes this curious situation as follows: "He draws support from so

many rival factions that he defies definition . . . He is a political cavorter . . . The Republican Roosevelt called him a 'maverick' . . . Despite his brawls with the political boys and bosses, he is noted for his regularity once the convention—or the party pooh-bah—has passed upon platforms and candidates."

Tammany Hall

We can therefore confidently count upon Roosevelt not to burn his organizationally valuable Tammany bridges, in spite of his recent clash with Al Smith. He keeps his back fences intact. Supreme Court Justice Samuel I. Rosenman, whom Roosevelt has called his "right arm," who serves as liaison officer between the Roosevelt forces and Tammany Hall, keeps in constant touch with the Governor at Warm Springs, Georgia. When the Seabury Commission made things too hot for "Tin Box" Sheriff Farley, Roosevelt removed him and a successor was promptly appointed agreeable to John F. Curry and Tammany Hall. However, when Rabbi Wise and Dr. John Haynes Holmes demanded the removal of McQuade, another corrupt Tammany satellite, they were sternly rebuked by the Governor. It is not unthinkable that

Roosevelt who so eloquently nominated Al Smith for President at the last Democratic convention, and who wrote the touching tribute to Smith, entitled "The Happy Warrior," will not be so easily ditched by the Tiger and that on proper terms some understanding will be reached between Roosevelt and Tammany Hall.

The picture of this stalwart advocate of universal military service, this exponent of navies second to none, this invader and oppressor of colonial peoples, this smooth-tongued graduate of Tammany Hall, this tried and true friend of big business, parading as a liberal, as the sworn foe of privilege and the champion of the common man, is a piece of bald hypocrisy baffling comparison. If this very dark horse finally climbs to the presidency, the chances are that labor will find him far blacker than we have painted him here.

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But when that breakdown comes,

we must be prepared. For those who benefit from this order, those who today are still the mighty of the world, are not going to help us then. They are going to fight us—are the bankers, the politicians and the coupon clippers. They do not care about our new world. We, the workers, will have to save it. It belongs to us.

To save it, however, we will have to organize, learn how to stick together and to fight—for ourselves, this time. And this is where YOU can do something, today.

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