

LABOR ACTION

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Terror in Toledo

Darrow Hits New Deal As Monopolistic

Says Industry Must Be Socialized; Johnson Requests Dismissal

WASHINGTON. — Still panicky from the effects of the bombshell tossed into the capital by Clarence Darrow and the National Review Board, which exploded in the midst of the New Deal program exposing its tie-up to big business, the administration has retaliated by packing Darrow and the National Review Board off the scene and behind the curtains.

The Darrow report on the effects of the NRA codes, revealing price-fixing, high-handed discrimination against the "little man" and a steady tightening of the grip of financial and industrial monopoly upon the nation, threw administration ranks into turmoil. Roosevelt aids and spokesmen hurriedly prepared counter-propaganda in an effort to reassure the "little fellows", white-washing NRA and giving the National Review Board the lie.

Organized Exploitation

Darrow found that the Roosevelt recovery program is a scheme benefitting big business.

"To give the sanction of government to sustain profits is not planned economy," Darrow said, "but a regimented organization for exploitation."

The only alternative lies in operating industry for use and not for profit, he found.

"Only by the fullest use of productive capacity for the raising of standards of living of individuals and the community can a steady balance be achieved in an age of abundance." This, he pointed out requires that industry be socialized. But NRA is going in the opposite direction, limiting production and increasing corporation profits.

The Board found the Roosevelt program leading directly to monopoly. Small business people and the workers are being sacrificed to big business, the report to Roosevelt said.

Destroys Board

Complying to the demands of General Johnson, the President issued an order destroying the Board.

Informal releases from the White House, trying to explain the hasty dismissal of Darrow and the disillusion of the National Review Board, hint that Roosevelt wishes to assure the "little men" and the "forgotten men" that he himself will "assume their burdens." The releases do not state how.

The state of affairs revealed by the Darrow report will be ballyhooed from public attention as quickly as possible.

PA. JOBLESS MEET

ALLENTOWN, Penna. — Two hundred and fifty delegates, from 75 locals are expected to attend the Pennsylvania Unemployed League Convention to be held here on June 9 and 10. With more than 10 counties of the state represented this will be the most important Unemployed gathering that has taken place in Pennsylvania.

LAW AND ORDER UNDER CAPITALISM

(an editorial)

Tear gas—machine guns—bayonets. This, comrades, is the meaning of capitalist law and order; this is the fine flower of capitalist democracy.

In Toledo and Minneapolis, workers striking for the most elementary rights—the right for a living wage and the right to organize into unions of their own choice—are met by the clubs, gas, and guns of the bosses' deputies; and then, when the workers' ranks stand unbroken—by the bared bayonets of the National Guard.

This, comrades, is the means that the vicious, decaying capitalist society uses to preserve profits and private property. This is capitalist peace.

All honor to the workers of Toledo and Minneapolis, and their heroic defense of workers' rights!

Forward to a workers' world!

Steel Strike Deadline Near; Union Prepares For Battle

PITTSBURGH, PENNA.—The steel industry is going to fight to keep its workers from joining the union of their choice. This is the answer of the feudal mill lords to the local lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers who have been presenting demands for union recognition, increased pay and shorter hours in accordance with the decision of the steel workers convention held recently. Such giants of the industry as U. S. Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube and Republic Steel have announced their determination to maintain their fake company union plans and have refused to deal in any way with "outside organizations."

The demands have been served on between 150 and 200 companies.

Preparations Go On

Meanwhile the work of strengthening the union to prepare for possible strike action on June 15, goes on. In South Chicago the campaign opened with a bang when over 300 members of A.A. Local 57 paraded before the South Works of U. S. Steel. The riot squad attempted to break up the march by arresting 20 men but the authorities were forced to release them all the next day when the judge ruled that the charges of disorderly conduct and parading without a permit had not been justified.

The militant action of the convention and the interest which its decisions have aroused among the workers has led to a rapid rise in A.A. membership in many sections. Custer Lodge No. 6, at Monroe Michigan, for example, has found it necessary to hold two meetings a week to handle all the new applications.

AWP PROGRAM IN REVISED EDITION

NEW YORK.—The Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party announces that a new and revised edition of the programmatic statement of the Party is now in preparation and will soon be issued.

Probably no revolutionary pamphlet ever published in this country has excited the amount of comment, favorable and unfavorable, that has greeted the first edition of the program of the American Workers Party.

From Right and Left

The attacks on it have come indiscriminately from the right and the left. Conservatives have seen in it the beginnings of a new alignment of revolutionary forces that seriously threatens to start

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Troops Kill Workers; 5,000 Face Gunfire In Fight For Union

General Strike Impending; Louis Budenz, of American Workers Party, Jailed as Leader

BULLETIN

TOLEDO, Ohio.—There will be no action against the soldiers who killed two workers and wounded scores of others, says Brigadier General L. F. Connolly in charge of the troops. "They were being attacked," explained the General, but he does not explain whether he thought shooting tear gas bombs at workers fighting for their jobs is an attack or a peaceful action.

Frank Hubay, 27, and Steve Cygon, 20, were killed and hundreds injured by bullets and flying bricks as troops continued firing on 5,000 strikers and unemployed workers. The workers refuse to retreat.

Strikers and unemployed fight side by side. The jobless are members of the Ohio Unemployed League.

Louis F. Budenz, organizer for the American Workers Party, is held in jail as leader of the strike.

Authorities fear to call out local national guardsmen. They might have friends among the workers, it is explained, and would not like to kill them.

Fifty one Toledo unions, comprising more than half the strength of the C.L.U. have voted for a general strike.

Rush Troops To Strike In Minneapolis

BULLETIN

More than 3,000 troops, rushed to the city at the request of the employers, stand ready with gas bombs and machine-guns as strikers refuse to recognize a government truce which provides a 50 cents an hour rate for one year. The 5,000 strikers voted the wage unfair. As the truce deadline ends, the government militiamen are being stationed at strategic points in the city. Reinforcements for labor are expected as action goes forward in the city Central Labor Union for a general strike.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Rushing in with a truce, the government Regional Labor Board has halted the storm assault of labor upon low wages and union-hating employers which swept the city.

Armed with rifles, the regular police force and 1,500 business men and underworld characters, sworn in as special deputies, were driven by 5,000 truck strikers and sympathizers from the strike zone. Sixteen cops were injured and a business man acting as a deputy killed in the progress of the strike. Twenty five thousand building trades workers had walked out in sympathy with the truck drivers.

Last Minute Rescue

Clashes in which thousands battled, smashing trucks and sending strikebreakers to the hospital, resulted in victories for the strikers.

The temporary truce, which purports to be mandatory on both sides, came like a last minute rescue act for big business. The terms provide for union recognition and collective bargaining, with the present 50 cents an hour wage rate to remain in effect for at least one year.

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Rifles, machine guns and deadly gas bombs, manned by a thousand National Guardsmen, have failed to defeat the heroic struggle of the Toledo workers for decent wages and against company gunmen and company controlled courts.

Starting as an injunction fight in connection with the seven weeks old strike at the Electric Auto-Lite plant and the Bingham Tool and Die plant the struggle has spread throughout the city, drawing in thousands of other workers, and plans are being speeded for a general strike of all crafts in Toledo.

The injunction, prohibiting mass picketing and enjoining members of the Lucas County Unemployed

PROTEST BOSS TERROR!

A meeting protesting boss terror, demonstrated in recent attacks upon workers in Toledo and Minneapolis, has been called by a united front including the American Workers Party, Communist League of America, Communist Party (Opposition), Jewish Workers Party (Left Poale Zion), Il Martello, Industrial Workers of the World, Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and the Socialist Party. Frank Palmer, editor of Federated Press, will be chairman. James Burnham will speak for the A.W.P. The meeting will be held on Thursday May 31 at 8 P. M. at the Germania Assembly Rooms, 144 E. 16th St., near 3rd Ave. Admission: 10 cents.

League from sympathetic strike action, was smashed by the militant defiance of the strikers and of thousands of sympathizers, lead by Ted Selander and Sam Pollock. It was then that C. O. Minger, Pres. of the Electric Auto-Lite Co. called for state troops.

Thus by the brutal and arbitrary action of a boss and his bought and paid for public officials, a

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Liberal La Guardia to Drop 20,000 From Relief Roll

Unemployed Sue New York City To Force Payment Of \$3,000,000

by RAYMOND ROBBINS

NEW YORK.—Twenty thousand to be dropped from relief rolls! No rents to be paid for the month of May! Commissioner of Welfare Hodson claims that all the money appropriated for relief for May is gone. This is the crucial situation which faces the unemployed, organized and unorganized, in the city of New York.

An oral understanding between the bankers and the O'Brien administration, limiting the city's unemployment relief expenditures to \$3,000,000 a month, stands in the way of adequate dispensing of relief to the ever-increasing unemployed.

The liberal LaGuardia administration has thus far upheld the notorious banker's agreement, and has recently inaugurated the most vicious relief policy in the history of the city.

Brings Suit

The Workers Unemployed Union has brought suit against the La Guardia administration and Comptroller McGoldrick to force them to use the \$3,000,000 collected by the O'Brien utility tax for unemployment relief.

Although this suit will serve to bring the chaos and irresponsibility of the municipal government towards the relief situation sharply

to the fore, yet it may also serve to lead the unemployed to relax their vigilance and put all their faith in the possibility of winning their fight in the bosses' court rather than on the picket line.

Mass Demonstration

The Workers Unemployed Union has called for a mass demonstration of its downtown locals before the Home Relief Bureau this coming Monday. The main demands will be "Adequate cash relief", "Immediate outlays for emergency needs for clothing" and "Elimination of red tape and delays in investigation and administration of relief."

The question of a city-wide united front becomes of paramount importance as the attacks upon the relief standards of the unemployed become more open and brutal every day. With applications for home relief soaring from 900 daily last September to 1,900 daily at the present, with rents being discontinued, and with a total increase of 100,000 families on the relief rolls since September 1, this issue must be faced squarely by the organizations in the field.

500 Discuss AWP Program In Newark, O.

NEWARK, Ohio.—Five hundred people gathered on the court-house steps here to hear the program and principles of the American Workers Party.

The meeting was opened by Wm. Cochran, former president of the Newark Central Labor Union. The speakers were Verne Bauhoff, secretary of the Ohio Unemployed League, Lewis Marolt, newly appointed A.W.P. organizer for Ohio, and A. J. Muste, national chairman A.W.P.

Immediate demands for legislation giving workers and farmers the unrestricted right to organize and outlawing the company union, no evictions and no foreclosures, the 30-hour week and a national minimum wage for all adults, employed or unemployed, of \$30 a week, were mentioned as A.W.P. demands for the fall elections.

After the meeting many gathered to discuss party affiliation.

16,163 GET CASH

NEW YORK.—Checks totaling \$201,163 and ranging from \$1.50 to \$35 were passed out to 16,163 families yesterday by relief agencies as New York ended its regime of food orders in favor of cash payments.

Plot to GOD'S CHILLUNS GOT WINGS Charged to

Local 3 Electrical Workers May Lose Right To Vote If Insurance Plan Is Dropped

by an Electrical Worker

NEW YORK.—Is it a plot? "No," say administration heads. "Yes," say opposition forces.

And the unemployed electrical workers of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, point to the recent attempts of Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., business manager, who is out of Sing-Sing under a \$16,000 bond for shooting two opposition members, and Birt Kirkman, president of the local, to railroad out of existence the Unemployment Insurance Plan which keeps members in good standing. Unless dues are paid, the members are dropped from the union.

And In June

Plainly the administration has hatched a plot, the opposition charges. A plot to disqualify 3,000 unemployed union men from voting in the June election.

It is true, they say, that International President, D. W. Tracy, acting on a petition of 1,000 names demanding that the Plan be restored, put the Plan back into effect temporarily, but then what happened? Just this, say opposition forces. The administration heads

immediately introduced a resolution to the effect that if a man works less than 9 days a quarter his dues shall be advanced by the local in the form of a loan. Then, of course, everyone can vote in the June election.

Men Are Leary

But what's the idea? ask the men. Why destroy a by-law which guarantees that the men shall be kept in good standing for a resolution that can be "resolved" out again at the next meeting? Years of turmoil in the big local have made the membership leary.

Working to clean the local of autocracy and gangsterism which, under the reign of ex-president Broach, strangled the freedom of the membership to such an extent that the issue, involving election steals, misappropriation of funds, sluggings and attempts at murder, became front-page news throughout the city, the anti-administration forces are rallying for a final attack. They demand that President Tracy clean house.

Election Will Decide

The June election will decide—that is, if the alleged plot fails and the men get to vote. And if the election is not stolen as usual. This is what the men are saying.

Local No. 3 is the largest electrical local in America, covering Greater New York. Approximately 80 per cent of the members are unemployed.

If the Unemployed Allowance Plan is continued no member will be ousted because he can't pay dues and all will get to vote, opposition members say.

N. Y. Notes

The AWP has won the right to hold noon-day open-air meetings in Madison Square Park, a right long reserved to the semi-fascist Daniels by sympathetic police. The latter, who for some time barred AWP speakers from the Park, backed down when the Party insisted that meetings would be held in defiance of police edict.

Problems of strategy and tactics will be dealt with in a series of discussion meetings now being held by the New York Branch. Following a talk last week by Ludwig Lore on, "Breeding Spots of Imperialist War", Harry Howe will lead a discussion on, "The Workers Press", on Friday, June 1; to be followed, on Friday, June 15, by Karl Lore on, "Government and the Unions". All meetings are free of charge and are held at AWP headquarters.

A group of Consolidated Gas Company workers have applied to the Brotherhood of Utility Employees for a charter.

Dave Lasser, Chairman of the Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York, has wired Governor White of Ohio demanding the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Toledo.

"The action of the Toledo jobless, organized in the Ohio Unemployed League, in marching with the strikers on the Auto-Lite Plant picket line, is an example to be followed by us", said Bill Lynch organizer of Local 22 of the Workers Unemployed Union.

NEW YORK.—The striking longshoremen of the Clyde Mallory line returned to work when the company agreed to abide by a plebiscite in which the men voted 402 to 22 to have the International Longshoremen Association represent them.

ORDER BUNDLES OF
LABOR ACTION

AN OPEN LETTER

To the Revolutionary Policy Committee of the Socialist Party

Comrades:

The American Workers Party greets the appeal to the membership of the Socialist Party issued by your committee as a definite step forward toward revolutionary clarity and action in America. Not since 1919 has the time been so ripe and the need so urgent for a realignment of revolutionary forces on the American scene aiming at the conquest of political power by the working class and its allies in order to establish the socialist commonwealth. It is with the conviction that our ultimate interests and goal are the same that we address you for the purpose of comradely discussion and eventual common action.

Although the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee is essentially revolutionary we feel that in two respects its position is incompatible with realistic Marxism and demands modification. One of them concerns a matter of principle; the other, the closely related question of tactics.

It is impossible to affirm allegiance to the revolutionary principles of Marxism,—the class theory of the state, the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, workers' councils as the organizational instrument of achieving and consolidating the workers' democratic rule, the international character of the social revolution—we say it is impossible to affirm all this without announcing a decisive break with the Second International which in theory and practice is diametrically opposed to every one of the fundamental principles enunciated in the Open Letter of the Revolutionary Policy Committee.

From 1914 to 1934 not a year has gone by in which the Second International has failed to reveal itself as a hopelessly reformist and social chauvinist organization. The effect of its policies has been to hold the workers back from revolutionary struggle. From year to year it has trimmed its sails to the passing winds of non-Marxian revisionist doctrine. Its leaders have sought to prove the possibility of capitalist stabilization. Its decisive sections have gone no further than the perspective of "peaceful gradualism"—which is rightly characterized in your Open Letter as a suicidal illusion. It sanctified the policy of drift and acquiescence pursued by the Socialist Parties in Germany and Austria in the face of the fascist counter-revolution. It would have long

since been ingloriously buried and forgotten had it not been for the widely heralded periodic attempts of "left-wing" elements within it to reform, revise or rebaptize it with a sprinkle of revolutionary phrases. The Second International cannot at this late date be transformed into a genuine revolutionary organization. We believe that the Revolutionary Policy Committee does not desire to serve as a red cloak for the black deeds of the Second International. We believe that the program of the Revolutionary Policy Committee is essentially revolutionary. It is, therefore, a crying inconsistency to remain within the Second International or to recognize it as potentially revolutionary.

This does not mean that we believe the Revolutionary Policy Committee should advocate affiliation to the Third International. To do so would be jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The Third International in recent years has revealed itself as an organization no more competent to lead the world social revolution than the Second. With its theory of social-fascism, its disastrous united-front-from-below-and-behind, its aping of fascist tactics toward other working-class groups, its revisionist identification of workers democracy with party dictatorship, its cult of the infallibility of leadership, and its complete subordination of world revolution to the impossible attempt to build socialism in one country alone,—the Third International stands completely bankrupt. The Second, Second and a half, and Third Internationals have become hindrances to the revolutionary movement. No movement, however, can regard itself as revolutionary unless it seeks to unite with other genuinely revolutionary elements throughout the world for purposes of common action. It is therefore necessary to build a new party and to work toward the building of a new International.

The second point concerns the tactical procedure of the Revolutionary Policy Committee within the Socialist Party. What would it mean if the R.P.C. were to have its program accepted by the Socialist Party? It is by no means excluded that the reformists in extremis may piously intone revolutionary sentiments in order to be able to retain their grip upon the party apparatus. But a party in which the Cahans, the O'Neals, the Sharts and the Lees are to be

found, cannot adopt the program of the R.P.C. without emasculating its revolutionary content. Any verbal agreement won will defeat the ultimate purpose of the R.P.C. and enable the apparatus to use the Program of the R.P.C. as a revolutionary mouth wash to remove the taint of reformism. The failure of the program of the R.P.C. to pay any attention to this crucial question seems to us a most serious omission.

Accordingly, the Revolutionary Policy Committee must formulate its course in the event that its program is repudiated by the Socialist Party. The more outspoken, the more revolutionary, the clearer its stand, the greater the probability that the old guard and right wing of the Socialist Party will successfully mobilize to defeat it. For the R.P.C. to remain within the Socialist Party if its program is defeated is too capitulate to reformism. Given the presumption of revolutionary sincerity, such an alternative is unthinkable. What remains then? To join a communist sect (Communist Opposition) whose chief quarrel with the Communist Party is that it disputes the right of the present leadership to carry out the orders of the Communist International? To join the Communist League, which, undoubtedly more principled than any communist faction, has not yet emancipated itself from the psychology of a communist sect.—and whose whole history proves its inability to take the lead in building a new revolutionary party? To constitute itself as an independent group and crumble away under the impact of political forces converging upon it from opposite directions? All of these are blind alleys.

The American Workers Party calls the attention of the Revolutionary Policy Committee to its own draft program as the most adequate expression of revolutionary philosophy and program in America—as the only program compatible with the ultimate logic involved in the declarations of the R.P.C. The American Workers Party herewith extends to the Revolutionary Policy Committee as a group an invitation to begin forthwith joint discussions of ways and means to unite the revolutionary forces of the United States.

Fraternally yours,
PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING
COMMITTEE OF THE
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

Nazi Meeting Gets Cop Aid

NEW YORK.—Guarded by cordons of police and uniformed Storm Troopers, the Friends of Germany, a Nazi-controlled organization, held a meeting at Madison Square Garden on the night of May 17 to protest against the boycott of German goods.

Twenty thousand were present to hear pro-Hitler speakers launch anti-semitic attacks against prominent trade unionists and rabbis, indiscriminately linking them up with "communistic and liberal elements". Among these were William Green, reactionary president of the A. F. of L., Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and Samuel Untermyer, millionaire lawyer.

Laurels To Hitler

Although the main purpose of the meeting was to give impetus to the counter-boycott being organized by the DAWA or the German-American Business Committee, speaker after speaker spent the major portion of his speech in heaping laurels upon the head of Hitler.

George Sylvester Vierick, who was an ardent supporter of the Kaiser and now writes ballyhoo for the Nazis, hailed the destruction of working class organizations under the Hitler dictatorship as "the most civilized, the most bloodless revolution."

A demonstration of 1,000 anti-Fascists, organized by the Communist League of America and the Young People's Socialist League, and including the American Workers Party and the Young Communist League, was held in the theatre district to protest against the holding of a Fascist meeting.

Police Help Hitlerites

Cordons of police, standing abreast in the streets leading to the Garden, were necessary to keep back the militant demonstrators who marched thru the streets of the Great White Way, singing and shouting slogans. Time and again, the demonstration was diverted into the side streets by the blue coated defenders of Hitlerism.

After marching up and down Broadway many times, the demonstrators held a mass meeting on Times Square. Speakers, representing all the participating groups were given the platform, and emphasized the need for united action in the face of threatening fascism.

What's Happening

ABROAD

(Continued from Page 1)
 strike for union recognition and a 10 percent wage increase has been turned into one of the greatest labor struggles in the history of the country. The clubbed and exploited workers of the United States are learning who are their enemies and, if Toledo is an indication, they can and they will fight.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS IN TOLEDO BATTLE

Auto Lite and Bingham strikes dying out. Injunction killing them.

Disgusted with the inaction of their leaders, strikers call on Lucas County Unemployed League for help. Ted Selander and Sam Pollock of the UL write court that they intend to defy injunction.

Monday, May 7, Selander and Pollock defy injunction. They are arrested. Two members, Norman Meyers and Carl Lech of the Federal Union, are arrested with them. Released on bail.

Each day thereafter Selander and Pollock with increasing numbers of pickets went on picket line. On Friday, May 11, Selander and Pollock the court room packed with workers, turn their trial into an indictment of capitalism and capitalist courts. Judge Stuart dismisses them on ground of "misconception."

Tuesday, May 15, 107 pickets are arrested. They are released, however, as too many for the county to feed.

Wednesday, 46 more are arrested. Workers storm jail.

Monday, May 21, a banner inscribed with, "American Workers Party Calls for Mass Picketing", and on the other, with historic dates, "1776, 1861, 1934," was marched to picket line. Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the American Workers Party, before plant gates, makes speech denouncing President Miniger of Auto-Lite Co. as Toledo's Public Enemy No. 1. More than 2,000 workers cheer him.

Tuesday, May 22, a large banner was carried on picket line inscribed, "Why Look For Dilling-er, We Have Our Miniger." Picket line grows in size and militancy. No arrests. Injunction apparently smashed. In front page editorial, "News Bee", Scripps-Howard paper, attacks Budenz.

Wednesday, May 23, Budenz jailed. Company attacks pickets with tear gas. Pickets respond by smashing plant. Miniger asks for troops.

Thursday, May 24, 15 companies militia arrive. Authorities fear to call on local troops. They may be sympathetic. Workers repulse deadly gas attack by troops and company gunmen. Troops fire on workers killing three, wounding scores. Workers build barricades, resisting troops with bricks, stones, etc.

Muste Visits

Jailed Leader

COLUMBUS, OHIO.—The first act of A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Workers Party, on arrival in Columbus recently, was to visit Bill Reich, A.W.P. member and Educational Director of the Ohio Unemployed League, at the Columbus Work House where he has been for two weeks as a result of a conviction by police frameup in connection with the anti- eviction struggles.

All kinds of legal technicalities have been used to delay Reich's release on bail pending an appeal from the outrageous sentence of 30 days, a fine of \$25 and costs of over \$100. It is expected that his release will soon be accomplished.

Reich said to Comrade Muste:

"Tell the comrades everywhere to rush aid to the strike situation in Ohio. It's a big thing. I am anxious to get back into the fight."

Dixie Leads before Ohio U. On AWP Set-Up

Students Ask Many Questions, Muste Exposes Sham Democracy

by Special Correspondent

COLUMBUS, OHIO.—The Commerce Building at the reactionary Ohio State University was the scene of an unusual event when over 100 students and faculty members and Columbus workers gathered to hear the program of the American Workers Party presented by National Chairman, A. J. Muste. The audience remained for an hour and a half of questions and discussion after Comrade Muste's address and many of them lingered in the corridors for further discussion after the lights in the meeting hall had been turned off in accordance with university regulations.

The questions dealt with a large range of subjects such as the progress made by the Party in A. F. of L. locals, the way in which the workers could take power, methods of combatting Fascist tendencies in the U. S., how a non-profit economy would be administered, and the stand of the A.W.P. on labor internationalism.

Muste commented on the reign of terror against unions and unemployed leagues in Ohio as an illustration of how the capitalist class always throws off the mask of "democracy" when the workers show any strength.

"It would be ridiculous under such circumstances," said Muste, "for the workers to pin their hopes on this sham democracy. They must take power and so establish a genuine workers' democracy."

Workers Demand General Strike As Toledo Crisis Reaches Climax

By Special Correspondent

TOLEDO, OHIO.—With the smashing of Judge Stuart's injunction, the situation here has been completely changed, and a strike, which a few weeks ago was slowly dying, is likely to become the beginning of the greatest labor struggle this town has witnessed in 25 years. "General strike!" is the cry now as the thoroughly aroused workers defiantly march in the picket lines.

The injunction, prohibiting the United Automobile Workers Federal Union from mass picketing at the Electric Auto-Lite Co. and the Bingham Stamping and Tool Co., where strikes have been in progress since April 11, and enjoining outside organizations from sympathetic strike action, was fast taking the spirit out of the workers. It looked like sure defeat. Scabs were being hauled into the plant by the hundreds. And the union leaders were doing nothing about it.

Can You Help Us?

This was the situation in the early part of May when several rank and file members determined to take matters into their own hands. They came to the offices of the Lucas County Unemployed League. "What can you fellows do to help us?" they asked Ted Selander and Sam Pollock. "Last March, when the strike was on at the Spicer Manufacturing Co., you said you would stand shoulder to shoulder with the strikers. Well, what about helping us?"

"Sure thing. We'll help you," replied the league leaders. "But you fellow have got to stand by us. You know that Judge Stuart

had us in mind when he enjoined outside organization from sympathetic picketing. And you know that some of your leaders accused us of being responsible for the injunction, because we insisted on militant action. Well we're not hornoring in. You fellows must support us."

"Okey," said the auto workers. "We'll stand by you."

"All right, then we'll defy the injunction. We'll write to Judge Stuart informing him that on Sunday morning, May 8, we shall deliberately and specifically defy his blasted injunction."

Things Begin to Happen

And from then on things began to happen in Toledo. On Monday morning members of the league appeared on the picket line with a sign which read: "Unemployed League Violates Injunction." Members of the union carried another sign calling on their fellow workers to "Violate Court Intervention with Mass Picketing."

As a result, Selander and Pollock, together with Norman Meyers and Carl Lech, members of the union, were arrested and charged with contempt. Released on bail furnished by Edward Lamb, their attorney, they immediately set about organizing to make this a showdown fight. A mass demonstration was held before the court house the day before their trial at which Selander spoke on the necessity of breaking the injunction.

Tried for Contempt

On the morning of their trial the court room was jammed with workers. This was an important

case, not just the trial of a few strikers on charges of disorderly conduct. This was a case in which workers had dared to defy the boss made law, had dared to openly speak back to a Judge. Its outcome might mean much, might mean the difference between a lost strike and a won strike. The defendants had a large responsibility. But from the very beginning it was apparent that these fellow workers who had taken as their task the smashing of this infamous injunction knew very well how to handle themselves. Every question asked by the company's lawyer, (from the strike-breaking law firm of Tracey, Chapman and Wells) was made the occasion for a speech against capitalist courts, strike-breaking law firms, wage-cutting, unemployment, etc.

"Violence?"

"Do you believe in violence?" asked Judge Stuart of Ted Selander, hoping to trip him up.

"What do you mean by violence?" asked Selander.

"You know very well what violence means," snapped the Judge.

"Sure, I do know what violence is," replied Selander. "And no decent person believes in violence. That's why I am here. For neither does any decent or self-respecting person peacefully submit to being violently robbed of his living or to having his civil rights violently denied him. I am . . ."

"That will do," mumbled the Judge. The crowd roared.

Guilty

After much hemming and hawing on the part of the Court the defendants were found guilty, but, because the Judge thought they "acted under a misconception," there was no penalty.

Following this trial the picket lines before the struck plants grew daily. A new spirit had entered the workers, a spirit of defiance of boss made laws and of determination to win their strike. Hundreds of arrests were made. An army of police and company paid deputies surrounded the plants. On one occasion a deputy threw tear gas into a picket line and almost caused a riot. Hundreds of workers threatened to mob him. Judge Stuart's court room became the scene of militant demonstrations. Hundreds of workers packed it at every trial, despite repeated and desperate attempts of the police to keep them out. The usual attempt to pick off the most militant of the strikers and try them separately failed. When 46 were arrested and only 24 picked off for trial, the entire 46 insisted that all would have to be tried or none, that if one were guilty then all were guilty because all of them were doing the same thing.

A Scab Town

Toledo is a notorious scab town. There hasn't been a strike here for the last 15 years. The two basic industries are auto and auto-parts and glass. The big shot capitalist is C. O. Mininger of the Auto-Lite Manufacturing Co. who runs the town. The labor leaders are the usual run of American Federation of Labor officials, playing politics and attempting with all their might to be nice respectable citizens who will be thought well of by the bosses.

A New Spirit

Yet the talk of a general strike grows, becomes more persistent. Word sent out from the Central Labor Union that general strike action was being considered was cheered by the workers. A torch light parade, demonstrations and mass meetings are being planned. A general strike would bring the bosses to terms immediately, labor leaders say. Toledo workers, unless your correspondent is much mistaken, will be speaking to the nation very shortly.

What Do You Mean, Government?

By James Rorty

The writer, in the course of a trip to Wisconsin, spent four days in Columbus and other Ohio hot spots. Especially in Meigs County. I am still a little staggered by what I saw and heard in Meigs County. If any of the 'best people' of Ohio should happen to read this brief account they will, I am sure, declare with one voice that, like the circus giraffe, it's a big mistake, there isn't any such animal, it just couldn't have happened. Well, it did happen, and I spent some time getting affidavits to prove it.

Tracy Reads Riot Act

I arrived in Columbus Wednesday morning, May 10. Two days before, Art Tracy, Sheriff of Meigs County, put the leaders of the Meigs County Unemployed League in jail—18 of them. Marshalling his 75 newly sworn-in deputies—most of them ex-bootleggers—in front of the Pomeroy city hall, he read the riot act to the Unemployed League members and told them to disperse. Art's fellow townsmen, equally unimpressed by Art and by his bootlegger army, took their time about dispersing. So Art, acting on orders from the county commissioners and County Judge Peoples, jailed eight of the leaders including Pearl Bolen, chairman of the Meigs County chapter of the Unemployed League. That afternoon Art marched over to Dennington a few miles away and picked up 10 more.

Introducing myself as a writer for the Nation, I interviewed Art. He explained that they just had to do it. A wave of strikes was sweeping over Ohio and the Unemployed League was playing a militant role in most of them. They figured that if they made an example of the Meigs County boys maybe they could stop this prairie fire from spreading.

All that, by this time, is just a dated communique from the Ohio front. But stop for a moment and look at the human situation back

of that news, none of which got on the wires, by the way.

Jim Bowen Dies

Early that Monday morning, before the sheriff cracked down on the Unemployed League, Jim Bowen died. Jim couldn't have chosen a worse time to die because when the sheriff jailed the leaders of the Unemployed League what he really did was to put the government in jail. Not the official government. Not the county commissioners, not Judge Peoples. Not Rotarian E. R. Tompkins of Middleport, foreman of the Hobson Car Shops of the New York Central Railroads, not the 'Best People' who own Meigs County, its land, its mines, its factories, and who also own its official government. Nobody thought of putting them in jail in spite of the fact that for many months, they had conspicuously failed to perform the necessary functions of government. They had failed to keep the mines and factories running. They had failed to feed the people. They had failed to provide medical attention.

They were, in fact, a flop in every essential respect, and I am sure that any intelligent visitor from Mars would have insisted upon jailing them promptly.

Instead, what does this dumb high sheriff of Meigs County do but jail the leaders of the Unemployed League! When he did that, Meigs County just went to pot altogether. This is proved by what happened to Jim Bowen.

"Best People" Face Dilemma

From early Monday morning till the following Friday, Jim Bowen lay dead in his bed, and the official government of Meigs County couldn't see any way of getting him under ground. Whereas the real government of Meigs County, namely, the Unemployed League, was terribly handicapped by the jailing of its leaders. The Unemployed League did its best in the emergency. Its members somehow dug up enough money to wire rel-

atives of the family and find a burial plot. They secured the \$25 the county allowed for a casket but at that point they were blocked because the undertaker wouldn't move the corpse an inch until he was paid \$20.

Meanwhile Jim Bowen lay in his bed. By Thursday night one of the Unemployed League members, keeping watch over the corpse, reported that it was pretty bad. He was unable to stay in the room.

Finally the undertaker consented to move the corpse. The Unemployed League members by that time were out of jail on \$200 bond to keep the peace and some slight measure of decency, humanity and civilization returned to the city of Pomeroy. Friday, the members of the Unemployed League dug Jim Bowen's grave and put him away.

That's only about a tenth of the story. Affidavits supporting this and three other nine-tenths have been forwarded to Washington. It isn't a pleasant story, but perhaps, it warrants a little reflection.

Real "Best People"

For all practical human social purposes the Unemployed League has a much better title to call itself the government of Meigs County than the tin-pot judges, sheriffs, rotarians, American Legion commanders who yell about law and order and are duly lathered with praise by the editor of the Pomeroy Daily Tribune. It's a cinch that if it weren't for the Unemployed League the people of Meigs County would starve to death a whole lot faster than they are starving, which is plenty fast enough. It is certain that but for the Unemployed League the sick would go unattended (the official government failed to pay relief doctor's bills for three months. And the dead would go unburied. Well, figure it out for yourself? Who is the real government of Meigs County? Who are the real "Best People" of Ohio?

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Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

POLITICAL STRIKES

ONE of the most important features of the present series of strikes and demonstrations is their growingly political character. Demands for higher wages and shorter hours—the traditional economic demands—are playing a relatively small part. Workers, with an extraordinary and determined militancy, are concentrating mass efforts on establishing their own class organizations: free trade unions. Last fall the strikes on this issue went under slogans of appeal to the NRA and the government. Today, in case after case, the strikes are against the NRA and the governmental boards. The workers are learning what side the government is on. They are beginning to understand that a fight against the bosses has got to be also a fight against the bosses' government, if it is going to get workers anything.

It is the duty of all revolutionists to give every strike and demonstration the clearest possible political direction. Revolutionists must show concretely, on every occasion, how the government and its agents—police, deputies, national guardsmen, the courts—are the most powerful weapons the capitalists have to use against the working class. It is by getting to understand the part the government plays that militant workers are made into class-conscious revolutionists.

In this connection the demonstrations in Toledo are of great importance. Under the clear-sighted leadership of members of the American Workers Party, these demonstrations have been raised to an open and fighting political level. The real fight began when the Unemployed Leagues decided to support by mass picketing the strikes under the leadership of the United Automobile Workers Union. This terrified the bosses. The union of unemployed with employed means that the pressure of large bodies of unemployed workers cannot be used to keep down wages inside the shops, and to provide scabs when strikes begin.

The bosses, therefore, got an injunction from Judge Stuart, restricting the number of pickets and forbidding picketing by members of the Leagues. The court functioned directly as an agent of the bosses.

But the Leagues responded. After a public announcement, deliberately and explicitly the leadership of the Leagues called for mass violation of the injunction. And the workers, employed and unemployed, supported the call overwhelmingly. This is a true working-class answer.

A United Front in Europe

THE leader of the official Communist Party, Jose Balbontin, has just resigned from the Party because it refused to enter into a United Front with the Socialist Party, the Anarcho-Syndicalist front and the Communist Opposition. In a letter to the Central Committee of the CPS he states that he considers it "inimical to the solidarity of the working class to continue fighting Socialism as if it were a wing of Fascism."

"I do not believe," his letter continues, "that Fascism in Spain has been defeated, as Comrade Stalin said in his last speech. It seems to me that Fascism in Spain is marching apace and already has one foot in the government. It will soon succeed in monopolizing the government completely if we do not hurry to stop it by a sincere United Front Against Fascism."

"It seems evident to me that Spanish Socialism and Anarchism want sincerely to fight against the Fascist danger, and that in this critical moment the Spanish Communists must join loyally with the Socialists and Anarchists in a united front FROM BELOW and FROM ABOVE, suspending all internal factional struggles in answer to the demands of the masses."

"We must suppress effectively the advances of Fascism; and only then shall we be able without fear,

to dedicate ourselves to the tasks of organizing a Workers' and Peasant Government based on Soviets.

"At this moment in Spain, it seems to me too premature to insist on imposing upon the great revolutionary mass the leadership of a Communist Party which has hardly begun to sprout. If you insist on an immediate displacement of Socialist and Anarchist leadership, in place of treating with them provisionally, you are preventing a proletarian block and you are facilitating the complete triumph of Fascism, just as was done in Germany."

Comrade Balbontin did not know at that time how truly he had spoken: Latvia and Bulgaria proved once more that a disunited proletariat can and will be run over by Fascism and will be in no position to attempt resistance. There is no the least doubt, well informed people assure us, that Balbontin will find strong support by many workers within the Communist Party of Spain.

United Front in France

SS. DENIS, the well-known labor suburb of Paris, reelected its Communist mayor, Comrade Doriot on May 13. Doriot, deputy to the Chamber, leader of the CPF in this red municipality and former leader of the Communist youth

of France, had been expelled by the CPF for entering into a united Front with the Social Democracy and for his criticism of the ultra-Leftist course of his party. The workers of Denis paid no attention to his expulsion, however, and swept him back into office.

When the fascist movement first began to show strength in France, there was a spontaneous organization of united front committees in more than 3000 localities in all parts of the nation in which Communists, Socialists, the League for Human Rights and other organizations, including Liberal and bourgeois Left groups of all shades of opinion, were represented. In some places even the branches of the Radical Socialist (Herriot) party joined this anti-fascist movement, which rapidly developed into a mighty force in answer to the fascist provocation of February 6. The demonstrations of this united front everywhere were characterized by a remarkable unanimity of purpose. There was no sign of friction or disunion anywhere among the workers in its ranks.

The French Socialist Party, although by far the largest of these groups, showed an extraordinary appreciation of the situation. There was no debate as to the necessity or advisability of uniting with the other weaker parties. It concentrated its machine exclusively on the work of making this united front movement an out-

Let the lessons of Toledo be remembered:
For the fighting union of employed and unemployed!
For mass violation of every anti-labor injunction!

FOR A NEW LABOR DEFENSE

THE American Workers Party and many labor organizations have long felt the necessity for a really non-partisan labor defense organization; they recognize the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 20 East 17th Street, as fulfilling this need.

The principles upon which the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense rests are as follows:

- To provide legal and other defense for workers prosecuted for their opinions or activities in the class struggle.
- To defend all members of racial or national minorities against any form of discrimination or persecution.
- To defend teachers, artists, professionals and students against any reactionary interference with the rights of free speech and organization so essential to their vocation.
- To defend teachers all victims of reactionary attempt to infringe, limit or abolish those democratic rights supposedly the common resource of all.
- To provide material aid for class war prisoners and other victims of reactionary persecution and their dependents.
- To conduct propaganda and mass pressure campaigns by publication, public meetings, demonstrations and other means, against all reactionary trends and activities such as Fascism, anti-Semitism, Negrophobia, anti-foreignism, clericalism and the like, whether in cultural, judicial, or administrative fields.
- To advocate free speech and democratic procedure within the industrial and political labor movement and to oppose gangsterism and hooliganism.

Although many defense organizations claim some or all of the above principles, not one carries them out in practice. The American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and The Jewish Congress refuse to recognize the realities of the class struggle. This prevents them from carrying on indispensable militant mass pressure campaigns. Such organizations in the labor field as the Terzani Defense Committee, although valuable in themselves, are local and temporary.

The course of the I.L.D., on the other hand, however exemplary its early history, has in recent years been one of growing partisanship, narrowness, ineffectiveness and degeneration. The I.L.D. still claims to be a non-partisan, broad militant mass organization, but it is a parody of such an organization. It rarely appears where the CP is not involved. It often refuses to defend class war victims who are not CP members or those holding views disapproved by the CP. It often violates the principles of militant defense rather than risk the loss of hegemony in the struggle. It is thoroughly undemocratic, permitting members neither control, criticism, nor discussion.

The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense should be supported by all workers, and organizations who subscribe to its principle; and who want a really functioning non-partisan labor defense organization.

ALL GOD'S CHILLUNS GOT WINGS



"The artillery remains one of the learned arms. It demands not only special physical qualities but also special spiritual and intellectual qualities."—Pope Pius XI, May 23, 1924.

"On a village green in rural England stands a War Memorial: a cannon captured from the Germans. On one side are engraved the names of the English soldiers who were killed in that advance. On the other side is the manufacturer's name—The English Vickers Ltd." Labor Action, Page 8, Col. 5.

AWP to Open Summer Camp
For Rest, Study and Talks

NEW YORK.—A combined center of rest, recreation and intensive study of current problems in economics, politics, and labor is now being launched under the auspices of the American Workers Party. Camp Conawopa will be open to the public for 10 weeks, from June 29th to Sept. 9th. It is located on Lake Mohegan, about 40 miles north of New York City. The Camp will be under the general direction of Oliver Carlson, who has had wide experience in conducting workers' educational projects and summer schools.

Noted Speakers

Not only will classes and lectures be conducted every day in the week, with such outstanding men as Sydney Hook, V. F. Calverton, James Rorty, A. J. Muste, and Walter Peck. A special feature will be the week-end Institutes, where such problems as "How Can A Revolutionary Movement Be Built," "Immediate Economic and Political Perspectives," "The Rise of Fascist Forces in America," "The Press, the Radio, and Propaganda," "Educating for a New Social Order," "Labor

standing success. The Radical Socialist Party, on the other hand, felt the influence of the new movement keenly. A party of its membership, led by Bergery, came out unreservedly in support of the United Front, but the majority took an oppositional stand. Within the Communist Party there were also violent altercations. The Party leaders counseled "self-restraint." *L'Humanite*, the party organ, warned of "undue excitement," called the anti-fascist demonstrations "noisy parades of reactionary and chauvinist groups of the French bourgeoisie, organized by the Chautemps-Chiappe government." A repetition of the attitude of the Communist Party of Germany before Hitler came to power. . . . But the United Front movement is greater than these small partisan spirits. In France it is on the march!

Drama, "Literary Trends of Today" will be among the subjects discussed and debated by experts. Prof. Geo. S. Counts, Ludwig Lore, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Elliot Cohen, J. B. S. Hardman, Alfred Bingham are a few of those who will participate.

Both the week and day rates are unusually attractive. An illustrated folder is now being prepared with full and complete details about Camp Conawopa. Readers of *Labor Action* and their friends are urged to write for the folder and to make reservations at an early date. Address all enquiries to Oliver Carlson, Director, Camp Conawopa, Room 702 112 E. 19th Street, or phone ALgonquin 4-9058.

IS HE GUILTY?

"He had the kind of fun that work can give to those who know what they are in it for. He wanted to get in the money. That was the game. He played it. He studied its tricks. Even as a baby he seems to have been a rugged individualist." Thus writes the New York American Hearst gutter press, of the arch-swindler, Samuel Insull.

It is fun and a game according to this filthy capitalist sheet to swindle the money of impoverished workers. It is still possible for this brazen newspaper of reaction to ask the question "Is He Guilty?"

Hearst and his cronies are not able to answer this truthfully, for Insull is only a capitalist who "got a tough break." There are many more Insulls; to indict one is to indict the whole graft-ridden system of capitalism.

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—Two new classes have been added in the Labor School of the Ohio Unemployed League. Miss Mary Albright is teaching mural painting and Oliver S. Loud is directing plays. Both teachers are from the State University.

Join the
Labor Action Vanguard

L. L.

**What's Happening
ABROAD**

by Ludwig Lore

Austria

Austrian courts are handing down verdicts daily against Social Democrats, Communist and members of the Schutzbund who participated in the February uprising. In Linz on May 10 six workers were sentenced to 15, 12, 10, 9, 8, and 5 years hard labor. A number of prominent Social Democrats were discharged from prison on May 15, but approximately 400 Communists, Social Democrats and Schutzbund members are still behind bars, awaiting sentence. . . . The National Socialists have renewed their campaign of bombing and destruction against the Dollfuss government. In the last few days four persons were killed and 18 more or less seriously wounded. . . . The government continues to expropriate the property of radical and socialist organizations. Thus the Arbeiterbund fuer Sport und Koerperkultur (Askoe) with all its sport fields, gymnasiums, buildings and other property, was the last to be taken over by the authorities. . . . The pan-German group of the Austrian Diet has decided not to dissolve and has informed the government of its decision. The Peasant Party decided to take the same course. Both parties sympathize strongly with the National Socialist movement.

Bulgaria

Just before the recent coup d'etat the criminal court of Stara Zagora rendered its verdict against 38 young persons arrested a year ago for their participation in all illegal Communist organization. Nineteen were discharged, the others received prison sentences of from 6 - 12 years. . . . The military court of Sofia condemned 41 soldiers and sailors to death for distributing Communist propaganda literature. Two days later the sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. . . .

Germany

The Third Reich continues its orgy of cruelty and murder. On May 16 four Communist were executed charged with killing one SA man and wounding two Nazis. Four others who had been sentenced to death for the same crime were pardoned by Goering to life imprisonment. . . . In Kassel 28 Communists from Frankfurt were brought to trial for distributing Communist newspapers and indicted for conspiracy and high treason. Three were acquitted, the others sentenced to 40 years in prison. . . . Attorney Thorman who had the courage to appear before the court in defense of the former Centrist deputy Professor Dessauer was arrested for treasonable association, thrown into a concentration camp and disbarred. . . . The German military budget of 1934 provides for the expenditure of 1354 million marks as against 871 million marks in 1933. . . . In Hamburg a second trial in connection with the "Altoona Bloody Sunday" affair ended in sentences of from 5 to 12 years in prison for thirteen of the sixteen accused. The three who were acquitted were sent at once to a concentration camp. . . . The League for Human Rights publishes a list of the victims of the Third Reich regime. Altogether 600 were killed in prisons and concentration camps and executed by the government. In addition 65 were killed in the first days of the Hitler regime.

Great Britain

The Chief Commissariat for Refugee Aid held its first conference in London under the Chairmanship of Leor Cecil. Up to May 3 63,200 refugees from Germany to Great Britain, Jewish and Gentile, were regularly supported out of the treasury of that organization. . . . In a by-election in the election district Upton Westham London, Gardner, the Candidate of the Labor Party was elected with

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Dixie Today -- The Land, People, Problems

By A. O. Carlson

Part 2--The People

An outstanding characteristic of capitalism is the rapid growth of urban centers, and the shift of populations from rural to urban communities. The preponderance of population in the United States had become urban many years ago. The whole of Dixie (with the notable exception of Florida) is still overwhelmingly rural in its composition. The range, according to the 1930 U. S. Census, varies from Mississippi, which is 83.1 percent rural to Texas which is 59 percent rural. Five of the thirteen southern states have a population which is 75 percent rural.

The urban population of the South is to be found primarily in small towns and cities. Its largest metropolis is New Orleans, which has about 460,000 inhabitants. Five others have slightly more than 250,000, while another group of ten cities have managed to pass the 100,000 mark. That, in toto, constitutes its great urban centers.

Class and color lines are more tightly drawn than elsewhere. The towns and cities have their slum areas, which in turn are usually divided so as to segregate the black from the white. The buildings, the streets, the schools, and the sanitation systems are always considerably worse in those sections which the blacks are forced to inhabit.

I have met many well-educated, widely travelled southerners. They have charming manners. Their wives and daughters are equally at home in New York, Paris or London. They represent, tho, a very small proportion of the population. The overwhelming mass, both black and white, are confined to travel within very limited areas. It is a common occurrence to meet peo-

ple who have never in their lives been more than 20 or 30 miles away from the place of their birth.

Picking Cotton

Poverty and illiteracy seem to go hand in hand. The South leads in both fields. The past three or four years have witnessed a decided breakdown in a school system that was none too strong at its best. In Alabama and South Carolina the illiteracy rate among rural Negroes amounts to almost 30 percent. In other states it is but slightly better.

Thruout the great cotton belt, children are a great asset in picking cotton. The schools, in many cases, close down during the picking season. Where this does not take place, the attendance drops to a mere handful. The studies of the U. S. Children's Bureau have brought to light a state of affairs which is almost unbelievable.

"In Georgia a survey of Brunswick and Glynn Counties was conducted by the U. S. Office of Education. Enrollment was low and attendance was irregular. In one school in which the teacher could give information about absences, the register showed that of 33 children enrolled, 24 had drifted out at the end of three months and did not return to school during the year."

In South Carolina school attendance even now is compulsory for only 80 days per year, and only for children under 14.

In Texas attendance is not compulsory for children living more than 3 miles from a school with transportation facilities. The children's Bureau found great numbers who had never attended any school, while others had had but a few months of schooling.

In such places where attendance records have been kept, it was found that 44.6 percent of absences for white children and 56.7 percent for Negro children were due to cotton picking.

Not only do the children of the south have a short school year, with low attendance records. Their teachers are poorly paid and poorly trained. Teaching technique is antiquated. Textbooks are old. A heavy religious coating is given to most subjects taught. Sectional and local patriotism is developed to a high pitch. The white children are taught to believe in their racial superiority; the colored children in their inferiority. The status quo is venerated.

Children See Hanging

Not over three months ago, children in the schools of one of the southern communities where three Negroes were publicly hanged, were urged to attend the gruesome scene. They did so in great numbers. Jeering, cheering, and a general carnival spirit prevailed among the several thousand spectators as the unfortunate colored boys were being hanged. They were accused of having raped a white girl.

Hell-fire and brimstone are the stock in trade of the southern preachers. The church is a powerful institution in Dixie. The rapid spread of pentacostal evangelism in the rural and small town religion indicates, if anything, a more fervent desire to make Jehovah and his wrath smite all who dare attempt anything but the most liberal interpretation of the Gospel.

These are the conditions we must face; these are the people we have to meet if we wish to win the South for Revolution.

(To be continued)

**THEIR
Government**

by James Burnham

Three recent announcements of the Administration deserve a good deal of thought:

(1) Roosevelt announces that he is having a Bill introduced into Congress to appropriate several hundred million dollars to repair and reconstruct small homes. This certainly sounds wonderful. At last the forgotten man is going to be remembered. He is going to be able to give his home that coat of paint it has needed for five years; to put on the extra room for the latest additions to the family; to build the porch for his mother; to lay on new roofing to take care of those leaks that have been getting worse in every storm. A happy picture, as the White House publicity directors paint it.

But let's look a little further: Is the government going to give him the money? No, indeed—it will lend the money on strict terms. The home owner's credit has to be fairly good even to stand a chance to get a loan. When he gets it, he will have that much more debt on which to pay interest installments. How many unemployed and \$15 a week NRA workers is the government going to lend \$500 to for repairs? You won't have to stay awake nights counting.

Who is this plan really going to benefit? For political purposes, it's made to sound as if it were the little fellows—all the plans are. But when you think it over, you remember that the "construction industries" have lagged behind all other important industries in the grab for NRA profits. Here is the government subsidy to the stockholders of these companies.

Then there are the mortgage companies: Often the mortgage companies haven't been foreclosing on homes because the homes are in such bad shape that the amount of the mortgage could never be collected. Now the mortgage companies will get the homes repaired at government expense, and go ahead with foreclosures.

Further, the banks would like to go back into the mortgage business, where there are so many juicy chances for profit. An owner of a home free of mortgage may borrow under the bill from the government to put his home into first-class shape. Soon, very likely, he will be forced to borrow from the bank to make payment on the government loan. The bank will get a mortgage on a sound instead of a dilapidated house. And the bank take its profit from the home owner in two ways: first, directly, from his payments on the bank loan; second, indirectly, by the interest on the federal bonds that the bank owns—which interest will be met in part by the home owner's payments to the government.

Lastly, there are the "suburban developments" of big real-estate operators, now in many cases taken over by banks, which can be repaired under the bill by the government. Real-estate operators don't have to pay back loans, because they borrow money through a corporation that is afterwards allowed to go bankrupt.

There is nothing unusual in this. The Home Owners Credit Act looked good to most people last year. But somehow we found that it was the owners of mortgages, not the owners of homes, who were helped by it.

Further Relief Cuts

(2) Roosevelt announces that relief appropriations for the fiscal year beginning July 1st, already cut far below even the shockingly inadequate total for this year, will be lopped off still another quarter of a billion dollars. The reason for this, so says the President, is that Congress voted a quarter of a billion dollars beyond the budgetary estimate to the federal employees and the veterans. The bankers de-

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WHAT IS THIS FASCISM?

By A. J. Muste

(Previous articles in this series have set forth the basic reason for the growth of Fascism as an attempt to save the capitalist system and the failure of the Socialist and Communist parties alike successfully to combat the advances of Fascism.)

DO we have Fascism in the United States? Are we going to have Fascism?

Fascism in the full sense we certainly do not have. We do not yet have a Dictator. Congress has not been abolished. Trade unions and working-class parties have not been outlawed and smashed. To talk and act as if we already had Fascism leads to serious mistakes. What already exists, can no longer be prevented. To prevent Fascism in the U. S. is precisely our job today.

Fascism develops in the period when capitalism can no longer give any concessions to the workers and must fight them openly and at every point. Here under the Roosevelt administration laws legalizing the unions, outlawing injunctions, establishing unemployment and other forms of social insurance are being passed. In other industrial nations this was done some years ago. Often these laws may not be enforced; what is given with one hand may be taken away with the other. Nevertheless, through the liberal Roosevelt administration capitalists are still, at least in part, trying to use the strategy of conciliating the workers, throwing sops to them.

On the other hand, already many of those tendencies and developments which led up to Fascism in other lands may be observed here. It has been recognized that the regime of unrestricted competition, laissez-faire, is gone. Roosevelt has more power than any president

in peace or war has had, and every day propaganda aimed at ridiculing Congress, intimating that we should get rid of it, is put forward.

We must have "economic planning", it is said. Government steps in to regulate and "interfere" with business. Practically this means, of course, that control of business is further centralized, the big fellow, finance capital, is strengthened as against the little fellow. In the trade associations controlled by big capital and closely linked with the government, we have a development that may be made part of the "corporate state" which Fascism sets up.

The tendency to "economic nationalism", making the country self-sufficing, virtually putting control of foreign trade into the hands of the government, which we have observed elsewhere, already exists in the U. S. also. Without it goes the emphasis on 101 per cent patriotism, ultranationalism, the biggest naval-building program in the peacetime history of the country. The minds of the people must be diverted from the main, the real, issue, whether the capitalists or the workers are to rule, and fixed upon fear or hatred of some other nation.

ANOTHER device of Fascism to divert attention from the class struggle between the workers and the capitalists, we have seen, is to stir up racial feelings, as the Hitlerites in Germany did against the Jews. Everybody knows that anti-Semitism already exists in the U. S. on a pretty large scale and might be fanned into flame if necessary. Millions of Negroes in this country live under the same kind of terrorism as the Jews in Germany. In every

organizing campaign and strike, vile attempts are made to divide the workers of different races against each other so that the bosses may keep them in subjection.

When it comes to the attitude toward trade unionism—the labor movement—the capitalists in this country are not yet in the position where they have to beat the workers down to the lowest level and smash the unions completely. Unions are still allowed. In a sense they are "encouraged". On the one hand, the workers use them as weapons of struggle and make certain gains. On the other hand, the bosses and the government wheedle the unions or their leaders and use them to prevent the workers from getting what they might.

Unions, however, are utterly worthless to the workers unless they are really independent of the bosses and the government, and unless they are free to strike. General Hugh Johnson told the A. F. of L. convention last October that strikes were no longer necessary under the NRA and in fact practically amounted to treason against the government, and that the time would come when there would be a representative of the government on the executive of every union in the country. Others have not yet expressed themselves so bluntly in public. In practice, however, the National Labor Board acts as a strike-breaking. All this suggests that we might get a Fascist economic system and a Fascist government in the U. S. without an avowed dictatorship or an open Fascist revolution, and that we need to be on our guard against such a possibility.

At this writing the workers have

(Continued on Page 7)

Growth of Federal Unions Alarms A. F. of L. Leaders

Craft Unionism Threatened By Industrial Form; Young Leaders Are More Militant

The rapid multiplication of unions and influx of raw members who are carrying union cards for the first time is being watched by government experts, by lawyers and advisors retained by corporations, merchants and manufacturers' associations, and by radicals and conservatives.

Not since the Knights of Labor swept America before the turn of the century has there been such a vast organizing campaign as sweeps the country today.

The radicals see in the movement new elements and new union forms threatening craft-unionism and the old guard at the head of the American Federation of Labor, a conservative leadership which still believes in class-collaboration and craft-unionism. The conservatives of the Federation are said to be watching the movement like hawks, highly disturbed.

Overnight Growth

Federal and Independent unions have mushroomed upon the scene so fast that they remain uncounted. In rubber, oil, aluminum, metal stamping, shoe, electric, auto, textile and other fields the new unions have been forming too swiftly to be reckoned.

In the auto industry there are now 103 Federal unions, according to late estimates. Since June 3, last year, more than 1,368 Federal unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. have been chartered, several hundred of them in the past six months. Into the Federation have gone more than 1,500,000 new members. The uncounted Independent unions are estimated to include at least 250,000, the Federal unions 800,000, and the T. U. U. L. unions claim some 145,000, a third of which are in New York City. Many of these figures are already outdated.

The drive, pushed forward by low wages and high prices, by the rising tide of profits flowing into the coffers of the big industries, and by the coercion used by the employers to rope the workers into company unions, has reached deep into the mass of 30,000,000 wage earners.

Old Guard Alarmed

The tendency is away from craft-unionism toward organization on a basis of industry by industry. Into the ranks of the Federal and Independent unions are pouring workers who cannot fit into the craft-union set-up. The American Federation is reported to be not only uneasy, but baffled. Unable to halt the flow toward industrial unionism the old guard is alarmed. The employers are also alarmed. The oncoming youthful leaders in the new unions are more militant, more radical. Both the employers and the William Green conservatives look upon them as menacing.

Close observers point out, however, that the development of capitalism and its new set-up under the NRA, which strives for an illusory partnership between the bosses and the workers, between Morgan and John Smith who has a strong spinal column, a wife and kids and nothing else, that the tendency is inevitably toward vertical unions, that is not a passing trend.

VOTE DEFENSE FUND

Faculty Sets Up Committee On Civil Liberties

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—A group of faculty members from Ohio State, Western Reserve, Antioch and other Ohio institutions met at Ohio State and voted to contribute to the Bill Reich defense fund, set up a committee to defend civil liberties in labor disputes and planned to organize research and other projects in connection with the unemployed and trade union movement for their students. Arnold Johnson, national secretary of the National Unemployed League, and A. J. Muste addressed the meeting.

but a logical development, here to stay. Industry built for mass production, making use of the state to absorb the workers organizations into the partnership plot, needs industrial unions. So say keen labor observers.

Lewis Vs. Green

If this is true, we catch a glimpse of a drama which may be staged in the A. F. of L. between Green and John L. Lewis, chief of the United Mine Workers of America, an industrial union, and long a contender for the A. F. of L. presidency.

Lewis, who is closely linked to the NRA, is likely to head up the Federal union forces, with Green half-heartedly championing the craft-union form, unless the Federal and Independent unions produce a corps of forward-looking leaders who cannot be bulldozed and overridden by the blustering Lewis machine.

In connection with these trends, Karl Lore, Industrial Organizer of the American Workers Party for New Jersey, points out that the A. F. of L., while it has gained tremendously, will probably not try on a large scale to break up the Federal unions, tho it may launch an offensive here and there with an idea of breaking up scattered units. Militant workers must be on the lookout for this, he says. They must concentrate to hasten the growth and national formation of these unions, and make it impossible for the Green conservatives to break them up.

The American Workers Party must lose no opportunity to expose John L. Lewis, among the younger, more radical leaders, by making it clear to them and to the advanced workers in the new unions that to capitulate to Green, Lewis, or fake "partnership" set-up of the NRA, will be to submit while the bosses tie a rope about Labor's neck.

Ill. Jobless Force Relief Rate Gain

Poisoned Meat Given Out By Relief Officials In Marion

(Special to Labor Action)

MARION, ILL.—In less than one month after organizing the unemployed of Williamson County have won an increase of 50 cents per head in relief, have succeeded in having one incompetent relief official dismissed and have figured in the metropolitan papers when they attempted to have the local relief officials indicted for given out meat that had been declared "unfit for human consumption."

Now they are seeking to have the State's Attorney removed for negligence in office. He refused to subpoena witnesses suggested by the unemployed in the case of the impure meat.

Many Made Ill

Several persons were made ill as a result of eating the meat and a licensed meat inspector filed an affidavit that he inspected the meat prior to its being given out and found it "turned green and unfit for human consumption." Doctors, too, alleged the meat caused the illnesses in many cases.

Several evictions have been blocked by a young Marion lawyer who has donated his services to the unemployed.

The officers of the county organization, which has been tentatively named the Williamson County Benefit Association, are Rufus Farmer, Marion, president; A. L. Reynolds, Herrin, vice-president; C. R. Barnwell, Creal Springs, secretary and Loren Norman, Johnston City, treasurer.

An under-surface fight between pro-A. F. of L. and anti-A. F. of L. elements has already developed within the organization and the matter of a constitution and state or national affiliation promises to make the next county meeting vital to the future of the unemployed here.

Employment and Wages Down in Steel Industry

By O. R. FUSS

The decision of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to call a strike in the steel industry by June 20, unless by that time steel manufacturers recognize their union, brings to the foreground the wage and unemployment situation in that industry.

Employment in the steel industry is about three fourths of the 1930 level, payroll totals equal one half of the same level, but prices are the same or above 1930 prices for steel products. In February 1930 the employment index stood at 82.8. By September 1933 it was 74.7 and by January, 1934 had dropped to 69.8 to pick up one point in the next month.

The story of the index measuring the payroll totals in the steel industry is even worse. Payroll totals sunk during the depression from 98.1 in February 1930 to such levels that an upturn to 49 by September 1933 was hailed by the government officials and the American Iron and Steel Institute as evidence of the restoration of purchasing power in the steel industry. But after October payroll totals dropped even from this low level. In November it stood at 44.4 and in January at 42.7.

But what has happened to steel prices? The ten companies which control about 90 percent of the output used the NRA steel code to jack up prices. Finished steel which had been selling at 1.867c a pound in May 1933 was raised about 20 percent to a level equal to the 1930 price. The price of light rails went up in this same period \$5 per sale unit. Billets, sheets, bars, slabs, and wire rods

were priced \$3 higher per sale unit. The argument given for the rise in prices was the increase in labor costs, but the figures demonstrate adequately enough that the rise in payroll totals under the NRA never approached the price mark-up.

So far as steel workers were concerned the only thing which seemed to equal the rise in steel prices was the increase in the cost of living. If the five cities of Pittsburgh, Chicago, Birmingham, Cleveland, and San Francisco are taken as giving a fair sampling of living costs for steel workers, it is evident that prices have moved up for them in the past year by about 12 percent. For instance, in January 1933 the index measuring the retail cost of food in Pittsburgh stood at 90.7, but by January 30, 1934 it had reached 109.6. By this same index the steel workers of Birmingham, Chicago, and Cleveland had to pay for their food one and one seventh more in 1934 than they paid in 1933.

More emphasis must be given to the restoration of the July 1929 wage scale on the basis of six hours a day instead of eight as a basic issue in the fight for union recognition.

COLUMBUS BRANCH

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The Columbus branch of the A.W.P. will hold an all-day conference on Memorial Day, May 30. Members and their families will picnic together. The morning session will be devoted to a careful discussion of the A.W.P. program, after lunch A. J. Muste will address the members and guests.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

by KARL LORE

Negro Workers and the Unions

About two years ago, representatives of Negro building trades workers in St. Louis approached the A. F. of L. unions in order to correct a situation in which the unions not only refused to admit Negroes to membership but even withheld work permits from men who had been admitted into membership by locals in other cities. Conferences with union officials brought only evasion and final flat refusal to open the union books to Negro workers.

In the meantime, these men saw job after job started that they were not allowed to work on. In the 17 Negro schools of the city, no Negro was allowed to earn a single dime on building or repair work. Finally, at sight of a \$2,000,000 colored hospital being erected in the middle of their own neighborhood, built with municipal and Federal funds, with no Negro carpenters, bricklayers, painters or other skilled workers allowed on the job, their patience snapped.

The result of this discriminatory policy, therefore, has been the organization of an independent organization of Negro building trades workers, the International Laborers and Builders Corporation, which is going out after work for its members, making agreement and taking over jobs. And again a vicious and unjust jim crow unionism has played into the hands of the employers, has split the ranks of the labor movement and has placed another barrier in the way of understanding.

The Newspaper Guild

We have referred before in this column to the American Newspaper Guild, the organization of newspapermen and editorial workers which has been spreading with extraordinary rapidity. It is estimated to have some 8,000 members at present and is growing at the rate of a thousand members a month. The issue of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor is coming increasingly to the fore and that issue will probably be one of the most important that will come before the first convention of the Guild to be held in June at St. Paul.

The membership of the Guild has learned a great deal since its organization. Members have been fired for union activity, the publishers have used intimidation and coercion to keep the Guild out of their papers, the N.R.A. has given their efforts a merry run-around. At the convention methods of collective bargaining will be worked out. The Guild has received very little recognition as yet and the coming year must see that issue tackled.

The Brewers Stand Fast

By a vote of 24,161 to 170, the Brewery Workers Union has refused to turn over its drivers, engineers, oilers and firemen to their respective craft unions, as ordered by the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L. set up a special committee consisting of William Green and I. M. Ornburn of the cigar makers, which asked the Brewers to consent to this dismemberment of their union.

Ever since its formation in 1884 it has maintained an industrial structure. There has always been trouble with the craft unions and the issue has been a bone of contention in the Federation ever since the Brewery workers Union affiliated in 1887. Now after a miraculous survival through all the dreary Sahara years of prohibition it has grown rapidly and insists on its industrial integrity. This vote is another indication of the strong tide that is remaking the labor movement. The officialdom of the Federation can see the handwriting on the wall.

Packinghouses down

Those who have been wondering what the workers in the great packinghouses were doing in all this organization excitement got their answer last week when Chicago, Cedar Rapids, Des Moines and St. Louis meat workers walked out on strike. These workers have long been among the worst treated in any industry. The work is hard and extremely unpleasant. Hours are long and the many women workers slaved for a few cents an hour. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workers, the A. F. of L. union which made such a bad record for itself in the strike movement immediately after the world war, called the men out.

Textiles in the South

Forty two thousand of the 65,000 workers in South Carolina cotton fabric mills are now enrolled in labor unions, according to reports submitted by organizers at a conference to set up a state textile workers Federation. Union representatives from every mill in the state attended, to plan intensification of their fight against the speedup.

In North Carolina the mill owners are working together very closely in order to drive the union out. A strike is on in Belmont and other manufacturers have sent knitters to the company to work. According to Larry Hogan, organizer, the knitters have confessed that that they are merely "loaned" for the duration of the strike.

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Coal Diggers Fight Lockout League Helps

BRACKENRIDGE, PA.—The Brackenridge and West Natrona Branches of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League have been active recently on the picket line with the coal diggers of the Allegheny Coal and Coke Co. The miners are fighting for recognition of the union and against the company lock-out. This company is a captive mine outfit owned by the Allegheny Steel Company.

Before the coal strike last fall the men were working in two gangs on alternate days in different sections of the mine. After signing the captive mine agreement the company called in one crew and gave them one day's work. Part of this one day's production was dumped in the mill and part remained in cars in the mine until April 3, about three months, and was not paid for until April 25.

When the other crew reported for work the next day they were told that there was no work and were refused entry to the mine.

Pat Fagin "Helps" The miners appointed a committee to call on Pat Fagin, president of District 5, M.H.W. of A. The committee reported that Pat spread his feet over the top of his desk and told them that he was not in a position to help them. When the miners insisted that their leader do something to help them break the lock-out, Pat promised to see Mr. Hicks, the owner of the mine.

Hicks, who is also one of the big stock holders of the Allegheny Steel Co., told the committee that he closed the mine because he could not sell the coal from this captive mine to the Allegheny Steel Co. which owned it. At the same time, however, Hicks was supplying the mill with coal from commercial mines owned by him.

This action by Hicks and the Allegheny Steel Co. is seen as an effort to punish the miners for their refusal to accept a company union. In the voting last fall the men voted 85 percent for the U. M. W. of A. and only 15 percent for the company's union.

Besides going on the picket line the PUL, under the leadership of Paul Morowski, has been fighting for relief for the locked out miners.

Their Government

(Continued from Page 5)

mand a budget closer to balancing, so relief payment must go down still further.

This means that the government drive to cut relief to the barest minimum, already felt so strongly in many parts of the country, will be extended generally. After July 1st the government will be forced by the budgetary requirements to lower relief wages and relief payments, to take everyone off the rolls who is not in the direst need, to establish new and humiliating qualifications tests, etc. This is on the financial cards, and it is only the mass resistance of the unemployed that will stop it.

"The Most Magnificent Program . . ."

(3) Roosevelt announces that he will shortly send to Congress a message outlining "the most magnificent program of social legislation ever put before this country." It will include unemployment, accident, and old age insurance, increase and safeguarding of wages, changes in the conditions of work, etc.

But is he going to ask Congress to pass these laws? No indeed. This message will be only a kind of "statement of direction." Congress can get around to it next year, in the new session after elections.

Elections? Well, yes, that's right: elections come in November of this year. Can there be any connection between these rosy promises for the future and this year's elections? Can there be? Are you telling Roosevelt?

Such things—old age, accident,

Better Houses? Yes, Indeed; But Please Pay The Banker

WASHINGTON.—President Roosevelt tells Congress "Many of our homes are in decadent condition and not fit for human habitation." In screamer headlines the capitalist press echoes the President's concern for better homes. Laws are to be rushed through to correct these terrible evils.

Bankers laud the housing program. Insurance companies laud the program. Mortgage companies laud the program.

Better homes for everybody!

What Luck! And even the millions who inhabit the fire-trap slum wildernesses and the shacks and decaying boxes called homes in the cotton belt, the wheat and corn belt, and every city, town, village and community in America, read the news with a good-natured renewal of hope. President Roosevelt is surely a great president! Better homes . . . what luck!

And they are needed. Two thirds of the 120,000,000 citizens of the United States live in poor houses, bad houses. For 20 years no new homes have been built except for the upper third.

Reading the Message But the bankers read the President's message to Congress very carefully. The insurance and mortgage companies read the message very very closely. They are interested in seeing that the toilers are housed all right, providing the

process brings them riches. And they lauded the President.

The multitudes who trust Roosevelt, living in cellars, crowded rooms, run-down buildings and places that sap their earnings through high rents, would have been less cheerful over the prospects if they had read as carefully.

"The program is one of long-time mortgage financing," says the better housing message. "The loans will usually carry not more than 5 percent interest." The government will stand behind the bankers, the insurance and mortgage companies. "Loans to individuals will be made by private agencies which will be insured by a governmental agency against loss up to a certain percentage of their advances."

All For The Bankers And that is the substance of the great housing program.

The millions who do not have homes, get nothing.

The owners of dilapidated homes get another mortgage, at 5 percent or more, if they think they can stand it.

The public treasury is opened again to the bankers. The government tenders them another "guarantee."

But better housing? Only on condition that big business can profit. Which means intenser exploitation and tighter mortgage holds, with the Roosevelt government behind them.

What Is This Fascism?

(Continued from Page 5)

fully awakened to the fact that if they are to have organization under the NRA, they will have to fight for it. They are fighting for it. And what is the result? In Ohio, in the Imperial Valley of California, in Philadelphia, in Alabama, and many other places, the authorities are "cracking down" on the strikers. In a number of instances "vigilance committees" have been formed to get rid of "outside agitators," or the American Legion posts have taken over the job of "law-enforcement."

OPENLY Fascist organizations such as the Silver Shirts, the Friends of the New Germany, etc., have made their appearance. For the present, they are still in the funny stage. So were Mussolini and Hitler at one time. If the economic crisis became more severe, moneyed interests might finance one of the outfits, and then it would be a serious factor.

Fascism, then, we do not have. Fascist tendencies do exist. On the one hand, that means we must not fall asleep on the job or tell ourselves that Fascism cannot possibly come in the U. S. On the other hand, it means that Fascism can be prevented in the U. S. if we act decisively and intelligently.

The main lines of strategy are clear:

unemployment insurance—ought to be the most elementary of workers' rights. In a country like the United States, with its unbelievable natural resources and its unmatched productive machinery, there is no possible reason why all workers and their families should not be protected in the way these measures can protect them. No reason, that is, except capitalism itself. In the Soviet Union, even now when it is struggling against huge odds to build what we have already, all workers are so protected.

But as long as the workers of this country expect the capitalists and their government to hand them social benefits as a gift, so long will the workers do without benefits. All the promises in the world won't make any difference. You can't eat promises, or live in them, or wear them—and promises are about all that workers are handed in this stage of capitalism.

The workers will get real social benefits when, and only when, they are ready to take them.

1. The unions of the workers and farmers must be built.

2. The unemployed leagues must be organized on an even larger scale and brought into the closest cooperation with the unions.

3. The revolutionary political party of the workers, the AWP, must be built. For although events have shown that workers tend to stick to their economic organizations, it has also been made clear that unless there is an effective and realistic revolutionary party, the economic organizations, grow conservative, retreat before the reaction, and so are ultimately smashed by Fascism.

4. We must keep up the effort to build genuine united fronts of the workers. A divided working class opens the way for Fascism.

5. Fascism must constantly be analyzed. The middle class, farmers, small business men, professionals, must be hown that they have no choice except either Fascism or Workers Democracy. That plenty, security, peace and freedom can come only by the union of the revolutionary working, class and other sections of the population.

6. For all, except the rulers of finance and industry, the defense of civil liberties, the right to speak, write, organize and strike becomes of decisive importance. All must join in that defense.

TO CAPTURE LEAGUE

Socialists And Communists Pass Up Unorganized Towns

by Special Correspondent

WINSTON SALEM, N. C.—Passing up numerous towns and cities in North Carolina where the unemployed are unorganized, Socialists and Communists have come to Winston Salem to "capture" the Unemployed League. Altho only four localities, in the whole state are organized, and unemployed organizations is a crying need in a hundred towns, the Communists with petitions and the Socialists with offers of "salaries" to helpers are trying to take over or split the organized leagues in three directions. Last night they held a meeting in the court house but only about 15 were present.

See Drought As Blessing To Farmers

by Special Correspondent

ST. LOUIS.—The gigantic dust cloud which swept a third of the nation, destroying crops and cattle at the rate of \$2,000,000 daily has subsided, leaving grain speculators and the Department of Agriculture apparently well pleased.

Word has just come from Washington that Government experts consider the drought a great boon to the nation's farmers. In Chicago operators on the Grain Exchange announced that as a result of the crop shortage "there will be no limit to the rise of prices, especially if the crops in Argentine are also heavily damaged."

A Fine Drought Bugs and drought destroyed 1,000,000 bushels of wheat a day from April 1 to April 30, the Agriculture Department reports. The wheat crop will fall 165,000,000 bushels below normal production the Department predicts.

Meanwhile \$6,000,000 a month is being thrown into the West to relieve destitution and suffering. An announcement from Harry L. Hopkins puts government figures for drought relief at \$50,000,000. The fantastic aspects of the New Deal is well illustrated by the fact that Roosevelt spokesmen in Washington call the almost unparalleled drought a great boon to the nation's farmers.

Golden Harvest

If the Argentine crops are destroyed the price of bread will not merely double, but treble, and the middlemen, the baking companies and the grain speculators will reap a golden harvest. Prospects are that the dirt farmers will remain on relief.

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—Lack of rain in the Azov-Black Sea region, turning crops yellow, precipitated a mobilization of women, men and children in communities, villages and towns, in a far-flung battle against drought. Fighting to save every grain and to have a big wheat crop, farmers and townspeople joined forces in utilizing pumps, fire engines, tractors, motor vehicles, tanks and barrels, to water Russian wheat fields.

PARADE 500 STRONG

Mississippi Unemployed Join National League

BILOXI, Miss.—Forming a local unit of the National Unemployed League the unemployed of Biloxi paraded 500 strong, demanding unemployed insurance, old age pensions, cash relief, and union wages for relief workers. Carrying banners reading "Save yourselves, Organize", whites and Negroes, men, women and children, marched from Black Bay to the Point and through the downtown streets.

GULFPORT, Miss.—At a mass meeting of the unemployed 20 delegates were elected to call upon relief authorities to demand \$3 a week for single people, \$5 for married couples without children, and \$1 for each child. The gathering composed of the jobless from the working class sections of the city, white and Negro, went on record to affiliate with the National Unemployed League.

SAN FRANCISCO.—In a six-page decision Federal Judge Sure denied Tom Mooney's plea for a new hearing. Federal courts are powerless to act, the decision said. Mooney must look to the state courts which have kept him in prison.

NEW ORLEANS.—Costal steamship companies in the Gulf ports, recognizing the International Longshoremen Association granted a 10 percent wage increase. The strike was marked by militancy.

ORDER BUNDLES OF LABOR ACTION

NEWS REEL

By A. A.

New York City drops 10,000 from relief rolls . . .

The number of destitute families rose 36% in March and April, announces Federal Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins . . .

\$40,000,000 will be used for the construction of new submarines and destroyers for the U. S. Navy.

The total annual medicine bill of the country is about \$715,000,000.

Out of this amount, \$360,000,000, or one-half, are spent for patent medicines.

The cheapest item of cost in the production and distribution of these medicines is that of raw or manufactured materials; by far the most expensive item is that of advertising.

Here's one more explanation of the terrific battle put up by patent medicine manufacturers, advertising agencies and advertising media against any effective regulation of the drug business.

"Traders Reap Huge Profits as Drought Hits Wheat Crop" read newspaper headlines . . .

Large crop, short crop, farmers struggle and remain in poverty, but speculators' profits go on forever!

Harvard undergraduate arrested in Boston for distributing to visiting German sailor leaflet against Hitler tyranny . . .

Was it in Boston that there was once a famous Tea Party and the battle of Bunker Hill?

Headlines

Militia Troops Charge Unemployed and Toss Tear Gas Bombs . . . Waterfront Strikes Tie Up Pacific Coast Ports . . . Longshoremen Strike Ties Up Clyde-Mallory Lines in New York . . . 2,500 Packing House Employees Walk Out in St. Louis . . . 4,000 Painters Walk Out in Philadelphia . . . 3,600 Butte Copper Miners Out . . . Strike Threatened by Auto Body Workers . . . Silk Textile Code Authority Orders Complete Shutdown on All Production . . . Peak of Steel Production Believed to be Reached and Decline Expected . . .

Guess we'll have to turn a few more corners to find Recovery, never mind our almost-forgotten friend Prosperity!

Money, in case you are interested in anything so obsolete, is exceptionally cheap. Down on Wall Street it is being loaned at interest rates of 3/4% to 1% per year. Of course, you've got to be on speaking terms with Charlie Mitchell, Wiggin and the rest of the bunch to get it at these rates, but these figures should comfort you because they show you that there's plenty of money hidden down the socks of these good old-fashioned upholders of democracy, freedom and the God-given right of the workers to ruggedly starve to death.

New York City must set aside a yearly reserve for the bankers of \$50,000,000, not counting interest. Yet it cannot afford a few thousand dollars to keep its Public Library service intact and effective.

As a "measure of economy" ten branches are being closed, book circulation is decreased and—of course—librarians' pay is cut.

United States air engine sales to Germany increase. The engines will be used in military aircraft . . . American Du Pont interests sell to the Japanese Mitsui organization nitrate machinery, also to be used for war purposes . . . German imports of metals for war use from England double in volume . . .

Just a lot of boys in the international armament, munitions and war supplies ring whooping it up . . . War profits are thicker than blood!

AWP Reissues Statement On Program and Tactics

(Continued from Page 1)
 the real drive for workers' power. The vested interests of the left have been likewise alarmed, for they have found in the pamphlet a determination to break with the lack of realism, the sectarianism, and the ham-stringing bureaucracy that have become the very basis of the older radical organizations.

The POC realizes that attacks on the Party and its program will make use of every kind of lie and distortion, in order to prevent workers from getting to know what the Party really stands for. These lies and distortions will continue, and will have to be fought patiently, both in word and action.

To Clarify Pamphlet
 Nevertheless, the discussions on the pamphlet, from both within and without the Party, have shown that certain misinterpretations are possible, even when the pamphlet is read by a sincere and honest reader. On the major political issues, no misinterpretation of the position of the Party can be permitted. The revisions, therefore, will clarify and expand the sections that some critics have found ambiguous.

The new edition will make still clearer the American Workers Party's break with all kind of parliamentarism, reformism, and gradualism. It will re-state the Party's conviction that the workers cannot vote themselves into power, that they will have to set up their own organizations, and through them smash the capitalist state and set up in its place their own revolutionary workers state.

Enlarged Sections
 The sections on the international position of the Party will be considerably expanded. The criticisms of the Second and Third Internationals will be enlarged, and the necessity for working toward a

What's Happening ABROAD

(Continued from Page 5)

11,998 votes. The Conservative receive 8534 votes, Feener Brockway, the Candidate of the Independent Labor Party 748 votes. In the previous election the Conservative had carried the district with a majority of 5108 votes.

Soviet Union

Wjatschleslav Menschinski, the head of the GPU, the State Police of the Soviets, died in Moscow. He was the successor to Felix Dzerzhinski who created the GPU. Menschinski was an Old Guard Bolshevik. . . . To encourage permanent settlement by the nomads in the Pamir region the People's Commissariat of the Soviet Tadshikistan is making an effort to develop farming in these highlands with every possible means. Experiments are being conducted with 1000 different sorts of grain and food plants from all parts of the world to find what farm products can be profitably produced in this area. . . . In all Central Asia cotton planting is well under way and has been begun in the Trans-Caucasus as well. More than 40,000 hectar are under cultivation for cotton also in Usbekistan, Turmenia, and Tadshikistan. Planting is progressing much more rapidly than last year. In the course of the year, it is estimated, the Central-Asiatic Republics will produce 1,123,000 tons of cotton; 50,000 tons more than last year.

Spain

With 217 against 47 votes the Cortez adopted a vote of confidence in the new government. . . . The Supreme Court extended application of the amnesty law to include 24 former members of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. The fascist crowds are returning. . . . In the first ten days of May there were clashes between fascists and anti-fascists in various industrial districts throughout the country, in the course of which 14 anti-fascists and 7 fascists were killed and 21 wounded.

Switzerland

The new election for the Great

new revolutionary International will be re-affirmed. A brief outline will also be given of the Party's views on what kind of an International the new International must be, and what practical questions are involved in its formation.

The trade union policy of the Party will be more fully stated, showing how the position of the Party differs fundamentally both from the "dual union" tactics of the Communist Party, and the A F of L worship of the Socialist Party and the Lovestoneites. Further attention will be given to the "third party" question, including the question of a "Labor Party," to the meaning of the "American approach," etc.

A Clear Challenge

The new pamphlet will give less chance than ever to those anxious to avoid issues by hiding behind what they call "ambiguities" and "confusions," which are as a rule no more than the signs of their unwillingness to make up their minds. It will be a clear challenge to all those who are sincerely resolved to build a new revolutionary party in this country.

Radical Movement Offers a Place For School and College Graduates

By RED

Schools are closing. Thirty million students gather in auditoriums.

In high schools and colleges, in thousands of towns and cities, local preachers and "public spirited" business men are beginning to grind out baccalaureate addresses.

Poor devils. What can they say? "You will pass from this room tonight, my young friends, with your diplomas, of which you may be justly proud, to take your places in the world of practical affairs. . ."

Sure Enough, It's True

The doors will close behind the students and sure enough they will be face to face with the practical affairs of finding food, shelter and clothes.

Elementary and grammar schools will send out some 23,500,000 this year. High schools and colleges another 5,900,000. Hundreds of thousands will be armed with diplomas. Most of them will be girls and young women, for a lot of young men of school-age have already begun, without diplomas, to grapple with the world of "practical affairs." They are "on the road" and in Conservation Camps. More than 1,000,000 young men and boys. Diplomas wouldn't help much where they are.

Finding Their Places

The new crop of graduates are lucky. They have diplomas which show that they have good educations. They are ready to find their places in life.

What will they want?

Homes, marriage, children, work. Things more important than bankers' profits.

And what will they find?

No place for them. Since 1929 there has accumulated from the schools an army of 6,000,000 young men and women, all with diplomas, who have never found work. Six million educated young men and women who have never been employed. No place for them. And unable to find useful work in the "affairs of the world", many of them, psychologists say, are already on the brink of defeat.

A young woman, highly educated

Council in Canton Bern brought the Social Democracy 10 new seats; The National Front won not a single representative in the election. The Heimwehr, a fascist political sect, won three mandates. The Communists also remain unrepresented. The Socialist victory and the defeat of the fascists is significant in view of the fact that the population in Canton Bern is overwhelmingly agrarian.

Striker Killed In West Coast Dock Struggle

SAN FRANCISCO.—Richard Parker, 20 year old striker, is dead. He was shot while in the picket ranks of the longshoremen who are battling the powerful shipping companies along the docks of the Pacific coast.

Fifteen thousands longshoremen are striking in San Francisco and thousands are out in other ports. Shipping in many ports is at a standstill.

Use Police Power

The big companies of the Pacific, looked upon as key industries in case of war, are fighting to the last ditch to remain free from the demands of the longshoremen and all offers of mediation have been refused. Terror and police power of the state are being used against the strikers. Many casualties have been reported.

A former Los Angeles cop, arrested on suspicion following the shooting in which young Parker was killed, was exonerated by a coroner's jury.

Longshoremen leaders declare the men will never give up short of victory.

The Manager Speaks

Having just sent letters to Branches and Members of the Vanguard of 100, I'll give you a rest this time from the subscription campaign, other than saying to the new reader, "There is a LABOR ACTION drive on; your cooperation is earnestly solicited, and if you'll drop me a card, I'll send details about the drive, quotas, prizes, etc."

copy of your paper. I think you will get the majority of them as subscribers."

CARA COOK

Labor Action Book Service

"On a village green in rural England stands a War Memorial: a cannon captured by the local regiment from the Germans. On one side of the cannon are engraved the names of the English soldiers who were killed in that advance. On the other side is the manufacturer's name:

The English Vicker, Ltd."

This is one of many examples of the insane, war-making activities of European munitions manufacturers. It is given in a 58-page pamphlet ARMS AND THE MEN, which we will send you for 15c post-paid.

It is the first brief, popularly written expose of the international traffic in arms, often between nations hostile to each other, but whose armament concerns know how to play a profitable game at the expense of their governments and even the lives of their fellow countrymen.

This amazing account touches lightly on the U. S. steel and chemical barons, but the DuPonts and Schwabs are mentioned sufficiently to indicate that there is also a story, no less revolting, to be told about them.

The U. S. spends, we are told, over \$200 millions a year in all kinds of armaments, and we have, according to a former cabinet officer, "an army and navy whose officers are far and away more active than officers of any other armed forces in the world against any sort of international understanding."

Workers are vitally concerned in such facts. They make your scalp prickle, and your blood boil, but it is material you need and can use, in speeches, articles, in discussions, for your own information. It doesn't deal with the past either, but tells what is going on right now in preparation for coming wars under the dual motives or armament makers to "prolong war and disturb peace."

Order this pamphlet for 15c from LABOR ACTION, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.

Send for the complete Book Service list.

ACW Backs F.D.R.

(Continued from Page 1)

confidence that the pledges of the New Deal could still be carried out despite the powerful attacks of the Tories." Even General Hugh Johnson was among those invited to address the convention. Much more criticism of the N.R.A. will be heard in any old-line A. F. of L. union than at this Amalgamated convention. Ironically enough, tucked away in an editorial quoted from the Electrical Workers Journal in the convention number of Advance, occurs the statement:

"N.R.A. has been a total loss as an aid to organization—N.R.A. has developed a kind of benevolent Fascism. The benevolent quality will last until a new scarcity of goods appears. Then labor will get the knife in its bowels." . . .

Sidney Hillman has become the chief labor spokesman for this N.R.A. There are rumblings of discontent over this fact in Amalgamated ranks. For the present, however, his control over his organization is solid.

ments on governments cooperation with railroads.

National Power & Light Company profits soared to \$6,615,768 last year, report. This year will be better.

Washington—House passes bill providing government fund of \$440,000,000 for direct loans to industry. Vote 178 to 6.

Roosevelt Starts Jingo Campaign With Fleet Review in N. Y. Harbor

NEW YORK, N. Y.—A full-dress rehearsal in preparation by the Roosevelt administration for the impending imperialist war will be given by the Navy in the harbor of this city the day after Memorial Day.

Standing on the deck of the cruiser Indianapolis, Roosevelt will watch 10,000-ton cruisers, light cruisers, battleships, and destroyers file slowly by him. Overhead twelve squadrons using 174 planes of various types will lay smoke screens and launch apparent dive-bombing attacks.

It is expected that 35,000 men and officers manning approximately 87 ships will engage in this pageant which will cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. Besides Roosevelt, Secretary of Navy Swanson, Assistant secretary Roosevelt, members of Congress and foreign naval attaches will watch the parade from the deck of one of the heavy cruisers.

Tactics in Atlantic

This review will mark the climax of the Navy's display of tactics and manoeuvres to be used in the expected war. Sailing from the San Diego and San Pedro

areas in the Pacific, the Battle and Scouting Fleets have shown in the Panama Canal, the Guantanamo Bay, and now in the New York harbor how they expect to work in the Atlantic. At the same time the review is expected to arouse militaristic fervor and fool workers by an appeal to nationalistic spirit.

Likewise, while workers and farmers are starving the government is spending great sums to insure the success of this parade. These circuses are expected by the administration to be an adequate substitute for bread.

FLASHES!

Standard Oil Company earnings soar to \$25,084,310. Company releases statement "welcoming the governments cooperation in the oil industry."

Norfolk & Western Railroad profits increased 235 percent in April. Company net income in March, 1933, \$487,596. In April, 1934, it rose to \$1,634,914. No com-