

LABOR ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

Volume II, No. 11.

New York, N. Y., Friday, June 15, 1934.

Price 5 Cents

Steel Strike Impends

Leaguemen Call March On Capital

Convention in Allentown Hits Capitalist-Made Laws; For Action

By HARRY A. HOWE
ALLENTOWN, Penna.—“To Hell with their laws—we'll make our own laws.”

The speaker, a delegate to the state convention of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League assembled in Allentown over the weekend of June 9-10, is excited. Another delegate, discussing a proposed march on the state capitol, fears that a certain action will not be legal.

“Who makes the laws?” asks the speaker. “Do we make them? Do we order the police out to beat us up and shoot us when we go on strike? Do we order the sheriff out to evict us when we can't pay rent? Are we unemployed because we have ordered the factories closed? Do we starve in the midst of plenty because we have ordered food to be destroyed? . . . To Hell with their laws.”

And to judge from the applause his speech receives, the 400 other workers in the hall agree.

In fact it is this recognition of the class character of constituted authority that gives the keynote to this exciting, inspiring convention. One hundred and thirty four delegates are here, from the nine most important industrial counties of the state. And they mean business.

To March On Harrisburg

A resolution, calling for a march on Harrisburg to demand that Governor Pinchot call a special session of the legislature to consider the needs of the unemployed, was passed amidst tremendous applause and cheering. A committee of fifteen, to be known as the March to Harrisburg Committee, elected by the convention, will attempt to draw in all organized unemployed and other labor groups in the state to participate in this march.

Another resolution, endorsing the demands of the steel workers and pledging “all the forces at our disposal to their aid in the inevitably coming strike” and instructing officers and members of the unemployed leagues to help picket struck plants, was passed without a voice being raised in opposition.

We Will Not Scab

“When the bosses call on us to scab, they are calling on us to help them drive down the living standards of all workers. The struggles of unemployed workers against wage cuts and for union recognition are our struggles. We will not scab. We will stand shoulder to shoulder with employed workers in their fights.” These were the sentiments expressed by speaker after speaker.

Never in my life have I seen men and women face the problems before them with more courage, with more enthusiasm, or plainer, bolder words. These “backward” American workers are learning fast—let the New York radicals take note.

Not Food Only

“We have passed the stage of petition and pleas,” said Anthony Ramuglia, president of the Nation-

(Continued on Page 3)

Relief Kitchen Feeds 16,000, Ships Tied Up

Pacific Shoremen Strike Deadlocked as It Enters Sixth Week

San Francisco, Cal.—With Pacific Coast shipping virtually at a standstill the strike of the International Longshoremen's Association enters upon its sixth week with all attempts at mediation deadlocked over the question of the control of hiring halls.

The shipowners are determined to control hiring—which inevitably means an open shop policy. The union under militant leadership is preparing to fight to a finish for the closed shop and a union-controlled hiring hall.

Following the breakdown of negotiations and the departure of Assistant Secretary of Labor McGrady to urge intervention by President Roosevelt, a drive by shipping interests to split the union is seen in the announcement of Lee Holman former president of the I.L.A. who was ousted for his attempts to avert the strike. Holman is urging the formation of a new “conservative” union, but he is, however, discredited with the rank and file.

Strikers have established a relief kitchen at which some sixteen thousand meals are served daily. Sympathy strikes have brought the number of waterfront strikers to a total of 30,000 or 35,000. More than 420 strikers have been arrested since the beginning of the walk-out.

MUSTE ARRESTED

By Telegram

As we go to press word comes that A. J. Muste was arrested today, June 12, in Belleville, Illinois, and jailed on a charge of vagrancy and “conspiring to overthrow the United States government.” Comrade Muste was arrested in a picket line in front of the Knapp Monarch auto parts plant, where workers are striking for more pay and union recognition.

With Muste, who is chairman of the American Workers Party, Hank Mayer and Jimmie Cross, party members, were taken from the picket line and jailed. The charges were preferred by police and hearings set for Friday, June 15. Bond was set at \$4,000 each.

Defense arrangements for Comrades Muste, Mayer and Cross are being made by the national office of the American Workers Party.

Camp Opens With Unique Attractions

New York.—Camp Conawopa at Mohegan Colony, three and a half miles from Peekskill, will open June 20 under the direction of Oliver Carlson and Walter E. Peck.

“The feature of the camp, besides summer sports and local entertainments, will be the week-end Institutes,” the directors say. “Some of the country's outstanding economists, labor leaders, revolutionists, educators and editors will take part in the Institutes.”

Noted Speakers

V. F. Calverton, editor of the Modern Monthly, Louis F. Budenz

(Continued on Page 3)

“Committee of 10” In Firm Stand For Union Agreement, Ignore Tighe

Armed Pickets Surround Mill In N.C. Strike

Fired Upon, Pickets Defy Sheriff, Carry Guns for Protection

(Special to Labor Action)

Laurinburg, N. C.—An armed picket line, unique in the history of the American labor movement has been thrown around the Waverly cotton mill here in a three weeks strike of 800 workers.

The armed line was established after threats had been made on the lives of the strikers and after shots had been fired at the picket line. Over 300 pickets have been on duty regularly and are determined to win their strike, keep out strikebreakers and to protect themselves from another massacre such as the one which took the lives of six workers at Marion, North Carolina under similar circumstances in 1929. They have continued to surround the mill despite a warning from Sheriff R. C. McCormick to lay down their arms.

“The workers have no desire to picket with guns on their shoulders,” replied the strike organizer, “but since May 26, while unarmed they were fired upon they have had the guns for their own protection.”

Industry Arming; Government Attempts Sell-Out For Company Unions

by KARL LORE

On June 16, the irresistible force is due to meet the immovable object. On that day, the steel workers of the nation, under the leadership of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers will, unless some settlement is achieved, clash with the forces of entrenched feudalism in the steel industry.

A special convention to meet in Pittsburgh on June 14 will make the final preparations for the fight. Indications are that the militant “Committee of Ten” elected at the last convention of the A.A. will not be satisfied with any minor concessions that the government may persuade the American Iron and Steel Institute to give, but will insist on and fight for recognition of the union by the lords of the industry.

Tighe On The Run

Mike Tighe, old and reactionary president of the A.A. has been pushed further and further into the background as the young militants, unawed by the forces of the government, unanimsously and vehemently rejected an agreement proposed by NRA Administrator Johnson which would have had the effect of strengthening company unionism in the mills. As the fight becomes hotter, this tendency will be more and more evident. Caught between the twin fires of the new and fighting leadership and the fierce opposition of the government and industry, Tighe and the entire old guard in the union will be thoroughly disregarded by the mass of the steel workers.

Industry Arms

The steel lords are not twiddling their thumbs.

Importation of hired guards by the thousands, storage of tear gas and ammunition in tremendous quantities and elaborate preparations for housing and feeding scabs, are their answer to the demand of the workers for the right to belong to the union of their choice.

This deliberate incitement to violence and bloodshed has been met by the union by redoubled efforts to enroll the workers in its ranks. The steel barons are also greatly alarmed about their company unions, as they see them losing in influence before the drive for genuine organization. As a result, many companies are holding new elections to bolster up these fakes.

In the Pittsburgh district eight company union elections are planned in major plants. In Macdonaldsville, Ohio, tactics are being used to put over the company plans. A large mill of the U. S. Steel Company there has a large membership in the A.A. Afraid, therefore, to allow this plant to vote for its own candidates, the steel corporation has ordered elections in two other plants in

(Continued on Page 3)

Toledo—A Miniature Rehearsal For The Workers' Revolution

by Louis F. Budenz

TOLEDO, OHIO.

“Does your mamma know you're here?”

“You cheap, tin-horned soldiers!”

“When the hell did you ever fight?”

“Put down your guns and make a real fight of it.”

“You yellow scab protectors!”

The workers did not lack for epithets. They blocked the street by the thousands. The picket line of the National Guard stood across the street, with bayonets fixed.

“Young punks” they were. Scared stiff. Ashamed.

Suddenly bricks and bottles flew. The bottles were broken. They cut when they hit their mark. Bottles and bricks flew . . . hitting tin helmets, bayonets, khaki arms and legs.

The guardsmen lowered their guns, as though to shoot. Some of the workers rushed for telegraph poles, for signboards, for the corners of houses. The greater number stood stock still, waiting. The guardsmen threw tear gas, and then knocked-out gas.

The fumes of the tear gas filled the air—hung there for hours. Men and women stood with streams

of water running from their eyes. But they did not move away. They stood stock still . . . and then closed in their ranks.

There was blood on the sidewalk and on the first concrete step. The man who last lost it there, was dead, killed by the National Guard. The house behind was bullet-riddled. On the second and third and fourth concrete steps the workers stood. Men and women. They crowded the porch of the house. They crowded the street, a solid mass. They did not stand on the blood. They quietly walked around it.

The telegraph wires hummed. WORKERS FIGHT NATIONAL GUARD! BLOOD FLOWS IN TOLEDO STREETS! TWO ARE KILLED AND SCORES ARE WOUNDED!

At each street intersection that led to “the plant,” the scene was the same.

An “Open Shop”

In the background stood the building of the Electric Auto-Lite Co., denuded, shattered, heaps of debris on the sidewalks before it—a mute testimonial to class warfare. The windows were smashed: “The Auto-Lite is now in reality an Open Shop,” the ironic joke went around. The big steel doors

were awry. The light supply had been cut off.

Soldiers patrolled its entrances. They stood guard at each corner of the building. They looked out of its shattered windows on the second and third floors, where machine gun nests had been placed.

The machinery was stilled. The workers had shown their power in the great uprising of May 23rd.

On May 7, eighteen hundred strikebreakers had walked through the two Auto-Lite gates. The Federal Automobile Workers Union had 25 pickets at each gate. They wore picket badges. The union was observing the injunction. It had been observing the injunction since April 18. The strikebreakers were imported. They “didn't care a damn” for the 50 pickets. The members of the Mechanics Educational Society walked into the plant, to scab. Members of the Machinists Union did likewise. “The strike is over!” The court order had again done the trick.

“Smash The Injunction”

On May 7, though, a “mass picket line” of four men appeared. They wore no badges, though the court said they should. They carried banners defying the injunction. (You know them well by

(Continued on Page 2)

Epic Battle of Toledo Led By The A. W. P.

Injunction Defied By Crowd Of 10,000

(Continued from Page 1)

now—Sam Pollock, former child psychologist, young, alert, wise in the ways of the class struggle; Ted Selander, tall, blond, an ex-bar-terite, converted to the class fight by the C.P.L.A., and quickly aware of what to do; Norman Myers, member of the union, quiet, blue-shirted, determined to win a lost fight, and a fourth, a good fellow who did not know why he was there but game enough to carry a banner. Selander was used to jail; he had been held many hours incommunicado in the relief strike of 1933, which had exposed the corruption in the administration of the "nosebag system" and had sent it to Hades.

As executive secretary of the American Workers Party I had written from New York: "The only thing for you to do as members of the American Workers Party is to defy the injunction. If the strike is lost, this act will give the workers more for their next struggle; if it can yet be won, this will be the deed that will set off the fireworks." Selander and Pollock did not hesitate. They wrote Judge R.R. Stuart; they violated the injunction.

On May 21—two weeks later, you will note—eighteen hundred strikebreakers again walked through the Auto-Lite gates. The picket line of four, however, was now almost four hundred. At 2 p. m. one thousand worker-spectators had gathered also when I arose to speak. It was the first speaking at the plant gates.

"We are here to smash the injunction, once and for all," I stated. "The unemployed league has violated the court order. We wish to end this guerilla warfare for good, whereby pickets can be hauled en masse into court. We shall do this by peaceful mass picketing.

"The contempt that I have for this injunction cannot be expressed by a life sentence. The injunction violates all principles of decency, even under the present laws, which have been devised solely to protect property interests. It robs the workers of the right of trial by jury. It places them in jeopardy twice for the same offense. It makes acts which are otherwise lawful, unlawful for the workers. Members of no other class have to face such unjust, vicious action."

And much more to the same effect.

(You will note the emphasis on "peaceful mass picketing." After the Monday line had kept the scabs in one hour after their work was over with, I had said in a further speech: "Every one here should visit the scabs tonight, and persuade them to leave the mill—be peaceful persuasion, By Peaceful Persuasion, By PEACEFUL PERSUASION." The company officials complained that the more Buden spoke of "peace" the more scabs there were sent to the hospital. The editor of the NEWS-BEE complained later that Budenz was "very foul mouthed on the picket line." Newspaper reporters are said to have blushed. . . . The court record in my trial, shows no disturbance until Wednesday, May 23!)

Suppressing The News

The wires did not hum that night with the news of Toledo. No attention had been given to the strike by the out-of-town press. The Ohio Unemployed League had 13 counties on strike against the F.E.R.A. rates, but nobody in the newspaper world knew about it. The U.P. and A.P. seemed unaware that there was "labor trouble" all over the state.

Twenty four hours later, the Toledo press carried screeching headlines. RIOTS BREAK OUT AT AUTO-LITE PLANT. COMPANY CALLS FOR NATIONAL



Out of Toledo the red stain spreads . . .
Workers pinioned by bayonets!
Workers choking from tear gas!
Workers bleeding and dying from gunshot!

Out of Toledo the red stain spreads . . .

Out of Ohio and over the prairies:
And beyond the Rockies to the West:
And now it sweeps down the South
And soon to the North and East:
Over mill and farm, mine and office,
City and town, tower and shack.

Slowly and grimly grows the red stain:
The red blood of workers,
The red indomitable challenge to oppression and injustice!
Out of Toledo the red stain spreads . . . — A. A.

GUARD. That was on Tuesday, May 22.

The company officials were unduly alarmed. They had not yet seen a real riot. That was to follow. They did not know many things: That the workers would attack the National Guard, making the "tin soldiers" of no avail as "scab-protectors." That union men would walk along the military picket lines, ex-war veterans, with their discharge papers in their hands, saying: "You fake soldiers, show us your papers? We dare you to shoot us!" That union men with war medals on their chests would challenge the "boy scouts" of the militia, "to fight us, man for man." That girls would try to tickle the bayonet-holding

guardsmen under the chin, jeering: "Nice young men like you should be doing cleaner work." . . . The National Guard was of little use when its morale was progressively shot to pieces, as took place at Toledo.

A Real "Riot"

A Real Riot! That began on Wednesday afternoon. No, not a riot, but a battle, an attack, workers' rehearsals for future big engagements. At the north gate the "Don't Tread On Me" flag, emblem of the Ohio Unemployed League, was unfurled, with Ted Selander at the head of the line. At the south gate, there was the banner: "The American Workers Party Call for Mass Picketing," with the dates, "1776, 1861, 1934"

The Auto-Lite Agreement

In a nutshell, the agreement between the Electric Auto-Lite Co. and the Federal Automobile Workers Union, signed on June 5, 1934, is as follows:

1. It is a written contract, "signed on the dotted line" by the Electric Auto-Lite Co., through C. O. Miniger, president, and J. V. Minch, vice-president.

2. It recognizes "United Automobile Workers Federal Union No. 18384." The company agrees not to discriminate against members of the union, and negotiations shall be carried on officially with the union representatives.

3. Seniority rights are recognized, and layoffs shall be carried out on that basis, if such become necessary.

4. All strikers are to return to work within one week; the working force is to be restored to that of Feb. 23, 1934, when the first strike was in force.

5. The return to work is supervised by a union grievance committee, to see that the seniority clause is enforced.

6. The extra 5% wage increase involved in the second strike is granted. Women workers are brought 5% above the code.

These terms are to be applied also to the Logan Gear Co. and the Bingham Stamping Co., subsidiaries of the Auto-Lite.

The agreement is entirely different from the attitude of the company, when it threw Thomas Ramsey, business agent of the union, out of the office in April, and refused definitely to deal with the union at all.

There are these weaknesses in the agreement:

1. The "council"—company union—is not completely removed from the picture. The union can get rid of it during the six months of the contract, however, if it persists in effective missionary work.

2. Under the contract, wages in six months are to be arbitrated—an unsound arrangement.

Had the Central Labor Union stood by its guns more effectively, these weaknesses would not have appeared. The fact that the contract does not have more weaknesses in it, is due solely to the constant pressure through the militant group in the union which the American Workers Party exerted.

As it stands, it is an outstanding victory for the workers. When the Unemployed League and the American Workers Party stepped into the picture, the strike was lost. As a result of their militant action, a union contract now exists—the first in the automobile industry. It is a significant tribute to the efficacy of A.W.P. methods in the industrial struggle.

on the other side. I led the line there. Sam Pollock was the "liaison officer" between the two lines.

On Tuesday night the scabs had been kept in two hours after their work was done. The lines had shouted with a loud voice: "DON'T SCAB!" They had sung songs. Some have said that the pickets used unprintable language when the scabs did venture forth. At any rate, the strikebreakers were let out a few hundred at a time. As they reached the thousands who had gathered at the corners of the building and across the street, something happened. The first scab to leave went down and out, unconscious, it is reported. The crowd closed in about him. No one knew who did it. Bricks flew in the air. Automobiles were overturned. That was on Tuesday. The next day automobiles were to be set on fire.

Outsiders

"As for the rioting, it is pretty apparent that the undisciplined violence of Tuesday night's outbreak was not the doing of the Toledo workers, who have a legal right to picket, but was incited by lawless agitators who do not want a settlement, and who have no desire to work anywhere, but who are looking for trouble and trying to incite it."

So prated the NEWS-BEE, moronically, in a first page editorial on Wednesday afternoon. That paper did not know Toledo's workers . . . a day of reckoning for 20 years of robbery and Open Shop exploitation was at hand.

I answered the editorial in my speech at the plant gates at 2 p. m. on Wednesday. Six thousand people were there by now.

"To my great regret, the Scripps-Howard paper in Toledo has seen fit to attack me as an 'outside agitator' and to reflect on you also, fellow-workers. I would remind the NEWS-BEE that the Scripps-Howard headquarters in 1930 sent out a national editorial to all its affiliated papers, commending me for violating the injunction in Nazareth, Pa. It is just that which we are doing here now. As to outside agitators, the Automobile Chamber of Commerce is bringing pressure on the Auto-Lite Co. to continue its slimy policy. It is the Automobile Chamber of Commerce, giving aid and comfort to the Auto-Lite, which is the real outside agitator. This is not a Toledo matter alone; it is a national and international matter. The eyes of the workers everywhere are on this fight."

Where Are The "Communists"?

I spoke twice on Wednesday, before the picket line, from the back of an automobile. The porch, from which Monday and Tuesday speakings had been held, was boarded up. Too many people had stood on it, and threatened its collapse. At the end of the first speech on Wednesday, Kenneth Osthimer, young secretary of the Lucas County Unemployment Council, had got up on the automobile and said a few words about the N.R.A. That was the chief Communist Party contribution. For two weeks, as the A.W.P. and Unemployed Leagues built up the picket line, the Communists had been significantly absent. On Monday there were none there, save one lone, modest fellow with a few DAILY WORKERS under his arm, watching the vociferous picket line. On Tuesday, when a mass line was assured, the Unemployment Council had come out with a banner. They seemed to be busier showing that Thomas Ramsey, business agent of the union, was a "seller-out" than in directing the fight against the Auto-Lite.

When we started the picket line one Wednesday, we saw a number of tear gas containers on the roof of the plant. The line, nevertheless, was more vocal than ever. On the day before we had brought forward a new large banner: "Why hunt Dillinger? We have Miniger." It also said: "C. O. Miniger—Toledo's Public Enemy No. 1." C. O. Miniger
C. O. Miniger, president of the

Workers Angered, Smash Factory Gates

company, had robbed the workers of Toledo in the big bank scandals there. He had been a chief figure in the collapse of the local banks, through which thousands of people had lost their savings and homes.

I used a megaphone on the picket line that day. I spoke to the crowds assembled across the street from the picket line.

"This is your fight. If the Auto-Lite wins, there will be wage cuts throughout Toledo. Miniger can put his precious body in his golden bath-tub, secured through the robbery of you fellow-workers. The policy of the company is making the depression worse. They hypocritically talk about increased purchasing power. Then, for a cheap 10 per cent increase, the Auto-Lite will cause all this commotion and suffering. It must be stopped."

The workers in the crowd were not on an emotional spree. They were quiet, watchful, gaining determination every hour. Their numbers rose to 10,000 by 3 p. m. Wednesday afternoon.

The picket lines was going half an hour when the scabs threw out large iron bolts and lead missiles from the windows of the plant. A girl picket, coming to join the line, was hit behind the ear. Blood flowed down her neck and onto her white dress. The entire crowd could see it. She was taken to the hospital.

The leaders of the line shouted: "The scabs are trying to murder us. They are attacking our women pickets. But we will not be provoked." The mass across the street moved restlessly, but still waited.

Get The Leaders

Action was quick to follow. The sheriff ordered the arrest of all those with banners. Lawrence Bonning, a striker, was taken. Then, William Lux, of the Unemployment Council; then Osthimer. I put down my megaphone and grabbed a banner. "That's the man we want," shouted the assistant sheriff to the police. "That's right," I said, as I stepped into the patrol wagon. Bessie Reinsner was next taken, a stenographer in the office of the C.P. She entered the patrol wagon, kicking and shouting. The sheriff's forces had to stop there. The mass across the street surged over toward the patrol wagon. It was being surrounded. The prisoners might be rescued. Before the arrests could be completed, the patrol wagon rushed away, with the five in it, to the city jail. After some delay, we were taken to the county jail and put behind the bars.

The picket line thought there were to be mass arrests. An enthusiastic striker named Wright, former member of the C.P., went out into the middle of the street. He appealed to the crowd to fill in the pickets' ranks, as arrests took place. The second patrol wagon was then coming around the corner.

Tear Gas

One of the hired deputies of the company went after Wright. He jerked him by the arm. Wright, with his back turned tried to jerk away. The deputy beat him unmercifully before the crowd of 10,000. That was the end. The workers rushed over to rescue Wright. The deputies shot tear gas shells from the roof. They hit several people, injuring them severely. Scores of others fell into the streets. The workers backed up.

But only for a moment. The tear gas was answered with bricks and stones and clubs, hurled at the plant. More tear gas was shot, filling the air. The wind blew it back into the faces of the deputies and into the plant. The police at the doors of the plant, were caught in the tear gas themselves and did not know which way to

(Continued on Page 6)

Many Protest Ohio Use Of Nat'l Guards

New York, N. Y.—Protesting the use of terrorism against striking workers in Toledo and Minneapolis, a united front mass meeting of all significant tendencies in the labor movement except the Communist party was held here May 31 at the Germania Assembly Rooms. A resolution demanding the withdrawal of the National Guard and censuring the use of injunction was unanimously passed, and a substantial sum was collected for the defense of the striking workers.

The parties and groups represented at the meeting were the American Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the Communist League of America, Il Martello, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Jewish Workers Party, the Communist Party Opposition and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

James Burnham, speaking for the A.W.P., said that the Toledo crisis was evidence of the sharpening of the class struggle with a united front of the employed and unemployed fighting the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce and through them the finance capitalists. "The hypocrisy of the capitalist state with its emphasis upon legality," he continued, "is seen in its use of the National Guard to shoot down workers in its defense of property. Our answer to such legality, as in the use of injunction against workers, must be mass violation."

Bertram Wolfe of the C.P.O. declared that ever in Toledo and Minneapolis together with all the terrorism used against workers in other strike centers was additional evidence making clear that the present government is a government of the bosses.

Other speakers were Arne Swaback of the C.L.A., Harry Sizemore of the I.W.W., Louis Goldman of the Left Poale Zion, Louis Weil of the Socialist Party, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, and James Rorty of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee. Frank Palmer of the Federated Press was chairman of the meeting.

A large enthusiastic crowd cheerer to an echo the constantly reiterated demands of most of the speakers that a continuous and lasting united front be made against the growing use of terrorism by the bosses.

WASHINGTON GETS A TASTE OF MONOPOLY

Washington, D. C.—Having answered the Darrow report with a violent personal attack, the Roosevelt administration finds itself now, in buying office furniture for the Treasury department, facing the actual fact of monopoly. The fourteen concerns who wish to furnish the Treasury have submitted identical bids on prices for desks, letter files, and card sections.

In all cases the quoted prices are three times those of the preceding year and are well above the 1929 level. Cap-size letter files are quoted at \$30.62 compared with the 1929 price of \$23.15. Twenty compartment card sections are

DEMAND CASH

Washington, N. J.—Demanding cash wages and charging that unemployed workers in other places are being paid much more than they are, over 60 men met here and organized a league to fight for 50 cents a hour. It has long been felt by the men, who up to this time have remained unorganized, that political favoritism has played too much of a role in the administration of relief work in Warren county. Harold J. Isk and Frank Keenan said the league would organize all the unemployed. The men voted to send fraternal delegates to the Pennsylvania state convention in Allentown.

Leagues See Better Economic Order, Under Workers, As Goal

(Continued from Page 1)
al Unemployed League, in the opening session of the convention. "We have reached the stage of militant action."

"We are no longer fighting merely for food. The big shots tell us it is not 'American' for us to fight for food. They tell us we are bums and radicals and reds. I want to tell the big shots we are no longer fighting for food only, but we are fighting to abolish the system of big shots which has forced all of us into a permanent state of unemployment." (cheers).

Again and again this sentiment is expressed—fighting for food is not enough. Leagues report from the floor. Men and women speak.

No More Evictions!

"We will not tolerate any more evictions. We have assisted the labor unions. We have taken the stand that in a steel strike none of us will scab. We will picket with the strikers. We have fought company unions. We have got to radically change the economic order."

High spots, moments of enthusiasm are many. Every time an anti-working class sentiment raises its head, every time an anti-working class political interest peeps into the convention, its head is lopped off. These men and women are not afraid. They are facing the future as workers, as members of the great working class, employed and unemployed, farmers and city workers, in a working class movement, a movement that has forever severed itself from old party politicians and fake, stupid patriotism. They mean business.

No Favors

"We won't take no favors in our town," declares Tom McKale, young fighting Irishman from Montour county. "They are not going to move any worker out of our county."

Mike Demchack is speaking. He comes from Mt. Carmel in the anthracite region. Mike has fought many a battle with the coal corporations. He knows what has to be done and he is a leader.

He tells the convention that leagues must never be built around one or two people. He is emphatic. "Put the responsibility on the rank and file, where it belongs," he advises. "Then you will have a league that grows stronger every day."

"Our league fights side by side with labor," says Moser from Lehigh county. "We refuse to live on a dole forever. There are plenty of factories and raw materials.

priced at \$64.89, or \$19.19 above the 1929 price.

In addition to the identical bids which the concerns presented to the Treasury, every contract carries the clause that the bids are subjected to change on a ten days' notice. The concerns which entered bids claim that the provisions of the NRA made it necessary for them to raise prices as sharply as they did. Whether the same factor forced identical bids they did not say.

The Treasury department is expected to be hard pressed not to exceed its appropriations in paying for this furniture. The only consolation lies in the assurance of Johnson that the NRA does not foster monopoly prices, in theory at any rate.

TURKEY

Near Ankara the first few factories of Turkey's Five Year Plan are being constructed for the production of shoes, textiles, chemicals, bricks, etc. But the first of the factories to be finished is to be devoted to the manufacturing of gas masks. . . . The authorities have called the fascist newspapers "Millet Inkilab" which was subsidized by German Nazis, to account for publishing anti-semitic pogrom articles. The newspaper is subsidized by the German National Socialist Party.

We have to change the entire system."

He tells what splendid fighters the women are. The women are organized into women's auxiliaries of the leagues. The relief heads squirm and sweat when the grievance committee is composed of women. "They can't face them", Moser declares.

We Take Authority

"The workers in our leagues have learned that they will get what they fight for in the streets and not in some official's office," says Ernest Rice McKinney from Pittsburgh. Mack is a member of the American Workers Party, and an official of the National Unemployed League. Tall, slim, dynamic, he is one of the outstanding leaders in the unemployed movement, despite the fact that he is a Negro.

In the city of Pittsburgh, he tells the delegates, 65,000 families are on relief, 25,000 are subject to eviction. "But we in Allegheny county feel that we have the power to keep families in their homes. This power doesn't come from the mayor or the big shots. Our authority comes from the fact that we are strong enough to take the authority." (wild applause).

Second Day

The second day of the convention opens with singing that shakes the rafters of the hall. The songs are the songs of the leagues. Yesterday, a fellow from Luzerne county, a Pinchot lieutenant, had objected to singing. Two or three members of the unemployed councils, hoping to sabotage the meeting, had voted with him. The singing this morning is the workers' answer to these disrupters.

Hight spots on this second day are too numerous to mention in short space. The chairman, Harvey Wilson, is calm, deliberate, sure. The more militant the words spoken by officials and delegates the better everyone likes it.

Finance Committee Reports

The report of the finance committee is called for. Ralph Weaver, treasurer of the PUL, and John Ramsey make the report. They outline plans for financing an organizing campaign through Pennsylvania, covering 10,000 miles. Every member of the leagues will be asked to give a penny a day. It is simple, concrete, seems possible. The convention votes to adopt it. "A foot of pennies will equal a mile of organization", is the slogan of the campaign. The pennies will be slipped into a cardboard holder, a foot long. If 35 members in each league gives a penny a day for a year, \$6,300 will be raised, enough to make it possible to put organizers in the field to cover 20,000 miles and build leagues. "We will do it", say the delegates.

In the afternoon Arnold Johnson speaks. He is secretary of the National Unemployed League. The office is in Columbus, Ohio. He speaks emphatically, clearly. The leagues must remain non-partisan, mass economic organizations, taking in all workers regardless of political or religious views or sex or race. But he himself is a member of the American Workers Party, and proud of it. The leagues must not fear revolutionary action. They must not shirk their duty of fighting for a workers' world.

Might Is What Counts

The Republican party? The Democratic party? They are not working class parties. Johnson says emphatically that he is proud to be a member of a working class party.

"The institutions belong to the people, and when they become oppressive, the people have the right to change them, or the revolutionary right to overthrow them."

That's what Abraham Lincoln said. But we must also have the might. For right without might means nothing. "Finally," says Johnson, "the workers will have to go to the battle line they will have to build the new order. They will have to take over this world of plenty."

Larry Heimback, newly elected

Court Issues Drastic Writ; Curbs Rights

Brooklyn.—Harking back to the severity of pre-war attacks upon labor and heralding at the same time a more concentrated attack, an injunction has been handed down by Supreme Court Justice Faber against the Bakery Workers Union, Local 505, ordering them to end their strike against the Standard Baking Co.

The injunction enjoining the union from even calling public attention to the strike is the most drastic in the annals of the anti-labor New York courts. It forbids the union to picket or to solicit support from those yet at work. Also, instructs the union not to "disseminate to the public or to the customers literature to the effect that there is a strike in progress."

Thirty-eight prohibitions are contained in the injunction, covering every possible phase of union activity in the course of a strike.

UNGREATFUL LOAFERS?

New York.—"Ungrateful loafers," says the Manager of the Brierfield Hotel about employees striking against a 14 hour day and starvation wages. The strikers, who picket the Hotel from early morning till late at night, are members of the Independent Building Service Employees Union. They want a shorter work-day and a raise of ten dollars a month.

Incensed at attempts of the Reliance Property Management Corporation to break the strike by switching men from other buildings to take their jobs, strikers have placed a picket line in front of the Management Corporation's Fifth Avenue office. Efforts to hire scabs through the American and Journal failed, when a couple of men who answered the ad, refused to work inside of a picket line.

The management, which is "unable" to raise wages, has somewhere located enough money to pay the scabs more than regular employees were getting, and to keep a cop in the house every night. That scabs are bad workmen is attested by the fact that over 60 of the 89 tenants have signed a request to the management to settle the strike.

CAMP OPENS WITH ATTRACTIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

and A. J. Muste, of the American Workers Party, will be among the speakers for the opening week.

During the opening days the camp will take up American Economic and Political Perspectives for 1935. The Institutes will continue through the vacation months.

"Shady Places"

Asked about the rooms, the food, the beds, and as to whether there were any "shady places" and "water for swimming" and "tennis courts for tennis players," directors Carlson and Pesk said Yes, and asked the reporter to use a big Y.

"The rooms are clean and airy, and the food will be excellent. There is swimming, hiking, volleyball, handball, tennis, and the terms are reasonable. There will be dancing, and a well known string quartet will give concerts, Horseback riding, golf and boating may be had for a small additional fee."

The unique feature of Camp Conawopa, however, the directors said, will be the Institutes and the noted speakers.

The New York office of the camp is at 112 E. 19th St., room 702.

president, made the closing speech. "We intend to organize this state solid," said Heimback. "We intend to march forward. We intend to carry this fight to a finish."

Gotham Cops In Clash With Jobless; Lose

New York, N. Y.—A persistent refusal by the La Guardia administration to hear the grievances of discharged CWA workers or the organized unemployed culminated in an attack by the police upon protestants of this policy. By a secret passage of the relief appropriations the La Guardia administration successfully avoided last April the demands of the Workers' Unemployed Union that they be heard before action is taken on this item.

On May 26 police broke up a demonstration in front of the Relief Administrator's office, in the course of which four paraders, three spectators, and eight policemen were injured. According to A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union, police began the violence which was met with equal force by the paraders.

On June 2, La Guardia having refused to allow the representatives of all the newspapers to attend a grievance conference, accused the representative of the workers' organization of living "off the nickels, dimes, and quarters" of the unemployed. He said that James Gaynor of the United Action Committee was "a yellow dog who incited the poor and ran off when the trouble began."

La Guardia announced that none but those whom he had originally invited would attend his June 5 conference for unemployment relief; none of them are workers or representatives of workers, however. All workers groups are met by police guards and clubs.

N. Y. Notes

The Progressive Group of the National Student League has arranged a weinie roast for Saturday Evening, June 16, in Interstate Park. All students in sympathy with the work of the Progressive Group are invited to meet at the New York entrance of the Dyckman Street Ferry at 6 P. M. Bring franks, steaks, corn, potatoes, etc. In case of rain, the affair is postponed for one week till June 23.

Continuing the series of meetings dealing with the program and strategy of the AWP, discussion of our International Position will be resumed on Friday, June 15 at 8 P. M. The following week Karl Lore will report on "Government and the Unions."

Meetings are held at AWP Headquarters and are open to Party members and sympathizers. Admission is free.

Workers wishing to swim with a group consisting of members and sympathizers of the AWP may find it every Sunday at the foot of Brighton 5 Street. Take the BMT to Brighton Beach and look for the AWP banner on the beach.

CAMP CONAWOPA

A special excursion to Camp Conowopa will take place Wednesday July 4. Arrangements have been made to meet at the 42nd St. pier of the Hudson Day Line and proceed by boat to the camp. The trip will feature dancing en route as well as sports, including swimming, entertainment, and lectures at the camp. V. F. Calverton and A. J. Muste will speak. The party will return at 9 P. M. Lunches may be brought along or bought at the camp. The cost of the trip is \$1.50 in advance. Tickets should be secured at the A.W.P. headquarters, 112 E. 19th St. Telephone AL 4-9058.

SAAR REGION

The plebiscite which is to decide whether the people of the Saar Valley are to belong to Germany or to France or to remain a protectorate of the League of Nations will be held on January 13, 1935.

LABOR ACTION

With which is merged
LABOR AGE

Published on the first and fifteenth of each month
by the
CONFERENCE FOR PROGRESSIVE
LABOR ACTION
112 East 19th Street, New York City

Subscription Rates:
In the United States \$1.00 per year.
3 month trial sub 25 cents
Canada and Foreign \$1.50 per year

Editor: HARRY A. HOWE
Circulation Mgr.: CARA COOK

Entered as second class matter March 26, 1934 at the Post Office at New York City under the act of March 3, 1879.

Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

THE WAGNER BILL

ONE of the cleverest publicity campaigns ever carried on by the Federal Government is now being used to put the Wagner Bill across to workers. The smartest trick of the campaign is the fact that the capitalist press is featuring apparent opposition to the bill by certain industrialists.

The President got screamer headlines by commanding Congress to pass the bill in order to "help organized labor" after its troubles in Minneapolis and Toledo.

In the whole matter the A. F. of L. officials are functioning as the assistants of the Government. They are trying to make workers think that getting the Wagner Bill passed will be a great concession to organized labor, and that no one will have to worry any longer about Section 7a.

The old phrase about "Beware the Greeks when they offer gifts" certainly applies every time to the government. If workers know what is good for them, they will always beware every gift from the government.

When it was originally introduced, the Wagner Bill was bad enough. With the changes that have since been made in it, it is about as treacherous a piece of anti-working class legislation as workers have had to face in this country.

Its name now ought to be "A Bill to Strangle Strikes."

The Wagner Bill tries to tie up the working class in a snarl of legal knots that Houdini couldn't have unraveled.

Its theory of employee representation guarantees and legalizes company unions. The labor board set up under it would make the NRA Labor Board look like the strikers' best friend.

Stop the passage of the Wagner Bill, if it can be stopped. If it can't be, smash every use of it against organized labor.

TO HELL WITH INJUNCTIONS!

WITH the N.R.A. collapsing and the workers in revolt, the bosses have again turned to the injunction as their weapon. The courts, first line defense for the big industrialists, are asked once more to play their sordid role. Injunctions have been issued, with increasing ferocity as the fight thickens. In Brooklyn, N. Y. an injunction has been issued depriving the workers of even the right to advise that there is a strike in existence.

Our Navy--A Story for Children

by Tess Huff

YOU can't imagine war, can you? You can't. Now I'll bet you can't. War isn't like playing with tin soldiers and toy cannons. People are killed. Daddies and brothers and uncles and cousins. They are put under the ground and you never see them again. And airplanes fly over cities, dropping gas bombs, and mothers and babies die. Little girls are killed too.

Why? You want to know why?

Don't ask so many questions. I'll bet you've heard your daddy say that. Don't ask so many questions.

"The warships are coming. Steaming up the harbor. The Chief Executive is laughing happily. A sailor at heart, the navy is his pride and his first love. Mrs. Roosevelt is dressed in a white ensemble with blue polka dots, white satin scarf, white shoes, white gloves and a small white hat."

Oh, what were you saying?

You want to know why daddies and mothers and children will be killed in the war.

Listen.

Do you know who the President of the United States is? You heard your daddy speak of him? I'll bet you did. And he voted for

him, maybe. And maybe your mother voted for him. Well, he is Chief Executive, and he seems to be a very nice man. He is very wealthy and he loves children, especially Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. And he does a lot for crippled children. He does much more, though, for the capitalist people who cripple children.

What? That is hard to understand, isn't it?

"Twelve miles they stretch in a gray line of steel. The most formidable fighting force this nation has ever assembled at sea, an armada of 96 battleships ranging from the hornet-like destroyer flotilla to grim, 40,000-ton fortresses of steel. Twelve miles of slow majesty, cutting the smooth, green ocean with sharp prows, decks swabbed down to a shining cleanliness, long rifles jutting overside like fangs."

You look so puzzled.

You can't imagine killing people, can you? But in France and England and Germany and Japan, and all the countries, there are millions of children like you, and millions of poor workers, like your daddy, and poor women, like your mother, who don't understand that the governments which rule them are preparing for war.

It takes a lot of money, you

Experience has shown that there is only one answer that the workers can give. The court's orders are mere pieces of paper when the workers en masse decide to defy them. We advise this course. We call on all members of the A.W.P., as a matter of party discipline, to violate injunctions in their industries or localities. Toledo blazed the way. There the injunction became a mere paper posted on a telegraph pole when the workers tore it to pieces by mass picketing.

The A. F. of L. has attempted to be too respectable. They have as a rule refused to violate injunctions, since the day when John L. Lewis said: "We cannot defy the government!" That was not the spirit of the old post-war A. F. of L., which broke injunctions by mass defiance over and over.

The slogan among the workers should be: "To Hell with Injunctions!" Observance of these court orders means defeat. Smashing of them frequently spells victory. The courts are the protectors of property interests. They are the enemies of the workers.

The A.W.P. calls upon the workers everywhere to tear the injunction into shreds by mass defiance. That is the proper answer to reaction.

SHAM BATTLE

PROBABLY the most confusing aspect of the NRA is the smoke-screen thrown about its operations by President Roosevelt and General Johnson, on one hand, and by the 50 or so big industrialists who to a large extent control the economic life of the nation, on the other. When the Darrow report was made, charging monopoly, the administration called Darrow a liar. At the same time the industrialists continued their attack upon the NRA with redoubled energy, as if NRA threatened their very existence. All this, of course, is nothing but smoke, but smoke for a purpose.

After the administration again "reassured" the nation (which has become increasingly more necessary in the last few months) that the charge of price-fixing and monopoly was just a trumped up bagaboo to frighten the small business men, and Darrow with his Board was packed safely from the scene, the administration has now suddenly decided to end all price-fixing by codes, except in emergencies, whatever that means, and to invoke the old anti-trust laws!

Again, it appears that the administration has lashed out at the industrialists. These gentlemen will now attack the NRA, apparently harder than ever, as if they were being subjected to great hardships—but only apparently.

How real the attack is, and how much the industrial gentlemen are suffering, can be found by glancing at the financial pages of the newspapers, where the corporation profits are listed.

The latest sham victory for the "people," is the administration's new anti-monopoly, anti-price-fixing policy. Companies are forbidden to fix prices among themselves, instead they are encouraged to forward their prices to a "neutral, confidential agency." Is it possible that anyone still believes there can be any such agency?

The big industrialists and the NRA officials will continue the sham-battle, making it appear that ruthless capitalism with its trusts and monopolies is fighting for life, while the administration struggles to protect labor and small business. How sham it is can be judged from the fact that every important NRA official from General Johnson on down is a capitalist, with a vested interests. It is only by throwing up a continual smoke-screen, as if a genuine battle were in progress, that this fact can be concealed.

know, to kill people, to really kill them and put them under the ground. But the governments are spending money, getting ready to do it on a big scale. Perhaps it takes \$25,000 to kill one man, one woman, or one little girl. The Big War taught them how to do it on a big scale. They killed almost 10,000,000 people, and crippled or blinded 20,000,000 more, and many of them went crazy. And 9,000,000 children were left without fathers, and 5,000,000 mothers without husbands. They were all killed. And it cost more than you can imagine. More than anyone can ever imagine. In money, \$200,000,000,000. In suffering, who knows? And even now, every little girl or boy who is born, must still suffer on that account.

So if the governments are going to kill people on a really big scale, you understand, they must have squadrons of bombing planes and armies and great fleets of destroyers and battleships.

Why?

You are still asking questions. Don't you remember what your daddy said?

"As the 40,000 men manning the war vessels spring into action the outer harbor is pierced by the rumble of heavy guns. The nations watchdogs are barking from

THE FLEET IS IN



mouths of steel—a bark that carries the grim message of a deadly menace held in leash. High over the harbor and the city twelve squadrons of the navy's swiftest fighting and scouting planes weave in battle formation, simulating the dropping of bombs.

"The President is exuberant. Standing at his side are cabinet members, high naval officials, and members of his family, including his mother. She is dressed in a white and black ensemble."

Oh, you were asking a question. You want to know why the governments kill people.

I'll tell you a secret.

There are many, many men and women in the United States, you know, who do not have any money, not so much as a dollar. They can't buy anything, not so much as a pair of shoes. And many of them do not like it at all, because this is a very rich country. The working men and women who do have jobs, they don't get much pay, so they strike, and recently some of them have been shot down. Soldiers and sheriffs went out and shot them down. So then the workers fight back, and the capitalists, the rich people who own the jobs, the factories, the mines, the mills, and all the politicians, and most of the preachers, and most of the business men, and the Chief Executive himself, who is the head of the army and the navy, and all of his advisers, they grow uneasy and afraid.

They begin building a big army and a big navy. The factories turn out gas and machine guns day and night.

Why? Goodness, how you squint those blue eyes. Can't you understand? Just a little?

If I tell you something, will you tell your daddy? You will? I'll tell you why they kill people. You tell your daddy, and when the war comes maybe he won't be . . .

"The United States navy will use \$40,000,000 of Public Works funds to build 20 warships. Roosevelt favors the plan. A bill authorizing a huge warship building program of 102 vessels and construction of 1,184 new fighting planes passed the house last night. Never before has a measure of this magnitude pertaining to armed forces been acted on with such dispatch."

And you will tell your daddy? You are sure?

Then listen. They will kill people for profits. They don't really kill them, of course, they merely have them killed. They have them killing each other. And this is the way it happens. The workers do not own anything but their hands and muscles and brains, with which to work. The capitalists own all the machinery and all the jobs, and so the capitalists own all the wealth, and all the things that the workers want and need. And the more hungry workers there are in a city, the more armed forces there will be, the more policemen and detectives and spies and National Guardsmen. And the more hungry workers there are in the nation, the bigger the army and the navy will be. For it takes armed forces to protect the wealth and the property when it is concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists, as it is under capitalism.

So you see we have huge armed forces, and so do all the other capitalist nations, for all of them have many hungry workers.

The capitalists of course can't sell their goods, the workers can't buy them. So all the governments, being really capitalist governments, fight each other for trade. And at last the struggle for profits breaks into real war, and the nations do each other a great favor, for the workers are killed off, and the capitalists are left wealthier than ever before.

But listen.

There is one thing the nations fear.

Suppose your daddy refused to fight the workers of other countries? Suppose that should happen!

Suppose your daddy and your mother, and many, many daddies and mothers, turn upon the capitalists and their governments, and fight them, instead of for them?

This is what working people are talking about and this is what the nations fear.

Tell your daddy this, and when the war comes maybe he will be the . . .

"Twelve miles of gray steel. The Chief Executive is laughing happily. A sailor at heart, the navy is his pride and his first love. Mrs. Roosevelt is dressed in a white ensemble with blue polka dots, white satin scarf, white shoes, white gloves and a small white hat."

What's Happening ABROAD

by Ludwig Lore

AUSTRIA

The activity of the labor parties of Austria has been checked but not entirely suppressed. The Socialist Party punishes the Arbeiterzeitung in Bruenn, Czechoslovakia, in much reduced format and smuggles it in large quantities across the border. In the SP, the "Left Opposition" which had organized before the crisis broke, is particularly active. The first of the nine Socialists to be hanged by the Dollfuss government during the February uprising, Comrade Munichreither, belonged to this group which publishes a special propaganda paper of its own. These comrades arranged demonstrations on May 1 but opposed the proposal of the CP to call a general strike which under the circumstances would have been a total failure. Another group which takes the position of the German "New Beginning" group and maintains friendly relations to Otto Bauer and his comrades, publishes "Der Funke" (The Spark). The former Social Democracy of Austria now calls itself "Revolutionary Socialist Party" and still numbers by far the largest part of the Socialist following in its ranks. Otto Bauer dominates the point of view and the activity of the party to an even greater extent than before February 12. There is also an extreme Rightist trade union group which is working hand in hand with Dollfuss' fascist trade unions. Another trade union group which has also made its peace with the Dollfuss unions claim to have done so only to work for its socialist ideas within the new fascist unions. The first of these trade union groups—that group which has completely surrendered to fascism—seems to the leading officials of Austria's Metal Workers Union, Kogler, Alois Bauer and Schafranek, the same men who in the middle of May went to Bern, Switzerland, with a police officer of the Dollfuss government and withdrew five million shillings which had been deposited there before the February uprising for safekeeping in just such an event, and returned this money to the Dollfuss authorities.

GERMANY

A special court in Breslau sentenced 14 members of the Socialist Workers' Party on April 28. The comrades, two of them women, were taken to a concentration camp after sentence was passed and subjected to bestial cruelties. Twelve were condemned to prison sentences of one and two years. Despite these persecutions the Socialist Workers' Party continues its work and therefore deserves the support of more fortunate comrades in other countries. The Eckstein Fund should be remembered at all public meetings and demonstrations. "Labor Action" will gladly accept and transmit to the proper address all money collected for that fund to assist our German comrades. . . . According to reports published by the Voelkische Beobachter and the Frankfurter Zeitung German courts in the weeks from April 15 to May 8 passed 8 death sentences and prison penalties aggregating 763 years 1 month and 21 days against anti-fascist fighters in the Reich. This is only a fraction of the sentences passed on opponents of the new regime. . . . Comrade Dr. Klaus Zweiling, former editor of the SAP organ "Plauener Volkszeitung" has been held under arrest for some time past for continued activity on behalf of the SAP. He was recently so cruelly mistreated in the SA headquarters in Berlin that he is seriously ill in the concentration camp. Neither his wife nor any of his friends have since then been permitted to see him. . . . The trial against Ernst Thaelmann, leader of the German Communist Party

Has The Socialist Party Gone Revolutionary?

By A. J. Muste

(The following is a preliminary comment on the Convention of the Socialist Party of U. S. recently held in Detroit, Michigan. Further discussion of the Convention and of trends in the Socialist Party will appear in future issues of Labor Action.)

The reports in the capitalist press about the recent Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party make it appear that the Party has taken a decided swing to the left. Not a few of the Party members themselves declare that it is now a revolutionary organization. What are the facts?

The real test of the character of every working class organization today is in its attitude toward the economic organizations of the workers and farmers and toward the terrific struggles taking place on the economic battlefield. An organization which declares that its aims are revolutionary but does not take a correct revolutionary position in these matters is suspect.

Over this very question a heated debate occurred at the Detroit convention. Definite action was taken after this extensive discussion. That action may therefore be taken to represent the real position of the Party.

The Resolutions Committee, completely dominated by the so-called Militants and having on it also a prominent member of the Revolutionary Policy Committee which regards itself as a definitely revolutionary group within the SP, is to take place in the near future. It is clear from the announcements appearing from time to time in the German press that the government is determined to force his execution. . . . In Breslau 111 Communists are on trial before the Special People's Court charged with high treason. Eighteen of them have also been accused of having explosives in their possession.

SOVIET RUSSIA

The Pamir expedition of the Soviet Academy discovered in that unexplored section of the Pamir region which has heretofore appeared as an unmarked spot on the official maps of Russia a great mountain range which will now be known as the "Marx Engels Range". A geological survey was made. The highest peaks are: Kaganowitsch mountain—6615 meters; Thaelm Mountain—6018 meters; Liebknecht Mountain—6017 meters; Dimitroff Mountain—5959 meters.

SPAIN

Spain is in the throes of a strike of agricultural workers. There are at present 25,000 workers on strike, but more are to follow soon. The Socialist Party and the syndicalists called on their followers to stop working. . . . Minister of the Interior Alonso announces elaborate plans for the building of a police force. Fifty million pesetas have been voted for this purpose. 4,000 men will be added to the force and a special flying corps of 1,000 with 200 airplanes is to be stationed in Madrid so that help can be sent at the shortest possible notice, should uprisings occur in the outlying districts. The Spanish government is preparing its forces to suppress rebellious workers.

GREAT BRITAIN

The annual conference of the Socialist League held in Leeds on Whitsunday voted a resolution with a large majority which calls for the adoption of a revolutionary program on the basis of which all class-conscious workers may be brought together in a united party. Susan Lawrence, former chairman of the Labor Party, protested against this decision because it was adopted without a discussion.

JAPAN

Twenty-seven teachers were sentenced to prison for from 2-6 years for "insurrection activity".

brought in a unanimous report on the NRA and Socialism. This report contained the following mild paragraph on the leadership and present ideology of the A. F. of L.:

"The NRA has also shown fundamental weaknesses in the American Labor Movement. It has shown up more clearly than any other event the obsolete ideology of the A. F. of L. The many instances in which leaders have counseled workers against striking or even ordered them back to work in the face of an overwhelming indication by the membership of a desire to strike, has indicated their abandonment of the belief that unions are fighting organizations. It has shown the inadequacy of the A. F. of L. structure in organizational work and the positive harm of the craft form of organization."

The rightwingers in the party launched a terrific attack on this mild criticism of the A. F. of L. Leo Kryczki, whose election to the chairmanship of the NEC, the Militants regard as a victory for themselves and one of the proofs of the leftward turn of the Party, made a demagogic speech on the importance of Socialists working with the Trade Unions and not alienating the trade union leaders. He read a telegram which was just received from the officials of the Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers. He made a great point of it being addressed to him, not as an officer of the A.C.W. of A. but as the chairman of the Socialist Party. The telegram invited him to speak at a mass meeting of steel workers in Chicago.

"Pass this resolution with its criticism of the A. F. of L.," cried Kryczki, "and this invitation will be withdrawn. We will get no more such opportunities to cooperate with the trade union movement."

The way in which Socialists "cooperate" with the trade union movement was illustrated by Kryczki himself that very day in Toledo where he appeared at a great demonstration described elsewhere in this issue of Labor Action. The supreme issue at that demonstration was whether the leaders of the CLU should carry forward in a militant fashion their own proposal for a general strike to force a settlement in the automotive parts strike.

In that strike the SP members of Toledo had pretty much confined themselves to conferring with Judge Stuart in this chambers and urging him to be moderate in dealing with AWP members and Auto-Lite strikers who had gone out to the Auto-Lite and smashed Judge Stuart's injunction by mass picketing. At the demonstration the same militant elements supported by the great majority of the workers present wanted to know from the CUL leaders whether or not the general strike date was to be set. At the moment when that was the one issue Kryczki made a long speech dealing with general matters and when asked repeatedly from the audience, What about the general strike?, replied that he did not work and sweat in the Toledo factories and that the local labor leaders were the ones to deal with this situation—the very leaders who by failing to carry through with their own proposal were then endangering the whole Auto-Lite situation. In thus, at the most critical moment, failing to differentiate himself from dangerous AF of L leaders and policies, Kryczki was simply carrying out traditional and typical SP policy.

That policy was once more accepted as the official party line at the Detroit Convention. The mild criticism of the AF of L to which we have referred was stricken out of the resolutions committee's report. What is more, the "militant" resolutions committee itself agreed to this step!

Toward the close of the convention the platform committee reported a Declaration of Principles. It contained the statement that Socialists would "Meet war and the detailed plans for war already

mapped out by the war making arms of the government by mass war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike—to make the waging of war a practical impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for Socialism."

The Declaration also contained the statement, "If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the SP, whether or not in such case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers rule."

After another heated debate, in the course of which rightwingers threatened a split if these "revolutionary" statements were adopted, the convention, by a majority of approximately 10 to 6, adopted them. Militants and the RPG regard this as a tremendous step forward. Unquestionably, it is another indication of how, under the pressure of the economic situation and of the present wave of rebellion among the workers, all groups are forced to give the appearance of turning left.

This is not the first time, however, that the SP has adopted statements which sound revolutionary, especially with regard to what was to be done in the future. We have already noted what the SP is actually saying and doing with regard to the most burning issue of the moment.

There is furthermore an immense amount of confusion among those very elements in the SP who adopted the "revolutionary" declaration. Paul Porter's Commonwealth Plan which proposed to establish Socialism in 1937 "by electing a majority of Socialist Congressmen and a Socialist President" and which its author described as "fair; no one suffers; only exploiters, racketeers and political morons have grounds for opposing it" and "peaceful; no violent upheaval is necessary to bring it about if the present ruling class behaves sensibly," was finally rejected by the convention. This very plan, however, had only a few days before received the "enthusiastic endorsement" of Norman Thomas as the "proper type of platform." To hold a revolutionary position and at the same time support the Commonwealth Plan is an absolute impossibility. Norman Thomas is nevertheless the principal leader of the SP. Nothing good from a revolutionary standpoint can be expected from an organization in which such confusion exists.

Militants likewise regard the elections for NEC positions as a victory, although in addition to "militants" such as Powers Hapgood, Darlington, Hoops, Maynard Krueger and even an RPC member, Franz Daniel, the NEC contains such a reactionary as James Oneal, and non-descripts such as Hoan, Graham, Shadid of California, Norman Thomas and A. S. Coolidge. Very definitely one gained the impression at the convention that the "militants" and even the RPC were more concerned about gaining places in the party machine than about principles. At one stage, for example, the RPC agreed with the "militants" to abandon a meeting called to set forth RPC principles in exchange for the assurance of "militant" support for one RPC candidate on the NEC!

The rightwingers can afford to have the SP adopt "revolutionary" statements as to the future, which at the proper moment they can forget or explain away. They could not afford to lose the moral, and above all, the trade union leaders. That support they can keep on the basis of the convention decisions and the present party lineup. The rightwingers will, therefore, stay in the party and forget their eloquent threats to quit. By that same token genuine revolutionaries have no place in the SP. The "militants" have made an ignoble compromise which will only confuse the workers in this critical period of mass struggles.

THEIR Government

by James Burnham

What are soldiers for?

Everyone knows what they are supposed to be for. From the time we are children we are told about the "glory" and "romance" of the soldiers' life. Stories and games and plays and poems teach us that all soldiers are heroes who lay down their lives for their country. Young girls learn to love a uniform. The soldiers are "our boys" who are ready to fight the wicked foreigners who want to come in and take "our" country away from us.

This is what soldiers are supposed to be for. But what are they actually for?

Since the establishment of the United States, this country has engaged in only four official foreign wars: the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Spanish-American War, and the World War. But in between these wars all the soldiers don't just lay down their arms and go back to the shops and fields. The army is on hand all the time. The reason for this, we are told, is because we must be prepared for the next war when it comes along. Is this the only reason? To know that it isn't, all you have to do is to think back a couple of weeks to Minneapolis and Toledo.

The United States have fought in only four foreign wars. But since the ratification of the Constitution, there has hardly been a single year that soldiers haven't been called out, inside the country, against workers. Whenever, in a strike or other mass demonstration, workers seriously threaten the profits of some members of the capitalist class, the capitalists order their government to send its troops against the workers.

This is called "preserving law and order." Preserving law and order under capitalism means preserving profits. Did you ever hear of troops being called to pull scabs, who were cheating workers out of their jobs, from a shop? Did you ever hear of them being called to shoot and jail employers who were slowly killing thousands of employees by starvation wages and quickly killing others by hiring thugs and gunmen? Did you ever hear of troops summoned to protect peaceful workers' meetings from being broken up by company deputies with tear gas and machine guns?

A given group of capitalists, say the capitalists of the United States, have two different kinds of enemies. The first is other groups of capitalists, in other countries, who compete for markets and sources of raw materials.

The second enemy of the capitalists doesn't fight in official, declared wars. The second enemy is the great mass of the workers and exploited, and the war of the workers against the capitalists goes on, above or below the surface, all the time. It is simply the slowly but surely rising demand for a decent human life that is the great offensive against the capitalists.

Therefore the capitalists of the entire world, divided on every other issue, are united on this one central issue, united against the working class. And no dreadful violence is too great for them to use in their counter-offensive.

In this country a special army is maintained whose primary use is against workers: the National Guard. The history of the National Guard is an interesting example of how capitalism has to rely more and more on special armed forces to keep going. The National Guard is a development of the state militias. Originally, however (by an Act of Congress passed in 1792),

(Continued on Page 7)

What Happened in Toledo

(Continued from Page 2)
turn. A newspaper reporter, rushing out to use the telephone in the booth at the plant gate, hit the tear gas fumes, lost his way, and ran headfirst into the concrete of the building.

"Truce Hell!"

Plant windows crashed. The electric light supply was cut off. The scabs came out with a fire hose, directing it at the attacking forces. Bricks drove them back into the plant. The U. S. Mediator, E. H. Dunnigan, who had been hanging around the swanky Commodore Perry Hotel doing nothing, arrived in the midst of the battle. The sheriff cried: "Truce! Truce! For the U. S. Mediator!" "Truce hell!" answered the workers. "We have had enough of mediators." A storm of bricks sent the sheriff into the building. Roosevelt's representative had to run and duck.

Six hundred tear gas shells were shot from the deputies' guns by 11 p. m. Over one a minute! The supply was exhausted. A searchlight, placed by the workers on a house across the street, played on the plant. It hunted out every window and every scab head that might be raised. It made the firing of the bricks more effective. Workers brought out picks and dug up sidewalks, using the concrete for ammunition.

Great logs were brought up and rammed against the gates. One of the steel doors gave. Others were being smashed open. The plant was within an inch of being taken. Then, tear gas reserves arrived from Cleveland by airplane. The hurling began. The workers were driven back. But the battle continued!

Tear gas shells are made of metal. They are destructive. Legs were broken, faces disfigured, workers' arms cracked by these missiles. A. J. Muste, chairman of the A.W.P., arrived in the evening. He had been summoned by my wire just before the picket line began. He found me in jail and visited me there. Then Muste went out to the plant. An old man standing near him had his nose crushed in by one of the shells from the roof. He was a bloody mess.

Sam Pollock

The battle went on all night. Sam Pollock, cool as a cucumber, remained until 3 in the morning. "What were you doing there all that time?" the company lawyers asked him in the trial of myself and other defendants. "I have been a first aid for the Red Cross," answered Sam, "and was giving first aid. The police can testify to that. We cooperated on the hospital cases." The company lawyer, a rather rigid and sour fellow named Harrington of the expensive firm of Tracey, Chapman and Welles, pressed Sam. "Did you have your kit?" The assumption was that Sam was doing more than "first aiding" and that he had come prepared for a riot. "A kit is unnecessary," was the answer. "Do you wish me to inform you in detail how to give first aid?" The whole court room laughed, loud and long.

The court room had laughed often—and cheered. The education in the bankruptcy of capitalist law had begun with the Pollock-Selander trial on the first violation of the injunction. It had continued in the "trial" of the 46, in which Selander had made his vigorous speech exposing the class nature of the courts.

Educating The Court

The judge had interrupted him. "Private property has existed since the cave man with his club," declared His Honor. "But Private property learned that it could maintain itself only with the courts and the police," shot back Ted. There had been cheering then, and understanding.

When the National Guard came in, the papers had gone into joyful hysterics. They waxed lyrical over "the boys." They described the warm beds out of which the guardians of law and order had

been routed, to go into a rain-soaked night. They gave minute details of the mobilization in the dark at Perrysburg. TROOPS ENTER STRIKE AREA. The steady march of the one thousand militiamen beat on the front pages of the press. All was to be well now.

The rain fell heavily all through the night. It came through the windows of the jail and entered my cell, waking me. "The National Guard has an ally," thought I. Aids in the sheriff's office had brought accounts of the battle up to nine o'clock, when the lights went out and the door of our cells were automatically locked. Osthimer and I were together. We discussed the differences between the C.P. and the A.W.P. "Toledo is a striking example of the effectiveness of A.W.P. methods," I pointed out. We were kept in all night and until afternoon of the next day.

The rain was the ally of the Guardsmen—for the time. At six o'clock in the morning of the 24th, only a few scattered groups of workers were there to see them come in around the plant. Bayonets came into action. The workers were dispersed. A restricted military zone was set up within several blocks of the plant.

By afternoon the newspapers were singing a different tune. SERIOUS FIGHTING BREAKS OUT AT AUTO-LITE. Then, an extra: TWO SLAIN, MANY WOUNDED AS TROOPS FIRE INTO MOB. The workers were a "mob" always, or they were "rioters."

I Am Tried

That was Thursday. On Friday morning (the 25th) the trial of myself and 31 other defendants on contempt charges opened in the Court of Common Pleas. Sheriff Krieger testified for the prosecution. He stated that he would have charged me with "inciting to riot" had he (the sheriff) not been "too busy" with the real riot the rest of the 23rd. He said that he "had decided to take the offensive on Wednesday." He admitted that the deputies at the plant were hired and paid by the company and deputized by him—150 of them. He did not know any of them, only understanding that they were "worthy objects of charity" and needed jobs. He bitterly attacked Selander.

In the midst of the prosecution's testimony a wire came from New York, two of them, stating that Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union would enter the case if it could be delayed "until next week." The prosecution presented its side, and then the request of Edward H. Lamb, counsel for the defendants, was granted. The case was recessed until Monday. Only one defense witness was heard, Dorothy Stickney of the Young Communist League. As she pleaded that she was ignorant that there was any injunction, the company lawyers moved her dismissal as a defendant. The others—mostly strikers—continued on trial.

At the noon recess on Friday, the American Workers Party and Lucas County Unemployed League held a mass meeting of protest "against the killings by the National Guard." It was held at the McKinley Monument in front of the Court House. Muste, Selander, Pollock and I spoke. The demand was for the withdrawal of troops, the immediate calling of the General Strike, settlement only on 100 per cent union terms, with a union contract at the Auto-Lite "signed on the dotted line." That was the second mass meeting at the Court House that the A. W. P. and Unemployed Leagues had held. No other group had yet gotten into the battle, in any official way. The press was shrieking "Communists are stirring up the crowds to attack the troops," "Communists" are doing this, "Communists" are doing that. Reporters admitted privately that the C.P. was nowhere in real evidence. But they smiled when the constant use of the word "Communists" in the news reports was alluded to; they

also shrugged their shoulders.

Don't Shoot Too Hard

The Socialist Party did not venture out among the workers at all. While Selander and Pollock were stimulating the workers to shout and cheer before Judge Stuart's chambers on May 17, compelling the court to open the doors to all, and by mass action compelling a real review of the facts involved to be thrashed out in the court room, a committee of four from the S.P. walked into the judge's chambers. They went to plead with him for leniency. The joke went around, finally "Do not be afraid, fellow-workers. The S.P. has pleaded with the armed deputies not to shoot too hard."

At the end of the protest mass meeting of the A.W.P. and Unemployed League, when all the speakers had gone, the sheriff rushed out to a knot of about 10 people still talking about what had been said. Hysterically read the riot act. He announced to the papers that any other meeting in front of the Court House would be halted by force. The A.W.P. and Unemployed League promptly called another meeting for the next day—Saturday—at noon. Louis Marolt, Ohio organizer of the A.W.P. went around town in his car, with a large sign on it: "Protest the Killings. The Militia Must Go! Mass Meeting, Court House, Saturday at noon."

C.P. "Wakes Up"

The C.P. suddenly woke up. They called a mass meeting for 2 o'clock on Saturday afternoon for the same spot "to protest the splitting tactics of the American Workers (?) Party." So their banners read. They also called for the General Strike.

We held our meeting. They held theirs. The sheriff did not show up, though we challenged him to do so. J. J. Quinlivan, former secretary of the C.L.U. and one of the county commissioners, had served notice on Krieger that Court House Park was under control of the Commissioners. The sheriff was told to keep hands off.

Two tactics were now in evidence, which will be tested further in other workers' situations in the future. The A.W.P. had won the leadership in the fight, by positive going out and doing what the workers had wanted done. The A.W.P. had given intelligent and militant direction to the breaking of the injunction and the stimulation of mass action. The A.W.P. formed a group of militants within the union, and through them pressed for a 100 per cent union settlement. This group was of importance in keeping up the backbone of the union in the subsequent negotiations. The AWP acted positively all the time. It wasted no time in calling names; action would prove who was who. That is the A.W.P. tactic—producing militancy, solidarity and effective workers' action.

"Misleaders"—All

The C.P. devoted its major energy in calling off a litany of "misleaders." It sought to arouse the suspicions of the workers in their own leadership. It issued a leaflet, calling for a "united front meeting" for the General Strike, setting up a mythical "Provisional Organizing Committee" for such strike. Even a special writer for the DAILY WORKER, McGill, expressed ignorance of who this mysterious committee was. The meeting was held. Two hundred people attended; the C. P. captured itself.

(The C.P., of course, did not promote its standing among the workers in dragging in its sectarian "Auto Workers Industrial Union," non-existent in Toledo, as a signer of "the call.")

But as always takes place where A.W.P. and C.P. meet, the latter was compelled to change its tactics in mid-stream to conform to those of the A.W.P. in part. Hanging around the fringes of the movement, it had to do this to get a hearing at all.

That took place at the big Central Labor Union demonstration on Friday night, June 1. Kenneth Eg-

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The Roy Shop Strike

For about a month and a half some 50 workers in the Roy Silk Company snop in Paterson, N. J. have been out on strike against discrimination and a wage cut. By a curious combination of circumstances, this fight has become an acid test for the various radical groups functioning in the Paterson silk and has aided tremendously in furthering the cause of militant, class-conscious unionism. The Roy shop was one of the few in the city controlled by the National Textile Workers Union. The disruptive policy of the N.T.W. and the Communist Party which controls it has lost it any small influence it may have once had in the district. For two weeks the strike was solid. Then the boss moved to another location and opened under the name of the Albert Silk Company. He joined the manufacturers association, obviously in the hope of getting the support of the officialdom of the Associated Silk Workers, the A. F. of L. organization.

"Progressive" Leadership

A short time ago, Eli Keller, member of the Communist Party Opposition better known as the Lovestone Group, was elected general manager of the A.S.W. by a very close vote. He pledged himself (before the election) to a "far sighted, militant and progressive road of activity," and promised to work for "immediate unification and harmony between the workers."

The question of the Roy Shop was one of the first he faced upon coming into office. Keller solved it by sending A.S.W. members into the plant to scab. This is an old and favorite trick of the most re-

gert, representative of the T.U.U.L., in a speech at Memorial Hall, attacked the labor union speakers as "fakers" and "misleaders."

June 1 Demonstration

This great demonstration on June 1 had been called by the Committee of 23, set up weeks before by the C.L.U. to prepare for the General Strike. Two immediate storm centers were involved in the move for the General Strike: the Auto-Lite and the Toledo Edison. In the latter place there was no strike, but the Electrical Workers Union was demanding a return of a wage cut and union recognition. The Toledo Edison was the heart of the general strike tactic, as a shut-down of that place would automatically close down 1100 industrial plants in the Toledo area and make the general strike a comparatively easy thing.

Ten thousand union men marched in the parade that night. Twenty thousand were present at the demonstration which followed. One speaker's stand was set up at the elevated entrance to Memorial Hall, headquarters of the striking union, which lies just opposite Court House Park. The other was arranged at the McKinley Monument in the Park itself, the scene of many A.W.P. and unemployed league meetings.

Muste, Pollock, and about 30 members of the militant group in the union stationed themselves back of the speakers at Memorial Hall. L. C. Aubrey, chairman of the Committee of 23, had agreed ten days before that Muste would speak at the meeting. On the afternoon of June 1, he withdrew that arrangement. It is poetic justice that Muste was refused permission to speak at 6 o'clock that evening, and that at 9.30 the same night a representative of the C.L.U., editor of their paper, Walter Guntrup, asked Muste's permission to address the crowd. At 9.30 Sam Pollock was chairman of the meeting, calling for the general strike!

The Class Line Up

What had happened was this: Aubrey, as chairman, speaking at a megaphone, had opened the meeting, which every one had been led to believe would announce the date of the General Strike. The Toledo

(Continued on Page 8)

actionary elements in the American labor movement. But here we have the spectacle of a "radical" sending workers through a picket line to take the jobs of workers on strike for their rights.

The United Silk Workers Club Fortunately, there exists in Paterson, the United Silk Workers Club, organized to further a militant program of activity in the Associated Silk Workers and the American Federation of Silk Workers to which the A.S.W. is affiliated. The club took up the case of the Roy workers. With the slogan "keep the name of our union clean," they pointed out that such a policy, far from helping to build the A.S.W., would bring it into disrepute. In their organ the "Silk Shuttle" they emphasized:

"Is it militant to send in ASW members to act as scabs when workers are on strike."
"Is this the way to build our union, the Associated Silk Workers?"

"No!! It puts ammunition into the hands of the disruptive leaders of the National Textile Workers Union."

The club tried to get the union officials to take action. Militant members of the Broad Silk Department Executive Board, which has jurisdiction over the case, introduced a motion calling for an open investigation. The meeting broke up in a fist fight. A committee of Associated members who went to Keller for information were met with abusive language.

The N.T.W. Shows Its Colors

Members of the United Silk Workers Club went on the picket line. The strikers eagerly accepted their help and for the first time a lively picket line was established with songs and banners reading "Fellow members of the ASW don't scab." Many of the workers who had been misled into scabbing saw the light. They stayed out of the mill, some of them joining the picket line.

The sectarian leadership of the National Textile Workers Union became alarmed and tried to persuade the strikers to have nothing to do with these fellow workers of the United Silk Workers Club. To no avail however; the strikers knew who their friends were.

Since the union officialdom refused to conduct an open investigation, the U.S.W.C. called one itself at Club headquarters at 80 Market Street. Members of the Associated Union and strikers testified to the facts in the case before a large audience.

Union Democracy An Issue

But the union moguls have fallen to even lower depths. The Club nominated a slate of candidates for the elections for executive board of the Broad Silk Department. Without exception these members have been brought up on charges and are to be tried by the Joint Executive Board which is completely under the thumb of Keller. They are accused of belonging to a "duel organization," although the club's program is based on advancing the interests and extending the influence of the Associated Silk Workers locally and the American Federation of Silk Workers nationally.

The club has done a splendid job on the Roy case. Where the union officialdom failed miserably in trying to blackmail the Roy workers into the A.S.W. the activity of the U.S.W.C. has demonstrated to them in concrete action that the Associated, in spite of its present leadership, is the only union for the silk workers. Not the least significant feature of the whole affair has been the thoroughly satisfactory cooperation that has existed between the American Workers Party and the Communist League (Trotskyites) in this Paterson situation.

Face The Issue

When Keller was elected to his present job, Workers Age, organ of the Lovestone group, enthused about the victory of the "well known progressive."

How about it!!!

U.S. Tries To Trick Union; Strike Nears

(Continued from Page 1)

which the A.A. is not so powerful on the same day, with the vote in all three to be counted as one.

Strike Widespread

If the strike is called, a great territory in the middle west will be affected. The Gary district in which the A.A. has great strength will be hard hit. The Youngstown—Pittsburgh area should be a scene of great activity and should see a tremendous walkout of the steel workers when the call comes.

Even in far off Birmingham, Alabama and in the West Coast the strike will have its influence while the growing steel region around Detroit and the Michigan—Wisconsin field generally should witness wide-spread stoppages.

It is impossible to estimate the actual number who will answer the strike call but the recent growth of the A.A. and the resentment of the workers at their present plight should guarantee an extensive offensive against the steel trust.

The Government-Strikebreaker

Not content with his slur at "immature leaders" and "reds," and with his statement that he knew of no case in which the steel workers had been denied the right to organize, General Johnson asked the union to accept a settlement which would have strengthened company unions, would have prohibited the proposed labor board from going into any cases of interference, restraint or coercion in company union elections held before last January 1 (practically all company unions in the industry were formed last summer) and would have restricted membership on the labor board almost entirely to people with no union experience or sympathy.

Employed-Unemployed

Leaders of the Committee of Ten have asked the unemployed leagues in the steel districts to act in solidarity with the employed workers in their common fight. (The convention of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League in Allentown, June 9-10 voted solidarity with the steel workers.) The successful Toledo strike was largely due to the organizations of the unemployed who rallied on the picket line with the auto workers. The unity of the jobless and the strikers will be a great aid to the success and the militancy of the strike.

1,000 LEAGUEMEN JOIN IN 6 WEEKS

Chiloth, Ohio.—In 6 weeks more than 1,000 men have joined the Ohio Leagues in this county.

Convinced that the government has done nothing for them and that drastic steps will have to be taken by unemployed men and women to change the social system, the local and state league organizers and officials are penetrating every nook and corner of the territory, and leagues are springing up overnight.

For Human Rights

Fighting for human rights above property right, and breaking forever from the leadership and control of politicians, the unemployed are coming together for action.

William R. Truax, president of the Ohio Unemployed League, in a speech here declared the Leagues mean to see that the people are fed and clothed and sheltered if it bankrupts the state. He said only a solid working class movement, freed of politicians and stool pigeons of business men, could make the necessary changes in the economic system to permanently benefit the working class.

State organizers and officials helping the leagues are James Van Meter, V. C. Bauhof, Thomas French and comrades from Columbus.

Morgan Empire, Allies, Sway Life Of Nation; Linked to Government

by O. R. Fuss

When steel workers go out on strike June 15 they will face the resources of a frightened industrial empire controlled by the richest families in America, the Morgans, the Mellons, and the Rockefellers, directly ruling railways, mines, ships, utilities, mills, and factories, and indirectly affecting everything from the price of food and pins to the laws and edicts of the national government.

Capitalized at about five billion dollars, the steel industry contains in United States Steel a two billion dollar corporation which fixes prices for the entire industry and, in combination with about eleven other companies, controls 87 percent of the total steel ingot capacity in the United States. It is this company which fixes prices for 90 percent of all the products.

Is It A Monopoly?

In 1931 United States Steel owned 140 steel works, 100 blast furnaces, 500 barges, 125 steamers, 55,000 freight cars and owned or leased 4,000 miles of trackage. Its water supply plants had a capacity of 13 million gallons and its coal, gas, and ore resources were measured in the hundred of thousands of acres. Together, the steel companies controlled in 1933 about 11 percent of the bituminous coal output of the country, more than one half of the iron ore, and most of the coke production.

The steel industry has used these resources to create a vast

monopoly so that in the process of controlling prices United States Steel has been enabled to pay in dividends an amount equal to 130 percent of the originally three fifths watered stock, to build up a surplus of over a billion dollars, pay back most of the bonded indebtedness, pay dividends of 150 percent to preferred stock shareholders, and invest half a billion in plants and new equipment.

The monopoly is so well standardized that only four corporations make steel rails, and of these the United States Steel furnishes two thirds! In view of this it is fairly obvious why the Roosevelt administration thought last winter that the depression could be lifted from the railroads by having them buy new railroad ties.

Why U. S. Steel Backs PWA

But the monopoly is not only horizontal it is also vertical, i.e. it extends from the ore and coal to the finished product. And in the course of developing an integrated vertical combine, the steel industry has stretched its claws into businesses outside its immediate view. It controls the two leading agricultural machinery manufacturing concerns, the entire crucible steel industry, and the manufacture of locomotives. Making cement as a by-product United States Steel, is now the leading cement producer in the country.

That may have been the reason why Ickes was faced with fixed prices in a recent bid on Boulder Dam cement needs. And it ex-

plains the hearty glee with which the steel industry has greeted the PWA program, for not only will they be selling the government steel for construction purposes and battleships, but also cement!

It is absurdly argued that the steel industry is not a monopoly because one corporation does not own the entire production capacity. This argument is ridiculous because a complete monopoly would have compelled the government to dissolve the corporation under the anti-trust laws. As the situation is, it is possible to argue that a monopoly does not exist since it takes 12 corporations to control 87 percent of production; and, small concerns are allowed to exist for as inefficient producers their selling prices are high enough to give the efficient large producers an additional profit.

The Morgan Empire

Ever since its founding in 1901 United States Steel has been controlled by J. P. Morgan whose partners have sat on the board of directors of most important industrial concerns in this country. Bethlehem Steel, second to United States Steel in size and power is likewise controlled in the major part by Morgan. Its directors have been on the Morgan preferred list and have sat on the board of directors of Morgan banks. It deposits large sums with Morgan and domestically as well as abroad has acted in conjunction with United States Steel.

Next to Morgan in power comes Mellon whose men fashion the destinies in part or in whole of at least eight of the so-called "independents," i.e. not U. S. Steel. Owning large blocks of stock in this latter company he has recently extended his influence into Bethlehem. After Mellons stands Rockefeller with his interest in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. Then, come Otis, Mather, Eaton, and the railroad buccaniers and bank-busters, the Van Swearingen brothers.

To fight these men, to fight the American Iron and Steel, Institute, the United States government would have to fight itself;—that which gives it the lease to live. For this reason it must not be expected that the administration will aid in anyway the fight for unionizing the steel industry when the steel barons have once said, No! But if it does, it will not be Johnson who will crack down!

Their Government

(Continued from Page 5)

the militia included every male from 18 to 45. This was hardly an organization that could be relied on by the capitalists to do their dirty work for them.

The militia was slowly turned into a special army. The process was completed in 1903, when the Federal Government—the central representative of the biggest capitalists—authorized federal appropriations to all States that organized and trained militias according to Regular Army regulations. An Act of 1916 definitely turned the State militias into the National Guard, made the officers members (at all times) of the Regular Army and provided for their pay by the Federal Government, and constituted the entire National Guard part of the Regular Army whenever called into service by the President. The Act of 1916 also provided for raising the peace-time strength of the National Guard to 420,000. It is at present about 186,000.

Here, then, is a formidable body of troops that the capitalists think can be "relied upon" when use of the Regular Army would be awkward. They make one mistake. The enlisted men of the National Guard are also workers. This we must help them to remember.

1919 Steel Strike Lessons

The lessons of the great steel strike of 1919 should be known to every steel worker.

On September 22, 1919 about 300,000 steel workers went out on strike in the first concerted effort to unionize the steel industry since 1892. The strike was precipitated by the post-war wage cuts of steel manufacturers who, not satisfied with making a 20 percent profit, were intent on raising the margin of profit by cutting wages of workers not earning enough to maintain a bare minimum subsistence level for their families.

Preparations for the strike had been going on haphazardly for over a year. In April 1918 William Z. Foster had proposed that the next A. F. of L. convention take up the question of organizing the steel industry. But it was not until two months after the convention had met that a conference of the 24 unions primarily interested in unionizing the steel industry formed the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers with Foster as secretary-treasurer and Sam Gompers as chairman.

Michael Tighe

Due to the lack of cooperation from the affiliated A. F. of L. unions who had agreed to support the strike both in money and organizers, the National Committee was compelled to move very slowly in what had originally been planned as a hurricane attack. At the same time, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, under the influence of Michael Tighe, its president, attempted to halt strike preparations by communications with Judge Gary of the United States Steel offering to mediate differences. Never entirely in favor of the strike, the union grew more lukewarm in its support.

At the same time Gompers negotiated with President Wilson in an effort to head off the strike, and, dissatisfied with the National Committee, he resigned his chairmanship, John Fitzpatrick being elected in his stead. On July 20, 1919, a conference of 583 delegates representing 365,000 men posted their demands and made preparations for a strike referendum.

The steel workers agreed to present to the steel barons the following demands:

- 1) Collective bargaining.
 - 2) Reinstatement of those who had been fired for union activity.
 - 3) The 8 hour day.
 - 4) One days rest in seven.
 - 5) Abolition of the 24 hour shift.
 - 6) Increase in wages to reach an American standard of living.
 - 7) Abolition of the company union and 8) Seniority rights.
- The result of the strike referendum was about 98 percent in the affirmative.

Thus despite Gompers, Tighe and the National Committee itself, the strike began. With it came martial law, injunctions, company gunmen, the importation of scabs, a campaign of hysteria and propaganda against the workers by the church and press, and finally the shooting down of workers. Armed forces of the state, the army and the company arrayed themselves against the workers in an open campaign to break the strike by force.

Their Sabotage

Meanwhile Tighe compelled unskilled steel workers to go back to work with those companies with which his union of skilled workers had a contract. The railway unions continued to move steel products despite an understanding to the contrary. A strike by the United Mine Workers, which would have aided the steel workers, was called off after one week by Lewis on patriotic grounds, at the behest of Wilson. And finally, despite promise of financial support, the A. F. of L. unions contributed to the strike committee an amount equal to about one month's profit—of the United States Steel corporation.

Consequently, in January 1920 the strike was called off—a failure. Because the bosses had spent enormous sums to import scabs, to inflame race and nationalistic prejudices, and to get rid of militant workers; the A. F. of L. had engaged itself in the strike in an haphazard fashion, through Tighe actually sabotaging it; and because the weakness of a straight trade union appeal by 24 different jurisdictions to the workers of an integrated industry had added the culminating force to break the back of the strike.

NEWS REEL

By A. A.

A tremendous boom in the tear gas manufacturing industry throughout the country has resulted from the strike riots in Toledo and elsewhere. . . . Frightened employers of labor are flooding manufacturers with orders. . . . Owners of exclusive city homes and country estates are laying in supplies. . . .

Who said business was bad?

Recovery may be under way, but people are eating less food this year than in 1933. Total food tonnages for the first three months of 1934 are below the figures for the same period last year.

What has happened to the New Deal's much vaunted program for expanding mass purchasing power?

Dividends, however, are continuing their merry upward course. . . . Statistics show at least ten large companies paying higher cash dividends than in 1929. . . . At least 31 more are paying dividends equal to their 1929 rate.

"N.R.A. Cotton Orders Mill's Hours Cut to Curb Output" reads newspaper headline.

Heavy production with low-priced raw materials and underpaid labor may and does bring profits for the industrialists but only jobs and cash relief will produce mass consumption, without which industrial chaos, more unemployment and further wage cuts are inevitable.

Charlie Mitchell and other Wall Street manipulators of people's money—to put it gently—are certainly not serving time.

Insull and scores of other wealthy swindlers are out on bail and most likely will ultimately escape jail.

Gangsters terrorize every large American city.

But is Justice down-hearted in these United States? Oh, no! In San Francisco, a Federal Court denies Tom Mooney a writ of habeas corpus that would release him from the confines of San Quentin Prison.

Headlines

Police Fire Tear Gas Shells at Girl Workers in York, Pa. . . . Tear Gas and Bayonets Meet Strikers in Toledo. . . . 100 Strikers Arrested in New Orleans. . . . Eight Workers Wounded in North Carolina Mill Strike. . . . Minneapolis Workers Fight Police in Truck Strike. . . . New York Police Club Workers at Relief Protest Meeting. . . . Fascists Terrorize Alabama Labor. . . .

The same Old Deal for the workers!

New York City urgently requires \$8,000,000 for its school system this year. Otherwise, schools may be closed in December, teacher unemployment increased, children faced with juvenile delinquency. . . .

And 800 contracts for a total in excess of \$55,000,000 of the U. S. Army's construction program have just been awarded!

La Guardia, the friend of the unemployed, keeps in mysterious reserve a sum of \$3,000,000 which was collected from the utilities last year and which was supposed to have been earmarked for unemployment relief.

In New York City as in every city, whether the local administration be liberal or conservative, the interests of the utilities and bankers are paramount to those of the workers and the unemployed.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, likewise president of the United Labor Bank & Trust Company of Indianapolis, appears as character witness for his friend, Banker Joseph W. Harriman, on trial now for false entries, misapplication of funds, etc.

"I know of no man," said Mr. Lewis of Mr. Harriman, "who, in my estimation, has a higher reputation."

NEW... BOOKS

A GOOD MAN

The Choice Before Us, by Norman Thomas. Macmillan Company.

A better moment for reviewing Norman Thomas' new book one could hardly ask for. News has just come that Thomas has "captured" the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party will be gently led, henceforth, one may suppose, along the road mapped out by Mr. Thomas in "The Choice Before Us." This road, since Mr. Thomas is not a revolutionist, is one of some fog and confusion with flags of democracy flying in the distances, and now and then a forced ray of light to show the way. For the truth is that although Mr. Thomas is a socialist, he has little faith in the working class. This fact is borne out by every chapter in "The Choice Before Us." As an idealist, a humanitarian, he has thought or felt his way to socialism, but as a non-Marxist he lacks the sustaining strength of the revolutionist which only springs from great faith in the workers. This is why his books are praised by middle-class people, who cannot accept Marxism, while to workers they are discouraging.

"The Choice Before Us" is, at best, simply the choice as seen by Norman Thomas, a leader who does not feel behind him the revolutionary power of the masses. Consequently he is driven to rely upon reason and fairness. "Reason," he seems to say, "will insure fairness. And fairness will win respect and preserve our civil liberties. And civil liberty will make it possible for us to continue working for socialism."

Thus, thinking things out for himself, Mr. Thomas reasons without benefit of an army, so to speak; and we are not surprised to find him throwing his hands up in literal horror before all dictatorships, including even the dictatorship of the workers over the capitalists. He writes "Americans have all too violent a tradition," and advises against acts which might facilitate the growth of fascism, even to the kidding of Congress. He wants a "heaven which can be reached without compelling men to pass through the lowest circles of a hell of violence and disorder." One can draw only one conclusion; not only does Mr. Thomas not have confidence in the revolutionary power of the masses; he doubts that power; to him revolution can mean only one thing, bloody hell.

But the book, confusingly enough, is full of qualifying statements. A socialist could lift passages to prove that Mr. Thomas is far over to the left. In his qualifying statements, which undoubtedly reveal the pressure on the left of him, he says some very fine things. But at the book's core is the familiar Norman Thomas himself, a lover of peace, a good man who would much rather have his followers battle capitalism with "fairness" and "reason."
—TESS HUFF.

DRAMATIC CLASS WRITES AND PRESENTS PLAY

"The Voice of the People," a play written and produced by the Dramatics Class of the Ohio Labor School is meeting with great success in its presentation before most of the twenty-five locals of the Franklin County Unemployed League. In the near future it will be taken to other Ohio towns.

The play depicts a demonstration of strikers and unemployed before a large factory. The leader of the workers is called into the office of the boss and the opposing philosophies of capital and labor are argued to the chanting accompaniment of "We want work," and "Solidarity."

The class is under the direction of Prof. Oliver Loud of Ohio State University. The play is being prepared in mimeographed form. Copies may be obtained by sending 25c to the Franklin County Unemployed League, 214 E. Rich St., Columbus, Ohio.

Jailed Unemployed League Leader Describes Ohio's "Model Workhouse"

The "model workhouse" is pointed out with pride by patriotic Columbus citizens. Its yellow terra cotta walls and conspicuously barred windows rise neatly behind an elm-filled lawn set amid the spacious fertile acres of the prison farm.

One enters the building through barred iron portals. The superintendent, T. O. Reed, sits in his office on the right. His racetrack-tout appearance belies a ministerial training and a long experience as chaplain at the notorious Ohio State Penitentiary. He considers himself an authority on penology and "prison reform." The office radio (purchased with the profits of the candy and tobacco concession and meant for the prisoners) blares continuously.

The Inside

Prisoners upon entering are fingerprinted and questioned regarding their life history. They are passed through two sets of barred iron doors and turned over to "trusties" who see that they take a bath. (No towel is furnished.) The prisoner's clothing is then taken away and ragged overalls and shirt given in exchange. A pallet of straw and a blanket complete the equipment.

Incoming prisoners are locked in an "idle room" until prison jobs are available for them. This is a long narrow room containing 15 or 20 double-deck bunks. When

the bunks are shaken gigantic bedbugs fall to the floor. The men stamp on them; blood spurts and an acrid odor rises. At one end of the room are toilets and lavatories. The iron door of the idle room is kept locked at all times. Workers' dorms are similar except that they are locked only at night.

No Bankers Item

The prisoners are a likable lot—not at all the "criminal types" of popular conception. They are such a group as might be selected at random from any crowd of American workers. There are no bankers, merchants or lawyers in the group. Most are in for "non-support," a common crime in the depression era. Society denies the men jobs so they can support their families. The State then, in all its majesty and with infinite wisdom, solves the problem by jailing the men and placing their families on relief. The common sentence for non-support is one year and a fine of \$500.

At meal times we line up and pass into the bleak dining hall. We get a glimpse of the kitchen. It is dirty beyond description: greasy pots and pans hang on the grimy walls; huge cockroaches scamper over the floor. We are handed a stained aluminum tray, plate and tablespoon. Meals consist of watery stew, beans or potatoes, dry bread and black coffee. Fresh fruit or vegetables (except green

onions), butter or whole milk are never served. We sit on long benches, everybody facing front, and eat hurriedly under the watchful eye of a guard.

Medical "Service"

If a prisoner becomes ill he can consult the prison doctor who calls twice a week. Formerly Epsom salts and aspirin were prescribed for every ailment. Since the budget had to be pared to the limit, aspirin has been eliminated as unnecessary.

The dentist calls about once a month to extract teeth. Prisoners (the same as those on relief lists) are not supposed to have fillings—teeth are merely yanked out when they ache.

Idle prisoners amuse themselves by reading detective, romance or movie magazines, by playing cards, or by recounting stories and adventures. A "kangaroo court" is set up to discipline anti-social members of the community. Lewd Rabelasian tales compensate for pent-up sex-emotions—except for those with homosexual tendencies. Often perverts are brought into the workhouse dressed in female clothing. It is rumored that "trusties" garner considerable small change by "renting" the clinic room for the use of these male prostitutes.

Saving Our Souls

Church services are held twice a week. Since chapel is not compulsory attendance is usually small. Sour faced men and sallow women intent upon saving souls for a long-bearded God exhort the men to repent of their sins and accept Christ as a personal saviour. They attempt to make sinners good by the fear of hell or the bribe of heaven. No mention is ever made of the existence of grave social ills.

The prison school started as a CWA project. Four teachers and a principal obtained soft jobs by pulling political strings. Not one knows the first principles of adult education. They compensate in condescension for their lack of pedagogical skill. Classes are not popular with the prisoners. Only 10 or 15 attend. The principal, a Mr. Sullivan, is a small, hunch-backed, parrot-like individual completely warped mentally and physically by 45 years of teaching in the public schools. He gives long boring lectures on such subjects as: "How to avoid constipation," "Sex hygiene," "Law and order," "Iniquities of Socialism," etc. His constant theme is: "We live in the best of all possible nations. The laws and regulations of society are essentially just. By disciplining ourselves to conform to these laws and regulations we can keep out of penal institutions."

Days come and go. New prisoners arrive, others are mustered out. With a strange mixture of joy and regret we see them walking down the driveway—free men!—and hopefully anticipate the time when we too shall leave the stone walls and iron bars behind.

BILL REICH

What Toledo Shows

The Battle of Toledo shows: 1. That the American workers will fight, when they know what the fighting is about. They were clearly told that the American Workers Party, heading the picket lines, was out for the complete overthrow of the profit system. 2. The American approach is vindicated. It is the means by which the revolutionary message can be delivered in language that will produce action. 3. The era of Jabberwocky in the radical movement is over with. "Revolutionists" sitting on Greenwich village lounges, can no longer get emotional kicks, talking "deviations." All real revolutionary forces must be tested on the firing line of the industrial class struggle. 4. The unity of unemployed and employed can be achieved, as occurred so graphically in Toledo. The unemployed leagues have a large role to play in the battles of the organized. 5. Pres-

What Happened In Toledo

(Continued from Page 6)

Edison and Auto-Lite disputes were not yet settled. They were hanging in the balance. Governor White, fearful with the industrialists as to what might happen at this June 1 meeting, had begun to withdraw the troops. The newspapers were frantically crying "Peace!" The Lions, Rotary and Kiwanis clubs and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association, Chamber of Commerce, and Toledo Council of Churches had run big full-page ads in the press condemning violence and the General Strike. A clear-out class line-up, with not a word about the slimy tactics of the companies.

The C.L.U. group was showing hesitancy. The A.W.P. and the union militants had placed their members in the ranks where they could demand discussion of the General Strike. Aubrey, Green's personal representative Taylor, and another C.L.U. speaker all avoided the question. A young worker named Parker, C.P. member, got the platform through using his card as a member of the A. F. of L. auto union in Detroit. He brought greetings and then attacked the Roosevelt settlement in Detroit. Thereupon, Aubrey took the megaphones away from him. But Muste, Pollock and the union militants insisted he speak. He got a few more minutes.

Thereupon, at Muste's suggestion, Pollock took over the chairmanship. The C.L.U. speakers abandoned the Memorial Hall platform and concentrated on the McKinley Monument. The A.W.P. took over the meeting. At that moment, Onda and a group of C.P. members arrived at Memorial Hall. The A.W.P. agreed that there should be alternate speakers from each group, on the clear understanding that a positive message be given, no splitting speeches made, and that the General Strike with a 100 per cent union settlement be brought forward as the main issues. This was agreed upon.

Guntrup wished to get the platform to answer Eggert's remarks about all the labor union speakers being "sellers-out," and he was granted that privilege. (He has indicated that A.W.P. methods "get results for the working class.")

Afterward, the A.W.P. took over the McKinley Monument meeting likewise, sharing the platform again with the C.P. The General

Strike was made the big issue. The next day the effects of the militancy of the meetings were registered. The Toledo Edison settled. On the same day (Saturday) the Auto-Lite Co. signed on the dotted line, recognizing the union.

After The Battle

The troops have left Toledo. Judge Stuart has not made a decision in the injunction cases. Arthur Garfield Hays did a splendid job in the Budenz trial. He dominated the court-room. He insisted in his summing up that if any one should be sentenced Budenz should, "as he is the leader who urged defiance of the injunction, as his speeches at the plant gates, repeated here in court, have shown."

But Hays moved for the dismissal of all defendants and for the vacation of the injunction. He outlined the conditions brought about by the N.R.A. under which the big industrialists have tightened their economic grip. They have been given free rein, he stated, even in price-fixing. The sole off-set to their enormous power, granted by the N.R.A., is section 7a. The Auto-Lite Co. did not come into court with clean hands because it failed to observe even this small concession to the workers. The injunction, therefore, should not have been issued, even under the present laws.

It is on these things that Judge Stuart is pondering.

What Toledo Shows

The Battle of Toledo shows: 1. That the American workers will fight, when they know what the fighting is about. They were clearly told that the American Workers Party, heading the picket lines, was out for the complete overthrow of the profit system. 2. The American approach is vindicated. It is the means by which the revolutionary message can be delivered in language that will produce action. 3. The era of Jabberwocky in the radical movement is over with. "Revolutionists" sitting on Greenwich village lounges, can no longer get emotional kicks, talking "deviations." All real revolutionary forces must be tested on the firing line of the industrial class struggle. 4. The unity of unemployed and employed can be achieved, as occurred so graphically in Toledo. The unemployed leagues have a large role to play in the battles of the organized. 5. Pres-

ADVICE TO A WORKER

Who Thinks Daily Worker Falsifies its News.

Dear Comrade:

When I read your last letter I laughed heartily over the things that you said about the reports in the Daily Worker on the Toledo strike, but on taking thought I suddenly became sad. I saw that you were venting too much feeling against the Stalinists and I felt that that was unworthy of you. If you want to give vent to your spleen let it pour upon the heads of our common enemy, the capitalists, and not upon what you termed, "the misguided noisemakers of the C. P."

I cannot resist the temptation to press this lesson home with you. Your language is strong and bitter but it is wasted effort. When you say that "the gross misrepresentation of the facts in the Toledo strike should be called to the attention of the editors of the D. W." you reveal your innocence of the publishers of that paper. Now, just stop for a minute and look at the situation clearly. You imply in your letter that the D. W. is interested in facts. That is one of the things which caused me to laugh hard. My pet mouse who visits me at midnight is not as innocent as that and he can't read.

You rave about the fact that the Stalinists who were tried in court relied upon their civil rights, while Budenz and others faced the court as workers, and defied the injunction as an instrument of capitalism. Of course this is true, but why worry if the D. W. did not report it as true! You are right when you say that the "Role of the Stalinists in the Toledo strike was the role of counter revolutionists." You are right again when you say, "the Stalinists were more interested in dubbing Ramsey as a misleader and calling the police scab herders than they were in winning the fight of the workers." I repeat these things to you because I want you to know that I appreciate the truth of your remarks.

At the very outset, let me warn you that the explanation must be on the basis of psychology. Psychologically, this is the why and the wherefore of the D. W. non-factual report. The Stalinists did not have anything to do with organizing the strike in Toledo. They were not any closer to it than the fringe. When Selander, Pollock, and Budenz, all of the A.W.P., led the rank and file workers in the struggle against the Auto-Lite Company, it became a real fight. The attention of the nation was centered upon Toledo. The Stalinists rushed some of their people to the scene in the hope that they could capitalize a good fight. The rank and file could not use them because they wanted leaders. But, according to their daily boasts, the Stalinists are supposed to be leading the workers. They had to report it in the D. W. as their fight in order to save their face with party members in sections of the country where they read the D. W. and believe its contents. It is the method whereby they are able to hold the membership for a few weeks. It is also a substitute for what they were not doing in the Toledo strike. To print it and read it makes it true them, and they are like the man who whistles in the dark to keep up his courage.

How, Comrade, let me beg you to put your time to better use than heaping verbal vituperation upon the heads of the Stalinists. They meet themselves around the corner in their blundering tactics, and it is a waste of your time. The workers of Toledo know who led their struggles for them, the workers of Toledo know who defied the injunction and the capitalist court and they are not going to believe any "Big Bad Wolf" tales in the D. W. The American worker is too wise for that. Just keep calm and sink your fangs into the capitalist class with all the venom of your being. That is your job. You are not a psychiatrist.

MUNSEY GLEATON