

LABOR ACTION

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Onion Strikers Guard O'Dell

"No's" Defy Hitlerites' Terrorism

Opposition Increases As 5 Million Risk Death To Oppose Nazis

By LUDWIG LORE

The plebiscite of August 19 brought no surprises. In obedience to higher orders the German press reported the "overwhelming victory of Hitler and his regime" while the world outside was more than ever convinced that five million votes cast against the system under such almost insurmountable difficulties meant a disastrous defeat for Nazi terror and the government it represents. It had been the slogan of the Hitlerites in this campaign that the majority for Hitler in August 1934 must be greater than that of November 1933 when the German electorate was called upon to ratify Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations. Instead two million voted "No" against the Fuehrer who had voted with him half a year before plus a million votes cast for the Communist leader Ernest Thaelman, imprisoned since March 1933 which appear in the election returns as void ballots.

How Many "No's"?

True, more than 38 million voted "Yes", an overwhelming majority compared with the five or six million "No's". But aside from the fact that no one will ever know how many "No's" were changed into "Yes" votes by the Nazi election commissions, the result would undoubtedly have been a different one had not millions of "Yes-men" under duress cast their ballots for Hitler and his new "Leader-Chancellor" post.

How many votes were stolen cannot be estimated. All "authoritative" statements made in this connection are pure guess work and therefore totally without value. That votes were stolen, that the final figures are far from telling the actual truth may be accepted as axiomatic for the testimony of Nazis who have since left the movement has given the world a picture of the November election and the methods employed in getting and counting votes.

At that time, the Nazi District leader Kramer of Frankfort addressed the assembled party and election officials in a speech which called emphatic attention to the importance of securing a unanimous vote for the National Socialist cause. "We must leave nothing untried," he declared, "to make this a unanimous declaration of the nation's faith in our leader. We must hesitate at nothing, please understand me, at nothing, to make the result a favorable one. If there should be among the party comrades an idiot who tells me that there is nothing one can do if people choose to vote 'No', I tell him that this is war and we will not hesitate to make corrections, on a large scale, if need be."

On the same day—four days before election—the Hessian SA general Beckerle assembled his SA leaders to a great rally and orated on the necessity of leaving no

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Active Workers Conference, Sept. 8-9 In Pittsburgh, on Party Problems

The second Active Workers Conference, called by the American Workers Party, will meet in Pittsburgh over the week-end of September 8-9. The purpose of this conference is to discuss the many problems facing the party which call for immediate, concrete and practical solutions.

The conference will be divided into four sessions—Saturday afternoon, Saturday evening, Sunday morning and Sunday afternoon. If possible this latter session will be extended into Sunday evening.

Building The Party will be the subject for discussion Saturday afternoon and evening. For this discussion special reports will be made on: What is the Party; Getting Members and Forming Branches; Branch Activities; The Role

of Labor Action in Building the Party; Branch Finances; and related subjects.

Sunday morning will be given up to a discussion of Mass Work. The special reports will be: The Nature of a Party Fraction; The AWP in the Trade Unions; and Student and Youth Work.

Under the general heading of Relations With Other Political Groups, the subject for discussion Sunday afternoon, special reports will be made on: Evaluation of Present Status and Trends of Other Political Groups; Problems of the United Front; and Possibilities of Merging.

A full report of this conference will be given in the next issue of Labor Action.

500,000 Textile Workers Prepare for General Strike; Bitter Revolt Long Brewing

Special to Labor Action

HUNTSVILLE, Alabama.—The bitterness of the textile workers of the nation against low wages and long hours, constant chiseling on wage levels and the vicious tie-up between the mill owners and the N.R.A. enforcement agencies has found expression in the almost unanimous vote of the convention of the United Textile Workers of America to call out the half million cotton workers on general strike on September 1. An additional 350,000 workers in wool, rayon and silk may be called out also. All attempts at mediation have broken down.

\$10.86 a Week

The last six months have witnessed strikes in every department and section of the textile industry. According to statistics compiled by the U.T.W., weekly earnings per capita in the cotton industry are lower than they were before N.R.A., totalling \$10.86 in June. This is no longer supplemented by the earnings of children under 16 and the average mill worker is doing from 33 to 100 per cent more work than in the days before the code went into effect. Due to the stretch-out there is less employment in the industry than there was before the code.

Mass Revolt

This raging fire of discontent on the part of the men and women who work America's textile mills has produced an irresistible move-

ment of revolt before which the leaders of the U.T.W. were forced to give in. Unable to stem the militancy of their rank and file, (the overwhelming majority of the membership are entirely new recruits to the union ranks) they have gone ahead with strike preparations. There is no doubt that serious battles would have taken place in textiles (especially in the south) regardless of the decision of the convention. One strike after another has broken out throughout this entire region.

In Alabama the struggle has been particularly bitter and an analysis of the situation shows what can be expected when the general walk-out takes place. The factors which caused the uprising in this state are also those, more or less, which have led to the threatened revolt in the southern area generally.

25,000 Out in Alabama

Since July 17, when the textile operatives of Alabama voted, by a 98 percent vote to strike, mill after mill has shut down, until today there are fully 25,000 men and women out of the shops, putting up a battle against overwhelming odds. For six long weeks there has not been a single break in the ranks. None of the mills struck is able to operate.

The newly organized workers formed mass picket lines almost from the start which have been successful in "persuading" all would-be scabs that their place was neither in or near the struck mills. When the mill owners, Chambers of Commerce, American Legion Posts and others began a campaign of kidnaping, violence and terror against them, they responded by the establishment of armed guards.

Leader Kidnaped

The press, without exception, has whooped it up against the strike and the strike leadership. The former state commander of the American Legion led the gang which kidnaped Dean, U.T.W. organizer, from his home here. He and others told Dean that they were supposed to kill him, that they had been promised complete immunity by the local officials and, in addition,

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Farm Workers' Leader Defies Scab Lynch Mob



OKEY O'DELL

Jersey Unemployed Hold Convention

TRENTON, N. J.—One hundred and thirty-four delegates from unemployed organizations in the state met here for a two-day convention on August 24-25. Called by Socialist Party groups along with Mercer and Burlington county groups, the convention was for the purpose of forming a state organization.

The meeting got stormy when delegates from Mercer and Burlington counties introduced a declaration of principles barring non-citizens and calling for constitutional action by the unemployed. The declaration was defeated by a roll call vote of 100 to 34, with delegates from Washington and Alpha in Warren county leading the attack.

The bulk of the Burlington and a good part of the Trenton delegates walked out at this, but later returned.

A motion introduced by Montross of the Washington delegation to affiliate the organizations with the National Unemployed League was referred to the incoming executive committee. Rank and file sentiment in favor of joining the national organization was strong.

NOT BULLDOZED?

WASHINGTON, N. J.—"For three weeks now we have been sending you reports on our meetings," wrote Frank Keenan, president of the Warren County Unemployed Union to the editor of the Washington Star—"but it seems that you conveniently forget to print any of it."

And enclosing a long report of the last meeting, President Keenan added—"We expect you to insert this in your paper."

Said Editor Robertson in the next issue of the Star—"We shall not be bulldozed into printing what we don't choose to print. . . The Star makes it known to everybody that neither bankers, politicians, employed or unemployed can tell us what we shall print."

But just the same he printed the story of the meeting.

Growers' Trucks Used in Kidnapping of Union Head in Ohio Town

POLLOCK JAILED

Unemployed League Aids Marsh Hands' Fight For Higher Wages

BULLETIN

McGUFFEY, Ohio.—Okey O'Dell received telegram from American Civil Liberties Union offering \$1,000 reward for conviction of any of his abductors on federal charge of kidnaping.

Hearings on charges against Sam Pollock and strikers will be held Sept. 4 in Kenton. Pollock's bail reduced to \$500.

Latest reports prove conclusively growers planned mob action against O'Dell before bombing of Mayor Ott's home. Plans were laid at meeting of growers night of Aug. 24.

All trucks used by kidnapping mob belonged to onion growers. In strikebreakers' parade night after O'Dell kidnapping, sheriff and deputies marched around town with scabs.

O'Dell being guarded in his home by armed strikers.

McGUFFEY, Ohio.—With the mob kidnaping of Okey O'Dell, militant strike leader, and the jailing of Sam Pollock, a district vice president of the Ohio Unemployed League, the bosses' attempt to break the nine weeks' old strike of the onion weeders has reached a climax.

O'Dell, president of the Agricultural Workers' Union, A. F. of L. affiliate, was arrested early the morning of Aug. 25 for questioning about the bombing of the home of Mayor Ott of the village of McGuffey, during the night. Although O'Dell explained he had spent the previous day in Columbus and had been in bed since his return a few hours before his arrest, he was turned over by deputy sheriffs to a mob of 200 imported strikebreakers, beaten into unconsciousness and driven in a truck to the Hardin-Allen county line. Saved from lynching only by the caution of one of the mob, O'Dell was dumped into a field and warned to stay out of town.

Returns To Defy Them

The intrepid strike leader, who has worked night and day to raise the 750 strikers from conditions of peonage, hitch-hiked back to town, forced the village doctor to bandage his smashed ribs and injured nose at the point of his gun and defied the strikebreakers to attack him or carry out their threat to harm his three-year-old son.

One group of the mob also threatened Willard C. Wies, vice-president of the union and father of the town marshal, who barricaded himself in his home.

When reports that O'Dell had been lynched reached McGuffey, Mayor Ott's wife told reporters, "I know O'Dell is alive. I hope he's dead, though." Mayor Ott, owner of a filling station, was considered a strike sympathizer at first;

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How Betty Shoemaker, CPer, Chased Out the "Bolsheviks"

DICKSON CITY, Pa.
August 16, 1934

Here are a few facts about the united front of the Communist Party and the saloon-keepers, ward-politicians and police force of the borough of Dickson City.

The Dickson City Unemployment Council meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. at Sidorowich's Hall, 1105 Main street. Betty Shoemaker is chairman of the Council and a member of the C.P.

For the last five meetings C. P. organizers have been attacking the American Workers Party and the Unemployed Leagues, also personalities like A. J. Muste. They have especially concentrated their lies and slanders on Stanley Dziengielewski, local member of the AWP and a member of the Council.

Whenever anyone in the audience asked to speak on the question in reply to these slanders he was told to shut up or get out. For the last three meetings Shoemaker has had the police in to keep order in the meeting hall. Twice only Stanley Dziengielewski had a chance to answer the lies of Joe Dougher, the section organizer of the C.P., who is also a county organizer of the Unemployment Councils. This was once in Dickson City and once in Throop. Since then, the C.P. organizers talk themselves and refuse the floor to anyone who is not a part of their machine.

Throw The Bolshevik Out

Phony things are happening at some of the meetings. For instance, Betty Shoemaker calls an AWP member "a real bolshevik" in order to discredit him with the members of the Council. And Shoemaker is a member of the Communist Party and of the section committee of the party!

Another instance. The same lady invited a lot of saloon-keepers, their bartenders, their best customers and also some of the Republican politicians of Dickson City to help her throw all the bolsheviks out of the meeting hall. When she started the meeting, she appointed these huskies to act as sergeants-at-arms. But she failed to tell them that they must make an exception in favor of certain of the bolsheviks. So when Joe Dougher, the section organizer of the C.P. arrived, these sergeants-at-arms refused to let him enter the hall. Shoemaker had to run out to tell them that this one was the only exception to all the bolsheviks, or maybe that he was not a real bolshevik, and she had a hell of a time convincing them. Finally, they agreed to let him in, but it was easy to see how dissatisfied they were, because to them a bolshevik is a bolshevik—and no exceptions.

Here is what happened at the Throop Unemployment Council meeting last night. Chairman Joe Gross opened the meeting and stated that after the report of the Relief Bureau Committee was over, a serious discussion would take

place in regard to who has a right to be a member of the Unemployment Council and what the rights and privileges of members are.

Not Political?

In presenting the subject for discussion, an AWP member, Walter Wojciechowski stated: "The Unemployment Council is not a political party and does not belong to the Communists. An AWP member must be accorded the same rights and privileges as any other member of a political party and in order to keep the organization intact, this discrimination must stop."

There were seven C.P. organizers present and some of them spoke half a dozen times against the motion to stop discrimination. However, when the motion was put to the vote, there were no dissenting votes except those of the organizers. The motion called for an immediate stop to the campaign of lies and slanders by the C.P. organizers against the American Workers Party members. The organizers agreed to abide by this motion.

But what happened at the meeting of the Dickson City Council the next day? That is, tonight.

Betty Shoemaker starts the meeting with these words: "I make a motion that the same sergeants-at-arms that acted at the last meeting will act tonight. All those who favor the motion raise your hands. Motion carried."

Proving It

Dziengielewski asked for the floor on the question, but he was refused. So he made a statement that the chairman has no right to make a motion in the first place

and in the second place, she must ask for the contrary vote, which was not done.

Again Betty Shoemaker made a motion. This time it was to put Dziengielewski out of the meeting. Nobody seconded the motion, so she asked: "Who is in favor of this motion? Raise your hands." A few hands went up, so she said: "Motion carried" and told the huskies to throw Dziengielewski out. But here the huskies did not succeed, because the workers asked them if they had ever joined the Unemployment Council and then told them in plain American: "Keep your dirty hands off Dziengielewski, or else you will yourselves be thrown out!" Then a vote was demanded. So the police were called and Dziengielewski was ejected out of the hall. The united front of spies, saloon-keepers, politicians and the Communist Party won a common victory over their dangerous enemy, the American Workers Party. Hurray for revolution!

If the C.P. will be as successful throughout the country as it was in Dickson City—the revolution will start and finish this very fall, as that great revolutionary leader, Joe Dougher, predicted in a Council meeting. If any of you comrades know the address of Joseph Stalin, please inform him about the facts of this great united front success. We are sure that Stalin himself will send the order of the red star to our AWP comrade, Dziengielewski, for his assistance. Why, it would have cost Stalin a bag of gold to hire all these dark forces to help, defend and support the C.P. and here it is accomplished free of charge and with a smile.

Comrades, these are true facts, and you can use it any way you see fit.

By a Worker Correspondent
(Member, Unemployment Council)

Frisco Bosses Direct Police In Red Hunt, Reports Show

SAN FRANCISCO

Who is responsible for the red raids in California? This question can now be definitely answered.

It will be remembered that at the height of the general strike, city, state and federal authorities appealed to the public by radio and press to assist the police authorities in driving reds and "subversive elements" from the city and out of the labor movement.

In a radio speech the day prior to the beginning of the red raids Governor Merriam called upon "all good citizens" to aid him in combatting the menace of "communism" and "professional agitators." General Johnson on July 17, the day of the first raids, declared in a speech that "this subversive element . . . must be run out like rats."

Hundreds Were Arrested

As an immediate result police raiding squads and vigilantes swept the city wrecking workers' halls and rounding up workers suspected of class-consciousness and militancy. Hundreds were arrested and jailed, many of them beaten, some of them shot. And the strike, involving more than 100,000, was broken.

Meanwhile the red raids have continued.

Link Up Employers

Who is behind this campaign of terror?

The question has now been answered.

Two documents, both of them addressed to Boynton, managing director of the San Francisco Industrial Association, powerful and bitter anti-labor employers' organ-

ization, were picked up from the floor of a crowded courtroom here. Evidently the papers, which were carbon copies of reports, had been dropped by one of the Association's attorneys. Headed "Strike Violence Memo" and addressed to Boynton, the reports list 177 names of persons arrested by police Captain Hoertkorn and Lieutenant Malloy and posse, giving the dates and places of arrests.

The reports are signed by P. Carr, an "operative" employed by the Industrial Association.

This new evidence proves conclusively that the persecution campaign incited against Communist and militant workers by Governor Merriam and General Johnson, Mayor Rossi and the Hearst newspapers, not to mention several of the reactionary A. F. of L. leaders, including William Green, is being directed by the employers.

Drive Is State-Wide

The drive is state-wide.

Seventeen asserted Communists are under indictment in Sacramento, all on charges of criminal syndicalism. Seven warrants are out for the arrest of San Francisco Communists, including Anita Whitney, niece of a former Justice of the United States Supreme Court. A steady procession of vagrancy cases continues through the local courts.

14 Deportation Cases

Of those arrested, 29 persons have been turned over to the federal authorities for investigation and 14 deportation cases have developed thus far.

In Oakland there are seven cases pending as a result of the raids, all on felony charges. In Richmond, three cases are pending. And in Sacramento there are 25 vagrancy cases in addition to 17 criminal syndicalism indictments.

One interesting fact is that of 264 persons arrested here between July 17 and 31 at places frequented by radicals, 180, or 65 per cent, turned out to be naive born.

Drive Invades School

A very definite drive against the so-called radicalism of University of California professors is under way. President Robert Gordon Sproul, who poses as a liberal, sounded the keynote of it in his address at the Hearst Greek Theatre in welcoming 3,300 new graduate and undergraduate students.

"I am no flag waving jingo, but I have grown infinitely weary with the deprecation of America and American institutions by pseudo-intellectuals hanging on the fringes of a student body or faculty," Sproul said.

Indications are that some 150 professors will be called on the carpet and asked to explain their political views.

Liberties Union Active

The American Civil Liberties Union is very active, attempting to crystallize liberal sentiment against vigilantism, interference with academic freedom, etc. A meeting held at the Hotel Bellevue recently under ACLU auspices was invaded by Communists and sympathizers who attempted to make the Constitutional Rights Committee formed there into a fund raising organization for the Communist-controlled Emergency Defense Committee.

They practically succeeded in breaking up the meeting and scaring the most influential people away.

the company to grant their demands for wages, hours and working conditions. Fooling with the board is a waste of time which is leading to a complete disintegration of the union.

Rank and file leaders are reorganizing their forces throughout the industry to fight the Tighe machine and its destructive policy of relying on the labor board rather than fighting the steel barons. A slate is being sponsored by the rank and file progressives in an effort to replace the old reactionary leaders with younger militants.

The Labor Board Fails the Steel Workers; One Decision Out of Six, and It Was a Fake

WARREN, Ohio.—The first full month of activity of the National Steel Labor Relations Board is giving the steel workers a clear indication of the futility and hopelessness of such boards. Altogether six cases have been brought before the board. In only one has a decision been concluded, and it constituted a fake agreement. It is becoming more evident daily to the thousands of steel workers that labor boards are merely devices used by the Roosevelt administration to kill militancy in the unions and keep peace in the industry at the expense of the workers.

Three of the cases have had to do with appeals made by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, affiliated with the A. F. of L., asking for elections to determine its right to be the representative of the steel workers for collective bargaining. Two others dealt with cases where workers had been locked out, while

the sixth was a straight discrimination case.

A.A. "Leaders"

The conservative leaders of the A.A., President Tighe and Secretary Leonard, have definitely substituted labor board action for the militant strike program which the rank and file workers sponsored at the April convention of the union. By the long delays and the inevitable indecision of the board, this policy has done much to demoralize the A.A. membership. In almost any section of the industry where the A.A. had established large, strong, new locals during the past year, these locals have fallen away in membership and disintegrated because of inactivity. This is true in McKeesport, Weirton, all through the Pittsburgh area and in the Chicago section.

Elections

After hearings before the Steel Labor Board, elections have been scheduled for the Apollo Steel Company workers, the employees of the West Virginia Rail Company of Huntington, W. Va., and the Standard Tin Plate Company of Cannonsburg, Pa. In each of these cases company officials have refused to deal with locals of the A.A. which have a majority of the workers in the union, but have by the vilest methods of coercion attempted to establish company unions.

In the Apollo case, after the company admitted the union had a majority in the plant, the union got a postponement of the elections and has begun negotiations for a wage scale. Workers in this plant are asking why a whole month was lost fooling with the board when they must now fight for their demands anyway.

A new local composed of workers at the Standard Tin Plate Company's plant in Cannonsburg asked for an election. After hearings, the Steel Labor Board has the case "under advisement."

Stalling

The West Virginia Rail Company case precipitated a fight between the company and the labor board which may end up in the courts. After the labor board ruled that an

election should be held, company officials, in cooperation with Weirton Steel bosses, challenged the board's constitutional right to hold elections and questioned the legality of the N.R.A. itself. The company threatens "to resist an election in every legal way." If the company carries out this threat, which seems likely, this whole labor board business may be held up for the next year or two. This action is in line with prophecies made by radical and progressive forces in the labor movement when they warned workers not to be fooled by boards.

The 5,000 workers locked out by the Wheeling Steel Corporation at Portsmouth, Ohio, July 3, are still out of jobs despite a prolonged hearing staged by the labor board.

Mediation

In Dover, Ohio, workers at the Greer Steel Company plant submitted discrimination cases to the Steel Labor Board and withdrew picket lines which they had established around the plant. The decision of the board was that the workers should turn their case over to a federal mediator for decision. This, the A.A. local did despite the fact that on two previous occasions they had to strike to get fired workers back on the job.

Then comes the news that the Republic Steel Company denies that it signed a scale with its Warren and Niles employees of the A.A. The reactionary leaders of the A.A. accepted an agreement made between company officials and the labor board which guaranteed that the corporation would continue to pay the union wage scale and accept A.A. committees for grievances. It was not an agreement with the union and now the workers are beginning to find it out after they have returned to work. The victory acclaimed by Tighe and his men has turned into a sell out.

Fight The Tighe Machine

Progressive rank and file steel workers, growing in number, are now asking themselves, what is gained by Steel Labor Board proceedings anyway? Even though they gain elections and win, the fight still has to be made to force

Tragic Disunity in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH, Pa.

A situation has arisen here in which the divisions in the ranks of the unemployed are really tragic. A large number of people are facing eviction, doubling up and moving into shacks and dumps. Every relief unit in the city is packed with our people raising hell.

Today a family was thrown out in the streets and two more are to be thrown out tomorrow. Members of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League worked all day to prevent the eviction of three families who are members of the Unemployment Council.

New Rent Plan

This tragic situation came about when the papers came out with a story that the rent of the unemployed was to be paid under a new plan of the relief board. The local board issued long and involved instructions to relief workers about the plan but the city's Real Estate

Boards refused to accept it and this is the result.

At a hasty meeting last night of the Executive Committee of the PUL all relations were broken off with the county relief director until there is a meeting with the full relief board. Registered letters were sent to each member demanding an immediate meeting. League members were ordered to patrol all relief units in the city.

Need United Action

The three unemployed organizations, the PUL, the UC and the UCL, should be working together in this but they are not and the chances for united action are not good. The Unemployment Councils would make haste as usual to pull a meaningless massacre while the Socialist controlled Unemployed Citizens League would make as much haste to pull its punches. The situation is crucial.

PUL Correspondent

THE NEW SLAVERY

By KATHERINE LEYDEN

McGUFFEY, Ohio.—Today, in Hardin County, Ohio, hundreds of workers toil in the marshland onion-fields under masters whose cruelty is as great as that of the ancient slave-drivers of Rome.

In the days when slavery was legalized masters were required to look after their slaves, to feed, clothe and house them, to care for them in sickness and trouble, but the onion growers of Ohio have no such responsibility. They have all the advantages of owning slaves and none of the drawbacks, because they are protected by a system—called capitalism—which makes slavery not only possible, but necessary, with a minimum of inconvenience to the capitalist.

The Other Side

But there is another side to the story of slavery that is not taught in history books. This "other side" tells about people who rise up and demand their rights as workers, and fight for a living wage and a decent standard of living. This is the story of the onion weeders' strike.

Let us examine the conditions which forced the weeders into militant action. Onions can only be grown on a commercial scale in certain types of soil under certain climatic conditions. The region that includes Hardin County, Ohio, is ideally fitted for their production. Some are grown by small landowning farmers but most of the onion-growing mashland is held by the Scioto Land Company, whose stockholders live in Youngstown, Ada and Cleveland, Ohio.

They Prefer Children

Work in the marshes is uncertain. The growers prefer children from nine to fourteen years of age because they can be paid a lower wage. At best there is only 90 days' work for the adult. And these 90 days come in the hottest part of summer when the dank humidity of the marshes hangs over the workers like a blanket. Hand weeders work all day on their knees in black muck. For this they are paid 12 cents an hour.

In addition to working for the owner, each "tenant farmer" tends a patch of onions for the rental of a miserable shack, which lacks sanitation, heating facilities, and frequently windows. Theoretically the owner and tenant share the produce from the small patch equally, but when charges are deducted, the worker is usually left with nothing paid but the rent.

Owners Sit Pretty

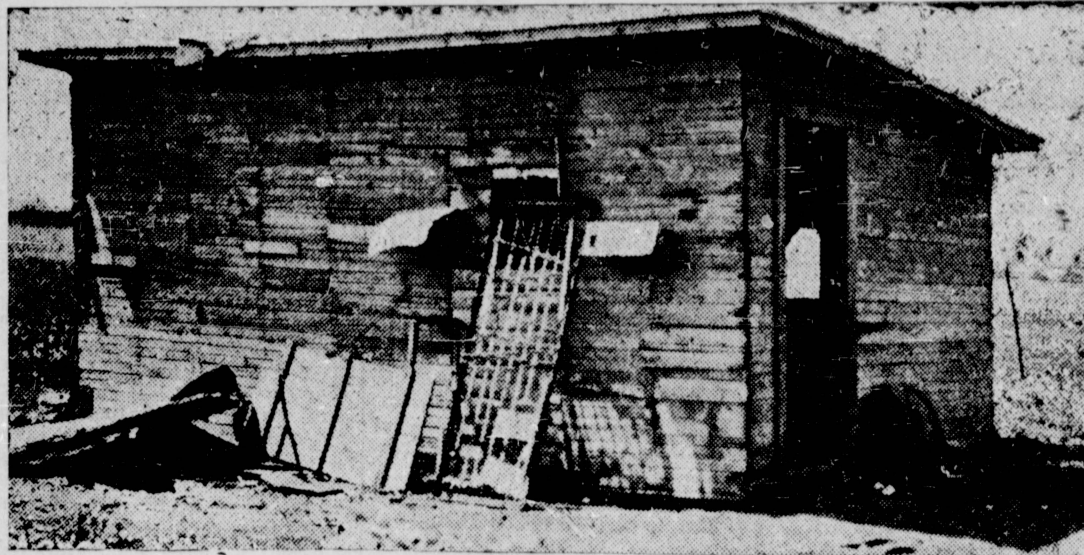
But the remarkable feature of this capitalistic slavery is that though the tuberculosis mortality is high, typhoid a very real threat, and an exceedingly large number of children born in the marshes die before reaching maturity, the onion growers are completely without responsibility.

In previous years the growers would make repairs on the land occupied by these tenant farmers. Now they charge \$12.50 per acre for this service, a service which actually costs them no more than \$7.50 per acre.

Strike—And Armies

So the onion weeders, the slaves of Ohio, went on strike. They organized into the Agricultural Workers Union, and under the leadership of Okey O'Dell demanded their rights as workers and human beings. What answer did the state of Ohio give—the state that fought so militantly for the freedom of the Negro slaves back in 1861?

It sent armies (deputy sheriffs recruited from the National Guard) and availed itself of the law in the form of injunctions. To help the workers? Indeed no, rather to break the strike, to shoot down the disobedient slaves, to beat up their leaders and wipe out the strike which was endangering capitalistic interests of Ohio.



Where Onion Weeders Live And Work

A typical onion weeder's shack in Hardin and Allen counties, Ohio. Nine people live in this company house.

At the right we see how child labor has been ended under the New Deal. For crawling six to ten miles a day in black muck under the summer sun, these men, women and children (as young as eight years) are paid eight to ten cents an hour.



Strikers Guard O'Dell, Pollock Jailed

(Continued from Page 1)

the growers even refused his offer as a mediator, calling him an instigator of the strike. Then a deputy sheriff friend of his got hurt in an outbreak—and the extent of the mayor's "sympathy" was shown up. Now he's openly with the bosses.

Sam Pollock

Pollock, arrested the day before O'Dell was kidnapped, on a charge of inciting to riot, is held in the vermin-infested Hardin county jail at Kenton, under \$1,000 bail. His wife and two friends were refused permission to see him the day after his arrest.

Here's the story of the "riot":

The Riot

At daybreak the morning of Aug. 24, Pollock and 25 strikers went to the far side of the 17,000-acre onion fields, into Allen County, to picket. When several truckloads of strikebreakers, attempting to push through the mass picket lines, tried to run down a striker, a fight was precipitated. Bricks were thrown; windshields on trucks were broken.

On the way back to McGuffey, the car in which Pollock was riding was ambushed by armed deputies from Kenton, and Pollock was arrested. In jail with him are ten other strikers, arrested during the past few weeks in the campaign to break the strike. O'Dell, too, has spent time in this jail—convicted of breaking the usual bosses' injunction. This one prohibits the strikers to have more than two pickets at farm entrances.

The reason the bosses are after Pollock is clear. He offers a new threat to their power—a threat of cooperation between the employed and the unemployed.

N. U. L. Helps Strikers

Pollock whose home is in Toledo had been in the onion marsh terri-

tory about a week before his arrest, organizing the unemployed and helping the strikers. An agreement of cooperation between the Ohio and the National Unemployed Leagues and the Agricultural Workers' Union was signed. Organization of the League is to continue during the strike. The League, in turn, is to take an active part in picketing and other strike activities. This sort of cooperation is getting to be almost routine in Ohio—and the bosses don't like it.

The strikers gained renewed strength. They had been getting

discouraged. New to strikes, they had watched, with dismay as the government, the officials elected to serve them, lined up behind the growers to defeat the strike. They had seen deputy sheriffs brought in to protect the scabs—deputy sheriffs recruited from the ranks of the National Guard, many of them fresh from strike-breaking (but unsuccessful) work at the Auto-Lite plant in Toledo in June. They had seen a barn on the farms of the Scioto Land Company, largest and most arrogant of the onion growers, turned into an armed fort to house these deputies.

Sidelights on Strike

Mayor Ott of McGuffey, a filling station operator, was sympathetic to the strike at first. His wife, daughter of one of the large growers, opposed it and separated from the mayor over this issue. After this—and after a deputy sheriff friend was injured—Mayor Ott about-faced and now openly sides with the growers.

Village doctor refused to dress O'Dell's wounds, until strike leader forced him to at point of gun.

About 50 cases bound over to grand jury; prosecutor dismissed last grand jury without acting on these cases. Most of those held are strikers.

Mayor's sister, wife of an onion grower, is out on bail bound to grand jury for threatening with intent to kill.

One grower is held to grand jury charged with kidnapping a striker's children and putting them to

But through all their discouragement, they had refused to scab, save in isolated cases. They had stood solid behind O'Dell, whose courage and tireless work command the respect of even the middle-class farmers and business men.

Some of the local onion growers are willing to negotiate the strike demands. The Scioto Land Company whose stockholders and directors live in Ada, Cleveland and Youngstown, holds out.

Demands

The weeders—men, women and often children as young as eight years, who for eight to twelve cents an hour spend the hottest months of the summer, crawling six to ten miles a day, ten hours a day, in black muck, are asking an increase to 35 cents an hour and an eight-hour day. This princely sum, be it remembered, can be earned only a few months a year, and even then work is uncertain from day today.

To these modest demands, Allen Edwards, veteran manager of the Scioto Land Company, answers:

Bosses Answer

"We'll let the land go to weeds first. The government's to blame for feeding people like these when there's work to be done. If the government would clamp down on this relief business, these men would be back on the job tomorrow and glad to get it." (When the strike was started, the strikers were taken off relief rolls, but were put back a few days later.)

Mr. Edwards, speaking to a Toledo reporter, goes on to outline the troubles of the onion growers. They can't pay their taxes (he says) and are losing money (he says)—but still they can bivouac 54 deputy sheriffs on their farms and can pay scabs \$2 a day.

To the modest demands of the strikers, William C. McGuffey, whose grandfather reclaimed the marshlands, got a grant of 7,000 acres from the state of Ohio and gave the town its name, answers:

"They can't organize; they haven't got a code." And he adds, from the fullness of his heart: "I hope the rascals sweat to death settin' out there in the sun."

Weeks ago the strike leaders called the government's attention to conditions in the onion marshes. "Their condition is worse than slavery," J. M. Rizer, union organizer, wired Secretary of Labor Perkins. He called attention to the fact that children were working ten hours a day and living in shacks with no sanitation provisions.

Perkins "Discovers" Situation

Investigators were sent in by the Department of Labor and Agriculture. But nothing happened.

Now suddenly Miss Perkins has "discovered" the situation. After the most recent outbreak she ordered a mediator into the field with word that "the strike must be settled."

Since the strike started, the usual terroristic tactics have been employed. Three strikers, including O'Dell's brother, were hit by shotgun pellets and slightly wounded, on June 27, when they tried to stop a truck manned by armed strikebreakers.

Following the bombing of Mayor Ott's home and the O'Dell kidnapping deputy sheriffs picked up small bands of strikers throughout the two-county spread of the onion fields. They were charged with violation of the injunction against mass picketing. Strikers are being evicted from the company houses.

For the O'Dell kidnapping, the disorder in this "garden spot of the country," the mob spirit that prevails—the strikers know that not they but the authorities and the bosses are responsible. It was they who imported strikebreakers and deputy sheriffs. The strikers—many of them illiterate Kentucky hillsmen who had hoped their children might have a better life than they, and have seen these children forced into the black muck of the onion fields—are learning a lesson in "good government."

QUESTION BOX

(see answers on page 8)

1. To what extent does capitalism sabotage production?
2. How long will it be until the National Guard refuse to shoot down workers?

LABOR ACTION

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Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

TO THE TEXTILE WORKERS ON THE
EVE OF THE GENERAL STRIKE

The American Workers Party greets the textile workers on the eve of their general strike. Your struggle, as it closes the cotton mills and perhaps other branches of the industry, from the Gulf to Maine, is one of the most important links in that series of struggles by which the American workers are winning the right to organize. If you are cheated of your victory in this strike, all the workers lose. If you win, that will make victory more certain in other struggles.

Fight to the finish for the 30-hour week, for the \$30 minimum, and against the stretch-out! Without a 30-hour maximum week millions will remain unemployed. With a great reservoir of unemployed the wage-level is bound to remain low. To reduce hours and then speed up so that the worker is still exhausted at the end of the day is a fake.

Do not trust any government board or agency to make a settlement for you. Insist on direct negotiations between the bosses and the union. The government boards are dominated by an employer point of view. These men have not worked in the mill as you have. An honest settlement can be made in direct negotiations. Any settlement not so made will almost certainly be a flim-flam.

Insist on rank and file majority membership on all strike and negotiation committees. Most of your leaders probably mean to be honest and militant. They do not know how to be. McMahon, Starr, Kelly, Peel, even such men as Gorman and Rieve, have bungled many a fight, have fought an apparently militant strike only to make a vicious settlement behind the backs of the workers, have in every show-down cringed before the big boys of the A. F. of L. machine. Only a few days ago, at your last convention, these men again showed that they cannot be given the full confidence of true militant workers. Rieve let himself be put forward as the candidate for president against McMahon in response to the demands of scores of delegates and thousands of U.T.W. members. Then at the last minute when you had no chance to look around for an alternative, Rieve backed down and handed the presidency to McMahon on a silver platter.

Watch these men! Push them into action! If they try to stop you or put over a fake settlement on you, brush them aside. Textile workers, strike and strike hard! March on to victory!

THE UNITED FRONT IN FRANCE

The Socialist Party of France and the Communist Party of France several weeks ago entered into a United Front agreement. This action is of profound importance to the revolutionary movement, not merely in that country but throughout the world. Its reverberations are already being heard in the United States. It is necessary, however, to understand just what has taken place.

The United Front in France is not, on the face of it, a fake "united front from below," but an actual united front of organizations the terms of which are drawn up in a document signed by the leadership of both parties.

To a partial extent, this United Front is the response to growing rank and file pressure and to the demands of the historical situation. Since the first of the year, the forces of reaction in France have been consolidating their position. The open moves toward fascism have been gathering strength. Faced with the unity of reaction, the workers of France are becoming increasingly conscious of the need for working-class unity. The socialist and Stalinist leaders could not stand forever in the way of such unity without isolating themselves completely from the workers.

Nevertheless, though in these two respects it represents a real advance, there are other features of this United Front which raise the most serious questions.

The terms of the United Front agreement appear to imply a complete surrender on the part of the Communist Party. The United Front is for purely defensive purposes, and what is to be defended is, in effect no more than bourgeois democracy! No criticism of one group by the other is permitted. This implies that workers under reformist leadership are to be allowed to remain there without any attempt to win them to revolutionary principles.

Some observers are contending that an agreement of this kind follows inevitably from the present policies of the Communist International. The C.I., they state, wants above all peace, in order that the Soviet Union may continue its efforts to

build toward socialism. Peace would be threatened either by outright fascism in France, or by revolution. Against the growing threat of fascism in France, therefore, a reformist left bloc is opposed, to try to maintain for the time being a kind of balance against serious trouble of either a revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary nature. Such a possibility raises serious questions for revolutionists everywhere, questions which cannot be dealt with in an off-hand manner or in brief compass.

Lastly, it should be noticed that the French agreement excludes all left groups except the Socialist and Communist parties. From any viewpoint, this is incorrect. Furthermore, it inevitably raises the question whether this agreement is a move against the new revolutionary party, an attempt to prevent the growth of the new party, the need for which we deem imperative as a result of the debacle of both the C.P. and S.P. in Germany and elsewhere. Only under the influence of a sound revolutionary party will a genuinely revolutionary united front eventually be formed.

This basic consideration the A.W.P. will bear in mind as it continues to strive for working-class unity and participates to the fullest possible extent in every step taken toward that end.

LABOR DAY 1934

The militancy which has characterized American labor in recent months continues unabated as Labor Day dawns. Thousands of workers are striking or on the point of striking. The spirit of Okey O'Dell, the Ohio onion strike leader, who was kidnapped, unmercifully beaten and carried out of the county, only to return immediately to resume leadership of the strike and defy the big land companies, is the spirit of these workers. This is as it should be and must continue to be.

Back in the 1890's and early 1900's, when many A. F. of L. unions were militant, Labor Day was a great event and enthusiastically celebrated by hundreds of thousands of workers. In recent years all this has been changed and Labor Day has come to be simply a chronological occurrence marking the end of the summer, and its legal observance a charitable gesture by which the upper classes pay homage to the "dignity of Labor" which they exploit every other day in the year.

Labor Day is any day in the year when the workers strike and demonstrate!

THE DANCE OF DEATH

The United States has negotiated a trade treaty with Cuba. We are to buy more from Cuba and sell more to her, and vice versa.

First, this means that American warships have helped to curb the revolutionary tendencies of the Cuban people, a "safe" administration exists in Cuba in the estimation of the U. S. Department of State, and the U. S. is going to give that administration support that counts.

Second, by reviving Cuban commerce it is hoped dividends may be forthcoming on the investments of American bankers in Cuba.

Third, we have made another move in the bitter trade war with other Powers which must eventually end in open warfare. It is probably no accident that in the same week that sees the Cuban-U. S. trade treaty the British pound falls and grave anxiety is reported from all the great financial centers. It is possible that another banking and currency war such as sent England off the gold standard a couple of years ago, threw Germany into the hands of Hitler, etc., is under way.

The dance of death becomes ever wilder. Only the workers united against war can stop it.

IT COSTS NOTHING, SO WHY NOT?

In some labor circles the affiliation of the U.S. to the International Labor Office of the League of Nations is hailed as a significant and progressive move. Like many another act of the Roosevelt administration it costs nothing and means nothing.

The League of Nations itself has proved a farce in working for disarmament, but entering the I.L.O. does not even mean entering the League. The former is an independent agency. It does some fairly valuable work in gathering statistics. It is supposed to get nations to adopt common standards as to hours, wages, working conditions, but each government is free to adopt or reject the I.L.O. suggestions and everything therefore ends in talk.

Why does Roosevelt then join the I.L.O.? Well, for many years liberals have agitated for it. So Roosevelt once more has a chance of winning their favor as a great liberal. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, has been strong for the move. She is pleased, and inspired to make more speeches assuring liberals and labor that "the chief" has no equal. The A. F. of L. machine favors America's joining the I.L.O. which Gompers helped to establish in order to prevent the growth of true labor internationalism. So the A. F. of L. will have another reason for voting for Roosevelt and not building a new party in 1936, for meekly following the President when another clever fake has to be put over on striking automobile workers. And it costs Franklin Delano nothing.

Norman Thomas, writing to Earl Browder in the Daily Worker re the United Front negotiations, advises Browder to read Sidney Hook's article on the United Front published in the August issue of the Modern Monthly.

What ignorance! Doesn't Thomas know that Browder knows everything already?

Notes on Current Trends

Labor Solidarity Makes
The Bosses See Red

One thing that frightens the bosses more than anything else is labor solidarity. During the first years of the depression, when this solidarity was almost totally lacking—when labor was taking it on the chin with no more comeback than an occasional polite murmur of protest—the bosses were happy. Almost daily some big industrialist or banker or college professor made a speech praising "our" workers for their "good sense," their "patriotism" and their "loyalty to American ideals." As long as "their" workers retained these sterling qualities the bosses knew they could sleep in peace: no need to worry about the red propaganda of radicalism while "rugged individualism" made the workers too proud to refuse to scab.

Today, however, when workers in increasing numbers, employed and unemployed, are objecting to starving peacefully, and alone, the bosses see "red." They are scared, because they know that when the workers get sense enough to organize and guts enough to fight for themselves, it will be good-bye Mr. Capitalist.

In order to keep informed on how the workers are reacting to conditions, the bosses have organizations that send investigators all over the country. These investigators will be found snooping around, getting reports wherever there is labor trouble.

A copy of one of these reports, prepared for "clients and friends" of Fiduciary Counsel, Inc., 14 Wall Street, New York City, was sent to us recently. It deals with the Toledo Strike. And the thing about this strike that impressed the reporter was the solidarity of the Toledo workers, the fact that hundreds of unemployed workers fought side by side with the strikers in place of acting as scabs.

"To me this is distinctly a symptom of danger," he writes. "Men of wealth cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that such a mob . . . could be gotten together in any city in America on short notice—and in fact, could be gotten together in many cities simultaneously . . ."

Yes, it is a sign of danger. But not to the workers. To them it is a sign of hope, of the coming victory.

Why Workers Must Have
Their Own Press

An illustration of how difficult it is for workers to get fair treatment from the capitalist press, even in a small town, is furnished by a letter which the editor of the McArthur Democrat-Enquirer, McArthur, Ohio, "best advertising medium in the territory," recently sent to a member of the Ohio Unemployed League. The league member had asked him to give publicity to a questionnaire sent to the relief administrator, a Mr. Johnstone, by the Vinton County League. After saying that Mr. Johnstone refused to answer the questions asked by the league, the editor, Robert Vore, says:

"More deeply than Mr. Johnstone's refusal to answer the questions do I regret that my publishers in Wellston will not permit me to print the questionnaire."

What Will the Govern-
ment Do About It?

A REPORT of an investigation of the Earnings and Standard of Living of 1,000 Railway Employees during the Depression sent out a few days ago by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor gives a picture of destitution and misery that would convince any sensible person of the rottenness of the capitalist system. Homes lost, savings wiped out, insurance policies sacrificed, children undernourished, health neglected—these are some of the things the investigators found.

If these are the things that have been happening to the families of

workers in one of the best organized and regulated industries, consider what has been happening to them in such disorganized industries as coal, for example! Or to the families of the unemployed!

But you who read this, know. It is not necessary to have an investigator tell you that your children need more milk than they are getting, or that you have neglected your teeth, or that you need a new suit of clothes. The question is, now that the government knows, what is it going to do about it? Do away with the capitalist system? That, after all, is the only real solution.

That, however, is exactly what the government will not do, because that would be revolution, and Mr. Roosevelt and his brain trust, despite all their talk about a "new deal," do not believe in revolution. They believe in capitalism and they will use every force at their command to maintain capitalism, that is, to maintain the old deal.

Secretary Roper Defends
The Profit Motive

That the Roosevelt administration has complete confidence in the "old order" was made plain a few days ago when Secretary of Commerce Roper, defending it over a nation-wide radio hook-up, declared that the "government and the masses of the people themselves resent unthinking statements or subtle suggestions that the profit motive in American life has been or is to be abolished."

Business men should have no fear, said Mr. Roper, the Roosevelt administration is protecting their interests and they should pay no attention to the wild stories being spread by its enemies. All this talk about a new deal, etc., was really only a joke, a story concocted to keep the mob happy. What Mr. Roosevelt really meant—and it was silly that anyone should have doubted it for a moment—was a new deal for the capitalists.

Speaking to the workers, Mr. Roper assured them that they also were profit takers and should therefore believe in the profit system. He said:

"When we come to analyze economic conditions, wages represent the profit of the workers, salaries represent the profit of executives, and a return on actual capital invested or money borrowed in order to create goods or services represents the profit on capital."

Thus it is plain according to Mr. Roper that without the profit system workers would get no wages and in that case, how in the world would they live?

Highly Significant

ACCORDING to news reports, President Roosevelt regarded it as "highly significant" that Secretary Roper's speech, assuring the nation that the "new deal" stood squarely behind the profit motive, should have coincided with the reorganization of the NEA on a permanent basis.

Also highly significant was the announcement the same day of the formation of the American Liberty League by a group of wealthy and reactionary Democrats and Republicans "to combat radicalism, preserve property rights and uphold and preserve the Constitution."

Speaking approvingly of the league, editorially, the New York Times characterizes it as "a sort of vigilance committee," whose purpose it will be to defend the President against the radicals and to see that he, himself, does not go off on a radical tangent.

This view of the purpose of the league is also shared by Mr. Jouett Shouse, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee and chief sponsor of the league. Asked how the league could be helpful to the President, Mr. Shouse said:

"If a tendency to extreme radicalism developed which the President wished to check, we might be most helpful with our organization, in which we expect to enlist 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 people."

THEIR Government

by James Burnham

In 1912 and even in 1916 we read long articles and speeches proving that the United States would never have to go to war. The United States, we were told, was not like Europe. It had no entangling alliances; it didn't get mixed up in European politics; it had no need to go to war and couldn't gain anything from war. Wilson was elected for his second term under the slogan, "He kept us out of war."

We Know What Happened

In the same way, now we read articles and speeches telling us why the United States is never going to war again, why we don't have to get mixed up in European affairs, why we are a nation that believes in Peace. Many people believe these articles and speeches, and they are likely to laugh at the seriousness with which revolutionary parties take the anti-war movement. The workers in the trade unions, for example—the most important group of all—have so far failed to take an active interest in the fight against war.

There are other articles and speeches and reports appearing during the last few months that show the reverse and the true side of the question. It is time that these should be taken seriously. They will answer the question whether the present rulers of the United States expect this country to go to war.

Preparations

Two reports on aviation have appeared, one issued by a special commission and one by a Congressional Committee. Both reports admit frankly that the United States leads the world in naval aviation. Both propose that within two years the United States should lead also in military aviation. In fact, so sure is the General Staff that Congress will pass the necessary appropriations at the beginning of the next session, that contracts for the new planes are already being awarded.

What are these airplanes for if the United States is going to remain at peace?

In his speech at Hawaii, as well as in other recent speeches, Roosevelt has come out openly as a Big Navy man, promising a Treaty Navy within a few years. Special appropriations out of Reconstruction and PWA funds are being poured into naval construction.

A report on the National Guard issued two weeks ago states that the Guard is now at its highest point of efficiency and its highest peacetime enlistment in history. All the weapons of modern warfare—tanks, artillery, airplanes—have been added to National Guard equipment.

More than half a million young men have received the preliminaries of military training in CCC camps and are ready to be turned into soldiers on a month's notice.

The profits of the munitions companies are climbing steadily. Many of their largest plants have been operating at capacity for more than a year.

Plans

The plans for "putting the country on a war-time basis" are completely formulated in the files of the War Department, and are discussed at length in the annual reports of the department. Not only do these include the transfer of "peace-time industries" such as steel to the manufacture of war munitions within twenty-four hours (and the mills and plants are all prepared for this transfer). They include also detailed plans for "the organization of public opinion," for making the entire population of the country part of the war machine, and—what is most significant—for bringing labor and the trade unions forcibly into line.

The capitalist press—particularly the Hearst-controlled newspapers and news-reels—has sent its war-propaganda drive to new

BUILDING THE PARTY

By A. J. MUSTE

The Pittsburgh Convention of the C.P.L.A. in December 1933 decided that the building of a new revolutionary party in the U. S. must be started and therefore undertook the organization of the American Workers Party. If we did not mean this action seriously, it was an instance of monstrous presumption and irresponsibility. Only braggarts or fools will talk lightly about building a revolutionary party. If we did act seriously at Pittsburgh, then the step was a most momentous one, a major event, a turning point in American labor history.

The workers who met at Pittsburgh did act in a serious and responsible manner. Many of them have in the face of the greatest danger and privation demonstrated their devotion to the revolutionary cause, in the course of the working class battles both before and since Pittsburgh.

It is, nevertheless, natural that we should only gradually learn the full import of our actions and just how we are effectively to execute the decision to build the new revolutionary party. Building the Party is to be the first and chief subject, therefore, to be considered by the Active Workers Conference on September 8 and 9. Appropriately, perhaps, Pittsburgh is again the meeting place.

This article sets forth some suggestions regarding questions to be discussed under the topic of Party Building, and more specifically the mechanics of Party Building. Equally important problems such as the working out of a detailed program for revolutionary activity in the U. S. we leave to another occasion.

What Is The A.W.P.?

To build anything people must have a correct idea of what it is they are building, and must be convinced of the need of just this structure. Our conception of a revolutionary party is, 1: That it is composed of the vanguard of the workers of hand and brain, the most conscious, courageous and devoted elements; 2: That they accept the fundamental concepts of Marxism; 3: That they are not mere cardholders, sympathizers, voting the party ticket on election day, but that they do active party work, train themselves to participate effectively in revolutionary work; 4: That they work together in the Party and through the Party in the labor movement in an organized and disciplined manner, not acting as individuals and free-lances but as units of an army.

We believe that the workers will not come "spontaneously," without guidance and education by such a Party, to take revolutionary ac-

heights during the past year.

There can be only one meaning to all of these developments. It is not necessary to go into complicated political and historical questions. It is not necessary to understand just where and why and how war will break out. But one conclusion is clear: the rulers of the United States expect war. Unless they expect war, there is no sense at all to what they are doing, and what they are doing usually makes a lot of sense, at least from their point of view.

They expect war, and that means that war is coming. After all, it will be their war, to protect and increase their profits, to give them new fields of exploitation. They know what the rise of fascism means; they understand that the contradictions of capitalism lead inevitably to war. And they want to be prepared for their war.

Of course they don't intend to fight or be killed in their war. They feel confident that they will find plenty of workers and unemployed to do the dying. And if the workers and unemployed do not prepare in time, they will not be disappointed.

tion. They will be an unorganized and confused, and therefore a helpless force, without the Party. Workers' organizations, such as unions or unemployed leagues, go to pieces, or become "pure and simple," i.e. reactionary, or fall a prey to racketeers or fascists, unless the revolutionary forces are organized to give continuity, direction, drive, clarity. Farmer-labor or social-democratic parties composed of cardmembers, people of varied and conflicting views, etc., fail, as history has shown, in a revolutionary crisis. In the battle against capitalism, under the exceedingly difficult and complex conditions of today, there must be not merely a national, but an international general staff of the workers—a revolutionary party.

Mass Work

If we do not believe this, we do not belong in a revolutionary party. If we do believe it, then it follows that building the Party is for us the first, the biggest and the most important job. Not that unions, unemployed leagues, etc., are unimportant. They are most important. The revolutionary movement must have a mass character. There must be an army as well as a staff. But unions, leagues, etc., cannot be built without the Party. Even if they could, they would presently fall to pieces, go wrong, or be finally thrown into confusion in a revolutionary crisis.

A revolutionary party must have members. If we believe in the A. W. P. at all, we believe that until an advanced worker belongs to it he cannot work with maximum effectiveness for the revolution. We believe that as rapidly as possible all advanced workers must be united in the Party, since otherwise reaction and fascism may triumph. Every member of the A.W.P. therefore will be working constantly to bring new members into the Party. He will set forth the approach and program of the A.W.P. to any already developed workers he may know. In his union or other mass organization he will have his eyes ever open for promising elements who show qualities of militancy and leadership, bring them close to the Party, inform them of its program and activity, put them in the way of training for possible party membership.

The member of a revolutionary party will desire to be a trained and intelligent revolutionist. This does not mean that every member must be an original and fully competent Marxian theoretician. The Party needs such, but not all its members can qualify. Theory is necessary, however, as a guide to action. Every member will make himself as fully acquainted as his time and ability permit with the literature of the Party and of the revolutionary labor movement. Self education he will regard as a primary duty.

Self-Education

Self-education is indeed as much a duty of the theoretically advanced members and leaders as of the youngest member of the Party—especially the kind of education Lenin had in mind when he talked about knowing "a correct revolutionary theory, a theory which is not a dogma, but which has been built up by a close association with the experience of a real mass revolutionary movement" and of theory learned "by the suffering of half a century of intolerable torment and sacrifice, by unexampled revolutionary heroism, by unbelievable energy and constant search, by education, by practical experience, disillusionment, experiment"—education that comes from action in the light of sound theory and the constant testing of theory in action.

Members must be organized in branches. Five people who meet regularly, keep minutes, make plans, check on whether assigned

tasks are fulfilled, subscribe for Labor Action and get subscribers, pay dues—are worth more than fifty or five hundred who do not function thus. Some of our newest groups put to shame in this respect some of our oldest C.P. L.A. groups and members, yes, let us say it plainly, some of our best-known leaders: We have got to get out of the kindergarten stage in this matter of branch organization and functioning at once, where it has not already been done.

Wherever there are two or more A.W.P. members in a union or other mass organization, they must work as an organized fraction. The fraction has duties distinct from the branch. This subject was briefly discussed in a recent article in Labor Action. It will be further dealt with at the Active Workers Conference.

Our Paper

There are many other aspects of the mechanics of party building that might be mentioned if space allowed. Of them all I select one because it is of the greatest importance. Labor Action, the Party paper, must be made an even better paper and it must be sold and distributed. Some of our branches have made remarkable progress in this respect in recent weeks. They have been agreeably surprised by the "kick" they got out of learning that they could get subscribers for the Party paper! Other branches are still ridiculously and tragically delinquent. And the record of Labor Action subscriptions and sales in some districts where we have devoted tremendous energy is such as should bring the blush of shame to every member of the Party and especially to the leading comrades in these districts.

A party without a paper is unthinkable. Any member who has not learned that, does not feel it with his whole being, is still a baby from a revolutionary standpoint, if indeed he is worthy of being a member at all.

We are not slavish imitators of Lenin or anyone else, but he was a genius in revolutionary organization from whom we can learn often and much, and on the point now under discussion he made some statements as long ago as 1901 which could not be more timely if uttered today:

What Lenin Said

"In our opinion, the starting point of all our activities, the first practical step toward creating the organization we desire and the factor which will enable us constantly to develop, to broaden and deepen that organization, is the creation of a political newspaper. A paper is what we need above all."

"Never before has the need been so strongly felt for supplementing individual agitation in the form of personal influence, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., by a general and regularly conducted agitation, such as can be carried on only with the assistance of a periodical press. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the frequency and regular publication (and distribution) of the paper would serve as an exact measure of the extent to which that primary and most essential branch of our militant activities has been firmly established. . . ."

"The role of a paper is not confined solely to the spreading of ideas, to political education and to procuring political allies. A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator. It is also a collective organizer. In that respect it must be compared with the scaffolding that is constructed around a building, which makes the contours of the future structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized

labor. With the aid of, and around a paper, there will automatically develop an organization which will be concerned not only with local activities, but also in regular general work; which will teach its members carefully to watch political events, to estimate their importance and their influence on the various sections of the population, and to devise suitable methods for influencing these events through the revolutionary party. The mere technical problem of procuring a regular supply of material for the newspaper and its regular distribution will make it necessary to create a net work of agents of a united party, who will be in close contact with each other, will be acquainted with the general situation, will be accustomed to fulfill the detailed functions of the national work, and who will test their strength in the organization of revolutionary activities. . . ."

"This newspaper would become part of an enormous pair of bellows, blowing every spark of the class struggle and of popular discontent into a general conflagration. Around this, what is in itself a very innocent and inconsiderable but regular and common task in the fullest sense of the word, a permanent army of tried fighters would be systematically rallied and receive their training."

We trust that all our members and especially those who are coming to Pittsburgh, will read these statements several times in the course of the next week and digest them carefully. Then come to Pittsburgh prepared to criticize Labor Action sincerely but unmercifully and to plan thoroughly for making it known in the next few months throughout the land.

Clear thinking, broad vision, a sense of the urgency of the situation, must characterize the Active Workers Conference. Those whose minds today are befuddled, who conceive of our task as anything less than the overthrow of capitalism, who think we have all the time in the world to build the revolutionary party, will be thrust aside by the developments in the labor world in the period ahead of us. Yet our planning must be accurate, meticulous, sober. One sure step toward our goal will be worth more than grandiose paper plans and feverish activities which leave us just where we started when the dust has blown over.

H. Zam Leaves Lovestone Group (Editor's Note)

The growing disintegration of the Communist Party Opposition (Brandler-Lovestone faction) has come out into the open again in recent weeks with the resignation of several prominent American members. The impossibility of the CPO line (reform of the Third International) is becoming clear to everyone except the leaders of the faction, whose only interest is in finding a back entrance to the Communist Party.

The statement issued by Zam, formerly one of the most prominent leaders of the group, on his resignation is far from satisfactory. He fails to take a clear stand on the major questions of principle confronting the revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, his survey of the degeneration of the CPO, both nationally and internationally, ought to help drive away the illusions of anyone who still has faith in the CPO position. He traces the breakup of the international organization, with the expulsion or withdrawal of virtually every national section except those in Germany and the United States. He gives a damning picture of the stranglehold by which the apparatus shuts out every breath of criticism and constructive effort within the group.

These developments within the CPO are one more significant indication of the fact that the time has come when all genuine revolutionists must unite in the one supreme task of the hour: the building of the new party.

New Deal Uses Public Works Money to Build Up Mighty War Machine

FDR Deliberately Preparing For Coming World Slaughter

Labor Action Reporter Recalls "War to End War"; Capitalists Got \$12,000 for Each Soldier Killed

By TESS HUFF

The "war to end war" began 20 years ago. I was a boy in school. The Scout Master in our dull little town hung a big map of Europe on the wall and by means of rows of pins helped us follow the different armies. We didn't know what the war was about, of course, and as for myself, I learned that only years later. But our Scout Master read the newspapers, and he soon found out what the trouble was. He read the Louisville Courier Journal which was edited by Henry Watterson who wrote the famous editorial, "To Hell With the Hohenzollerns." We gathered every Friday night in the Scout Hall and looked at the map and heard the Scout Master say, so many thousand men killed, so many thousand captured, and he would rearrange the pins; and we got the hang of what was happening. The Germans by some means had turned into a monster which was going to whip the world, including America.

So there we were. . . . With clean red bandannas about our necks, our hearts palpitating to do somebody a good turn every day, we gazed upon the map, which in time began to look like something a madman had punched full of holes, and drank in the words of the Scout Master. So many killed, so many wounded, so many captured. . . . In time it got to be a nightmare. The sickening whine of shrapnel, women torn by bayonets, the fields of men mowed down by machine guns. . . . Horrible, it was all horrible, and we heard all of it, the papers were full of it. . . . And boys in the town who were just turning twelve years came to the Scout Hall and took the oath to keep "mentally awake and morally straight," to defend God and country, and to "do a good turn every day." Before it was finished some of the older Scouts did their "good turns" by dying in France.

The Great Secret

Yet all that time the central fact about the war was kept a complete secret. What we were never told, and what those who died never knew, was that the war was profitable. It remained for a German after the war to show that the capitalist class of America, England, France, Germany, Italy and the other nations made an average of \$12,000 for every soldier killed. . . .

Multiply the number of men killed by \$12,000 and the result in dollars is what the capitalist class got from the war. . . . Nearly 10,000,000 were killed. . . .

In my own town, I know, the employers got wealthy. Their sons either escaped the draft or were given soft safe jobs, and later they were given pensions and big lump sum back-payments.

In the United States, the known number of millionaires increased from 7,500 in 1914 to about 25,000 in 1918.

Today we see the set-up of imperialism more clearly. The nations, harassed by the contradictions of capitalism, great vaults of money which cannot be invested, millions of men who cannot be employed profitably, mountains of commodities which cannot be sold, are preparing for the next war openly and frankly. They are preparing on the greatest scale mankind has ever known. Each one desires a greater share of the world's markets.

New Deal and War

But what is not so generally known is that the New Deal regime in the United States under the leadership of President (Big Navy) Roosevelt, and General (Draft)

Johnson, heads all the powers in this respect, building a war machine which can kill men faster and with greater profit than any competitive power.

Does this sound ridiculous and hard to believe? More ridiculous and harder to believe is the idea that the capitalist class will be content in the coming war with a measly \$12,000 profit on each casualty. They are too well versed in the Rotarian gospel of "service" and are entirely too experienced as business men for that.

Quite openly, the New Deal is racing toward war. I don't know what they are telling the Boy Scouts and the school children about these things these days. The stuff in the capitalist press, no doubt: that preparedness is essential, that certain enemy powers are planning war, and that we believe in peace. But nothing about why the powers are preparing for war, or about why Wall Street and American capitalists are selling munitions to Japan, helping to keep Hitler in power, and carrying on imperialist machinations over the world. Very little about that. And the fact that our form of government, wherein the working masses are ruled by an upper class, is a system inseparable from war, and that in the days of the decline of capitalism it must arm itself to the teeth in order not only to fight outside but internal forces—nothing about that, not a word.

But the facts are all about us, on every side. While General Johnson storms the country, flaying critics, and President Roosevelt pours his homely brand of soothing syrup out to the nation, via the radio, the New Deal makes obvious progress in only one direction, toward war. Recent figures on recovery show that both payrolls and employment are again declining, that new thousands are being added to the relief rolls (more than 16 millions now on relief!) while corporation profits continue to climb. And along with these trends, the hard, cold fact that the United States war machine, in the regime of the New Deal, is being deliberately built up, hastily, systematically; and curiously enough, paid for to a great extent by money made available for public works!

Not Accidental

It was no accident that Roosevelt, sailing on the USS Houston, spoke to the sailors (and to the world) pledging himself to the warship building program and to

a full treaty strength navy.

It is no accident that General Johnson, who hatched the US draft scheme in the World War, is at the head of the NRA. Nor that Woodring, assistant Secretary of War said in regard to the CCC camps, which now have 360,000 young men: "This achievement—the organization of over 300,000 men in more than 1,500 camps—was the first real test of the army's plan for war mobilization under the National Defense Act as amended in 1920."

Nor was it accidental that under the guise of public works the Roosevelt administration has turned over to the navy \$274,765,924, of which \$238,000,000 is for 32 new warships. Or that PWA funds to the amount of \$95,275,050 have been turned over to the army, or that CWA was given \$25,000,000 for war work, or that TVA, which got \$50,000,000, will manufacture explosives.

Besides PWA and CWA war funds, the Roosevelt budget provided \$310,180,300 for direct navy expenditures, and \$245,983,672 for the army. In March the President signed the Vinson Bill authorizing 102 new warships and 1,184 new fighting planes.

If the New Deal has failed in other respects—to redistribute purchasing power (the average weekly wage for men now hangs around \$15!) or to make an inch of progress toward economic justice and plenty for the people—it has been steadily on the job fixing up for war, and making progress.

The government has contracts with the leading corporations of America whereby 1,200 of the largest plants in the country could be immediately converted into munitions factories. . . .

Some Surprises

In my town down South where the coal operators have got into the habit of looking upon the workers as things to be used, exploited and cast aside in time of peace, and in war time to be drilled and thrown into the trenches—in that town, as elsewhere, the war will bring some great surprises. I look to see a different statue erected on the Courthouse lawn where the Doughboy stands. Perhaps a statue commemorating the triumph of the workers over the capitalists. Then, indeed, it will be a living town, with a living culture.

But perhaps the workers can prevent war? With William Green & Co. at the helm of organized labor, the prospects are gloomy. And if the workers cannot prevent war, then nothing can. War there will be, and the capitalists, even if individually they do not want war, must act to bring it on, for capitalism cannot hold on without expanding markets. We must build the American Workers Party into a powerful organization that can lead the masses in the fight against war and the whole war system.

HOW LONG?

How long will it be until there is another war? How many months will it be?

All the "peace" efforts of England, France, Italy, Germany, Japan and the United States have been turned inside out by events and there was nothing to them. There is not a country that is not preparing for war. The armies and navies and bombing forces are becoming so large now and such staggering plans have been adopted to make them larger that money for relief is harder and harder to obtain. The saying that "the world is an armed camp" is a grim fact. War is in the air.

Mussolini used these very words in his recent speech to the Italian nation: "War is in the air." And he told his subjects to "get ready."

Let us not kid ourselves. Don't be misled by the pacifists. The big-bellied, thin-lipped and gouty

rulers are being inevitably driven by a declining capitalism to hasten the second world slaughtering.—Editor.

HONOR SACCO-VANZETTI

Seven years ago Sacco and Vanzetti, Italian Anarchists who went about talking to friends and comrades of a better society, were electrocuted by the state of Massachusetts. The judge who passed the sentence of death is himself now dead and almost forgotten. Sacco and Vanzetti are today remembered and honored all over the world, wherever men aspire to a better social order.

What are you doing to make Labor Action a weekly?

League Rejects Relief Scheme Designed for Peasant Status

ALLENTOWN, Pa.

Steadily, swiftly, brazenly, under cover of liberal speeches by Harry Hopkins, Frances Perkins, Harold Ickes and others, about a glorious New Deal for the common man, the movement to reduce the American masses to a peasant status goes on.

In Pennsylvania a typical scheme is being presented to the Unemployed Leagues by the relief authorities. Under it the relief authorities would set a "budget" on which a family must live, one person in each family would be given a job to make up the difference ("budget deficit") between the

sum and what the family is making at private employment, and relief workers would be under a "merit" system, only the "truly industrious" would be retained, and "merit" would be determined by the relief authorities, while supervisors, foremen, etc., would not be taken from the relief rolls, meaning that political henchmen would get the fat jobs.

League representatives have rejected this outrageous proposal. In its stead, they are demanding:

A budget to be determined by the U. L.; a job or relief pay in cash for every unemployed worker, not one in a family; no "merit" system under boss-control; and no political soft snaps.

The organization of the unemployed must be pushed more intensively than ever. A nationwide fight against the relief set-up must be organized, carrying out the decision of last month's Unemployed League convention in Columbus. The unions must at once throw full support behind the League movement. Not one single wage agreement is worth the paper it is written on if this movement to put the unemployed on a pauper basis goes any farther.

By a Worker Correspondent.

CLEAN THEM OUT

TOLEDO, Ohio.

Bossler, Ramsey & Company, officials of the Auto Workers' Federal Union which has nine plants in this city, have been working hard giving picnics and passing out free beer, making a brave effort to counteract the damaging slogan which continues to pop up from the rank and file—"We have cleaned out some of the rubbish already; let's clean it all out on election day!"

Before the Bossler, Ramsey & Co. issue was raised, the membership in all the plants, save the Auto-Lite, where Ramsey has concentrated, was gradually slipping away. Brought up in the union by Bill Prior and in the community by the Unemployed League, the issue immediately put new life into the plants. If the rank and file slate is elected there is a strong chance that the United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18384 will expand into every autopart plant in Toledo and may constitute one of the most militant federal unions in the country.

By a Worker Correspondent.

FATHER DIVINE

Editor Labor Action:

A couple of weeks ago I read about the Rev. Douglas Anderson, Socialist Party candidate for Congress, being on a program in Springfield, Ill., with Billy Sunday. About the same time I read about an Anti-War meeting in New York led by the Communist Party, but it seems the most prominent part was played by Father Divine, a Negro who claims he is God, and his followers. I couldn't see that they were against war at all. I am not one who believes specially in attacking religion where it is sincere, but as a plain worker I think the Socialist and Communist party are both sinking pretty low when they have anything to do with such plain fakers as Billy Sunday and Father Divine. Who do they think they are fooling?

A Puzzled Worker

We don't know who they think they are fooling—unless it's the "dumb workers"—but we suspect that who they are actually fooling is themselves.—Editor.

Teachers' Oath Aimed at Reds

New York Bill Requires Pledge of Loyalty

By A New York Teacher

NEW YORK.—The Anti-Red Drive, whipped up by the "patriots" and 100 percenters, with the anti-union industrialists pulling the wires, extends daily to new fronts. The Special Session of the New York Legislature brought forth an ominous new development.

The so-called "Teachers' Oath Bill", passed once before and vetoed by Governor Lehman, was again passed and this time signed by the Governor. This Bill, striking at the progressive forces in education, provides that all teachers in both public and private schools and colleges must swear an oath of loyalty to the Constitution before taking a new job.

Workers, as well as teachers, professionals and intellectuals should realize clearly what this means, and should take steps immediately to prevent enforcement of the Bill.

The Bill is another step in the reactionary campaign to strait-jacket criticism of the status quo, to stifle the minds of the young, and to make sure that the teachers of New York will be no more than the hired apologists of capital, whose sole job will be to turn out willing slaves of the profit system.

How ironic it is to remember that advocates of Bills like this are the very people who object in holy horror to communism and socialism on the grounds that they destroy "freedom".

Mooney App'auds Labor Militancy

By A Worker Correspondent

SAN FRANCISCO.—Despite his 18 years of hell, Tom Mooney still has the heart of a lion. From California State Prison at San Quentin he writes a letter about the "greatest demonstration of working class solidarity in America", the Frisco general strike.

Yet again, as in the days of his freedom, he sees the police and the paid gangsters of the bosses attempting to drive from the unions and the state all militant and class-conscious workers. The public officials and the courts, just as they did when he was framed, join in the work, while many A. F. of L. class-collaborationist labor leaders stand by with folded arms.

Yet Tom Mooney believes the tide is turning. The old order is beginning to go, will inevitably go. In the rising of worker-consciousness, strike waves and militancy, he sees the turning of the tide. And he would like to be out, to help in the struggle. Lion-hearted, indeed! The least any worker can do is to fight for his freedom.

A.F. of L. Officials Declare War on "Communists", Join Bosses in Heresy-Hunt

"No's" Defy Nazi Terrorism

(Continued from Page 1)

stone turned to secure a favorable result. "If the result should not come up to our expectations, we will have to make it favorable nevertheless. For the SA there is no such thing as failure."

Facts Behind The Votes

The outcome of such "instructions" was a vote of forty million "Yea's" and three million "No" and void ballots. But the undoubted good will of the election authorities at the 1934 Referendum vote could not conceal the fact that opposition against Hitler had grown so great that hundreds were arrested on the day after the election and hundreds more have been charged with high-treason.

In the district of Hamburg, for instance, according to a statement made by the National Socialist "Boersen-Zeitung" there are 11,000 enrolled members of the Communist Party. An indictment just issued against 54 Berlin workers states that 1900 illegal newspapers are regularly distributed alone in the one proletarian district "Kreuzberg" of Berlin by a single man, that this same man regularly collects 100 marks per month in Communist membership dues.

The Socialist Workers' Party—even the Communist Party unwillingly, admits its recent rapid growth—regularly issues and distributes four illegal newspapers the editions of which are never large enough to satisfy the hunger for such literature. Their organizations are growing; they are working and working effectively, building up an apparatus which, when the time comes, will be the foundation for the revolutionary

German S. D. P. Leaders Join Hitler Move For Non-Political Unions

Hitler has opened negotiations with the leaders of the Social Democratic Party. The Fascist scheme for a "Labour Front" has broken down, and Hitler is trying to get Trade Union officials to cooperate in establishing "non-political" Unions. They would be a part of the Fascist "corporate" State structure, modelled on the Italian example.

Hitler's representatives first consulted two well-known Trade Union leaders. Both of them had the spirit to reject the overtures.

Hitler's emissaries then approached a leader of the Social Democratic Party, who was in a concentration camp. He was asked whether he would help in organizing Unions on the new basis. He replied he would have to discuss the matter with the Social Democratic Executive.

He was then released from the concentration camp so that he might open negotiations with the Social Democratic leaders in Prague (Czechoslovakia), where they are refugees.

A second prominent Social Democrat has acted as an intermediary at Prague and has made the proposal to Otto Wels (the Chairman) and others.

The Executive was divided, but Wels declared himself in favour of further negotiations.

Even if the Social Democratic leaders accept the proposal, it will certainly meet with strong opposition within Germany.

(British New Leader)

The Presidium of the German Social Democratic Party has issued a denial of this story. The Manchester Guardian, however, published a detailed report of the negotiations on which the above story in the New Leader was based, claims to have the names of the negotiators.

Cotton Bosses Defy F.D. Order

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The lesson that workers, whether under the Old Deal or New Deal, will get just what they are strong enough to take and hold, was brought home again by the announcement of the Cotton Garment Manufacturers to President Roosevelt that they will defy his recent order lowering hours and increasing wages for 250,000 workers in the industry. This is the order which Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, hailed with such fulsome praise of the NRA.

The employers denounced the President's order as "unjustifiable, unwarranted, burdensome and unequitable" and have instructed their counsel here to take steps "to protect the rights and interests of the members of the industry"—that is, the bosses.

uprising of the German proletariat.

United Front movements are at work creating a basis upon which all class-conscious groups of the proletariat will be able to work together and its achievements promise stability and permanence.

Long Struggles Ahead

Nevertheless there is as yet no justification for undue optimism. The weakening of the Nazi regime is apparent, but between these first evidences of disintegration and the Revolution in Germany there lies long and arduous struggle. Germany's workers must build a foundation which will brave the storms of reaction, that will not go down before the first attack. But even more dangerous than undue optimism at this stage of the situation is the defeatism and fatalism which sees all things lost and accepts the blows of fate with stoic, slavish resignation.

Hard as our struggle for the labor movement may seem in the United States, that of our German comrades is a thousand times more dangerous. Fine words of encouragement and admiration help but they are not enough. The men and women who are holding aloft the banners of a better future for Germany's workers need our practical, material support. Newspapers, leaflets, propaganda of all kinds cost money. Without it the most fearless worker for the cause is doomed to ineffectuality.

"Labor Action" will be glad to send all funds donated for this purpose to the Comrades of the German Socialist Workers' Party on the other side of the ocean to help them in their difficult task.—Editor's Note.

FLASH!

The New York Times, the paper that prints "all the news that's fit to print," has just discovered that the bosses of Great Britain, since the war, refuse to pay relief to workers, unemployed because of strikes or lockouts.

It is considered highly significant that the Times should have made this discovery just at the time the bosses in this country are making a concerted drive to stop relief payments to workers who fight for higher wages or better conditions.

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16 EAST 23rd STREET
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President Green, Disturbed by New Trends, Goes Red-Baiting to Curb Labor Militancy

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

The hue and cry against the "Communists" has now been taken up by the American Federation of Labor officialdom. The Executive Council, meeting at Atlantic City in preparation for the San Francisco convention, declared a holy war against the Reds. Clamor of this sort, it will be recalled, was first set up on a large scale by the San Francisco Industrial Association and its hired hooligans at the time of the General Strike. "Liberal" Frances Perkins joined the pack. General Johnson bellowed at her heels. It is not the first time that the official A. F. of L. has served as a reactionary political echo of the bosses and the government.

The heresy-hunting statement, issued by President William Green on August 18, gives an insight into the temper with which the officialdom approaches the coming A. F. of L. convention. That assemblage will undoubtedly be called upon to endorse the document, and "carry it into full force and effect." The Executive Council's call for the anti-Red crusade calls for three general lines of action:

1. All "Communists" are to be "ferreted out" of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and expelled from the organized labor movement; 2. The members of A. F. of L. unions are to be called upon to "resist" by any means the imposition of Communist doctrines upon them; 3. The Department of Labor is to be stimulated to deport alien Communists. There is a thinly veiled threat that there will be further cooperation with the police authorities against the Reds.

Red "Crimes"

This vicious anti-workers program does not owe its origin to disruptive tactics on the part of the "Communists"; the man-hunt is to be conducted on the basis of opinion. The Executive Council engages in it out of "patriotic duty," the statement says. The alleged crimes of the "Communists" are that they are seeking to capture control of the A. F. of L.; that they are at-

tempting "to overthrow capitalism"; that they cast aspersions on A. F. of L. officials; that they use strikes to advance "world revolution." The official machine thereby sets itself up as the defender of capitalism, and as the organized enemy of any individual or group of workers who attempt to break the capitalist chains. The budding fascism in such a program can be easily discerned. It is worthy of a body in which sit such tawdry representatives of the workers as John L. Lewis and Matthew Woll.

Logical

From its own viewpoint, the Executive Council is quite logical in this new "patriotic" Inquisition. The official A. F. of L. machine is inextricably tied up to the Government. That has been particularly the case since the Great War. The alliance with Woodrow Wilson is now being continued with his "spiritual successor", Franklin D. Roosevelt. The A. F. of L. officials in the main seek to organize unions, not by arousing the workers, but by selling unionism to the bosses with the cooperation of the government. This is a "respectable" program, that goes hand in hand with business unionism.

There is an increasing number of union men who are not enamored of this policy. The government union-spawning machinery has not worked out in steel, automobiles or textiles to the satisfaction of the workers. Donald Richberg admits the hypocrisy of the government's official attitude in his report on the N.R.A. (Aug. 27), in which he lumps company unions with the A. F. of L. organizations "as mechanisms of labor association available for the collective bargaining contemplated by the act."

Producing Company Unions

The government conciliation machinery has proved to be a snare and a delusion. Weighted down with legalisms, it has played into the hands of the employing in-

terests, as did the National War Labor Board. Many of the new union men cannot see the value of "industrial diplomacy", which has produced more company union members than adherents of the A. F. of L. They want results from the union movement; that is why they joined it. There is a swelling chorus of dissatisfaction, demanding militancy. The capitalist press has been compelled to take notice of this trend. The union officialdom, therefore, faces a spreading rank and file revolt, impatient with the soft-pedaling policies of the Federation.

This revolt must be crushed; it has unpleasant possibilities for A. F. of L. officialdom. It can be crushed satisfactorily by labeling as "Red" every one who speaks up for militancy or in criticism of the official policies. The aid of the police authorities can likewise be enrolled against such dissidents. Pimps and provocateurs, in the joint names of "patriotism" and "labor" can be unloosed to destroy dissenters, militants in the union ranks.

Racketeers Not Dangerous

It is significant that no such zeal was shown by the A. F. of L. officials in ousting the racketeers who infest certain sections of the movement. Mr. Green, for a painfully long time, professed to be ignorant of the activities of the Kaplans, Brandles, Cumberfords and others of their ilk. To talk of "Communist gangsters", in the face of the records of some of Mr. Green's close brethren, is part and parcel of the hypocrisy and filth of the policy and the argument supporting it.

A matter of deep concern, in connection with this development, is that the rank and file of the workers themselves may not see at first the intent of this campaign. This is not solely due to the fulminations of the Hearst press, which are poisoning and confusing many minds on "Communism." There are also, in the reckoning, the sectarian and often idiotic tactics of the official Communist Party itself. In Toledo, as Bill Dunne admitted in the Daily Worker, the official C. P. was isolated from the mass of the workers. Such reports show, was likewise the case in San Francisco and Minneapolis. The official C. P. approaches the workers with a set policy of dual unionism making "Communism" and disruption apparently synonymous terms. The workers often look upon "Communists" as committed inevitably to the destruction of the unions which these workers have built. By its sectarian union policy, the C.P. plays directly into the hands of reaction.

Fight This Reaction

The A.W.P. will fight this menacing move of the A. F. of L. officialdom, to the last ditch. We must do so, by clearly exposing its intent. We must show, in action, that a truly revolutionary program does not disrupt the unions but builds them. We must redouble our efforts within the union organizations to promote industrial unionism, a fighting program, a lack of faith in governmental machinery, and an expose of the A. F. of L. official policy. We must rally all radical and truly progressive elements to oppose the anti-Red campaign.

In this battle, we can scarcely expect aid from the "progressive" officials under the influence of the S. P. These men will remain silent, or endorse the hunt. For the purpose of the record, nonetheless, we ask Hillman, Rieve, Dubinsky: "Where do you stand on this vicious declaration of the Executive Council?"

There can be no quarter given, in this struggle against the open pro-fascism of the official A. F. of L.

Youth Congress Teaches Miss Ilma Something New About United Fronts

Miss Viola Ilma's pretty dream of uniting the youth of America—radical and conservative alike—in a neat little fascist organization has been badly shattered. With the financial backing of Anne Morgan, Mrs. August Belmont and John Pell, and with the active cooperation of William T. Plunkert, head of the FERA Division of Transients, the Central Bureau for Young America, with Miss Ilma as its leading light, launched the First American Youth Congress at New York University, August 15.

When Miss Ilma and her little clique of "Young Americans" attempted to set up bureaucratic rules of procedure to control the congress, they were given a lesson about united fronts.

A progressive majority was quickly formed under the nominal leadership of Waldo McNutt of the Rocky Mountain YMCA (but actually led and directed by the Young Communist League and the Young People's Socialist League) to fight for democratic control of the congress. The Ilma group, forced to accede to the demands of this majority, held a caucus meeting in the Hotel Brevort.

The split continued. Miss Ilma refused mediation, and the remainder of the conference was held in two sections, both meeting at New York University, and passing separate resolutions.

It was clearly a division between "left" and "right". The Ilma sec-

tion had elderly reactionary delegates, including a representative of the "Awakener", the openly fascist paper of Lawrence Dennis. It is also significant that William J. Plunkert, head of FERA Division of Transients and representatives from the Apprenticeship Division of the NRA were active with the Ilma group.

This group passed resolutions favoring the extension and enlargement of CCC and transient camps and the system of home-steads and apprenticeships. The delegates indulged in red-baiting and resolved to "condemn socialism, communism, fascism and anarchism—all isms except AMERICANISM." They expressed highly militaristic sentiments and the fear of passing resolutions which would offend "certain interests, business and governmental, which are at present sympathetic to us."

Mr. Mines of the Central Bureau for Young America declared that should the congress pass "constructive" resolutions for youth in industry, such a power as the U. S. Steel Corp. might be willing to cooperate.

Meanwhile the left congress resolved itself into a tight little united front of radical groups. The credentials committee allowed the congress to be packed by delegates from Stalinist paper organizations, so that the left congress was scarcely more democratic or representative than the reactionary Ilma congress.

NEW BOOKS

Splendid Battle

ARTISTS IN UNIFORM, Max Eastman. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1934.

The revolutionary movement engaged in class struggle may overlook sanity and integrity in the arts—c'est la guerre, comrades!—but this excuse is not valid for the Soviet Union where class struggle is being superseded by struggle of another nature, the struggle for socialist construction. In this construction common-sense, sanity and integrity are essential elements for success in the creation of a new and greater culture as well as a classless society.

The Russian "Literary Inquisition" of the period from Lenin's death to Stalin's abrupt about face in 1931 was anything but sane and encouraged everything but integrity and common sense in both those who wielded the bureaucratic whip and those who, like meek progeny of Apollo wedded to Dialectical Materialism, composed rondeaus to the glory of brass tacks.

This is the thesis and the story of Max Eastman's Artists in Uniform—a thesis that is thoroughly valid and a story that ought to lift a finger of warning for the guidance of proletarian artists in all lands against the day of triumph and release.

But both thesis and story have their contradictions. In the first place, class struggle being the order of the day in most of the world, Artists in Uniform is a bit of Isaiah everywhere but in Russia where it is an addition to the Apocalypse. And Isaiah prophesied and prophesied and prophesied, but Jerusalem fell all the same. It was in the cards.

In the second place, outside of Stalin and his closest friends it is not likely that anyone in the Soviet Union will read Artists in Uniform. Not that Max Eastman's literary talents are unappreciated in the U.S.S.R. He is appreciated just as much as Trotsky. But like Trotsky, there is a deplorable shortage of Eastman's printed works in the land, and the U.S.S.R. is the one place where Artists in Uniform should be read, for which, indeed, it was written.

In the third place, if satire and devastating criticism could counteract the ravages of fools, Eastman's book is competent to do so. But the lunatic fringe in letters is not so easily dissuaded. Only another deluge could do that. On the other hand, neither bureaucratized

idiotcy nor all the state subsidized proletcults can weaken the basic pulse of art and culture. Proletarian revolution opens floodgates of artistic energy and gusto. Stalin's lackeys may divert a thin orchidaceous piddle here and there, but the flood roars on and in the end will sweep all before it.

Eastman's story is contradicted by its style. The humiliation of Boris Pilnyak, the antics of the RAPP, the pompous flatulencies of Stalin—here is material for huge laughter. But Eastman rails more often than he laughs; he is bitter, savage and sorrowful by turns.

Is the business, then, so tragic, so world-shaking? We are inclined to think not. Literary cults have existed in all ages of man, although Stalin was the first to raise a single one of these nonsense-collectives to the status of a bureau, to officially mistake the noise for the music. But bureaucracy may control artists, it cannot control art. It can only annoy it, retard it. Soon or late, if art is to live, it will live on its own terms.

The story of the "Literary Inquisition" will be told some day by a scholar with a reminiscient sense of humor. Eastman himself is by temperament invalidated for the very task for which by every other consideration he is supremely fitted. He is a polemist of no mean proportions, perhaps, after Trotsky, the most outstanding today. But Artists in Uniform is not a subject for polemics. It is material for comic opera.

Meanwhile, Eastman fights a splendid battle, even if there isn't any war.

LOUIS BREIER

More Russia

THE PLANNED ECONOMY OF SOVIET RUSSIA, by Edward Lamb. Dorrance & Co., Philadelphia, \$1.75.

Part III of this book, dealing with the Soviet Legal System, is excellent. The author, an attorney himself, familiar with the rottenness of American court procedure has made a careful study of the administration of justice in the Soviet Union (where, by the way, at least half of the judges are women) and his report is very favorable. The sections on Planning, the Treatment of National Minorities, Social Phenomenon under Planning and Social Competition, while for the most part

well supported by facts and figures, are sometimes marred by unsubstantiated statement. How anyone familiar with the life and works of Lenin could make the statement that "Lenin was undoubtedly a demagogue in his speeches to the masses," or "The violent oratory of Lenin stirred thousands," is a bit beyond this reviewer. But for several such questionable passages the book contains some valuable material.

Question Box

(See Questions Page 3)

1. It is only necessary to look around to see to what an enormous extent capitalism is sabotaging production in America. Millions of workers dress in rags while capitalism in the interests of "higher prices" destroys tens of thousands of acres of cotton. Millions of workers' children go without fruit, milk and vegetables, while capitalism dumps barges of peaches, watermelons, tomatoes and other fruits and vegetables into the ocean to "keep prices up." Thousands of gallons of milk are spilled into the gutters for the same reason. While thousands of factories are still, factories which could supply building materials so that every worker could live in comfortable quarters, a veritable nation of peasant shacks is arising all along the countryside. In the cities millions are forced to live in slum areas while newly constructed apartment houses remain empty because the workers cannot pay the high rents. This unreasoning destruction, this calloused waste will disappear only when the workers take power and organize production along sound, scientific lines in the interests of the working class. In the Tragedy of Waste, Stuart Chase, a liberal writer, gives many interesting figures regarding the appalling sabotage of the capitalist class. Chase however fails to draw the correct conclusion: That only in the collective state will such sabotage be abolished.

2. The rank and file of the National Guard is, for the most part, composed of young workers. As the fathers, friends and the young workers in the National Guard themselves are more and more drawn into active conflict with capitalism in the form of strikes, mass demonstrations, etc., the capitalist class, acting through their "executive committee" the state, will be less and less able to depend on the National Guard as an anti-working class instrument. The young guardsmen will refuse to fire on their factory brothers and on their fathers; they will refuse to break strikes and thus condemn their own people to greater suffering. Signs of this growing class consciousness on the part of the National Guard can be seen. In Ohio the government was afraid to call out troops from the vicinity of the Toledo strike area; they were forced to go to other parts of the state. Now had these parts of Ohio been involved in the strike situation the government would have had still greater difficulty in organizing strike-breaking troops. As the working class throughout America becomes militant the National Guard will become increasingly conscious of its anti-working class role and will refuse to fight in the interests of the boss class. It is expected that when this time comes, the ability of the young workers in the National Guard to handle arms will be put to excellent use in the interests of their own class.

A NEW UNION

A rumor has been circulating in New York to the effect that a new union has been formed recently, called the Miracle Workers Industrial Union. The head of the union is Father Divine.—Ain't it wonderful?

Textile Mills Armed Forts In South; Labor Board Stalls

Alabama Strikes Reveal Intolerable Conditions

(Continued from Page 1)

would receive \$500 cash for each union leader whom they did away with. The representatives of the Chambers of Commerce in the small mill towns have let it be known openly that they would use every possible measure to break the union and end the strike. Local F.E.R.A. representatives have boasted that they would use their offices to smash the U.T.W. and send the starving men and women back into the mills begging for their jobs at any cost.

Mills Are Armed Forts

The mill bosses have resorted to force, fraud, bribery, and cunning to stop their workers from striking. Many of the mills today more closely resemble beleaguered forts than textile plants. Machine guns are planted at the gates, on the roofs, and in any other commanding or strategic position. Armed guards patrol the highways leading to the plants. The "loyal" workers in plants which have not yet struck have been given firearms or metal "knuckles" to use.

The town and county law officers are the willing tools of the big companies. They have done their part to aid in the various kidnappings. They have helped to break up meetings and shot workers in the back (one of them who was a delegate to the recent U.T.W. convention, still limped badly from the shot through his leg) and then pounced upon them with their clubs and revolvers.

The strike wave in Alabama is without a doubt the greatest that ever hit the south. It is highly significant that it is taking place in a state where there had never before been a major strike in textiles. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that the 25,000 workers involved have all been organized within less than 10 months. They have been organized with a minimum of outside help. They are all native American stock—and almost entirely white.

Conditions

Conditions which forced the strike are, briefly, as follows:

The new minimums established last year by the Textile Code are violated with impunity by the companies. While some workers have had a slight raise in wages, great numbers have been forced to accept a reduction.

The eight hour day is not enforced. Workers are given higher production quotas to fill, and are compelled to work both before the time to start in the mornings, during noon hour, and often at night.

The bosses see to it that they punch their time cards at the proper hours, but make them work from 5 to 20 hours per week extra in many cases. The union has affidavits testifying to one operative still working 90 hours per week.

Workers have been compelled to do from 10 percent to 15 percent more work. They have been given extra machines to attend. Machines have been speeded up. Every conceivable method to wring additional work from the mill hands has been tried.

To further cut the low wages of their workers, southern mills resort to a system of "fines". The workers never know from one week to the next what new pretexes will be found for docking them. One woman, after working for an entire week, received a pay envelope containing a note saying she owed the company 90c.

The usual shack of the Alabama textile worker beggars description. True to their feudalistic outlook, mill owners used to give these shacks to their workers "free." Not so today. Rent is charged. Repairs are charged. All is taken from the pay envelope before it reaches the wage earners.

A lucrative business in forcing workers to pay from \$50 to \$200 for the right to get or keep a job is a regular thing in most mills. Week after week, month after month, and year after year they must go to the foreman or employment manager and give him a part of the meager, hard earned pay.

The Boards Stalled

When the government announced that it was setting up boards to examine and adjust the complaints of the workers, there was a general feeling among the workers that they at last had a chance to get their grievances heard and corrected. Not so. The complaints poured in, literally by the thousands. The boards stalled. No action was taken. Added to this, the names of those making the complaints found their way back to the companies, and these were discharged forthwith.

Today the Alabama textile workers are up in arms. Their spirit of struggle has electrified the textile workers of the rest of the south and even of the north. At the recent U.T.W. convention it was the southern representatives who insisted on the general strike. They say that they are going to bring the other 10,000 or 15,000 mill hands of Alabama out with them if they have to capture the company guns to do so.

The Reds Will Get You If You Don't Watch Out

The President

SWEAR allegiance to the Eagle, Give your love to NRA, Never mind the naughty bosses— I myself will raise your pay.

And if your pay is cut again Lower than it was before, Be a good American Let me handle it once more.

But never, never go on strike— My guards will put you to the rout. Be gentlemen, or the Reds Will get you if you don't watch out!

The Liberal

PROPER words of caution, Understanding all around Will keep the leaky system From running underground.

Workers: Keep your shirt on, Put that brick back on the pile! Wisdom and mediation Have violence beat a mile.

It's uncouth and even vulgar To sock a scab upon the snout. Be gentlemen, or the Reds Will get you if you don't watch out!

The Socialist

LITTLE scraps of paper On which you mark a cross Will skin the greedy banker And expropriate the boss.

Vote for us on Tuesday, On Wednesday you will see Norman Thomas at the helm Of Social-Democracy.

The revolutionary method Is crude beyond a doubt. Be gentlemen, or the Reds Will get you if you don't watch out!

EMILY, put the pot on, Send Mary-Lou to bed, I'm a goin' to the picket To stop a scab or crack his head.

They're tryin' to mediate us But we're goin' to win this strike, No matter what it takes—although We'll do it "peaceful" like.

Emily, what are you laughin' at? I'm not a brawling lout . . . I've got to be a "gentleman" Or the Reds Will get me If I don't watch out! LOUIS BREIER

How About It, Comrades?

Discussing the very poor results of our campaign to get 3,000 new subscribers for Labor Action in our last issue, and thus make it a weekly, we asked you these question:

- How Many New Readers Have You Got During the Past Month?
- How Many Subs Have You Sent In?
- How Many People Have You Spoken to about Labor Action?

A few of you have replied—Allentown by sending in 15 new subs; Pittsburgh by sending in 7; Gulport 3; Los Angeles 5; and a few other places by sending in several renewals.

This is not enough, comrades. If Labor Action is to become a weekly you will have to do better. We must get at least 100 new subs every week. What about it—you comrades who have made no reply and who did practically nothing during the campaign—

Shall Labor Action Become a Weekly?

Yes, LABOR ACTION shall become a weekly. And to show that I mean it, I am herewith enclosing \$..... in payment for 3 mo. subs at twenty five cents

..... 1 Year subs at one dollar.

Name

Address

(attached find names and addresses of subs)