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Reich Political Crisis Deepens As Fascism Fails to Aid Masses

Nazi Executions Add To Unrest, Caused By Economic Misery Of Workers, Peasants And Middle-Classes Under Regime

INDUSTRIALISTS RULE

Hitler Turns On Storm Troops, His Power Seen Waning

By LUDWIG LORE

National Socialist Germany today stands in the midst of a serious political and economic crisis, the outcome of which no one can yet foretell. The mass executions of June 30 and the days that followed have created consternation and confusion in all camps of the German bourgeoisie. Each group distrusts the other and none trusts the Hitler government. The intoxication of the days of January and February 1933 is flown and what remains is the headache of the morning after. Today the totalitarian system frankly rests on the bayonets of the Reichswehr and the National Socialist SS.

As we write these lines Hitler is resting in Berchtesgaden and Herman Goering with whom he planned and executed his campaign of ruthlessness, is somewhere near Berlin to recuperate from the strain of the last ten days. Before they retired it was announced that the SA army of 2,500,000 would be turned into a party militia of 800,000, a militia without arms whose only function will be that of helpful service to the National Socialist movement.

An effort will be made to solve the difficult problem of absorbing the SA troopers about to be dismissed from active service in a manner that will not drive them into the arms of the revolutionary labor parties, by sending 400,000 of these young people into the compulsory labor service camps where they will have to undergo the same military drill and military discipline from which they have just been released.

What Happened?

What happened in Germany during the last few weeks?

In June the economic and financial crisis became so alarming that the Nazi regime seemed to have reached a deadlock. Germany's exports fell far below its lowest level. The importation of even the most necessary raw materials was reduced to the absolutely irreducible minimum because of the lack of foreign exchange with which to meet commercial obligations. Under the moratorium proclaimed by the Presidium of the Reichsbank Germany's credit was reduced to nil. Its loudly proclaimed job-producing activity, based on swindle and prevarication has produced nothing but lower wages and working conditions, bringing a catastrophic drop in the standard of living of Germany's working class. The purchasing power of the masses has been reduced to a point where the small farmer finds it impossible to make a living.

The Puppets Fail

The bankruptcy of the National Socialist economy brought the great financiers and industrialists once more to the fore. The mass organizations of Nazis, the societies representing the urban and agrarian middle class, the National Labor Front and the Storm Divi-

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Leagues Have Learned Much In Past Year

Convention In Columbus Will Have Delegates From Picket Lines

WILL OPEN JULY 30

Events Have Taught Them About Laws, Courts and Gov't

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—When the National Unemployed League meets here in convention on July 30 only slightly more than a year will have passed since its formation. But this year has been one of tremendous importance to the labor movement of this country, especially to the organizations of the unemployed. Delegates to this second convention, many direct from the picket lines, will bring with them the experiences of numerous hard fought battles, some of which were won, some lost. Events of the past 12 months will have taught them much about government and courts and laws.

Last Year

Last July when the NUL was born, the "new deal" program was just getting under way. The CWA and the FERA were things of the future. The Rooseveltian panacea of the moment was the NRA with its promise of rapid re-employment and more equitable distribution of the national income. In a few months, or at most by the first of the year, we were being assured, practically all of the 15,000,000 then jobless would have jobs. And due to the increased purchasing power of the industrial workers the farmers of the country would have a ready market for their products.

The fact that the 900 assembled delegates from 13 states voted to form a national organization is proof that these promises were not taken too seriously. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there were many among these delegates last year who still had faith in the words coming from Washington, and who would have scoffed at the idea that they would be no better off a year hence. A certain amount of hope was in the air. Although many of them even then had not had work for several years it still seemed preposterous that in these United States unemployment and starvation could be a permanent condition. There was just a chance, so they thought, that Mr. Roosevelt might be able to pull the trick.

But Mr. Roosevelt has not been able to pull the trick. This fact

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AWP Leaders Defy Illinois Repression; Muste Back in State

Party Tells Governor Horner And State Officials That It Believes In Complete Abolition Of The Capitalist System

FOR LABOR REPUBLIC

Justice Cites 'Red' Passage In Program

Revolution For "Plenty, Peace And Freedom" Shocks Wangelin

BELLEVILLE, Ill.—Justice of the peace Wangelin and police officials in this country where the Grand Jury will meet in September to consider the case of A. J. Muste and two Illinois organizers of the American Workers Party, are still pondering the condensed program of the Party which was taken at the time of the arrests.

They point to the paragraph which begins, "Workers of the United States, the hour of the new American Revolution has struck. Organize for victory. Plenty, security, leisure, freedom, peace for ourselves and our children are within our reach. A crumbling, insane, unjust economic order stands in the way. We will sweep it aside. Reactionary forces will try to oppose and divide. We must tear them down."

"Unite, close the ranks; organize to take power into your own hands."

The pamphlet is being held for the consideration of the Grand Jury.

"These men advocate an entirely different order in which there would be nothing but a workers' government," Justice Wangelin told reporters.

Workers Conference And Training School Planned

Plans are going forward for an Active Workers' Conference of the American Workers Party to be held on Labor Day week-end. While no definite location has been decided upon, it is understood that the Conference will take place in some middle-western city. The Conference will be preceded by a week's session of the A.W.P. Training School for Organizers.

Take Plan To Workers, Farmers, Professionals, Despite Arrests

Informing Governor Horner of Illinois, the Attorney General and other state officials that the American Workers Party believes in the complete abolition of the capitalist system and in the establishment of a workers' republic by the revolutionary action of the workers, the Party has sent its National Chairman, A. J. Muste, back into Illinois.

Muste, who was arrested June 11 with James Cross and Hank Mayer, AWP state organizers, at Belleville, Ill., while on a picket line, and held on charges of attempting to overthrow the government, will tour the state, presenting to workers and farmers the Party's program.

The communication to the state officials gave a list of the places where Muste will speak. He will be accompanied by Cross, Mayer, Jerry Allard and other Party members in Illinois.

The reign of terror and suppression in the state was laid to employers who are using the courts to prevent the workers from learning the truth about the capitalist system.

Communication In Full

The communication follows in full:

"To Governor Horner, the Attorney General, and state officials of Illinois—

"On June 11, A. J. Muste, National Chairman of the American Workers Party, James Cross and Clarence Mayer, Illinois organizers, were picked up on the streets of Belleville, Ill. while talking with some pickets at the Knapp-Monarch plant. A charge of vagrancy which was made against them, was dismissed a few days later by a justice of the peace. They were bound over, however, to the September session of the Grand Jury on the charge of attempting to overthrow the government by unlawful means in violation of the so-called anti-treason statute of Illinois. A condensed printed program of the AWP constituted the basis for this charge.

"The American Workers Party is now sending its national chairman, A. J. Muste on another speaking trip into Illinois. He will be accompanied by Illinois organizers of the Party, Gerry Allard, James Cross and Hank Mayer. Speaking engagements will be held at Aurora and Streator on the 18th; Ottawa, LaSalle, the 19th; Galesburg, Peoria, the 20th; Bloomington, Lincoln, the 21st; Springfield, the 22d; St. Louis, 23d; Mascoutah, Belleville, 24th; 25th and 26th in Southern Illinois, including Buckner, Johnson City, West Franfort, and Marion.

To Present Its Program

"The purpose of this trip is to present the program of the AWP to the workers, farmers and professional people of Illinois and to protest against the reign of repression and terrorism which exists there as in so many other

(Continued on Page 3)

Three Thousand New Subscribers!

ON July 31, midnight, the campaign to get 3,000 new subscribers for Labor Action comes to an end. If we succeed in putting this campaign across then we will have succeeded in making our paper self sustaining. Regularity of appearance will be assured. No more will any one be disappointed because of a skipped issue. And we will be well on our way toward turning Labor Action into a weekly.

Shall we succeed? You, Labor Actionists, are the only ones who can answer that. Here from the office we can write letters, send appeals, etc., but we cannot get very many new subscribers. All the workers with whom we come in daily contact already subscribe. So it is up to you to put this campaign across.

And you will have to hurry. A good many hun-

dred more subscriptions must come in between now and July 31. Many of you have fallen down on the job, it is no use pretending that you have not. This is especially true in the case of Party branches. To date not one branch has filled its quota. Is this because our branches fail to realize that the building of our official organ is one of their most important tasks?

Comrades, Fellow workers, let's get back of this campaign. Let's put it across. Let's make Labor Action a weekly. Make this the first business on the agenda at your next branch meeting. Make this your most important task between now and July 31.

Build Labor Action!

Onion Strike Brings Guns But No Rain

(Continued from Page 1) plowing, preparing—used to be deducted from the landlord's share, but no more. The tenant foots the bill. Fitting runs as high as \$12.50 an acre, the yield per acre is from 200 to 250 bushels. Last year a crate of 1 1/4 bushels brought 17 cents.

Strike Brings Injunction

When the strike was called, strike signs were posted on the highways leading into the Marsh: "Official Picket Line—Stop." There was no violence. Two days later Judge Hamilton E. Hoge handed down an injunction, granted at the request of the Growers' Association, including the large land companies.

The strikers could not gather in groups, said the injunction, of more than two at a time. Nor could they persuade those who were employed or those who might be employed not to work. Fifty-four deputy-sheriffs, recruited from the Harding county militia, were placed on the job. By July 1st the groups of picketing strikers, consisting of 2 to a group, were being kept 100 feet apart.

"My family can't walk down the highway," a striker explained, "without violating the injunction." O'Dell, president of the union, which has applied to the A. F. of L. for a charter, was arrested and jailed for 10 days for contempt of court. A crowd collected about him when Jennings Stambough, a landowner, flourished a revolver. O'Dell was arrested.—Not Jennings.

Reinforcements for the strikers came from Lima and Columbus, consisting of members and organizers of the Ohio Unemployed League.

Sheriff Threatens Pickets

Sheriff Mitchell, with Judge Hoge, after a roundup of 35 pickets without charges, addressed the pickets in the Keaton armory.

"The county has a dog pound in the basement of the jail which hasn't been used for 15 years," he said. "It is ripe for outside agitators and they'll be put down there with plenty of time on their hands to clean it up because they won't have to take time out for meals—there won't be any meals."

Warren C. Montross, National Unemployed League organizer and member of the American Workers Party, called the sheriff's bluff. He was not arrested and placed in the dog pound. Instead, the sheriff hit back next day by giving a story to the Associated Press that Montross and the A. F. of L. organizer were "working against each other," although there was no A. F. of L. organizer on the scene.

Weatherman Can Help

The weatherman can give the strikers a great break. Rain followed by hot days will send the weeds up between the rows and choke out the onion crops.

Gunmen, militiamen as deputies, are thick as rain drops. General Connolly of the Ohio National Guard is on the scene, as well as other officers of the outfit. The sub-machine guns and side-arms are said to have been provided by the Kenton armory. The deputies, termed by Governor George White as being present as "private citizens," cost the taxpayers of the county about \$1,800 a week. Enough, say the strikers, to furnish them a good wage.

Meanwhile, the Unemployed Leagues are planning to smash the injunction by mass-violation.

\$2,000,000 GIFTS

NEWPORT, R. I.—John Jacob Astor, who married Ellen Tuck French here Saturday, bought this bride \$2,000,000 worth of gifts. Young Astor asked that the wedding be recorded in moving pictures.

"Fifty years hence," he said, "people will want to see this wedding of an Astor."

Nothing happening in America today was of more historic importance, he said.

Police Frame Bill Reich In New Drive on League

(Special to Labor Action) Columbus, Ohio.

As the opening gun in a police campaign to smash the unemployed movement in Ohio, another attempt was made to "frame" Bill Reich, militant leader of the Ohio Unemployed League. Reich was arrested on the picket line of the Davies' Packing Company workers who are striking in protest against the discharge of 33 fellow workers for union membership. Placed in solitary confinement and held incommunicado for two days before charges were made against him, Reich was later released pending further developments.

On June 25th three fourths of the workers of the Davies' Company struck after 14 truckdrivers were summarily fired on June 24th. This brought the total discharged for union membership over a period of four months to 33.

Spectators Give Aid

In spite of the absence of competent leadership, picket lines were immediately set up and sympathizing spectators increased in number from 200 to more than 1,000.

Violence broke out when police attempted to aid scabs by escorting them through the picket lines, sometimes using radio cruisers to break through. A striker who jumped to the running board of a cruiser and grabbed the steering wheel to prevent the car from running down a girl picket was arrested for assault and battery.

Windows were broken and several trucks laden with the company's products were destroyed.

Call Upon League

The strikers sent a delegation to the Ohio Unemployed League, asking for assistance. On the evening of the same day a crowd collected about the plant under the Rattlesnake banner, singing, cheering and defying the Safety Director and Chief of Police who demanded immediate dispersal of the crowd and the limiting of pickets to 40.

Bill Reich answered the Safety Director:

"Our answer to this should be an absolute NO. The Safety Director knows that the way to break this strike is to limit the picket line."

Police began arriving in droves until there were more than 300 on the scene. They dispersed the crowd with tear-gas while the workers attempted to retaliate with bricks and stones.

Reich Is Arrested

Reich was arrested on the evening of the following day when he organized a picket line of 60 workers in defiance of police who had been closely guarding the plant all day allowing no one to congregate. He was placed in jail, allowed to see no one and refused the privilege of communicating with his lawyer.

Charges brought against him included inciting to riot, vagrancy, and being a suspicious person.

Milwaukee Shows How to Make the Boss Quit Smiling

Emphasizes Lessons Of Minneapolis-Toledo In Winning Despite Labor Boards

(By Special Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wisc.—Milwaukee has emphasized the lessons taught by Minneapolis and Toledo. Not labor boards but militant mass picketing wins strikes!

When the unions started to organize the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light, a subsidiary of the North American Company, a bitter opponent of organized labor, they were faced—as usual—with the discharge of active union workers. The case was carried to the National Labor Board, which ordered a number of men taken back. The Electric Company defied the ruling.

That was all the National Labor Board was able to do, except revoke the company's Blue Eagle, which got from the company a smile and nothing more.

They Had To Strike

The unions had to strike. The strike began on Tuesday, June 26. At first it caused hardly a flurry. Less than 200 of the 4,700 employees failed to appear for work the first day. All service operated as usual. But the workers of Milwaukee had learned the lesson of Minneapolis and Toledo.

Question Box

(See answers on page 5)

1. Is the American Legion anti-labor?
2. Would putting more money into circulation end the depression?
3. How many loaves of bread can a farmer buy with a bushel of wheat?
4. What is a liberal newspaper?
5. Does a worker have the right to demand of the relief authorities a good house in which to live?
6. Who is an "outsider"?
7. What are the requirements for membership in the American Workers Party?

3,000 New Subscribers by August 1.

DO YOUR PART!

Pathe Man Tells Harris "Go to It" "Did I?" He Asks

Dave Harris, speaking for the American Workers Party on Columbus Circle, was surprised when a Pathe newsreel man planted a microphone in front of the platform and told him to "go to it."

"This American Workers Party led the Toledo strike, didn't it?" asked the Pathe man, and when Harris assured him that he was barking up the right tree, he said the picture would be shown all over the country, so Harris had better give them a hot speech, giving the party's program.

"And did I give it?" says Harris. "Every other word was the American Workers Party, and every other word was revolution. If those SBs don't cut it all out when the censors get hold of it, that speech will make a thousand converts to the party."

Harris, who with Comrade Lynch, holds the New York record for selling Labor Action, held a copy of the paper "up high so that the camera couldn't fail to see it." The comrades, both of whom are veteran open-air speakers, sell bundles of Labor Actions at 5 cents each wherever they speak. They sell 75 and 80 at a stand.

Top Leaders, No Rank and File in SP Jobless Call

NEW YORK.—Issuing a call for an Eastern conference, the New York Joint Conference of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, embracing the organizations of New York under Socialist-Lovestone control, has taken steps toward the setting-up of a "national" organization of the unemployed. Ignoring the militant National Unemployed Leagues, the call stresses the "need" for a national movement.

Limited To Top Leaders

The Socialist-Lovestone leaders have limited representation to only the top leaders, imitating the official Communist Party policy of capturing themselves at their own convention. By putting through their undemocratic plan of representation, these generals without armies hope to formulate their pipe-dream plans without the annoyance of interference of the rank-and-file.

BULLETIN

As we go to press we are informed that Local 22 of the Workers Unemployed Union of Greater New York has passed a resolution demanding that the proposed regional conference take no steps towards setting up a new national unemployed organization in competition with the NUL, that delegates be elected by the rank and file rather than by the top leadership, and that the City Central Committee of the Workers Unemployed Union elect Fraternal Delegates to the NUL Convention and instruct the Locals to do likewise.

Relief Roll Mounts In 'Richest City'

NEW YORK.—Anyone traveling in the subways of New York is informed through the medium of numerous placards that the needy of "America's richest city" have but to go to the nearest relief station to get relief. But this is a far cry from the real situation. Since September applications for relief have mounted at the rate of 1,500 a day, while appropriations have proportionately decreased.

Red tape runs rampant in the cumbersome relief set-up. Clothing has not been given out for over 7 months. Work relief workers are being cut from supplementary relief on charges of chiseling. Rent checks are invariably long overdue, sometimes being paid when the family is on the street. There are 350,000 unemployed in New York and only 100,000 on the relief rolls.

Add 50,000 Recruits to C.C. Camps

Move To Put More Men In Work Camps Seen As Significant Trend

(Special to Labor Action)

WASHINGTON.—Pres. Roosevelt has ordered that 50,000 additional recruits be sent to the government work camps of the Citizens Conservation Corps. Forty five thousand recruits will be between the ages of 18 and 25 and 5,000 will be war veterans. This with replacements will bring the government work camp population to 353,000 men.

Orders directing the army officers in charge of the camps to increase the strength of the C. C. Camps have been sent out by the War Department.

A Significant Trend

The fact that the move to strengthen and multiply the number of work camps in the United States is being made at a time when Germany and other major powers, who maintain similar work camps, are making a drive to get in more young men is looked upon here as a significant trend. The camps are manned by militarists who also have charge of the classes in which the young men are trained for "the future."

Fear Anti-Labor Use

In some quarters fear is being expressed that the camps are being used to inculcate in the nation's youth a hatred for radicalism and the militant tenets of labor. It is pointed out that the government, the states and employers are using more and more armed forces against the workers. This use of state forces is certain to increase, informed observers say.

Some of them frankly look upon the camps as training and recruiting grounds for men who can be used by the state and the employers in industrial emergencies. It was noted that the increasing tendency to enlist the unemployed young men in work projects under the direction of the War Department is not confined to the United States, but is practically world wide, being marked particularly in Germany where employers have succeeded in forbidding strikes and smashing labor organizations.

AFFILIATE WITH NUL

Highlander Folk School In Scene Of Reorganization of Cumberland Mountain League

By EVELYN HOWARD

MONTEAGLE, Tenn.—At an open air mass meeting of the Cumberland Mountain League with the Socialist Local and the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, the League voted to affiliate with the National Unemployed League.

Gathered at the "Cross Ties Pile" where the meeting was held, the crowd celebrated the anniversary of the "Bugwood" strike.

The main purpose was to organize for better relief.

Reorganize On The Spot

The meeting was so successful that on the spot the unemployed reorganized into the Cumberland Mountain Workers and Unemployed League and voted to affiliate with the national organization.

Herschell Phillips, one of the strike leaders of the Harriman Hosiery Mills, told the story of the strike. Zilla Hawes, organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, talked on the Declaration of Independence.

Steps are now being taken to demand more relief from Grundy county.

Camp Conowapa

Seventy-five AWPers and sympathizers participated in the July 4 outing to Camp Conowapa. The trip included a boat-ride, swimming, and addresses by A. J. Mus-te and V. F. Calverton.

Muste In Tour Tells AWP Plan

Carries Message For End Of Capitalism System, Informs Governor

(Continued from Page 1)

places. "In view of the recent incident at Belleville, this trip has special significance.

"What reactionary employers seek to accomplish by such tactics as were employed in Belleville is to prevent our party from telling the workers the truth about their profiteering at the expense of the masses. These reactionaries have no respect even for their own laws. They constantly and openly violate the NRA, for example. They deprive the workers of their constitutional rights of free speech, assemblage, collective bargaining, peaceful picketing. They use the courts as tools for their subversive purposes.

"The American Workers Party refuses to consider itself enjoined from activity in Illinois while the courts decide what to do about the Belleville case, or for that matter at any other time. We have a right to lay our program before the masses. We will exercise that right.

Believes In Revolution

"The American Workers Party has no affiliation or connection with the Communist Party. It disagrees with many of the tactics of the C. P., especially its disruptive tactics in the unions. The AWP believes, however, in the complete abolition of the capitalist system under which workers suffer and starve in the very midst of plenty. It believes that the profit system must be eliminated and a genuine workers republic established by the revolutionary action of the workers.

"We believe that the workers and farmers of Illinois are back of us when we exercise our right of free speech. We call for and confidently count upon their support.

"Reactionary employers and their political tools often contend that they break up labor meetings because the workers do not wish to listen to any radical proposals. This is never true except when these reactionaries deliberately fill the minds of the workers with lies and refuse to permit them to know the truth.

Protest Is Bearing Fruit

"Evidence is already forthcoming that the rising protest of the workers against the denial of free speech and the right to organize is bearing fruit. A. J. Muste and his companions of the American Workers Party who were held recently for the grand jury at Belleville, Ill. charged with plotting to overthrow the government have, according to a recent editorial in the St. Louis Star Times, 'won a victory regardless of what happens in the court. State Senator Monroe of Collinsville announces that at the next session of the Legislature he will introduce a bill to repeal the obnoxious clause of the 1919 treason law under which the arrests were made.'

"The battle to abrogate this reactionary anti-labor statute can be won only by the workers and farmers of Illinois. This matter concerns not Illinois alone but the entire nation.

"The American Workers Party pledges its support to the movement to abrogate the present statute. In the meantime it will continue to exercise its constitutional right to proclaim its program and build its organization."

Assistant State's Attorneys, George Hall, of Hillsboro, and H. Webb, of Belleville, Ill., who took the lead in the prosecution of Muste, Cross and Mayer, were forwarded copies of the statement before the Party's leader left the National Office in New York for Illinois.

DOES HE BELIEVE IN REVOLUTION? YES!



A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Workers Party, on trial in Belleville, Ill. charged with "attempting to reform and overthrow the United States government by unlawful means."

Fight Ban Of Rights In Illinois

Committee Is Organized Against Oppression And Fascism

BELLEVILLE, Ill.—A state committee for the Restoration of Constitutional Rights in Illinois has been formed to combat the repression of workers by courts and police under the anti-sedition law, passed in 1919, which has resulted recently in a score of arrests.

In a report on persecution and denial of Constitutional rights, the Committee cites an increasing use of terroristic methods by courts, employers and the American Legion.

Kept In Dark Cell

At Hillsboro 11 unemployed demonstrators are in jail on charges of criminal-syndicalism. They are being kept in a dark cell without sufficient food, the report states.

On Monday, May 21, Norman Thomas was arrested at Taylorville and held four hours without charges. The arrest was made when Thomas attempted to speak at a public meeting, which had been forbidden by the sheriff.

The law invoked for the arrest of A. J. Muste and his comrades had not been used for 15 years, and was a product of war time hysteria.

Legion Promotes Fascism

"In addition to these legal persecutions," the Committee's report states, "there has been a growing manifestation of fascist activities," and cites the organization at Staunton of a unit of the Silver Shirts under the auspices of the American Legion.

U. S. Nazis Join National Guard

NEW YORK.—Evidence was given that U. S. military officials, the National Guard and the American Legion are cooperating with Nazi agents from Germany, in hearings before the Congressional Committee investigating foreign propaganda. Nazis from Germany have been joining the National Guard, Nazi witnesses admitted.

75 Injured in Strike Battle

BRIDGEPORT, N. J.—Seventy-five were injured when a mob of deputized gunmen attempted to disperse 200 farm strikers. Women and children took part in the battle. The landlords are calling for the National Guard.

Highlights on the Illinois Fight

By GERRY ALLARD

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — W. O. Thompson, who recently resigned from the National Recovery Review Board, better known as the "Darrów Board", has written a stinging letter to Governor Horner calling upon the Governor to stop the "fascist violence and suppression of liberty in Illinois." Thompson made references to the Muste-Cross-Mayer, Hillsboro and Norman Thomas cases as example of what is taking place in the state of Illinois against the workers and their organizations.

The American Civil Liberties Union, in a news release issued June 26 from its New York offices, officially pledges support to the Muste-Cross-Mayer case. The St. Louis branch of the Civil Liberties Union rendered valuable services from the inception of the fight.

Literally hundreds of letters have poured into the offices of county and state authorities demanding the release of the fourteen workers held on criminal syndicalist charges. The sheriff of Montgomery county, Saatoff, was grieving over the receipt of so many protests and he exclaimed: "Tell those people to stop sending me protests. I am not responsible

for the arrest of these boys." The old boy is beginning to feel the power of organized workers.

The state committee of the Socialist Party of Illinois has gone on record demanding the release of all political prisoners held in connection with the criminal syndicalist charges. A circular letter was forwarded to all branches of the party requesting that all units take similar action.

The Illinois Workers Alliance, an organization with approximately 90 affiliated branches, claiming 18,000 members, has added its voice to the growing list of those pledging solidarity.

Oswald Garrison Villard, one of the editors of the liberal NATION, wired friends to aid in the cases of Muste-Cross-Mayer, when the trio were held incommunicado in the St. Clair county jail.

Scores of labor groups, Women's Auxiliaries, local unions, liberal clubs and the like, have scored the authorities of Illinois because of their frame-up machinations. The Progressive Miners of America, particularly, has become aroused over the cases. So tremendous was the pressure from below that the top leadership began to conform.

Two Camps - Writer Says Intellectuals Must Choose

"The intellectual needs the worker to know himself completely," writes Ramon Fernandez in the June issue of the Modern Monthly.

Fernandez, one of the most important critics and writers of contemporary France, was until recently an intellectual of the non-partisan, "liberal" persuasion. But following the cue of Andre Gide to whom he addresses his convictions in an Open Letter, Fernandez now sees that "absence from the proletarian camp means being present in the camp of its enemies."

"Liberalism Is Dead"

Liberalism was the safety valve and also the collection plate that formerly protected the intellectual from the less comfortable aspects of the social struggle. But "Liberalism is dead; today it is a cheque that cannot be redeemed. The movement of the proletariat toward liberation is analogous to the movement of the mind toward truth."

Fernandez, however, has not joined any party. The Socialist

party—"is singularly slack, incontrovertibly shot through and through with liberalist atony." Fernandez believes firmly in revolution as the only possible agent for the transfer of power from capitalism to a workers' society.

Balks At C.P. Tactics

But this does not, as in France would seem logical, lead Fernandez to the Communist Party. Agreeing with its theory of action, that is with revolution, he balks at its tactics. "I have no love for churches. I always fear that the doors and stained glass windows of the church darken the eyes of the faithful to the shifting reality outside."

Nevertheless this dilemma must be met and conquered, not avoided. The intellectual can no longer remain indifferent to the class struggle. He must give himself to the workers' cause, Fernandez argues: "It is a question of winning over the intellectuals to the working class by making them recognize the identity of their spiritual conflict and of their condition as producers."

Police Kill 2 Dock Strikers, Tie-up Looms

Angered By The Murders Labor Unions Threaten General Strike

FRISCO BULLETIN

Police killed two strikers, injured many. Governor Merriam ordered 1,750 National Guards to clear the waterfront.

"We have 4,000 additional men if necessary. If that is not enough we will call the national army." The Commander of the Guards declared.

State use of the soldiers against the strikers has aroused labor unions to an unprecedented pitch of anger. A general strike is in the air.

"We are ready to unleash the full strength of organized labor," the chairman of the strategy board of the San Francisco Central Labor Council said.

At Portland, 80 unions are meeting to formulate plans for a general strike. In Frisco 3,700 teamsters have voted to strike.

* * *

(By Special Correspondent)

SAN FRANCISCO—With martial law expected hourly, the San Francisco waterfront strike has entered a new phase which threatens to make it one of the bloodiest capital-labor conflicts in recent years.

Mediation efforts of the past week, made by President Roosevelt's special mediation board, have broken down with the refusal of the employers to consider the International Longshoremen's Association's basic demand—union control of hiring halls.

The San Francisco Industrial Association, backed up by the Chamber of Commerce, is obviously intent upon breaking the back of the new militant alliance among maritime workers. The waterfront unions, supported by the powerful Teamster's Union whose members have refused to haul cargo to or from the piers, are equally determined to hold out for their basic demands. The struggle between the two groups broke into open warfare on July 3, when the Industrial Association attempted to "open the port" with the aid of police protection.

Responsible For Riots

Responsibility for the daily riots now raging along San Francisco's far-flung waterfront rests squarely upon the shoulders of the Industrial Association. It has refused to wait for any further negotiations by the Mediation Committee and has turned down the appeals of Mayor Rossi to postpone its forcible opening of the port. Strikebreakers have been imported from Los Angeles and almost the entire police force of the city is concentrated on the waterfront to protect the movement of cargo from the huge picket lines of the workers, massed across from the dock on San Francisco's wide Embarcadero.

Develop Guerrilla Warfare

Since the movement of the first truck under heavy police escort, strikers, strikebreakers and police have engaged in continuous guerrilla warfare climaxing in several major clashes. The police are using vast quantities of tear gas, special riot clubs and sawed-off shotguns in dispersing the strikers. A number of strikers have already been shot down. The men are fighting back with their fists and stones as their only weapons and to date one strikebreaker has been killed, 11 policemen injured.

The strikers have managed to overturn and set fire to several trucks and have succeeded in partially blocking operation of the state-owned Belt Line railroad which carries freight along the docks. It is the threat to this railroad which Acting-Governor Merriam (cooling himself in the role of Calvin Coolidge, no doubt) is using as an excuse for the declaration of martial law.

The Chairman Rapped for Order

By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

(Concluding Ernest Rice McKinney's fine story of a hot argument about politics in the Leagues.)

Part II

It was Monday night, the crowded room was hot, and big drops of sweat ran down the educational director's nose.

"Mr. Chairman!" Pat Gary jumped up and everyone began talking at once. The educational director's words had exploded in the room like so many firecrackers. The league was a political organization, but it was non-partisan! What the devil did that mean? How could that be?

"Mr. Chairman, if you please—"

"Just a minute, brother, your turn will come." The chairman rapped for order and nodded to the educational director to go on.

The educational director took the occasion to borrow a cigarette from Ben Williams who hadn't worked a day in four months. When the director spoke, he leaned forward as if about to jump over the members sitting in the front row.

"Now men," he began, forgetting the women in the room, "why do we go into the streets and demonstrate? We discovered long ago that we get only what we are strong enough to get. We found in the early days of the league that the birds who pass out relief are the same birds who control everything else. They own the banks and factories, they own all the jobs, they make the laws, and they control the government. Is that so or is it not?"

"Yes," said voices in the room.

"And if they don't like a law they go to Washington, or to the state capital, or to the city council, and raise hell until it's changed. Is that so?"

"That's right," Pat boomed.

"And they have two political parties to give them what they want—the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Is that so?"

"The Lord's truth," said Ben Williams. Ben was a Democrat. Poor Ben had been a Democrat as long as he could remember. It had become a habit with him like cigarettes. "The Lord's truth," he said. "Neither of 'em's worth a damn. Ladies, excuse me! Mr. Chairman, these people think it's funny to hear old Ben saying this, but I want to say—"

"Just a minute, brother." The chairman rapped on the table and motioned to the educational director to proceed. Williams sat down, still a Democrat. He was always lambasting the "rich men's parties", and always voting for them.

"We talk about going to Washington," said the director. "We know that the bosses have big lobbies in Washington and we haven't got a look in—they ring circles around us. Well, what do we want? What are we trying to do? It comes down to just one thing. We want power in the government. We've got to have it, or we cannot get what we want. Which means that the basis of power has to be shifted from the bosses and their agents, the politicians, to the workers and their representatives. This means that the government has to be changed—from a bosses' government to a workers' government. Changed, completely and absolutely. This will have to happen before the unemployed, both inside and outside the leagues, can ever hope to get one-half or even one-third of what they want—clothes and food and shoes and homes and security on which a family can be reared in decency and happiness.

"That is why the Unemployed Leagues are political organizations—when our program is put into effect, the whole government will be changed. All the organizations of the workers, unions, leagues and federations, when they sincerely fight for their aims and rights, are moving toward a workers' government.

"They don't have to be political parties, they don't have vote—if they fight for the demands of working women and men in this land they are hitting at the very foundations of the government itself, for the government, powerful

with armies, navies, police forces, courts and jails, makes it possible for the bankers and bosses to rule, protects them, protects their property and profits. In fact, if you look close enough, you'll see that the government is made up of the bosses! And any organization that threatens this profit-sharing set-up of the bosses is a political organization. You can't get away from it!

"The bankers and business men are against us! They will continue to be against us. They have the kind of government they want and the kind of political parties they want. They are all Republicans or Democrats and they will use every means in the world to disrupt and destroy our organization. They are not asleep, brothers, don't you believe that. This is why we workers have to have, in addition to our mass organization of the unemployed, a political party of our own—a working class political party.

"This working class party will take the lead in helping the workers create a new government. Through it the workers will say what kind of government they want, and what kind of laws.

"So if it is worth its salt, a workers' party does not hesitate to present its program to all workers' organizations. It will want this program discussed. If the workers do not accept it at once, the party will not feel hurt, because we here know from our own experience that the habit of voting for the old parties is a hard one for some people to overcome. But the militant and advanced workers, who make up the party, understand that the other workers are won on the basis of the party's activities on the picket line, in relief demonstrations and in the workers' fights for their rights and dues."

At this point a droning hubbub began to issue audibly from a far corner of the room.

It was Miss Wright telling Mrs. Donovan about the new boarder at Mrs. Shrope's.

The educational director, the sweat dripping from his nose and chin, took the occasion to bend over Ben Williams to borrow another cigarette.

The meeting stopped until Miss Wright had finished, which she finally did, and the chairman did not have to rap for order. Mrs. Donovan, a very stout woman, turned exceedingly red when she looked up and saw the chairman leaning over the table, waiting for them to stop.

"Mr. Chairman, a point of information," called Pat Gary.

"Yes, brother."

"May we proceed or do we have to wait?"

"Have you finished, Sister Wright?" the chairman asked.

"I want to ask a question," cried Miss Wright. "What does he mean by saying that we are a political organization, but that we are non-partisan? I can't get that straight, seems like."

"Amen," said Ben Williams, clapping his knees. It was generally understood in the community that Miss Wright had once done Ben a dirty trick. When he was courting the widow Smith, Miss Wright, who helped her wash for people sometimes, told her that Mr. Williams was a "windbag."

"Amen," said Williams, slapping his knees.

The chairman laid the hammer, which he used for a gavel, on the table, and nodded to the director. The director leaned forward, ready to jump over the front row, and said:

"By non-partisan we mean only that we do not inquire into the political affiliations of a worker who wants to join the Unemployed League. We mean that the Unemployed League is not committed to the program of any particular political party. The League, like a union, takes in all workers, regardless of politics.

"But get this straight, my friends, the active people in our leagues, the hard workers, the leaders, the most politically advanced of the membership, are not here to build up the Democratic or Re-

publican Parties. They know that we will at last have to build a political party of our own. They know that the leagues must always remain free and open to all workers, even if they are Republicans or Democrats, and that the leagues, although helped and inspired by the workers' party, must always remain mass economic organizations, expressing the will of the rank and file. Every member of the League has the right to vote as he pleases. That is what we mean when we say we are non-partisan.

"I hope I have made it clear to you why and how the Unemployed League is a political organization but not a political party.

"I hope also that you see why it is that the workers must have their own party."

A buzz of voices went up as the speaker sat down.

"Mr. Chairman!" Two or three comrades took the floor and the chairman's hammer pounded the table. Pat Gary stood on a bench with his arm going in a circle. "Mr. Chairman, please!" But at that moment the custodian rang the bell notifying the local that it was 11 o'clock and time to get out. The meeting was adjourned.

Outside, the members gathered around the educational director to continue the discussion. Pat swore and bemoaned that he had never seen anything so clearly before in his life. He shook the director's hand. Looking around, they saw old man Williams going down the street, toward home.

Leagues Have Learned Much About Law and Government

(Continued from Page 1)

is becoming increasingly evident. The number of the unemployed may perhaps be slightly less today than it was a year ago but the misery of the unemployed becomes greater and not less. In addition, the employed workers, in spite of codes and minimum wage provisions, find their living standards being steadily driven down.

CWA and FERA

These are facts the workers know today. And promises and fair words from Washington have ceased to be effective. For a time the CWA, and this cannot be denied, did act as a brake to the rising resentment of the jobless masses. Organization and militant action were checked. But it was only for a very short time. Strikes on CWA jobs became more and more frequent. And in these strikes the workers learned much about public officials and the so called courts of law. In some cases, as in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, these CWA strikes were the means of reviving and building the leagues.

But perhaps the most important result of these CWA and FERA strikes is the growing cooperation of the unemployed workers with the employed. In the unemployed leagues the term scab has come to have the same meaning that it has in the trade unions. And it is becoming increasingly hard for the bosses to use the unemployed as strike breakers.

Union Of Unemployed With Employed

The outstanding example of this cooperation of the unemployed workers with the employed is Toledo. Not only did the members of the Unemployed League refuse to scab on the strike of the Auto-Lite workers, but they helped to man the picket lines and were largely instrumental in smashing the vicious court injunction and therefore in winning the strike.

However, this cooperation of the unemployed with the employed workers in their strikes is no longer news. It has become the regular thing. All over the country today, wherever there is an Unemployed League, unemployed workers march with employed workers on picket lines. In many cases old

Silk Workers Repudiate Expulsion Policies Of The Leaders

By KARL LORE

Silk workers of Paterson, N. J. are adding their voice to the growing chorus of those disgusted with trade union bureaucrats, and who are resolved to end the shameful practices that have been so serious a liability to the trade union movement in the past. Some weeks ago in this column, I dealt with the case of seven militant members of the Associated Silk Workers, A. F. of L. union in the Paterson silk mills, and with the effort of Eli Keller, general manager of the union, to railroad them out of the organization for their activities.

Czar Keller expelled them from the union ranks. He did not reckon with the membership however. A recent regular membership meeting of 1,000 members of the Broad Silk Department adopted a resolution calling on the Joint Executive Board, the Department Board and the General Membership meeting to throw out the expulsions and to reinstate the expelled militants to their places in the union. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the motion in spite of the fact that none of the victimized workers was allowed to attend or state his case. A subsequent meeting of the Jacquard department was prevented from doing the same only by the trickery of the department offi-

cialdom who ruled the resolution out of order on a technicality. Thus these two departments which include the great majority of the workers in the union, have shown their belief in trade union democracy and have repudiated the expulsion policy of their leadership. It is interesting to note also that Keller has not yet called a General Membership meeting although such a meeting is overdue.

Lovestone Explains

Now Keller is a member of the organization known as the Communist Party Opposition. In the latest issue of its official organ, this group, far from spanking an erring son for committing high crimes against the organized silk workers, rushes into print with a defense of his action in sending union men into a shop to scab on workers striking against discrimination and a wage cut. The explanation is pretty thin, to be sure, but then they have a very very bad job to make the best of.

Facts Are Facts

The fellow workers of the United Silk Workers Club and the A. W. P. first came into conflict with Keller immediately after his election when they asked the Broad Silk Department Executive Board to make a full investigation of the case of the Roy Silk Company where a strike of the Communist National Textile Workers Union was on and where Keller had been sending in men to scab. The request was turned down flatly. Why was Keller afraid to present his case to the union membership!!!

Our comrades had no use for the National Union. They knew it as a disruptive force in the industry. They felt however that the way to convince these workers of that, was to help them in their fight against legitimate grievances, and not by trying to blackjack them into the A. F. of L. union as Keller was trying to do. Nor did the National Union receive us with open arms as the Lovestonites claim. The National organizers tried to keep our comrades away from the strikers and objected heatedly to our participation.

For The Associated.

Our comrades made their position clear. They told the strikers that they were for the Associated Union. Keller has accused us of working with the National Union against the interests of the A. S. W. If that is true it was the most costly cooperation that the N. T. W. ever had. For as a result of our work, the leader of the strike and many of the rank and file joined the Associated Union.

Our slogan at all times was "keep the union clean". It was the members of the United Silk Workers Club who fought to hold the good name of the union aloft.

Farmers' Rights and Purposes", which opened with this sentence: "When, in a nation possessing unlimited resources, along with the greatest industrial and transportation equipment the world has ever known, there develops a condition wherein millions of citizens are forced into dire destitution and starvation through being denied access to the tools of production, then it becomes their duty to organize to change these conditions."

"In order that these evils may be remedied and these ends accomplished", the Declaration ended, "we determine and declare that the profit system with its meaningless depressions, its needless miseries, its suicidal wars and its gross injustices must come to an end, and we furthermore declare that it is the solemn duty of every worker and farmer to bend every effort through organization and through determined action in unity with all workers and farmers to fight to destroy this system and to set up a workers' and farmers' republic in America."

Undoubtedly these words will have added meaning to the unemployed workers who come as delegates, many from new states, to the N.U.L. convention this July.

line union officials have frowned on this. They object to the militancy displayed by the jobless. But the rank and file of the unions have greeted the cooperation of the jobless with open arms, and the solidarity between the employed and the unemployed grows daily.

Public Officials Object

The state and local public officials, of course, do not approve of this growing union of the unemployed with the employed. The drive against the Unemployed Leagues by the authorities, the attempt to smash them, increases. The Leagues are becoming more and more an essential part of the labor movement and therefore an important power to be reckoned with by the bosses and by the government.

A few years ago membership in an Unemployed League carried with it few obligations. The size and strength of the Leagues, for this reason, fluctuated enormously. There were no dues, which meant that the business of the organizations had to be carried on by contributions, mostly from sympathizers and friends. Believing that unemployment was a temporary phenomenon, the organizations of the unemployed did not have a sense of permanency. Their chief function was to fight against evictions and for a more honest and adequate distribution of relief.

Leagues Become Permanent

During the past year the attitude of the members of the Unemployed Leagues to their organizations has changed. The Leagues are more and more taking on the character of unions. This is reflected in the increasing sentiment on the part of the rank and file for dues payment. Although the constitutions of the Leagues prohibit dues assessments, a growing number of Leagues are devising ways of raising support from their own membership. At the recent convention of the Pennsylvania state Unemployed League, for example, a program of financing an organization campaign was voted, calling for the voluntary assessment of a cent a day from each member.

Last Year's Declaration

Last year's convention adopted a "Declaration of Workers' and

THEIR Government

by James Burnham

The adjournment of Congress emphasizes what might be called a psychological preparation for Fascism, that has been going on in this country for several years. From a political point of view, Fascism means the abandonment of the traditional forms of bourgeois democracy. With the increasingly rapid disintegration of capitalist society, the capitalist dictatorship, in order to maintain power, can no longer make use of the so-called "parliamentary system." Its dictatorship becomes more open and ruthless, supported wherever and whenever necessary by armed force and terror.

Parliament—Its Function

One of the proudest achievements of bourgeois democracy is the "parliament", "Congress", "Chamber of Deputies", "Duma"—it is called by a great variety of names—the "supreme" legislative body elected by vote of all the people. For many centuries the rising capitalist class fought, often in bloody civil war, for the right to have an elected parliament. The parliament was the political weapon which the bourgeoisie used against the feudal nobles and the king. In its modern, elective form (as opposed to any hereditary or class basis) it is the creation of the bourgeoisie. In any given nation, the time when the parliament became in fact the supreme political body marks the time when the capitalist system had been firmly and conclusively established.

To Protect The Capitalists

Parliaments serve also another function. In the beginning they were most important as the political weapon for use against feudalism. But when capitalism became firmly established, and this first use was no longer necessary, parliaments became a meeting-place in which the political agents of various factions of the capitalist class could settle their differences in words and speeches and "deals" instead of by force, as would otherwise have been necessary. In this way, the capitalists within a nation kept comparative peace among themselves, and reserved violence for use against foreign nations, or their own workers. If it had not been for parliaments and congresses, the capitalists within each nation would probably have killed one another off long ago.

But as capitalism dissolves into the state of chaos it has now reached throughout the world, the capitalist class can no longer afford the luxury of parliaments. Parliaments are too slow and cumbersome. They permit too many differences of opinion, too many public expressions of "unpopular" points of view. To stave off its own ruin, the capitalist dictatorship in these days must act more quickly and decisively.

No Longer Works

Therefore, in every capitalist country of the world we now see a drive against parliaments and congresses. The capitalist dictatorship is destroying its own creature. This is true not only in openly fascist countries, where the parliaments have become no more than casual rubber stamps to the political actions of the dictators. In every other country—England, France, the United States—the parliaments are losing one power after another.

In this country the process has been greatly speeded up under Roosevelt. No president has ever ruled Congress with more of an iron hand. With two minor exceptions (the St. Lawrence Treaty and the Economy Act) Congress has not dared to vote against him.

But what is more remarkable and more ominous is that almost universally the capitalist press has greeted this development with hearty approval. In one column a capitalist newspaper stresses "democracy" and "American tra-

Building Labor Internationalism

By A. J. Muste

How can masses which are nationally minded be gotten to build an international or world economic order? That is the problem which confronts the revolutionary labor movement everywhere.

The aim of the movement is fundamentally and necessarily international. There is a contradiction between modern methods of production which involve exchange of raw materials and finished goods among all countries, a scientific economy operated in the interest of human beings under which goods should be raised and produced where that can be most effectively done, the need of the human race for peace and for world-wide cultural exchange—between all this, on the one hand, and the artificial national boundaries which now divide the world into many countries governed by absolute national states ruled by warring capitalist groups. Only the working class can solve this contradiction, and it can do so only by building an international, that is a socialist, economic system.

The modern revolutionary labor movement has accordingly always had an international program and has sought to develop an international organization, trade union internationals and also First, Second and Third political internationals.

Have Fallen Short

The Internationals have always, however, fallen far short of achieving what enthusiasts hoped for. When the war came, the Socialist International fell to pieces. The Third (Communist) International did not bring about the Russian Revolution. It was itself a product thereof, and it has shown great weaknesses and proved ineffective against the advance of Fascism in Europe.

If we are to build an effective revolutionary international which will give the workers a dependable tool of cooperation, we must not be sentimental and try to make ourselves believe that we have an organization when we do not have any.

Full weight must be given to the nationalistic prejudices and emotions which prevail among the masses. It is unscientific, un-Marxian, to think that the masses as a whole can be made thoroughly internationalist in their outlook so long as they live in national states. That assumes that ideas and feelings change radically while conditions remain the same.

Must Change Conditions

If that were the case, there would never be any need of revolution. The fact is we have to change conditions and even then it may take a long time to change the

condition", and in the next it prays for the adjournment of Congress. The whole "business world" heaves a sigh of relief when Congress is out of the way.

Thus does the capitalist press prepare the minds of the people of this country for the day when the parliamentary way of doing business will be done away with for the day of Fascism.

The Great Danger

And this is the great danger: We, too, are against bourgeois democracy, against congresses that are in truth only disguises for the capitalist dictatorship. But we must not be misled by the fascist preparations. We are against bourgeois democracy not because it is democratic, but because it is bourgeois. We are for a genuine democracy. We are indeed against congresses which represent the capitalist dictatorship, but not because they are congresses. We are for a new type of congress—political councils based on the workers in shops and fields and mines, responsible to the workers and acting always in the interest of the workers.

It is not DEMOCRACY, but the capitalist CONCEPTION of democracy that we oppose. Unless we keep this distinction in mind, we shall play into the hands of the enemy.

outlook and emotions of the masses.

This suggests another vital point. In a sense, we cannot draw a distinction between revolutionary and international. They are two sides of the same coin. Psychologically, however, it gets us nowhere to begin by saying to American workers, for example, that French, English, Mexican, Japanese workers are their brothers; therefore they must unite with them to overthrow capitalism everywhere. For the most part, this will be like pouring water on a duck's back; it does not sink in. We begin by showing the American workers that the only solution for their own problems is the revolutionary one; that they will have to overthrow their own capitalist class and their own capitalist state. When they are convinced of that, they will look around for allies and friends. They will find them not among capitalists of any nationality but among the workers of countries which suffer under American imperialism, the workers of other lands who are also fighting to destroy their capitalist states. Thus they will welcome real, not sentimental, internationalists. The German Social Democratic party on the eve of the Great War acted in a nationalistic way because it had no real desire to overthrow its own bourgeoisie and state. If it had had any such desire, it would have welcomed the war-crisis as an opportunity to realize it. The same holds of other Socialist parties in that crisis.

Movement Must Be Native

It follows from the consideration which we have stated that in each country the revolutionary movement must be a native growth. It cannot be imported in a suitcase from some other country. It must be adapted to the special conditions in that country. It must concentrate on taking power in that country. The job of achieving the revolution in the U. S. is in a special sense the job of American workers. Others may advise and help. No one else can do the job for us. It is worth emphasizing that precisely as we build a powerful revolutionary party shall we contribute most effectively toward building a revolutionary international and toward the emancipation of the workers of the world.

A revolutionary party can and

should point out to the masses that only the revolutionary working class and its program can achieve the so-called American ideals. The dream of a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," a nation that knows no oligarchy of birth or wealth, no class distinctions, involves substantial economic equality for all. That can be realized under modern conditions only under social ownership of the means of production. The revolutionary workers who strive for that are the only ones who can realize any worthy American ideals. They will become the nation. The capitalists today under the very cloak of their so-called patriotism, ravish the resources of the country, make a mockery of its ideals, and despoil its people.

Traditions Are Important

A revolutionary party can and should point to the nation's traditions of struggle. The class struggle had to be fought out in 1776 on the plane of that day, in the 1860's on the plane of that period. So it must be fought out today. The nation must be freed of the czars and kaisers of industry and finance and of the whole system for which they stand.

So also the American workers today, may draw inspiration from the fighting tradition of the American working class. Not that we play upon any childish chauvinistic notion that American workers are better fighters than those of other nations. But that it is our task today to see to it that the sacrifices made at Mesaba Range, in the coal fields, in Lawrence, Everett, Gastonia, Marion, by Mooney, by Sacco and Vanzetti and other class-war prisoners, shall not have been made in vain—yes a thousand times!

Thus, as the workers fight their own battles today and under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard come to understand the meaning of those battles and the reason for them, they will feel their kinship with the workers in their own industries, with all the workers throughout the land, with their fellow workers of the past, with the workers of all lands. The workmen of all countries will unite to break their chains—chains of insecurity, of ignorance, of Fascism, of war.

How Did You Answer Them?

(Questions on Page 2)

1. Yes.
2. No. There are nearly a billion more dollars in circulation now than there were in the so-called good year of 1929, when the figure stood at \$4,756,297,000. The thing about money is how fast it circulates; and this movement measures how rapidly or slowly goods are being made, bought and sold. Money in other words simply reflects or "keeps track" of the movement of commodities, the real units of "worth" and value in the capitalist world. The commodities in turn, constitute a debt claim against the money in circulation. So when more money is printed, commodity prices immediately jump, the money shrinks in value and finally a dollar won't buy anything—which is literally true in some cases of inflation.
3. It depends upon where the farmer lives. In the United States he could have bought 7 loaves and a few slices in 1931, while in France he could have bought 42 loaves, in England 23. In July, 1929, which was the most favorable time for farmers in America between 1928 and 1933, our farmer could have bought 15.3 pound-loaves with the price of a bushel of wheat, while in France the farmer could have got 44.9 loaves, and the English farmer 31.3 loaves.
4. A good example of a liberal newspaper is the New York World Telegram—or any other Scripps-Howard paper. Advocating free speech, pretending to be fair and impartial, the Scripps-Howard pa-

pers, nevertheless, invariably take the side of the bosses when the workers engage in a real struggle. Thus, when the Toledo Auto-Lite workers had the guts to defy a vicious court injunction aimed at breaking their strike, the local liberal Scripps-Howard paper launched an attack on Louis Budenz who had been called in by the workers to help them. In front page editorials it screamed about "outside agitators," protesting not at all against the national guard brought in to break the strike. The "liberalism" of a capitalist newspaper is a smoke screen to hide its true identity. A working class newspaper like Labor Action is not liberal, it does not pretend to be impartial, it frankly and openly states that it is on the side of the workers and against the exploiters, it fights for the workers and is an essential part of the working class movement toward emancipation.

5. Yes. It is not only his right but his duty in this age of advanced technology and potential plenty to demand not only a good house, but complete economic security in all its forms.

6. An "outsider" in a strike is one who is not in the labor movement, but who enters the strike from the outside. The leader of the strike, although he may have come from the next town, is never an "outsider," because he is in the labor movement.

7. The A.W.P. fights the bosses and their system, and welcomes every worker who wants to help. "Helping" means building Unions and Unemployed Leagues;

NEWS REEL

By A. A.

Mr. DuPont, head of the huge American powder and other war supplies trust, is pained at all the nasty propaganda against the high-minded armament and munitions ring. Mr. DuPont thinks that in his business there are greater profits in peace-time than in war. Mr. DuPont seems to have forgotten that in the four years prior to the Great War his companies made an average annual profit of some \$6,000,000, while in the four years during the war his firms made a profit of about \$58,000,000 a year!

GOD'S COUNTRY!

Howard Sperry, a stevedore, and Nickolas Bordoise, a waiter, killed in San Francisco, shot in the back by the police in longshoremen strike riots . . . "Let us make this really God's country," says President Roosevelt in radio speech . . . 2,000 troops were out in the strike battle . . . Sixty-nine men and women were injured . . . Taking protection behind telephone poles the police opened fire directly at the strikers . . . "Let us make this God's country," said the President . . . Extra long clubs were issued by the Chief of Police . . . One striker blinded by tear gas stumbled against a mounted officer who struck him across the head, felling him, and then rode into the swirling mass of strikers . . . "Let us make this God's country!" . . . We are equipped with rifles, bayonets, automatic rifles, machine guns and high-powered weapons warns commander of National Guard . . . We have 4,000 additional militia behind us and we can call the regular Army and Navy and Marine Corps to our assistance . . . Law and order will be maintained at any cost . . . "Let us make this God's country," urges President Roosevelt . . . Howard Sperry, stevedore, and Nickolas Bordoise, waiter, lie in state in union headquarters under portrait of the President . . . Sperry and Bordoise were, quite beyond question, shot in the back . . . Here it is, Mr. President . . . God's country!

RECOVERY

A. Krasne, head of an important grocery chain and of a large packing firm, states that business during the past year has been the best in eighteen years. Of course, the volume of sales has been smaller than in previous years, but the profits have been larger.

People are eating less, but what's the difference? Big business is making more money than ever!

HEADLINES

Lehman Corp. Assets Up Over Last Year . . . Guaranty Trust Resources Show Advance . . . Chase National Bank Resources Are Higher . . . National City Bank Assets Increase Over 1933 . . . J. P. Morgan & Co. Statement Shows Gain . . . And 12,000,000 men are still out of work!

The U. S. Army does its little bit. At Portland, Ore., a large crew of strikebreakers loaded the Army transport Meigs with 305 tons of flour.

exposing Fascist groups and war preparations; teaching your fellow workers why and how to overthrow capitalism and set up a workers' government. It means attending meeting, paying dues, getting new members, selling LABOR ACTION, and studying to be a better fighter for your class.

Labor Action

LABOR ACTION is now on sale at all 14th and 23rd Street newsstands as well as on a few stands around Times Square and in Yorkville. One dealer, handling the paper for the first time, sold 15 copies of the last issue. A Sunnyside dealer explained that he was a member of the C.P. and feared to display LABOR ACTION lest he be disciplined.

LABOR ACTION

*With which is merged
LABOR AGE*

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*Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY*

ON TO THE N.U.L. CONVENTION

THE unemployed will rally by the hundreds in Columbus on July 30-August 1 at the second annual convention of the National Unemployed League.

The N.U.L. was formed July 4, 1933 at the most significant workers convention of that year.

At that early date it correctly analyzed the sham of the Roosevelt New Deal. It rallied the unemployed for militant struggle against evictions and for more adequate relief.

The CWA was the result of the hell-raising of the leagues.

In recent months the leagues have furnished dramatic help and often leadership in great labor struggles in all parts of the country. Where they have been active they have smashed the tradition that the unemployed scab on strikers.

The convention this year, in preparation for the sixth winter of unemployment, is of outstanding importance. All unemployed and part time employed should rally to the Columbus convention.

The AWP has always supported this non-partisan, fighting organization. It calls upon all members and friends to put forth the most strenuous efforts in support of the convention.

IN THE GOOD OLD SUMMER TIME

LISTEN, buddy, Roosevelt has gone on a nice vacation to Panama, Hawaii and so on. We know that all you unemployed who have been having a nice vacation for so long will be mighty glad that your pal, Franklin, is going to get a little rest too.

We hope you heard that swell speech he made over the radio before starting on his little trip.

He had a special word for the 11 or 12 million unemployed and the 16 million or more on relief in the United States today. He asked if you were not better off than last year, now that you had had an extra year of unemployment? Are not your debts less burdensome, and isn't your bank account more secure?

Then he had a cheerful word for all the workers who are trying to form unions today and are striking when employers refuse to recognize the right which is supposed to be granted them under the NRA. He reminded us how he had sworn to uphold the Bill of Rights and asked whether any of us had lost any of our "rights or liberties or constitutional freedom of action and choice."

We can just hear the Toledo workers who were gassed by Miniger's deputies and killed by National Guardsmen; Ted Selander, who was held incommunicado by militia for 50 hours; the steel workers whose meeting halls are being bombed by steel com-

pany thugs; the Alabama miners; the Imperial Valley and the Scioto Valley agricultural laborers; Bill Reich who recently spent a month in the workhouse in Columbus, Ohio and is now again jailed for daring to participate in a strike; those 11 Unemployed Council members held in a total of \$176,000 property bail in Hillsboro, and Jimmy Cross, Hank Mayer and A. J. Muste, recently picked up on the streets of Belleville, Ill. and charged with attempting to overthrow the government by unlawful means—we can just hear them shout in a mighty chorus:

"No, of course, our liberties have not been denied or curtailed. Much obliged for your protection, Franklin, old boy. And try to have a jolly good vacation, even though you can't spend it in jail like the rest of us."

SUCCESS STORY

BEFORE starting out on his vacation, Roosevelt appointed Joseph P. Kennedy, "honey mannered Wall Street speculator and pool operator," as head of the Stock Exchange Control Commission. This is the commission which is to keep Wall Street in line in the future and prevent it from profiteering at the expense of the rest of the country.

The appointment is an ideal one. Kennedy is the son of the former political boss of Eastern Boston. He first entered the business world as a candy vendor on an excursion boat. With his earnings he worked his way through Harvard College. He played first base on the Harvard team.

He married a daughter of former mayor John F. Fitzgerald of Boston—"Honey Fitz"—known as widely for his success in politics as for his singing of Sweet Adeline.

In business he has been associated with big banks, the Bethlehem Steel Company, the movies.

He contributed liberally to the Roosevelt campaign fund, the Democratic National Committee is still owing him \$35,000 on loans to the 1932 campaign.

Clearly Wall Street and the nation are safe in his hands.

THE ACID TEST

WILL the newly appointed National Steel Labor Relations Board order an immediate election in Weirton? Will the Board insist that members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers who have been fired by the Weirton Steel Company are given their right to participate in that election? Will the federal administration see to it that when, as is certain to be the case, the majority of the employees of Weirton Steel vote for the A. A. the company is compelled to make an agreement with that union?

These are the questions which the A. A., especially the progressives and militants in that union, must immediately and relentlessly put to the board. This is the acid test as to whether the Board means anything to the workers except an agency of delay, confusion and weakening of morale.

The outlook is not too promising. The chairman of the Board, Judge W. P. Stacy, of North Carolina, when reporters asked him the other day what the Board was going to do, replied that it was still very busy finding out what it is all about.

The Board is composed of Rip Van Winkles who have not heard about Weirton?

Very likely it will try to fumble around with comparatively unimportant discrimination cases or go through the form of holding an election in some insignificant independent mill. Reactionary union officials, scared to death of anything that means work or fight, are likely to acquiesce.

Progressives and militants must fight this tendency. Let the Board order an election in Weirton.

UNDER THE BLUE EAGLE



"Have you lost your rights or liberties or constitutional freedom of action and choice."—Roosevelt asks Nation in radio speech.

of those who were put to death without trial in that week of murder and bloodshed. The reason is not hard to find. Among the one hundred to five hundred murdered men there are too many who had no connection with the Storm Troops and could not possibly have been implicated in their alleged conspiracies. Hitler murdered the leading spirits of the SA in the hope that with them the rebellious spirit of the "left" elements in his own ranks would die. But the treacherous Nero who sits in the Chancellor's seat in the Reich took this opportunity to even up old scores.

What Did Hitler Accomplish?

What did Hitler accomplish with his coup of June 30? His economic difficulties are as great as before. He has equipped the Minister of Economics Dr. Kurt Schmitt with far-reaching dictatorial powers. Schmitt is the dictator who determines what may be imported into and exported from the country. He authorizes the distribution of the raw materials still on hand and of the supplies of manufactured goods, and will institute a system of food and clothing permits. In a word, Germany's industry is to be put on a war basis the end and aim of which seems to be the establishment of a system of economic self-sufficiency for the Reich. The urban and agrarian middle class, the artisan, the small merchant and the poor peasant who supported the National Socialist Party as their most effective weapon against large commercial and manufacturing enterprises and Junker domination of the land must bury their hopes. For the man into whose hands Hitler has placed the economic future of the Third Reich is an outstanding exponent of pre-Hitlerite capitalism, conservative to the core and opposed to any and all social experiments.

In the realm of politics Hitler's chances are even less favorable. The Storm Divisions on which Hitler based his power, having been reduced to 800,000 unarmed men lest they some day decide to take matters into their own hands against the powers that be in the Nazi government, have been retired for the Reichswehr. This army of 200,000 highly trained and superbly armed officers will be increased to 300,000 men and will be the undisputed military power in Germany. Although it is permeated with National Socialist elements Hitler will always have to take into account the strong German-Nationalist influence which will make itself more strongly felt from month to month against the Nazi point of view. His praetor-

ian SS guard of Black Shirts remains intact, 200,000 strong, and will, for the present remain the Nazi dictator's best protection.

Where Is The "Unity"?

But the fictitious "unity of the German people" which was created on the 30th of January, 1933 is gone forever. The German Nationalists, Hugenberg's Party of Junkers and Industrialists, still continue to function, though in hiding and under difficulties. It is a power in the inner-political situation in the Reich that must again be reckoned with. With it stand those numerous Protestants of the bourgeois elements who were the first to raise the flag of opposition against the Nazi regime and who always enjoyed the secret moral and financial support of the former Conservatives. The Centrist Party, though officially dissolved, continues to exist in the powerful and unshaken Catholic Church that no National Socialist tidal wave has been able to undermine. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that Hitler's regime today stands or falls with his ability to conciliate the protesting church, a feat that will not be as difficult as it may appear.

What About Labor?

On the other side of the wall stands labor. Those workers who in a moment of madness were swept away by the National Socialist storm, are fast returning to their senses. Starvation wages and insufficient food, suppression in the shop and in the community have opened ears to secret class propaganda which were closed by prejudice and blindness before. Popular espionage which dogged the steps of the Socialist and Communist agitator only half a year ago has almost disappeared.

And yet nothing would be more dangerous than to build one's hopes on the German proletariat in this crisis. The labor parties are decimated and disorganized. More tragic still there is in all Germany no outstanding personality that enjoys the faith and confidence of the German masses. The new revolutionary movement will bring forth new men, new leaders. But as yet the time has been too short, opportunities for the development of such leaders too hampered to have produced more than the beginnings of a healthy growth. A revolutionary uprising of the masses without sufficient preparation and schooling would mean new disappointments, new discouragement, new victims from the ranks of those to whom the new movement must look for strength and guidance.

Hitler Executions Increase Nazi Unrest

(Continued from Page 1)

sions saw the powers they had won in the first hey-day of the National Socialist regime slipping out of their grasp. First secretly and then openly the manufacturers' organizations and Chambers of Commerce, the industrialists and the Junkers were becoming the power at the helm of the corporative state. Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Ley's role as puppets in the hands of the real rulers of the "people's state" became painfully evident.

Almost since their inception Germany's two great military organizations, the German Nationalist Steel Helmet and the National Socialist Storm Divisions (SA) have been avowed enemies. The Steel Helmet was founded and controlled by officers of the old Imperial army. Its members were the conservative veterans of the World War army, men who had always looked upon the Weimar Republic as the work of Satan and had worked for its destruction. The Storm Divisions consisted of young people, most of them without previous military experience, who had gone to the SA because they were unemployed and hungry and found in the Nazi barracks food, shelter and uniforms and an opportunity to express their youthful desire for ex-

citement and activity in the ranks of these rowdy troopers. The large majority of the Storm Troopers was recruited from the lowest levels of the proletariat and the disowned and disinherited middle class, elements imbued with a middle class philosophy which hoped to find surcease from their economic misery through the fascist movement.

Storm Troops Moved Left

When Hitler's army saw that its hopes had been betrayed, that not they but the large industrialists and Junkers were to reap the harvest of the new social order it developed something which resembled class feeling and class understanding. That this development was fostered by those class-conscious workers who, from a variety of motives had joined the SA after the accession of Hitler to power is certain, although it is a ridiculous exaggeration to say that 40-50 percent of the Storm Troopers are "Marxians."

This fundamental conflict between the disappointed followers of a romanticized Nazi ideology and the representatives of the 'old' capitalist order found concrete expression in the active hostility between SA and Steel Helmet, a hostility which increased in intensity as the former saw their power

waning. The SA leaders therefore demanded the dissolution of the monarchist veterans' organizations; the government replied with an order that the Steel Helmet would be protected from SA attacks. The SA repeated its demand and was warned by the government which began to view with alarm the growing insistence of its armed followers on a realization of the "socialist" part of its original program. The answer of the SA, a third demand for the dissolution of the Steel Helmet organization, led to the execution of the leading SA officers by Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and their immediate associates in the government.

Honest Followers Killed

Following the practice sanctioned by the Reichstag fire, these Nazi bandits justified their incredible brutality with lies and unproved defamations. They declared that Roehm, Heines, Ernst and others were shot as the instigators of a plot against the Hitler government, and because they had conspired with a foreign power. No effort has been made to prove the truth of these accusations against men who for more than a decade were the faithful servants of the Nazi cause.

Indeed the Nazi leaders have not even dared to publish a full list