

Hammond Workers Driven To Work for Car Company For Wages Paid in Beans

Corporation Required by Law to Pave Street Uses Forced Labor

Grocery Order Each Week Worth Less Than \$2 Is Only Weekly Pay

(By a Worker Correspondent)
HAMMOND, Ind. — Conkey Ave., between Holman and Calumet Avenues, was paved 10 years ago with concrete. The center of the street, however, was not paved with concrete because of the street car tracks there.

All these years the street car company did not pave this street although it was required by law to do so. The company was recently sold and it is now called Calumet Railways, Inc.

Today the street is being paved, but not at the expense of the company. Through forced labor the workers are being made to shoulder the burden themselves.

"Cooperation"
The street car company is furnishing the material, crushed stone and tar. The benevolent mayor and the city are furnishing the city trucks and other machinery operated by a few city paid employees; and Mrs. Myrtle Meara, township trustee, is furnishing the laborers.

What a racket! These men are working for a \$4 or \$5 grocery order a week, a grocery order which anybody can buy for less than \$2 cash. The men can't select their own food. Most of the food they get consists of beans. They can get no vegetables like lettuce or radishes, though these vegetables are in season, and are now

selling at very low prices. The men work in the sun in sweltering heat, with the temperature hovering at 100 degrees or over in the shade.

Soon benevolent mayors will be forcing workers into mills, mines and factories to work for beans. And the small business and professional men will be eating out of the garbage cans because the workers will have nothing but beans instead of money.

FORD TELLS OF VETS' STRUGGLE

Speaks at Big Meeting in Baltimore

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

of the vets as a victory, Ford declared. "But a few more such 'victories' and the doom of capitalism will be sealed. Incidentally, where war ethe self-styled 'friends of the Bonus marchers' on 'Bloody Thursday' Wher ewere Patman and Borah and Thomas? Where was Waters? They were everywhere in Washington. Not one of them raised voices demanding the withdrawal of the troops. But the Communists were there on 'Bloody Thursday' on Friday, and every day, fighting side by side with the veterans."

Seaman Tells of Hunger
W. C. McCuston, secretary of the Marine Workers Industrial Union in Baltimore, spoke before Ford. He told of starvation throughout the state, Jim-crowism and the persecution of Negroes. He told of the unemployment mass meeting held last Wednesday by the A. F. of L. Gov. Ritchie who has said that no starvation or jim-crowism exists in Maryland, and Mayor Jackson of Baltimore were present, but not a single Negro. The A. F. of L. demanded that Jim-crow schools be constructed with union labor.

Orphan Jones Victory
McCuston compared this action with the fight put up by the International Labor Defense and the Communist Party in forcing a new trial and removal from a death cell of Orphan Jones, and the judicial recognition of the right of Negroes to sit on juries.

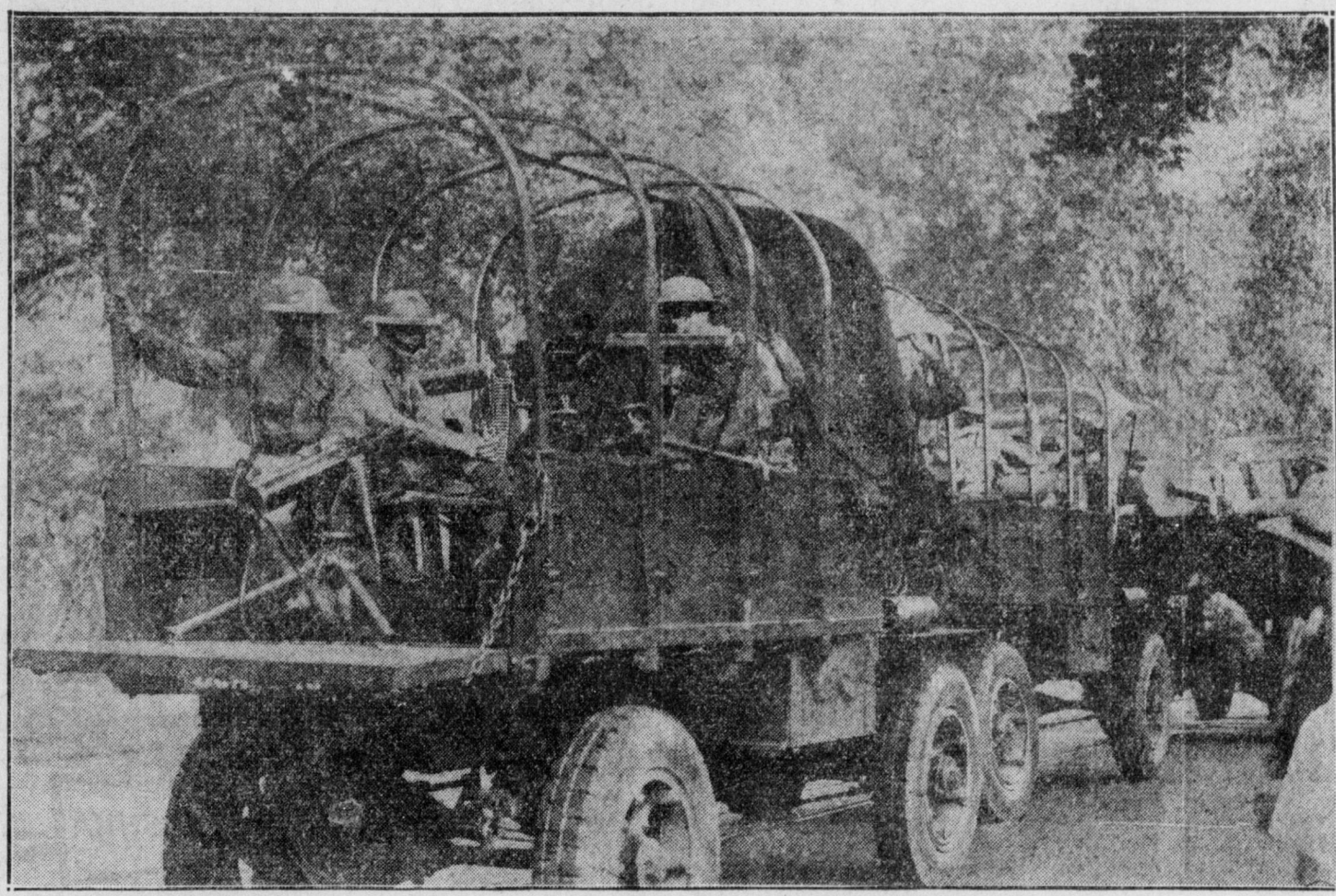
He called on Negro and white workers to unite behind Foster and Ford.
Thousands are unemployed in this city, with suicides mounting. Six such deaths were reported the very day of Ford's meeting. Workers at the meeting pointed out that relief was cut in half a month ago, and that the Sparrows Point steel mill outside Baltimore reduced its force from 12,000 to 4,000, with six wage cuts and another coming this month. The city itself fired 1,000 laborers a week ago and reduced the number of days' city work to maximum of two a week.

Foster in Buffalo
BUFFALO, Aug. 1.—Filling two halls to capacity, 2,000 workers heard William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for president, when he spoke here Friday night. At least one-third of the audience consisted of Negro workers.

Hundreds were turned away by the police after the halls became filled. Men, women and children began to arrive at the hall as early as 6 o'clock. At 7:30 the main hall was packed to capacity.

Cheer Foster
When Foster entered the hall, the workers, Negro and white, rose to their feet cheering and singing the International. The workers in the second hall heard Foster through an amplifier, but later demanded that he appear in person.

HOOVER'S MURDER SQUADS GUARD ROADS TO CAPITAL



After the armed forces of the Hoover Wall St. Government had driven the hungry, tattered war veterans out of Washington on Bloody Thursday, troops with machine guns continued to patrol the roads leading into the city, threatening any group of veterans who attempted to return to demand their back-pay with death.

Protest Against "Socialist" Inspired Terror in Milwaukee

HUNGER FACES VETS IN PENNA.

Johnstown Press in Slander Campaign

Bebritz, Hungarian Editor, Speaks in Pa.-Ohio Next Week

ORGANIZATIONS CALL FOR FIGHT

Unemployed Council Scores Hoan

W. E. S. L. Statement on "Bloody Thursday"

TO CALL NAT'L VET CONFERENCE

W. E. S. L. Statement on "Bloody Thursday"

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Events of Bloody Thursday Recounted By an Eye Witness

Each Man Put Up A Fight As the Bonus Army Was Evicted One By One from Billets

Women and Children Lay Choking on the Ground As Troops Hurlled Gas

By NATHANIEL HONIG.
"The Federal Government will pay the funeral expenses of William J. Huska, the bonus marcher who was slain in a clash with metropolitan police... expenses not to exceed \$100 and a flag to drape his coffin....."
—Washington Star, July 31.

July 28, 1932.
Workers, remember this date well. It will go down in history as one of the red letter days of the class struggle in America.

As that day dawned, over 20,000 world war veterans, bonus marchers, were still encamped in Washington and its vicinity. Most of them had been entrenched in Washington and Anacostia for over two months. Starving, they had come to demand full payment of the Bonus.

Murder—In the Shadow of the Capitol.
On that day, beneath the very shadow of the U. S. Capitol, and within a stone's throw of the White House, police and federal troops murdered and maimed war veterans, choked the women and children of the veterans with tear gas, and reduced the shacks which the bonus marchers had patiently built up, to smoldering ruins.

On that day the flames of the veterans' shacks and tents illuminated the dome of the Capitol building with an ominous glare.

The events of Thursday, July 28 are well worth recounting, that the workers and poor farmers of this country may keep them in mind.

Fear Grips the Gov't Officials.
July 28 found the government officials, in the White House, almost paralyzed with fear. Their stools-pigeons among the veterans reported to them that each day the language of the veterans was growing more menacing. The bonus marchers were no longer taking stock in the "passive" lay-me-down-and-die policy of the fascist Waters. They were talking of action.

The booming of Waters was growing louder with every speech the "Hitler of America" (as he likes to imagine himself) made. The conferences called by the Rank and File Committee of the Bonus Marchers, and the nightly open air meetings of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League were drawing greater and greater numbers of veterans.

"Revolution is being threatened," Mr. Hoover and Mr. Curtis were told by General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the U. S. Army. The huge iron gates of the White House clanged shut, to keep Mr. Hoover secure in his hiding place.

In the week previous, the veterans had been threatened several times with immediate evacuation, but each time the government had been forced to back down by the bonus marchers' grim determination.

The Veterans Thought Differently.
Finally, the day for eviction of the veterans was set for August 4. There would be no resistance, stool-pigeon Waters assured Police Chief General Glassford. The veterans thought differently about the matter.

It was decided that August 4 was too long a time to wait to drive the veterans from Washington.

At 10 a. m., police and government officials suddenly swooped down on 100 Texas veterans, encamped in a building on Pennsylvania Ave. and 3rd Street, and ordered the vets out. The police and government men were told to go to hell.

Meanwhile about 100 of the police were brought to the scene by General Glassford. Ropes were stratched around the Texas billet. Forcibly, the veterans were evicted one by one, each man putting up a still fight.

Just before this occurrence, Waters had addressed the veterans at a meeting and had called on the veterans to allow themselves to be evicted. He spoke vaguely about having enough money to shelter them all at Camp Bartlett, which was a privately owned ground.

The vets. booed Waters down. "What do you think we are, children?" they asked him. Waters thought he still was able to exercise his czar-like tactics. "Will you move or not?" he demanded. A loud chorus of "No's" answered him.

The news of the eviction of the Texas men spread like wild-fire among the veterans in all the billets. Five thousand of the veterans at Anacostia rushed immediately to the assistance of the men encamped on Pennsylvania and Third. The police and government began their attempt to evict other bonus marchers from a partly-wrecked building they had occupied.

As they did so, a truck-load of vets from Anacostia drew up. They rushed to the aid of the men who were being evicted. The police tried their usual club swinging tactics. The vets answered it with a steady shower of bricks. They sent five of the police to the hospital. The police were driven off.

In the fighting that morning, a little vet tore the badge from General Glassford's uniform.

With almost the entire police force on the scene, the attempt to drive the veterans out of town was continued shortly after noon.

While the vets who occupied the Southern Hotel on Pennsylvania and Third were out eating chow, over a score of police took possession of the building. The vets rushed the building, in an attempt to re-occupy it.

Cold Blooded Murder.
The air swished with the swinging of police clubs. Thousands of vets lined the sidewalks and urged the Southern vets on in their attempt to drive the police out. The vets charged up the narrow, wooden stairway.

Bricks flew back and forth. Suddenly, without warning, a series of shots punctuated the air. A cop, Shinsault continued to fire into the vet's body even as Huska lay motionless on the ground.

The police began to shoot recklessly right through the ranks of the veterans who were rushing the building.

The vets were stunned. Fooled by the promises of Waters that the police would cooperate with the vets, they had not expected the police to resort to murder. They were blinded with rage.

They began a man-hunt for the policeman who had murdered their buddy. The killer, however, had been spirited away by other policemen.

Glassford, who had been hiding within the building, behind his scores of cops, came out to try to "calm" the vets with his usual soft-soap. But this time "Glad-Hand" Glassford was booed down. He didn't hang around, after a brick thrown by a bonus marcher hit him.

The Troops Are Called Out.
A threatening quiet followed. Panic-stricken, President Hoover called for the troops.

Regular army troops, cavalrymen, infantrymen, tanks, were rushed in from Fort Myers, Camp Meade, Fort Washington, in action against an unarmed army of workmen, war veterans came to Washington to demand the Bonus due them.

Soon real war scenes ensued, in the shadow of the Capitol dome.

First, the cavalry would advance, clearing the streets of spectators, who were with the veterans almost to a man.

A "line" would be established, and the infantrymen would follow and "mop up," hurling forth a barrage of tear gas. Tear gas bombs were hurled into every shack. Women and children lay choking on the ground.

Then the tanks would lumber up, and then the supply wagons, loaded with munitions and tear bombs.

Then the cavalrymen would again advance.

Fire, sky-high flames, followed in the path of the troops, as they applied torches to the shacks and tents of the veterans billeted on Pennsylvania and Third. Soon the Pennsylvania Avenue camp—ironically enough named "Camp Glassford" by Waters, was reduced to charcoal.

Unarmed, save with bricks, the vets only slowly gave way before the sword-thrusts of the cavalrymen and the bayonet-lunges of the infantry. A veteran from Nashville, Tenn. had his ear slashed off by the sabre of a cavalryman.

And all the while the flames continued to soar higher and higher. Clothing, bedding, the pitiful few possessions of the vets were consumed. The vets were driven from pillar to post all over the city.

Tens of thousands of Washington people watched this spectacle of murderous brutality by a capitalist government against workers who had fought for that government. And the citizens of Washington, for the assistance of the men encamped on Pennsylvania and Third. The police and government began their attempt to evict other bonus marchers from a partly-wrecked building they had occupied.

As they did so, a truck-load of vets from Anacostia drew up. They

Are You On This "Daily" List

- DISTRICT 2
 - M. Vitous, New York City 2.00
 - Chas. Kasir, Hicksville, N. Y.
 - Harry Pearson
 - Josiah Russell
 - Jellian Humenik
 - D. Marley
 - J. Hagen
 - Henriet Karlson
 - F. Pulio
 - Elizabeth Pearson
 - Lena Barne, Glen Cove, L. I.
 - A. Borodavchuk, Syosset, N. Y.
 - Carl Leddoff, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- DISTRICT 1, BOSTON
 - V. K. Shah, Cambridge, Mass. 5.50
 - Anonymous, Cambridge, Mass. 5.00
 - H. W. L. Dana, Cambridge, Mass. 3.00
 - Stacy Martinson, Long Cove, Me. .50
 - C. Stenquist, Long Cove, Me. .50
 - G. Safaren, Long Cove, Maine .50
 - Chil Wiko, Rockland, Me. .10
 - Elnaz J. Hendrickson, Long Cove, Me. .50
 - John Emannelson, Long Cove, Me. .50
 - Chas. Kauri, Rockland, Me. .10
 - Arvo Kunsela, Monson, Me. .10
 - Toivo Mutanen, Monson, Me. .20
 - Kalle Tamminen, Monson, Me. .15
 - Ed. Vuori, Monson, Me. .25
 - Henry Paranen, Warren, Me. .25
 - Gust Elonen, St. George, Me. .25
 - Carl Leddoff, Rockland, Me. .10
 - Dawson Knox, Boston, Mass. .20
 - Thomas Lopez, E. Boston, Mass. .20
 - Chas. Darkerzas, E. Boston, Mass. .20
 - Manoel Sandoz, E. Boston, Mass. .10
 - John Taniapy, E. Boston, Mass. .20
 - James Ahan, E. Boston, Mass. .25
 - F. Trifilas, Boston, Mass. .25
 - J. Kanaky, E. Boston, Mass. .50
 - Nick Stefano, E. Boston, Mass. 4.05
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 - Jack Prokop, Parkville, N. Y. .25
 - F. Bassin, Parkville, N. Y. .25
 - E. Ashand, Parkville, N. Y. .25
 - Rose Brainsky, Parkville, N. Y. .25
 - Morris Sirots, Brooklyn, N. Y. .25
 - A. Pashin, Brooklyn, N. Y. .25
 - I. Hirsch, Brooklyn, N. Y. .25
 - M. Sirots, Brooklyn, N. Y. .25
 - Mrs. N. Hiker, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00
- DISTRICT 3, PHILADELPHIA
 - Archie Davidowitz, Wash., D. C. 31.00
 - S. Minken, Wash., D. C. 1.00
- DISTRICT 5, PITTSBURGH
 - Antonio Res, Washington, Pa. 55.00
 - Ray Avilla, Fairmont, W. Va. 1.50
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 - Edna Avilla, Fairmont, W. Va. .25
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 - The Menus of the Ukrainian United Teller Org., Cleveland, O. 28.55
 - Unit 1-15, Cleveland, O. 1.00
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- DISTRICT 15, CONNECTICUT
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Daily Worker

PICNIC

AUGUST 21st, 1932

Peasant Bay Park

TICKETS NOW READY!

TICKETS NOW ON SALE!

2,000 Jobless Show Solidarity

WILMINGTON, Del.—About 2,000 unemployed workers of Wilmington unanimously adopted a resolution to condemn the action of the puppets of the Wall Street government against the veterans in Washington.

500 In Schenectady Protest.
SCHENECTADY, N. Y. — At a spirited rally called by the International Labor Defense at Crescent Park, Thursday night, 500 workers and ex-servicemen were addressed by Sadie Van Veon, Jack Rand and Melvin Letelle and passed a resolution of protest at the outrageous treatment of the ex-servicemen in Washington.

Chicago Vets Blame Hoover.
CHICAGO, Ill.—Leslie Raymond Hurt, Chicago secretary of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, with headquarters at 2733 Hirsch Boulevard, issued the following statement: "The Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League places the responsibility for the killing of William Huska, ex-serviceman, at the door of President Hoover, the U. S. Congress and the ruling class.

"We call upon all working-class organizations, and especially local unions of the A. F. of L., to join in support of our struggle, which is a struggle for the right to live."

Helpful Information for Individuals and Groups

Those seeking temporary or permanent rooms and apartments in New York and those contemplating auto travel share-expense trips will find the

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of the DAILY WORKER of special appeal

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS 5c. A WORD

—Let us be mutually helpful—

Daily Worker

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The Red Advance in Germany

BIG gains for the Communist Party, decline of the Social Democracy and stagnation of the Fascist Party—such is the summary of returns of the Reichstag election in Germany.

The five and a quarter million votes in the Reichstag elections are votes for the struggle for power, are votes for the revolutionary way out of the crisis of capitalism. They prove that in the face of martial law and the virtual establishment of a fascist dictatorship by the Von Papen government the Communist Party was able to exceed all previous election figures. It shows that the infamy of the Social Democratic leaders who, pursuing their despicable roles as social-fascists, aided in pushing Germany on the road to fascism have exposed to large masses of their former rank and file followers their real role as the worst enemies of the working class.

The Communist gains are almost in direct ratio to the decline of the Social Democratic votes. Winning of the social democratic workers to the revolutionary standard is accounted for not only by the self-exposure of the Social-Democratic leaders, but primarily by the correct Bolshevik tactics of the Communist Party of Germany whose call for united action to beat back the offensive of capitalism met with tremendous response from the workers. The repudiation at the polls of the Social Democratic leaders only registered in the form of votes the stormy advance of the millionfold front of the anti-fascist drive. The powerful German proletariat, steeled in three revolutions, is, under the leadership of the Communist Party, moving toward the counter-offensive against capitalism. A long step is made on the road to winning the majority of the working class for proletarian revolution.

The fact that Hitler's fascist party was unable to increase its vote with the aid of the fascist Von Papen government also shows that the sledge-hammer blows of the anti-fascist united front has counteracted the frantic offensive of the whole finance capital gang. Fascism, however, still remains a great menace which the proletariat will have to crush under the iron heel of the anti-Soviet battalions.

Not only is the election in Germany a victory for the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. It is at the same time a defeat to the social democrats, the followers of Trotsky of Brandler and Thalheimer—a defeat of the social-fascists and renegades.

The Socialist Party of America, in pursuit of its policy of trying always to sow defeatist illusions among the masses in an effort to paralyze their action and thereby aid the capitalist offensive here, also reels under the blow of the German elections. How now will Norman Thomas explain his wail in the New Leader of July 30 (one day before the German elections) that: "News from Germany is pretty nearly as bad as it could be. The spirit of Hitlerism seems to be triumphing?"

What of the despicable counter-revolutionary Trotsky and his miserable echoes in the United States who systematically slander Comrade Thalheimer and the German Communist Party leadership because of their fight against social-fascist treachery?

What of Brandler in Germany and his echo here, the Lovestone renegades who, like the Trotskyist-Cannon group, deny that Social Democracy has degenerated into social fascism?

All these elements—Thomas, Cannon, Lovestone—are unable to see anything but defeat and disaster for the working class. All of them grovel before every violent act of the capitalist class and interpret the very desperation of the defenders of decaying capitalism as a sign of strength. Against all these the elections in Germany are a staggering blow which they will, of course, attempt to meet by new floods of counter-revolutionary lies and slander.

The results in Germany will alarm and enrage the whole capitalist world. It will spur to more violent attempts to find a capitalist way out of their crisis at the expense of the toiling masses. Just as the German masses were able to advance through the Red United Front against fascism, so here in the United States, in the election struggle we must apply and build the fighting front against the attacks on the workers' standards of life, against the increased terror and war campaign of the Wall Street government.

We must display the same fighting spirit in rallying the workers in the day to day fight. In direct proportion as we show our ability to lead the daily struggle will we be able to register increased strength on election day.

The German elections should spur the working class of the whole world to more determined action on all fronts against the capitalist offensive.

Hoover's Deception Will Not Work

ON THE HEELS of the heroic and valiant veterans driven from Washington by fire and sword of Hoover's federal soldiers, there comes from the White House a pompous announcement of a new program to spur recovery.

Couched in terms of official optimism and cheerfulness, this latest emanation from the pen of Hoover is calculated to cover up his infamous attack on defenseless veterans.

As befits the alleged constructive mind of this engineer-statesman, this program, like all previous ones, is nicely enumerated in points—this time nine points. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, which was established exclusively for the "relief" of the big bankers, the railroads and industrialists, is again dressed up for service. This time we are told it is to be used as a job-giving and production-reviving institution. It is obvious that further treasury looting is to be carried out to salvage ventures that have reached the precipice of bankruptcy, or to pay dividends to stockholders in banks and corporations. It is to be used to "extend credits," which means to place at the disposal of the finance capitalists new issues of currency on the basis of the inflation rider that passed during the closing sessions of congress. Already the effect of this inflation has been price increases for necessities of life—which means further beating down of the miserable standards of life of the toiling masses.

Not one unemployed worker or impoverished farmer got anything out of the billion and a half distributed during the first period of the existence of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. This latest period of the venture will be at the direct expense of the masses in the form of a higher cost of living. Hoover's pompous words are only to conceal the real nature of his proposals and to try to stem the rising tide of furious protest against the murderous attack upon the veterans at Washington.

Another point that is definitely aimed at the part-time workers living now on starvation wages is that which advocates shorter hours—a continuation of the infamous "stagger system," which means a still further reduction in money wages. The federal government practices it against the federal employees in the form of vacations without pay. Hoover sets the pace for wage reductions. Already the New England capitalists have held a conference where they, with the aid of the leaders of the A. F. of L., issued the slogan of a "flexible labor day," which means extending the stagger system to all workers who toil for them.

The new move of Hoover is intended to stem the rising tide of struggle of the unemployed, the vets and shop workers. This it will not accomplish.

The fight for the bonus is not ended. It enters a new stage—it becomes more than ever bound up with the class fight of the workers, unemployed and part time for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the government and the employers. It is bound up with the fight against capitalist terror and for the political rights of the workers. The struggle of the veterans for the bonus must now draw in the veterans throughout the land. Their ranks must be united under militant leadership. And together with the workers the fight must go on.

In the fire at Anacostia, on the banks of the Potomac was forged the foundation for a closer unity of worker-veterans and the great mass of workers that will make the capitalist terrorists pay dearly for their Bloody Thursday. Not all of Hoover's pompous talk about new programs can stand against that unity. The capitalist government may claim "victory" for its bestiality on the Potomac last Thursday, but they at best only won a battle—indeed a costly battle. This battle unmasked American democracy and exposed its tyrannical face to millions of toilers. The class war goes on and this victory brings the capitalist class nearer the day when the final battle will be fought that will solve the crisis of capitalism in the one way that will benefit the masses of toilers—the revolutionary way.

HIDING THE EVIDENCE!



For God, Calvin Coolidge, and the Law of Supply and Demand

By ISRAEL AMSTER
(Israel Amster, Communist candidate for Governor of New York, and the author of this article, is at present on a campaign tour of the industrial and agricultural sections of the state.)

THE capitalist politicians are worried. They knew that not only the workers, but also the farmers in this country are turning Red. They know that the toiling farmer who is starving, is unable to meet his taxes and interest, is losing his farm, and is going to the city, represents a revolutionary force that they will have to deal with. They know that conditions on the farms of this country are getting intolerable for the poor farmer, and therefore, they invoke God and St. Calvin to frighten the farmers.

Sham Fight
In Buffalo there is a man by the name of Robert Elmes, of the Chamber of Commerce. This capitalist is carrying on a sham fight against Freg Sexauer, \$40,000 a year president of the Dairymen's League. This is no real fight, but has the aim on the one hand of entrenching the bankers still more in the lead of this organization, and of making the toiling farmers of the state believe that Sexauer is a fighter in their interests.

What is the situation of the farmers of the United States and more explicitly of the State of New York? The farming population has dropped 5.2 per cent in a decade—from 26.6 per cent to 21.4 per cent, and today numbers only slightly over 26,000,000. More than 200,000 farms were abandoned in the past ten years. Farm property dropped from a value of 80 billion to 57 billion dollars. Farm income in 1931 declined 9 billion dollars, while the worker wages went down to 15 billion in the same time (10 billion in 1930). Farm mortgages have mounted to 15 billions.

Farmers Hungry
Farm produce was never so plentiful as today—but the farmers are hungry. In the middle west and the south, the farmers march to the cities demanding and taking relief. The federal Farm Board Red Cross are furnishing the farmers with wheat. This is not a result of a flood or drought—it is the result of the production of TOO MUCH food. The Federal Farm Board, created to "stabilize the price of grain," promised to hoard grain, take it off the market, so as to keep prices up. They promised dollar-a-bushel wheat—today it sells at 42 cents, or at less than the farmer can produce it.

Farmers are so poor that they cannot send their children to school for want of clothes and shoes. Poor farmers have asked the farm banks—for loans, but they get none, for they cannot furnish paper security. They are saddled with mortgages; they cannot pay taxes or interest. They cannot sell their grain—so they use it for fuel.

This is the result of the Hoover-Wall Street solicitude for the farmers, which is so admirably expressed in the Republican Party platform. But the same Wall Street Government has given billions to the railroad and banks, is spending billions for war, has loaned billions to bankrupt European governments, has raised a high protective tariff

Bosses Try to Cover Up Responsibility for Starvation Conditions of Farmers

on commodities that the farmer does not suffer competition from. The Garner Relief bill, with its amendment in the committee, would give loans out of a fund of \$1,500,000,000 to the banks and corporations—but nothing to the poor farmers.

Worse in South
In the South, the situation is even desperate. When the small cotton farmers—sharecroppers and tenant farmers—white and Negro are told not only to limit production, but to STP production; and when in the state of Louisiana, they are forbidden to raise cotton for one year—it means STARVATION.

In the state of New York, there are close to 700,000 rural population. The farmers of New York raise mainly chickens, cattle for milk, fruit. New York City furnishes the market. This city is important for the farmer, the farmer is of tremendous importance to the city workers. The dairy farmer of New York is under the thumb of the milk trust—Borden Sheffield. The New York farmers have their organizations—the Grange, Dairymen's League etc. They read all the capitalist farm papers and have radios; they listen to the chamber of commerce people, to their organization leaders. But their misery continues to grow. Workers pay in the city 12 to 14 cents for a quart of watery milk, whereas the farmer get one and three-fourths cent for a quart of milk of high fat content. Who gets the difference? The milk trust. Children cry for milk in the city, where their parents cannot afford to buy it. The milk trust dumps tens of thousands of quarts daily into the gutter to

Mass. Bosses Give Official Approval of A.F.L.

Look Upon Leaders to Discourage Strikes

By ROBERT W. DUNN
The labor leaders of the A. F. of L. "should be called together to discuss these problems and form committees in their own interest and receive the assistance of the commercial and industrial organizations of the State in creating such support as the active leaders of labor find desirable for their constituency." This is the recommendation of a report made for the Massachusetts Industrial Commission, and called "A Brief Study of Industrial Massachusetts."

This survey of the industrial plight of that state pays special attention to textiles and looks upon the labor leaders, particularly those in the textile cities of the state, as a stabilizing force that will discourage strikes and work for "better relations" with the employing class. The above recommendations were made after an unnamed "representative of Organized Labor" appeared

keep up the price. Farmers produce first class eggs that they get little in the city for. They raise fruit and vegetables, but have to let it rot on the fields because it does not pay them to pick, pack and ship them to the market, because the workers have no money to buy it with. Thus the New York farmers, in the richest state of the country.

Enemies Rewarded
Mr. Sexauer is the president of the Dairymen's League. He receives \$40,000 a year from getting the farmers 1 3-4 cents for a quart of milk! There are several directors of the league at \$10,000 a year. These people are not only bankrupt as far as helping the farmers is concerned; they are tools of the Chamber of Commerce, the bankers in the city, to keep down the conditions of the farmers, to fill them with bunk.

The poor farmers in New York and throughout the country have not yet learnt that there are class interests also among the farmers; that the big rich farmers and bankers use the small, poor farmers to put through schemes of advantage to the bankers and rich farmers. The poor farmers have not yet learnt to draw up their own program, form their own groups within these capitalist organizations, have their own leaders and make a fight to throw out of power these capitalist and their henchmen. This the Communist Party must do for them; give them program, policy and leadership, making them understand that Sexauer and all other representatives of

before the investigators and enphanced the fact that:
"Organized Labor in Massachusetts has always maintained a conservative policy. . . . Organized Labor in Massachusetts has never attempted to extend its position to the control of industry; it is not a political organization bent upon capturing the reins of government. . . . It desires to establish relations of confidence and good will between itself and Industrial Management."
The entire implication of both the labor statement and the official report is that the A. F. of L. should be dealt with more closely by capitalists or else "irresponsible radical agitators" (mention is specifically made of them in Lawrence, New Bedford and Fall River strikes) will come in and organize the workers for militant struggle. This would be bad for the capitalists and the labor leaders who support them and their industrial and political policies

By BURCK

The Work of Trade Union Fractions

From the Resolution of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

The following important shortcomings are to be found at present in the activity of the trade union Communist fractions:

a) The trade union fractions are not suitably instructed by the corresponding Party Committees, but the leadership of the activity of the fraction is frequently carried out in a formal and mechanical manner—by sending circulars and general directives. The Party Committees have not yet learned to lead the everyday work of the trade union fractions, have not learned how to train the existing cadres of the revolutionary trade union organizations in the spirit of the Party line and to strengthen them by attracting new and fresh forces.

b) The Communists working in trade unions still very often in practice carry out the leading role of the Party by methods of commanding and not by insistent work of conviction and by personal example inside the trade unions. As a result, the internal life is suppressed in the revolutionary trade union organizations and they are converted into duplicates of the Party organizations, with approximately the same memers and mechanically repeating Party decisions.

c) On the part of the Party Committees, there is very often to be observed an actual self-elimination from participation in the discussion and solution of the concrete problems of trade union work, e. g. self-elimination from participation in the various campaigns carried out by the revolutionary trade union organizations, and in some cases even self-elimination from the question of the strike struggle but more often in questions of wage scales and social insurance, etc., which is completely incorrect. They consider these to be mere trade union questions, which do not apply to the Party organizations, etc. In the near future, all Communist Parties must pay the greatest attention to the concrete tasks of carrying out these shortcomings and weakness in the sphere of trade union work and for strengthening their positions in the trade union organizations. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. indicates the following and most important of these tasks:

Nine Vital Tasks

Rapid Formation of T. U. Fractions

1. To bring about the formation of trade union fractions in trade union organizations of all kinds in the shortest possible time, containing Party members (according to the decisions of the second international organizational meeting). The C. C. of the Communist Parties must send experienced instructors and organizers to form strong and active Communist fractions in those trade union organizations where the Communist fractions either do not exist at all or where they exist but work badly and do not yet play any important role in the activity of these trade union organizations.

Double Contact and Double Subordination

2. The VI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. confirmed the decisions of the second international organizational meeting that trade union fractions should keep in contact not only with the corresponding Party committees but also between themselves, and the fraction of the higher trade union organizations should give authoritative directives to the fractions of the lower trade union organizations, so that each trade union fraction will be subordinated to two bodies—the corresponding Party Committee and the trade union fraction of the higher trade union organization. In practice this decision has very often not been carried out up to the present and is even questioned and quotations are frequently made from the experience of the C. P. S. U. in which the trade union fractions are not linked up among themselves but are subordinate only to the corresponding Party Committees. The Presidium requires all Communist Parties to carry into practice without hesitation the decisions of the VI Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the double subordination of trade union fractions. For the Communist Parties of capitalist and colonial countries with their weak apparatus, with the difficulties of contacts between the organizations, especially under circumstances of whole or partly underground work, it is extremely necessary to have double contacts and double subordination of T. U. fractions. If the work of the trade union fractions is properly guided by the Party Committee, every decision and instruction of the trade union fractions will be previously coordinated along Party lines, and will thus be a direction of this Party committee for all Party members working in the given trade union organization. Thereas for double contacts and the subordination of trade union fractions will make it possible to improve the leadership of the Party and in addition will make it possible to improve the contacts between the higher and lower Party organizations, because

the directives handed on by the trade union fractions of the higher trade union organizations to the fractions of the lower trade union organizations must reflect the line and the concrete directives of the higher Party committees which are sent out by the legal and semi-legal channels of the trade union organizations. The trade union fractions of the lower T. U. organizations on receiving directives from the higher fraction, will coordinate the forms of carrying them out in practice with the corresponding Party committee which directs the work of these lower trade union fractions. It is not correct to quote the experience of the C. P. S. U., because not a single Communist Party in the capitalist and colonial countries has such a strong influence on the trade unions and has such means of contact and control over the fulfillment of Party directives as the C. P. S. U. We should remember that in the past (until 1922), there were also two sided contacts and double subordination of trade union fractions in the C. P. S. U.

Fractions Do Work Through Nuclei

3. The resolution of the second international organizational meeting points out that trade union fractions in the factories are to carry out their work through the factory nuclei. The Presidium considers this indication of the second international organizational meeting to be quite correct and only thinks it necessary to supplement it by the following explanation. In capitalist countries there may be, and usually are, members of several trade unions—revolutionary, reformist and others—in factories. Party members who are members of a trade union and who work in the factory must unquestionably be organized in the factory fraction group of this trade union. Every such fraction group must keep in constant contact with the fraction of the corresponding trade union organization, inform it of what takes place in the factory, and in turn receive information through the fraction of the members and plans of the given trade union organization. However, the fraction will not give any direct directives to its factory fraction group (if the corresponding Party committee has not been broken up by police repression), but these directives will be given by the Party committee through the factory nucleus. On the other hand, the factory fraction groups of the various trade unions represented in the factory cannot carry on any special work in the factory along the lines of their union which is not known to the factory Party nucleus and which is not closely linked up with the everyday work of the factory nucleus. The factory nucleus must guide all the trade union work in the factory. This means that the factory fraction groups of the various trade unions must work under the direct leadership of the factory nucleus. At the same time, the factory nucleus must energetically utilize these factory fraction groups to penetrate from below from the factory into all the trade unions which have branches in the given factory, and thus strengthen the influence of the Party in all these trade unions. For this purpose, it is particularly important that the lower Party Committee (local and district) should organize systematic joint meetings of the representatives of factory nuclei and fractions (local and district) of the corresponding unions to discuss the concrete questions of defending the everyday interests of the workers of the given factory, bring about the joint activity of the members of all the trade unions under the ideological and organizational leadership of the factory revolutionary trade union groups.

The Tasks of the Party Committee

4. In cases when the revolutionary trade union organizations are faced with the questions which are of big political importance (putting forward a program of immediate demands, preparing for a strike, etc.), the corresponding Party Committee must first discuss these questions and must certainly bring into this discussion the representative (or representatives) of the fractions and thus work out for the latter definite directives as to what they are to do. The Party Committee in such a case must avoid the pre-determination of details, leaving concretization for the fractions themselves, and demanding from the fraction the greatest initiative in this concretization and the most careful consideration of all peculiarities of the work of the trade union organizations represented by them. If the circumstances of the time and place require the fraction to deviate from the directives of the Party leaders, the fraction must apply to the corresponding Party Committee for new directives. If for some reason it is impossible to get these new directives from the Party committee and it is necessary to act without losing time, the fraction must make a decision on its own responsibility and give an account later to the Party Committee.

(TO BE CONTINUED)