

LABOR ACTION

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Showdown In Steel Sought By June 20

Union Plans Strike In Its Battle For Recognition

(By Special Correspondent)
PITTSBURGH.—On May 21, 1934 every lodge of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers will present a demand to the employers for recognition of the union and, if by June 20 no favorable reply has been received, strike action will then be taken, according to a decision of the convention of the A. A. which has just ended.

For the first time since 1919, the steel workers are preparing for a national showdown with the steel lords and the country may be faced with a general strike in this keystone of American industry, which will shake capitalism to its base.

The old guard of the Amalgamated faced what was practically a new organization when the convention assembled, an organization which rode rough shod over their attempts to sidetrack action, to keep out locals whose dues were not paid up and to stifle the introduction of resolutions on vital matters. Delegates from the 137 new lodges that have been organized in the past year joined hands with progressives from the old locals to put over a general progressive program of reducing dues and organizing the union for more effective action.

Desperate at the upsurge, the officialdom, unable to use the customary steam roller methods, had to rely on the inexperience of the new members to save even a part of their prestige. In the case of Elmer Cope, member of the P. O. C. of the American Workers Party, Mike Tighe, A. A. President, was afraid to put a resolution, introduced by the resolutions committee, to a vote of the delegates. He ruled the resolution for the reinstatement of Cope out of order on the grounds that only the executive board had the right to reinstate members in the union ranks.

Cope was expelled a year ago by the executive board because of his militant activities and policy in the union. He own local union is backing his fight for reinstatement, and the issue is to be brought before the entire rank and file of the A. A. in order to compel the officials to take action.

The Progressive group intend to run a full slate of candidates in the next union elections.

SOUTHERN CHIVALRY

Women in Land of Sun Put To Hard Work Cleaning Lots

GREENSBORO, N. C.—Women on relief should not only work hard but they should do hard work. This seems to be the idea of relief officials here who put the women to cleaning up the vacant lots of the city.

The relief officials were condemned by a meeting of the executive members of the Forsyth and Guilford county leagues.

200 HEAR HOOK

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Marxism Today was the title of a lecture given by Sidney Hook at a spirited meeting of the Neo-seminar here, May 6th. Two hundred people crowded the hall to hear Hook's analysis of Marxism as applied to present American conditions. S. Feinstone, leader of the Neo-Seminar, presided.

FLASHES!

JAPAN AND HITLER

BERLIN.—Japan is close to Reich in spirit, says Admiral Matsushita. "We Japanese follow the developments in Germany," with great interest and pleasure," he said. "In Japan we have movements very similar to National Socialism."

The Admiral with his officers was received by Hitler.

PREACHERS AND WAR

NEW YORK.—Episcopalian convention bars pacifist stand. Bishop Manning refuses introduction of resolution which declared that "hereafter the Christian Church ought not to sanction or support war."

NEW EXPLOSIVES

CLEVELAND.—Cleveland Automatic Machine Company advertise new high explosive shells. "Fragments become coated with the acids in exploding and wounds caused by them mean death in terrible agony within 24 hours if not attended to them immediately," states the sales talk, adding: "It can be seen from this that this shell is more effective than regular shrapnel, since the wounds caused by shrapnel balls are not as dangerous."

MILLS SHUT DOWN

PATERSON, N. J.—On May 14 Paterson silk mills will shut down. The code authorities have agreed to the bosses' demands and the workers will be thrown out on the streets. The alibi is "over-production."

Cotton mills everywhere voted to curtail production for 90 days. The New Deal continues to shuffle into the hands of industry the power to fix prices and limit production.

MILLIONS FOR WAR

An additional fleet of 1,184 fighting planes and 102 warships was authorized by the Roosevelt Congress, January 31. \$475,000,000 was voted to construct the warships.

WORKERS, MEET THE FLEET!

Down Tools May 31 and "Review" The Navy With Roosevelt—But With Raised Fists

War is coming!
On May 31 President Roosevelt will review the fleet of the United States Navy in New York Harbor. Workers, mobilize! March to the harbor front in the greatest display of working class solidarity against war this country has ever seen.

In the harbor the warships, the greatest display of naval strength ever staged by the Government, will be lined in battle array. Above the city, squadrons of bombing planes will roar. In Wall Street, captains of industry will cheer and throw into the streets, like confetti, streams of ticker-tape, listing stock-market prices showing the advances made in nitrates, munitions and war materials. Wall Street will clap hands and be happy.

President Roosevelt will review the fleet, which he loves, the most powerful assemblage of death machines in the world, and smile.

WORKERS! DOWN TOOLS! GIVE THE WAR-MAKERS SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT! SUBMERGE YOUR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES IN A VAST DEMONSTRATION AGAINST WAR! REVIEW THE

Ragged Kids Get The Dope On Mr. Gary

By B. F.

It was a rainy Monday afternoon when I dropped in to a branch library in Baltimore, Maryland to read and get warm after tramping, tramping after the elusive job. Soon a group of colored children stormed in with a reference question: The ten richest men in the United States and how they made their money. The busy librarians were hard pressed to find enough books and magazines to go around. With much giggling and good-natured banter the children set about copying the information.

What a contrast! Heels sticking out or turned-over shoes, sizes too large, ragged dresses and suits, dirty hands, chapped lips, a sorrier bunch you have seldom seen as they laboriously spelled out Morgan, Rockefeller, Reynolds, Chrysler, Ford . . . Did visions of the golden magic of those names dance before them, or did it seem strange for them in their ragged clothes, with thin under-nourished bodies to even copy the facts of such magnificence? I wonder what the well-meaning capitalistic teacher who gave the assignment would have thought had he heard one boy remark to another: "I can't find how dis yere Gary come by his money, no how, but I guess he stole it like de res' of dem millionaires!"

Mooney Asks New Hearing

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—In his long fight to smash the frame-up by which California business interests railroad him to San Quentin prison, Tom Mooney turned a second time to the United States Supreme Court. The petition, filed by his attorneys, sets forth the plea that his imprisonment on perjured testimony violates the American Constitution. The Supreme Court in 1918 refused to review the case.

55 Jailed In Ohio As State Acts To Curb FERA Strikes

The following is the letter of the Lucas County Unemployed League to Judge Stuart, of the Common Pleas Court, which resulted in the jailing of Ted Selander and Sam Pollock of the American Workers Party.

May 5, 1934.

His Honor Judge Stuart
County Court House
Toledo, Ohio

Honorable Judge Stuart:

On Monday morning May 7, at the Auto-Lite plant, the Lucas County Unemployed League, in protest of the injunction issued by your court, will deliberately and specifically violate the injunction enjoining us from sympathetically picketing peacefully in support of the striking Auto Workers Federal Union.

We sincerely believe that this court intervention, preventing us from picketing, is an abrogation of our democratic rights, contrary to our constitutional liberties and contravenes the spirit and letter of Section 7a of the NRA.

Further, we believe that the spirit and intent of this arbitrary injunction is another specific example of an organized movement to curtail the rights of all workers to organize, strike and picket effectively.

Therefore, with full knowledge of the principles involved and the possible consequences, we openly and publicly violate an injunction which, in our opinion, is a suppressive and oppressive act against all workers.

Sincerely yours,
Lucas County Unemployed League
Anti-Injunction Committee
Sam Pollock, Sec'y.

Urge Groups Unite Now In Los Angeles

By Special Correspondent
LOS ANGELES, Cal.—"The time for working class unity in the fight against capitalism will not come next year but it is here tonight," Allen Stiller of the American Workers' Party declared here speaking at a meeting protesting hooliganism in the radical movement.

The meeting, called by labor political groups in Los Angeles after members of the Communist Party had broken up a meeting of the Left Opposition, injuring a girl's arm, was officially attended by the American Civil Liberties Union, Industrial Workers of the World, Lovestone group, American Workers Party and the Left Opposition.

"The great danger confronting this gathering," Stiller said, "is not that the Communist party will break up other meetings. The danger we have to guard against is becoming infected with hooliganism ourselves. If followed by all of us, it will lead to the breaking up of the working class itself."

By innoculating its membership with hatred for workers and workers' groups which do not accept its leadership, the official CP prepares its members to use violence against other radical labor groups. They are conditioned to break up meetings, said Comrade Stiller, even when they have no specific directions from the party. In CP publications other labor organizations are slandered as social-fascists, and party members are led to look upon them as "enemies of the working class, to be destroyed."

(Continued on Page 2)

Leagues Pull Workers From Auto Factories; Terror Spreads

(Special to Labor Action)

COLUMBUS, Ohio — With 55 members of the Ohio Unemployed League in jail, military and relief authorities are attempting to suppress the strike-wave of FERA workers with a reign of terror. Employed factory workers are joining the strikes.

In Toledo, Ted Selander and Sam Pollock, officers of the Lucas County League and members of the American Workers Party, were jailed. In a letter to Judge Stuart of the Common Pleas Court they defied the court's injunction, saying frankly that they meant to violate it. They proceeded accordingly, disregarding the injunction, and the arrest followed.

The injunction, directed against the League in Lucas County and the Federal Automobile Workers Union of the A. F. of L., prohibited all picketing. It was obtained by the Auto-Lite Company and the Bingham Stamping Company, despite citations of Section 7a of NRA which acknowledge the right to organize.

Pickets Arrested

Eleven league members are under arrest in Meigs County. They are Hoover, Smith, Bolen, Wilson, Denny, Tyre, Gruser, Newland, Byers and Collins. All are being held for Federal investigation.

In Butler County 35 pickets were arrested.

The viciousness of the authorities, League leaders declared is partly explained by the fact that the unemployed have pulled out employed workers with them. In rubber factories and foundries these workers earn less than 50 cents an hour. The leaders pointed out that the manufacturers are the worst enemies of a living wage scale for FERA workers.

The strike wave, beginning several weeks ago, continues to sweep over the state as new counties join the fight against impossible conditions.

Fight To Finish

"It is a fight to the finish," William R. Truax and V. C. Bauhof of the Ohio League declared. "The leagues with their employed allies are determined to win."

Meanwhile the Federal military and relief authorities are determined to suppress the strikes. The issue is joined in Ohio.

NEW YORK.—Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the American Workers Party, left New York for Ohio to help in directing Unemployed League fights. Budenz, who has led eviction fights and mass demonstrations in Ohio, was the first in that state to unfurl the "DON'T TREAD ON ME" flag, made famous in the early Revolutionary days of America, and now used by the leagues.

HOLD SUNRISE MEETING FOR JACOB LEISLER WHO JAILED BANKERS

A sunrise memorial meeting for Jacob Leisler, leader of a revolt in Colonial New York, will be held by the American Workers Party at City Hall Park, Wednesday, May 16, at 5 A. M.

A delegation will announce the meeting to the city's bankers, whose ancestors Leisler and the Committee on Public Safety wisely locked up in jail.

A noon-day, open-air meeting will be held in the park the same day. (See story of Leisler on page 2)

Iron Miners In Alabama Strike Wave

15,000 Coal-Diggers Stay Out Despite N R A "Settlement"

(Special to Labor Action)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—8,000 iron ore miners are out on strike in this district demanding a 7 hour day at \$4.60 a day. Hitherto they have been paid \$2.40 for an eight hour day.

About 15,000 coal miners still remain out on strike despite Washington reports of agreements upon a basic wage scale. According to General Johnson's decree of March 31st the basic wage scale of Alabama miners was to be \$4.60 a day. But General Johnson and his NRA backed down under the threats of southern coal operators, setting the scale at \$3.80 as compared with \$5 in the North and Fairmont districts.

Despite this obvious sell-out to coal operators, William Mitch, head of District 20 of the United Mine Workers of America announced that the "boys would go along with the government." But the Alabama Fuel and Iron Co. refused, and according to a telegram sent to General Johnson, "have surrounded their property with guards armed with machine guns, and have buried high explosives in the ground along the roadside attached to batteries for obvious reasons."

Violence has already taken place in the coal fields, Ed England, a Negro picket having been killed by deputy sheriffs at the Red Diamond Coal Co., while two others were seriously wounded. That further attacks upon workers are being prepared is obvious by a statement of Chief of Police of Birmingham who has been placed in charge of the East Thomas plant of the Republic Steel Co. He said: "There must be no more picketing on the public highways and interference with traffic must cease. We do not want to take these men for a ride but will not hesitate to resort to that measure if necessary."

Urge Groups Unite In Los Angeles

(Continued from Page 2)

"This tragic mistake of being unable to distinguish between capitalism and the enemies of capitalism plays into the hands of Wall Street," the speaker declared. "What can give the capitalists greater pleasure than having the radicals waste their energies fighting amongst themselves?"

"Are we to make the same mistake? Shall we imitate the Communist Party? Must we divert our forces into hooliganism?"

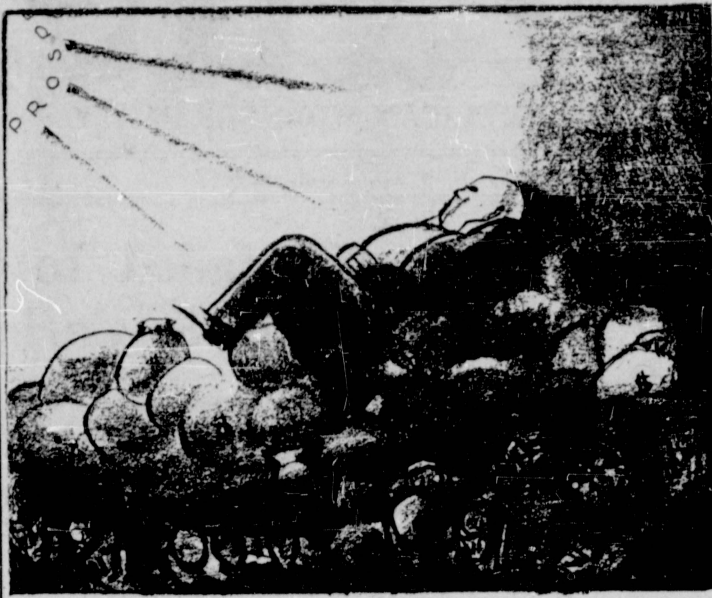
"No, Comrades, our job is to unite against fascism and war, to build powerful unemployed leagues, to build militant left wings in the trade unions, to reach the lower middle classes of this country."

"If the CP wants to spend its time fighting us, that's too bad, and we hope they come to their senses. But we simply haven't time to devote our days and nights to warding off the pinpricks of the CP. We need all the united strength, ability and intelligence we can muster in the fight against our common enemy, the capitalist class."

Stiller said the Los Angeles branch of the American Workers Party was ready for such unity. He proposed that steps be taken by the groups in the meeting to set up a united front committee or federation to insure a maximum of cooperation at all times, not only against acts of aggression against sections of the revolutionary movement but against capitalism.

The meeting, at which representatives of other parties spoke, adjourned without acting upon the proposal. Speakers for the Left Opposition and the Lovestone

SITTING PRETTY



They Had a Magician, a Singer and -- a Labor Educator

By RED

It was May Day.
They had a magician.
They had a singer.

They had a labor educator. A Professor. Our little story is mostly about the professor.

Outside the auditorium hundreds were unable to get in. Inside the auditorium the crowd overflowed. It was a great rally of young workers, the most striking gathering Elizabeth, New Jersey, had seen since the war. They came from new and rehabilitated branches of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, new to the ranks of organized labor.

It was a great May Day rally. And maybe May Day means something. The young workers crowded in, off for the day, full of high spirits. Their enthusiasm was born of the recent discovery that by association in a "union" they got better hours, better wages, better conditions—everything was better. And they crowded in to see what entertainment their unions had prepared for them. Surely it would be something.

What They Saw

And they saw a sleight-of-hand magician.

Perhaps he was a pretty good magician, the unions paid him \$25 to do his tricks. Maybe that was all right. New in the labor movement, the union recruits were mystified.

Then came the singer. They listened. Somehow the singer didn't go over. Young workers don't take to the classics much. But maybe classics are always sung by labor on May Day. Who knows? Unionists who are only 18 and 20 years old have a lot to learn.

Came the labor educator, the

"Make Yourself At Home"

WINSTON SALEM, N. C.—Evicted because she couldn't pay rent, a widow, with the help of league members set up furniture for house-keeping in the street.

The weather was warm and crowds of the organized unemployed gathered at the Street Home to keep the evicted woman company.

"Make yourselves at home," she said. "I will live here until the relief officials pay my rent."

Meanwhile 12,900 men and women in Salem are on relief. Cutting off C. W. A. has cut relief in half.

group said later that such united action was impossible.

"The working class itself will give the answer," Stiller commented. "The workers will answer the groups who refuse to unite. Let such groups remember Hitler."

professor, less valuable to the meeting than the magician. The unions paid him \$6.50 instead of \$25. He got up to speak about the history of May Day. He changed his mind, evidently. He must have sensed the heavy bourgeoisie atmosphere hanging over the auditorium.

"What was this, a labor rally?" The professor couldn't believe it. "These young people, have they been told by their unions what the labor movement is? And these unions into whose ranks they have recently come—are they interested in destroying the bourgeoisie outlook?"

Crowd Was Restless

Perhaps that is what the educator thought. He told the young men and women to wake up to the world about them, to the significance of their struggles. Then the union leaders spoke, but the crowd was restless. An ILGWU organizer pleaded for attention which he didn't get.

Plainly, evidently, undoubtedly, the youthful unionists wanted entertainment—with some meaning, some meaning for May Day, something full of significance from their new discovery, the union. But they didn't get it.

And the labor educator, going away from the meeting, thought: "How vast a gulf separates the minds of the bureaucracy of these unions from the rank-and-file."

"How is it that unions as old as the ACWA and the ILGWU have only bourgeoisie entertainment to give these young workers, Plainly they have little knowledge of their eager minds. Plainly the union officials have little passion for a social change."

And going away from the May Day meeting the labor educator wondered why the stage of the big auditorium had not been used by the unions to bring to the young men and women labor plays, mass recitations, labor songs and dances, instead of a magician and a classic singer.

Workers Remained After Midnight

NEWARK, N. J.—Workers remained until after midnight at St. Regis Hall when A. J. Muste, A-WP chairman, and Carl Lore, A-WP organizer in New Jersey, spoke here.

"When the American Workers Party speaks of the American approach," Muste said, "it does not mean the encouragement of chauvinism. Rather it attempts to teach the workers of the United States that it is their primary job to fight their own capitalist class and overthrow their own capitalist government. We believe in building up an effective international revolution composed of actual functioning national sections."

A revolutionary party must be international in outlook, he said.

"Masses Will Be Jerked Up And Hurried to Battlefields"

Sees World War in Which Workers Will Have To Fight For Capitalists or Against Them

By TESS HUFF

War is coming!

What are the proofs?

Munition factories are running full blast all over the world. Peace negotiations have definitely cracked. Europe is in arms. Steel walls are being feverishly erected on frontiers and huge armies are marching to the patriotic blare of bands in every civilized land.

Japan, England, Germany, the United States, France, Italy, all the major powers, are firing shot after shot in the international trade war, tearing at the "backward" countries in South America, Africa and the Orient like hunger maddened wolves. Unable to sell their factory outputs at home, due to impoverished and unemployed working masses, the captains of industry, of munition trusts and of governments sit high in the Wall Streets of the world and train the guns for war.

Want More Babies

Throughout Europe the cry is for more babies. The nations frankly want cannon fodder. Early marriages are encouraged by government loans while in Germany and Italy special laws tend by means of economic pressure to turn every home into an incubator to supply war machines.

The phenomenon is not confined to Europe. The cold blooded cultivation of a new crop of youngsters to step behind the guns and the factories and plows when war breaks is in the program of every capitalist country. In the United States recent attempts to enact birth-control legislation have been bitterly fought by reigning powers and defeated.

America Leads

The scramble of the nations for

armaments and alibis, each swearing it wants peace but that peace is being menaced by other nations, the United States pointing to Japan, Germany to Russia, France to Germany, and so on until the list of "peace-loving nations" is exhausted, is being led by the loudest "peace-lover" of them all. The United States is spending more money getting ready for war than any other nation. Its war budget is the largest, its military preparations the most extensive. The budget tops a billion dollars annually.

But the Second World War is not yet. And the peace-loving laboring masses find it difficult to understand just why there should be war. They cannot realize that their governments are preparing for their slaughter. They cannot realize it. They cannot believe it. They cannot understand it.

When the tension cracks, however, and the first shot is fired, world capitalism will plunge into world war, and the workers will have to fight. There will be no way out for them. They will be jerked up, drilled and hurried away to the battlefields. Or they will turn upon their governments and destroy them. In any case they will have to fight.

Before The Shot

Before that fatal shot is fired the workers must be made to understand what capitalism is, that it gives them no choice: under capitalism they have only two roles to play, either that of the wage-slave, used up in the factory, or of the soldier, to be killed in battle.

They must be ready to smash capitalism and war at one blow and set up a Workers Republic.

Early American Revolt Led By Jacob Leisler in 1689

By WALTER E. PECK

THE earliest successful democratic revolt of American workers against tyranny and exploitation covers the years 1689-1691 and has New York City and state as its setting.

The leaders of the New York revolt were Jacob Leisler (emigrant from Frankfort, Germany, in 1660) and his son-in-law Jacob Milborne. Pioneer fighters for democracy, these men moved against reaction as typified by the Dutch Reformed Church.

Leisler soon became the leader of those who distrusted the Jacobite officials, and the people became divided into two parties; one called the Aristocrats, including Nicholson and his council; and the Democrats, or Leislerians, including a large majority of the people.

On June 2, 1689, a popular gathering asked Leisler to be their leader in the overthrow of the appointees of James II. He at first refused, but soon after he took over the fort and ousted the Aristocrats. They took refuge in Albany from which they denounced him as an "arch-rebel."

A Committee of Safety, selected by the citizens of New York, and whose authority extended over the province of New York also, made Jacob Leisler commander-in-chief of the province. Early in December the Committee of Safety requested Leisler to take the duties of lieutenant governor. A council was appointed by Leisler which "was the most democratic in its organization yet appointed in New York, having been called with the understanding that the acts of the majority were to be the acts of all."

Leisler continued in power for two years, putting several bankers, including Bayard, in jail. Meanwhile Andros in England, Nicholson in Albany, and the imprisoned

financiers were conspiring to overthrow the popular government.

In January, 1691, under heavy political pressure, King William commissioned Col. H. Sloughter as governor of N. Y. and dispatched an independent company of regular soldiers for the defense of the province. After some dickering, Leisler and Milborne were arrested, tried for sedition, and sentenced to death.

Gov. Sloughter, however, hesitated to put this sentence into effect against the brave popular leader; and it was only as a result of a drunken orgy staged by the banker Bayard and his friends that the Governor, stupefied by liquor, was induced to sign the death warrant. That very night Leisler and Milborne were executed.

Thus fell the earliest martyrs to democracy in New York's colonial history. Though they lived and moved in a time remote from ours, and the class conflicts of that period were not on the same plane as today, nevertheless, their reliance on the support of the working masses (as opposed to the power and influence of the aristocrats) constitutes a land-mark in American democratic revolutionary history.

BANKERS CONTROL

WASHINGTON.—The national public debt has jumped to nearly \$32,000,000,000. Bankers are the chief bond holders. Low wages, direct and indirect taxes on food stuffs and commodities, pass the huge debt burden to the workers and farmers of this and future generations.

United Front Topic of May Day Meeting

NEW YORK.—On the evening of a divided May Day demonstration the American Workers Party brought the question of the united front sharply to the fore at its mass meeting in Irving Plaza.

"United action on specific issues must be achieved in the American labor movement if the forces of reaction are to be met and defeated," said Chairman A. J. Muste in the opening speech. Muste analyzed misconceptions of the united front, directing his criticism against the "theory" of social fascism and its twin, united front from below.

C.P. And S.P. Unity

Larry Cohen, New York organizer of the A.W.P., told of the opposition of both Socialists and Communists to the united front at their May Day arrangements conference. "The Communists put their refusal to make an organization-to-organization approach to the Socialist party on the grounds that the Socialist leaders are opposed to the united front. For this very reason, it is imperative that the united front proposals be made by left-wing parties so that the Socialist leaders dare not reject them," he said.

Herman Gund, general organizer of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, described the anarchic situation of the food workers and the blight of factionalism which has invaded the food unions, calling for a vigorous fight for clean and militant unionism.

Speaks of South

Oliver Carlson, fresh from an extensive study of the South, attacked impractical ideas in the labor movement concerning that part of the country.

"It is wish-thinking when writers and speakers of the revolutionary movement say that the color line is being broken down among the Negro and white workers. Unfortunately, it is precisely among them, where economic competition is keenest, that the prejudices are most easily fanned into flames," Carlson declared. He added that there are spots in the south of key importance which should be organized, and urged "less ball'ho and more careful analysis and systematic organizational work."

James Rorty, revolutionary poet read selections from his work and was received enthusiastically.

"The A.W.P. is a force for genuine, lasting unity," Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary, told the gathering.

COMRADE WILHO BOMAN

Wilho Boman, a leading member of the Finnish Federation of the American Workers Party, died in Brooklyn, N. Y., April 30, following an operation.

Comrade Boman, who gave more than three decades of his life to active revolutionary work here and in Finland, was well known to thousands of workers in the United States for his part in building the Finnish Federation, first of the Socialist and later of the Communist Party.

Since his withdrawal from the Communist Party, Comrade Boman devoted all his time and energy and resources reorganizing thousands of left-wing Finns who have in recent years been scattered and unorganized. He was untiring in his support of Vapaa Sana, Finnish paper supporting the AWP, and was active in the Co-operative movement.

A veteran orator, writer and organizer, Comrade Boman was a most valuable member of the American Workers Party. His death is deeply grieved.

Basis of Unity for the Food Workers Union in New York

(AN EDITORIAL)

THE Amalgamated Food Workers Union in New York City has recently been approached from both the right and the left, by the A. F. of L. Bakery Locals and by the Food Workers Industrial Union (T.U.U.L.), with "unity" proposals. The A. F. of L. Bakery Locals propose in effect that the AFW go out of existence and its local obtain charters in the A. F. of L. Union. The F.W.I.U. propose a merger of the two organizations, a joint committee to be set up immediately to make plans leading to a unification convention. Both proposals have been referred back to the membership of the AFW for consideration.

Unity is highly desirable. No trade union member or leader who is honest and in his right senses can possibly be opposed to unity. Just because real unity is desirable it is necessary to beware of fake proposals and to be sure that any steps taken will actually bring about less and not more division and confusion.

In the opinion of LABOR ACTION neither the A. F. of L. Bakery Workers Locals nor the F.W.I.U. come into the situation with clean hands. The A. F. of L. maintains a Bakery Workers Local in New York City, Local 79, for the express purpose of fighting the AFW and its members. Local 79 has no special district of the city marked out as its jurisdiction. It is permitted to go sniping for an AFW shop anywhere in the greater city. If a shop is once definitely broken away from the AFW it is then taken out of Local 79's hands and put into the craft Local having jurisdiction in its neighborhood. Recently it has been the practice of Local 79 agents to try to win Jewish workers away from the Amalgamated, which has a considerable German membership but is constantly carrying on a struggle against all the forms of fascism.

Furthermore, what would going into the A. F. of L. mean at the present time? Dividing up Amalgamated workers, who have long had an industrial union, into craft groups. Unity among workers is certainly not to be achieved by this backward step of dividing them up!

The Food Workers Industrial Union (T.U.U.L.) pursued a policy of disruption in the recent hotel workers' strike. Many incidents of that strike are still fresh in the minds of the Amalgamated members. Because of this, as well as other facts which might be mentioned, a "merger", so-called, between the AFW and the F.W.I.U. at this moment would simply mean that a big majority of Amalgamated members either went into the A. F. of L. or dropped out of the Union altogether. Once again, the result of the Amalgamated, which has been a progressive force among the workers for many years, eliminating itself from the scene would simply mean a wider breach between the workers than exists today.

Results in the movement for unification among the food workers will be achieved only in the whole thing is brought down to the ground. For example, discussions

about unity should include all and not merely some of the organizations involved—the Amalgamated, the A. F. of L. unions, the F.W.I.U., and whatever other organizations there may be.

Secondly, no movement of this kind will ever get anywhere unless a spirit of mutual confidence is created. Let the A. F. of L. and the F.W.I.U. both cease attacking the Amalgamated, spreading slanders about it, seeking to undermine its leadership and to break up its shops. If the Amalgamated or any of its members have engaged in such practices, let them put a stop to such tactics. Even if nothing else were accomplished, the cessation of these mutual attacks would have a profound effect upon the workers, would furnish a warning to the bosses of a growing solidarity in the workers' ranks, and leave time and energy free for organization work.

In the third place, each organization, thus hampered by attacks from the others, should go forward actively with organization work. There are tens of thousands of unorganized workers in Greater New York, hundreds of thousands throughout the country. Plenty of progress can be made in lining up these workers even if complete organizational unity is not immediately achieved.

Fourth, all this implies, likewise, that these various organizations will not undercut each other in the matter of wages, hours, and conditions of work in any of the shops.

In the meantime, we believe that the problem of organization among the food workers must be studied in the light of developments which are taking place among the independent unions in many industries and in all sections of the country. Because, on the one hand, the A. F. of L. is still not making its stand on industrial unionism clear, and on the other hand the T.U.U.L. offers no sound base for those workers who want to have fighting industrial unions without political party domination, some very powerful unions, independent of both these centers, have sprung up. Many of the new A. F. of L. Federal Locals will break away from the Federation if their determination to build national industrial unions is balked.

Labor Action stands now as ever for unity in the trade union movement — one fighting industrial union in each industry and one fighting center for all industries. However, we must deal with conditions as they are. Steps which we understand are now being taken to try to bring together the various independent unions referred to for mutual counsel and assistance hold great promise. If such a movement is under way, the AFW, with its many years of experience in industrial unionism, can make an important contribution and in turn it may receive much help.

To every genuine effort in the food industry to solidify the ranks of workers, Labor Action again pledges its utmost support.

Asks Legal Aid For Leagues

NEW YORK.—The Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, recently formed in New York City for the purpose of building a labor defense organization on a non-partisan basis, was asked today to furnish legal aid for the 55 unemployed league members and leaders held in jail in Ohio.

Formed by a committee of 40 who have been active in labor struggles, the organization proposes a broad defense machinery composed of all labor and anti-fascist elements. Herbert Solow, journalist and former member of the NEC of the International Labor Defense, is secretary.

The Provisional Committee has already engaged in defense struggles.

A protest organized by the body against the Dutch government for deporting labor refugees to Hitler in Germany was joined by the American Workers Party, the Young Peoples Socialist League, the Communist League of America, the Spartacus Youth Clubs, the CP Opposition, the Poeli Zion Left and the Unemployed Workers League.

Join the Labor Action Vanguard

May Day In Review

Paris

4,000 Communists erected barricades and withstood police assault. Large demonstration of 10,000 Communists and Socialists in outlying districts, while armed troops barred the roads into Paris

Rome

The German colony was the only group in Italy to celebrate May Day—at least openly. Ambassador von Hassel spoke before a gathering called in commemoration of the German "labor day". No large demonstrations were reported in Italy, where membership in a revolutionary party means jail.

Tokyo

Seven thousand marchers participated in the May Day demonstration.

Berlin

The vast outpouring which the capitalist press described in lavish terms, showed the forces of revolt which Fascism is generating. Tens of thousands of workers stood silent and openly hostile as "The Leader" gave a spread-eagle speech.

Havana

Ten workers were wounded when soldiers fired into a demonstration of 10,000. Protest strikes against this act of provocation were held throughout the island.

Toronto

Demonstrations took place in a few cities in Canada. A strike of pulp and paper mill workers was precipitated at Fort Frances, Ontario.

Chicago

5,000 Communists staged a May Day demonstration.

London

A small demonstration was addressed by James Maxton, A. Fenner Brockway, John McGovern, Henry Pollitt and Tom Mann.

Moscow

The Soviet Union told the predatory capitalist nations of the world to "keep hands off" in the unmistakable terms of a huge military demonstration which mirrored the strength of the worker's state.

Spain

A general strike swept the whole of Spain; one worker was killed and three seriously wounded in the Badajoz Province when police tried to break up Communist demonstration.

New York

300,000 Communists and Socialists and the workers' organizations under their respective influence paraded in two separate parades in one of the largest May Day demonstrations New York has ever seen.

N. Y. Notes

Errand Boys?

"There is no strike by Salesmen of Weinstock Brothers. The strikers are two errand boys," reads a sign in the window of a Third Avenue store whose workers are striking for recognition of the Retail Hardware Clerks Union Local No. 743. Now in the third week of their strike, they are being helped by A. F. of L. Teamsters who refuse to pick up or deliver goods at the store.

Lundeen Bill

Despite its many unsatisfactory features, the Executive of the Workers Unemployed Union has endorsed the Lundeen Bill in order to register its support for Federal Unemployment Insurance paid for by the bosses. Locals are holding open-air meetings to demand increased cash relief.

Sentiment is growing for affiliation with the National Unemployed League, following the visit of Art Preis, Toledo, Ohio, Unemployed League leader who participated actively in the work of the N. Y. organization and addressed several of its meetings.

Sheremen Tie Up Docks on Both Coasts

BULLETIN

SAN FRANCISCO. — Twelve thousand dock workers on the Pacific Coast walked out on strike, sion. Strike breakers are being ignoring a verbal agreement with a Presidential mediation commission in under police protection.

GALVESTON, Texas—18,000 striking longshoremen have completely tied up seven Texas ports and Lake Charles, La., and cargoes of inbound ships, and outbound shipments lie entirely untouched. The men are striking for union recognition and a wage scale of 75c an hour.

Employers have refused to recognize the International Longshoremen's Association at Lake Charles, and insist upon treating the Galveston and Sabine ports apart from the others. They have refused any wage increases, and before the strike had put handlers of baled cotton on the hour instead of piece-work thus reducing their wages. Roger Busefield of the Texas Labor Board has been sent here to "mediate and arbitrate."

Longshoremen here, received a mixed blessing the news that Joseph P. Ryan of New York the president of the International Longshoremen's Association has sanctioned their strike. Well aware of the support Ryan can bring them, they regard it as coming primarily because this is the first attempt to unionize coast-wise shipping.

They fear, too, that Ryan, a well-known Tammany politician, having promised LaGuardia that coast-wise shipping at New York would not stop because of a strike, except as a last resort, may perform political manoeuvres defeating their own strike.

On the other hand the news that several hundred longshoremen at Norfolk, Va., have gone out on strike and that 600 men will take a vote on a strike May 12, at Vancouver B. C., is enheartening to Gulf port longshoremen as showing they are not alone in the fight for wage increases

Ore Miners Vote Strike In Montana

(Special to Labor Action)

BUTTE, MONTANA.

"If the wage increase is not forthcoming, Butte will become an incorporated poorhouse in the near future with 95 per cent of the population seeking relief and charity," says the Montana Labor News, reporting the 3 to 1 vote of the Smeltermen and the 8 to 1 vote of the engineers on the question of a strike against the Anaconda Copper Company. The miners have already voted for strike action. The pay of 53c an hour paid for the dangerous and unhealthy work in the copper mines is 7c less than the amount paid on C. W. A. jobs.

The strike sentiment is as much against the adopted copper code as anything else. The code will increase the profits of the copper companies, already large enough. It will not increase employment or raise wages. The Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers Union is determined to do all it can to end the terrible situation in the industry which only employs 16,000 today in comparison to the 45,000 who worked from 1923 to 1929.

DISCUSSION MEETING

For AWP Members and Sympathizers

"BREEDING SPOTS OF IMPERIALIST WAR"

LUDWIG LORE will lead the discussion

Friday, May 18 at 8 P. M. 112 East 19 St., N. Y. C. ADMISSION FREE

NEW BOOKS

We Do Not

Do We Want Fascism? By Carmen Haider. John Day Company. New York. \$2.00.

To those who believe in the inevitability of fascism the title of this book will not be acceptable because it implies that there is a choice; that if the American people (to whom the publishers say this book is addressed) do not want fascism they can do something about it. Others might object to the title on the ground that although they do not believe that fascism is inevitable still they do not believe that it can be prevented by an appeal to the American "people," that such an appeal implies a belief in bourgeois democracy which, as the case of Germany proves, is not only powerless to prevent fascism from coming to power but which, in that it creates illusions, actually weakens the forces opposed to fascism.

However, as a reading of the book will prove, Miss Haider has no illusions about either the character of fascism or the methods by which it must be fought. Her object has been to describe from actual observation and experience how fascism works in those countries in which it is in power; what are the necessary conditions for its coming to power; and the methods that must be used to prevent it from coming to power and to fight it after it has come to power.

"The fascist state," says Miss Haider, "whatever temporary situations might seem to indicate, is a dictatorial form of government exercised in the interests of capitalists. Its two chief instruments of action are violence and the corporate state machinery. The resulting industrial peace in Fascist states . . . rests upon the suppression of the masses."

It is imperative for those groups opposed to fascism to realize the situation completely. Since fascism arises in periods in which the question of control over economic life has become so acute as to be no longer adjustable by democratic means, the position taken by liberal democratic and Socialist elements becomes unrealistic.

"To wish for and demand a return to parliamentary procedure," says Miss Haider, "and to try to prevent the advance of Fascism by such procedure indirectly increases Fascism's chances by holding back from active opposition large masses of the people who follow the liberal, democratic and Socialist leadership."

Thus, since in the ultimate analysis, the situation resolves itself into a fight between the working class and the capitalists, the success of fascism can be prevented only by powerful, militant working class movement.

To those who timidly argue that a powerful working class movement will stimulate reaction, Miss Haider answers that the only alternative policy would be compliance or watchful waiting, both of which would imply that the workers accept a declining status without a struggle. This, as Miss Haider points out, would be incorrect tactics from any point of view, for it would not only prevent the coming to power of fascism but it would mean that if and when it did come there would not have been developed, during the period when it was possible, a strong class-conscious group among the workers who will resist fascist ideas, and who will even

under fascism be a force to fight it.

In that part of her book which deals with the situation in the United States, Miss Haider analyzes what she considers to be fascist groups. Included among these, in addition to the openly avowed fascist organizations such as the Silver Shirts, the Blue Shirts, the White Crusaders and the Khaki Shirts, are New America and the closely associated Farmer-Labor-Political Federation. The latter, thinks Miss Haider, has the greatest chance for development.

Miss Haider does not contend that the members of the Farmer-Labor Federation are conscious fascists nor that its leaders are insincere. But she points out, there is no fundamental attack upon the right of private ownership of property in its program nor any specific realistic proposals for improving the status of the workers, and thinks that it is dangerous "wishful-thinking to say, as they do, that capitalism is dead" and that therefore all that remains is to bury the corpse.

As an analysis of what fascism is and how it works and of the forces that bring it to power, this is an excellent book. The sections dealing with the forces opposing fascism, however, are sketchy and leave much to be desired. This is particularly true of the treatment of the role played by the Communist Party in Germany during Hitler's rise to power and of the possible result of the tactics being pursued by the Communist Party in this country. Criticism of working class groups, Miss Haider might reply, is not within the province of her book. But why ask the question "Do We Want Fascism?" then, since from her own analysis, whether we shall have fascism or not, is entirely dependent upon whether we can develop

a powerful working-class movement capable of successfully overthrowing capitalism and establishing a workers democracy.

H. A. H.

Revolution Sans R

Individualism and Socialism by Kirby Page, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. Price \$2.50.

If the Communist Party didn't exist Kirby Page would have had to go to the trouble of inventing one. Where else could he have gotten so many straw men? The C. P. mistake and distortion factory affords him a host of arguments against revolution. Where else but in the Daily Worker could he have found such a devastating denial of the possibility of the united front of working class organizations as the words of Editor Hathaway who defines it as being "the unqualified acceptance of the principles of class struggle laid down by Marx and Lenin?" Or how would it have been possible to scream hysterically that the prospect of bloody revolution is "the surest and quickest way to drive the middle class into the arms of fascism," if not for the long-standing attitude of indifference which "the only revolutionary party" has shown towards this important section of the working class? Thus, throughout the book page presents with showy impartiality the Stalinist stupidities as the revolutionary side of the point at issue.

The brief chapters dealing with the repudiation of revolution in favor of reform, although illogical and vague, save the book from being just another weighty tome dedicated to proving that the post office will be a going concern under socialism, and that rugged individualism has "gone soft" since the crash. Between two covers one can see the adventurism and unreality of Stalinism and the cowardice and unclarity of Reformism. If you are judicious enough to skip the serried ranks of statistics and foxy quotations, some parts of the book may repay your reading.

R. R.

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

THE importance of the Federal Union movement is becoming more and more evident. Little as the American Federation likes this form of unionism; much as it realizes the headaches that are going to come when the real issue will have to be faced—whether to break up the Federal locals into craft divisions or to give consent to the organization of a number of new national industrial unions—it keeps on issuing charters to workers in the mass production industries because it cannot help itself. The last six months of 1933 saw 900 of these groups granted charters, while an additional 400 were formed in the first four months of this year. These 1,300 charters are 52 times more than for the entire year of 1932, 22 times greater than the boom year of 1929 and more than five times as many as the total issued during the five years 1928-33.

War and the Unions

IN the strictest sense this item does not belong in this column. The unions, however, have such a big job in preventing war that this quotation from an advertisement of the Cleveland Automatic Machine Company printed in the "American Machinist" is appropriate. The Cleveland Company is boosting their new high explosive shells.

"The material is so high in tensile strength and is very special because it has a tendency to fracture into small pieces upon explosion of the shell. Two explosive acids are used to explode the shell in the large cavity. The combination of these two acids cause terrific explosions having more power than anything of its kind yet used. Fragments become coated with the acids in exploding and wounds caused by them mean death in terrible agony within four hours if not attended to immediately.

"From what we are able to learn of conditions in the trenches it is not possible to get medical assistance to anyone in time to prevent fatal results. It is necessary to immediately cauterize the wounds in the body or head or to amputate the limbs as there seems to be no antidote that will counteract the poison.

"It can be seen from this that this shell is more effective than the regular shrapnel, since the wounds caused by shrapnel balls are not as dangerous as they have no poisonous elements making prompt attention necessary."

If civilization is to exist, these swinish dealers in human misery and torture must be run off the earth. It's the job of those "In the Unions".

Remember Ludlow

A BLACK and sorry day in the labor history of the United States was practically forgotten this year. Twenty years ago, April 21, 1914 eighteen striking miners, women and children were slaughtered in their tent camp at Ludlow, Colorado by machine guns in the hands of the National Guard.

Union miners representing every local in Huerfano and Las Animas counties in that state gathered at the Ludlow monument this year and held services for the martyred dead.

Union Briefs

Over 100,000 workers are organized under the A. F. of L. in the city of Cleveland, O. alone according to the Cleveland Citizen. The I.W.W. have about 30 local unions in that city, have won a few strikes there and seem to be making it their concentration point . . . Highly skilled tool and die men in the Hollywood studios, organized in the Motion Picture Workers Industrial Union have presented their demands. An independent organization, it is growing and has won a substantial membership in the large plant of the Mitchell Camera Company . . . Another independent organization is the National Automobile Salesmen Association, organized in Chicago to tackle the auto companies at the selling end. It has a score of locals and does not belong to the American Federation of Labor because the Retail Clerks Union claims jurisdiction over that field. It has succeeded in having a weekly minimum wage of \$17.50 per week put into the NRA Motor Vehicle Retail Code . . . The result of crazy trade union tactics was again seen in the vote for officers of the Paterson silk workers' Union in which the candidate supported by the Communist Party got two votes out of a total cast of over 1,500.

Radical Interludes

by LOUIS BREIER

THREATENED on all sides by the rising tide of a Fascist Anti-Semitism, more cynical, more brutal and much more ruthless than the Middle Age and pre-Soviet Russia brands of the same convenient hysteria, what are the Jews, and particularly the Jews of America, doing to protect the liberty, dignity and security which they have won only after long centuries of blood, sweat and tears?

The greater portion of American Jewry does nothing at all; that is to say, they are horrified by Hitlerism, they will listen avidly to lecturers who are horrified by Hitlerism and will read with interest newspapers that are horrified by Hitlerism; but beyond this mere eye, ear and lip-service they do not go.

For the rest, there is the "Non-Partisan" campaign combining the efforts of Samuel Untermyer and the B'nai Brith, fraternal organization of middle-class Jews.

Of Samuel Untermyer and the economic boycott we do not speak here. The limitations of the boycott as a weapon against Fascism must be evident to everyone. It is at best a reprisal and of necessity a weak one, never an intelligent, determined and profound organization against a systematic, well-organized and boundary-jumping reaction.

B'nai Brith

THE B'nai Brith, known for its Anti-Defamation League, simply carries over the method of analysis and struggle peculiar to that organization to its fight against Fascism. The analytical method practiced by the Anti-Defamation League can be summed up in one sentence: "Never dig beyond the obvious." In practice this has meant that while the League has at all times been ready and even eager to note and protest isolated examples of Anti-Semit-

ism, notably in public and private institutions of learning, it has never attempted or countenanced an attempt to make a scientific inquiry into the social, cultural and above all, the economic causes of racial prejudice.

With this procedure, it follows that the B'nai Brith must fail to analyze Fascism correctly. But that organization actually makes only the feeblest attempts to analyze Fascism at all, being unable to overlook the tender susceptibilities of its middle class members. It does try to isolate Anti-Semitism from Fascism before dealing with it, as much as to say: "If Fascism must be, it must be. But why this avoidable and unnecessary discrimination against the Jews?"

But Anti-Semitism is not an avoidable and unnecessary phenomenon invoked by the personal venom of a Hitler or a Goering or a Pelley. Fascism without Anti-Semitism is unthinkable, except in countries where some other racial, cultural or religious minority is more conspicuous and convenient. Bread and Justice or Blood and Uniforms, either one or the other must be provided by all governments and systems, and Fascism being a reaction against a struggle for achieving the former, must provide the latter.

If it is Jewish Blood that is commonly poured in sacrifice, will the B'nai Brith stop its flow by buying up importations of Nazi literature, by exposing such importations and by merely protesting the printing of such literature natively? For that is what this organization is doing, and for which it assiduously collects the nickels and dimes of its members and supporters. For this and nothing more. For a finger in the bursting dyke. A cup of water dashed, to great ceremony and much blowing of trumpets, against a swift and fierce conflagration.

Which, of course, it will continue to do until the fire overtakes and devours it, for by its own logic it is rendered incapable of doing anything else. History will not fail to record this major irony; that the Jews, castigated, castor-oiled and degraded by the cave-jawed henchmen of Capitalism for their "racial particularity", their "economic internationalism" and their "cultural cosmopolitanism" were incapable of defending themselves, not because these charges were true, but precisely because they were all mythical. The Jews, when middle-class differ not at all from middle-class gentiles, and when proletarian differ not at all from workers of all races, but are subject to the same laws and necessities that obtain and will obtain for these classes.

There is no way out, but the proletariat, revolutionary way out. No way for the Jews of all nations to fight successfully against the inevitable repression of the "right" revolution, but by left revolution..

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THEIR Government

by James Burnham

There is a lesson for workers in the troubles the Republican Party is now having over the selection of a new Chairman for its National Committee. Everett Sanders, the present Chairman, has recently resigned, effective as soon as his successor is chosen. The new Chairman is supposed to be picked at the June convention, but there is a move to wait until after the Fall elections—to see better what way the political wind is blowing.

The Old Guard of extreme conservatives wants to put in the super-reactionary ex-Senator Jim Watson. But the younger and more vigorous elements (and it is rumored that Hoover is supporting them) feel that the public has had all it can stand of the Old Guard. They aim to put forward some new, well known, "liberal" as candidate, to show the public the "progressive," forward-looking, and of course stalwartly American nature of the Republican Party.

The great question is this: Will the bankers and industrialists who run both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party be able to get away with it once again? When the audience now watching the specialty act being put on in Washington by the Democratic Party begins to get bored, then disgusted, then good and sore, when it starts throwing eggs and cabbages and yells for the curtain, will the capitalists be able to quiet the audience once more by switching back to the Republican side-show? Or will the audience be ready to understand that it will be just the same act all over again—a puppet show, both of them, with new dolls and a new name, but the same bunch pulling all the strings?

Smash the Show

This is a neat trick the capitalist magicians put on. And so far it has worked every time. When the masses get sick of Tweedledum Republican, they trot out Tweedledee Democrat; and then back to Tweedledum, and so on and on. And they have a few more tricks, too, that they've just begun to show from under their sleeves.—There are other members of the Tweedle family, though two of these are distant cousins rather than brothers: There is Tweedle-Fusion, Tweedle-Farmer-Labor, and even Tweedle-Socialist. And then, when the audience is sick of the whole darned family, they've still got, in the other sleeve, the last trick of all: no one knows yet what its name will be, but it's called Fascist in Italy and Nazi in Germany.

Of course, what the radical movement has got to teach the audience is to bust up the theater long before the last act comes on.

Ballyhoo Versus Facts

Let's get back to the Republican Party. The workers are gradually losing confidence in Roosevelt. They voted for him overwhelmingly, partly out of disgust with Hoover, but partly too because they had real hope in his promises and his vague plans. But no amount of promises and ballyhoo can stand up for ever against the facts—against the failure of Roosevelt to bring the workers jobs and food and clothing, and his continued functioning as a strike-breaker. And his failure along these lines is nothing compared to what it will be before he is finished.

The problem, then, is this: when the workers' confidence in Roosevelt is completely broken, are they going to turn back once more to the Republican Party, or are they going ahead to their own party? Are they going to stay tangled up in capitalist politics, or are they going now to become political in the true workingclass sense?

In the usual "American" sense, to be "politically minded" means to follow the careers of the Democratic and Republican Parties, to

(Continued on Page 6)

WHAT IS THIS FASCISM?

By A. J. Muste

In previous installments we have pointed out the ways in which capitalism tries to save itself, eventually resorting to Fascism, that is, open and brutal dictatorship. We have pointed out also how the non-revolutionary policy of the Socialists breaks down. Under it the workers are forced to beat a retreat and accept a constant worsening of their conditions. Sections of the lower middle class, which might have followed Labor if it had shown a determination to break through and actually build a new economic order, are driven to despair, listen to the Fascist demagog and become the material out of which Fascist mass organizations are built. The big capitalists, when they can no longer save themselves by outwardly respectable methods, finance these Fascist bands and use them to smash the labor movement.

At this point in our discussion a worker arises and asks: "All this may be true. I agree that the Social Democratic policy of gradualism and 'ballot boxing' cannot save the nation from Fascism. But Socialists are not the whole labor movement. The movement has a revolutionary section, the Communists. They do not believe that you can stop fascism with speeches. They fight fascism."

This raises a very important question. In Germany the Communists also failed to stay the advance of Hitlerism. In working out the strategy for preventing Fascism in the United States it is tremendously important that we should know why this happened.

In pointing out the mistakes of the Communists we are not furnishing an alibi for the Socialists and the conservative or reactionary trade unionists who because they cooperate with capitalists and capitalist governments, instead of fighting them, help to pave the way for Fascism.

It is the business of revolutionists to win workers away from false, corrupt and inadequate leadership, to gain the confidence of the workers so that as the crisis becomes more intense, they will rally solidly about the revolutionary leadership. Either revolutionists are wrong in believing this can be done, in which case they might as well go out of business. Or else precisely this is the main job of the revolutionist and in that case he must learn how to do it and must himself shoulder the blame if he fails to learn.

The tactics of the Communist Party in recent years, have been such as to divide the workers rather than unite them, and to rally the workers behind conservative and Social Democratic leadership instead of winning them away from it.

The Communist Party holds forth day in and day out on the united front. It means something very special, however, by this term, namely, "the united front below." According to this theory, if you want united action of the Communist Party, the American Workers Party, the Socialist Party and various unions against some manifestation of fascism, you do not, if you are the Communist Party, go to these other organizations and propose united action. That would be recognizing that there is some good in these organizations, whereas, according to the C. P., they are counter-revolutionary and Social Fascist. So instead of such a united front of organizations, you appeal to the workers who are members of these other political parties and unions, behind the backs of their organizations, over the heads of their leaders, to "united front" with you. Obviously, however, if these workers were thus ready to break away from their own organizations and unite fully under C. P. leadership, there would be no need of a united front. They would all be

united under C. P. leadership, even if not all members of the C. P.

The result of C. P. tactics upon workers who still have some faith in their organizations and leaders, is not to win them away from conservative or reactionary leadership but precisely to solidify them behind this leadership. That happened repeatedly in Germany.

THE Communist Party's united front theory is closely bound up with its theory of Social Fascism. According to this theory, the Socialist or Social Democratic Parties and the unions under their influence cannot prevent the coming of Fascism. Indeed, their policies of compromise and class collaboration open the way for fascism. So far so good. The Communist Party goes on to the most fantastic and illogical conclusion imaginable, namely, that there is no difference between the Socialist party and Social Democratic unions, and fascism. They are twins. Socialists, therefore, are Social Fascists. Therefore you have to destroy the Social Democracy before you can conquer Fascism.

In other words, here are two fellows, a Social Democrat and a Communist. The former is very big but not as strong as he appears and somewhat lacking in courage. The other is not so big but stronger than he looks and courageous. The lion of Fascism is rushing toward them. If they get together they can save themselves and kill the lion. The Communist fellow argues, however, that this Social Democrat, in spite of his imposing appearance, cannot stop the lion. He will, therefore, first kill the Social Democrat and then tackle the lion. The result is that the lion presently devours them both.

Of course it is the duty of a revolutionary party to expose leadership which is compromising and reformist and to win the masses away from such leadership. (Continued on Page 6)

NEWS REEL

By A. A.

Administration officials in Washington decried "with a smile" rumors of a food shortage.

Secretary of Agriculture Wallace is quoted as saying that the wheat and cotton carryover is twice the normal, that supplies of lard are 49 per cent above normal, cattle numbers are at record levels and supplies of fluid milk and manufactured dairy products are abundant.

While Professor Rexford G. Tugwell says comfortingly that "even though every hungry person in the United States should be well fed, there would still remain a surplus."

Great news for the 11,000,000 unemployed, their 20,000,000 or more dependents, the starving mothers and the undernourished children of America!

Brazilian government bonds are in default to the tune of \$33,000,000 . . .

Brazilian Government orders a dozen or so of assorted battleships, submarines and destroyers to cost \$43,000,000 . . .

The Bloody International of munition and armament manufacturers knows no depression!

Lessons in Economy

Curtailment of health, sanitation, school, fire departments and other vitally important services to the people—

Drastic pay cuts and payless furloughs for teachers, firemen, policemen, nurses, engineers other civil workers—

Sales and other taxes which fall with particular severity on the wage-earners and small business men—

Increased transportation fares for the greater glory and welfare of transit company stockholders and officers, bankers, politicians and speculators—

All that comes under the head of "A Balanced Budget through Economy," while any attempt to make the utilities, realty corporations and other large business interests pay even a small share of the cost of running a municipality becomes immediately, "Confiscation, Illegal Legislation, Ruination to Business, Communism, Revolution, etc., etc."

One-third of all the children in New York State are receiving relief—this means that their parents have no employment.

And on May first—Children's Health Day—Supt. of Schools Campbell sends a lovely letter to New York City parents parents that all children receive proper diet, milk, fresh vegetables and fruit, cod liver oil, etc., etc.

Advice is cheaper than jobs and real unemployment relief!

Headlines

Mortgage Firm Cheated Investors . . . Andrew W. Mellon Avoided \$2,000,000 Federal Income Tax . . . Death of Army Flyers Due to Imperfect Equipment Bought on Fraudulent Contracts . . . Utility Company Jockeyed Millions of Investors' Funds . . .

But never say that our criminals are left unpunished! In New York City a woman is arrested, fined and jailed for letting her two-year old son dig in Central Park.

Dr. A. J. Hogan, head of Fordham University, makes a bitter attack on pacifists. Dr. R. H. Brooks, rector of St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal Church, hits at pacifists who ignore defense . . . Peace on Earth, Good-will to Men!

stretches out across the plain as far as the eye can see.

In these few broad strokes we see the "South" not as one vast unit, but as a territory as varied in aspect as any other of such vast dimensions. In the next article we will speak of the peoples who inhabit this territory. They too are as different as the lands they occupy. (to be continued)

Dixie Today -- The Land, People, Problems

By A. O. Carlson

This is the first of a series of articles on the South written for LABOR ACTION by A. O. Carlson who knows his subject from intimate experience. The object of these articles will be to give a factual and realistic picture of the forces of capitalism below the Mason and Dixon Line with the belief that it is only by completely knowing the enemy, by having no illusions about him, that one can effectively fight him.

THE South is once more in the public eye. Politicians, sociologists, economists, trade unionists, revolutionists and radio warblers have done their bit. That "great attempt at national planning," known as the T. V. A., is in the south. The plow-under campaign in the cotton-belt of last year was front page stuff for months. The senior senator from Louisiana, and erstwhile Kingfish, has shouted, fought and clowned his way to the forefront as the most colorful public figure today. Strikes in textiles and coal have spread in Dixie. The Scottsboro case is still news. Nor must we forget the added emphasis the Communist Party is giving to its campaign for the Negro's right to self-determination in the Black Belt.

By and large one is led to believe that the South is seething with revolt. A very dramatic play "Stevedore," seemingly based upon the struggles of the Negroes in New Orleans, (which shows color lines broken as the white dock-walloper came to the aid of their colored comrades) has led thousands in New York to believe that race and color prejudices are rapidly breaking down in the heart of Dixie.

The Land

Let us begin with a brief sur-

vey of this land, which northerners and some radicals in the North erroneously refer to as "The South", as you would speak of an apple or some definite object.

About 35 million people inhabit the approximately one million square miles of territory included in the 13 states usually referred to as "The South". This territory, so large, and this population, so numerous, exhibit as many differences as likenesses. The land, both in contour and fertility exhibits great variation.

Along the Atlantic seaboard lies the fertile coastal plain. To the far south lies sandy Florida tapering off in the marshy Everglades. (The tremendous influx of northerners to Florida has so changed its population composition, that if is today quite distinct from all of them other states under consideration. This will be developed further later in the article.)

The hill and mountain areas (including both the north-south and the east-west ranges) are a land unto themselves. This is the traditional home-land of the "poor white", where feuds, poor crops, "moonshine", and innumerable children seem to multiply without end. The hill people are staunch individualists. Few Negroes are found among them. In fact many of their counties are "filly white."

The Cotton Belt

South and West of the mountains lies the great cotton and corn belt. It follows the black earth region across Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, well past Dallas in Northern Texas. Part of this belt is made up of the great Mississippi Valley Delta which extends virtually to the door of Memphis, and up thru eastern Arkansas.

The never-ending cotton fields

are dotted with the dilapidated shacks of tenants and share-croppers. In the spring of the year the fields are filled with the south's great trio: Negro, Mule, Plow. (Here and there you see a white man cultivating the land—more often he acts as overseer.) In the late fall and early winter these same fields seem alive with the hundreds of thousands of women and children who gather the fluffy bolls of cotton by hand. It is a back-breaking task, which lasts from daylight till dark. Southern planters will tell you that "The niggers love to do it, as it gives them a great chance to socialize."

The red soil region is mostly south of the Black Belt and extends all the way to the Gulf coast. Great forests of southern pine once covered much of this area. Today the forests are interspersed with cotton and corn farms. The soil is poor, and without the constant use of fertilizer, the crops are meager. Both the people and the animals are constant reminders of a worn-out soil. The tumble-down shacks of which song-writers are so fond, serve as additional eyesores to the monotonous scene.

North and west of New Orleans are to be found the rice and sugar cane fields. Both take their toll of sweat and blood from white and colored workers.

The great plains of Oklahoma and Texas are very different from the regions just described. Wheat, corn, cotton, and cattle are the basic crops. The soil is light. Wind and sand-storms are plentiful as heavy rains are scarce. The Negro is here replaced by the Mexican as the doer of most hard and dirty work. So too, the mule has been replaced by the horse or the tractor. The plantation has become the ranch, which oft-times

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Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

SMASH INJUNCTIONS

THE action of the Lucas County (Toledo) Unemployed League in protesting against Judge Stuart's arbitrary injunction in the Auto-Lite strike and going right ahead with their peaceful picketing of the struck plant, is an event of the greatest importance in American labor history.

"With the full knowledge of the principles involved and the possible consequences, we openly and publicly violate an injunction which in our opinion is a suppressive and oppressive act against all workers."

Thus wrote the Lucas County U. L. to Judge Stuart. These militant workers, jobless themselves, but fighting side by side with the automobile strikers instead of scabbing on them, informed Judge Stuart exactly where and when they would trample his decree in the mud.

The American Workers Party unreservedly endorses this action. It will pursue the same policy of fighting judge-made law and smashing injunctions wherever the bosses resort to them. It will throw every possible force into this fight. Its executive secretary, Louis F. Budenz, who has led picket lines in defiance of injunctions many times, has already gone to the scene of action in Ohio.

As the organization movement among both employed and unemployed grows, injunctions are more frequently resorted to. Thus strikes and organization campaigns are slowed up. Inexperienced workers are demoralized because they are made to believe that their cause is unjust and their actions illegal. Thousands of hard earned dollars are spent in the courts.

An injunction in a labor dispute is not law. It is lawlessness. Such injunctions deserve no obedience and respect. Only slaves would submit to them.

The example of the Toledo workers should be followed by every union and unemployed league, in every industry, throughout the length and breadth of the land. A few more such bold defiances and there will be fewer injunctions issued.

The spirit these workers have exhibited will bring the day when injunction judges will be in jail, where they belong, instead of workers exercising their undoubted rights.

CRIMINAL STUPIDITY

IF the courageous workers of Toledo have recently given a splendid illustration in an A. F. of L. strike of how the injunction evil can be curbed, President Green of the American Federation of Labor has given an equally striking example of how not to do it.

The federal court at Springfield, Ill. recently granted an injunction on the application of the Laclede Steel Company of Alton, Ill. against a local of the Amalgamated Assn. of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. The injunction is the first against labor under the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction act which was supposed to protect the workers from this evil. The attorney for this A. F. of L. local wrote to President Green, pointing out the imperative

The Manager Speaks

The leaders of the Lucas County, Ohio, unemployed league are in jail for violating an unjust injunction, but they and their branch colleagues got in some good licks for LABOR ACTION first. During the past month they have sent in 28 subs.

Gulfport, Miss. has sent 24, and nearby the newest Branch, Biloxi, has started off on its quota.

Boston, also a new branch, sends 10 for a beginning.

New York City has an even 50 on its 500.

The Finnish Federation, through one comrade alone, Jane Ogdén, turns in 9 subs on a quota of 25.

Allentown has reported with a couple dollar subs, and the coal diggers in central Pa. and Illinois write they mean to fill their quotas.

Newark with 21, Paterson with 8, Washington, D. C. with 5 and Los Angeles with 4 are accounted for—and the rest???

Vanguard Growing
Women take the honors this

time in the Vanguard of 100, with Gertrude Wickel of Reading, Pa. sending in 12 subs, and Dorothy Rose of Washington, N. J. 10.

Half a dozen other members of the Vanguard report several subs, and by the next issue will undoubtedly have their 10. Watch for their names.

One of them is John Keller of Gainesville, Texas, who adds this comment:

"I'll join the Vanguard of 100, and I believe I'll fill my quota, though I'd rather try to propagandize Andrew Mellon or William Green in this community. Unionization has recently come to our plant, but progress is slow and radical talk is still out. Workers are skeptical, even of the A. F. of L."

The subscription chart in the

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The May Day Supplement

necessity of appealing immediately to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in order that the precedent of using this law against labor might not stand.

Our readers will remember that the A. F. of L. concentrated its major attention upon this very law for years and hailed its passage as the dawn of a new day for labor. Nevertheless, in answer to the appeal from an A. F. of L. local that the Federation throw its full weight into the movement to prevent the emasculation of the law, President Green replies:

"This is a matter entirely for action on the part of the national organization whose membership is involved. . . . When you inquire whether our attorneys examined the injunction and if so what was their conclusion, I must advise you that the American Federation of Labor has not attorney."

A grosser instance of stupidity and criminal negligence can hardly be imagined. This is another count in the indictment of the A. F. of L. membership and American workers generally against William Green.

MAY DAY DIS-UNITY

THIS year saw the greatest May Day demonstration ever carried through by the workers of this country. In the face of all the Roosevelt-NRA ballyhoo, hundreds of thousands of workers all over the country went into the streets under the slogans and banners of the working class.

But what this May Day proved, once again and conclusively, is the bankruptcy of the leadership of the Socialist and Communist Parties. Deliberately and provocatively, in spite of the prospect of increasing unemployment and wage cuts, of war and of fascism, the leadership split the ranks of the working class.

On the day of the International Solidarity of Labor we saw the degrading and tragic spectacle, in nearly every city, of two rival and conflicting demonstrations.

The "United Front" is not a pretty phrase to be tossed around in committee meetings. It is the indispensable instrument of working class defense against the attacks of reaction; and the sole means of achieving final revolutionary unity. The labor movement must break with grim determination from all who stand in the way of the genuine and fighting United Front.

RUSH CONTRIBUTIONS

FELLOW-WORKERS and friends, Labor Action supports the appeal of the Ohio workers to rush contributions for the Ohio Defense and Organization Fund.

Ted Selander and Sam Pollock jailed in Toledo for contempt of court, charged with violating an injunction in the Auto-Lite strike.

Bill Reich spending 30 days in the workhouse in Columbus, framed up by the police in anti-eviction fight.

The 15 Unemployed League leaders under arrest in Meigs County, Ohio; the 35 arrested in Butler County; the officers of the League in Pomeroy where headquarters have been raided.

Thousands of workers are on strike against evictions and wage cuts, tens of thousands clamoring for organizers.

These are appealing for help in the defense work, for relief of the families of the men who have been jailed, for strikes and organization campaigns which have been tremendously speeded up. No greater opportunity has ever confronted the American Workers Party! National issues are at stake!

TO THE COMRADES IN THESE STRUGGLES, TO THE INJUNCTION JUDGES, TO THE REACTIONARIES WHO ARE TERRIFIED AT THE GROWTH AND MILITANCY OF THE LEAGUES AND HENCE RESORT TO ANY MEANS IN THE EFFORT TO STOP THEM, WE MUST GIVE A CLEAR, RINGING, OVERWHELMING AND IMMEDIATE ANSWER! RUSH CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE OHIO DEFENSE AND ORGANIZATION FUND TO LOUIS F. BUDENZ, TREASURER, 112 E. 19th ST., NEW YORK.

office begins to look like a depression curve—turned upside down!

BOOK SERVICE

Each week, hereafter, instead of running that long ad of books and pamphlets, I shall describe one special piece of literature, obtainable through the LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE. Will try to get bargains for you, and prompt service. It may not always be new material, but always useful.

The first suggestion is the May Day Supplement of LABOR ACTION, 8 pages of feature articles on the following and other subjects:

Tactics of the united front, A. J. Muste; And we are not yellow, Arnold Johnson; American revolutionary traditions, V. F. Calverton; Self annihilation for the black belt, E. R. McKinney; Marxism and democracy, Sidney Hook; Fake "culture" is dying, James Rorty.

The supplement is 5c a copy; 10 for 30c; 25 for 50c; 100 for \$1. Write in for the complete BOOK SERVICE list.

Cara Cook.

THE PATRIOT



This Fascism

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But how is this to be done? Chiefly and most effectively by letting the reformist leaders expose themselves, which they are certain to do sooner or later, and usually sooner. If they refuse to enter a united front, if they fail to carry out agreed upon action in militant fashion, if they are passive and will not take aggressive action, if when they find their followers attracted to sound radical leadership they withdraw from the united front, then their weakness and dishonesty are effectively exposed. The Communists cannot wait for such a truly effective demonstration of the inadequacy of reformist leadership. They usually insist upon using a united front gathering for a general attack on any elements present and especially on trade union leaders not in full agreement with them. No one in his senses can believe that real results can be obtained by inviting a fellow to join with you in an attack on common enemies and then throwing big gobs of garbage at him.

Solidarity, united action are desperately needed in the labor movement. They cannot be achieved, however, under a policy of lying, villification, double-crossing, chicanery, cheap political tricks and deals. The Communists have done incalculable injury to the labor movement and have themselves been rent with divisions because they have elevated these practices into a policy in their relations with other groups in the labor movement.

THE general trade union policy of the Communist Party likewise plays into the hands of the Fascists. Wherever they have had an opportunity to do so they pursue the tactics of building dual unions all along the line. These unions are under the direct dictatorship of the Communist Party. In practice, that is, they are sectarian organizations, composed of C. P. members and sympathizers, and not real mass organizations. The mass of the workers either remain unorganized, or in the old unions dominated by conservative and reactionary leaders who under the circumstances have little or nothing to fear from militants in their own ranks. In every trade, every industry, the workers are split apart. In struggles over the simplest issues, fights against wage cuts or evictions, they are prevented from acting unitedly. Nothing could be more advantageous for the fascists and all other enemies of the workers.

The American Workers Party believes that the strategy of the conflict against fascism in the United States means one fighting industrial union in every industry and one fighting center of the

economic organizations of the workers. It means genuine united front of organizations, not fake united fronts from below. It means united action for specific, clearly defined purposes, in a spirit of proletarian decency, honesty and fair play. Corrupt and reformist elements are to be exposed on the basis of their failure to enter into or carry out the given united front, not by dragging in vulgar personalities or issues which are at the moment irrelevant. Criticism is to continue in force but to be based on sound revolutionary principles and on facts, not fabrications. Let such a united front policy prevail among the workers and the doom of Fascism will have been pronounced.

Their Government

(Continued from Page 5)
belong to a Democratic Club or a Republican Club, to get out the votes on election day, to be a precinct committeeman or even get a job after elections.

Working Class Politics
But to be "political" in the genuine workers' sense means something entirely different. It means to understand the class basis of all politics. It means to realize that all capitalist parties—whether called Republican, Democratic, Fusion, or what not—are merely different political machines whereby the capitalist dictatorship maintains its control of state power in the interest of capitalists and against the workers; that, therefore, all these parties are basically the same from the standpoint of the working class. It means to support and join the revolutionary party of the working class. And it means, finally, to know that the "political" struggle between the working class and the capitalists will not be settled at the ballot box, but in militant strikes and demonstrations, and in the end in the revolutionary overthrow of the entire capitalist system.

This does not mean to abandon "politics." There is a grave danger that many of the most militant workers in the country, disgusted with both the Republican and Democratic parties and with the squabbles among the radical groups, will decide to have nothing to do with "political parties" of any kind. They will feel that only by building fighting unions, free of politics, will the working class improve its condition and gain a workers' society.

This is a serious and fatal mistake, due to a failure to understand the complete difference between the revolutionary party of the working class and all other parties. The working class without its revolutionary party is a ship without bridge or engine-room controls. It may generate steam enough to circle the earth, but it will end on the rocks.