

LABOR ACTION

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Third Reich Surrounded By Powers

Fascist Orgies Give Birth To New Labor Forces In Germany

RAY OF LIGHT

Rulers Worried By Signs of Economic Collapse

By LUDWIG LORE

Once more Germany is the cardinal point of the world's news. Its fascist government has accomplished the seemingly impossible by maneuvering the nation into an isolation more complete than that of imperial Germany in those days before the war when the Entente was at the zenith of its glory. What would have seemed unthinkable a year ago—that France, Great Britain, Italy and the other powers of Europe should stand in an impregnable phalanx against National Socialist Germany—today is a fact. Even Italy, the last of its allies, turned away after the Austrian rebellion proved the faithlessness of the Third Reich and its leaders. The first overt act on the part of Germany against any nation would find them all prepared for united resistance.

Three Important Events

Three events of recent date in which the fascist regime played an important part, show the way Germany is going.

On June 30 the "purging" of the Storm Divisions by the savage murder of hundreds of Hitler's critics and opponents, Left and Right. On July 25 the Nazi putsch in Austria which united the powers of Europe under France and Italy as leaders, against the morally if not actually responsible Reich. On August 2 the death of President Hindenburg and the immediate merging, by Cabinet decree, of the offices of President and Chancellor into one, making Hitler "Leader and Reich Chancellor of Germany."

What effect had this rapidly moving succession of events on conditions in the Reich and in Europe? Firstly they have strengthened Hitler's momentary position. The Storm Divisions, because they were made up of unemployed proletarians, constituted that element in the National Socialist Party which sought to use its power first and foremost to improve the economic condition of the masses. For the SA the "socialist" part of the National Socialist program was of paramount importance. In its ranks opposition to Hitler's pro-capitalist opportunism first found concrete and determined expression, and its leaders recognized and condoned this opposition.

Indeed Roehm, the Chief of Staff of the Storm Divisions, underscored this sentiment in a secret decree to the SA which was issued early in May. "Social conditions," he states in this document, "have taken on an aspect that makes supine tolerance impossible." He comments on the fact that numerous enterprises have been able to pay dividends of 7 and 8% while labor was forced to work for starvation wages to give their unemployed comrades jobs.

The Industrialists Act

The issuance of this secret order aroused Roehm's colleagues in the Cabinet, notably Schmitt (Minister
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WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER?

Everybody says that Labor Action must become a weekly. "Events in the world are moving too swiftly today to be dealt with adequately in a paper that comes out only twice a month."

"The revolutionary message of the American Workers Party must be gotten to hundreds of thousands of workers, and it must be gotten to them more frequently."

"The best organizer of the party is our paper."

These sentiments are expressed by dozens of letters that come to the editor's desk. They come from every part of the country. They come from AWP members and they come from workers who are not yet members of any party.

With the sentiments expressed in these letters the editorial staff of Labor Action agrees 100 percent. They indicate a growing appreciation and realization of the enormously important role our paper has to play in the rapidly developing revolutionary scene here in the United States.

Why then does Labor Action not become a weekly? And why does this issue contain only four pages? (We have had to leave out two very important articles on war because of lack of space).

The answer, Comrades, is plain.

YOU must build the paper. YOU must see that it gets to the workers. YOU must get the workers to support it. The editorial staff cannot do these things.

And frankly Comrades, do you think you have been doing as much as you can to get subscribers, to make our paper into a weekly?

How many new readers have you got during the past month? How many subs have you sent in? How many people have you spoken to about Labor Action?

Shall Labor Action become a weekly? The answer is up to YOU.

Communist Council Leaders Quit in Disgust, Join AWP

Build Branches In Dickson City And Throop, Pa.

The American Workers Party has taken root in District No. 1 of the Anthracite with the establishment of branches in Dickson City and Throop, Pa. A group of coal miners, silk workers and workers active in the Unemployed Council movement in that area, a number of them former members of the Communist Party, became disgust-

ALUMINUM STRIKE

10,000 Workers Tie Up Mellon Monopolized Industry

PITTSBURGH.—Ten thousand aluminum workers walked out of Andrew Mellon's half dozen aluminum plants, tying up the entire industry. Seeking to enforce Section 7a, asking for union recognition and the closed shop, including the "check off", strike officials said that the union affiliated with the A. F. of L. is up against the "Mellon monopoly."

Roy A. Hunt, president of the company, asserted they would not recognize the union and preparations are under way to lock the plant doors and "wait it out".

Splendid Fight In Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS.—With military rule in full sway the month-old truck drivers strike involving 166 firms and 5,000 workers, led by Local 574, has settled down to a siege between combined business interests and working class elements cemented together by bonds of sympathetic solidarity. The strike is the most splendid display of prolonged union morale the city has seen. Good leadership, a daily strike bulletin that the workers swear by and all around militancy have served to expose and block every fake compromising move made by Federal mediators and the employers.

ed with the sectarian and disruptive policies of the C.P., studied the policies and activities of other groups and have now decided that the A.W.P. is the organization for them.

They had built the Unemployed Councils in the belief that they were to be fighting organizations for the defense of the best interests of the unemployed without political or any other discrimination. Many of them, realizing the need for revolutionary action, had joined the Communist Party.

But they found the C.P. impossible to work with. "We have heard and read the stories of disruption and hooliganism in other places", said one of them. "But we could not believe it. Then it happened to us". When they protested these happenings to the district and national committees of the C.P., they were branded with all the usual names.

When they definitely left the C.P. and organized branches of the American Workers Party, the storm broke. Communist organizers made the rounds of all the Councils and attacked the A.W.P., thus bringing this political issue directly into the supposedly non-partisan unemployed organization. The local C.P. organizer (who learned his political strategy as a Democratic ward-heeler) tried to pack Council meetings with all sorts of elements to outvote the genuine organized unemployed.

"We want to build real non-partisan mass organizations of the unemployed", say our new comrades. "We know the splendid work of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League."

The question of work in the miners, unions and in the unorganized silk mills of the Scranton district is being considered. Plans are also being made for widespread organization of A.W.P. branches in this area by the two existing branches

Corporations Fatten Up On New Deal Money; Plan Permanent NRA

Purchasing Power Released By Government Flows Into The Coffers Of Big Business

THEIR ATTACKS ON NRA ARE MISLEADING

Huge Profits Reported By 639 Companies; Green "Complains" of 10,000,000 Unemployed

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

During these summer months Reaction has stepped forward more definitely to take complete control of the N.R.A. machinery and use it for repressive ends. The attacks on the Blue Eagle have come more and more thunderously from the Right. They can be read in any newspaper. They are quoted in interviews with "economists" attached to banks and big industrial concerns. They are echoed on a number of industrial battlefields.

The object of all this hub-bub is not to destroy the N.R.A., as the

workers might be led to believe. Not at all. The purpose, as revealed by the maneuvers of the United States Chamber of Commerce, is to make the N.R.A. a permanent feature of American economic life. Permanent—on the basis of strangulating the already anemic Section 7a, entrenching the financial-industrial forces, and making free use of suppression to nip further workers' action. A super-lobby has been set up by the big employing interests to see that measures in this direction are carried out, in the next Congress and in the N.R.A. apparatus itself.

Leagues Vote To Pay Dues

Twelve States In National Convention Map Plans For Jobless

See Article by A. J. Muste on Page 3

COLUMBUS, Ohio.—Six hundred and fifty delegates from 12 states representing approximately one million organized unemployed met in Columbus July 30 in the three day annual convention of the National Unemployed League.

Going on record against capitalist wars and fascism, the convention mapped its program for the coming year, the sixth year of the depression.

Show Political Maturity

Reports from the states indicated a growing political maturity among the unemployed.

The 650 delegates voted to have the national organization bring out a national newspaper for the Leagues. Provisions were made for League schools. The newspaper and the schools will be used as tools, paid for in the nickles and pennies of the million members, in the fight against unemployment.

A resolution adopted by the convention placed the Leagues on a voluntary dues paying basis of one cent a month per member. This would provide the national body with \$10,000 a month, if each member paid, "enough to turn the system of unemployment and living on relief in the midst of plenty upside down," one delegate declared.

The convention was a strictly business affair. There was no flag-waving, no patriotic speeches. This was in marked contrast to the N.
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NEW YORK PICNIC

A large picnic, with the proceeds going to LABOR ACTION, is planned by the New York Branch of the AWP for Sunday, August 26 at Palisade Park in New Jersey. Several hundred members and sympathizers are expected to attend.

Tickets, which are twenty-five cents in advance, include a large free lunch. They may be procured from AWP members or at Party Headquarters.

Green Complains

The reasons for such action are pretty clear. It is these summer months which have indicated most decisively the failure of the N.R.A. to restore economic health. From Atlantic City, President William Green of the A. F. of L. complains loudly that there are still 10,000,000 unemployed. He has made the threat—strange as it may seem—that much more must be done immediately on the out-of-work problem or the government will have to take over the machinery of production and distribution.

Business Drops

The monthly business survey of the U.S. Department of Commerce reports trade declining in June and July. The drop was in excess of the usual seasonal downward trend. Two thirds of the manufacturing concerns covered by this survey showed increased unemployment. So likewise go the statements of the National Industrial Conference Board, employers' organizations, and those of other similar agencies.

We can understand, from the records now available, why this has come about. These records confirm what Labor Action has said of the N.R.A. from the beginning. What, after all, was the driving motive behind the N.R.A. and its other alphabetical brothers? They were devised by industrial and financial interests for the purpose of saving capitalism. This was to be done by increasing purchasing power. Unions were to be recognized in a way, those that were amenable to government persuasion. Wages were to go up, through union pressure and otherwise, to enable the mass of the people to buy. Billions of dollars were to be set in motion by the government in relief projects. Farmers were to be paid for ploughing under their crops.

BUT—A Big But

BUT—and this enormous "But" of the capitalist system was to prove the injurious snag to all these schemes—Profits and Dividends were to go up likewise. Profit Makers and Money Changers were to be given special protection. Their prosperity was considered an index of national good health. Monopolies and trade associations were given privileges which they never before enjoyed—a fact almost overlooked in all the
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Strike Brings New Life To San Francisco Unions

Counter-Offensive To Anti-Red Drive Under Way

San Francisco Despite the continuing wave of anti-red hysteria and terrorism and the collapse of the mass strike—hailed by business and industrial leaders as the knock-out blow to militant labor unionism on the Pacific Coast—the labor movement in San Francisco is definitely on the march. Three weeks ago, the labor horizon in San Francisco presented an aspect of unmitigated gloom. It is obvious today that so far as labor itself is concerned, there has been no "defeat."

Injected New Life

The general strike movement, though bearing no practical and specific fruits, has injected new life into the San Francisco labor movement. Union after union is reporting rapid gains in membership and closed shop agreements with union-hating firms which in some cases have resisted their onslaughts for years. This is particularly true of the more aggressive organizations quick to realize that even though the general strike itself failed in its immediate objective—victory of the longshore and maritime unions—it was a tremendous success in demonstrating to the rank and file labor's potential power and the crying need for mass solidarity.

Excuse For Red-Drive

In view of what has actually happened—both during the four days of the general strike and since—the wave of anti-radical hysteria now rampant in California may be difficult for the outsider to understand. What he must remember is this—that the present wave of white terrorism is not the child of the general strike nor even of "communist" domination of the longshoremen's and maritime workers' unions.

The waterfront strike and then the general sympathetic strike which grew out of it merely furnished the excuse for the release of a campaign of terrorism against "the reds" and against militant unionism that has been in process of building for more than a year. Its chief impetus has been the agricultural unrest in the great California valleys, which has threatened to break out with renewed virulence this summer and which has resulted in the organization of vigilante groups, backed up by local and county officials in the Imperial, San Joaquin, Santa Clara, and Sacramento valleys during the past year.

During the last six months, the anti-red drive in California's industrialized agricultural districts has found echo in all the metropolitan newspapers of the state, with the exception of the Scripps-Howard San Francisco "News" and the Los Angeles "Record." The Hearst papers—five of them in California—the San Francisco "Chronicle," the Los Angeles

TO TRAIN LEADERS

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—A labor school for workers, lectures and discussions, to prepare men and women for effective work in unions and leagues, opened here August 11 at 43 Fernando Street with the following teaching staff: E. R. McKinney, C. R. Daugherty, Anne Berman, Hopton Powell and others. The school is an integral part of the program and activities of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League.

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U.L. convention held last year in this city, when some of the delegates still looked either secretly or openly to Roosevelt's New Deal to ease conditions.

Anthony Ramuglia was re-elected president of the national organization, Arnold Johnson, secretary, Ted Selander, treasurer, William R. Truax, first vice-president, C. Eskew, second vice-president, E. R. McKinney, third vice-president, and J. Stanley, of Mississippi, fourth.

"Times," together with the American Legion and other "patriotic" groups have been conducting an "educational" campaign to stamp out what they term "communism" in California. The campaign was at its height when the general strike occurred. Here was evidence of the imminence of the revolution, planned by the reds! Here was the perfect demonstration that the "reds" controlled the San Francisco labor movement—as well as the organized agricultural workers!

Whip Up Hysteria

As a matter of fact, the "reds" controlled nothing—with the exception of the communist Marine Workers Industrial Union, one of the nine maritime unions in the original waterfront strike. It claims a membership of about 500—mostly seamen. It was the only authentic communist organization in the whole strike. There were, to be sure, some communists of varying tendencies among the 3000 members of the San Francisco Longshoremen's Union. The Union itself was militant but certainly not "communist controlled." The Teamster's Union, which went out in sympathy before the general strike was declared, is anything but communist. (Some of its members later participated in the wrecking of radical headquarters; there are plenty of Legionnaires in the San Francisco trade union movement.)

But the militancy of the waterfront unions and—to cap it all—the calling of the general strike were sufficient evidence for the industrialists and the patrioters, already straining at the leash in their desire to crush out any labor offensive. In fact, the general strike was exactly what the Industrial Association wanted—as some of its leaders have since confessed. Up to that time, their cries of "red revolution" had been unavailing, so far as the general public was concerned. With the whole community more or less affected by the sympathy strike, a public which had been either indifferent or vaguely friendly to the strikers began to lend a sympathetic ear. The newspaper propaganda was incredible. One would have thought from it that the staid San Francisco Labor Council was staging a revolutionary coup d'etat. The result was a welling up of mob hysteria which obscured all strike issues while the community went on a red-hunting spree.

Frisco Is "Saved"

While the inauguration of the general strike actually shifted control of the situation from the militant waterfront unions to the representatives of the more conservative unions, it thus furnished exactly the opportunity the industrialists of the city and the big agriculturalists of the valleys needed to bring the "red menace" home to the California populace. And even after the general strike was called off, and the newspapers had congratulated the more conservative labor leaders on their "sanity," the campaign against radicalism was intensified. Though "revolution" has been averted, California will take no chance with subversive elements hereafter! Communism, in all its forms, is to be permanently stamped out! This includes, of course, all those varying shades of radicalism classed as red by the American Legion.

Strategic Move?

It is because of this campaign that such labor leaders as Joseph Ryan have attempted to put over the impression that the general strike was a strategic move on the part of the "real unionists" to get rid of the reds. It was nothing of the sort. It was an authentic gesture of instinctive sympathy and revolt on the part of the rank and file. It was ill-considered probably, badly planned, and, in a sense, it played into the hands of the industrialists. But it did not,

as was feared just after the strike collapsed, turn the trick the industrialists hoped it would turn. It has not afforded them the opportunity to crush the labor movement.

The longshoremen and maritime workers are back pending arbitration, but they went back as a well-organized, well-knit group and from present indications, arbitration will undoubtedly result in certain definite gains. The ship subsidies scandal and investigation which involve most of the big Pacific Coast shippers broke just at the right moment. The ship owners are in no position to be cocky right now.

Bosses Finance Veterans

In the meanwhile, 31 "red" prisoners in San Francisco jails are on a hunger strike. One, the organizer of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, has been tried for vagrancy and found guilty. Criminal syndicalism charges are filed against a group of communist agricultural leaders in Sacramento. This is serious business as the minimum sentence is likely to be five years. The Legion and other veteran groups have organized throughout the state to stamp out the reds. They are backed up by a huge fund raised at the last meeting of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

Communist, I.W.W. and socialist attempts at open air meetings in San Francisco have been broken up, though the socialists staged a large and successful open-air protest demonstration in Berkeley. All communist headquarters remain closed.

The first non-radical protest against vigilante and police terrorism to gain a hearing so far is one made by a group of thirteen leading citizens who might be termed "liberal conservatives." Their social position gave the protest an excellent display in the daily papers. The Civil Liberties Union is organizing a special committee of liberals to sponsor a great protest meeting within the next week and an Emergency Defense Committee has been formed, under more definitely radical auspices. A counter-offensive is getting under way.

BEN CLEMENS

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The Old Leadership And The New

Much has been written and said recently of the new leadership which has emerged in the unions, that headed the picket lines in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco, led 20,000 Alabama textile workers in their revolt and almost called the steel workers of the nation out on general strike. Radicals have hailed with delight and reactionaries "viewed with alarm" the increasing readiness of the membership of organized labor to accept and follow the leadership of revolutionists.

That labor is going places cannot be denied. Never again will the trade union movement of America be the anemic and cowardly thing that it was from about 1924 to 1930. Enough time has passed to make it certain that the tremendous expansion of unionism in the past year was not a soap bubble but that it will, in large measure, survive. In a number of the most important basic industries such as oil, rubber, chemicals, electric equipment, food, etc. the unions have definitely won recognition and have rooted themselves strongly in the shops and mills. A bewildering variety of trades and crafts has been organized. Entire communities have been swept by the union idea and the working population from top to bottom has lined up.

Watch Your Step

The fact that the old line leadership is on the run is good. To keep them on the run and eventually to boost them entirely out of the movement will be very much better. And there are too many radicals who entirely underestimate the size of that job, who believe that spontaneous revolt can be depended on to sweep them away.

For some months, as a matter of fact, the old guard has been busy rebuilding its badly shattered fences. Taken off guard at first by the extent of the revolt, it has

begun to play the game it knows so well. And in a number of important fields it has succeeded in either crushing or tricking the militant elements and in establishing its mastery over the union masses.

In automobiles, for instance, the old guard, fearing an independent movement for a national industrial union in the industry, took the lead in the formation of a national council under the control of the Federation. In aluminum the same thing has happened to these groups who were, at one time, prepared to pull out of the A. F. of L. and cooperate in the formation of a new union center. In steel the rank and file movement was tricked and conquered although some of its candidates will probably win in the coming elections. In rubber, a fine young group of militants followed bad tactics, played into the hands of a shrewd trade union politician, and are now wrecked, with the national council in the industry completely in the hands of the old guard.

Using Our Heads

The situation demands clear thinking on the part of militants, not only in order to defeat these attempts of labor reactionaries, but to keep from playing directly into the hands of the company union forces. A vague feeling of resentment among the rank and file against established union practices and philosophy is fertile ground for the enemy of labor. In the absence of shrewd and clear headed left wing strength, such dissatisfaction may become a potent weapon in the hands of anti-union forces.

The case of the Hudson auto workers is significant. The Hudson plant in Detroit had been the stronghold of the C.P. Auto Workers Union. When the A. F. of L. drive came, however, it took over the Hudson and one of the strongest locals in the country, embracing many thousands of workers, was built. Conservative elements came into control. They were for industrial unionism, however, and at the conference at which the National Council for the industry was formed, the delegates from the Hudson were prominent for the fight they made for immediate formation of a national industrial union. Now comes the word that this strong local has withdrawn from the Federation and has formed an independent union which pledges itself to be "more reasonable" to the manufacturers. The group in control is closely allied with Byrd, the labor representative on the Automobile Labor Board who has considered the A. F. of L. policy in the industry entirely too militant. All accounts agree that this "independent" union if not so already, will soon become an open company union formation.

Steel Too

It is not generally known that immediately after the second convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers had called off the threatened general strike, several prominent rank and file, including some members of the "Committee of Ten," wanted to pull their locals out of the A.A. and to maintain them as independent unions until such time as another national organization could be formed. In one very important district full plans for such a development had been laid and were only put aside when these militants were shown the almost inevitable development of company union tendencies in such unattached local formations.

controlled by the workers. If you can't organize when you want to you are like animals in a cage." And hell broke loose in paradise.

Walter Kohler's paternalistic model village echoed the rat-tat-tat of industrial warfare.

And so ended the dream-scheme of America's chief plutocratic pollyanna.

"RED"

Trouble in Paradise

So Ends The Dream-Scheme Of America's Chief Plutocratic Pollyanna

Kohler, Wis. Tear-gas mingles with sunshine in Kohler, Wisconsin. Bullets chip the neatly stuccoed two-story cottages and the feet of advancing and retreating pickets tear up the front lawns and play hell with the petunias, while dust from overturned coal trains settles over Kohler's tennis courts and blackens the village swimming pool.

There is trouble in paradise. For Kohler, Wisconsin, was a paradise, the personal paradise of Walter Kohler, Bathing King and former governor of the state, who said he loved his fellow men and believed in the "honeymoon of capital and labor."

Apple In Eden

What happened? Who ate the apple in this industrial Eden? Who broke up the marriage of the industrial Adam and the proletarian Eve?

It seems that the honeymoon is over when the workers demand a raise in pay and the right to organize as they see fit. Swimming-pool? Tennis-courts? Bungalows? Petunias on the front lawns? These are all very well—but unless the workers are free to organize and to demand improved conditions—what are all these "benefits" but the prettifying of a cage in the Zoo?

In The Zoo

In the Zoo, the keepers do all within their power to make the trapped animals feel at home. They try to give them the illusion of that freedom they once knew in their native jungles. Keepers know that animals in captivity last longer under such conditions—kind treatment beats castor-oil.

Kohler knew this too. That was the secret of the "honeymoon". Give the workers a model village, a swimming-pool, a beautiful park, a tennis-court—tell the workers that all this belongs to them. They will then leave the industry in your hands, to run as you see fit, to cut wages as you like. It was a beautiful system and had possibilities no end. Why, even if the workers got excited by Section 7a all you had to do was to offer them a nice new "model" Kohler Company union.

But now in front of the Kohler Company plant hundreds of workers are massed. They are not laughing, nor singing, nor playing games, nor kidding the superintendent. Instead, they seem to be standing there rather grimly and if they sing at all it is not the familiar "Good morning to you, Mr. Kohler" but a song that goes: "Hold the fort, for we are coming, Union men, be strong!"

Little Metal Balls

There is a curious kind of game that they play with the 600 soldiers and the cops who are also in front of the plant. The soldiers throw little metal balls at the workers and sometimes the balls explode and there is a nasty smell and sometimes the workers pick the balls up and throw them back at the soldiers and again there is a nasty smell. But no one keeps score. The cops use real bullets in utopia, killing 2 and wounding 20.

The Snake Enters

The snake entered Eden in the form of Union No. 18585, American Federation of Labor. Into the ears of the workers it whispered: "There is no real union but a union

New Forces Rising From Fascist Orgies in Germany

Economic Collapse Threatens To Explode Nazi Illusions And Hurl Hitler From Power

(Continued from Page 1)

of Economics) and Seldte (Minister of Labor) to indignant resentment. They appealed to the Chancellor and when he refused to act, turned to influential industrialists and pointed out the dangers involved in this officially sanctioned anti-capitalist propaganda. That helped Hitler called Roehm to account and at the order of the industrialist leaders announced his decision to reduce the SA. The SA leaders showed resistance and the orgy of murder that followed was Hitler's answer.

The decimation of the power, size and influence of the Storm Divisions gave greater power to the Reichswehr, the official army of the German state, which has taken the SA under its wing. Hitler's personal supremacy is at an end. Always the tool of the great industrialists, he must now bow to dictation not only from these industrial overlords but from the Reichswehr chiefs, the concrete expression of their supremacy in the nation.

But Adolf Hitler is far from finished. He is still the popular idol of the large majority of the German people and together with the Reichswehr and the large industrialists wields a power that is as yet unbroken and unimpaired. His personal rule has given way to the rule of a triumvirate, but it is unanimous, less torn by inner dissensions, less weakened by secret opposition than the regime which went before.

"Grand Old Man"

Next to the SA it was the popularity of Hindenburg, that fictitious figure which had become the legendary expression of all Teutonic virtues, which interfered with the oneness of Hitler's rule in the Third Reich. The "Grand Old Man" had deserted his Emperor, had defeated the proletariat in the 1918 revolution, had sworn fealty and then betrayed the Weimar Constitution, had sworn relentless enmity to Hitler and then spoken of him as the man "I love as one loves a son," had accepted his estate Neudeck, cleared of its burden of debts, from the Nazi state and had turned it over to his son. But in the eyes of the German people he remained and still is the symbol of German honor and loyalty.

With the death of the aged President, Hitler becomes the sole arbiter of Germany's destinies. To millions of Germans he is the last, the only hope. His appointment to the "Leader-Chancellorship" is logical from the point of view of National Socialism; from the point of view of the class conscious worker it is a development of the greatest significance. For it places responsibility for the limitations of his regime and its shortcomings foursquare on his shoulders and those of his associates, a responsibility he will not be able to carry much longer.

Today Hitler is the undisputed ruler of the Reich. Today there is no one who can keep him from leading his people to better times. But the economic conditions which made Hitler the leader of the nation will prove his undoing. High prices, low wages and unemployment will do what German labor was unable to accomplish. They will undermine the foundation of trust and faith on which rests the superstructure of national socialist power and will hurl Hitler and the movement he represents into political oblivion before the world becomes a great deal older.

The heavy industries which played "God in the machine" to Hitler's political aspirations soon realized that Hitler's system was on its way to political and industrial bankruptcy. What then? An army of 800,000 unemployed men, armed and trained in terrorist methods

and filled with delusions of power and political authority is a dangerous element in a nation of dissatisfied people.

Hitler went to Essen just before he struck his deadly blow to receive the ultimatum of the men behind the totalitarian state, an ultimatum on which they based their hopes for ultimate recovery. They insisted that concessions to the middle class must cease and that all importation of manufactured goods from other nations must stop. The heavy industries demanded a system of self-sufficiency which would force the nation to adjust itself to its own output of raw and manufactured materials, to use substitutes for bread, sugar and other articles of consumption, to ration meat, potatoes, butter and all other necessities of life as they were rationed during the world war. The middle class feels that it has been betrayed and cheated. But it sees no other way out, holds the world outside responsible for Hitler's present difficulties, and continues to give, less enthusiastic, perhaps, but none the less undivided allegiance.

Conditions Grow Worse

Meanwhile prices are rising, wages sinking and important staples are disappearing from the market. Low-priced textiles are hard to get. A recent official enquiry showed that the average wage of the German worker in textiles for 1933, without tax and other deductions, was 26.53 marks per week. But the (fascist) Labor Front has since established that the average wage for textiles in February 1934 was 21.47 marks, a 20 per cent wage reduction for an hour longer workday.

Since 1930 wages have fallen 43 per cent. The working masses are facing a winter of indescribable suffering. But serious as it is, it is not this aspect of the situation which worries the German industrialist. That Germany has neither money nor credit with which to buy the raw materials its industries must have if production is to continue, that exports are wiped out, that the nation is bankrupt, that—unless a sharp about face from fascism takes place at once—German economy will collapse, these are the things which will determine the immediate future of the Reich.

One Ray of Light

Under such conditions—and this is the one ray of light in a hopeless situation—Germany cannot think of war. Hitler has been forced to eat crow to keep the nation out of a more than precarious international situation. By formally repudiating all Anschluss propaganda for the next ten years he has made his peace with Austria. Germany will have to sign the Eastern Locarno Pact and in so doing will sound the death knell of its hopes of continental expansion. It will soon be forced to admit that the corporative state is no specific for the ills of capitalism and will have to strike out along new paths in which the working class will lead the way to social and economic reconstruction.

Under the frozen surface of the fascist winter a submerged Germany is preparing for vigorous growth. A new labor movement, steeled, united and strengthened by the experiences of the last two years, is emerging from this orgy of disaster. New forces are surging to the front. New leaders are forging to the head. Hitler is still the hero of millions. But the day is approaching that will reveal this false prophet in all his pitiable nakedness, will show the sham and the hypocrisy of his fantastic teachings to those who still believe. That day will find the working class prepared. . . .

REVISED AWP PROGRAM OFF THE PRESS!

FIVE THOUSAND copies of the revised edition of the draft Program of the American Workers Party, explaining how the workers in the United States will take power, have come from the presses and are ready for the mails. In fact upward of 200 copies for which orders were received in advance of publication following the announcement in Labor Action, are in the mails. A new branch of the American Workers Party in Pennsylvania, formed in August, ordered 125 copies.

The first edition of the program, issued shortly after the provisional organization of the party was set up at the December convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action in Pittsburgh, has been completely sold out.

The demand for the program is further proof, if more proof were needed, that the position of the American Workers Party is correct; that workers and farmers throughout the United States in growing numbers are ready to accept and support a revolutionary party. The remarkable growth of the party since December, its work among the unemployed, its penetration into the deep South where it has not only helped to form leagues of the unemployed but functioning revolutionary party branches,

its leadership in the Toledo strike, is good evidence that the AWP program is not only correct, but that it represents a fresh beginning for revolutionary labor forces in America.

This is precisely the strength of the program. It represents the new beginning that workers and farmers in America have been looking for for many years. Disillusioned with capitalism (misery in the midst of plenty), disgusted with the sectarianism and the splitting tactics of the Communist Party, sick of the ballot boxing reformism of the Socialist Party, in growing numbers they have been seeking for the very party that the American Workers Party is—and they are finding it. This fact lies behind the demand for the party's program.

The new edition, rewritten and enlarged, deals extensively with the failures of the CP and the SP, explaining precisely why, and tells how the workers in the United States will take power, how they will consolidate that power, defeat the capitalists and establish a Workers State. No more important revolutionary document has been written in recent years in America.

The edition has been printed on cheap paper so that it can be sold at 10 cents a copy.

Observations on League Conventions

By A. J. MUSTE

THE conventions of the Ohio Unemployed League and of the National Unemployed League just held at Columbus, Ohio proved conclusively that the American Workers Party's estimate of the importance of the unemployed work has been correct and that the Leagues have made decided advances both in an organizational and political sense.

The delegates at Columbus this year showed that they regarded themselves as part of a going concern and realized that they must assume responsibility for making that concern function effectively. Both the state and the national conventions decided to put their organizations on a dues-paying basis. This action did not result from pressure by the officers. The delegates would have insisted on it, even if the officers had been opposed. I think it may safely be said that A.W.P. comrades who have taken leading parts in League activity have been too cautious in this matter, that putting Leagues on a self-supporting basis could have been pushed sooner and harder than it was and that the result would have been not only more money for League extension, but better morale. This is not to gainsay the fact that in the beginning it was of decisive importance not to give the impression that the Leagues were another dues-collecting racket.

The same heightened organizational sense was shown in the O. U.L. decision to accumulate two special funds, one for a weekly newspaper and one for defense in face of the increasingly severe repressive measures of the authorities, against militant league activity. The N.U.L. likewise decided that a national bulletin must be issued.

No Fake United Fronts

It is natural, under these circumstances, that the Columbus delegates knew where they stood in relation to other unemployed organizations. Last year the delegates showed that even though they could almost be stampeded into a riot against "reds," they nevertheless wanted a united front if it could be had even with the Unemployed Councils (under Communist Party influence). This year they could not have been swayed by any "red" scare because they regarded themselves as "reds," but they voted unanimously against seating even fraternal delegates from the Councils.

"We want unity of the unemployed," so ran the sentiment, "but it will never be reached by these fake 'united fronts' that the Councils yap about. They have shown that they are more concerned about trying to smash the Leagues than fighting for the unemployed. They have not succeeded. For the most part the Councils have disappeared from the map. Where they still exist, let them go about their business. We will not attack them. We on our part will go about the business of unifying the unemployed forces in the N.U.L. and

fighting the battles of the unemployed and part-time workers."

Similarly there was no hesitation as to how to deal with the proposal of a hastily set-up Eastern Conference of Unemployed Organizations (under Socialist Party influence). Fraternal delegates from this body were seated. Their proposal was that the N.U.L. should regard itself as a sectional, not a national, organization and should join with others in forming a "truly national body." The proposal was referred to the incoming Executive "for investigation." The position of the delegates may be stated thus:

This N.U.L. convention is the only convention composed of rank and file delegates from all militant non-partisan unemployed organizations which desire to come. Ours is the only organization outside of the Councils which has as a matter of fact sought to organize the unemployed on a national scale. The fact that there are not as yet powerful affiliated organizations in every state does not argue that we are not a national body or prove that another national body needs to be formed. No states have organizations comparable to those of Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, all of which are affiliated to the N.U.L. In Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Connecticut, Texas, Alabama, Florida, California there are other affiliated or sympathetic organizations which can be more closely tied in as soon as their requests for N.U.L. organizers can be met. We think our name N.U.L. means what it says and we are going ahead with our organizing work on that basis more vigorously than ever. We hope existing organizations will affiliate with us. At the same time, we have no "we know it all" attitude. We are at all times prepared to talk it over with non-partisan fighting unemployed organizations which are genuinely concerned about unity. Our one absolute condition is that final decisions rest with the rank and file of the Leagues and are not to be achieved by political maneuvering or horse-trading at the top.

Advances Made

Turning to the "political" advances indicated by the recent conventions, we may summarize briefly:

1. As has already been suggested, it would have been impossible at this convention to stir up the flag-waving hysteria which nearly precipitated a riot at Columbus in 1933. Any one attempting it would just have been laughed out of the convention. This year's delegates knew what fascism is and they are out to combat it in all its manifestations—Silver Shirts, Khaki Shirts, Direct Credits, Huey Long, Father Cox and all the rest.

2. There was a much clearer recognition of the importance of the Negro problem for the American working class movement. The percentage of Negro delegates was higher. The abolition of all dis-

crimination against Negroes in relief appropriations, on relief jobs, etc. is to be one of the main activities in the new year.

3. The delegates were determined that the Leagues should remain fighting mass economic organizations. They refused to permit the convention to become for a single moment a forum for the discussion of the programs of different political parties and groups. However, they ruled unanimously that Leagues shall not endorse or support candidates of the Democratic, Republican or any other capitalist party. If a League puts up an independent working class candidate he must belong to the League and must put in its hands an undated resignation from the office for which he is running. The delegates are becoming much clearer about the true role of a revolutionary party in a mass organization. One of them expressed a very general sentiment when he said: "We'll have to come to political action all right, but it will be revolutionary. We've got to take over the works."

4. We name last what actually constituted the dominant note of the recent conventions: Solidarity of the employed and unemployed. The role played by the Leagues in the great Toledo strike and elsewhere is to be the pattern for League activity everywhere and at all times. The Leagues are to be "shock-troops" in strikes. They are, on the other hand, to enlist the support of the unions in their demonstrations. They are, on the other hand, to enlist the support of the unions in their demonstrations. They are to take the initiative in organizing in each locality a Joint Congress of Action in which unions, unemployed leagues, political, fraternal and educational organizations of the working class participate to present a common front against employing interests and the authorities in strike struggles, in defense of political prisoners, in agitation against all fascist tendencies.

The organizational tasks for the immediate future are:

1. To get the dues-paying system organized and thus put the Leagues on a stable financial basis.

2. To put organizers in the field and to set up state organizations especially in those states which have been clamoring for organization.

3. To issue official state and national organs.

4. To cement the unions, unemployed leagues, farmers' unions, etc., and to set up the Joint Congresses of Action.

5. To organize effectively for the nation-wide demonstration before the local and county relief centers in the fall and the national demonstration in Washington when Congress convenes. As Anthony Ramuglia, president of the N.U.L. stated: "There is a tough winter ahead for the unemployed. We must organize now and be prepared to face all eventualities."

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Organ of the
AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

THE CHAMPION DEFEATIST

WHEN it comes to spreading defeatist propaganda, no one in the American labor movement can hold a candle to William Green, president of the A. F. of L. Verily, Hugh Johnson spoke truly some time ago when he told the employers of the nation that Green and labor leaders of his kind were their best friends.

At the critical moment during the San Francisco general strike Green made the statement that the A. F. of L. had neither sanctioned nor endorsed that movement, and instead of calling upon the workers everywhere to support it, he virtually told them to let the San Francisco unions go it alone.

Now comes an amazing statement from this supposed leader of labor, as the A. F. of L. Executive Council gathers in Atlantic City to prepare for the Federation's convention in San Francisco in October. "Unemployment is still the outstanding problem before us," asserts Green. A "crisis is on us." A few months more and it may come to a head.

Mr. Green undertakes to tell us the reason for the crisis. We continue to be in a mess because "our (note the 'our') captains of industry" are only "fair-weather leaders." These "sons of the pioneers who constructed the American railroads" (we thought the workers had had something to do with it) are now in the mood to "sell America short." It seems as if "the problem of unemployment has them licked." So the crisis of capitalism will be solved if only Wm. Green can give "our" industrialists a rousing pep talk.

It is high time, too, for as Mr. Green continues, if the captains of industry now capitulate as the bankers have already done, "who will keep our industrial machines going? Who will turn out the shoes, clothing, goods?"—The workers, he assures the bosses, are docile and willing enough. "But who will direct them if our business men capitulate?"

What a noble, tragic figure—this President of "the great American Federation of Labor," shaken with sobs, appealing to the bosses please to continue to direct the helpless workers, lest all be lost.

Now he raises his head, he squares his shoulders, his sonorous voice rolls out one final challenge and appeal. If the bosses do not continue to boss, if all Mr. Green's prayers to them avail nothing, it will presently be "necessary for society to take over the means of production." Yes, the government will be forced "to invite the eager and willing workers to march in to the idle shops."

To the bitter end Mr. Green will shut his eyes to reality, will protect the bosses and their "government," their "society." To the end he will refrain from calling upon the workers to take power, from counting upon the intelligence, militancy and solidarity of the workers of hand and brain to put an end to misery, starvation and war, and to build a decent human order. But not all your defeatism,

Mr. Green, will avail to save the capitalist system you so dearly love or the bosses with whom you so delight to hob-nob and exchange "constructive ideas." The day is surely coming when the workers will crush both their imbecile bosses and labor fakers like yourself and take power into their own hands.

ROBBING PAUL TO PAY PETER

THE processes we follow in seeking social justice," said Mr. Roosevelt in his speech at Green Bay, Wisconsin, "do not in adding to general prosperity, take from one and give to another. In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul."

How then, one might ask, is Paul to be paid? For it is evident that if a few corporations, banks and individuals own or control most of the nation's wealth, and it would be robbery to "spread out opportunity" by giving any of it to the workers, the question of where the workers enter the picture is rather important. It needs to be answered.

And indeed, here is the answer in the President's own words.

"We who support this New Deal," he continued, "do so because it is a square deal and because it is essential to the preservation of security and happiness of a free society. I like its definition by a member of Congress. He said: 'The New Deal is an Old Deal—as old as the earliest aspirations of humanity for liberty and justice and the good life.'"

But where, one may again ask, does Paul come in? But ah, the President settles our doubts. He wants the lamb to lie down with the lion.

Says the President, still quoting from the Congressman: "It (the New Deal) seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual workers and brain workers, into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all."

Now we get the picture.

The Morgans are going to strive to help the Pauls and the Pauls are going to strive to help the Morgans. Yes, there will be plenty of striving.

TROTSKY IN EXILE

THE persecution of Leon Trotsky by the semi-fascist French Government has continued steadily since the raid on Trotsky's villa this spring. He is being literally driven from one town to another, never being allowed to stay longer than a day or two, seldom permitted even the use of a typewriter or the chance to write a letter.

The persecution of Trotsky is more than the tragedy of an individual. Trotsky is one of the greatest figures that has ever risen to the front of the revolutionary working class. As a chief leader of the Bolshevik Insurrection, as organizer of the Red Army in the Civil War, as co-planner during the first great years of the Russian Revolution, Trotsky stands with Lenin in his relation to the first major victory of the working class. The blows at Trotsky are blows at the working class and its finest traditions.

Trotsky, moreover, is perhaps the most profound historian and political analyst in the world today. His magnificent History of the Russian Revolution is only the most outstanding of the series of brilliant pamphlets and books he has contributed to the revolutionary movement during the past ten years.

The workers and intellectuals of this country cannot afford to forget Trotsky. Let them revive the ideal of the last century that the United States should be the refuge of the oppressed and tyrannized of other lands. Steps should be taken at once to organize pressure against the actions of the French Government, and to force the Roosevelt Administration to offer Trotsky the right to live freely in the United States.

Profits and Dividends Soar,
Absorb "Purchasing Power"

(Continued from Page 1)
ballyhoo about the New Deal.

What has been the result? No complete analysis has yet been made of where the billions of dollars went that were put out by the Federal government in P.W.A., C.W.A., F.E.R.A. and the like. We have enough data, however, to give a true view of what has happened. Only a few highlights can be presented here—enough to tell the story.

Profits Mount

Let us take the United States Steel Corporation, super-master of American industry. On August 1, Myron C. Taylor, chairman of that corporation's board and chief among the Chamber of Commerce conspirators, announced that U.S. Steel had made, in the quarter ending June 30, the largest profits in any similar period since 1931. The net profit, after all charges, totaled \$5,350,241. Again, the semi-annual report of the Standard Oil Co. of California shows a net income of \$7,340,834, after deduction of all

charges. In the food industry (as stated in an interview in the Journal of Commerce), while sales have fallen, profits have gone up. Anaconda Copper, National Lead, the First National chain store group, join the chorus of "higher dividends."

It is impossible to go through the list of hundreds of corporations of which like reports can be given. The Standard Statistics Company gives a review of the business in a nutshell in its analysis published in May of this year. In 1933, this company's statement shows, 400 corporations raised their income to a total of \$558,000,000 as compared to \$69,000,000 in 1932. In July of this year 1934, 639 corporations were still on the merry dividend ladder, climbing higher.

Evils Continue

The evils, then, which brought on the depression have been allowed to continue—and encouraged to continue. The "purchasing power" has gone into the coffers

of the corporations and has not remained among the mass of the people.

New government credit will be pumped in. New alphabetical schemes will be attempted. But the dilemma of profits and dividends vs. wages and mass "purchasing power" will continue. It is the dilemma which the N.R.A. can never face.

Reactionary financial and industrial groups sense this situation, and the dynamite that is involved in it. They are determined that workers' organizations shall not grow to such strength as to seek to solve this problem themselves. Recent strikes have told these capitalists that the workers have gained a sense of power, in the artificial "new life" of the New Deal.

This budding sense of power must be nipped by the frost of suppression—already set afoot by the N.R.A. apparatus itself. That is the growing capitalist program.

Must Answer Challenge

The workers—and revolutionists in particular—are compelled to answer this challenge. That answer will be speeded by correct tactics on the part of the radicals, which gain them the confidence of

The General Strike

A Problem in Tactics and Strategy

Recent Developments Indicate a Profound Change
In The Psychology of American Workers

SPACE does not permit of even a rough analysis of the main problems connected with the use of the General Strike weapon. There is not yet sufficient information to enable us to draw the lessons taught by recent experiences in San Francisco and Minneapolis. Nevertheless some preliminary observations must be made, if only to combat the flood of employer propaganda on the subject which has been unloosed.

A General Strike may have for its object to bring pressure to bear upon congress or parliament for enactment of some specific law. Such were the strikes in Belgium early in the century for universal suffrage. They were successful. Conceivably such a strike might be conducted for the release of a political prisoner.

A very different kind of General Strike is that which occurs in a revolutionary crisis as part of a movement to overthrow the existing government. Such a strike may start out with aims primarily economic—against a drastic general wage-cut e.g. or an attempt to destroy the trade unions—and assume a clearly revolutionary character as the situation develops.

The recent so-called General Strikes in the U.S. are of still another type. They are "sympathetic" strikes and are "general" only in a given locality. Thus the unions in San Francisco struck to help the Longshoremen win their demand for control of the hiring-halls.

As soon as talk about such a strike begins, employers lay down a terrific propaganda barrage. Unions engaging in a sympathetic strike, they say, violate their contracts. To that argument there is today a simple and complete answer: there is no moral or legal obligation on a union to sit still while a sister-union is being smashed as part of an offensive against all unionism by employers who are themselves law-breakers, violators of section 7a of the N.R.A., etc. Another wail of the employers is that the innocent suffer from a general strike. If they are so concerned about the sufferings of the public, why not avert a general strike by granting workers the right to organize? And what of the millions of lives and homes these employers have devastated in time of peace or war, in their determination to hang onto profits and power even though civilization be ruined?

For the most part, however, this employer propaganda shows a most tender solicitude for the workers and the unions. "You should not call a general strike," they plead, "because you cannot win, because it will break up your unions." But if these open-shoppers really believed that fairy tale, then why should they exhibit such desperate fear of a general strike and resort to such extreme measures to prevent or crush it?

The fact is that these General Strike developments indicate a profound change in the psychology of American workers. No longer is a strike of plumbers regarded as the concern of the plumbers and nobody else. Class, as against craft, consciousness is showing itself everywhere today. That strikes terror into the hearts of employers and confusion into the minds of the William Greens. This solidarity of the workers revolutionists must encourage. Such solidarity is learned chiefly in action.

Furthermore, as soon as a strike action becomes extensive, however simple, purely economic its objectives may be, the strikers clash with governmental agencies. The employers and the government have to show their hands, have to confess in action the tie that exists between them. Courts, arbitrators,

the working masses and give them an influence based on such confidence.

police, militia, troops have to be mobilized against the strikers. The latter, still with no thought of overthrowing the government, have to fight governmental agencies, and do fight them in order to win the simple objects of their struggle. This is a lesson which employers and politicians do not like to see workers learn!

The New Deal itself, it should be noted, by organizing the employers, setting up the government (a fascist tendency) as the final arbiter in economic disputes, etc. has made every labor struggle one against the government, has raised the "political" character of all strikes.

General Strike developments, in other words, arise out of the situation which American workers now confront. They are an inevitable part of the labor struggle in this period of capitalist disintegration.

There is, however, no doubt that they raise serious and complicated problems in strategy and tactics. If a general strike is successful, the community is paralyzed. Necessary work must be done. If the employers are allowed to do it, the strike is weakened. If the strikers do it they have to control the employers' property. In other words, something like a revolution has taken place, but this the workers do not want, are not yet ready for.

There is no solution for this dilemma in abstract logic. It will be solved by the workers, led by the revolutionary party, in action. It is precisely in trying to satisfy their most simple and immediate needs that the workers will be compelled either to submit to serfdom or to resort to ever broader, more intense, and more definitely revolutionary struggles.

Certain general rules are clear. Every struggle today must be made as broad as possible. Now as never before a defeat for one group of workers means a defeat for all, and vice versa. When the mass is ready for action, it is the business of revolutionists to encourage and guide it, not to put brakes upon the activity of the mass, even though the revolutionist may see difficulties which others do not. Not every battle in the class-war is going to be won. We shall learn by defeats as well as victories. Besides, in many cases immediate victories will result from a general strike or the threat of one, as employers are well aware.

The broad and serious character of present and coming struggles makes careful preparation more important than ever. Leading workers into ill-prepared adventures is a crime. In certain cases, it may be good tactics to call the General Strike only for one very concrete objective, as e.g. to remove the militia, and for a stated period of one to four days. In other cases, solidarity can more effectively express itself in mass picket lines e.g. than in a general sympathetic strike. A general strike is not a patent medicine to be resorted to in every case willy-nilly. Each case must be carefully studied on its own merits.

Where a General Strike is called, assuming that careful preparations have been made, it is the clear duty of revolutionists to fight to the utmost of their strength; yet also to remember that at a certain point retreat, a termination of the action at least temporarily, may be indicated. Workers have no respect for generals who permit a rout to occur, where an orderly retreat was possible. So long as the capitalist system lasts, any strike, including a general one, has to be "settled" somehow. It is the business of sound leadership to help gain the best "settlement" possible under the given conditions for the given group of workers. Thus is the way prepared for ever broader struggles and for the ultimate victory.