

The past of America, of its workers in industry, on the railroads, in the mines and plants is assurance of a glorious future for our movement. We set out to unite in a working harmony the American revolutionary tradition with the revolutionary goal of the advancing forces of humanity, the revolutionary movement for complete and triumphant workers' democracy.—From the draft program of the American Workers Party.

LABOR ACTION MAY DAY SUPPLEMENT

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.—From the Communist Manifesto.

May Day Supplement

Tuesday, May 1, 1934.

Price 5 Cents

Tactics of the United Front

By A. J. MUSTE

NO progress can be made in the consideration of this question, unless we first get clear that unity and the united front are two different things. It is desirable that the working class should be united. Some day it will be united under the leadership of the revolutionary party. But unity in name or in the abstract does not mean anything. Differences of viewpoint with regard to principles are important. It is better that they should be fought out than blurred over. Unity on a false basis will bring nothing but bad results. An army moving unitedly in the wrong direction cannot get to the right place.

The fact that political or other differences exist among workers does not mean that workers and their organizations cannot and must not act together in specific situations—in unions to resist wage cuts, in unemployed leagues to avoid evictions, in defense organizations to protect class war prisoners. That is what is meant by the united front—united action for specific purposes by labor organizations and workers who have political differences and who do not forswear those political differences.

Of the two major workers' political parties in the United States today, the Socialist Party ridicules the united front and declares that it is impossible. The Communist Party shouts united front day in and day out. Both are doing an almost perfect job of preventing effective united front action.

The Communist Party works on the theory of "the united front from below," a piece of asinine and childish stupidity which has had tragic consequences for the workers in Germany and elsewhere.

According to this theory, if you want united action, let us say, 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, 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 very leadership. That happened with Socialists and trade unionists after the Communists broke up the Madison Square Garden meeting of protest against Fascism.

The Communist Party's united front theory is closely bound up with its theory of Social Fascism. According to this 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 collabora-



tion open the way for Fascism. So far so good. The Communist Party then 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. Tied up with this are some equally fantastic views which underestimate the danger of Fascism and interpret the triumph of Fascism as a prelude to the triumph of the Communist revolution.

The American Workers Party certainly believes that where Fascism triumphs the revolutionary working class must seek to reconstitute its forces so as eventually to overthrow Fascism. But this pollyanna attitude that the triumph of your armed foe is to be hailed as opening the way for your own victory, is outrageous and dangerous.

The Social Fascist idea that the Social Democracy and Social Democratic unions are identical with Fascism and which leads to smashing these parties and unions, is obviously crazy. These organizations which stand to be crushed by Fascism must be got to join in a united front against it, but certainly that cannot be accomplished on this basis. The fallacy of Social Democratic illusions and leadership need to be exposed, but this is just the way not to do it.

Very comical situations develop out of these fantastic theories, as for example, when the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, one day attacks Harry F. Ward and the New America as Social Fascists, and the next day hails Harry Ward's acceptance of the chairmanship of the Communist-dominated League Against War and Fascism as a great means for strengthening the Anti-Fascist united front!

Occasionally the Communists get away for a short time, or at least seem to, from their impossible united front from below tactic. When they do they make real inroads upon Socialist Party membership, as was the case in the spring of 1933 when the Communist International instructed the CUPSA to propose united front action directly to the Socialist Party, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the A. F. of L. For a time, in the preparations for the Mooney Congress, the Communist Party representatives acted in a straightforward and intelligent fashion. The S.P. Executive, as usual, refused to participate in any united action. Thus they put themselves in the wrong and there was a considerable deflection of young Socialists to the C.P. Soon the C.P. fell into its old habits and behaved in so obviously a sectarian fashion that it was no longer putting the S.P. leadership "on the spot" and so the S.P. ranks were solidified.

THE united front must be based in each case on a specific issue or a few specific issues on which organizations can for the time being unite in spite of their differences. Otherwise, it becomes a general alliance, and a general alliance between a revolutionary and a reformist organization is wrong. When it is attempted it must only result in loss and discredit for the revolutionary organization. Thus some years ago the Stalin-controlled Communist International made such an alliance with the Kuo-Min-Tang, the Chinese Peoples Party, and with British trade union leaders in the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. The result was that the Communist International had its hands tied while Chiang-Kai-Shek, leader of the Kuo-Min-Tang, was shooting strikers in Shanghai and killing peasants trying to form Soviets, and while leaders of the British Trade Union Congress were betraying the great general strike.

The way in which any united action is to be carried out must be carefully agreed upon in advance. A measure of common sense, decency and honesty is essential. If certain steps are agreed upon they must be carried out. This would seem to be an elementary truth, but the Communist Party has yet to learn it. Last summer, for example, there was an agreement for united action between the unemployed leagues in Ohio and the unemployed councils. The agreement specifically provided, among other things, that the one organization was not to try to break up or draw members away from the other. In the midst of a strike conducted by the two organizations in Toledo, the district office of the Communist Party issued instructions telling Communists to concentrate on the strike for the purpose of winning members away from the leagues and into the councils, and of winning members to the Communist Party. Breaking up the leagues was more important than winning the strike.

It is the duty of a revolutionary party to expose leadership which really is compromising and reformist and to win the masses away from such leadership. 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 on 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.

We have remarked that there has to be a measure of decency and honesty in the labor movement. Communists are apt to contend that this is just falling back on outworn bourgeois morality; revolutionists must sweep on over all obstacles and by whatever means to the revolutionary goal. Much might be said on the whole issue raised here which space does not permit. This we do assert: No human group or organization, including the labor movement, can hold together, can function effectively, without morale. Morale requires that within the group or movement there shall be a measure of decency, fair play, mutual trust, a chance for members to express their views freely, for an opportunity for the opposition to be heard, etc.

Solidarity, united action, are desperately needed in the labor movement today. They are impossible under a policy of lying, vilification, 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

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ROOSEVELT'S SECOND YEAR

By JAMES BURNHAM

THE revolutionary movement will enter its decisive stage in this country when the working class realizes that its destiny lies in its own hands; that no one else can do its own job for it. Above all, this means that the working class has got to stop turning over its business to the capitalist state, has got to realize that the political agents of capitalism can hardly be expected to be the proper representatives of the workers.

From the point of view of the working class, Roosevelt's first year can be looked on as a great experiment: an experiment that proves once again, on a grand scale and decisively, the truth of the Marxist doctrine that the state under capitalism does and must represent the interest of the owning class against the interest of the workers. Roosevelt went into office with sincerely liberal and idealistic beliefs, and with the overwhelming support of all sections of the population. There is no reason to doubt that he honestly wanted to help the forgotten man, the unemployed and destitute, that he was indignant at the crimes of bankers and industrialists and corrupt politicians.

Nevertheless, the logic of events proved—as it could not help proving—too much for him. He has not kept one promise to the workers. The "right to organize" has turned out to be the bulwark of company unionism. The NRA codes serve only to raise prices, permit the growth of monopoly, and increase profits—while they actually lower real wages. The crop reduction program of the AAA helps primarily the landlord and capitalist farmers. On every occasion that the government has stepped into a labor dispute, it has functioned as the prize strike-breaker.

DURING the last few months the reactionary character of the Roosevelt administration has become more and more open. Roosevelt has allowed the liberal bills for regulation of stock exchanges, control over false advertising, help to bank depositors, etc. to be riddled to pieces by the lobbyists. He has openly stood for continuance of the wage reductions for railway employees and government workers.

He has dropped the CWA and is cutting down on every form of unemployment relief.

The only promises Roosevelt has kept are those he did not talk about publicly—the promises to bring back profits, to keep industries and banks from going bankrupt, to help out bond and stockholders, to give jobs to deserving politicians, to give rich government contracts to needy corporations.

The facts are the answer to Dr. Wirt and the rest of the absurd publicity hounds who claim that Roosevelt and the Brain Trust are leading us behind our backs to socialism and communism. The truth is that at the present time we are not being lead anywhere. There were fascist tendencies in the NRA, but the NRA is being quietly liquidated. The corporation directors are tasting the blood of profits again, and, for the time being, they are no longer scared enough to move toward fascism.

For the next six or eight months the Administration will go along from week to week, moving now in one direction, now in another. It will try to postpone decisive steps. Meanwhile the drive for profits is already forcing lower relief standards, and, with the rapidly approaching summer lull in industry, will call for new layoffs, wage reductions, and repudiation of the recent wage increases—increases granted only to stop organization of the workers.

There can be no doubt that there is a slight revival of capitalist prosperity. This prosperity is giving little, if any, benefit to the working class considered as a whole. It shows itself primarily in increased profits, and to some extent in improved conditions among the middle classes (the large increase in tourist traffic to Florida is significant) and the bigger farmers. To a slight degree this little flurry of prosperity corresponds with an improvement in other capitalist countries—notably England—but in this country it is chiefly due to the huge expenditures of government funds.

The bankers are demanding that these expenditures be sharply reduced, and budget plans for next year indicates that they will be. This will undermine the basis of the temporary upturn. The process of the disintegration of capitalism will be again accelerated. The Administration will be faced with increasing anarchy in industry,

the possibility of drastic inflation, and mounting popular discontent. The fascist tendencies will reassert themselves. American capitalism will move more definitely into the current toward the "corporative state."

THE second year of the Roosevelt Administration is of the gravest importance to the working class. When the fascist tendency emerges more strongly from the side of capitalism, the workers must be in a position to meet it with their own conscious movement. The next six or eight months will be a kind of uneasy, restless peace, a time of false starts, inconclusive skirmishes, hesitation and indecision.

This time must be used by the working class first of all to build and strengthen its own independent organizations, and to defend working class rights.

Concretely, this means:

(1) The relentless fight against company unionism.

(2) Increased and constant pressure to disconnect the A.F.ofL. from the government apparatus. The tie-up between the A.F.ofL. and the government, accomplished through the NRA Boards, is far more dangerous than all the reactionary and corrupt deeds of the A.F. of L. officials—for this tie-up paves the road toward fascism. Unless the unions are independent, unless they are class organizations representing the interests of workers and of workers alone, they are worse than useless. When they become merged into a machinery that involves employers and the government they must necessarily act against the workers.

(3) The struggle to maintain the industrial structure of the federal unions, and to prevent the splitting of any industrial or semi-industrial unions into craft unions.

(4) The militant, mass fight of all unions and unemployed leagues against wage-cuts and the speed-up, and for unemployment relief. Now more than ever it must be made clear to the workers that in this fight they have only themselves to rely on. Faith in the government to act for them must be shattered.

They will get only as much as they win for themselves.

(5) The day by day struggle to maintain elementary workers' rights—the right to strike, to picket, to organize, to assemble and talk and write freely. This struggle cannot be carried on by a series of Broadway publicity stunts in the way the Communist Party has handled the Scottsboro Case. It must be a steady, patient, sustained drive to assert and win workers' rights on the thousand and one fronts of the class struggle where every day they are violated or threatened.

(6) The greatest task confronting the working class in the next period is the building of the new revolutionary party. The political organizations of the workers are now in a state of chaos. World events have shown beyond every doubt the utter bankruptcy of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. In this country each week sees new splits and realignments, new fascist, pseudo-fascist, reformist and centrist groups cluttering up the field and confusing the minds and energies of the workers. Out of this chaos a new, clear, effective, uncompromising revolutionary party must be welded. The best of the revolutionary elements in all groups must be united, and the new party must extend itself rapidly into the hitherto unradicalized sections of the workers. Unless a substantial beginning in the building of the new party has been made by next year, it is hard to see how the working class will stand up against the drive of reaction, against inflation, imperialist war, and the transition to fascism.

For the immediate months ahead, then, the chief task is one of preparation and training. Right now there are too many Roosevelt illusions still present in the minds of the workers, too much confusion in their political thought, to permit much advanced and positive action. But the illusions are fading. By next winter the issues will be clearer. If the workers' organizations are ready, there will be marches of the unemployed then that will not be stopped by a smile from Hopkins, and strikes not broken by a telegram from the President.

A New Beginning

A review of the secret manifesto issued by a group of socialists who are working underground in Germany.

By LUDWIG LORE

IN London there has just appeared an English translation of the pamphlet "A New Beginning" which was issued in German last October by the Prague Executive of the German Social Democracy and has since given rise to much discussion and comment in the international labor movement. "A New Beginning" (Neu beginnen) was published over the pseudonym "Miles" but the Messrs. Wels, Scheidemann, Vogel, Breitscheid and the rest who are ostensibly responsible for its being, had little enough to do with the contents of this "Basis for a Discussion of the Question at Issue in the Socialism of our Epoch." They were instructed by Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the Socialist Labor International, to sponsor its publication and were in no position to decline. The pseudonym "Miles" conceals the identity of a group of activist Socialists, former members of the Communist and Socialist Parties, active workers from the German labor movement who have decided to cast their lot with what is left

of the German Social Democracy because they believe that it offers greater possibilities for the propagation of their views than any other political labor organization.

The members of this group who are still in Germany are engaged in a secret organization campaign in which they hope by slow but intensive work, to rally their comrades and friends to the standard of a new movement. They have consistently refused to issue or distribute leaflets or newspapers or to carry on any other form of public propaganda that might attract the attention of the Gestapo, Germany's Secret State Police, to their activity and interfere with their organizational endeavors. One may or may not approve of their tactics in the present crisis, but it cannot be denied that the rebuilding of the radical labor movement in the Fascist nations is a task distinct and separate from illegal propaganda activity, if it is to be crowned with any measure of success.

An objective and critical discussion of "A New Beginning" must presuppose, of course, that its authors were motivated by

an honest desire to find new paths for the German labor movement, that there is no intention of concealing the old and rotten foundation and structure behind a glittering facade of radical phraseology. Although I am personally more than ever convinced of the impossibility of building a new revolutionary labor movement within the framework and under the name of the Social Democracy, I respect and admire the political integrity of the group that stands behind this attempt and of its important members and believe in the absolute sincerity of their intentions. They are not paid party leaders but men and women out of the rank and file of the various German proletarian organizations who are working without recognition, without funds, face to face with need and danger, risking imprisonment and the horrors of the concentration camp. The work that they are doing is devoid of thrills and the gratification lies in the successful cheating of Goering's terror squads. It is dreary, thankless, unexciting Jimmy Higgins work, the sort of work that only a deep sense of duty and an abiding recognition of responsibility toward the labor movement can bring forth.

The pamphlet itself is a sweeping condemnation of the attitude and policies of the Social Democracy in the past. "Not the Marxism of the Socialist Parties has failed. They themselves have failed because they have not been Marxian enough. The more firmly the Socialist Parties base their theories and practice on Marxism in the future, the more readily and the more surely will they be able to solve the great problems of their historic mission." On another page the pamphlet continues: "Because these labor organizations found it impossible to work in the sense and in the spirit of the Marxist philosophy, they were overcome by the great destructive social forces which are the emanations of a decaying capitalism. A renewal of the Socialist Labor movement of Germany is possible only in the spirit of Marxism."

BUT this statement of "A New Beginning" offers more than generalities, is more than mere platonic lip service at the altar of a Marxist creed. "The German Social Democracy," it states more concretely, "could not betray principles it has never possessed." "In the period that followed," it observes in a critical evaluation of the practical activity of the Socialist movement, in the period of the Weimar Republic, the Social Democracy remained what essential-

ly it has always been, a party which affirmed the bourgeois state and the capitalist system. To protect this bourgeois republic against the rebelling working masses, to defend it against those forces which were striving toward a 'complete revolution,' it disarmed the proletariat and placed the power of the state into the hands of the officers of the old Imperial state, the reactionary citizens' guard and the Freicorps, in short all those counter-revolutionary organizations out of which the National Socialist movement has gone forth, which was ultimately to drive that same party leadership out of the country. In every critical situation, in the inflation, in crisis after crisis, in every reactionary attack by the bourgeoisie against the interests of labor it placed the interests of the bourgeois state above the interests of the proletarian class struggle, and boasted, withal, of its sense, of responsibility." "They have been right," the pamphlet says in closing, "who saw the essence of activist Socialism not in tolerance, not in submission, but in the active struggle against capitalist society."

All this has been said a thousand times. But never before in an official publication of a Social Democratic Party. It is, more, therefore, than a negation of the party's past. It is the—perhaps unwilling—confession of that party's leaders that their policies are bankrupt and their methods discredited. It recognizes that the class-conscious German proletariat submitted so supinely to its defeat of January 1933 not only because it feared the brutality of its opponent and was crushed beneath the terrific weight of a total dictatorship. It succumbed because of its passive trust, its uncritical capitulation, its willful blindness to the mistakes of the leaders of its organization. The masses had neither the time nor the leadership necessary for a new orientation when the crisis came.

The onslaught of Hitlerism simply revealed what had been apparent to outsiders since August 4, 1914 that the tragic debacle of the Social Democracy facilitated, perhaps made possible, the victory of Fascist dictatorship.

It is the purpose of the "New Beginning" to formulate the departure of the Social Democracy from reformism to revolutionary Socialism. We will speak of the implications of the positive program as it is outlined here in the later issue, of the contradictions and the misapprehensions that in our opinion, it contains.

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"AND WE ARE NOT YELLOW"

The Challenge of the Organized Unemployed

ARNOLD JOHNSON

DURING the past year the vast army of the unemployed has challenged the public officials "from the dog catcher to the President." Public officials have been puzzled as to how to break the leagues. "You are reds" shout the alarmed office holders at the league leaders. Bill Truax, tall, lean miner, President of the Ohio Unemployed League, with a real record of leading 62 successful strikes smashes his fist on the table and declares, "There are only two colors, red and yellow, and we are not yellow." The unemployed cheer. Their ranks solid.

"You are agitators," say the officials in an effort to break the unity of Negroes and whites in the North Carolina Unemployed League. Beulah Carter, frail, scrapping leader snaps back, "Give us relief or we will strike." They struck. Thirteen were jailed. They fought. They won the strike. They won their trial. Negro and white ranks remain unshaken.

"This constable is for sale. How much is the bid? Sold for 8 cents." The Pennsylvania Unemployed League at Pittsburgh sold the constable at an eviction fight. The eviction was stopped by a mass demonstration. When leaving, an "accident" occurred to the constable and the landlord. They went to the hospital. "Who threw the bricks?" Shrugged shoulders was the reply. No more evictions for six months.

"You are under arrest" declared the bailiff at Columbus to 250 League members at an eviction fight. "Come out and get us" was the challenge of the defiant unemployed. The bailiff backed out. The demonstrators are still fugitives at large. Stopping evictions every day for eight months was a steady test and the League ranks stood the test. The police and officials were made ridiculous.

"You are outsiders," cry the public officials of Pennsylvania. Anthony Ramuglia, swarthy, stocky, fiery President of the National Unemployed League hammers away at the facts and the workers of Carbon County, Pennsylvania, stand together and strike. The unemployed have their own leaders. Two-by-four politicians cannot confuse the rank and file.

Strike!

"Strike!" was the word that spread through the West Virginia hills. Marches and demonstrations showed the officials that the unemployed were ready to scrap. The officials yielded. Boots Sherer, recently elected President of the West Virginia Unemployed League says, "We must build our League and show the country that West Virginians are fighters."

"Strike! Now is the time for action," declares Bill Truax in the opening gun of a series of strikes which are spreading through Ohio like wildfire. Militant action is the answer of the unemployed to dictatorial starvation and police brutality in Ohio. General Henderson who spends his time on schemes on how to defend Ohio from foreign invasion and on how to keep workers down finds his chair as head of the relief administration getting hot. The strike spreads. County after county pulls out. Henderson calls for the Department of Justice. Shades of Ole Hanson and 1919 in Seattle. He calls for starvation. He calls for relief. He is the General riding in all directions. But the unemployed march!

Strikes in Pennsylvania, New York, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Minnesota, North Carolina and other States show that the Unemployed want direct action. Mass picket lines pull the timid from their jobs. Two guards reached for their shotguns as the pickets marched on a ditch job in a rural section of Ohio. The pickets doubled time. Smash—down went the guards without any ceremony. The disarmed guards were then forced into line to help pull out the next job.

"You interfere with this work and we will shoot you down," threatened the sheriff of Mahoning County. One hundred and twenty-five men marched across the muzzles of the machine guns and defied the sheriff. They "interfered" with the job. Empty guts are real guts.

Unity of Employed and Unemployed

"The word strike would turn milk sour in these farm homes," said a farmer, "until the League came along and organized us all together." Then out of the clear blue, a thunderbolt struck the local politicians. Farmers and Unemployed struck the Lime crusher job. Farmers took their six hour

picket duty shifts. The 24 hour-six day mass picket line won the victory.

Pottery workers went out on strike in a factory. The unemployed went on the picket line. Again in the Toledo Auto strike, the Unemployed League was on the picket line. In a mining camp, the Unemployed League pulled a strike when the miner leaders were timid, and forced recognition of the miners' union. Steel workers and rubber workers in Newark, Ohio pulled out on strike in support of the strike of the Unemployed on relief projects.

Sweatshop strikes in Pennsylvania found the League members as pickets. Shoe and glass workers in Ohio pulled out on strike when the Unemployed League established solidarity of the Unemployed and Employed.

Mass Demonstrations

When 200 determined, hungry women with empty milk bottles marched on the authorities in Los Angeles, the officials trembled. They didn't quite know how the milk bottles were going to be used. When the women explained that they wanted free milk, the officials lost no time in granting their demands.

In Seattle, the unemployed took over the Court House for three days until they were assured of no evictions. Mass pressure forced Governor White of Ohio to release James VanMeter, fearless fighter of evictions, from jail. In Minneapolis, thousands fought the police in a pitched battle and the city fathers granted one demand after another. In Charleston, West Virginia, 3,000 were assembled in two hours and forced the buck passing politicians against the wall. In Columbia, 7,000 took over the State Capitol grounds and State House for two days. The National guard was demoralized. General Henderson remembered that the Marines mutinied when called against the Bonus Army in Washington.

A thousand empty gunny sacks in the hands of grim, marching miners meant only one thing. "Give us relief or we will take it," was the chorus of the gunny sacks. Long distance telephones buzzed. "We have no money" said the local relief agents. "Give them relief and we will talk about money later," said the higher up. Stenographers, case-workers, and relief directors got busy. That was the victory of the gunny sack army.

Federal Relief

Hoover said the depression would last 60 days. Roosevelt was more far sighted. He gave it 90 days from last November. By February 15, industry was to absorb the unemployed. Then he gave it 60 days more. That was during the CWA era. Unemployed were given jobs to build roads and dig ditches in the middle of winter when they couldn't put a shovel in the ground. In Cincinnati, they repaired a private golf club. Relief workers did that a year ago in Michigan. In West Virginia, they were forced to crush rock by hand. This method of punishment had been abolished in the penitentiary. In North Carolina, the wealthy got free maid service in their homes at the expense of the CWA. From all parts of the country came charges of political favoritism. The CWA became the entering wedge of a New National Tammany Hall racket.

The CWA was the Federal Administration's pet boast on how to take care of the Unemployed and end the depression at the same time. It was an era of orders from on top followed by daily orders changing all other orders. Industrialists complained about high wages. General Hugh Johnson had a scrap with Harry Hopkins. Johnson "lost." Hopkins cut the wages to whatever Johnson's gang wanted.

Surplus foods were collected to feed the Unemployed. Old pork too tough to eat was given. "Tanned pork" came to light. "This pork was tanned during the World War," is the claim of the unemployed. Oranges were shipped around and "distributed." But the unemployed did not get the oranges. Fresh meat was sent in all directions. It was allowed to spoil. Merchants were not making enough money.

When CWA and surplus foods failed to stop the steady growth of Unemployed organizations, the Federal Government reversed itself again and went back to the tactic of "smaller sops." "Starve them, and beat them up if they don't like starvation," becomes the new policy. Police brutality, tear gas, military relief administration mark the new era of the "enlightened" capitalist government. Destroy the cotton and wheat. Kill off the young pigs. Throw the Unemployed out of the houses they built. Break the Unemployed Leagues. These are the



In Columbus 7,000 took over the State Capitol grounds and the State House for 2 days.

slogans of the capitalist government in its steps to a fascist and backward civilization.

Organize and Fight

The answer of the unemployed to a government which seeks to destroy them, is clear. "Organize and fight" are the rallying words. Mass demonstrations and strikes spread. Committees turn on gas, light, and water. Coal is taken from the railroad cars in organized fashion. Families are kept in homes by mass demonstrations. The Unemployed League continues a steady onward march.

Recognizing that an ever increasing army of unemployed is inevitable under capitalism, the task of the Unemployed League is two-fold. While a fight for immediate needs must be carried on in a daily battle, we must recognize that our fight is against the capitalist system. Workers must become masters of the machinery and the re-

sources of the land and masters of their own destiny.

No longer are the Unemployed, the Workers and Farmers, to be satisfied with politicians who say, "We are doing the best we can." We recognize that they mean to do the "best we can" to save capitalism. That is all. The interests of the Unemployed are for food, clothing, and shelter right now, demanding an assured income for all Workers, Farmers and Unemployed, and for freedom from the capitalist system of unemployment, starvation and slavery. The Unemployed refuse to become cannon fodder or to kill their fellow workers in another war to save capitalism. They refuse to become victims of Fascism which will smash their organizations and drive them into even lower standards of living and force them into worse slavery.

Raising the Rattlesnake Flag of the Colonial Revolution, the Unemployed again say, "Don't Tread on Me."

American Revolutionary Traditions

By H. B. PARKES

AMERICAN history from the War of Independence until the Civil War is the history of a series of attempts by the American people to realize the revolutionary ideals of freedom and equality. These attempts ended in failure, not because the ideals themselves were wrong but because they were based on an economic system which was incompatible with them. The three most important leaders of the American democracy—Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln—all believed in the sanctity of private property; they wished America to be a land of small farmers and petty bourgeoisie, in which everybody would own property and be his own master. The lesson of American history is that a genuine and enduring democracy cannot be built on such a foundation. As long as the means of production are privately owned, the owners have political power and use it to expropriate their neighbors.

During the colonial period the American people became divided into two classes: an oligarchy of merchants and landowners, with their legal and clerical allies; and the small farmers and petty bourgeoisie who formed the mass of the people. The oligarchy consisted chiefly of these families who had crossed the Atlantic first, and hence had been able to steal a march over later arrivals. They controlled the colonial governments and used their political power to prevent the mass of the people from interfering with their economic privileges.

When the merchants and landowners discovered that their economic interests were being thwarted by the measures of the British government, they diverted the revolutionary spirit of the people into a war for independence, allowing them, in return, to remodel the governments of the thirteen states and make them more democratic.

At the conclusion of the war the people discovered that political democracy was useless except as a means for achieving economic democracy; they began to demand that "the property which had been defended by the joint efforts of all should become

the common possession of all," and in one state—Massachusetts—they rose up in rebellion under the leadership of Daniel Shays against the rich landowners and the holders of farm mortgages.

The rich classes thereupon decided that political democracy was dangerous. They drafted a new federal constitution, skilfully devised in such a way that popular control of all three branches of the government at once was made almost impossible; the rights of property were guaranteed by the constitution, and the process of amending it was made as difficult as possible. Then, by the use of money and by controlling all the organs of publicity, they obtained a favorable vote for it in each of the states.

DURING the presidencies of Washington and Adams the government was openly administered in the interests of the rich. The public debt, which financiers had acquired at very much reduced prices, was funded at par, and the people were taxed to pay interest on it. The unoccupied western lands were considered to be the property of the state, and were sold in large lots to speculators instead of being given to those who wished to farm them. The popular indignation against these measures carried Jefferson into the presidency in 1801.

Jefferson, however, believed, like Washington and Adams, that the means of production should be privately owned; he wished merely that ownership should be widely diffused instead of being monopolized by a few. He attempted to administer the government in the interests of the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie; so that its measures would no longer have the effect of making the rich still richer. But he could do no more, at best, than delay the growth of economic inequality. And since the representatives of the rich controlled the Supreme Court, he could not even undo the work of his predecessors.

After the war of 1812 the rich classes obtained control of the party which Jefferson had formed. They once again began to use the state power to increase their

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Self Annihilation for the Black Belt

By ERNEST RICE MCKINNEY

The Position of the Communist Party on the Negro Question

THE Communist Party in the United States is engaged in a persistent and elaborate campaign to win Negroes to party membership and to membership in the mass organizations affiliated with the party, such as the I.L.D. and the Unemployed Councils. Not only is the CP attempting to win the Negro individually but it is conducting a continuous effort to gain the sympathy and support of Negro institutions such as churches and lodges.

It is the purpose of this article to examine briefly the theoretical foundations of Communist Party activities among Negroes in the United States.

The report of Earl Browder, general secretary of the C.P.U.S.A., to the 8th National Convention of the party, recently held in Cleveland, has a very long section devoted to "The Struggle for Negro Rights." In this report Browder said:

"From its inception, the Communist Party of the United States placed the demands for Negro rights in its program. In the first period of our work, up to 1929, we cannot claim any important results. This was because the Party, in spite of its correct general orientation, did not have a clear Bolshevik understanding of the Negro question as the problem of liberation of an oppressed nation . . . the characteristics of the position of the Negroes in America as an oppressed nation is expressed in: 1) the fact that the basic Negro population, engaged in cultivating the land, is systematically excluded from independent possession of the land which it cultivates; 2) that it is thereby reduced to a position of semi-serfdom in the form of specially exploited tenants and sharecroppers; 3) that this special exploitation is enforced by a system of legal and illegal discrimination, segregation, denial of political rights, personal subjection to individual exploiters, and all forms of violent oppression . . . all phases of struggle for Negro rights must take as their foundation and starting place, therefore, the struggle for possession of the land by the landless Negro farmers. . . .

"The struggle for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution for the Negroes, as for other oppressed nations thus becomes today objectively a revolutionary struggle to overthrow imperialism. . . . The basic slogan of Negro liberation is therefore the slogan of self-determination; the basic demand of the Negro is the demand for the land."

It is clear from these quotations that the CP conceives of the Negro (in the South) as a nation oppressed by another and stronger nation and that the oppressor is engaged in an imperialist venture.

To set forth definitely the position of the party it will be well to give other quotations from party literature. The following is from the "Draft Program of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights."

"We proclaim before the whole world that the American Negroes are a nation—a nation striving to manhood but whose growth is violently retarded and which is viciously oppressed by American imperialism. . . . Land, freedom and equality—the watchword of the ex-slave during the period of Civil War and Reconstruction—still remains the watchword of the embattled Negroes today. . . . The ex-slaves fought heroically during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period for the land, for citizenship, for equal rights. . . . The League of Struggle for Negro Rights therefore demands the confiscation without compensation of the land of the big landlords and capitalists in the South and its distribution among the Negroes and white small farmers and sharecroppers. . . . These plantations are concentrated in what is known as the Black Belt . . . stretching from the eastern shore of Maryland through the southeastern corner of Virginia, cutting a strip through North Carolina and comprising practically the whole state of South Carolina, passing through central Georgia and southern Alabama, engulfing Mississippi and the delta regions of Louisiana and Arkansas, including the southwestern tip of Tennessee, and driving a wedge into Texas. . . . This is the homeland of the American Negro people, comprising some 350 counties, cutting across state borders. . . . The League of Struggle for Negro Rights declares that the territorial unity of this continuous stretch of land must be proclaimed and established. It declares that upon this territory must arise that political state over which the Negro majority will have governmental authority.

"The League of Struggle for Negro Rights stands for the complete right of self-determination for the Negro people in the Black Belt full rights for the toiling white minority. . . . This means that the territory now known as the Black Belt, . . . be recognized as a distinct political unit, regardless of the state borders which at present cut across this territory. It means that the Negro majority have governmental and administrative control and authority over this entire territory, with the right to set up its own government and judicial institutions,

to elect its own officials, to make laws, to set taxes, to dispose of public property, to organize its own armed forces for the protection of these rights."

I want to give one more quotation on the same point. In James S. Allen's pamphlet, "Negro Liberation" and in answer to his own question, "What is a Nation?" we find the following:

"A complete and comprehensive definition of a nation is given by Joseph Stalin, who is a careful student of this problem, and who under the leadership of Lenin and together with the collective efforts of the Russian Bolsheviks, hammered out a theory and practice on the national question which has proved its correctness in actual life in the Soviet Union today. Stalin Says:

A nation is an historically developed lasting identity of language, territory, economic life, and psychology manifesting itself in identity of culture."

I HAVE taken the space to give these quotations because I do not believe it possible to discuss the CP position on the Negro intelligently without having before the reader the actual words and phrases used in the official pronouncements of the party and its affiliate the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. These selections from official party literature become especially important when one is evaluating the party's position on the central matter of the Right of Self-Determination for the Black Belt. This slogan is the core of CP theory and practice in the United States on the Negro question.

It is interesting to note that Browder's point of departure in claiming that Negroes in the United States are a nation is on the surface somewhat different from that of Allen in the quotation given above. Browder attempts to base the argument for Negro nationhood on certain objective and historic situations while Allen begins with a definition and deduces what follows in his pamphlet from the Stalinist definition of a nation. It is clear though that this difference is only superficial and that Browder's approach really has its roots in the

Stalin definition of what is a nation. That is, the starting point of all the CP writers on this subject is an appeal to authority and is not genuinely based on examination of the historical and objective scene.

Browder says that the CP did not get large results in its work with Negroes in the early days because the party did not understand that the Negroes in the South are a nation, a suppressed nation, a nation under the heel of another nation, a victim of imperialism. Furthermore since they are a nation, they along with other nations (India, South Africa, Cuba) have the right to throw off the imperialist yoke (the federal and state governments) and set up a separate and independent government of their own. And since the CP recognizes and admits that there are class divisions within the Negro group or "nation" I suppose that they hold the position that this first revolution for the right of self-determination will be a bourgeois democratic revolution. That is, the Negro in the Black Belt is to go through the same sort of revolution as the colonies did in 1776 when they threw off the imperialist rule of England.

When one examines this position in the light of history, the psychology of the Negro and all of the facts, the whole scheme seems more fantastic than that other Negro nationalism scheme proposed some years ago by Marcus Garvey. The more one reads this "right of self-determination" literature the more one becomes convinced that here we have the very essence of jimmecrow; wild and dangerous. Listen to Browder:

"The Negroes have never yet been emancipated. The form of their oppression was only changed from that of chattel slavery, which constituted an obstacle to the further development of capitalism, to the more modern forms of so-called free labor (which means that the employer is freed from all obligation when he has paid the hourly or daily starvation wage) and half-feudal forms of share cropping, etc."

This is an amazing statement. Not that it is not correct but amazing that it is put forward by the General Secretary of the

Communist Party as a unique Negro phenomenon and as something in substantiation of the claim that the Negroes are a nation. Suppose we substitute the word serfs for Negroes in the quotation above and serfdom for chattel slavery. Then would it have been correct to have said that the freed Russian serfs were a nation after 1860? Would we have called the English peasants a nation who were forced off the land by the system of enclosures after they had accepted jobs from the owners of the land to work for wages? Why not gerrymander contiguous "white" counties in western Virginia and North Carolina, the northern part of Georgia and Alabama, the northeastern part of Mississippi and parts of Tennessee and call the poor whites to revolt under the slogan of "Self-Determination for the Southern Poor White Belt"? In fact the two Belts could carry on the fight together and an International could be formed to give correct ideological direction to the conflict.

I have said above in effect that what the CP has done is lay down a proposition and then attempt to prove it by all sorts of curious reasoning, bad history and a complete ignoring of the facts of Negro life, past and present. When I talk about American history in connection with the CP, I should point out that the appeal to our history is really something quite new with the CP. Up to quite recently the party acted as though there was nothing pertinent and relevant in our history prior to about 1919. I think that this is the year the CP began to point the way of salvation for American workers.

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights says in its program, "Equality, Land and Freedom," that "Land, freedom and equality" was the watchword of the ex-slave during the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. This is a blatant distortion of historical fact. I mean that the freedman had no definite and articulate ideas about these things in the way that the CP attributes them to him. Of course they wanted to be out of slavery and they wanted land but I seriously doubt that the ex-slave as a group had any forthright ideas about equality. But the doctrine of self-determination must have a historical base.

"That glorious Civil War decade when the embattled Negro fought with gun in hand

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The Southern Sharecroppers and the A.A.A.

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER.

FARM tenants in the South occupy an extremely different position than that occupied by tenants in other parts of the United States. In the North and West the tenant farmer is normally on the way to ownership. In the South because of the wider extension of the vicious plantation system and the evil flowing from it, large numbers of these farm proletarians can scarcely hope to rise from their slavish status.

The sharecropper "contract" is generally a verbal agreement whereby the laborer is furnished with living quarters, land, mules, tools, fertilizer, and cash advances for living expenses. In the South 55.5 per cent of the farm operators in 1930 were tenants (27.3 per cent being colored) renting 36.6 per cent of the total farm acreage. The percentage of crop land harvested in 1929 by white croppers was 55.1, and by colored croppers, 72.4. The percentage of both white and black sharecroppers in the South has increased steadily since 1900, while the number and the size of farms operated by managers has likewise increased. At the same time Southern farm owners have declined in number among both whites and Negroes.

When the World War came, immigration was cut off and the increasing demand for workers in Northern mills, mines and factories drew large numbers of the farm proletarians of both colors to Southern cities to take the places of their urban brethren who had trekked farther North. More whites than blacks migrated because economic opportunities, as usual, were greater for the former than for the latter.

During the period of illusory prosperity from 1922 to 1930 when the system of foreign loans made possible large sales of agricultural produce abroad, the valuation of farm land skyrocketed. Even then the major crops were all overproduced and prices were only kept from doing a disappearing act downward by artificial stimulation from the federal government which bought and stored millions of bales of cotton and bushels of wheat in a vain effort to stabilize prices.

The inevitable crackup of the capitalist

economic structure carried the farmer down with the city worker but underneath the debris was the sharecropper, the agricultural proletarian of the South. His ranks were swelled by thousands of erstwhile farm owners, black and white, whose lands had been sold for taxes or been swallowed by creditors. The remaining farm owners battled against foreclosure, on many occasions resorting to violence, but there was nothing for the sharecropper to do. He had no land to fight for, and even if permitted to stay on the patch of land he had been tilling for a boss, how was he to get seed, fertilizer and credit at the store unless his boss vouched for him?

With cotton down to four and five cents a pound and almost no market for it, with debts contracted in a rising market, taxes still at the 1926 level, the plantation boss took on as few sharecroppers as possible. Thus the number of sharecroppers perforce decreased as the depression progressed.

Where were they to go? There were millions unemployed in the cities and the relief rolls were already so taxed that in many places the agencies refused to give any relief to non-residents. Millions of these dispossessed, homeless agricultural castoffs rode freight trains, hitch-hiked and walked the country roads from place to place, aimlessly, hoping to get a day's work here or there for 50 or 75 cents, or to find a boss who would give them a shack to live in, permit them to farm a few acres and get an occasional sack of meal or side of bacon from the store.

Even before the Roosevelt Administration came in, there was talk in the South of restricting crop acreage in order to raise the price of cotton, it being hoped in this way to pay off the mortgages and debts that held the entire section in their grip. The various states, however, were unable to agree on terms of restriction.

The Roosevelt regime last summer swung into action with the Agricultural Adjustment Act, a plan for reducing acreage by at least a third and keeping it at a given point by an elaborate system of rewards and taxes. Prices would thus be boosted and the loss in production would be more than offset by the increase in prices. By elevating prices to the 1926 level, the farmer would,

it was reasoned, be able to pay off his debts at the same valuation, or with the same dollar, with which he made them. This process was further to be accelerated by the United State going off the gold standard, cutting the dollar to 60 cents and so stimulating exports.

II.

WHAT has been the effect of the A.A.A. program in the South? By reducing the crop acreage to 10,000,000 acres, hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers, black and white, have been ousted from plantations where they are no longer needed. It must be remembered that even in the "good times" when the 1930 census was taken most of the Southern farmers were tenants. If then the plowable is reduced by one-third, at least one-third of the tenants are eliminated.

The sharecropper gets no part of the check that the farm owner receives from the A.A.A. for reducing his acreage. His service no longer needed, he has no alternative but to move on, what with the most brutal and calloused "law enforcement" officers in the country at the beck and call of the planters, and coupled with the fact that he is totally unorganized as a worker.

The C.W.A. was considerable help for a time, but now its days are numbered even allowing for the new funds President Roosevelt is asking. Industry has not absorbed but a fraction of the unemployed urban workers. It is unlikely that it will be able to absorb them for some time, if ever. In the meantime, denied the chance to work on the villenage system on the plantations or in the factories and commercial pursuits in the cities and large towns, and confronted with the bankruptcy of the public relief system, what are these people to do? There were in the South in 1930, 1,091,944 white tenants and 698,839 colored tenants, which does not, of course, include their families and dependents. Add to that several hundred thousand mere farm laborers, who are even lower in the scale than the sharecroppers, and thousands of erstwhile farm owners cast into pauperism by the depression, and the total will come well over two million. If the A.A.A. continues, perhaps a million of these work-

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MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY

By SIDNEY HOOK

Some Notes on the Draft Program of the A. W. P.

ONE of the most significant features of the Draft Program of the A.W.P. is its break with the fetishism of terms in the revolutionary tradition. For the first time in the history of American revolutionary parties an attempt has been made to present in intelligible fashion the essential meaning-content of such terms as "dictatorship of the proletariat," "Soviets," etc. The reaction of official communists to the program has been very instructive and affords indirect evidence that the A.W.P. is on the right track. Not finding the familiar catchwords in the program, they have denounced it as non-communistic and characterized the A.W.P. as another social-fascist organization. Untrammelled by any considerations of logic or consistency, they have added the charge that the A.W.P. is attempting to split their ranks. This failure to understand the meaning of the classic Marxian terms confirms the suspicion that the official communists do not really understand the theories they profess and that it is high time to abandon the linguistic fixations which obstruct clear thinking.

According to Marx, in every class-society, the state functions as the instrument by which the dominant class reinforces its power. By its control of educational and other cultural agencies, it is able to inculcate among oppressed classes those patterns of thought, action and aspiration which make the rule of the economically powerful appear to be part of the natural order of things. State power ultimately rests upon armed forces of coercion. These are brought into play whenever the resentment of the masses, generated by poverty and suffering, breaks through the crust of habit, fear and prejudice. The class-less society of socialism can only be achieved by destroying the existing state and erecting another state apparatus which is used (1) to facilitate the transition from private to social economy, (2) to suppress counter-revolutionary activity, and (3) to introduce the cultural measures designed to strengthen socialist ideals and motivation. This state differs from all other states in two respects. It is a worker's state and represents working-class interests. It aims to abolish all class divisions and therewith the existence of the state itself or the use of force for political purposes.

ALL this is elementary. The important question, however, is the nature of the workers' state and the character of its rule. Marx, Engels, and Lenin refer to it as "the dictatorship or the proletariat" and as "the workers democracy." Today for historical reasons it is necessary to stress more than ever before the facts that the workers state is a workers' democracy.

On the one hand there are those who, hearing the word dictatorship, immediately associate communism with fascism, identify them as political forces equally opposed to capitalism, and overlook the essential differences between them in philosophy, goal and organization. Such an attitude, common not only to liberals but, what is more important, to nonpolitical workers (and the great mass of American workers is still non-political) tends to preserve the illusion that bourgeois democracy must be defended against its enemies from the left as well as from the right. To such workers it must be shown that what is called democracy under capitalism is a false and not a true democracy, especially for those who have nothing to sell but their labor-power,—and no takers even for that. It must be pointed out that the very nature of private ownership of the means of production—with its right to exclude others from the use of what they need, with its right to control investment and, therefore, the possibility and conditions of employment, with its power to determine what people read, desire, and even, think—that all this constitutes a dictatorship of the owners of capital over the lives of those who must live by its use.

The workers' democracy must be counterposed to the capitalist dictatorship in its representative liberal form as well as its fascist form. The political difference between the liberal form and the fascist form of capitalist dictatorship must not be obscured but it must continually be emphasized that the workers' democracy is a demand for more democracy and not less, that not only are the democratic rights which the workers now possess worth fighting for, but that the only way in which they can be retained is by extending them socially as well as politically. To make social democracy a fact and not merely an ideal it is necessary to wipe out private property rights in capital and deal firmly with those who oppose this step to a more human society. In this way those who desire to fight for the democratic rights they still have, can

be won as allies in a common struggle in which their experience, together with proper communist education, can be relied upon to make them see that communism is not the negation of democracy but its fulfillment, and to teach them that the workers state—which is a democracy for workers (in the broadest sense)—excludes only those peoples from its democratic processes who are opposed to extending democracy to all individuals.

The only way to answer the charge of insincerity and hypocrisy levelled by the non-political or liberal worker against the communists who, they say, "preach democracy but practice dictatorship" is to show that this "dictatorship" is much more democratic for the great masses of producers of hand and brain than any capitalist democracy (dictatorship) can ever be, and that in projecting the only realistic method by which the widest social democracy may be achieved, communists are second to none in intelligent devotion to democratic ideals.

THERE is, however, another reason why the workers' state must be described and defended as a workers' democracy. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is sometimes misunderstood to mean the dictatorship of the Communist Party over the proletariat. For this official communist parties throughout the world are responsible. Instead of criticising the Russian Communist Party for usurping some of the most important functions of the Soviet, they have practically identified the rule of the soviets—the organ of the workers' democracy—with the rule of the Communist Party which, since Lenin's death, is itself dominated by a bureaucracy not subject to democratic processes.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the organs of working-class democracy are the Workers' Councils—or what De Leon called the industrial union—and not the class in a revolutionary situation. The political party does not coincide with the Workers' Council: it is a faction, among other working class factions, which acquires

leadership in the Councils by virtue of the correctness of its line and not by choking off all other working-class elements that may be opposed to it. When power is taken, it is taken in the name of the Workers' Councils, the functioning political unit of the overwhelming mass of the workers, farmers, professionals, etc., and not in the name of the political party which in the nature of the case, must constitute a small minority.

Unfortunately, a printer's error (one of several which distort the meaning of the draft program in some important respects and which must be removed from the final version to be adopted at the Party Convention this year) creates the impression that the A.W.P. shares the same un-Marxian theory of the relation between the class and the Party which the Stalinists often preach and invariably practise. On page 13 of the Draft Program some printer's devil, or devil of a printer, makes us say: "As a necessary phase of this change of ownership and control and the attainment of a genuine workers' democracy, the American Workers Party proposes, as the representative of the workers and producers, to take control of state power." This sentence should read:

"As a necessary phase of this change of ownership and control and the attainment of a genuine workers' democracy, the American Workers Party proposes that the representatives of the workers and producers (i.e., the Workers' Councils) take power."

THIS point is not merely a matter of phrasing. A workers' democracy in fact and not in name is one in which all proletarian elements who accept the class basis of the state must be given an opportunity to freely discuss and present policies. The political party retains its leadership and influence in the worker's democracy not by force but by initiative, intelligence and devotion. The American Workers' Party must stress this because it is not only the liberal and non-political worker who resents the "dictatorship of the proletariat" but the politically minded worker who is non-

communist and who fears that the dictatorship of the proletariat is merely an abbreviation for the dictatorship of a communist party over the proletariat and the dictatorship of a bureaucracy over both the party and the working-class. If we remain true to the Marxist and Leninistic conception of the workers' state as a workers' democracy and agitate in those terms, much greater headway in reorienting the working masses toward revolutionary action can be made. We must avoid in this connection the practice of the Communist Party whose leaders debate with fascists and thereby confuse the minds of workers who begin to think that there is some common ground between Fascism and Communism in that both stand for dictatorships and differ only in subsidiary issues.

IT is sometimes held that democracy is not an end in itself but merely a means for certain other ends such as security, order, and social welfare. Consequently, if these ends can be achieved in other ways than by democratic collective action, there is no necessity for making democracy an ideal or slogan. A fascist may use this argument or anyone arguing for a benevolent despotism; a communist cannot. If it were valid, it would be an argument against democracy within the political party as well as without, and would have to be supported by a belief in the practical infallibility of the leadership. Historically, democracy even in its limited forms has always been the demand of classes in revolt. Despite the restrictions within which it has been hedged and despite the absence of the social condition of equality without which it can never truly function, democracy permitted at least the agitation for revolutionary ideals, and the possibility for revolutionary organizations to grow by criticizing existing democracies on the ground they were not democratic enough.

Marxists must never hand over "the argument for democracy" to the enemies of the working-class. Marxists must assert not only that true democracy is a means to social freedom and welfare but that the existence of democratic processes, in which all citizens participate, is an intrinsic good, an integral part of the freedom and welfare of the class-less society, of the truly human and good society.

Capitalism in the South

by BRUCE CRAWFORD

WHEN capitalism came South in earnest, it was as a Trojan Horse loaded with "gifts" for a region aching to be "developed". The South had lain prostrate for decades after Northern capital had destroyed her slave system of black labor in order to remove it from competition with "free" white labor above the Potomac. Because Northern labor had formed the habit of organization, its exploiters looked southward to practically virgin opportunity—resources in men and materials offered by the boosters. Here was little or no organized labor to "bedevil" industry. Here in the Balkans of America, capitalism would have a free hand, aided by feudal conceptions of justice.

The boosters were a raw gentry prostituting its native people for the fleshpots of what proved to be only a temporary boom. It was a temporary boom because Southern capitalism beat down Southern labor and destroyed a market there for the goods produced, and because capitalism elsewhere was doing the same thing. Profits were put into new capital investments, and industrialization in the South was overdone. Values in real estate, in every kind of property, were inflated. Taxes were raised to build roads in and around mill towns, while the mills were granted tax exemptions and assured labor at a low cost. Exploitation was therefore direct and indirect. What the South lost in low wages was bad enough. What it accumulated in higher taxes was a burden which the low-paid labor has had to pay in revised budgets. Small farmers are paying for concrete roads at places like Elizabethton where the textile mills were granted tax exemptions. Many of the mountain and rural workers, who came to town for jobs in the mills, have had to return to their huts in the hills—but the tax collector knows the way there too.

The Trojan Horse of industrialization, which the boosters opened the gate for, was packed with exploiters. And the South now has not only black slavery but white slavery—workers of the two races pitted against each other by their capitalist masters.

Bruce Crawford is the editor of "Crawford's Weekly" published at Norton, Virginia, center of the soft coal fields of the south. He was largely instrumental in centering the attention of the country on the brutal and autocratic suppression of the Harlan coal miners in 1931 and has been the lone southern representative on several delegations into the south to investigate labor troubles.

Long before the capitalist crises, in 1929, Southern labor began to feel the oppressive hand of exploitation. Coming from farm and hill to the mill, these Southern people found that even though they received more cash than they had known on their farms and hillsides, the cost of living in the mill communities was so high that they were worse off than before. So they did something that was shocking for docile Southern labor—they kicked, they went on spontaneous strikes, they organized.

This was the story of Elizabethton, where the big mills dominated the town. It was more or less the story of Gastonia, Marion, Danville and other mill towns in the South. Workers resisted their exploiters. While the workers did not win many strikes, they won some thing highly important: a realization of their class identity and the nature of capitalism. Out of their ranks have come many leaders in the radical movement.

The coal industry, perhaps the most feudalistic, drove its workers to lowest depths of poverty and degradation. Because of the anarchy existing among coal owners, they saved themselves individually from bankruptcy during the first years of the depression by beating down wages. Men worked for as low as 80 cents a day, two days a week, in some of the mines. Many starved out, and either moved to primitive habitats in the hills or died. Disease resulting from malnutrition was common among them, and still is.

The so-called "hillbilly" revolted against despotism of the coal barons. In Harlan, Ky., he fought long and hard, but was opposed by all the forces of "law and order." Hundreds of his kind were beaten up, jailed, or killed. Some were framed and sentenced for life terms.

THE agricultural worker under capitalism in the South, though never used to much, is bearing the full brunt of the crisis. The owner, tied up with banks and "the law", exploits both his farm hands and his farm soil; but with the help of the government he is putting something back into the soil, whereas there are too many men ready to work for him to care about thus rehabilitating his workers.

Now comes the New Deal with its scheme of rehabilitation. Realizing that the workers would not longer tolerate oppression, the capitalist government comes to "save" them. A bone is thrown to "the dog" to pacify him.

And how does this rehabilitation work?

Miners who have never worked at anything else are being removed to "subsistence farms" to forget any notions of class solidarity. The miners left in the industry are forced to accept certain "concessions" from the companies but are denied real gains. The class issue is carefully avoided. And such gains as they may have obtained by striking, or as a result of the codes, are dubious. Work has been staggered. Scales of wages look good on paper, but in the end the miner has the barest existence. Where the problem can not be solved for the owners in any other way, the subsistence farm is resorted to. Here on these primitive patches of land men removed from industry are expected to "live", in an age when farming itself is a problem. Shunted into medieval peasantry!

The New Deal is giving agriculture hypodermics, but each dose calls for a bigger one, since the malady itself is not being cured. Destroying crops and then paying farmers not to plant is the crowning insanity of this period of underconsumption. It momentarily helps the larger farmer, but it increases the general cost of living for the masses. The farm workers continue as serfs. If they look like they are going to organize unions, the "law" is prompt in making its appearance. If Negro workers have anything to do with a union, it is regarded by the owners as a sure sign of "another rebellion." Lynchings are not infrequently results of this fear of "an uprising."

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Fake "Culture" Is Dying

By JAMES RORTY

FOR the past month, up in my country, the farmers have been raking up piles of dead sticks, leaves, and other rubbish, and burning them. It clears the ground for planting and it even adds a little fertilizer to the soil.

The writers, artists, teachers, physicians, engineers, and other cultural workers who have taken a revolutionary position are very busy these days doing the same sort of thing. Some of them will be marching with the workers on May Day. If more of them are not there, it will be, in some cases, because they are genuinely busy raking up rubbish and burning it.

In the case of the frailer members of the fraternity, the cultural workers who can't stomach the harsh necessities, the revolutionary necessities of our time, it will be because they are still trying to kid themselves into believing that this rubbish has roots and can grow. The best, the ablest, the most serious cultural workers of this country, know better than that. They say, let the dead bury the dead. These dead men tell no tales that are worth the reading, paint no pictures worth looking at, and build no houses that are fit for human beings to live in.

Always, in writing of such things, it is necessary to distinguish between "Culture" with a large "C" and quotation marks and culture with a small c, which means simply the body of law, custom and institutions by which a community lives. It is necessary, also, to warn manual workers, industrial workers, agricultural workers against the short-sighted skepticism and cynicism with which the activities of revolutionary cultural workers are too frequently regarded.

It is true that they are less coerced and disciplined and organized by the bitter experiences of the wage cut, the layoff, the lockout; that they have had less chance to learn the lessons of solidarity that are taught in a strike. It is true that in the nature of the case there is always pressure upon them to serve as the cultural lieutenants and sycophants of the masters, the exploiters.

But it is also true that every artist who has learned honestly the lessons of his art, every teacher who has asked himself, not how shall I teach, but what shall I teach, every architect, doctor, engineer who desires to fulfill honestly and creatively his social function—it is true that all these cultural workers, when they are worthy of their salt, reject with a bitter passion the ignorant, base, and corrupt rule of our present masters. For them there is only one class, the class of workers; only one culture, the culture of a liberated, communized, classless society, and for this culture they strive.

Like all of us, they are obliged to compromise, to eke out a living, somehow, in an exploitative economy and a stultified lying, faking culture. But they go to their empty, perverse, and ludicrous tasks with loathing and more and more they give their best energies to revolutionary thought and revolutionary struggle: daily they sabotage the saboteurs of truth, of beauty, of creative function. They too are workers and for too long have they been denied the creative use of their tools. They know, the best of them, that the old order is dead; they are working to build the new, and tomorrow the workers who deal with the materials of art, of literature, of science, will join with the workers in the fields and in the shops to destroy the power of the capitalist state, and in its stead to build and defend the power of the workers' democracy.

II

I SAY this with confidence, but I speak only of the best; it is only the best whom you can call comrades. There are now, and there will be in the future, many writers, artists, cultural workers in general, including many genuinely talented people—indeed the majority in numbers though not in quality—who are too frail and too timid to face the truth. For them the ultimate degradation is in preparation; they will be the cultural lieutenants of fascism, the hysterics, the jew-baiters, the sadists, the medievalists and upon their work history will turn the page with contempt and loathing.

Last week one of these men, a writer of talent, an economist who has written the truth about capitalism and now goes about with his cheeks stuffed with lies, addressed a liberal veterans organization of which I am a member. His name is Lawrence Dennis, author of "Capitalism is Doomed" and now editor of the "American Defender," the earliest avowed organ of our emerging "intellectual" fascism. Never before in my life have I seen a more pitiable object. Self-betrayal was in his eyes and in every gesture of his hands; eyes turned inward, still

counting the spiritual costs of his sell-out; hands that will one day be foul with the blood of the comrades whom he has betrayed.

My liberal friends, to give them credit, tore this faker to pieces. Before the evening was over Dennis was on record as admitting that fascism offered not bread, not land, not the creative release of workers and of the machinery of production, and not peace; only order, the order of a corrupt industrial feudalism, enforced by the paid gangsters of Big Business; not peace, but the beauty and truth of war, the beauty of ravaged cities, of disemboweled soldiers

THERE are now, and there will be in the future, many writers, artists, cultural workers in general, including many genuinely talented people—indeed the majority in numbers though not in quality—who are too frail and too timid to face the truth. For them the ultimate degradation is in preparation; they will be the cultural lieutenants of fascism, the hysterics, the jew-baiters, the sadists, the medievalists and upon their work history will turn the page with contempt and loathing.

and of bombed and starved women and children; the beauty of death, in other words,—the death of truth, the death of beauty, the death of culture, the death of civilization.

I snarled at this faker and some of my comrades reproached me. A guest had some rights, they thought, that gentlemen acting as his hosts should respect. I thought so too. I too believe in free speech. Our guest had the right to tell the truth. And when, instead, he talked psychopathic nonsense which he obviously didn't believe in himself, I had a right to point this out, as I did, speaking not as a "gentleman," but as a writer and a worker.

III

YOU are meeting fascists every day now and will meet more of them. Keep your temper—mine, I confess, got a little out of hand on the occasion I mention—but treat them rough. Logically, morally, and intellectually, they are pushovers; but objectively, in the present phase of the social process, they are terribly dangerous. They must be exposed coolly, determinedly and ruthlessly, but in exposing them one must be careful to present with equal cogency, coolness and force the revolutionary position.

A revolutionary movement must fight on this front, as well as on the industrial front; on the cultural front it must gain recruits, it must locate and use its allies, it must make sound tactical united fronts with liberals. It must study its problems realistically, develop sound policies and constantly criticize and refine its tactics. Most writers who have recently joined the revolutionary movement are political babies and are more or less aware of this. It is not altogether their fault. They have practiced an individualist discipline which has gone sour and ridiculous; they are not

merely economically, but spiritually, and morally distressed. Their revolt takes the form of an emotional surrender to a "communism" which they know little about, but which they are trying honestly to learn about.

The present policies of the Communist Party of America are not calculated to help them or teach them. The CP does not trust them,—largely, I think, because it knows they are too honest and too intelligent to stomach the present disruptive, obscurantist, bureaucratic policies of the party. Neither the Party nor its peripheral organizations wants these intellectual recruits to learn too much; with intolerant and intolerable contempt, it desires to use them to put their names on letterheads, and at the end of articles for the New Masses and the Daily Worker. The moment they try to use their own brains, and defend their own personal integrity in word and act, the Party cracks down on them with an avalanche of abuse and slander.

Again, the best of them haven't stood this, are not standing it and won't stand it. The names of the twenty-five intellectual workers signed to the "Open Letter" protesting against the Madison Square Garden fiasco, included the names of many of the ablest fellow-travellers of the Communist Party. Promptly, the Party branded them as counter-revolutionary, not because they were not communist, but because they were too honest, and thoughtfully communist to tolerate the fake united front policy of the Party which has wrought havoc to the revolutionary movement the world over.

These intellectuals and thousands like them are ready and waiting to be mobilized; they have their faults, but they are neither fakers nor children. The American Workers Party must recruit these people, help them to become politically mature, and counter-act the experience of disillusion and alienation which many of them have gone through in the efforts to go communist via the CP.

IV

CULTURE? There is no real culture in this country—only the debris of the cultural super-structure of capitalism which, as the edifice decays, is the first to crumble. We must sweep this debris aside and burn it. We must use existing means of communication—the capitalist press, both liberal and conservative, to carry our propaganda, necessarily often in disguised forms. We must build the AWP press; we must press for means of putting revolutionary propaganda on the air and on the motion picture screen.

There are a thousand tasks, most of them not even adequately studied and planned. They are tasks for workers, brain workers, done coordinately with the even more difficult and pressing tasks of organization and propaganda on the industrial front. Let it not be said of the AWP that it turned honest intellectual workers away, or that it failed to give them intelligent, responsible tasks to do.

American Revolutionary Traditions

(Continued from Page 3)

wealth, passing a high tariff, voting public money to capitalists who proposed to construct "internal improvements," and setting up a national bank which threatened to obtain a financial monopoly. Once again the farmers and petty bourgeoisie organized themselves into a political party to check the growth of inequality, and in 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected president. Jackson put an end to federal aid for "internal improvements," and, in the interests of the small state banks, he destroyed the national bank. He could not, however, prevent the natural development of capitalism.

Even without the cooperation of the state power inequality continued to increase. In the north-east the growth of large scale manufacturing was transforming a few persons into capitalists and the rest into wage-earners; and in the south a small class of slave-owners were acquiring large plantations and causing their neighbors to be degraded into so-called "poor whites." After Jackson's death his party was captured by the slave-owners, who wished to appropriate the western territories for plantations and to expand into Mexico and Cuba.

THE farmers and petty bourgeoisie in the west feared above all things the expansion of slavery, which would reduce them to the same level as the southern "poor whites"; and they organized the republican party which elected Lincoln to the presidency in 1860. Lincoln, like Jefferson and Jackson, believed that each man ought to be his own master, and for this

reason he felt that slavery was wrong. His ideal was a society in which everybody had an equal opportunity to acquire property, and such a society might be realized in America, he thought, if slavery were abolished.

Lincoln, as a westerner, knew little about the development of capitalism in the east. Unfortunately, as Lincoln himself admitted during the civil war, the situation was more complex than he had realized. The secession of the southern agricultural states enabled the political agents of eastern capitalism to obtain control of congress. If the farmers received one advantage—the Homestead Act, which gave them small farms for nothing—the capitalists obtained for themselves a high tariff, a consolidated national banking system, an immigration act enabling them to import contract labor from Europe, and lavish subsidies to aid them in building railroads. Meanwhile the exigencies of the war compelled the treasury to obtain the aid of the bankers in floating loans, in return for which the bankers exacted large profits, and even larger profits were made out of government contracts.

Lincoln's plan was to restore the union as it had existed before the civil war. The southern states, purged of the system of chattel slavery, would recover their votes in Congress, and, in alliance with the western farmers, would seek to check the farther development of eastern capitalism. Fortunately for Wall Street, he was murdered before he was able to put this plan into effect, and his successor, Andrew Johnson, was not strong enough to continue it.

During the period of "reconstruction," capitalism turned over the southern states

to the Negroes and induced them to vote political power to its own representatives, the "carpet-baggers." The growth of inequality continued at an enormous pace, and congressmen became merely the paid agents of a few millionaires. When the "carpet-bag" governments were removed and the Negroes, their usefulness exhausted, were allowed to fall back into a servitude almost as complete as before the civil war, capitalism was so strongly entrenched in power that no agrarian or petty bourgeois revolt could ever remove it. It was now rich enough to control universities, churches, newspapers, and all the organs of publicity, and, through campaign funds, to buy up each of the two political parties.

SOME people still hope to achieve the kind of democracy which Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln envisaged. They believe that large-scale industry can in some way be broken up into smaller units or prevented from expropriating such small industries as still exist; they believe that if the power of the big corporations can in some way be restricted, the small farmers can be made prosperous. The experience of the past shows that this is both impossible and undesirable. We must remain loyal to the ideals of American democracy—to the belief that all men have an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—but we must adopt a different method of realizing them. Instead of supporting the petty bourgeoisie in their desire to check the growth of capitalist concentration and consolidation, we must form ourselves into a working class party which will retain the system of large scale industry but transfer the ownership of it from private individuals to society.

NEW BEGINNING

(Continued from Page 2)

But for all that "New Beginning" is a hopeful sign for the future. The labor movement in all countries of the world is undergoing a process of regeneration and reorganization, a process that neither the Social Democratic nor the Communist Parties have been able to stem. The pamphlet under discussion is a manifestation of this movement, and as such should be welcomed by all those who have sought and found a spiritual home in the revolutionary labor movement.

New Beginning; published by "The Plebs," N.C.L.C. Publishing Co. Limited, 15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3. N. B. Translation from "New Beginning" appearing in this article were made directly from the German, since no copies of the official English translation are as yet available in the United States.

THE SHARECROPPERS

(Continued from Page 4)

ers will be Forgotten Men.

The Roosevelt Administration plans to help these landless, homeless, usually foodless farm workers by placing them on small farms of their own. This would be an improvement over their present status (almost anything would), if it could be done, but it is merely a reformist plan that fails to attack the problem at its roots.

A modern country needs modern methods of production whether agricultural or industrial. The system of small holdings is inefficient, wasteful and a step backward—a gesture to the "Little Man," with an eye on 1936. For cotton, the basic crop of the South, there is a tremendous need evident on every hand. Thus, if agriculture is to serve the people, production should be increased not decreased. The nation needs more of everything—except capitalists. The great cotton estates of the South should be worked by the present sharecroppers at a culture wage for the nation, but this will not be brought about of course, by either the Republicans or Democrats. Only an American Workers Party will do that. And only when that is done will the problems of the sharecroppers be solved.

The first step, of course, is the organization of these white and black workers throughout the South to demand their share of the A.A.A. crop reduction money from landowners, to demand steady C.W.A. employment when they are displaced, and to insist upon adequate food supplies. If this can be done—and it is a tough job though easier than imagined by some—the stage will be set for a large scale agrarian revolt in the South which must lead ultimately to the expropriation of the plantation owners and the inauguration of state-controlled large-scale mechanized farming. The color problem there makes the job harder than it would ordinarily be, and one of the first tasks must be to bring the workers of both colors together in farm tenant leagues to fight together for a common goal.

TACTICS OF THE UNITED FRONT

(Continued from Page 1)
 these practices into a policy in their relations with other groups in the labor movement. Until they abandon this psychology and the whole tactic of the united front from below, there is no hope for any so-called united front in which they participate.

All this is not to say that when a revolutionary organization enters into an agreement for united action on specific issues it suspends all criticism of other organizations in its party organ or meetings. Criticism, however, must deal with principles and not cheap and vulgar personalities. It must be based on sound working class conceptions and not fallacies such as the tactic of the united front from below and the

theory of Social Fascism. And it must set forth facts and not fabrications.

III

THE Socialist Party policy with regard to the united front is even less sound than that of the C.P. For one thing, the Socialist Party has never fought clearly and courageously against the corrupt or reformist practices of the union leaders with whom it enters into joint activities. Thus it has strengthened inadequate or false leadership and instead of radicalizing the unions, itself is made more conservative, has its hands tied by them, as proved the case in Germany.

When Socialists do go "united fronting," it is usually with those to the right of them including even capitalist elements, but sel-

dom if ever with any left forces. Thus they invited Matthew Woll, a notorious red baiter, and Mayor LaGuardia, whose police had beaten up Anti-Fascist demonstrators the day before, as speakers at the Madison Square Garden meeting, but failed to invite any representatives of left-wing political groups.

The Socialist Party very frequently goes about getting up united fronts in even more mechanical and sectarian fashion than the Communists. After the Madison Square Garden meeting Socialists who had been active in the League Against War and Fascism (representing the L.I.D. and similar organizations) got out. Almost the very next day the call for a New York Conference Against War appeared. No names were attached to it except those of Socialists and definite Socialist sympathizers. No effort was made to draw in, in advance, any left-wing elements. All arrangements for the conference were pretty much cut and dried. There was no real opportunity for discussion of policies and tactics at what was really a mass meeting rather than a conference or convention. This is, of course, not to say that the Socialists or anybody else are not entitled to hold their own meetings whenever and however they wish. This was, however, supposed to be a united front, obviously to offset the Communist-dominated League Against War and Fascism. And this is not the way to build an effective united front.

A united front is for purposes of action. The official S.P. is in practice not for action. Basically this is because the leadership is afraid that if the masses actually get into motion they will "get out of hand," that is, away from Social Democratic leadership. The Socialist Party has no faith in the masses anyway. Last Spring when Hitler came to power in Germany, CPLA representatives came to the conference called by the Socialist Party and unions friendly to them for purposes of protest. In the first place, the conference call was delayed. By the time the conference met Jewish middle-class organizations had already staged a great protest meeting. Old-time Socialists raised the question whether under the circumstances there was any point in trying to have another meeting, though Labor had not yet spoken on Hitlerism! Others thought that a meeting might be held in some hall but they were against meetings in a public square because they thought the workers would not respond. Finally a committee was appointed to plan for a demonstration. The committee came back after a few days and suggested that May Day was coming soon and that instead of having a separate demonstration against Hitlerism the May Day demonstration might be focused upon this subject. After a good deal of arguing the more militant view that a demonstration should be held before May 1 prevailed!

IV

FULLY effective united front action we shall not get until the American Workers Party, a sound revolutionary party, grows and can assume leadership in the situation. Daily, nevertheless, we must continue to strive for united action. The masses in the unions and the unemployed leagues are showing that they can act, and act intelligently. The political organizations must join and lead them, not over and over again discourage and defeat the deep felt conviction of the masses of the workers that divisions must be ended and united action achieved.

The American Workers Party stands for:
 1. Genuine united front or organizations, not fake united fronts from below.
 2. United action for specific, clearly defined purposes.

3. United action according to agreed upon methods and in a spirit of proletarian decency, honesty and fair play. Corrupt and reformist elements 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.

4. Mutual criticism to continue in force but to be based on sound revolutionary principles and on facts, not fabrications.

Let the workers of this nation and their organizations once unite for action on any single issue and the doom of Fascism will have been pronounced.

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Self Annihilation for the Black Belt

(Continued from Page 4)

against the bloodhounds of reaction for the rights of citizenship . . . declares the LSNR. I would like to ask here, how about the hundreds of thousands of Negroes who were aiding and abetting the Confederacy? And do not the carpet-baggers, the northern abolitionists and such men as Wade and Butler play some part in this picture? In fact, if I remember correctly, it was either Wade or Butler who had ideas about giving the land to the Negroes and the poor whites. This doctrine of a mildly class conscious Negro revolutionary group of Civil War days will not hold water. It is a pure fabrication.

WHY is it that the CP has such great difficulty today getting Negroes to rally around its self-determination slogan? I believe that the answer resides in the fact that Negroes who pay any attention to this slogan at all realize—perhaps dimly—that the whole concept is a foreign importation that has little or no connection with the historic background or with the subjective and objective life of the Negro in the United States.

The plain ordinary Negro has an immense amount of common-sense, plain mule sense, far more than the CP has ever guessed. Although he has no idea what "plenum," "cadre," "agitprop," "politburo" and "left social fascist" mean he does know that somehow, despite all that he suffers, he is an integral part of the life of this country, even its social life. He will never understand how one and the same group can come to him today proclaiming "workers of the world unite!" and tomorrow or the afternoon of the same day tell him to withdraw from the general struggle of the workers and fight to set up a jim-crow republic of his own. It makes no difference that the CP says to the white workers that they are to aid the Negroes to achieve self-determination and then—if these whites happen to live in the area—to submit themselves to the rule of the black majority. This is mere claptrap. Negro revolutionaries with any degree of intelligence, unless they are getting something out of it just as a bourgeois politician gets something out of the political bunkum that he sputters—will never succumb to this self-determination mumbo-jumbo. And I want to add that there are Negro revolutionaries outside the CP, that party's claims to the contrary notwithstanding.

A high functionary of the CP told me once that the self-determination war cry was not to be taken too literally. He said that it was a slogan to call Negroes to revolt, that it did not make much difference what the means were, the thing is to get restless and disposed to fight against the oppressor. One wonders though why the CP, just like other white groups, has found it necessary to set up some special goal for

the Negro. Admitting readily that the Socialist Party position, that the problems of the Negro are just general workers' problems, is incorrect and reformist, I claim that the position of the CP is even worse. Furthermore I am of the opinion that this self-determination talk is not wholly occasioned by honest motives. It smacks too much of the opportunism that has so often marked the procedure and program of the CP. The plan seems to be to get the Negroes and get them anyway you can. The fact that your plan does not succeed is no reason to change the plan. You can always accuse the Negro "misleaders" of sabotage and worse. You must fight these Negro "misleaders" and after they have been "exposed" the Negro masses will come flocking to the banner of Self-Determination (Annihilation) for the Black Belt.

There are other important features of the CP position on the Negro Question that need discussion. For instance there is the technique for setting up the Black Belt Republic. Also the program of the CP for winning the Negro to party membership. I intend to discuss these questions in following editions of Labor Action.

Southern Capitalism

(Continued from Page 5)

Lynching, in fact, is a handy instrument for maintaining not only white supremacy but owning-class supremacy in the South. Most of the lynchings have had an economic background, as their increase in number during the depression indicates. Even where the cause of a lynching is given as "race hatred," it is a race hatred engendered by the landowner, or whoever the employer may be, to keep the Negro in virtual subjection. Competition between white workers and Negroes is helpful to the employer. The danger of workingclass solidarity between the Negroes and the whites makes the Southerner capitalist, however small, see red.

NOT only is the working-class in mine, shop and field being reduced to a lower living standard in the South, by a sort of fascist regimentation. So are the school teachers. The plight of public education in Alabama is known everywhere. Children have been denied schooling because budgets for bankers and bond companies—for the capitalist structure—could not include enough funds for the teachers. This has been true in most Southern states. Teachers have taken many salary cuts, and large numbers of them have been dropped from employment.

Only recently have the teachers begun to wake up to what has been happening to the society of which they are a part and to which they have been making certain contributions. They talk of the evils of "laissez faire"—they're still afraid to say capitalism. And they see the necessity of "socialization." Unless they see that their interests are more or less identical with all workers, they may be roped in by the fascists. Perhaps there is no group of American workers so much in need of education as our educators. Teachers as a whole have not realized their class place in this society. But the price they are paying to balance capitalism's budget should be instructive.

Liberalism in the South deplors the most flagrant manifestations of reaction, but has faith in "evolution." When any group with a revolutionary social philosophy crosses the Potomac, liberals in editorial chairs, pulpits and politics begin to apologize for lynchings and terrorization of workers, but refuse to cooperate with the "invaders." Instead of cooperating with those seeking to go to the bottom of things, the liberals deplore their coming and thus stir up feeling against them.

Southern liberalism is like liberalism anywhere else. It is a fungus growth on the tree of capitalism. It will stick to the tree as long as the tree, though hollow and dying, remains standing. Most of these liberals refuse to come to grips with the fundamentals of the economic life, and prate from cloistered precincts about "culture." They have had a cult of culture. Some of them are charlatans. But most of them have no understanding of the revolutionary "way of life" which makes a genuine culture possible. There's not much hope in them. They will stick to the old dying tree and oppose those so red and brash as to try to cut down and destroy the rotting trunk. They hope for an evolutionary twilight-sleep way of socialism, but they will be on the side of a violent Hitler—unless the working-class seizes power before fascism makes headway.

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