

# new Masses

NOVEMBER 6, 1934

AS we go to press the New York State Hunger Marchers are hemmed in near the Capitol by machine-guns; 100 have been thrown in jail, more than 50 injured, at least four seriously. Their few pieces of equipment, blankets, canned foods, etc., have been taken from them by the authorities. Simultaneously, from Denver, Col., comes news that two striking relief workers have been shot, and an undetermined number injured when police fired thirty times and charged into the picket line. The strike had been called against a cut of 40 percent in relief wages—and for the immediate removal of a politically-ambitious State Relief Administrator, C. D. Shawver, who instituted the slashes at the very moment he was returning unexpended relief funds as “surplus” in order to create a reputation for economy. The Denver strike of FERA workers offers clear evidence on the government’s attitude toward its own rulings, such as Section 7A, when its workers come into direct conflict with it. Chief of Police Clark of Denver warned striking relief workers he would break up any attempt at picketing, stating: “Government workers (i.e. scabs) who want to work will be given police protection.”

THE attack on the Hunger Marchers at Albany, who were to convene for a two-day state-wide conference on relief and unemployment and to present demands to the State Administration, recalls the reception given representatives of the unemployed three years ago when they were clubbed into unconsciousness on the steps of the State Capitol by troopers acting under the orders of Franklin D. Roosevelt, then governor of New York. The present attack was planned with military precision. No sooner had the trucks of the southeastern contingent of marchers including those from New York City rolled across the bridge leading to Albany than police and state troopers, armed with machine-guns, tear gas bombs, shot guns and clubs, bottled them up helplessly on the bridge. The ambushed workers were pulled from the trucks where most of them had been sleeping, and clubbed



“IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FUTILE TO CALL OUT THE MILITIA.”—  
Gov. Scholtz

mercilessly. The others were forcibly ejected from Rensselaer, on the other side of the Hudson River, by state troopers, deputy sheriffs and cops, and forced to start back to New York afoot. Meanwhile Governor Lehman was electioneering; telling the millions of jobless in the state what he has “done” for them at the very moment he was denying their representatives the most elementary right—the right to petition—and denying it in terms much clearer than those in his election thesis.

THE Governor has been using the proposed \$40 million state bond issue for relief as a major vote-catcher. Last year \$60 million was appropriated for state relief. Even the State T.E.R.A. was compelled to admit this sum was far from adequate. With ris-

ing prices, mounting unemployment, and continued depletion of reserves among jobless families, throwing thousands more into the ranks of the completely destitute daily, relief needs have risen tremendously. Yet, in the face of this fact, the Democratic state administration, working harmoniously with the Republican legislature, cuts its relief appropriation by fully one third. The proposed bond issue is intended to last, not for one year, but for fifteen months. (November, 1934 to February, 1936). The full significance of this cut may be gauged by the fact that in New York City alone, the authorities have stated that at least \$50 million must be raised by the municipality to carry on relief for the next year—even on the present semi-starvation level. Since the State is required to match the city’s appropri-

tion dollar for dollar (the Federal government contributes one-half, and the state and city one-quarter each), this means that the \$40 million issue will not cover even the State's contribution to New York City. And the more than one million persons on the relief rolls in the metropolis constitute only one-half of the total on relief throughout the state. Thus, it will readily be seen that New York's "generous" relief bond issue represents not merely an attack on the already-low living standards of millions on relief, but an attack on their very lives. It is against such situations implicit in the relief schemes of capitalism's representatives that the Hunger Marchers protest and fight. They are bringing their own proposals to Albany, among them being: a \$200 million relief appropriation to meet immediate winter needs; enactment of the Workers' State Unemployment Relief Insurance Bill pending enactment on a national scale; and passage of the Small Home Property Owners' Relief Bill.

**I**N the recent dismissal of Sidonia Dawson, a supervisory aide in the Home Relief Bureau, we have another revealing example of Commissioner Hodson's adherence to reaction. Recently a delegation of the Unemployment Council appeared at a Home Relief precinct to protest against inadequate relief and to demand better treatment for relief clients. While they were seated in the ante-room, a number of policemen, called in by the precinct supervisor, swarmed into the office and fell upon them with clubs, beating their leader, Barney Oster, into unconsciousness. Sidonia Dawson, who witnessed this unprovoked brutal attack, protested, and later headed a committee demanding the dismissal of the supervisor if found responsible for the assault. For this she was immediately discharged, although it was admitted that she had performed her work at the relief office competently for three years. The letter of dismissal frankly stated that she was fired for "conduct unbecoming a social worker, both in and out of this office." What was her "unbecoming conduct" in the office? Protesting against police brutality toward workers, and insisting that the workers be given the right to voice their grievances and demands. What was her "unbecoming conduct" outside the office? Miss Dawson was an active member of the social workers' union of the city, the Emergency Home Relief Employees' Association. And the New

York City relief administration under Hodson has resorted to all sorts of base and contemptible tactics in its effort to prevent the further growth of this organization, in much the same manner it uses terrorism in opposing organization among relief workers.

**T**HE remotest suggestion of Red, even of the faintest pink, throws the leaders of the Socialist Party into paroxysms of horror. This anti-Red psychosis has become especially pronounced among some of the leaders in New York. Even renegades from Communism, slanderers of the revolutionary movement drive the reactionary Socialist leaders into contortions of insane fear. Yet to any sensible student of political trends it is clear that Gitlow, Zam, Lovestone, constitute perfect material for a party of compromise and reform, for the kind of party which the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party have been forging these many years. Indeed, when Lovestone and his followers were expelled from the Communist Party, the Marxist diagnosis of their disease was "Social Reformism" and the prognosis was that, considering the nature of the disease, the victims would tend to draw at an accelerated rate of speed back into the camp of the anti-revolutionary leaders of the Socialist Party. Scientific prognoses have a habit of being verified in life. The prodigal sons of social reformism are finally coming back to their real home, penitent, slightly abashed, but determined to be good. As proof of their honorable intentions, they go out of their way to calumniate the revolutionary proletariat, the Communist International, the Communist Party of the United States, etc. But Waldman and Oneal are not convinced. They still discern red spots in the political complexion of the penitents, and the myopic gentlemen don't realize that the red is artificial, that it is sheer make-up, camouflage, an attempt to seduce the masses who are rapidly approaching the state of revolutionary discontent.

**W**HILE Roosevelt was reciting the pledge of allegiance before the skittish bankers assembled at Washington, his colleagues in the Labor Conciliation bureaus required some little reassuring, too. They were laboring with the disquieting reports from another and somewhat larger section of the populace to whom Roosevelt had pledged allegiance earlier in his presidential career; not the bankers of wealth, but

its producers. The workingmen of America were "threatening recovery." They were either talking strike or striking. The auto code, that prime sample of sellout, was expiring Saturday, Nov. 3. One quarter million auto workers—with some little experience of 7A—were restless. Mr. Gorman, of the United Textile Workers, admitted 300 complaints of discrimination before the Textile Labor Board; a re-strike movement of 25,000 was in the offing. Thirty thousand dyers in Paterson, N. J., displayed remarkable unity in their textile strike, conducted without benefit of Mr. Gorman. The expanding strike movement surged into new strata of workers; Cleveland was afforded the unusual spectacle of 2,000 Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company clerks marching on picket lines. A little startling too was the announcement by Mr. John A. Hartford, president of the grocery company, that his firm was moving out of Cleveland. The bad strikers were picketing the warehouses. "What else could we do?" asked Mr. Hartford. "The last week the stores weren't getting their supplies." Of course, he could have imported gunmen, he said (and had) and protected his property. But that would have meant "riot and bloodshed." So he decided to "close up and get out." He failed to mention that the A. & P. in Cleveland last year had refused to honor relief checks and had registered a sharp decline in profits. Its gross income had dropped five million dollars for the year 1933.

**N**EVERTHELESS, the A. & P. was struggling along with a total of \$20,000,000 annually. This was about three million dollars more than the total income of all the independent groceries in the city. It is therefore quite likely, as many suspect, that Mr. Hartford is bluffing. But the strikers are not. The strike, at this writing, is spreading. In Milwaukee not only the clerks and butchers are preparing to walk out (half a dozen stores have already struck), but the truck drivers were on the picket lines. They had halted almost all greens and fruits. The Meat Cutters' Union in Milwaukee was considering calling all butchers out. In Ohio the union was preparing a convention to decide upon a state-wide walk-out. As the New Deal continues to hack away at the living standards of all sections of the population—not only the workers in steel, in lumber—but those in the lighter industries, such as these A. &



P. clerks, the white collar workers in the offices strap on the picketer's sign, and join the army of the dissenters against hunger. With hard times staying hard, and involving greater portions of the population, we can expect the opposition to the Administration to grow from a proletarian movement to a people's movement. And that, as Lenin said in 1917, is one of the prerequisites for successful revolution.

**T**HE THREE predatory powers now engaged in the London naval discussions, held at the invitation of the British government to pave the way for the naval conference in 1935, appear to be at loggerheads. Japan stands squarely for ultimate naval equality with Great Britain and the United States, and is threatening to denounce the Washington Naval Treaty with its "humiliating" 5-5-3 ratio. America, according to reports, maintains that "the ratio filed at Washington does give Japan equality with reference to the needs for defense in her own part of the world..." Britain is vacillating, though the general impression is that she leans more and more toward Japan. "Factors in the British attitudes," writes Charles A. Selden, London correspond-

ent to the New York Times, "include her traditional pro-Japanese sympathies, her waning moral indignation over the creation of Manchukuo and the recent discovery by Australia that Japan, instead of being a menace, is the best customer for Australian wool." On the other hand, the British oil interests, together with those of America and Holland, are greatly wrought up over the projected oil monopoly in Manchukuo. Inspired by Japan, the Manchukuoan Government proposes to institute its own oil selling apparatus with a refinery at Dairen. This, the oil interests insist, presents a serious threat to the open door principle in the Far East. Also, the British Admiralty is disturbed by the new Japanese law requiring non-Japanese companies to store huge supplies of oil in Japan, which, in case of war, would certainly be subject to seizure by the Japanese navy.

**W**HATEVER the apparent disagreements among the three imperialist powers, one thing seems clear—Japan will compromise if she gets her price. The oil law and Manchukuo's oil monopoly are trump cards in Tokyo's hands. Another trump card, and even more important, is the threatened

Japanese seizure of the Mongolian Province of Chakhor. Indications of this purpose have begun to appear in the press. Chakhor is a strategic point for aggressive action against Soviet Mongolia and the Soviet Union. Any attempt to occupy Chakhor would be tantamount to declaring war against the Soviet Union. Occupation of the Chakhor region would strengthen Japan in her haggling with Britain and the U.S.A. over the size of their respective navies. Japanese imperialists will no doubt compromise on naval parity so long as they are given a free hand in the Far East against the U.S.S.R. Hatred of the workers' and peasants' republic is common to all imperialists—British, American or Japanese. But it is not at all unlikely that the imperialist gentlemen at the London parleys may decide that the best way to resolve their antagonisms, even if temporarily, would be to permit Japan to make war against the Soviets. When brigands get together there is no telling what the results may be. The danger of war against the Soviet Union is graver now than at any time in recent months.

**I**N Chicago, the last days of September, a great congress consisting of 3,332 delegates was called to fight against war and Fascism. Delegates returned to their homes in Atlanta, Georgia, and called a private meeting of their organization to report on the congress. But reporting on a congress against war and Fascism is criminal insurrection in Georgia. Seven persons at the meeting were arrested and arraigned under Georgia's obsolete insurrection law. Six others were arrested on the same charge for possessing literature of the International Workers Order, a fraternal insurance organization. Private homes were raided to carry out the arrests in both cases. The Atlanta chief of police personally supervised the raids. Three Negro workers without any connection with the I.W.O., or with the revolutionary movement, were taken in the dragnet that swept through the boarding house of Mr. Moreland, president of the I.W.O. branch in Atlanta. Bail has been refused under the law, which provides for the death penalty. The Atlanta press calls the arrests a "valiant attempt to rid Georgia of Communism." The law under which this infamous violation of civil rights was carried out is the same "black rebellion" statute under which Angelo Herndon, now out under \$15,000 bail,

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### EDITORS:

MICHAEL GOLD, GRANVILLE HICKS, JOSHUA KUNITZ, HERMAN MICHELSON,  
JOSEPH NORTH, ASHLEY PETTIS, WILLIAM RANDOLF.  
WILLIAM BROWDER, *Business Manager*.

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was condemned to 18 to 20 years on the chain-gang. The International Workers Order has mobilized its 1,000 branches and 45,000 members behind the defense, which will be led by the International Labor Defense. This latest Georgia outrage follows immediately after the treacherous attempt of Samuel Leibowitz to split the mass defense of the Scottsboro boys. It indicates the belief of Southern ruling class officials that Leibowitz has injured the solidarity of white and Negro workers in the North and South. They have chosen this moment to strike harder blows, to whip up a general hysteria against the Negro masses and class-conscious white workers alike. The same psychology leads to the systematic torture of the Scottsboro boys in Kilby prison. The answer must be to strengthen the counter-drive, to mass all support behind the I.L.D., to carry the case of Clarence Norris and Heywood Patterson, two of the boys scheduled to be executed Dec. 7, before the Supreme Court with all possible legal resources and upsurge in mass protest. These are days that test the fidelity of the Scottsboro - Herndon fighters and sympathizers. They call for redoubled efforts and new financial sacrifices from everyone interested in the cases.

**G**OVERNOR Dave Sholtz of Florida was coming back from the Legion convention in Miami. There had been farewell festivities. He stopped off at Arcadia, on the way home. In Arcadia he was notified that a mob had taken Claude Neal, Negro, from Sheriff Byrne at Brewton, Ala., early that day. They had tortured an alleged confession out of him. Announcements of a lynching to take place that night appeared in Marianna, Fla., papers and were spread by word of mouth. There was time to act. Neal was held in the woods. The "party" at Marianna was growing and waiting. They would take him to the home of George Cannidy, in Greenwood, the father of a girl who had been murdered. He "wanted the first shot," they said. . . . Gov. Sholtz waited until it was too late, then said, "Under existing circumstances, it would have been futile to call out the militia." Attorney-General Cummings was also appealed to in time. The crime violated the Federal kidnaping law. But Cummings replied that the Department had "decided there was no basis for Federal action." So, in the woods, on the river bank, fearful of holding the "party"

after all, a select gang of the mob took Claude Neal's life. W. W. Alexander, Executive Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, in a telegram to the President demanding punishment of the lynchers, stated that this was the fortieth lynching of its kind in twelve years in Florida. This most brutal of recent cases has proved conclusively that State officials will never prevent lynching. So have always declared the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Lynching is a class war crime. It depends on the fostered bitterness between poor whites and blacks, which strengthens the hands of their masters. The League has proposed a Federal law with teeth in it—the Bill of Civil Rights for Negro People. Repeated marches to Washington have failed to get the bill introduced. Its passage will require the united alliance of a disgusted and revolted middle-class with the workers. The tragic drama of Marianna should be made a historic issue to smash lynching.

**“A DOLLAR for the Red Cross?”**

What conscientious worker or intellectual could refuse to make this annual contribution for the relief of victims of drought, earthquake, flood, and famine? Certainly, he wants to help. But what becomes of his dollar? It is placed in Morgan controlled banks, it is invested in interests presided over by the members of its own board of incorporators. Nearly two-thirds goes for salaries and expenses. Millions are set aside in a war reserve fund. Millions contributed for hungry children in Europe were used against the workers' and peasants' government of Russia. The Red Cross functions as an adjunct of the United States War Department. Its humanitarian nurses take the Oath of Allegiance administered to the fighting forces. It is completely controlled by a self-perpetuating board composed largely of bankers and military men. The Red Cross is a first-rate strike-breaking agency. Such is the picture, in brief, painted by John L. Spivak in the November issue of the American Mercury. What role does the Red Cross play in war? Its director, Judge Payne, boasts that in three days the Red Cross could have 10,000 nurses mobilized for war service. The tender-minded may object that if there is to be war, then it is well that such an organization as the Red Cross exist for the care of the wounded. But Spivak shows that the

organization of the International Red Cross resulted from the very fact that war would be unthinkable without it. The Red Cross is really a war-aiding agency. Is it possible for bankers to handle millions of dollars of Red Cross or any other money without profiting by it in some way, or making it an adjunct of the War Department? Workers and intellectuals alike must not be fooled by these agencies, by their sentimental appeals for funds. Mr. Spivak and the editors of the Mercury ask for a Congressional investigation of the Red Cross, since it is chartered by an act of Congress. We heartily favor such an investigation—but we know that at the most it will reveal a few more unsavory details, as in the investigations of the private bankers and the munition makers. In the meantime, what about that dollar? The International Labor Defense needs money in its fight for the Scottsboro boys. The Workers' International Relief needs funds for strike and other relief. Many other organizations woefully need money for the purposes of the class-struggle. A dollar for the Red Cross is a dollar for the maintenance of capitalism. A dollar for militant working-class organizations is a contribution towards the classless society.

**T**HE 1934 convention of the American Legion at Miami, Florida, has come and gone. The delegates looked out upon an America ravaged by unemployment and wage-cuts—faced by the ending of Federal relief—a starvation outlook for all but the banks and big corporations, which are getting billions. To cope with the fifth year of the crisis, Roosevelt offers new refinements of slave morality. The states call out the National Guard. Employers resort to hoodlum rule. Fascism raises its head in a thousand forms. War is seething on many frontiers. . . . Here was a "state of the nation" calling for real work by a body which claims to be the "guardian of public welfare." What did the Legion actually do? It affirmed its "political neutrality"; it opposed clemency for Grover Cleveland Bergdoll; it urged its members to use their influence to "clean up" the movies; it "referred to its Americanism committee" proposed legislation on old-age pensions, unemployment insurance and reduction in work hours. It gave lip-support to the proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit child labor. . . . The one tremendous surprise to the leaders and the Administration was the passage, by an





"AND IF I AM ELECTED, I PROMISE YOU—"

Limbach



overwhelming majority of 987 to 183, of the demand for the payment of adjusted compensation certificates—the bonus—with cancellation of accrued interest, and a refund of interest on funds already borrowed by veterans. Thus did the rank and file revolt at last and smash through the hypocrisy of Legion leaders, who tried in every way to prevent the passage of the resolution—which would bring some relief to the families of destitute veterans.

**B**UT there was another side to the convention's activities. It called on the Administration to rescind the recognition of the U.S.S.R. It demanded

stricter national legislation for the control and deportation of aliens. It recommended that radical publications containing "subversive propaganda" be denied the use of the mails. It favored the denial of political rights to the Communist Party in every state (in spite of the affirmation of "political neutrality" previously mentioned). It opposed the granting of home loans and farm loans to non-citizens. It listened to the balderdash of H. C. Fremming, president of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Petroleum Workers of America, who personally represented William Green, and assured the Legion convention that the A. F. of L. felt a community of interest

with them and would work hand in hand "to stem the rising tide of Communism and all other isms." And finally it went on record for a "Universal Service Law," which is a measure of preparation for war and a step toward Fascism. These reactionary resolutions were passed because the rank-and-file, though it broke with the leadership on the bonus, still accepts the leadership in its politics; and the ruling group of the Legion is the spearhead of American Fascism. The newly elected national commander, Frank N. Belgrano, is a San Francisco insurance president. He is said to "bear a strong resemblance to Mussolini."

## The Week's Papers

**W**EDNESDAY, October 24.—Supreme Court of District of Columbia holds railroad pension law, affecting 200,000 workers, unconstitutional and "confiscatory"; railroad stock prices immediately rise. . . . United States and Great Britain unite to fight Manchukuo oil monopoly as barring American producers in favor of Japanese in world oil profits fight. . . . 30,000 silk and rayon dyers in New Jersey and New York begin strike. . . . Grain deliveries in U.S.S.R. to State reported to be 97.8 percent fulfilled, exceeding last year's by 60,000,000 bushels. . . . Retail Dry Goods Association favors unemployment insurance in "principle" but warns against "penalizing" employers. . . . Red Cross reports on its activities for year, but fails to meet John L. Spivak's charges in American Mercury under title *Shady Doings in the American Red Cross*.

Thursday—American Legion convention at Miami votes, 987 to 183, for immediate payment of bonus; also asks denial of all political rights to Communist Party throughout United States. . . . Donald Richberg decries inflation fears, says currency is sounder than in twenty years. . . . Fascists in Austria battle Catholics in two cities. . . . Mayor LaGuardia denies hearing to 150 City College of New York students demanding ousting of their reactionary President, Frederick B. Robinson. . . . Professional New York models open war of retaliation on debutantes who take their jobs. Senator Byrd asks Roosevelt to "correct conditions" at old

Point Comfort, Va., where Hotel New Chamberlin, standing on Federal site, advertises Jews are unwelcome. . . . Fourteen workers arrested in Pacific Coast longshoremen's strike were deported, Secretary Perkins reports.

Friday.—Postmaster General Farley acquits Roosevelt of charge of being dictator. . . . Claude Neal, Negro, taken from Alabama jail to Marianna, Fla., by Florida mob, tortured and lynched "as advertised" twelve hours in advance, while officials refuse to act. . . . Soviet gold mines expected to produce \$150,000,000 this year. . . . Paterson dye plants shut by pickets. . . . Francis Gorman, United Textile Workers head, expresses fears that the rank and file sentiment means a textile re-strike.

Saturday.—Roosevelt and Attorney-General Cummings, asked to act in Neal kidnaping and lynching, do nothing. . . . Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company closes its 428 grocery stores in Cleveland rather than recognize workers' right to unionize. . . . King of Siam, upset because his right to pardon condemned persons is abrogated, threatens to abdicate. . . . Farley blames "dumb stenographer" for sending out letter endorsing Upton Sinclair.

Sunday.—I.L.D. again demands Federal action in Neal lynching. . . . Federal Emergency Relief Administration will buy 100,000 bushels of potatoes in Long Island to distribute to New York needy "to help needy farmers." . . . William Green, A.F. of L. head, says unem-

ployment is rising. . . . Father Coughlin, back on the air, attacks Liberty League as "mouthpiece of the bankers."

Monday.—A. & P. strike spreads to its stores in Milwaukee as National Labor Relations Board calls for one of those conferences. . . . Public Works Administration asks \$12 billion fund for five year public works program "to end large-scale relief expenditures." . . . Average public works "wages" recently were \$10 weekly, Federal Relief Administrator Hopkins admits. . . . Mussolini supervises some of the military officials starting to train all Italian males between ages of 8 and 33 in drills and use of arms. . . . Huge street demonstrations of protest held in Dublin as President De Valera receives Hitler's new minister, Wilhelm von Kuhlmann. . . . Britain and U. S. expect no success in their efforts to get Japan to give up her demand for naval equality. . . . Notorious "Protocols of Zion" forged by Czarist agents, Swiss Nazi trial reveals.

Tuesday.—Albany police club, jail New York hunger marchers seeking to enter Albany to demand relief. . . . DuPonts contributed \$432,000 in past 15 years to campaign funds and "gifts," mainly to Republicans. . . . At least two workers shot, scores hurt when police fire on picket line of Denver relief strikers. . . . French Army ready to "act" in Saar basin "to prevent Nazi putsch" in coming plebescite. Government report shows American shipowners underpay, overwork crews, even on ships operating under mail subsidies.