

# new Masses

SEPTEMBER 25, 1934

THE Communist contention that the capitalist commonwealth is balanced on the points of its bayonets was never more clearly shown than during the past week. The locale of the demonstration was the textile strike, now in its third week. The employers, exasperated at the bare-armed resistance of the strikers to machine-guns, bestirred themselves in the way they best understand: the use of more machine-guns. Woonsocket and Saylesville and Honea Path—12 workers dead—had not terrified the strikers. The operators demanded more troops, more guns, more force. And they are getting all. Martial law governs Georgia. The Guardsmen are double-quicking it in ten states. The President of the United States was on the verge of ordering Federal troops to Rhode Island. Three battalions of the 16th Infantry awaited orders to move “to crush violence.” Squadrons of military planes waited like buzzards to hop off from Mitchell Field. But the President’s advisers suddenly remembered that all other presidents who had shipped troops to strike areas failed of re-election. They delayed Roosevelt’s decisions. Marching through Georgia today are helmeted National Guardsmen kidnaping strikers, imprisoning them in 100 percent American concentration camps. Very significant it is for Dixie, that of the 200 arrested many were Negro men and women who had fought side by side with their white comrades. Carloads of heavily armed guardsmen are speeding through the state—like Hitler’s June 30th S. S. men—battering their way through picket lines, clubbing, jailing, their guns cocked to kill. Governor Talmadge comments approvingly on General Camp, of the National Guard, “Lindley Camp has caught the flying squadron and is on his way to Atlanta with it.”

IF anyone still questions whose National Guard it is, let him consider the following Associated Press reports:

At Griffin, Ga., eleven mills opened as National Guardsmen formed lines for the workers to enter the property. . . .

Mills at Augusta continued operating



“NO ONE WILL STARVE”

Jacob Burck

and the Bibb mill near Columbus was reopened under National Guard and civil officers. . . .

At Porterdales, Ga., three mills of the Bibb Manufacturing Company resumed operation at 9:30 A. M. when two National Guard companies arrived. . . .

But the textile workers revolting against stretch-out as barbarous as the medieval rack and screw, are fighting like only workers in rebellion—Heaven-stormers, Marx called them—can. The news services admitted that the “counter-offensive” of the bosses in the South “resulted in 20 mills reopening out of hundreds closed . . . a return of 4,000 out of 172,476 on strike.”

BULLETS alone cannot stampede rebelling workers back into starvation. Governor Green of Rhode Island, millionaire collector of Japanese prints, learned this after his troops shot down scores and killed two in Woonsocket and Saylesville. The strike there, like in the South, continues. It grows. His tirade against the Reds was aimed to corral support from all classes for his Fascistic violence. “The state is confronted by a Communist insurrection and not a textile strike,” he said. That, too, was the opinion of Floor Leader Harry Bodwell (R.) who thundered, “The very pillars of society are being seriously threatened by flares of Communism. This is no strike. It is an insurrection. . . .” Insurrection? The

rebellious strikers, like the murdered sailor in *Potemkin*, "ask for little." Shorter hours, the end of speedup, a slight increase in wages and recognition of the union. This is Red anarchy! Communist insurrection! And General Hugh Johnson blurted at Carnegie Hall, "When I think of George Sloan, my heart weeps." Who is George Sloan? A textile striker mowed down by 32 slugs? No, George Sloan is head of the textile manufacturers' association!

THE Secretary of the Communist Party, Earl Browder, minced no words with the Governor of Rhode Island. "You know," he wired Gov. Green, "that your talk about Communist insurrection is conscious lying to hide your responsibility for ordering cold-blooded murder of textile pickets." Browder demanded that the military be withdrawn. He termed the attacks upon the Communists "who give all efforts to help with the strike for more decent conditions" an integrated part of the whole strikebreaking program which includes "the Fascist denial of elementary civil rights." The Communists, he said, are "mobilizing workers and all enemies of your Fascist program" for national protest. And this protest is rising over the country. It is mounting not only against the naked terrorism of the state government: it smashes also against the treacherous policies of the A. F. of L. leaders. Yesterday they talked fight; today, it is mediation. Tomorrow, it will be cowardly compromise. They go through the motions of opposition to General Johnson. They know well that the tongue is Johnson's but the thought, Roosevelt's. Yet they consistently drum up confidence "in our President." And our President, that smug, shrewd demagogue at one moment weighs the advisability of sending Federal troops into the strike areas and the next is off for the yacht races at Newport, R. I., a few miles from the slaughter-house of Saylesville and Woonsocket, R. I.

PROTEST rises everywhere as the strikers' heroism becomes known nationally. And they need the support of the entire working-class, of honest men and women in all strata of society. The A. F. of L. leadership refuses to issue a call to its millions of members to raise relief. Other workingmen and friends have banded together for this purpose in such organizations as the Workers' International Relief and the New York

Provisional Committee for the Relief of Textile Strikers, at 870 Broadway, N. Y. And more, even the military is raising its voice in protest. Working-class youths in uniform, members of the 212th Anti-Aircraft Regiment of the New York National Guard wired Governor Blackwood of South Carolina, protesting the use of "National Guardsmen as strikebreakers." Most stirring of all, perhaps, was the sympathetic one day general strike in Hazleton, Pa., in the heart of the anthracite country. There 25,000 miners marched in support of their brothers in textile. They closed down every shop, every store, every factory. Not a tippie sounded, not a newspaper appeared. Everybody was on the streets in support of the greatest strike in American labor history.

THE principal afterthoughts we have of the munitions inquiry by the Senate up to date are the tender loving-kindness with which Senators Nye, et al. have been treating the blueblooded criminals at the head of the American Death-trust, the constant mysterious pressure for silence exerted by the War, Navy, and State Departments, and the general shallowness and inadequacy of the whole show. True, as we related last week, it is a scandal and scarification to the pious leeches who profit most from the business, to the "Liberty-league" Du Ponts, even to King George who was forced to wash his hands in public of the charge of throne-room gun-peddling. But in the main the stories of interlocking sales agreements by Metro-Vickers, Soley and Company, Du Pont and the notorious Sir Basil Zaharoff were well known, in substance, before the investigation began. These firms and individuals have never made any distinction between "enemy" countries and their own. Together they constitute the monstrous pyramid of Imperialist heavy industry, dominating all other national or international interests and recognizing no frontiers. These facts have merely been given wider circulation by the limelight on the Nye committee room. There are fresh signs this week that the limelight is becoming increasingly painful to the father of the New Deal and his boys.

THE investigations took a new turn this week, of much more direct interest to the masses who have to be the targets of the munitions. The inquiry into the Pratt-Whitney airplane corpora-

tion on Monday, September 17, seems to us the most important single day of the sitting. Pratt & Whitney are a subsidiary of United Aircraft, controlled by National City Bank. It was shown that there had been a tremendous increase in United Aircraft business in Germany during the first eight months of this year. All the sales of this company abroad during that period totaled \$1,753,645. Of this sum \$1,445,913 represented sales to Germany alone. Donald L. Brown, President of Pratt and Whitney, offered the usual diplomatic evasion that "Our information was that the shipments were not for military purposes." He also said that not an engine had been shipped to Germany without the knowledge and consent of the United States Government. In other words, the astounding admission was made that the U. S. Government is an avowed party to arming Hitler in support of the Nazi terror against German workers, and in violation of the Treaty of Versailles! No less interesting is the admission of the fact, as reported in the New York Times, that the Department of Commerce in Washington, through its aviation section, aided in the procurement of American instructors for Chinese aviators. As may be expected following this, the United Aircraft did a big business selling airplanes to the murderous Nanking Government for the purpose of bombing revolutionary Chinese populations and the Red Armies of China. The same Pratt and Whitney Corporation admitted having fished in the profitable war business of Bolivia, Columbia and Peru, where it was previously shown that American army and navy officers had helped sell the war products of the Electric Boat Co., and other American munitions firms. These devious operations of one arm of the international mass undertakers and munitions assassins were carried out with the direct patronage of the President's Cabinet members, and should shatter the illusions of those who believe that "government control" will put an end to the "illicit" sale of munitions. All sale of munitions is "illicit," but munitions are already "government controlled" for and in the interests of big industries whose willing tools the governments are. . . . The Senate committee on investigation of the munitions industry has hinted that it will look into the question of who sells the gasbombs and other "full equipment of all types of arms" with which the National Guard and the private guerillas of the



textile owners have been supplied to murder workers and break the textile strike. But before the members of the Nye Committee have got far into the No Man's Land of the textile massacres, they will probably take a dose of sleeping gas themselves.

**M**ASS protests that reached gigantic proportions in New York City last weekend greeted Mayor LaGuardia's cold-blooded bluff to stop relief checks. All over the greater city area jobless delegations stormed the relief bureaus. On Monday the National Unemployment Councils threw picket lines around the Home Relief Bureau at 30 Sheriff Street. The day following, all white collar emergency employes and professional relief workers stopped work from 2 to 4 P. M. These actions were a protest against the use of relief workers as pawns in the political squabbles at City Hall. Demonstrators demanded that the city use \$39,000,000 which Comptroller McGoldrick admitted could be spent at the Mayor's or his own discretion. By Tuesday morning it was announced that LaGuardia had ordered Commissioner Hodson to send out the usual Saturday and Monday paychecks totalling \$882,000. But both Mayor and Commissioner continued to delay on the question whether work relief wages or home relief allotments

would be paid. Finally the fecund Fiorullo hatched a 3-point tax plan based largely on a lottery.

**T**HE business tax which LaGuardia has sponsored all along was as vicious as his present proposal since both taxes must be paid by the masses through increases in the prices of commodities. The threat to cut off work relief served two purposes: (1) to arouse popular fury against the Democratic Aldermen and thus force them to pass the business tax bill, and (2) to gauge just to what degree work relief could be safely curtailed. The magnificent retaliation by organized mass pressure is the answer to this latest heartless experiment practised at the expense of the suffering, famished millions on relief. It is scarcely necessary to analyze the Mayor's three-point tax plan. Its 1/10 of 1 percent tax on gross corporation receipts will be passed on, of course, to the consumer. Its tax of 15 percent of the amount of Federal income tax adds to the already intolerable tax burden on the small salaried majority. It provides a lottery plan in which memberships in the municipal relief association would be sold for \$2.50—and this membership becomes a lottery ticket. This means that the unemployed and the workers would be mulcted of \$2.50 to hold on to their jobs or their

relief payments. Finally, the plan would yield less than one-third of the city's already inadequate relief funds. Once again, therefore, the attempt is made to shift the burden of relief from the bankers onto the shoulders of millions in need. The working masses will reply to this and all other schemes of relief robbery by a mass "March of the Forgotten Man" on City Hall. Three hundred and fifty thousand leaflets have been issued calling for marchers to mobilize at Union Square Saturday morning at 10 o'clock.

**A**MERICAN capitalism, in its open assaults on the workers, meets today with a kind of resistance that is unprecedented in its bandit career. It must be bewildering to the agents of big business in California, for example, to see militant organizations swinging back into action within a few short weeks after the murderous raids throughout that state. The "death blow to Communism," the "war of extermination" failed to come off, for here are a few recent events in California: Darcy-for-Governor headquarters are opened in San Francisco and Sacramento to push the candidacy of Sam Darcy, Communist leader. Leo Gallagher, supported by Communists and left-wing workers for the Supreme Court, polls 180,000 votes in the primary. Pat Chambers, Albert Hougardy and a score of other strike leaders, are conducting campaigns for office while in jail or under indictment. Paul and Violet Orr, whose home was sacked, are running for office in Contra Costa County. The Western Worker, "suppressed" by fire and vandalism, comes out regularly twice a week and has brought suit for \$3,000 damages against police heads and 9 "John Does" in the police department. Other organizations are also suing for an additional \$3,500 for property damaged. Several of the famous "thousand-dollar vagrant" cases have been won by mass pressure. Vigorous protests forced the return of five class war prisoners from the chain gang to El Centro County jail in the Imperial Valley. Demonstrations are regularly held in San Francisco, Los Angeles and points between. An attempt to bar workers from relief for their political opinions, headed by welfare chief Wollenberg, of San Francisco, was exposed and defeated. George Anderson, lawyer for the International Labor Defense, aroused San Franciscans by charging that Judge Steiger had visited six defendants in their cells and

## new Masses

VOL. XII, No. 13

CONTENTS

SEPTEMBER 25, 1934

Editorial Comment.....	3
The Week's Papers .....	8
The Soviet Union in the League.....	9
Terror in Rhode Island as the Textile Strike Grows, by Walter Snow; On the Picket Line, by Merle Colby; A Letter from the Soviet Silk Workers..	10
The Newspaper on the Ice Floe.....	15
Underground Journalism....John Roman	16
March of the Native Bezprizorni W. D. Trowbridge	17
Romanticism and Communism Genevieve Taggard	18
Solidarity.....John Mullen	21
Witness at Leipzig.....Edwin Rolfe	22

Correspondence .....	23
Books .....	24
Still on the Sidelines, by Joseph North; Not So Slow, by Edwin Seaver; No Salvation by Art, by Isidor Schneider; Return to Faith, by David Ramsey; Salamandar and Politics, by Granville Hicks; Brief Reviews.	
The Theatre: Judgment Day George Willson	28
In a Burst of Fury.....Robert Forsythe	29
A Revolutionary Film.....Peter Ellis	30
Between Ourselves .....	30
Drawings by B. Limbach, Jacob Burck, Philip Nes- bitt, Page.	

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178

"sentenced" them there and then without trials. On August 28, a strike of 5,000 lettuce pickers was called in the Salinas Valley, and a widespread cotton strike is under way in other parts of the state. The crowning arrogance of California fascist courts is the indictment for perjury of nine working-class leaders for having circulated petitions last spring to put the Communist candidates on the state ballot. Answering this move, a technical maneuver to illegalize the Communist Party, Anita Whitney, one of the accused and a veteran fighter for workers' rights on the Coast, said, "These bosses' servants have thrown down the gauntlet of war and we are ready to take it up!"

**T**HE California Vigilantes, despite the failure of their efforts to suppress militant struggles against hunger and slavery in their own state, have marched on Washington, with grandiose hopes of becoming the "National Vigilantes of 1934." They have opened an office in the National Press Building of that city, under the name of "America First! Inc." The forces behind this group are the old guard of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Industrial Association, and the corrupt Steamship Lobby. Robert B. Armstrong, named as vice-president of America First! Inc., is also vice-president of the Los Angeles Steamship Co., and shares his Washington offices with the L. A. Chamber of Commerce and with R. B. Armstrong, Jr., of the Washington Western News Service. The announced program states that America First! Inc., will "protect the Constitution from subversive attacks" and will "cooperate with the leading patriotic societies, chambers of commerce and trade associations." This means that it will attempt a greater centralization of the thug-trust and red-baiter's monopoly, while spreading the California brand of industrial slavery. America First! Inc., like the American Liberty League and other spawn of growing Fascism, will only raise the slogans of "liberty" and "constitutionalism" so long as these slogans successfully conceal their real purpose of suppression. When concealment yields to exposure, they will be driven to the Mussolini slogan: "*Liberty is a rotten carcass!*"

**W**E are very much relieved and quite reassured. Being historical materialists, we had thought, it seems erroneously, that five years of crisis had

seriously harmed our cultural and artistic life. And being investigators of sorts, we had thought we had ascertained and proved, as it were, that libraries were being closed and their appropriations cut, that thousands of schools were shut down and others overcrowded, that even moving picture audiences had fallen off twenty five percent, that symphony orchestras were in dire straits and first rate musicians unemployed, that book publishing had dropped, that even pulp magazines, which are a great cultural force, had gone out of business, that the Graphic, Mcfadden daily, had suspended publication, that theatres were closed—in short, that culture, bourgeois culture, as we called it, was afflicted. But it took only one meeting on Sept. 13 to show us that we were just ignorant, and probably damned, Reds. The meeting was attended by Dr. Ira S. Wiley, former Commissioner of Education (and lecturer in psychology and allied matters at the New School), Colonel H. Edmund Bullis, executive officer of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene; Philip N. Youtz, director of the Brooklyn Museum of Art; H. M. Lydenberg, associate director of the N. Y. Public Library, and Forrest Grant, director of art in the N. Y. city public schools. And these people told us where we get off, especially Dr. Wile. Newspaper report read: "President Roosevelt's program has given the people a new opportunity for mental and spiritual development, for self-expression and for the promotion of happiness, . . . Dr. Wile pointed out that this opportunity, fostered by increasing facilities for education, for musical and art appreciation, for government sponsored drama and similar cultural movements, has been 'eagerly grasped' by the public with 'vastly beneficial results' . . . We must not let . . . (these) . . . pass out of the picture with the return of prosperity." (What, *hasn't* it returned already, Dr.?) But the coup de grace was given to us by Colonel Bullis who proves that there is "increasing mental health the country over." At first we couldn't quite understand. But then we worked it out: Health is a function of exercise; therefore mental health is increasing because the masses are exercising their minds more, *thinking* about the N.R.A., the election campaign, about the united front of the working-class against the bosses, *thinking* in short. Thank you, colonel. As the followers of Dr. Divine say, "It's wonderful!"

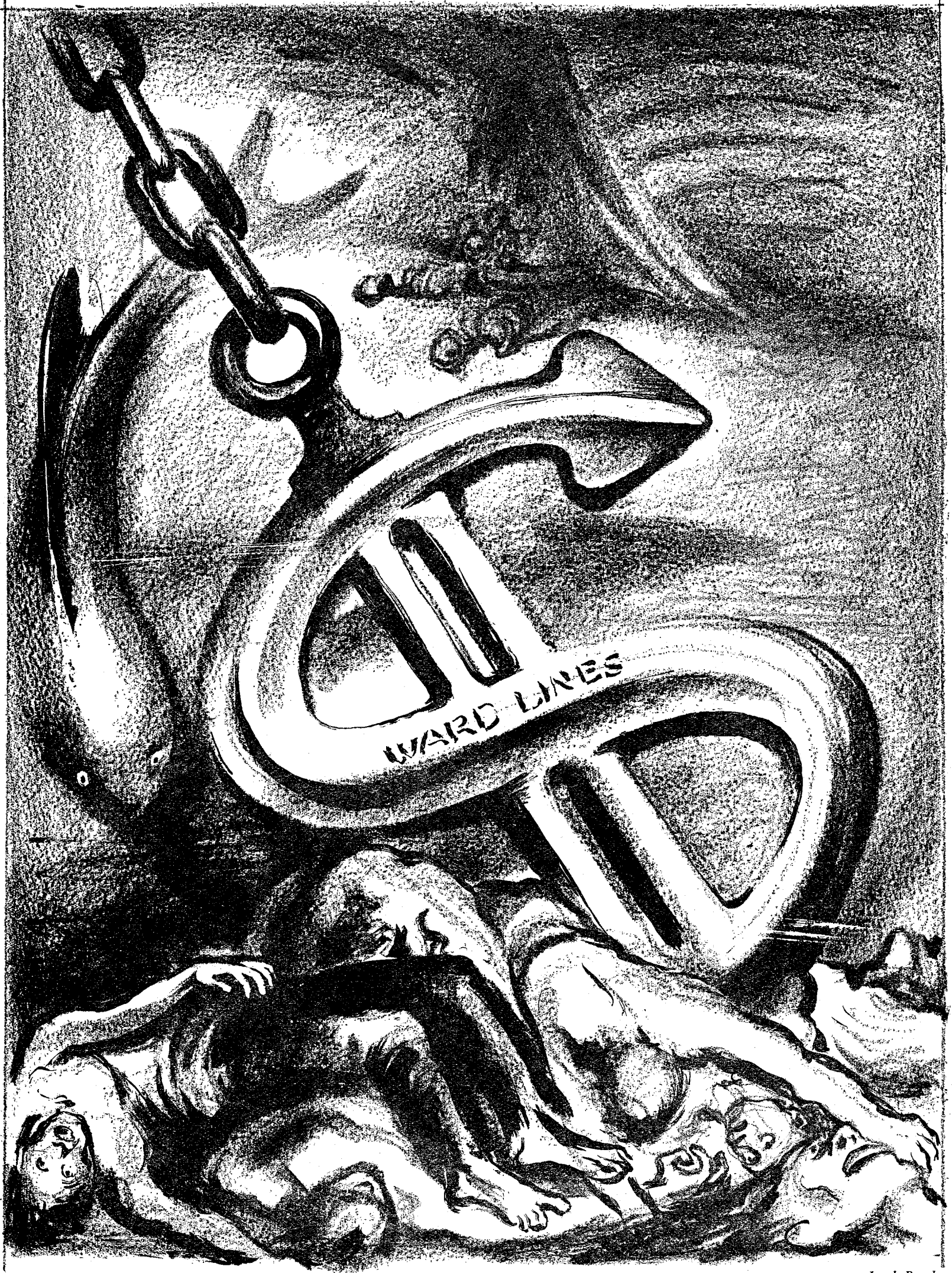
**A** POWERFUL kind of unity does exist in at least one spot in the United States. In the little town of Martins Ferry, Ohio, we have the not unusual spectacle of the working-class backing the rights of a professional worker, a case made unusual by the wide united front character of the defense. James Stevenson, history teacher in the local high school, has not been reappointed by the school board. Recently the board went further: it abolished the position altogether. The following item, tucked away on the woman's page of the Herald-Tribune, between a bridge article, carries information of tremendous importance about the political development of the working-class:

MARTINS FERRY, OHIO, Sept. 2 (UP.)—Unless James Stevenson is reappointed history teacher in the local high school, a school strike will be called and offices and homes of school members will be picketed, according to resolutions adopted by United Mine Workers Local No. 71 and Branch 4513, International Workers Order. Stevenson was not reappointed this year and the school board recently abolished the position.

This struggle to defend a single teacher's livelihood is clearly to the workers a struggle to defend the educational rights of their children. And we have here a militant united front between a local of the American Federation of Labor and a branch of the International Workers Order. In small events of this nature, in many corners of the United States, the working-class demonstrates daily the growth of unity, theoretical understanding, and political militancy among its members.

**T**HE Macaulay Company, which three months ago was forced to give way to the growing movement of unionization in the white collar class, has again attempted to defy this irresistible movement. On Friday, September 14, it dismissed four union members constituting the entire shop committee. The discharged employees included people essential to the conduct of the business—the two editors, the telephone operator, and the bookkeeper—a fact which destroys the company's claim that the action was dictated purely by bad business conditions. Three shipping room workers, who had scabbed during the first strike, were retained, and an attempt was made to bribe the other workers, the publicity department secretary and two members of the book-





Jacob Burck

AT THE BOTTOM OF THE CASE



keeping staff, by giving them raises. Of these two, Frieda Seiden and Betty Falk in the bookkeeping department, unhesitatingly spurned the bribe and joined in the strike that was immediately called. As in the previous strike, the authors collaborated magnificently along with workers from other publishing houses, book shops, literary agencies, artistic critics, and workers recruited by the Office Workers' Union.

**O**RGANIZED by a group of writers and artists around **THE NEW MASSES** in the fall of 1929, the John Reed Club of New York was the first of a number of similar groups formed in places as far apart as Boston and

Oklahoma City, New Haven and Hollywood, Seattle and Philadelphia. Many of the clubs are located in the Midwest, with Chicago as the regional center. These groups have played a leading role in building the foundation of a proletarian culture in this country. They have transformed art forms in the United States like the "chalk-talk," into effective means of propaganda. They have aided the workers in their demonstrations and mass meetings by freely contributing their artistic talents. In addition to organizational and agitational work, John Reed Club members have produced magazines and books of literary criticism, poetry, fiction, reportage; they have helped to

edit working-class papers and to write mass leaflets. In a number of cities, the John Reed Clubs were the first organizations to win middle-class intellectuals and professionals to the revolutionary movement. Delegates from these clubs will meet in Chicago during September 28-30, to work out plans for future activities. Among the topics to be discussed at this national meeting are: plans for J.R.C. magazines, the relationship of N.R.A. and the artist, the extension of work among Negro intellectuals, traveling exhibits, the terror against revolutionary cultural groups in California, etc. The meeting will take place at the Chicago John Reed Club, 505 South State Street.

## The Week's Papers

**W**EDNESDAY, Sept. 12.—Eight shot, many hurt, in strike clashes at Woonsocket and Saylesville, R. I. . . . 20,000 prepare to strike Monday in New Jersey dye mills. . . . National Association of Manufacturers advises employers to ignore Labor Board ruling enforcing majority rule in collective bargaining by unions. . . . Morro Castle radio chief declares captain delayed sending SOS. . . . Roosevelt says both Republicans and Democrats in office use relief funds to build up political machines. . . . Du Pont Company profits were \$1,245,000,000 allowing dividends of 458 percent on stock, munitions inquiry reveals. . . . Drastic anti-picketing injunction issued against shoe workers in New Jersey despite recent Federal Court victory won by furniture workers in their strike.

Thursday.—Captain of Dollar liner Cleveland accused by officers of laxity in extending aid to Morro Castle victims. . . . Rhode Island legislature refuses to authorize Governor Green to call for Federal troops in textile strike. . . . Injunction restrains New Jersey silk workers from striking or talking strike. . . . Edgar H. Furlong, 34, striking relief worker of Nutley, N. J., arrested by overseer for non-support of family. . . . Secretary of Treasury Morgenthau modifies recent ban preventing Federal employes from engaging in political activities. . . . John D. Rockefeller, Sr., failing in health.

Friday.—With thirty-odd million dollars in treasury, New York City announces it is "broke" and stops cash relief to needy families. . . . Illicit inflammable polishes used on Morro Castle, inquiry is told. . . . Du Ponts hired spy to sell arms to Germany through "bootleg" trade channels, munitions probe told. . . . Gen. Johnson says textile strike is "absolute violation" of United Textile Workers' Union agreement with Government and that industry is last in which to call strike because "code doubled cost of cotton goods." . . . Eleven prominent men, members of the executive committee of the failed New York Title and Mortgage Trust Company, indicted in New York for making deceptive financial statement.

Saturday.—Blue Eagle is ordered withdrawn from Houde Engineering Company, Buffalo, for its refusal to bargain collectively with union employes. . . . Francis J. Gorman, textile strike leader, calls for resignation of Gen. Johnson. . . . Industrial leaders at secret conference map plan to scrap New Deal enactments, establish monopoly cartels. . . . Andrew Mellon sued on charges of income tax frauds. . . . National Labor Board orders election by Kohler Co. employes to choose collective bargaining representatives; rules company violated N.R.A. labor section. . . . "Outside interests" started the present textile strike, Henry Ford asserts.

Sunday.—Richberg and Johnson row over appointment of Mrs. Rosenberg as New York State director of N.R.A. Council. . . . Thirty-five Philadelphia labor groups ask immediate resignation of Johnson. . . . Two killed by shots when Jefferson County, Ala., miners try to unionize a mine. . . . North Hollywood, Cal., business men, in effort to save money, sweep town's streets.

Monday.—America's Cup races start at Newport. . . . Pratt and Whitney, organized with capital of \$1,000, made \$11,437,250 profits in eight years, munitions investigation reveals. . . . Relief check payments resumed in New York under plan to increase taxes and start a lottery. . . . Stock prices sink to approximate lows of year. . . . Net income of Pennsylvania Railroad for first seven months of this year are \$10,920,908. . . . Jimmy McLarnin wins welterweight title in bout with Barney Ross.

Tuesday.—Secretary Cordell Hull says State Department opposes sale of munitions to Germany, but munitions inquiry reveals traffic is large. . . . Federal bank examination rules relaxed to ease credit. . . . New York merchants start drive to use scab labor on piers. . . . Passaic police brutally club textile strike pickets. . . . Government warns public to beware of accepting counterfeit \$100 bill. . . . Macaulay Publishing Company workers strike against discriminatory dismissals of employes. . . . Nome, Alaska, in ruins following a fire.