

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 18

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

Labor Marshalls Forces for Banner May Day

Raw Deal Put Over In Akron

Green & Co. Surpass All Records For Treachery

By ART PREIS
AKRON, O., April 14.—The great strike involving 35,000 Akron rubber workers, which was to set the spark to the 1935 wave of strike struggles in America, is over before it began—the latest and most sinister betrayal of organized labor by William Green and his lieutenants. A group of militant progressives, which has been growing in the last few weeks, led the opposition battle and, only after hours of desperate fighting, was defeated by the better organized official machine, which finally shoved through the agreement by a series of deceptive maneuvers and outright railroadings. This progressive tendency, which has been greatly strengthened and clarified by the events of the last 4 hours, will find a clear public expression in a mass meeting to be held by the Akron branch of the W. P. April 17, at which James P. Cannon will analyze the betrayal and outline the next steps in the fight to build an effective union.

The Game of Delays
The imposing of the treacherous agreement upon the rubber workers and the breaking of the strike by the A. F. of L. officialdom followed a carefully designed course. The strike, which has been looming for eighteen months past, was delayed month after month on the urging of the A. F. of L. officials, even after the rubber companies brazenly defined the rulings of the National Labor Relations Board that an election be held on the matter of representation for collective bargaining. When the government further demonstrated its unwillingness or inability to enforce its own ruling, these officials continued to point to the government as the agency from which union recognition might be secured instead of to the mass strength and militant action of the workers.

Last Minute Promises
Following an overwhelming vote by the unions last week in favor of strike, a last-hour course of delay was pursued by the A. F. of L. leaders in order to give the forces of the national government and local press a chance to get into full play. Every effort to set a definite strike date was deliberately brushed aside. While still urging the workers to prepare for action, the officials implanted in the minds of the inexperienced union members the belief that a strike might still be averted and that the demands for union recognition might be secured through the intervention of Francis Perkins and the pressure of the government.

As late as twelve hours before the signing of the actual agreement, Claherty and other organizers boldly proclaimed through the press that they would agree to nothing less than an election conducted by the Department of Labor off the companies' properties, in which the companies would unconditionally recognize the group securing the majority vote. It cannot be doubted that the terms of the final settlement were well known to Green, Claherty and Co. even while these misleading statements were being made to disarm the workers and leave them unprepared for the last crushing blow.

C. P. Plays Claherty's Game
A new angle was the role of the Communist Party in the Akron betrayal. During the last and most critical days leading up to the debacle, the C.P. in effect collaborated with the A. F. of L. officials, and in return for an indirect endorsement from the A. F. of L. leaders withheld all criticism of the obvious step-by-step course of treachery. The "non-aggression pact" with a vengeance!

Claherty, Bill Green's personal agent and chief figure in the betrayal, was several times played up in the Daily Worker during the past week in militant role. His statement that "he was not going to fight the communists, etc." was

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The Betrayal in Rubber—And the Road Ahead

By JAMES P. CANNON

AKRON, April 15.—After 18 months of organizing work and preparation the rubber workers went to Washington to get union recognition, the 30-hour week and the abolition of the company unions, no mention of the 30-hour week and a pledge, signed by their representatives, to surrender the strike weapon while the courts dispose of their "case" and the rubber production season slides down to its low point.

It was a deliberate, cold-blooded betrayal—the auto, steel and textile run-around all over again, with fancy trimmings. Scientific treachery reached its "peak" in the experience of the rubber workers, but in the furious reaction of the rank and file to this perfidy—if it is harnessing to a searching analysis of its technique—there is the making of a powerful movement for genuine unionism which can set the pace for the entire country.

An open struggle on the picket lines—the only place where any of the new unions can really be consolidated and "recognized"—is out of the question at present; the strike has been knocked in the head as effectively as slugs at the stockyards, armed with sledgehammers, knock over a steer. The rubber unions are dizzy from the cruel blows which have been dealt to them in the past week-end, but they are not dead by a long shot. The roar of militant protest and denunciation, which rose from the floor at Sunday's membership meetings, is the sign of unconquerable vitality, the promise of recovery from the cruel defeat. This will take time. What is possible right now, and what is needed, is a searching inquiry into the causes of the defeat; a probe of the complicated system of maneuvers and tricks

which left the rubber workers bewildered and helpless at the decisive moment. This is the task of the hour. The rest will follow.

As in the case of nearly all of the new mass unions which have sprung up in the past two years, the mass of the members at Akron, including even the best elements of the local leadership, entertained the greatest illusions about the policy and role of the government in the situation. They thought the government was on their side and depended on it to help them. This was a fatal miscalculation which ought to be clear enough now.

The policy of the government all along has been to stall and delay action, involve the workers in a labyrinth of hearings, appeals and negotiations, and paralyze the preparations for a decisive battle until the peak of the production season had passed. Then, at the decisive moment, Madame Perkins misused the confidence of the workers to shift the scene away from the picket line to Washington. There the stage was all set and the infamous pact was stamped through. The bosses got what they wanted—with the government seal on it. No wonder they are "jubilant." T. G. Graham, Goodrich vice-president, said: "The agreement puts everything back in the same status it was before the Washington conference." He was right, and so was F. O. Harold, Goodrich union delegate to the Central Labor Union, when he said: "The agreement doesn't give us a thing."

But the most important feature of this agreement that "doesn't give us a thing" is the fact that the government put it over, just as the government put over similar deals on the auto, steel and textile workers. This is the

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Resentment Is Bitter Over Trickery of "Settlement"

Inside Story of the Battle in Rubber Unions

By JACK WILSON

The railroadings of the sell-out agreement arranged by Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy on Akron's big three rubber workers' unions this week put to shame the lousy auto-code agreement or any other previous capitulation of William Green to President Roosevelt and his other agents of capitalism.

Twenty workers at the Goodyear local walked out, half-sick, half-crying, Saturday, April 13, when they received a report that Green, Coleman Claherty (his rubber organizer) and the Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone local presidents had signed an agreement in Washington which gave away the right to strike, didn't abolish the company unions and left all jurisdiction in labor disputes to a government board, not yet selected and having no power to enforce its decisions.

Nothing Is Too Low
While company union men jubilantly said, "Why it gives them nothing," and the rubber barons smiled, an aroused rank and file prepared to fight the treacherous betrayal in the Sunday meetings. But they didn't know to what depths the bureaucrats would stoop in an effort to smash the strike. They found out.

Claherty, red-faced and shifting uneasily from foot to foot, had scarcely finished reading the so-called agreement when a rank and file at Goodrich, shouted, "Where'd you get the guts to bring back that god-damned sell-out to us?" to the thunderous applause of other workers. More criticism was hurled as Claherty retreated and finally sat down, apparently defeated. His henchmen then began their work. Smooth tongues argued, "we must support our leaders," and similar blather. It seemed to do little good. A vote was called. About one third of the Goodrich workers raised their hands in approval. The chairman said: "It evidently has passed." No negative vote was taken after the meeting was over

Goodrich workers walked out cursing, looking lost and humiliated. Claherty had "won over" the strongest local union.

The Rout at Firestone
Firestone was next. Shouts of betrayal, sell-out, down with the A. F. of L., bitter threats, more curses and eloquent speeches by progressives but to no avail. "Goodrich won't walk out and you boys can't do it alone. Why not be sensible. This is just a foothold, we'll get more later." Three hours of this and the Firestone workers gave up in disgust.

Goodyear workers were better prepared to meet the onslaught. Four days ago the progressives realized what would be done. They began organizing for a fight. Reports of the Goodrich meeting came in and inflamed the workers. The meeting began at the same time as Firestone's. Regular business took an hour and then John House, president read the "agreement."

A progressive from the rear immediately made a motion to repudiate the "agreement" signed. House ruled it out of order and said the approach would have to be a positive motion. He won.

A "Bold" Faker
Then a barrage by progressives placed throughout the hall sent House scurrying to cover. "I'll bust any guy in the face that says I want this agreement or that I sold out. You boys decide this," he temporized.

"We've had 18 months of boards. This is full of loop holes, Claherty has betrayed us. This means proportional representation. We won't want to depend on the government or Francis Perkins!", progressives argued while the Goodyear workers cheered them on.

A recognized progressive leader got up. He took the agreement from House's hands. He could barely speak he was so indignant. He threw the agreement on the floor. "It's not worth a damn. This is what I think of it." Shouts of approval encouraged him... then the telephone rang. "Firestone boys are giving in, looks like they'll approve the agreement." The speaker almost bawled; other progressives became sick in the pits of their

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Eight Are Sentenced On Coast

Two Refuse Mercy; Scorn Court in Speeches

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—The eight militant workers who were convicted on April 1 of criminal syndicalism were sentenced for indeterminate terms of one to fourteen years by Judge Dal Lemmon last Saturday, after he had denied a motion for a new trial.

The Judge refused to consider the affidavit of juror Howard McIntire, obtained by the N.P.L.D., in which he swore that the verdict was not the expression of the jury's actual opinion, but was the result of a compromise, a horse-trade. "As I view the affidavit," said the Judge, "it means absolutely nothing in this court, it is foreign matter, and the juror is precluded from questioning his own verdict." The opinion of the jury "foreign matter" in a courtroom!

Those sentenced were Pat Chambers, Caroline Decker, Norman Mini, Lorene Norman, Jack Crane, Albert Houghard, Martin Wilson and Nora Conklin.

Refuse Probation
Lorene Norman and Norman Mini who both received a recommendation from the jury refused to ask for probation before the Judge.

"I feel," said Lorene Norman, "that an application for probation would be an admission of guilt, therefore I will make none in this or any other court."

Norman Mini, after summarily refusing to apply for probation was asked the usual question whether he could advance any reason why he should not be sentenced.

"Yes," he said. "Our standing here is no accident. Our conviction is the logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day generate an irresistible wave that will sweep everything this court and this State represents away forever. With this knowledge we can face our sentences confidently; because we know that the future belongs to us."

NUL is Active Thruout Ohio

ALLIANCE, Ohio, April 16.—Four hundred Stark County Unemployed Leagueers force through coal orders. Wire to Governor Davey demanding coal in 24 hours; or else! Davey sent coal!

WAYNESBURG, Ohio, April 15.—Local No. 6 Stark County Unemployed League supporting strike of Waynesburg Tile workers, mass picketing, defying injunction. Other League send pickets. For union recognition.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, April 15.—Ohio Unemployed League organization campaign on the way; six county conventions in six days. Truar, president OUL, at conventions of Anglaise, Putnam, Williams, Wood, Hancock counties, Says Truar, "Other conventions in line. State will be organized solid; no time to loose."

NEW LEXINGTON, Ohio, April 15.—The Perry County Unemployed League on strike today. Mass picketing closing down all projects. Against cut from 50 to 45¢ per hour. For a new relief administration. The unemployed answer the Roosevelt wage cut program with mass action.

FORT WAYNE.—Arnold Johnson, Secretary of the National Unemployed League, spoke here on Friday, April 12. Over 200 listened attentively as Johnson outlined the program of the N.U.L. The Allen County U. L. is reorganizing and a state convention of the U. L. is being called in June. Harry Conner, the president of the A.C.U.L. has announced that an intensive drive is to be made in Northern Indiana in the next three weeks.

Union Turnout to Be Biggest in Years

First May Day Finds Workers Party in Forefront of Important Labor Battles

By A. J. MUSTE

All reports about May Day preparations indicate that more American workers and more trade unions will participate in demonstrations this year than ever before. These workers are more militant, more free from illusions, more in the mood for new adventures than at any previous period. For the Workers Party of the U. S. observing its first May Day this is the most significant feature of this year's celebration. Its meaning must be clearly understood. It must be utilized to the fullest extent in all speeches and discussions on May Day, as well as in all our work in the ensuing months.

Workers Party To March With Unions in N.Y.

May Day United Fronts Concluded in Other Cities

The Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League, their friends and supporters, will assemble in front of their headquarters, 2 West 15th Street, for the huge May First parade and demonstration. This section of the parade will be headed by eight large red flags and the banners of the Workers Party and the Spartacus Youth League.

Besides the general slogans of the united front, numerous other floats and slogans are being prepared. The Spartacus Youth League in uniform will march along with the Workers Party. Workers Party May Day buttons are already being sold. A special May Day manifesto is being issued by the National Committee.

Ten thousand copies of the special May Day issue of the **New Militant** will be sold and distributed along the line of march.

A band has been secured, which will live up to this section of the parade, and along with the other features will make the Workers Party-Spartacus Youth section one of the liveliest in the whole united demonstration. Friends and supporters of the party are asked to assemble at the headquarters early on May 1st.

Organizations Represented
The Workers Party is represented on the executive committee of the United May Day Labor Conference, made up of representatives of the leading trades unions, Socialist Party, I. W. W., Workmen's Circle, Communist Party (Opposition), etc. which meets regularly every Saturday at 1 P.M. in the Council Room of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union at 3 West 16th St.

Plans for making this year's May Day parade and demonstration the largest ever held in New York, were pushed forward at the last meeting of this committee, held Saturday, April 13. Reports of committees on publicity manifesto, slogans, organization, etc. etc. were given.

The plan calls for two huge parades, one starting from 15th St. and taking in all unions, political parties, and fraternal organizations meeting in that territory. The other will form up in the dress market near 40th St., and will comprise the bulk of the workers in the dress trade. Both parades will end in a monster mass meeting at the Mall in Central Park.

N.B.C. Strikers to Participate
Floats by the score, dozens of bands, thousands of placards, and one hundred thousand marchers are expected to make this the largest and most colorful May Day parade in the history of New York. The International Ladies Garment Workers locals are providing bands, pennants, arm bands, and banners for their marchers. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are out to surpass them. Unions in the food, building and other industries promise a splendid turnout. Five thousand striking National Biscuit workers and their families will form one of the most important sections of the march. One hundred thousand copies of a May Day manifesto

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Half a century ago American workers, engaged in desperate and dramatic struggles for the eight-hour day, made the First of May a labor holiday. The idea was taken up a few years later by workers in other countries and presumably May Day became the International Labor Day. Of the associations which gather round May Day—anti-militarism, class solidarity, labor internationalism, revolutionary aims of the working class—we need not speak here.

Before the Crisis
May Day ceased, however, to be observed generally by the American workers. For a time, in certain of the larger cities, foreign-speaking groups demonstrated in considerable numbers; but even they became in large measure apathetic during the hectic boom period from 1924 on. In the main during this period American workers shunned May Day. They believed the propaganda of the boss press and of their own reactionary trade union leaders that May Day was for "foreigners," "ungrateful reds," etc. who did not appreciate the fact that the American working class was something unique and led a charmed life of perpetual prosperity under a special brand of capitalism, U.S.A. model.

The crisis has put a period to all that. It is clear that there is nothing unique about American capitalism, clear certainly that it leads no charmed life. As a part of world-capitalism it is in decline, and in its decline brings untold suffering on the masses who in this land of boundless resources and an unsurpassed productive machinery have in five brief years seen their standard of living cut in half. Rising magnificently at the first opportunity, the American workers have since the spring of 1933 made great advances in organization and fought a series of important battles. In the course of these struggles one illusion after another has been ruthlessly dissipated. The New Deal has not brought back prosperity. The doubt as to whether capitalism can be reformed is eating deep into the minds of the workers.

Short Cut Proves a Trap
The NRA proved not to be a magic gate to union organization. The conviction that it is useless to look to the Roosevelt administration or to any capitalist government, to give genuine support to fighting unions gains ground. Trade union leaders, committed to "cooperation" with the bosses and the bosses' government, sell out strikes, are seen to be "cooperating" indeed—to keep the boss on top and the workers under—and that lesson sinks in.

In the presence of such harsh realities bunk loses its hold. The bunk of the militarists and super-patriots. The bunk of the red-baiters. The Hoover campaign has fallen flat among the workers. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy got nowhere with its latest attempt to oust radicals from the unions. In fact they themselves have to try now to put on a "radical" cover. They collaborate with Socialists, hoping that that will convince the workers that they are "as progressive as anybody." On occasion A. F. of L. demagogues collaborate, at least in effect, with Communists, as did Coleman Claherty in Akron recently when he was selling out the strike!

Radical Thought Gaining
The workers in ever increasing numbers are becoming interested in radical solutions for their problem. They will march this May Day proudly side by side with the Workers Party, with other parties

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Comments

On Life, Liberty
and Pursuit of
Happiness

By BILL REICH

PEACE ON EARTH: In June 150 U. S. battleships and 500 planes will maneuver over 500,000 square miles of Pacific Ocean in the most extensive naval "games" in peacetime history. The government estimates the cost at \$1,250,000. . . . In July the Japanese navy will play "games" over the same area. . . . "The physical and material impossibility of war in the present actual grave circumstances appears manifest to all of us," states Pope Pius XI in the latest encyclical. . . .

GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN: Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, President of Brown University, asserts: "Such a thing as the crucifixion could not happen today. The influence of Christ's life has had an elevating effect on the moral life of all mankind." . . . Says Julius Streicher, Nazi Churchman: "If I should stamp Christ as a Jew I would stamp him as a criminal. Christ was just as un-Jewish as Hitler." . . . "Karl Marx, the renegade, who never did a tap of work in his life; who never believed a word he wrote; Karl Marx the plagiarist, who stole all his ideas, as you know if you have read his words," declares the Rev. John J. Kelly in loving-kindness at Calvary Baptist Church, New York. . . . While on the west coast Sister Aimee Semple MacPherson announces: "I had a dream direct from God directing me to engage in a crusade against Communism." . . .

HOME SWEET HOME: Since the depression at least 83,484 families have been forced to "double up" in Pittsburgh according to a recent survey. . . . Cinematress Colleen Moore's doll house cost \$435,000 to construct. It is fitted with every convenience known to science. . . . More than 10,000,000 homes in the U. S. are overcrowded with bath. . . . John D. Rockefeller recently donated \$2,500,000 to erect a gothic edifice in New York to house historic relics of the D.A.R. . . . 1,800,000 people in New York still live in miserable tenements declared illegal since 1902. . . . Landlords in Wilmington, Delaware shut off the water of 72 destitute families when relief authorities refused to appropriate money for rent. . . .

BLESSED ARE THE LITTLE CHILDREN: Families on relief produce 250,000 children annually. . . . Jean Leopold Duplan, head of Pennsylvania's largest silk mill patriotically boasts: "I founded my company in 1898 when I saw hundreds of healthy children coming out of the doors of schools. In less than two years we had two thousand of the finest young girls at the looms. I brought occupation for the hands of girls and women-folk." . . . The National Education Association reports that 3,000,000 children, one eighth of the total school population, suffers from defective eyesight. . . . Malnutrition among school children has increased 30 percent since the beginning of the depression. At present 18.1 percent of American school children are undernourished. . . .

LABOR: Chevrolet Motors is rewarding 24 loyal and faithful workers averaging 71 years of age with free trips to Washington, D.C., to visit patriotic shrines. . . . The results of all NIRA Labor Board elections up to March 15 show 67 percent of the workers in favor of bona fide trade unions and only 30 percent in favor of company unions. . . . "Majority rule in collective bargaining is un-American and unethical," states H. I. Harriman, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce. . . . Ministers' Union, Local No. 1, has applied for membership in the A. F. of L. . . . The city of Bethlehem, Pa. recently purchased three armored police cars. . . .

THE STATE OF THE NATION: Relief workers in Lee County, Ala., receive \$5 weekly. . . . Francis B. Davis, chairman of the United States Rubber Co., receives a salary of \$125,000 annually, an increase of \$18,000 over his 1931 salary. . . . One year ago Jay Pugh of Lincoln, Nebraska, was sentenced to serve two years for stealing bread to feed his children. Upon being paroled he stole 100 lbs. of coal to heat his home. He must return to prison to finish the first sentence. . . . Hazel Forbes, 24 year old dentifrice heiress, has an income of \$3,000 a day. . . . The average amount of direct relief in the U. S. is \$6.66 per family per week. In Kentucky the average is only \$2.45 per family. . . . On April 15 the U. S. Treasury paid \$375,000,000 interest to holders of 4 1/2% Liberty Bonds. . . . Prof. Giacchino Palomba, honor graduate of the University of Milan and former teacher in the Union City, N. J., high school, died of starvation, being too proud to ask for relief. . . . William E. Lewis, president of the Owens-Illinois Glass Co. increased his salary from \$53,000 to \$100,000 in two

Mass Picketing is Effective in FERA Workers Strike in Ohio

Radio Workers Are Fighting For One Nation-wide Union

PHILADELPHIA. — Some time last year the membership of Radio and Television Workers Federal Labor Union 18368 and 18369 successfully prevented the A. F. of L. from breaking them up into craft groups and by their determined stand succeeded in getting federal charters.

Both unions are organized strictly on an industrial basis. No. 18368 for the Philco plant at Front Street and Allegheny Ave. and No. 18369 for the plant at C Street and Allegheny Avenue, the former having approximately 1,500 and the latter about 6,000 members. The healthy spirit and sound judgment among the membership has manifested itself repeatedly in questions of salaries, etc. Later in the year they realized that in order to be and remain effective it would be necessary to create a national organization on an industrial basis. So they asked the A. F. of L. for a national conference of all radio workers' unions, including the various independent groups that have sprung up in other places, to discuss the matter.

A. F. of L. Fakers No Help
At last a conference was called, but those unions not yet affiliated with the A. F. of L. were left out, thereby undermining from the outset the very aims which the union wanted to accomplish, namely unification of organizations in the radio industry through ONE industrial union.

The conference, which took place in December in Buffalo, decided to apply to the A. F. of L. for a charter for a National Organization and to make a decided effort to organize the industry. Again the great moguls of the A. F. of L. showed their backwardness when they opposed such a move on the grounds that the radio unions had not sufficient funds. But they were very quick to ask for the regular assessments to the A. F. of L.

The workers are beginning to wonder what affiliation with the A. F. of L. is good for if they cannot get any aid from it in organizing the industry. Why could not the A. F. of L. use some of its ample funds to undertake such a drive? The notion of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats that the unions must go out and organize on their own meager resources and after which the A. F. of L. will graciously deign to let them pay their per capita dues is rightly looked upon with scorn.

First Regional Conference of SYL Marks Real Progress

By BILL STREETER

The first regional conference of the Spartacus Youth League concluded its sessions last Sunday night with a hotly contested election of a district committee for the New England district. From the opening remarks by Comrade Streeter to the adjournment and the singing of the International, the central note of the whole conference was an enthusiastic recognition of the phenomenal growth of the League and of our prospects for the future. Delegates from out of town branches and from New York alike listened with real satisfaction as Comrade Gould, National Secretary, reported that in the four months since our first national convention in December the number of branches had grown from twelve to twenty five and the membership jumped from 175 to 420; an increase of 144%.

Comrade Gould, National Secretary, S.Y.L., explained how the N.C. had taken hold of the organization from the first day, how the first month had been spent on developing and consolidating a national apparatus. The National Committee then proceeded to turn itself into a "bureau of publications" for internal information and the building up of an organizational understanding among the members. He went on to present the

years. . . . Hungry, William Ackers of Syracuse, N. Y., stole two chickens. He was given a 24 year prison sentence. . . . George Horace Lorimer receives \$100,000 per year for editing the Saturday Evening Post. . . . The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. paid nearly \$5,000,000 in suicide claims in 1934. This was \$2,500,000 less than the peak year of 1932. . . . Edward Rybicki of the New York Department of Labor has drawn up plans for transporting destitute Harlem Negroes back to the South. . . . Mechanical cotton pickers are developed to such a stage that they could efficiently displace two or three million human cotton pickers in the South. . . . "Things seem to have gone back since I went away," says Charles Schwab upon returning from a month's stay on the Riviera. . . .

by the union. Repeatedly sentiment has been voiced that might—if the present policy of the A. F. of L. continues—lead to dissolution.

Three Unions in One Plant

How correct the position of the Philco unions is in their demand for a unified national organization—which by the way is shared by officers and members of the union alike—is illustrated by conditions in the Victor plant in Camden, where three groups are trying to function: a so-called independent union; the Radio and Metalworkers Union (probably the strongest) and the A. F. of L. The latter, however, seems to be content to wait until in the various departments 51% of the workers have decided to affiliate with it and then taking them in. With one industrial union in the field on a national scale, that organization would represent a real power that could not so easily be hoodwinked by the radio interests—nor by the A. F. of L. officialdom either, and the latter is perhaps the real reason behind the opposition against such a move.

This new and unspoiled blood in the radio unions, as well as in other groups, with their sound instinct for the needs of the day would be far less pliable to the maneuvers of the top officials. As a matter of fact, this new blood might become the instrument (especially if other industries would experience similar developments) to instill new life into the organization, make it a real fighting instrument of the workers and incidentally unseat the swivel-chair "labor leaders" from their coveted positions. And what could be more obnoxious to those great men like Bill Green, Matt Woll, John L. Lewis, etc.? Once the workers recognize these deeper reasons for the constant sabotage of their work by the A. F. of L. officials, they will also see their way clear for further and even more determined action.

Fight Inside the A. F. of L.

Any attempt to secede from the A. F. of L. is wrong and must be opposed by all really progressive and militant forces. Rather a determined fight must be put up by the progressive elements to keep the union on the militant course on which it started. The demand for a charter for a national organization must be pressed with all means at the disposal of the unions. The industrial character of the union must be preserved. The membership must guard constantly against introduction of customary A. F. of L. "methods" of collaboration with the bosses, of building a reactionary machine inside the union.

There is only one way that will lead the workers to victory—determined, militant ACTION.

plans of the committee for still further expansion and summer work.

The report on New York City by Comrade Streeter took up the activity of the five New York branches in relation to the decisions of the National Convention on Building a broad revolutionary youth organization. It was pointed out that the New York membership has grown steadily and that it is now predominantly composed of young workers: 74% working and unemployed, and 26% student. The industrial, educational, cultural and other activities were dealt with, and were elaborated by delegates in the discussion.

Reports were heard from Newark, New Haven, Allentown and Philadelphia on the problems and activities confronting their respective localities.

Comrade Larry Cohen, representing the New York District of the Workers Party reported to the conference on the work and functioning of the party. He dealt extensively with the relations of the Party to the Spartacus, and answered many of the questions raised by the delegates. His report was very favorably received.

The first regional conference of the Spartacus Youth League, by the healthy and active character of its discussion, by the promising reports of the delegates, and by the election of a district committee to carry out the plans and perspectives laid down, makes a determined and definite step towards its goal of becoming a broad, mass revolutionary youth organization.

Newsellers Picket Press; Organize Union; Make Gains

On the FERA strike front, the past week has been one of militant mass action. Thursday and Friday saw "flying squadrons," organized by Frank Buck of the W. P. and Lucas County U. L., descend on three major work-relief projects and 2 open shop construction jobs on which scabs were being employed, and shut them all down tight. On two occasions the pickets defied police interference and removed shovels from the hands of reluctant scabs.

No action toward a state-wide FERA strike was taken by the emergency conference of the state Federation of Labor held in Columbus, Ohio, April 7. Discussion on the floor of the conference on all matters concerning social legislation was limited to two hours, which prevented the strike from being discussed. A conference with C. C. Stillman, federal administrator in charge of Ohio relief, and a committee from the Joint Action Committee of the FERA strike, revealed that the new works relief program would not go into effect in Ohio until June or thereafter.

Widespread disorganization and confusion has been revealed in the Ohio relief administrative machinery by Stillman. Substantial increases in direct relief promised by Clarence Benedict, new Lucas County relief head, on April 1 during a demonstration of 1,200 workers massed inside the relief headquarters, have since been denied. Benedict stated on the following day that he had "misunderstood" the new regulations and that increases will go into effect only for work relief. This increase is a bribe to some of the unemployed to get them to return to FERA jobs and break the strike.

Announcement was made today that 156 salaried funkies, attached to the Lucas County work relief administrative staff, have been slashed from the payrolls as the strike has left them with nothing to do. All those fired had been holding down their jobs as a result of political tie-ups, while tens of thousands of worthy relief clients and unemployed were in need of work.

News Boys Organizing

The Joint Action Committee, following a mass meeting held in the Central Labor Union hall Saturday afternoon, April 6, of which Art Preis, organizer for the Toledo branch of the W. P., was chairman, threw a mass picket line of 200 about the offices of the Toledo News-Bee and Toledo Blade, leading capitalist dailies here. Occasion for this was the report to the meeting that members of the News Merchants Union, employed by the publishing concerns for street selling, had been fired by both papers that morning for union organization and one member had been severely beaten by two thugs employed by the News-Bee.

Efforts of street corner newspaper sellers, the most exploited group of workers in the city, to organize into a union have been met by all types of victimization and terror in the past two weeks. Commissions and bonuses from sales paid to these men average not more than \$4 per week. The A. F. of L. has refused a charter to the news merchants on the grounds that no provision has been made for this particular type of worker, and "besides" they could not afford to pay dues. Bill Prior, W. P. member, who is organizer and representative for the news merchants, spoke before the Central Labor Union delegate meeting last Thursday night and secured a unanimous vote of the C.L.U. to back this new newsellers union 100% "physically, morally and financially."

As a result of the picket line Saturday, April 6, the circulation managers of both papers met with Bill Prior and the News Merchants Union committee today, and made an agreement to reinstate at once all union men fired, to pay medical bills and compensation to the union man who was beaten up, and to refrain from any further victimization or discrimination against union men.

Militant Joins Workers Party in Fort Wayne

To the N.E.C. of Workers Party
Dear Comrades,

After careful study and consideration of the principles and policies of the Workers Party, and after seeing these policies in action, I am convinced that the Workers Party is the force that will really organize the workers of the United States into a powerful revolutionary movement.

The Lovestone Group's position for the reform of the official Communist Party and the Third International leaves only one road open to them and that is the road that must, if the line is principally adhered to, lead them back into the ranks of the official C. P. I am of the opinion that the official C. P. cannot be reformed and cannot be the agency for rallying the workers for revolutionary struggle.

The Workers Party is the necessary force to unite the revolutionary forces for positive revolutionary work and action. The purely opposition groups have outlived their usefulness.

The recent capitulation of the N.E.C. of the S.P., the withdrawing of whole states (Indiana and Oregon) plainly shows the reformist position of the S.P. It is impossible for revolutionists to carry on work as revolutionists in the S. P.

It is for these reasons that I apply for membership in the Workers Party. I hope through the Workers Party in Fort Wayne to do my share to unite the revolutionary forces in the Workers Party and to carry on work among the masses for a revolutionary program.

With Communist greetings,
HARRY H. CONNER
Fort Wayne, Ind.

Spartacus Starts National Tour

The following is the itinerary of Nathan Gould, National Secretary of the Spartacus Youth League:

APRIL:
Philadelphia—20, 21, 22.
State College—23.
Pittsburgh—24, 25.
Youngstown, Ohio—26, 27, 28, 29.
(Regional Conference 27, 28).
Cleveland—30, May 1.

MAY:
Columbus—2, 3, 4.
Toledo—6.
Detroit, Mich.—7, 8.
Chicago, Ill.—10, 11, 12, 13 (Regional Conference 11, 12).
Gillespie—15, 16.
St. Louis, Mo.—17.

KANSAS CITY—18, 19.
Phoenix, Ariz.—22, 23.
Los Angeles, Calif.—24, 25, 26, 27 (Regional Conference 25, 26).
Fresno, Cal.—28.
San Francisco—29, 30, 31, June 1.

JUNE:
Salt Lake City, Utah—3.
Minneapolis, Minn.—7, 8, 9.
Chicago, Ill.—11, 12, 13.
Detroit, Mich.—29, 30.

JULY:
Toronto, Canada—2, 3, 4.
Buffalo, N. Y.—5.

MAY DAY RALLY and SOCIAL
Dancing - Skits - Refreshments
Saturday, April 27, at 8 P.M.
Presentation of May Day Banner by Workers Party to S. P. L. at
2 West 15th Street, N. Y. C.
ADMISSION 15c
Aus: Spartacus Youth League

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by LEON TROTSKY
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by A. J. MUSTE
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IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The "American Flint" which suspended publication in 1932 after 23 years of continuous activity, is with us again. It is the organ of the American Flint Glass Workers Union. The organization was losing membership steadily and the ranks were unable to bear the burden. Improved conditions in the union and in the industry generally caused the come-back.

Unionism in glass has contributed interesting and valuable pages to the history of American labor. Glass workers were among the first to hoist the banner of organization. And nowhere has the complete utility of craft unionism been as conclusively proven as in this industry. The National Window Glass Workers which at one time completely dominated its trade was forced to disband in 1928 because the introduction of new machinery rendered its highly skilled membership unnecessary.

GLASS . . .

The American Flint Glass Workers Union is also a craft organization. Its failure to grow in this last period is a reflection of that fundamental weakness in its structure. It is one of the last of the old type of labor unions which regard themselves more as social and fraternal clubs than fighting economic organizations of labor.

Early in 1934 when a number of Federal Labor Unions merged with the Window Glass Cutters League to organize the Federation of Flat Glass Workers, the Flint Glass Workers refused to go along in this attempt to build a real industrial union in the industry. The Federation is the most promising development that has appeared in this field for a long time. Its roots are in the giant plants of the industry and its spirit seems to be militant.

LUMBERMEN . . .

There is a good deal of loose thinking in the labor and radical movement on the subject of industrial unionism. The result has quite often been to create structures that were so unwieldy that they broke down of their own weight. Industrial unionism does not mean to merge organizations which have no real reason for being together.

It is even more puzzling when the executive council of the American Federation of Labor pulls a stunt of this kind. Those gentlemen have shown themselves, in the past few months, to be anything but friendly to industry organization. The whole trend, in fact, has been in the other direction. Why, therefore, did the last session of the executive council grant the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Jur-

isdiction over loggers, lumbermen and sawmill workers? Is there any logical connection? The answer, I submit, is in the negative.

Practically the entire membership of the Carpenters Union is in the building trades. Realistic industrial unionism for the Brotherhood means the unity of the building workers. Lumberjacks have no more place in the carpenters union than the Sheet Metal Workers, for example, would have in the organization of the steel workers.

HUTCHESON . . .

We need not look too far for the executive council's motive. The Carpenters have two representatives on that august body. Hutchesson, president of the Carpenters is a staunch old-guarder, and this is an obvious move to strengthen the hand of the die-hards in the Federation. And those elements who see the need for industrial organization have gone along on the basis of another horse-trading arrangement.

This development is all the more important because it comes on the heels of a report that lumber workers in five western states are preparing to strike. Has Hutchesson been given the job of "controlling" the situation?

The lumber workers need a national union of their own. Back in 1920 the Timber Workers Union which had been organized during the war, counted ten thousand members. But it collapsed in 1922. In the last year and a half spontaneous organization has taken place in many sections and the workers have organized into Federal Unions. At the present time about 30 such locals exist. If the Federation really wants to do the job it will organize again on the war time basis with a leadership chosen by the workers themselves.

BRIEFS . . .

The Brewery Workers Union of Portland, Oregon has been barred from membership by the Central Labor Council on the ground that the union has refused to abide by the jurisdictional decision of the last two conventions of the A. F. of L. The Brewery Union, they charge, has boycotted breweries which maintained agreements with other labor organizations. . . . Alvaney Johnson, grand mogul of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, has won a reversal of his conviction of having misapplied funds of the defunct Standard Trust Company. He was Chairman of the Board. . . . The United Textile Workers is sending a truck equipped with loud speaking apparatus through the Southern states to aid their organization campaign in Dixie.

Youngstown Br. Leads Sub Drive

YOUNGSTOWN has made excellent progress in the past week. With a score of 90% at this writing and the prospects of 100% by the time this is printed it puts to shame such "active" centers as New York, Chicago, Boston, Toledo, Detroit! These latter are still "active" in bringing up the rear.

Allentown has also forged ahead and now stands at 44%.

The list up to date follows:

GOOD	
Youngstown	90%
Plentywood	50%
FAIR	
Allentown	44%
Akron	40%
Cincinnati	40%
Davenport	40%
E. St. Louis	40%
Louisville	40%
Minneapolis	37%
Worcester	30%
Salt Lake City	30%
POOR	
Philadelphia	22%
Charleston	20%
New Haven	20%
VERY POOR	
San Francisco	15%
New York	12%
Boston	12%
Gulfport	21%
Toledo	12%
Newcastle	10%
Pateron	10%
Los Angeles	9%
Chicago	8%
Cleveland	7%
St. Louis	7%
Newark	6%
Kansas City	6%
Pittsburgh	5%
Columbus	4%
Detroit	4%
EVEN WORSE	
None of the following have been heard from:	
Biloxi, Buffalo, Dickson City	
Fort Wayne, Mineola, Mount Carmel, Oakland, Springfield, Staunton, Throop, Washington, Winston Salem, Waukegan, Champaign, Virden.	

There is no excuse for such neglect and it is about time that all those from the top of "very poor" down should get busy measuring up to the standards set by the branches at the top of the list.

In last week's issue Comrade Muste directed an appeal to all

WHAT TO ATTEND

New York City

April 20, Saturday 8 P.M.—2 West 15th Street, (third floor). Spring Frolic and Chess Exhibition. Jazz! . . . hot drinks. If you don't dance, there will be an exhibition of simultaneous chess by a well-known player. All who wish to participate should reserve boards immediately by calling Fred Nash, ALG. 9058.

April 26, Friday, 8:30—"America's Role in the Coming War." Speaker: Max Shachtman. Sunny-maid Auditorium, 277 Kingston Ave. (near Eastern Parkway), Brooklyn. Auspices: Flatbush Branch W. P.

April 27, Sat. evening—Dance by the Flatbush Branch at Cordoba Hall, 12 Crown St., Brooklyn (near Franklin Ave.). All Brooklyn comrades urged to attend and bring their friends.

April 28, Friday, 8:30—Open Forum: "The Danger of War and the European Arms Situation." Speaker: Ludwig Lore. Branch 1 at its new headquarters, 420 E. 19th St.

May 4, Sat. 8:30 P.M.—Branch 1 Housewarming and Dance. At new headquarters, 420 East 19th Street. Everyone invited.

Minneapolis

May 1, Wed. 8 P.M.—May Day Celebration at Branch Headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S. Grant Dunne, principal speaker. Social hour and refreshments to follow. Adm. 15c.

Wednesday evenings at 8 P.M.—Regular Public Lectures on working class problems at Branch Headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S. Admission free.

New Haven

April 24, Wednesday 8 P.M.—A. J. Muste will speak on "Coming Labor Struggles and the W.P." Also Julius Bertman on "Why I Left the S.P." At Fraternal Hall, 19 Elm St.

Spring Frolic and Chess Contest

Saturday Evening, April 20th

2 WEST 15th STREET (Third Floor)

Auspices: New York District Membership, W. P. of the U.S.

DANCING Admission 25c CHESS

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE STRESA CONFERENCE

What happened at Stresa was a foregone conclusion long in advance of the actual conference. Hitler sweeps aside the armament clauses of the Versailles Treaty, establishes Germany's complete freedom to prepare for the next war, and all that the former allies can do under present conditions is to admonish Hitler that he had better not do it again. This time, say the helpless premlers, we will yield to you—but next time, look out! Stresa thus marks the success of Nazi diplomacy in winning England to support German rearmament—for use against the Soviet Union. At the same time Great Britain makes it perfectly plain that the reparations clauses and the armament provisions of the Versailles system may be void—but the territorial changes made by the war stand. Hitler need not expect to recover from the British lion what has once come under its claws. If German capitalism needs to expand, let it be to the East!

If Stresa marks the final rumbling of the post-war Versailles system for guaranteeing to the victors the spoils, it signifies at the same time the weakening of French hegemony in Europe. French imperialism feels this keenly and hence seeks help to maintain her slipping position. France is aware that the German militarists fear nothing so much as a military alliance between France and the Soviet Union. Thus far this alliance, all but consummated, has been held as a threat over Hitler's head. But having accomplished his first major objective, Hitler immediately proceeds towards the accomplishment of his next object, the separation of France from Russia. That is the meaning of the vague and formless offer to sign an Eastern Locarno pact without any military assistance clauses. That offer is intended to gain time and to head off the Franco-Russian alliance. In this move the Nazis have the fervent support of the reactionaries of both France and England. The Daily Express of Lord Beaverbrook ridicules the idea of defining an aggressor: "The truth about all the rignarole from Stresa is that Locarno and all its works have been reduced by the new events to utter nonsense. Are we going to bomb Paris because France invades Germany to assist Russia which has been invaded by Germany? No, sir!" And in truth, who will ever stop on the outbreak of a war to determine the aggressor? Only self-interest determines the combinations made in an imperialist war.

STALINISM AND THE WAR DANGER

To the working class it must be made clear that Stresa is a step not towards peace but towards war. Faced with the prospect of imperialist war and intervention against the Soviet Union, the Stalinists reveal the depths to which they have dragged the October Revolution.

Capitol News Letter

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—As there was every reason to expect, the A. F. of L. leadership has short-circuited the Akron rubber strike. As there was every reason to suppose, Green and Co. have led the rubber workers into a settlement which licks labor on each and every point. The workers have been handed over to their employers, not in exchange for a mess of pottage, but what is worse, in exchange for a mess of words.

The terms of the agreement exemplify to perfection the bureaucrats' infinite capacity for betraying the rank and file into "settlements" which are utter defeats. By comparison, the automobile settlement of March 1934 was a triumph for organized labor. By comparison, the miserable textile strike settlement of September 1934 was the complete victory which Gorman said it was.

The rubber workers were about to strike for union recognition. According to the terms of the settlement, the employers recognize no union whatever. They promise, instead, to meet with "employees and with chosen representatives of ANY GROUP of employees." As in the automobile settlement, Green & Co. yield majority rule and accept proportional representation; back water on union recognition and advance toward works councils.

The rubber workers were about to strike for collective agreements which would raise wages, shorten hours, and improve other working conditions. According to the terms of the settlement, the employers promise to post on bulletin boards

Any appeal for revolutionary action of the international proletariat is completely ignored while the Stalinists confine their efforts for peace completely to the realm of diplomacy and maneuvers behind the scene. In their efforts to maintain their bureaucratic power in the Soviet Union, they sacrifice again and again the interests of the working class at home and abroad. By their own illusion that an "enduring" military alliance with imperialist France can stave off fascist intervention; by their willingness to defend the status quo, which means the upholding of capitalism in its bourgeois democratic form at the very time when this must give way in France (the present key to the international situation) either to fascism or to communism; the Stalinists corrupt the minds of the French workers with the same false views. They prepare the road to defense of the fatherland and to fascist victory by giving the French workers false, opportunist guidance instead of clear understanding and directives. Instead of utilizing the united front between themselves and the Socialists for involving the French workers in struggle against the Bonapartist Flandin government, which steadily paves the way for a fascist military coup d'état, the Stalinist party actually extends the united front to the supporters of the Bonapartist regime and thereby places the workers at the service of the bourgeoisie.

The whole situation in France calls for energetic revolutionary leadership and for revolutionary activity, including the arming of the proletariat for the breaking up of fascist bands and for the preparation to seize power,—and the Stalinists proceed to denounce the real Marxists who see the situation in all its clarity and offer the only correct policy to the French proletariat as police agents. When historically the bourgeoisie has reached the end of its rope and can offer nothing but the profoundest misery to the workers, the Stalinists attempt to confine the activities of the united front to a struggle for immediate demands, for impossible concessions from the capitalists. Proposing a basis for organic unity to the Socialists that is in line with the bankrupt policies of the Comintern, the Stalinists would confine the struggle against the extension of conscription to two years of service and thus against the war preparations—to monster petitions! Instead of preparing the workers for a direct attack on the entire capitalist system, the Communist Party of France calls for a fight on high prices in order to lower them. In Germany the ultra-left course of Stalinism was a direct cause of the victory of Hitlerism. In France if the workers are misled into following the reactionary guidance of the Third International, then the ultra-opportunist course of the bureaucrats in the present juncture will prove the cause of the success of French fascism.

"any changes in hours, wages, or working conditions arrived at through negotiations with any group of employees." But the employers do not oblige themselves to enter into collective agreements of any sort. They do not oblige themselves to enter into collective agreements with the A. F. of L. unions as exclusive spokesmen of the wage-earners.

The rubber workers were about to strike because the employers went into the federal courts to challenge the election orders which the NLRB handed down some months ago. According to the terms of the settlement, the A. F. of L. promises to call no strikes until the federal courts have passed on the validity of these orders. If this means anything, it means that the A. F. of L. has waived the right to strike in the rubber industry for a year to come or more. For it will take at least a year for the election order cases to get from the Circuit Court of Appeals to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Worst of all, the A. F. of L. skates let the rubber workers in for compulsory arbitration, open, patent, and unashamed. To begin with, there are to be no strikes until the U. S. Supreme Court passes on the authority of the NLRB to order elections. In the interim, however, grievances may arise: the workers may object to the speed-up; to starvation wages; to violations of code labor provisions. All such grievances, it is provided, "shall be referred to a fact-finding board of three neutral members approved by the Secretary of Labor."

The agreement does not say directly that the awards handed down by the board shall be final and binding. Indirectly, however, the terms of the agreement have this effect. For the A. F. of L. shall be released from its obligation not to strike, only in the event that the employers refuse to comply with the terms of the award. If the employers do comply, then the obligation holds.

What Now for the Textile Workers?

By FELIX GIORDANO

The textile workers, who were poorly organized before the advent of the N.I.R.A., took the opportunity which the situation offered them and went in for organization on a national scale.

Almost overnight the United Textile Workers of America, heretofore an organization of minor importance, saw its membership doubled and trebled, and became an influential union of the American Federation of Labor.

The workers flocked to the union with the idea that manufacturer and worker would meet on the impartial field of government legislation, and that the one who was able to show greater solidarity and strength would reap the greatest profit from it, over the magic signature of the government.

The actual signing of the code, which legalized as an American standard such wages as \$12.00 per week, made labor wonder if it had not been tricked into something altogether inimical to it. The workers were unsatisfied. They needed more. They wanted more. If they could not get it through legislation, then surely there must be some other way of getting it, and they set about to find this way.

There was, of course, no lack of clear-sighted people who told these workers that only through struggle could they achieve anything at all. The dominant note in the unions speedily became struggle.

New to organization, unwilling to believe that union leadership is not always ready to follow the dictates of the membership, they trusted the U.T.W. leaders, and to them entrusted their fight. Some old hands did not cherish any such illusions; they distrusted that leadership and tried to change it. They expected the support of the new element in the union, which, by virtue of its being new, was not a part of the "machine" and could be brought to rebel against it. The ferment was enormous. New workers and old members were indignant over the fact that some prominent officials of the union had been ready to accept \$9.00 as a minimum wage; old members and new tried to prepare the ground for a change and tried to bring that change about.

The U. T. W. Convention

Under the stress of these intentions the U.T.W. Convention was called in the summer of 1934.

What happened will probably never be known. The old officials of the U.T.W. were nominated for re-election, and were elected by acclamation. The opposition slate was not even presented. This in spite of the fact that up to and especially during the convention rumors of an opposition headed by Emil Rieve, of the hosiery workers, had found their way into the press, and were played up quite a bit on the very eve of the election.

Nor could it be otherwise. The workers, especially in the South, had never known of strikes out of which one could come with a "moral victory." If there were a victory they wanted to see it in terms of better pay, better conditions, the 30-hour week. If for some unaccountable reason they had lost the strike, they wanted to know it.

The Lack of Left Wing But the workers were forced to realize that there was no other organization to which they could turn for leadership in this struggle, no other organized group, no Left wing. There was only defeat.

They acknowledged it, but did not resign themselves to it. These workers who had put so much faith in the leadership of their union, who had shown such militancy in the face of tremendous odds, who had defined the employers and the militia, these workers could not allow such a brazen betrayal of their interests to go unchallenged. Rebellion brewed and took form. It is as yet unorganized, and therefore ineffective; but given the proper leadership, it will yet bring some results.

Heaping Insult on Injury And, as if to add insult to injury, while the echo of the musketry had not yet died away in the streets of Rhode Island towns, the leaders of the U.T.W. published an open letter to the manufacturers' association proposing unity of action for the purpose of gaining markets for the manufacturers! Let it be clearly understood: a union has no business to try to solve the problems of the manufacturers under any circumstances. To propose such a shameful cooperation at this time of all times! To forget the dead that only a month ago they had hailed as immortal!

What the "moral victory" really amounted to is already established. Discrimination, further speed-up and stretch-out in this industry as a result of the strike are too well known to require telling. The average wage in the industry is now below \$10.00 per week. The conditions of the textile workers are, if anything, worse.

Some of the workers, disheartened, have abandoned the organization. But the majority of them are still organized today, or are coming back to the union, to try again, to fight again.

The Road Ahead In the meantime the whole apparatus of the state has made its position even clearer. Both profits and unemployment have increased sharply in the last year. Labor provisions in the codes are either being scrapped altogether, or are not being lived up to by the manufacturers. The President's unemployment program is a further threat to the workers' standards and is interpreted as such. A new movement on the part of organized labor is under way. It is freely predicted that this year will see another gigantic wave of strikes, even greater than those of the last two years. The textile industry is going to have its share of strikes, both local and national. What guarantees have the workers that their struggles are not going to be a repetition of the textile strike of 1934?

What must they do, what changes must they effect in their organization to make it the instrument that they will need in the coming struggles? What, in other words, is the immediate task of the workers in all industries, and especially in the textile unions?

If the workers are to see their strikes carried out in a militant, fighting way, they must have a militant, fighting organization to direct them and guide them. This the United Textile Workers is not. Very few unions are that today.

What possibility is there then of changing the union so that it will meet the requirements which the workers must impose? Is there at the present time an immediate possibility of changing the leadership of the United Textile Workers?

The answer is evident. The officials of the U.T.W. are elected for a term of two years, and they were

The Main Task After the Betrayal Is the Organization of Union Progressives

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Welcome to Soldiers

They welcomed the troops, and feebly complained of the various forms of vigilante squads in the South. But later even they saw the troops as that which they could not but be, and had been all along: allies of the manufacturers, strike-breakers in uniform. A number of deaths shocked the vacillating and timid officials of the U.T.W. Again a wail of complaints came from them. Gorman swore by the blood of the dead that the strike would not end before the industry was shut down completely, and the workers on strike took upon themselves the task of shutting it down. The strike was spreading with terrific momentum. The manufacturers were frantic. The troops they had out were not sufficient. They asked more; they asked for the army, the navy, the leather-necks.

That threat was enough. The timorous, weak, inept officialdom of the U.T.W. suddenly called off the strike, while the spirit of the strikers was at its highest, when the mills that were still being kept open asked for picket lines.

Conditions of Truce

What were the conditions that called off the strike? What truce, what peace treaty had been signed? The President of the U. S. had offered to nominate a committee to study the conditions of the textile industry, workers included, and propose measures to remedy the ills of the industry. The Winant Commission was found acceptable to the manufacturers, and the general strike was ingloriously called off.

The sentiment of the workers is most eloquently proved by the fact that the calling off of the strike was not its actual end. For the strike continued, now broken, for some time yet in a number of localities, petering out gradually, and dying a shameful death.

Nor could it be otherwise. The workers, especially in the South, had never known of strikes out of which one could come with a "moral victory." If there were a victory they wanted to see it in terms of better pay, better conditions, the 30-hour week. If for some unaccountable reason they had lost the strike, they wanted to know it.

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The answer is evident. The officials of the U.T.W. are elected for a term of two years, and they were

only elected last summer. Furthermore, even if there were a possibility of changing the leadership this year, the probability of accomplishing that change would be very slim. For that change a machine must be built to cope with the present one. Evidently, this new machine cannot be built in a day.

The Only Alternative

There is only one alternative left for the workers. That alternative they must take and make use of, if they are to change the course of their history from defeat to victory.

In every local of the unions, in almost every mill, whether organized or not, there are a few advanced workers who are better able to see through the schemes of the manufacturers and the maneuvers of the union officialdom. They have been for the most part ineffective, isolated, scornful. They must get together now and organize into solid groups; forget their political, racial and all other differences and act together in the union for their benefit and for the benefit of their fellow-workers. They must act as a self-appointed committee to build and spread the union, for the introduction in their union of active and militant policies, to teach their more backward fellow-workers how to carry on organizational work, to be the real vanguard of the workers. They must abandon their position of sideline critics and become the new leadership in their unions.

Progressive Organization Imperative

Nor is that enough. The coming struggles of importance are going to be national in scope. Progressive elements will not be effective if organized only locally. It is necessary for these groups to come together with all other progressive groups in the industry and organize nationally into an all-embracing movement that will be able to supply the workers with actual, even if not nominal, leadership. They must come to an understanding as to the policies to be pursued, and act as an organized body, solidly, not for the purpose of splitting the unions but rather to maintain the very existence of them; for unless the unions do change their line of strategy, the workers will not remain in them much longer.

The textile workers need a national progressive movement. Let that be the slogan in the textile unions. Let us go out to build this movement. Let us consolidate in one powerful group all those that want the union to be a real fighting organization, then let the McMahons, the Gormans and the Greens do their worst.

Is Torgler Being Victimized by the C. P. Bureaucracy?

We take the liberty of reprinting the following news item from Neue Front, organ of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany. We can only add our hearty approval of its demand for clarity on a subject which the bureaucrats of the Communist International seem to be treating with criminal light-mindedness, to say the least. The article appears in the first April issue of the paper.

On February 28, G. Dimitroff made a speech in the Moscow Writers' Home. In it he dealt with the Reichstag Fire trial. According to the account in the Basler Rundschau, he said among other things:

"The accused themselves represented a colorful political assortment. Among them were representatives of various social strata, tendencies and types, etc. On the one side there were the representatives of the revolutionary section of the working class, of the revolutionary proletariat, and on the other, the representative of the lumpenproletariat—the pitiable and tragic figure of van der Lubbe. But there was also a representative of the remnant and debris of philistinism and the spirit of officialdom in the revolutionary workers' movement—Such a classic type we had with us in the person of the well-known comrade (I could even say erstwhile comrade) Torgler."

After this assertion, which cannot help but astonish the uninitiated, it must be assumed that there has been a break between the Communist Party of Germany and Torgler, who to the best of our knowledge is still in prison. Should this be true, however, then we can and must demand of the C.P.G. an explanation, in which they would declare what has happened to their Central Committee member Torgler, who was also known to be the secretary of the Communist fraction in the Reichstag.

On the other hand, if this public remark of Dimitroff's is confined to Torgler's behavior in court, which is not impossible—considering the fact that that same issue of the Rundschau (a Stalinist organ) which reports Dimitroff's speech contains an appeal that ends with the slogan "Free Thaelmann, Torgler and all the imprisoned Antifascists"—then we would be duty-bound to protest and to condemn Dimitroff's remark and its publication as rank disloyalty towards a

Question Box

By A. WEAVER

II., NEW YORK—

Question: Is it correct to use American history and traditions to advance the proletarian revolution, e.g., was it correct for the N.U.L. in Ohio to name a club after John Brown?

Answer: The revolutionary movement would be lacking in elementary tactical and strategic sense if it did not attempt to make use of the revolutionary traditions of American History. Lenin once had occasion to remind us of these:

"The American people has a revolutionary tradition adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who gave repeated expression to their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks. This tradition is the war of liberation against the English in the 18th and the Civil War in the 19th centuries. . . ." ("A Letter to American Workers")

If the revolutionary traditions in American History can be a weapon in the hands of revolutionists, it is necessary however, that one knows how to make use of such weapons: with a gun one may commit suicide as well as shoot an enemy.

A great deal of skill is required in handling this particular weapon. Through decades of propaganda the capitalist class has succeeded in identifying itself with many of the revolutionary traditions so that such holidays as the 4th of July, for example, are usually associated with patriotism and reaction. And to adopt such a day as a working class holiday would probably be suicide.

As a symbol of rebellion, however, probably nothing could be more appropriate than the selection of John Brown. While we can disagree with the method which Brown attempted to use in freeing the slaves, i.e., the substitution of a mass movement by a military adventure involving only a handful of men, Brown remains a symbol of the struggle against slavery, and particularly because he had both Negroes and whites in his raid on Harper's Ferry, his name symbolizes the unity of the Negro and white in the struggle for freedom. It is no accident that "John Brown's Body" was the marching song of the Union soldiers, fighting one of the progressive wars in history. (Remaining questions to be answered in following issues.)

SAMUEL B. BROCKTON—

Question: In the pamphlet "The Kirov Assassination" Trotsky, speaking of the situation within the Soviet Union, states, "No way out can be found except through the regeneration of the Bolshevik party." Does this mean that he stands for the reform of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rather than for the building of a new party in that country?

Answer: Critics of the Workers Party, attempting to make factional capital out of this sentence, have been broadcasting the fact that Trotsky no longer believes in building a new party of the Fourth International in the Soviet Union. Were these critics really serious, and here their entire methodology exposes itself, they would have at least waited for confirmation of their assumption, instead of basing themselves on a single sentence the interpretation of which was in doubt.

In a subsequent article, Trotsky states the following: "... Only the vanguard of the proletariat could restore the Soviet state to health by ruthlessly cleansing the bureaucratic apparatus, beginning with the top. But in order to do so, it must set itself on its feet, close its ranks, and re-establish, or more exactly, CREATE ANEW the revolutionary party, the Soviets, and the trade unions. . . ." (See the New Internationalist for March 1935. Emphasis mine.)

The matter hardly requires further comment.

Question: What is meant by the slogan of "Defeatism" in connection with an imperialist war?

Answer: The Leninist formula of "Defeatism" does not mean that the defeat of one's own country in time of imperialist war is a lesser evil as compared with the defeat of an enemy country, but that a military defeat which comes about as a growth of the revolutionary movement is infinitely more beneficial to the proletariat and to humanity than a military victory assured by "civil peace." Not only will the victorious proletarian revolution make up for the damage caused by such a defeat but will also create the final guarantee against all wars and defeats. In time of war the formula of the revolutionary party must be that of Karl Liebknecht: "The chief enemy of a people is in its own country."

man who has been in the claws of the Nazis for more than two years and who behaved no better and no worse than the average type of respectable revolutionary office holder in the G.P.G. could be expected to behave.

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor:

In your March 30 issue you state, "Starvation Faces Million New York Jobless." Why should the rich, magnificent city of New York be pestered with that horde of dirty, ragged, hungry bipses? Why should 37 percent of the city be taken up with their filth and squalor? Why house that bunch of ingrates, who are so inconsiderate as to be in need and requiring food? Hoover might quickly get rid of that unsightly army of bonus seekers, when they were marring the landscape around Washington. He had them just burned out like wasps without even speaking to them. What did it matter to him that they had suffered the tortures of hell? Those who had the good fortune to escape being wounded suffered the indignity of being infested with lice. How would the immaculate Hoover have liked being in a vermin nest? But the millionaires' money was saved, therefore those poor fools who helped save it were driven out of their camps near Washington with fire and tear gas. Therefore the city of New York ought to do likewise and burn out that million of hungry jobless people. Do like William the Conqueror did. Burn them out and use that 37 percent of land for golf links, new forests, flying fields, hanging gardens, arcades, and anything they saw fit that would beautify the city.

Millionaires junk their automobiles when they have served their purpose then why not junk the people who have served their time?

They could use the bodies for fertilizer. They would be too poor to be made into soap.

According to the papers, Andrew Mellon made \$200,000,000 since 1932. As a matter of fact, just to use up that interest without touching the principal, at the rate of \$100 a day, it would take him over 5500 years to do it. Just figure it out for yourself. But that mass of hungry people must be content with 8c per meal. No wonder there was a howl to pink slip the income reports. They are ashamed of their unholly possessions at such times.

When Thomas Jefferson failed to have the imported Negro slaves made free he tried to have the Negro babies as they were born made free, and when he failed at that he said, "I tremble for my country when I know God is just." Wonder what Thomas Jefferson would say to conditions existing in this land of the free and home of the brave today. The Negro slaves were much better off than the unemployed white people today. They were fed, clothed, and housed. They were not allowed to have an education and that is just what is happening today; and no doubt there is an insidious object in politicians withholding school money. It is to keep the masses in ignorance. Be-

If there is not some turn to better the conditions of the masses this grand, rich country will develop into what India is, before many decades, a nation of a wealthy few and the balance untouchables.

L. C., Mobile, Ala.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U.S.
2 West 15th Street, New York City
Phone: ALgonquin 4-9058

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNONEditor
HARRY A. HOWEAssociate Editor
MAWTHORNE WINNERBusiness Manager

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months.
Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 six months.
Single Rates: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1935 No. 18

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The Betrayal In Rubber

policy and the role of the government in labor disputes. The failure to understand this is what caught the rubber workers off guard and made them easy victims of the run-around.

The rubber workers, including many of the best local leaders who are heart and soul for the union, saw the issue too simply: the workers versus the rubber companies. But experience showed that it was much more complicated. The government run-around was also a factor in the situation; at the critical moment, thanks to the mistaken faith of the rubber workers, it turned out to be the decisive factor. The rubber companies could never have put over such an agreement directly. So the government, through Madame Perkins, did the job for them. The fact that the workers didn't expect a dirty trick like this and were taken by surprise prevented them from mobilizing their forces to reject the sell-out agreement and go through with the strike. In the general demoralization the strike was broken before it started and the fight for union recognition lost for the time being. The government had a big hand in this result.

Lesson No. 1.—The new unions must rely on their own strength and expect nothing from the government but the run-around.

"It becomes increasingly clear as the days go by that the danger to the rubber workers comes from an enemy within the ranks of labor itself. That enemy is the bureaucracy at the head of the A. F. of L. and of the rubber union itself." These words appeared in an editorial in last week's issue of the *New Militant*. Similar warnings were sounded in previous articles in the *New Militant* and in the March issue of the *New Internationalist*. These were the only papers in the country to try to put the rubber workers on guard against the betrayal which finally overwhelmed them. Yet, it is perfectly clear now that Green, Claherty & Co. worked from the first, and with especial effectiveness at the last, in the complicated frame-up machine which ground out a humiliating defeat for the workers.

The rubber workers didn't see this, at least not with sufficient clarity, and this led to their undoing. These faithless leaders have demonstrated time and time again that their ideas and ways of life are alien to those of the struggling and exploited workers. They dread the thought of struggle. Above all they fear the growth and development of real mass organizations of the most exploited workers which would bring the fresh breeze of militancy and class struggle into the labor movement. Their field of action is the conference table and their deliberate strategy is to trade away the rights of the newly organized workers for political crumbs and concessions, legislative favors, appointments and even outright bribes for themselves. They never lift a finger to help a strike, but work like demons to prevent them or to sabotage and disrupt them.

No, the line-up in the struggle of capital and labor is not simply, as too many of the rubber workers thought, the unions versus the companies. It is far more complicated and deceptive. The government, exploiting the illusion of impartiality and even of "friendship" for the workers, in reality serves the bosses and demoralizes the trusting workers with flank attacks; the treacherous officials of the A. F. of L., masquerading as "labor leaders," stab them in the back. Madame Perkins put the government seal on the company union "agreement"; Green and Claherty put the union label on it. It took all these deceptive machinations to wreck the strike movement of the rubber workers for the time being. The struggle to regain the lost ground has to begin with an understanding of this shell game and the cappers and come-ons who participate in its operations.

A part of the technique of the labor traitors, employed with exceptional success in the rubber situation, consists in talking militantly at moments when the workers clamor for action and even in putting forward individual members of the machine to play the radical. As the rubber strike movement reached the boiling point they even declared a truce with the Communist Party. In return for this favor the Communist Party refrained from criticism of Green and Claherty at the moment when their treacherous machinations were obviously coming to a head and when a timely warning against them was most urgently needed. When the claculated blow was finally delivered the workers were taken unawares. In the general confusion, disappointment and demoralization the shameful "settlement" was railroaded through the local unions at Akron.

Lesson No. 2.—Expect nothing from the officialdom of the A. F. of L. and its appointed agents but the most cynical betrayals every

time. Those who fail to point this out to the workers, and above all those who know it and keep quiet about it, play the part of accomplices in this treachery.

When it comes down to a test of strength the workers, thanks to their numbers and their strategic position in industry, are much stronger than the bosses and can easily defeat them on a local, national and world scale. The defeat of the rubber workers is not fundamental. They have not been vanquished in a test of strength; they have been tricked, betrayed, out-manuevered. And, above all, they have paid the price of their own lack of organization.

The bosses, plus the government, plus the labor traitors, could not have put over the sell-out agreement if the progressive forces in the local unions had been prepared and organized to meet it. The forces of the enemy worked like a well-oiled machine. The bosses, Madame Perkins, and the labor leaders all knew their parts and played them at the right moment—and then they all worked in unison to railroad the settlement through. The local progressives were not ready. They were not well organized. And before they had time to catch their breath the job was done.

Had the progressive and militant elements in the local unions thought the thing out more fundamentally; had they seen through the complicated game of the three-team combination—bosses, Perkins and Green—and put the rank and file on guard against the frame-up; had they organized their own forces to take the offensive and smash the betrayal the moment it was sprung—if they had done this while there was yet time there would be a different picture in Akron today. The traitors would have been swept aside by a human avalanche. The rubber unions would be enforcing "recognition" on the picket lines and the whole national movement of insurgent labor would be rallying around them. The Akron rubber strike would most likely be setting the pace for a great national strike wave of far greater proportions and potentialities than that of 1934.

Let the bosses and their hirelings worry about the possible consequences of such a struggle. The workers have nothing to lose. Every experience proves over again that there is no way to gain anything or to advance the cause of labor a single inch except by determined struggle. This struggle didn't begin in Akron this morning, although the conditions were ripe for it. In the last analysis only one thing was lacking: a serious organization of the progressive forces in the local unions.

Lesson No. 3.—The militant and progressive forces in the rubber unions must organize around a program of militant action to cleanse the unions of the influence of traitors and convert them into fighting instruments of the workers. That is the way, and the only way, to scrap the company union settlement and get a real union settlement.

The "Lesser Evil" Again

WHAT stands out in the ranks of the Socialist movement of the world today is the desire to draw the right lessons from the terrific defeats suffered by the labor movement in the past two years. The present leadership of the American Socialist Party came into power on the wave of working class dissatisfaction with the old-line reformist policies which brought the proletariat to such catastrophes. But whereas thousands of workers have showed an intense desire to find the revolutionary Marxian path, the new Thomas-Hoan leadership has allowed recent events to pass over its head without making any decisive impression. Their "radicalism" goes only so far as they find it necessary to keep the membership satisfied with what is a fundamentally reformist course.

This view is reinforced by one episode at the Buffalo meeting of the socialist N.E.C. which has not been given sufficient attention. From the Bulletin issued on the Buffalo meeting by the Revolutionary Policy Publishing Association (R.P.C.) we learn that:

"On a motion by Hapgood to picket the Spanish embassy in Washington, D.C., the N.E.C., working under the advice of Devere Allen (who is regarded by the N.E.C. as the authority on the Spanish question), voted down the proposal because such action might endanger the then present Lerroux government which, it was maintained, acted as a buffer to the coming of Fascism—the Gil Robles forces. Here, we have, aside from the question of the necessity of the demonstration or not, the theory of the lesser evil all over again, and the condemnation that was hurled against the old guard for a defense of such action in the case of Germany now becomes the accredited policy of the N.E.C. When the N.E.C. can undertake to espouse such ideas, it is high time for those comrades who really and sincerely want to make our party a revolutionary one to begin to re-evaluate the present National leadership. In regard to the Right wing, there have long ceased to exist any illusions about their social democratic policies. But in reference to the N.E.C. and their supporters, illusions still continue to exist and some of us have been proudly boasting about our newly found revolutionary principles."

What the Bulletin says about illusions of the "Militants" can easily be subscribed to. It need only be added that the illusions of the authors of the Bulletin concerning the "revolutionary" nature of the Communist party and its apologists in the Lovestone camp, are no less pernicious than the illusions which they themselves condemn.

"But this same class struggle that results in our conviction will someday generate an irresistible wave that will sweep every thing this court and this state represent away forever."



May First to Be Banner Day

(Continued from page 1)

and groups, with which they used to think it disgraceful and "un-American" to associate! Brushing away from their eyes the webs spun by the bosses' propaganda, they are making May Day their own again! Thus May Day emphasizes once more the correctness and the critical importance of the decisions of the founding convention of the Party on the mass organizations and mass work. We must get into the unions and the unemployed organizations. We must become intimately bound up with them and with their struggles. Never has there been such an opportunity to draw close to the masses, masses that are in motion, masses bent upon struggle. To neglect this opportunity is treason of the blackest sort.

The Wrong Way

For revolutionists to draw near to the masses does not mean, however, to come down to their level of political development, to cater to their prejudices, to take a place at the tail-end of the procession. The Communist Party having treated the workers like robots for years may now treat them like children to be humored and given a stick of candy. Neither attitude grows out of true respect for the worker, and the second will no more win the American worker in the end than did the first, which has had to be ignominiously abandoned. The C. P. having for years branded A. F. of L. bureaucrats as social-fascists may now embrace them as "comrades in arms." Neither attitude was based on a realistic analysis and neither is a service to the working class.

The confidence won by responsible revolutionists because they fight side by side with the masses in their struggles, because they labor harder than any others to build the unions and the unemployed leagues, that confidence so hardly won is precarious. It must not be prostituted by giving any countenance to the Utopian notions of a Long, a Coughlin, an Upton Sinclair, or whoever it may be, with the idea that there is something "American" about this tactic, that having thus "gone along" with the workers, with big masses, we have a "movement." We are no longer "isolated from the masses," and presently we shall slip over a revolutionary program on this "movement." Having a yearning for being lost in a crowd is a very human failing. So is the desire to win a following quickly. But it is not a distinguishing mark of a revolutionist. Such "movements" as we have mentioned do not overthrow capitalism. If they do not turn Fascist, they end in a swamp or in a blind alley. Even a very superficial reading of American history makes that clear.

Against False Shibboleths

The responsible Marxian party will use the confidence that it wins from the masses to expose illusions, fallacies and falsehoods. On this May Day in the United States it will agitate against every form

and manifestation of racial prejudice; against every illusory idea as to how the workers will win power and build a new world; against all half-baked panaceas; against nationalism and for internationalism.

The American workers have certain peculiar conditions to face and only at our peril do we ignore that fact. But the American worker is not now, any more than he was in the Coolidge-Hoover era, some peculiar species of animal. He is a worker under capitalism. His interest is one with that of the workers of all lands. This May Day 1935 gives us an unprecedented and priceless opportunity to tie in his struggles with the world-wide struggles of the working class, to teach the lesson of Revolutionary Internationalism. It is well that the Workers Party of the U. S. is in existence to seize that opportunity.

For a 'Workers' World

Marching side by side with our brothers, sisters, comrades, in the unions and the unemployed organizations, we raise the banner of the Workers Party and the Fourth International. We sound forth again the historic battle-cry of the international revolutionary movement. Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain! Given such a program and such a spirit the workers can be confident that—

"The earth shall rise on new foundations;
We have been taught, we shall be all!"

May Day in N.Y.C.

(Continued from Page 1)

ifesto will be issued. Buttons, posters, leaflets in large quantities are being prepared.

At the Mall in Central Park, speakers from all organizations participating will address the crowd. In addition it is proposed to bring veterans of labor's battles, ex-convicts, prisoners, and others, to take part in the demonstration. Goldman's band will play appropriate music for the gathering crowd and also at intervals during the mass meeting.

Following the demonstration a mass meeting of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League will be held at 8 P.M. May First, in Germania Hall, 16th St. and Third Avenue. A good program of music, singing, etc., is being arranged. Speakers from the Workers Party and S.Y.L. will address the meeting.

KANSAS CITY.—A united front has been formed around the May Day demonstration including, in addition to the Workers Party, the following groups: The Left Wing Socialists, the American Workers Union (unemployed organization), the Communist Party, the Continental Technocrats. No outdoor meeting has as yet been planned, as the reactionary city officials consistently refuse a permit for any sort of open air demonstration or parade.

An indoor mass meeting is planned with speakers on "The 30-Hour Week," "Social Insurance," and

Raw Deal Put Over in Akron

(Continued from Page 1)

given prominence in a first page story. Day by day, as progressives looked to the one-time denouncers of the A. F. of L. as a "company union" and its bureaucratic officials as "fascists" to point out in uncompromising words the openly apparent moves toward the betrayal, the C. P., instead of uttering any warning or denunciation of the betrayers, imparted an air of radicalism to these leaders in return for the right to trail in their company and gain "respectability" in the eyes of the workers.

Browder Swallows His Tongue

Earl Browder, national secretary of the C. P., spoke Friday night to over nine hundred workers in Akron and deliberately refrained from even mentioning Green, Claherty and Co. In last Saturday's Daily Worker, at the very moment when the entire scheme to break the strike should have been clear to anyone with even a pretense of class-conscious judgment, Browder issued a statement on the Akron situation in which he warns the workers against the government but not against their own treacherous leaders with whom he was in alliance. These he addresses in the Daily Worker with "comradely words"! So capitulating to the bureaucrats was Browder, that Wilber Tate, an official A. F. of L. organizer, who spoke from the same platform, was reported in the Akron daily press as being more militant than Browder!

Akron press reports on the morning following the signing of the agreement fully indicated the extent of the rubber bosses' victory. Officials of the Big Three plants and heads of the company unions were described as "jubilant." One rubber official declared, "We don't see what all the fuss was about. We have always given our employees precisely what the terms of this agreement call for."

Dragging Through the Courts

The terms of the agreement place company unions on an equal status with real unions, contains no guarantee of recognition to the genuine union, prevents the calling of a strike while the injunction cases against the companies are tried in the Appeals Courts and through the U. S. Supreme Court, which may drag on for endless months, and forbids the holding even of an election until the court decisions are handed down.

The unions must now prepare to fight an attempt to discharge and black-list the outstanding militants and progressive local leaders and to withstand a reign of intimidation and terror which may be launched against union men in the plants as the companies continue their counter-drives to smash the union.

Workers Party members in Akron will continue to assist in organizing the progressive unionists to fight the reactionary A. F. of L. officialdom, and help renew the courage of the union men to continue to fight for their union and build it to greater strength by more correct and militant leadership and policies.

LEFT . . .
. . . JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

"WAR IS HUMAN"

"War is simply human, and Marx on this point, as on plenty of others, talked nonsense"—New York Daily News editorial. "Plenty of wars," says the News—"have been fought for the love of Christ" or "for pure cussedness." Some examples might have been given by the editorial, such as the Opium War on China, the Mexican War, the Spanish American War, the Japanese War in Manchuria, or again we might mention the human motives, far removed from capitalist greed, that brought each and every country in to the World War. J. P. Morgan's "human" and "love of Christ" part in America's entry into that general slaughter as another touching example that proves how wrong Marx was. American marines out of "pure cussedness" I suppose, travelled around the world, and finally got a chance to die for the "love of Christ" and Rockefeller at Socony Hill, China, in 1928. The Duponts also show a human touch in providing playthings for those wishing to exercise their "pure cussedness" in slaughtering men, women and children.

WHO ARE THE SOCIAL FASCISTS?

"Does the Trade Union Unity League support proposals for a labor party? No, it rejects social fascist proposals for launching a labor party, which would be only another capitalist party."—Labor Unity, December 1933.

HAPPY NAZILAND!

Paderborn, Germany, April 11.—Elizabeth Freunderlich, 31 years old, confessed throwing her two children from a speeding train. "Poverty" was the reason given—(News item). And Hitler continues his campaign for more children, but the birth rate continues to decline.

PRESERVATION OF CIVILIZATION

Twenty-one South and North American countries signed a treaty last week guaranteeing the protection of works of art in time of war. President Roosevelt hailed the treaty as "vital for the preservation of modern civilization." "This treaty possesses a spiritual significance," said the big-Navy President. When bayonets rip guts, shells shatter bodies to bits, and poison gas rained from the air destroy the men, women and children of these American countries, let us remember with affection the statesmen who took time off from preparation for mass slaughter to sign the Roerich Pact for the preservation of museums of art, etc.

AGAIN DIVINE AND FORD

An attack on the "spiritual racketeer," Father Divine, by Oakley Johnson in the Daily Worker has been "decisively rejected by the Communist Party of Harlem," according to an answer in the Daily Worker, written by James W. Ford. Ford, according to Olgin, editor of The Freiheit, has a division of labor with Father Divine. One handles the "spiritual" needs, the other the political needs of Harlem's Negro population. In addition it now appears that they have also signed one of those defensive and non-aggression pacts, so popular with Stalinists. And by the way, has "self-determination" reached the point where we have a "Communist Party of Harlem?"

Inside Story of Rubber Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

stomachs. But they didn't give up for a while.

However, after nearly two hours of denunciation, and when the progressives had exhausted their ammunition, a Claherty-ite took the floor. More promises, more "stick-by-the-leaders" and the government . . . slowly the game became clear. Workers began to walk out, their faces dead set, the pain of betrayal was clearly evident.

When opposition began to die down, Claherty appeared—very nicely timed entrance, of course. He pleaded eloquently as workers turned their faces in disgust. He winced when someone shouted "Betrayer," but only momentarily. "The two locals used reason and you can't go out alone," he carefully began. Soon the demoralization crept in. Even progressives looked discouraged, lost in a dark labyrinth. The vote of approval passed by a small majority.

The Specter of Black-Listing

Workers left quickly after the meeting, shamed, disappointed, tears gleamed dimly in some eyes. A few brave workers openly charged, "dictatorship from the top," although expulsion was imminent. Progressives went home as one goes to a funeral. The dark specter of company blacklists, the black shadows of betrayal, the laughs of company union men haunted them.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy had negotiated an "agreement."