

NEW MILITANT

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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 showed through the agreement by a series of deceptive maneuvers and outright railroading. 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. They came back with the recognition 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 harassed 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 line—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 sluggers 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 railroading 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 don'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 Houghday, 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 Leaguers 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 Leagues 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 O.U.L. at conventions of Auglaize, 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 man-

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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. 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 Hearst 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 peace-time history.

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."

HOME SWEET HOME: Since the depression at least \$3,484 families have been forced to "double up" in Pittsburgh according to a recent survey.

BLESSED ARE THE LITTLE CHILDREN: Families on relief produce 250,000 children annually.

LABOR: Chevrolet Motors is rewarding 24 loyal and faithful workers averaging 71 years of age with free trips to Washington, D.C.

THE STATE OF THE NATION: Relief workers in Lee County, Ala., receive \$5 weekly.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 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.

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.

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.

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.

Spring Frolic and Chess Contest

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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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.

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.

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: Toledo—2, 3, 4. 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.

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.

Just Off the Press The Suppressed TESTAMENT OF LENIN With two explanatory articles by LEON TROTSKY 10c each \$7.00 per hundred

WHICH PARTY FOR THE AMERICAN WORKERS? Letters to Worker-Correspondent by A. J. MUSTE 5c each \$3.50 per hundred PIONEER PUBLISHERS 96 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

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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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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!

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.

ALLTOWN 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% POOR Philadelphia 22% Charleston 20% New Haven 20% VERY POOR San Francisco 15% New York 12% Boston 12% Gulfport 21% Toledo 12% Newcastle 10% Paterson 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: Bixoxi, Buffalo, Dickson City, Fort Wayne, Mineola, Mount Carmel, Oakland, Springfield, Stanton, 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.

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.

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. Hutcheson, 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.

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 Hutcheson 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.

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.

members and friends to take this task of augmenting the New Militant circulation as one of the first and most important ones. He called for increased circulation by thousands. Only you in the field can make this plan a reality. The ground work must be done now—quickly. This time next week should see hundreds of new subs and pledges in the business office.

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...

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...

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...

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...

The terms of the agreement exemplify to perfection the bureaucrats' infinite capacity for betraying the rank and file into "settlements" which are utter defeats.

The rubber workers were about to strike for union recognition. According to the terms of the settlement, the employers recognize no union whatever.

The rubber workers were about to strike for collective agreements which would raise wages, shorten hours, and improve other working conditions.

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...

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.

There was, of course, no lack of clear-sighted people who told these workers that only through struggle could they achieve anything at all.

Now to organization, unwilling to believe that union leadership is not always ready to follow the dictates of the membership...

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...

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.

However, if the leadership was not changed, it had at least been given a very definite task, a new task. A general textile strike had to take place in America.

As already mentioned, the newly organized workers were disappointed in the New Deal as embodied in the code.

Labor-Saving and Speed-Up

Further, they were impelled to take drastic action by the conditions of employment and, mostly, unemployment which still prevail.

Labor had to bear the brunt of the new conditions. But labor could not continue to bear this burden indefinitely. A point was sure to be reached, sooner or later, when there would be open revolt.

These were the reasons for the general strike. And the convention of 1934 proved that the saturation point had finally been reached, the last straw put on the back of the workers.

This, of course, in the minds of the workers. Confusedly they knew that a strike involves two parties. They were conscious of their own, and were willing and ready to fight anyone that would line up on the other side.

Leadership Trusts in Washington But the leadership of the strike was even more backward than that. Not only did they fail to realize that the forces of government would

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

be involved of necessity, and involved against them, but they even went so far as to hope for and welcome intervention by the government. It was their job to know beforehand how many and who would be the enemies they would have to face...

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.

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...

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...

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...

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."

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.

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.

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!

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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.

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!

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Question Box

By A. WEAVER

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..."

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 bipeds? 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 unholy 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. Believe it or 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. Moble, Ala.

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(Continued from Page 1)

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.

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 calculated 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

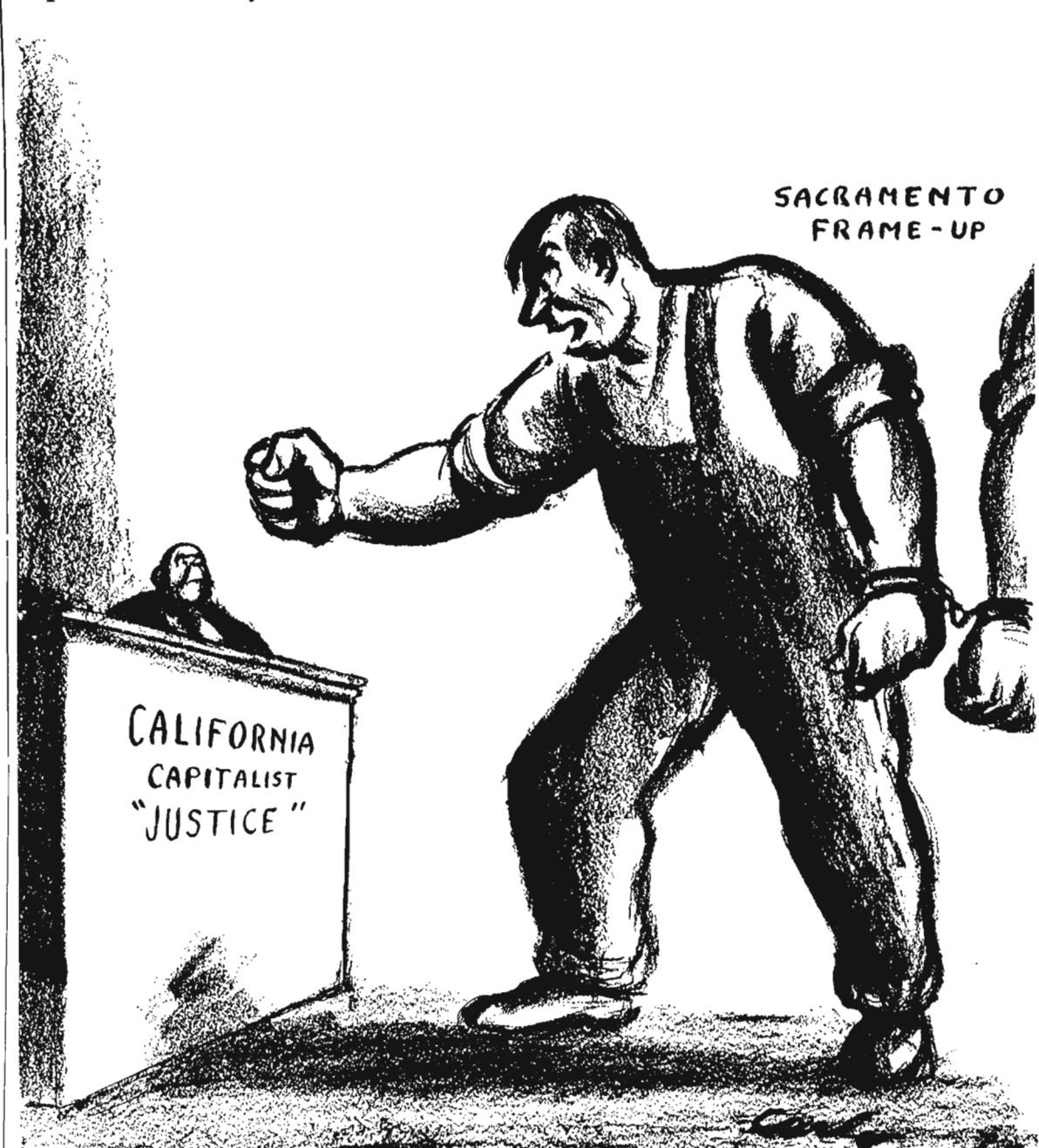
WHAT stands out in the ranks of the Socialist movement of the world today is the desire to draw the right lessons from the terrific defeats suffered by the labor movement in the past two years. The present leadership of the American Socialist Party came into power on the wave of working class dissatisfaction with the old-line reformist policies which brought the proletariat to such catastrophes. But whereas thousands of workers have shown an intense desire to find the revolutionary Marxist 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 Haggood 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-valuate 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."



SACRAMENTO FRAME-UP

May First to Be Banner Day

(Continued from page 1)

and groups, with which they used to think 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 precious. 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 Marxist 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

Raw Deal Put Over in Akron

(Continued from Page 1)

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.

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 naught, 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-class war 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.

Raw Deal Put Over in Akron

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 when he spoke on his own behalf 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 into 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 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."