

Partial Victory Gained By Toledo Workers

BULLETIN
Toledo, June 6.—The auto workers' strike was settled yesterday by a signed agreement between the committee of the United Automobile Workers' Federal Labor Union No. 18364 and the Electric Auto-Lite Company, and two smaller companies. Main points of the agreement are:
1. Indirect recognition of the union, in the sense that it is named in the contract and the bosses are committed to deal with its committee. This is important because the recent auto settlement establishing the Auto Labor Board made union recognition practically impossible and provided proportional representation on workers' bargaining committees for company unions. The victory of the Toledo auto workers was gained on this point by the fact that the union refused to deal with the Auto Labor Board. This reopens the issue of union recognition throughout the auto industry.
2. No discrimination against union members and representatives. All who walked out to be rehired, but those who did not walk out are also rehired. Men to go back within one week. In lay-offs, the first to go will be those not on the payroll Feb. 23—when the first strike began—that is, the scabs.
3. 5% increase for all workers, and a minimum of 5% above code minimums, which means from 12-17% increase for women, who were being paid below code minimums.
4. The worst feature of the agreement is that the union is committed not to strike until the expiration of the six months' agreement. Fortunately, renewal of the agreement is not compulsory. By 30 days notice before its expiration, the union may cancel the renewal clause.
The agreement was nearly wrecked by an announcement by the company on Sunday that those who did not walk out would be the first to go back to work, and the strikers would follow during the week. The company was able to make this outrageous move only because the scheduled general strike, the threat of which had been hanging over their heads, had been withdrawn definitely on Saturday by the Central Labor Union. However, solidarity of the strikers and the widespread resentment against the company, due to the killings of a striker and a sympathizer last week by the militia, forced the company to back down.
Toledo, June 4.—The scheduled general strike was abandoned by the A. F. of L. leadership, despite the persistent demand and favorable vote of the local unions, and before the settlement for the Auto-Lite plant was agreed to. Negotiations are still being carried on, but the bosses are now negotiating with no danger of a general strike facing them.
The general strike was originally called for five weeks ago, when the auto workers were already on strike. Evidence was produced before the Central Labor Union then to show that the Toledo Manufacturers Association was planning a concerted attack to destroy the trade union movement in Toledo. The call for the general strike was the answer. Every union in Toledo was to set up its specific demands and all unions were to strike simultaneously.
Ask for Governmental Intervention
However, during the last two weeks nothing was said about the demands to be raised by each union. Then Oliver Meyers, business agent of the Electrical Workers Union of the Edison workers, who took the general strike plan seriously and immediately, led his union in an onslaught on the Edison company, was removed from the chairmanship of the committee of 23 preparing the general strike, and was replaced by a little-known conservative, Aubry, who was put forward to take the rap for the failure to go on with the general strike.
The committee of 23, under Meyers' leadership, had arranged for a monster torchlight parade to be held Friday evening, June 1, ending with a meeting in Courthouse Square at which the date of the general strike would be announced. The night before the parade, the local A. F. of L. bureaucracy, egged on by T. N. Taylor, personal representative of William Green, pushed through a motion in the Central Labor Union to send an appeal to Roosevelt to intervene. This was done after 95 out of 96 locals had voted for a general strike! The appeal to Roosevelt, as the capitalist

press happily pointed out, made impossible announcement of the general strike the next night, since Roosevelt would take time to answer the appeal.
A. F. of L. Leaders Force Retreat
On Tuesday, two days before the Roosevelt appeal, Mayor Klotz, sensing the rising tide, tried to clear himself by blaming Sheriff Krieger and his deputies for the violence at the Auto-Lite plant. This was followed on Thursday by an order withdrawing the troops from strike duty, and the troops began leaving town Friday morning. A significant indication of the powerful growth of workingclass feeling is the fact that, while throughout the country on Wednesday there appeared Arthur Brisbane's column "Today" carrying an attack on the Toledo auto strikers and pointed remarks on the use of the army against radicals, the anti-labor Toledo Blade deleted all references to the strikers and the army from Brisbane's column. Meanwhile, from the day on which the strikers and sympathizers had penned in the scabs in the Auto-Lite plant, on May 23, the
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Mooney Appeal Goes to the U.S. Supreme Court

Governor Ralph of California is dead. His name like that of Pontius Pilate is sure of a place in history. Two acts of his insured that. One was his approval of lynching. The other his refusal of a pardon to Tom Mooney. Without any further information, future historians will be able to estimate correctly the status of "justice" in California in these years, the class division in society, and the weakness of the American labor movement. The date of his death will also be placed as during the great longshoremen's strike of 1934, which along with the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes is indicative of the rise of a new militancy and a new leadership in the labor movement of America. New hopes arise, new possibilities for the taking up in earnest the fight for the freedom of Mooney and all class war prisoners.
In the meantime, Mooney from his cell in San Quentin sends out a call to the working class of America for funds for his appeal through the courts. We urge our readers to support his plea . . . organize parties, affairs . . . donate what you can and forward money to the Mooney Defense Committee. Mooney's statement follows in part:
My Dear Readers of The Militant:
My Attorneys, Frank P. Walsh of New York City, John F. Finerty of Washington, D. C. and George T. Davis of San Francisco, filed my application for a writ of habeas corpus in the United States District Court for Northern California, at San Francisco on the 7th day of May 1934.
If the United States District Court denies this writ it will be appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, and then the United States Supreme Court, if that is necessary.
The initial expenses for this legal work places a tremendous burden of raising \$5,000 upon my defense committee for briefing the great wealth of material in this eighteen year old case, stenographic, typing and other clerical help, office rent, supplies, printing and binding of briefs, postage, telegrams, telephone and transportation and traveling expenses for at least one of the attorneys, all of whom have volunteered their services without fee.
This whole program will be in jeopardy if we are unable to raise this indispensable sum. This emergency compels me to plead with you for a donation to be used exclusively for expenses directly connected with this Federal Court Action.
Please accept in advance my warmest personal regards, best fraternal greetings and heartfelt thanksgiving for any consideration shown this communication.
Sincerely,
TOM MOONEY
Address all communication and make all funds payable to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California.

Roosevelt's New Cuban Treaty

American imperialism, through the Roosevelt government has discontinued the Platt Amendment, which accorded to the United States the right of intervention in Cuban affairs. In its place a new treaty has been drawn up which retains the Guantanamo naval base.
The Platt Amendment has been one of the main causes of friction and hatred against the United States in Cuba and throughout the whole of Latin America. Now it is hoped that the new treaty will modify these antagonisms and place American imperialism in a better light. But why does the United States give up its rights under the Platt Amendment and what effects will this have in Latin American relations?
This concession to Latin America is one of the results of the Cuban revolution. Although unable to reach the goal of a Soviet government, the Cuban revolution was powerful enough to shake to the very foundation the rule of the exploiters in Cuba. The few reforms granted in Cuba, and the discontinuing of the Platt Amendment are measures of the American imperialists, in conjunction with the native exploiters, to prevent the rekindling of the revolutionary fires and prevent it from spreading and consuming everything dear to the capitalists and landowners. Under the cover of this bitter persecution of the revolutionists can be continued more effectively.
The abrogation of the Platt Amendment alters nothing fundamentally regarding American imperialism's position on intervention in Latin America. From a tactical standpoint, however,—and this is highly significant,—it will have a favorable effect for the United States. This forced concession on the part of the United States is passed off as a magnanimous deed and as a new policy toward Latin America. It is part of a new policy; a new policy of greater penetration and domination of Latin America by American imperialism, not through the clumsy big stick method, but by a more subtle and more clever, but just as deadly method.
The friends of Roosevelt should also call this another master stroke of Roosevelt diplomacy. It will appease a large section of the national bourgeoisie of Cuba and will pacify large layers of the petty bourgeoisie throughout Latin America. In this sense it will strengthen American imperialism in its struggle for greater hegemony over America. It will be worthwhile propaganda against the rising wave of anti-American and anti-imperialist discontent in Cuba and in Latin America.
At the same time the new treaty combined with the economic might of American imperialism and the Monroe Doctrine insures American domination not only in Cuba but the rest of Latin America. The new treaty provides for the naval base and so far as the right of intervention is concerned imperialism needs no written permissions.

Latin America has been raped many times by American intervention. Mexico has felt the iron heel of the north. Wherever the American imperialist interests were at stake, intervention in one form or another has been resorted to in the past, and will be resorted to in the future.
The New York Times in an editorial of May 31 says, "But it remains true with or without a treaty, the American Government may lawfully intervene in Cuba to protect its own nationals or their property in case the territorial government is unable to do so." That states the matter bluntly and clearly.
—H. O.

League in Campaign to Build Organization and Press

Expansion of the League and consolidation of its press is now an imperative necessity. Great opportunities for this are at hand but we must find the means with which to take advantage of them.
Minneapolis is setting the pace. Following the successful strike in which the League played such a splendid role the branch has started a campaign to draw recruits from amongst the militants who were in the strike and bring them into our organization. They are engaged in a campaign to extend the circulation of the Militant.
With the appearance of the theoretical organ on July first, serious steps are also under way to popularize the Militant, to make it a more effective mass agitation paper. We are thus beginning to make good our program of expansion. Our subscription campaign for the Militant went over the top. A new membership drive is being undertaken by the branches from coast to coast. The first new branch in this drive is organized in Richmond, California.
But at this point we must address a serious word to our members, sympathizers and readers. We need your help in this campaign. First of all the existence of the

Nation Wide Strike Looms Throughout Steel Industry

Mighty Attack on Company Union Fortress Planned

A nation-wide steel strike possibly of larger proportions than the strike of 1919 is in preparation. It is scheduled to begin on June 16 unless the NRA administration, President Roosevelt, and the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the union succeeds by some desperate last minute measure to put over a deal.
Over a considerable period of time the steel workers, counting a total of nearly 450,000 throughout the country, have demanded ever more persistently a showdown on the right to have a union. Thus a mighty attack upon this fortress of company unionism is in the making. The union in the industry, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, has seen its ranks swelled with new recruits joining in large numbers. Many determined militants are coming forward demanding action. Undoubtedly, if the steel strike actually takes place, which at this moment seems quite certain, thousands of unorganized workers in the industry will join the union in its fight, not to speak of the likelihood of this strike engulfing other mass production industries which depend upon iron and steel.
On May 21 the union presented its demands. These demands were

for union recognition and the right of collective bargaining, the 30-hour week, six-hour day, one dollar an hour for common labor with corresponding increases for other grades of work. Failure to meet these demands were to result in a nation-wide strike. Needless to say, the steel trust flatly refused to even consider these demands.
At a union convention held not very long ago the delegates in their overwhelming majority insisted on this program and carried it through over the heads of the union officials headed by Mike Tighe. These delegates however did not entrust the execution of this program to Mike Tighe. They elected a special committee of ten members composed largely of union district leaders to be in charge of the presentation of the demands and to be in charge of all preparations for strike.
But the preparations are not at all one-sided. The steel trust does not ask for mediation. It resents even such interference. It prepares in its own way. Governor Pinchot, for example, reports that "the steel companies are arming with machine-guns, barbed wire, etc." Here we have a private empire with its own hired thugs and gunmen. It speaks in the terms of force—of armed force. It understands no other language. But there need be little doubt that following upon the heels of the Minneapolis and Toledo battles the steel workers will also have learned to understand the mighty power which rests in their mass numbers. A splendid example of militancy has been set for them. Most likely they will not be slow to learn, and it can be said with little fear of contradiction that the most gripping events in the present strike wave are still to be recorded.

The Fear of the Strike Spreading
In face of these armed preparations the fear is growing nevertheless amongst the agents of privilege that the projected strike may spread to other industries. For example, from the captive mines of Pennsylvania word has come to the union that the coal-miners there can be expected to make common cause with the steel workers. Leading automobile manufacturers have been in conference with the NRA administration. They know that the automobile workers are restless and discontented with the sell-out settlement put over on them before. From this so-called settlement the steel workers union have already spoken one valuable lesson. Spokesmen for the committee of ten have declared: "We are not going to see a fumble this time like the auto strike was fumbled." They say that they are against mediation of the steel board such as was set up in the auto industry. They say that they are against any proposals for an election to be held in the steel industry to determine the rights of the workers to belong to a union. After the experiences in the Weirton elections they have good grounds for this opposition.
Will the Union Fight It Out?
So far so good. The statements made and the preparations which are under way indicate determination by the steel workers union. It is clear that there is no other way to settle the issue of the right to union recognition and improved wages and working conditions, but through the mobilization of the steel workers in a nation-wide strike. Strong forces are at work to divert the steel workers off this path. The union president, Mike Tighe, is applying all the cunning in his possession to accomplish his aim and to serve his masters in the steel trust. He spares no efforts to create dissension in the union. . . addressing himself to the National Labor Board, he characterizes the members of the committee of ten as "irresponsible" and "representing nobody but themselves". He knows, nevertheless, that this committee was duly elected at the union convention. Even the steel trust knows that this is a representative committee and that it speaks for the union. How closely the committee will stick to the program adopted at the union convention remains to be seen. Carrying out its mandate the committee is duty-bound to lead this struggle to its final conclusion, —to the establishment of a union in the steel industry.

Strike on Pacific Coast Extends To Shipyards

Oakland, Calif., May 26.—The West Coast longshoremen's strike is entering a new phase. Both the ship owners and the unions are preparing for a long and bitter struggle. Recently new forces to augment the police have been recruited in almost all west coast cities; the recruits coming mostly from the ranks of the war veterans. These new additions to the forces of "law and order" are being used to drive the picket lines back from the water front, in an attempt to crush the strike.
The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce boldly declares that it is going to open the port to shipping. So far the unions have answered all such statements by new and fresh walk-outs, by strengthening the picket lines and by tightening the strike generally.
Communists have played a leading role in this work and served to strengthen the militancy, the morale and the organization of the strike. Of course the scare head editorials in the Western Worker are entirely unreal. Moreover, the official party's T.U.U.L. policy now begins to come into serious conflict with the unity and with the success of the strike. There is the first indication in the resolution of the I.L.A. local union pushed through at a recent meeting stating that only A. F. of L. unions would be considered in the strike settlement. This strike breaking maneuver was successful only because of the incorrect line of the official party. Its fatal T.U.U.L. policy cannot at all meet the splitting attacks of the reactionary trade union officials. It plays directly into their hands and emphasizes in a most direct sense the imperative need of all militants becoming participants in the mass unions.
If this line is permitted to continue the whole strike front will be weakened by the pulling away of the independent unions including the C.P.'s own union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union.
Longshoremen Stand Ground
On May 31, in coast-wise Australian ballot the striking longshoremen in more than twenty cities on the Pacific Coast gave an emphatic no as their answer to the maneuvers of the mediators and the union president Ryan, and voted to stand solid until their demand for a closed shop are met. For good measure they added that the rest of the demands of the seamen unions must also be met.
During the week the strike spread to the shipyards where the machinists and the riggers unions in the major yards of San Francisco and Oakland joined in a sympathetic walk-out.
The week was marked with pitched battles between strikers and police. The strikers armed solely with their fists, bricks from a wrecked building and other such impromptu weapons stood their ground well against tear gas, buckshots, sawed-off shot guns, police horses, nightsticks and revolvers.
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Defend Thaelmann-Torgler

Ernst Thaelmann is to be put through a farcical trial by the Nazis. Hitler will demand that the "Peoples' Court", his newly organized tribunal, finds Thaelmann guilty of sedition and terrorism and condemn him to death.
The trial has been postponed for months. Solitary confinement, barbaric torture, complete isolation from friends or legal counsel; such has been the treatment of Thaelmann by the murderous Fascist regime.
The Nazis feared to put Thaelmann on trial following their notorious failure to frame up Torgler, Dimitrov, Tanev and Popoff. The four were found not guilty in the

now infamous Reichstag fire trial. The three non-Germans were permitted to go to the Soviet Union. Torgler was kept imprisoned, where he remains today, to await a charge of sedition.
The victims of Hitlerism, irrespective of their party affiliations, are our class comrades. It is our elementary duty to arouse the working class in their defense.
Symbolic of the anti-Fascists at the present moment are Thaelmann and Torgler. Support the movement for their freedom! Arouse the workers in their defense! Forge the united front against capitalist reaction and Fascism!

Socialist Party Adopts "Militant" Position At Detroit National Convention

Detroit, June 4.—The national convention of the Socialist Party, which concluded its sessions here last night, recorded a definite shifting of the party to the left—following the main tendency of international social democracy. Centrism has replaced social reformism as the official policy of the party.
The "Militants" combined with Norman Thomas and the Milwaukee group against the New York "Old Guard" to pass a diluted "Declaration of Principles" and elect a slate to the National Executive Committee. The age at which members of the Young Peoples' Socialist League (Yipsels) may enter the party was lowered from 21 to 18, thus insuring an influx of radical young Socialists into the party. On the trade union question the Centrists capitulated to the Old Guard and all criticism of the A. F. of L. leadership—the heart of the trade union resolution—was stricken out.
As for the Revolutionary Policy Committee, its independent resolutions on the principle questions were never brought to the convention floor, despite the readiness of a group of left wing delegates to support them. The R.P.C. traded off its independent position for a seat on the National Executive Committee for one of its leaders, Franz Daniel of Pennsylvania.
Such are the main results of the Detroit Convention.

The New "Declaration of Principles", which was carried by a vote of 99 to 47 (10,822 to 6,512 according to membership represented) evades the central questions of the state and revolution and the struggle against war with ambiguous formulations sufficiently elastic to admit of different and contradictory interpretations, and they were so interpreted in the debate by various speakers, and to attract the combined support of pacifists, Municipal Socialists and those who consider themselves revolutionary Marxists.
The leaders of the "Militants", the principal sponsors of the declaration, appealed to the authority of Illiquit on every contested point and explained the stand taken on the question of war as a re-statement of the St. Louis resolution of 1917. As before stated, the position of the Revolutionary Policy Committee was not brought forward. One delegate, Peter Fagin of Michigan, protested against "the Centrist steam roller which prevented the left wing from being heard" and several other delegates filed similar declarations with their votes for the adopted resolution.
The "Old Guard", on the other hand, which stands pat on "Democratic Socialism" of the European pre-Hitler type and makes no concessions whatever to the tragic outcome in Germany and Austria,

waged a furious struggle against the resolution. Denouncing it as "an anarchistic illegal doctrine," Louis Waldman of New York declared: "It is inconceivable to me how I can remain a Social Democrat and vote for this declaration."
In a voice quivering with indignation and amazement at the suggestion of a possible violation of the rules of class warfare laid down by the capitalists, Waldman shouted: "How can a party dedicated to peaceful and legal struggle speak of mass resistance to war?" Greeted by a storm of boos from the gallery, in which many delegates joined, Waldman declared, "I will stand all the boos, and also agree to defend in court all those who may be indicted on the basis of this resolution."
This was the strain of all the arguments of the extreme right. Be careful—or we will all be arrested. In speech after speech they strove to incite fear of consequences and demanded the restriction of the socialist struggle to the framework of bourgeois democracy. This, said Panken, was a fundamental question, and collectively they rejected a proposal to offer amendments on this or that paragraph. "We are confronted here", said his Honor the Judge, "with a fundamental cleavage of philosophy and theory. Do we want to abandon the demo-"
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