

Fight to Oust Wolinsky

(Continued from Page 1)

friend than Wolinsky. The workers will pay very dearly if they allow Wolinsky and the present leadership to go through with their conspiracy.

The Chicago pocketbook workers local union withdrew from the International Pocketbook Workers Union in New York. They declared that as long as Wolinsky is in the union, they will have nothing to do with the New York organization. Wolinsky called on Sam Lederman, manager of the Chicago local and told him to remain in New York for a few weeks. He wanted to send one of his henchmen, Lubliner to Chicago, in order to line up the Chicago local for Wolinsky. Of course Sam Lederman immediately went back to Chicago and declared he will continue the fight against Wolinsky.

What Must Be Done Now

What is necessary at present is that the united opposition groups should carry on the struggle with more vigor against the "fraternal" club administration and Wolinsky. We must demand a union meeting. At the membership meeting we must renew the fight for a new conference committee. A conference committee to be elected of the most intelligent and militant workers. We must fight to mobilize the workers for a strike for the following demands:

1. For the 30-hour week to relieve the unemployed situation.
2. For an increase in wages to the 1929 scale.
3. For unemployment insurance to be paid by the employers under the control of the union.
4. Abolition of the impartial machinery which is an agency for the bosses and a club against the workers.
5. Settlements out of town to be made only if the workers' wages are gradually raised to the New York level.

The administration is maneuvering with the code authorities in Washington. Nothing will be accomplished from Washington. Only through a struggle against the bosses and the Wolinsky gang, can the pocketbook workers come out victorious of the present situation.

Wolinsky Gang Breaks Union Meeting

The meeting of the New York Pocketbook workers at Stuyvesant High School held this week was broken up by the Wolinsky gang when they found that the united front of all progressive elements were present in force.

The meeting was called to hear a report of the Joint Council and Conference Committee on the negotiations with the bosses. They reported that the conference with employers had been broken off by the bosses who refused to consider any demands of the union. Instead of proposing steps in preparation for strike struggle to win the union demands, the Joint Council proposed that the wages, hours and conditions of work be left to the mercy of some "impartial" fact-finding commission.

This capitulation to the bosses was opposed by speakers of the "United Anti-Wolinsky Committee" who urged the members to vote down this betrayal of their interests by the bosses' tool, Wolinsky, and to carry on the fight for their demands in the only way in which workers had ever won anything—that is by struggle. Mattlin of the Socialist League and Diamond of the Rank and File spoke strongly against the fact-finding committee and received loud applause from the membership. Wolinsky, who was received with jeers, forgot all about his previous demagogic speeches on hours and wages, and spoke on the delights of "fact-finding". Stein, manager in name only, echoed the words of his master Wolinsky, and Hershfield wagged his tail in support. Black, a rank and file worker, pointed out that the Business Agents Wise and Secretary Treasurer Goldman paraded around from shop to shop urging the bosses to attend the Association meeting and to oppose a lockout. Whether the bosses agreed or not will be found out later. Sam Fisher, despite all efforts to get the floor, was shouted down by the chairman, Czar Kilman. Many others were trying to get the floor when discussion was closed. As the vote was about to be taken, slugs of the Wolinsky gang precipitated a fight and the meeting broke up in a general disorder. The situation is now squarely up to the United Anti-Wolinsky Committee.

The time for statements is passed, action is demanded. It is now necessary that other forces should be called in. Every group in the union and every rank and file progressive must be drawn into the fight. A meeting of Pocketbook Makers should be called by the United Committee with representatives of all Labor Papers present. Representatives of other unions should be invited and every real union force in the labor movement mobilized to drive this bosses' tool, Wolinsky, out of the union, and drive the corrupt administration which even the Forward says it can't stomach, out of office. In this fight the Militant will do its part for unionism and against the bosses' paid agent, Wolinsky.

—N.D.F.

The Strike Wave and The Role of the NRA

The NRA promised the people social peace, class harmony and prosperity. But after one year of the Blue Eagles' rule, we witness a spiral wave of strike struggles that threaten to shake America out of its old way of thinking and make it realize that a "new day" is here for capital and labor. It is not a new day of class peace as promised by Roosevelt. It heralds a period of intensified antagonisms in the camp of the exploiting classes and between capital and labor.

At present a new strike wave is spreading throughout the nation. Most of the struggles are for the elementary right of union organization and union recognition, but they all include a struggle for higher pay and a decrease in hours. Everywhere workers are becoming disappointed with the NRA, especially since the Roosevelt Auto Settlement interpretation of collective bargaining.

The "Tory" of American politics tells us that the strike waves are due to the NRA. But this is far from the truth. The labor unrest and the impotence of the union question today is a phenomena that can be traced to more fundamental sources, which in turn place the NRA as a capitalist stop-gap for the powerful upsurge of the working class.

NRA in the First Strike Wave

The first strike wave swept the country at the very beginning of the NRA and was dramatized by the Pennsylvania mine strikes and the Paterson silk strike. The NRA revealed itself in this situation, along with the A. F. of L. labor leaders, as a force in the defense of capital, against the workers, attempting, at every opportunity, to corral them into class collaboration machinery and to blunt their class weapons, thereby compelling the workers to return to work at the bosses' terms.

The second strike wave, which threatened to rock the very foundation of American capitalism, was checked at first by the sell-out of the Auto workers by Green and Company under the Roosevelt-NRA plan. This was a decided set-back for organized labor. But no sooner had the bosses said "all's well", then local strikes in the auto industry upset all the plans. Other strikes in the basic industries followed in quick order and are now sweeping the country. All indications are that a new upsurge of greater scope is now in the making.

The capitalist class foresaw the developing strike struggles and prepared in advance to meet the situation. For this purpose the NRA was adopted by their government. Although the NRA serves a broader purpose than as a class collaboration machinery to hold in check the class struggle, this nevertheless, is one of its basic features. The capitalists realized that the conservative A. F. of L. base was too narrow to cope with the new situation. The A. F. of L. was losing its economic base, as a natural process of the crisis. The workers of the basic industries were outside of the A. F. of L., the unskilled workers were ignored and the labor fakers showed no inclination to organize them. The vast majority of the American workers were unorganized.

To confront a period of increased class antagonisms between capital and labor with such a labor condition may be fatal for capital. Because the inevitable increase in strike struggles and motion toward union organization may get out of the hands of the conservative labor leaders and into class struggle channels. In other words, the class collaboration machinery of the A. F. of L. was too narrow to cope with the new situation.

Aim of the New Deal
The labor provisions under the New Deal, through the NRA section dealing with this, were designed to extend this base of class collaboration machinery. At the same time it was the aim to involve the existing A. F. of L. leaders in order to reach the millions of unorganized and unskilled.

A review of the strike struggles reported and analyzed in the columns of the Militant will convince one that the whole NRA labor machinery and its intervention in labor disputes, locally and nationally, has been to confuse and disorganize the workers and finally hand down decisions against them. Its first task is to prevent strikes. If this cannot be accomplished it continues its treacherous role with the labor fakers and the bosses. Even reports of strike struggles in the leading bourgeois papers cannot hide these facts. Every intervention of the Labor Boards and every settlement of strikes stands out in bold relief as an attempt to betray and defeat the working class. This, together with the open betrayal of the A. F. of L. leaders, is pushing the strike struggles to the left.

The Present Task

More independent action on the one hand and outlaw strikes within the conservative unions on the other, indicate in which direction things are heading. This calls for an intensification of the work within the conservative unions in order to widen the gap between the rank and file and the fake leaders and, at the same time, to provide independent action outside of the A. F. of L., where such action becomes necessary.

The best way to retard this left wing development and help bolster up the labor fakers, and enable them again to save their faces, is to proceed to form a "new federation of labor" without the proper basis for it. This is the plan of the Stalinists to replace the Trade Union Unity League. Such a federation, controlled by the Stalinists, will play the same role today, on a larger scale, than the T. U. U. L. played when it was formed. It will retard the development of a genuine left wing movement in the conservative unions and also interfere with the building of independent industrial unions. The building of independent industrial unions is directly connected with a live active left wing in the conservative unions which can give the proper support to the new unions and at the same time stay the hand of the labor fakers.

The confusion that Stalinism brings into the working class ranks plays havoc with the class-conscious workers' struggle against the labor fakers and the struggle against the NRA codes.

Results of the New Deal

The codes adopted so far are a disgrace to organized labor. They must be wiped out if labor is to benefit. The closed shop is outlawed. The open shop is legalized. The company unions are legalized. Minimum hours are entirely too long. Minimum wages are entirely too low for a living standard. With the legalizing of certain low minimum wage levels, combined with the different forms of inflation and price increase, the real wages of the workers have been reduced. Unless a more powerful strike wave develops, the real wage will be reduced further. Strikes are already outlawed. At any time deemed necessary the full force of the state power against the workers can be set in motion. An increase in brutal police and military repression of strikes is already evident.

The NRA class collaboration machinery and the A. F. of L. fakers' betrayals will not be sufficient to stop the rising tide of labor struggles in America. The vitality and class action of the American workers will sweep them aside. Great historic battles are ahead. Let us sharpen our class weapons.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Recovery For the Farmer

(Continued from Page 1)

cerned. Farmers also began to find themselves confronted with what the bourgeois writers refer to as "consumers resistance" and began to shift heavily from "controlled" to "uncontrolled" crops, and Congress was compelled to add to the subsidized list beef, dairy, cattle, peanuts, rye, barley, flax and sorghum. Getting rid of the "surplus" in farm products required more than a reduction in acreage.

Hence, while millions of working class kids starved, the producers in the dairy business in conjunction with the "brain trust" of the officialdom of the "second American Revolution" brought up \$30,000,000 worth of milk and butter, destroyed it, and suggested that milk cows would have to be killed as a preventive for the accumulation of future surpluses.

Agricultural Production to be Forced Backward
But Chester C. Davis, Farm Administrator, worked the old brain overtime and found a happy solution. He said that butter fat reduction could be achieved by changes in feeding practices rather than in slaughter. The name Davis will go down in history. Hence the farmer is asked to unlearn in a few months all that it took him fifty years to learn: plant and animal breeding, the use of machinery and a scientific fertilization and cultivation of the soil rotation practices, etc.

The interests of capitalism have shifted toward a different development in agriculture. It was once deemed wise to spend millions to teach the farmer the scientific technique of farming, in a word, to make him a more efficient producer. Today production in farming as elsewhere must be retarded and the farmers are asked to the slip-shot, unscientific methods of a bygone day. Such is the price of "recovery" under capitalism.

—G. ROBERTS.

Steel Workers Union Retreats

(Continued from Page 1)

ening effect. At the same time, however, the union lacked actual preparation for a serious contest such as a struggle with the powerful steel trust of necessity would be. A contest of this character would first of all require that the membership have confidence in the union and in its ability to protect their interests. To build up such a confidence a militant leadership, constantly alert, giving constant attention to training and development of understanding of organization, its objectives and its discipline is indispensable. A policy that is militant through and through is required. The Amalgamated union has neither such a leadership nor such a policy.

The creation of the rank and file committee at the previous convention of the union, the demands advanced by this committee, and the straight-forward manner in which they were presented was undoubtedly a progressive move and registered an advance for the union. It was a great change compared to what had existed before. A lifeless union ruled by a corrupt, incompetent bureaucracy had begun to take on new life. But it stopped short. The leadership has again become practically completely identified with the reactionary machine of Mike Tighe and his lieutenants.

Steel Workers Should Not be Deceived

An enormous reservoir of strength exists amongst the hundreds of thousands of steel workers and can be drawn upon for the creation of a powerful union. To become a factor, to become an authentic spokesman of the workers, and to become a real fighting instrument, the union must be able to show to the membership that it dares to meet the enemy face to face in the field of battle. And in this respect the retreat also has its serious dangers. Many steel workers will perhaps turn away from the union in disgust.

If we are to accept the Stalinist claims union workers are now leaving the ranks of the Amalgamated Association and joining the T. U. U. L. Such a turn of events could only prove disastrous for the steel workers. The T. U. U. L. union in these recent developments could nowhere assert itself as a union. It could only follow as a tail-end, repeating the demands made by the Amalgamated Association, adding no demands of its own, and it could at no time make a pretense of ability to enforce these demands or even make a serious fight for them. It does not have the possibilities to attain to such a position because it is based essentially upon a policy of splitting away elements individually from the unions having the mass basis. It can therefore function only as a disruptive force, hampering the developments of the building of a real union in the steel industry.

The Battle Remains Inevitable
What will the Amalgamated Association do next? It has presented its demands to President Roosevelt who turned the whole matter over to the Secretary of Labor. There it will get a hearing. It will possibly get a board as proposed. But that cannot mean any gain at all to the workers. The experiences of the automobile industry and the infamous settlement accomplished there is sufficiently fresh to remind us of what it meant to the workers. First of all amongst them are union recognition. In no case can that be expected to be granted voluntarily by the steel trust. Only the force of the thousands of steel workers, firmly welded together in a compact union conscious of its position, of its great task, and conscious of the great reserve strength at its disposal can accomplish that. This means a battle of titanic proportions, a battle for which the union under any conditions must prepare. One important step in this direction is for the steel workers to have no illusions whatever that anything can be won for them except what they are able to take through the power of their own organization.

—A. S.

ORGANIZATION-PRESS CAMPAIGN

The coupon books for our organization and press fund have been in the mails a week. A few returns came in during the past few days.

Kansas City Branch was the first to answer the call. They paid for two books received by individual members, and asked for more books. Charlotte Shechet of the Boston branch remitted for her book, and also asked for more books. Manhattan Branch, New York City, collected for 8 books at its last meeting and turned in the proceeds, deducting the 20% discount for the branch organization work, according to previous arrangements.

RECEIPTS

1. A Matteson, Kansas City \$2.00
 2. Dr. M. Altare, Brooklyn 1.00
 3. C. Shechet, Boston 1.00
 4. Manhattan Branch 6.40
 5. A Friend, Youngstown 1.00
 6. A Sympathizer, Chicago 2.00
 7. S. Feinstein, Phila. 1.00
- The Chicago sympathizer writes: "I will not be able to sell the book of coupons sent me and shall therefore make an individual donation instead." Enclosed \$2.

Penalty of Wrong Trade Union Policy

The recent strike wave has demonstrated in the most forceful manner the complete isolation of the Stalinists from the main stream of the American labor movement. In the most outstanding struggles such as Minneapolis and Toledo they played no role whatever, in others, the extent of the influence they have attained has also marked the extent of the obstacles in the way of trade union advance.

Their suicidal trade union policy, as well as their general political line, is the best guarantee that they can play no role (in a progressive sense) in the labor movement.

Not being organically a part of the mass unions, they lost all perspectives. So that when the A. F. of L., in convention, came out for a 30-hour week without reduction in pay and for unemployment insurance (as opposed to the Stalinist "revolutionary" advocacy of a 35-hour week), they immediately saw an attempt to "divert the struggle of the masses" (Resolution of the 16th C. C. plenum).

Presenting a False Position

The Seventh National Convention of the C. P. stated that: "It has been a mistake on our part that we did not sooner clearly analyze and characterize the open fascism of the A. F. of L." This complete ignorance of the nature of fascism has led the party to the position where they consider it their first duty to destroy the "fascist A. F. of L. unions".

This thesis the Stalinists clung to since 1928 during which time the A. F. of L. bureaucrats could proceed unchallenged to entrench themselves still further in the mass trade unions, increasing their prestige and grip on the workers, while the "third period" philosophers were hibernating within their fortress of paper unions, evolving still more grotesque theses to plague the labor movement. Unable to get a foothold in the mass organizations of the workers and being completely disoriented by their sterile trade union policy, their action consisted solely in trying to discredit and disrupt the A. F. of L. unions.

John Williamson, writing in the Daily Worker for June 6th, gives some striking examples of the results of this "revolutionary" trade union policy of Stalinism:

"Leaders" Fail to Advance With Workers

"The majority of these strikes (referring to the recent strike wave) were led by the A. F. of L. (What?! The fascist unions?) Only a few (!?) Which ones, pray?) by the revolutionary unions. It would be pretentious to say that the agitation and work of the Party and T. U. U. L. was one of the main forces responsible for stimulation and starting the strike wave." Well, well, so it was the "company" A. F. of L. unions that started the strike wave and not the "revolutionary" T. U. U. L. unions. Is it any wonder then that the workers gravitate to the A. F. of L. rather than to the "revolutionary" trade unions? And here Williamson describes how these striking revolutionists functioned (Daily Worker, June 6th):

1. "In Cleveland while there are Party members in at least 20 A. F. of L. locals, there was not a single functioning fraction or real opposition group functioning."

2. "In some locals individual Communists had influence, but no broad opposition groups were organized, because it was argued that this would orientate the members to staying within the A. F. of L. and "our objective must be to take them out as quickly as possible."

The Rival Unions Labeled "The Opposition"

3. "Experiences in the methods of organizing A. F. of L. opposition groups brought out sharply the confusion. In Akron where we had heard much about opposition work, an examination brought out that the opposition was a mere handful of workers close to the party who were brought to the Party headquarters or Unemployed Council headquarters for a meeting. The person who was the self-appointed spokesman was the Party Section Organizer, not a rubber worker or a union member. The leaflets issued by the 'opposition' were written by the Party Section Organizer—were mimeographed by him and in the Party office."

4. "But why blame only the comrades in the sections, when only two months ago the then T. U. U. L. secretary in Cleveland rented a headquarters for the T. U. U. L. and began labelling one room as the official headquarters of the Rank and File Opposition Center in the A. F. of L.?"

5. "Only a couple of days before the calling of the Fisher Body strike, the comrades inside the A. F. of L. union wanted to print and then actually printed leaflets for the holding of a mass meeting in the name of the Auto Workers Union. These specific comrades should have had as their main concern the workers in the A. F. of L. union, who two days later were to call such a tremendous strike, with our comrades at that moment not sensitive to the moods of the workers

Hooliganism In Harlem

The Stalinists of Harlem are no worse and no better than the Stalinists of Brownsville. Harlem has been called the national concentration center of the official Party. During the last two weeks they have shown that they are fully capable of carrying out the concentration duty. They might not be masters in smashing the Fascists, but for that they make up with all the greater militancy in disrupting the meetings of other working class organizations.

On Tuesday, June 19, some of our Harlem comrades distributed leaflets to workers attending a party at the New Star Casino. After about 15 minutes, Sassi, Harlem Section Organizer of the Communist Party rushed out excitedly toward our comrades. Beecher, Barry, Visconti and Cockran, all of whom have been recently expelled from the party and the Y.C.L., these comrades greeted him cordially with a leaflet. Sassi walked up in a fit, pulled the leaflets out of Beecher's hands and tore them up. "Now I believe in democracy," he exclaimed, "but—you'd better move on."

Our comrades stood their ground. Cohen, the educational director of the Harlem party section then grabbed the leaflets out of a girl comrade's hands and an attack by the Stalinists followed. Half of the Harlem section leaders rushed out at our comrades, who were outnumbered by ten to one, and thus showed their "bravery". Cochran, coming in to defend the comrades, was viciously clipped in the eye by one of the picked Stalinist ushers. Several other of our comrades were hurt in the melee.

Thus did the gallant party leaders demonstrate the superiority of their leaders and the correctness of their party line. The fascists are misled workers who must be won over to Communism. But the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites" are class-enemies who must be destroyed.

On Sunday, June 10th at about midnight the headquarters of the Communist League of America, Harlem Branch was smashed open. Windows were broken, doors pushed in and all the literature and newspapers were strewn over the floor. We did not actually see who broke into the headquarters but from past performances and all indications we are led to believe that a Stalinist wrecking-crew did the job.

The highest ambition of the Communist party leaders is to be able to emulate the methods of the fascists.—But that will play directly into the hands of the latter. Every worker must realize that democracy in the labor movement is of greatest importance at this time and that this Stalinist hooliganism plays into the hands of reaction.

CANNON LECTURE ON THE MINNEAPOLIS STRIKE

A crowd of 500 New York workers cheered J. P. Cannon again and again as he spoke on the preparation, the militancy, and the settlement of the Minneapolis Truck Drivers Strike at the Irving Plaza Hall last Sunday night.

The careful preparation for the strike, the detailed instructions for pickets worked out in advance, and the military precision with which the strike machinery functioned, was dealt with by Comrade Cannon and listened to with rapt attention by the audience. Reading from a copy of the agreement Cannon tore to shreds the slanderous attacks of the Stalinists on the strike leaders as betrayers and the settlement as a sell-out.

He challenged the Stalinists to show a single case in the entire country, out of all the hundreds of strikes which the Daily Worker reports them to have led, where a strike from start to finish was conducted as well as the Minneapolis strike—or to show one case where a better or even as good a settlement was made.

The intense interest of the audience was shown by the many questions asked by members and supporters of all groups and tendencies. "What was the role of the C. P.?" "Are the strike leaders known in Minneapolis as Communists?" "How can a Communist say that Governor Olson was undecided whether to use the National Guard or not?" "Why do you attack the Communist Party?" "Why do you propose to allow Local 574 to remain in the A. F. of L.?" and many other questions.

One worker said that when the Daily Worker attacked the strike leaders as betrayers he believed the very opposite.

Comrade Cannon answered all questions to the satisfaction of the audience and finished with an appeal for support of the Communist League and for the building of a new Communist Party that will give the entire American working class the same militant and intelligent leadership that was given the truck drivers in Minneapolis. Numerous requests were made that a pamphlet on trade union strategy and tactics be written by Comrade Cannon to be based on his report on the Minneapolis strike. Thus ended one of the most successful and enthusiastic meetings ever conducted by the Communist League in New York.

—A. W. PAUL.

Protest N.Y. City Police Terror

After stalling for more than a month since a joint complaint was made by the Socialist Party, the Communist League and the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Police Commissioner O'Ryan of New York has at last been compelled to open hearings into the brutal slugging of anti-Nazi workers which occurred in the West Side Court on May 17. That outbreak of police viciousness is part of the reign of terror loosed against workers by La Guardia's city administration as a means of putting over relief-cuts.

O'Ryan stalled until the charges against the police multiplied and the liberal Evening Post attacked O'Ryan in order to save La Guardia's reputation with liberal and labor elements. Reluctantly, O'Ryan ordered an investigation. The method of investigation, however, is the usual one: star-chamber proceedings, where the plaintiffs have no counsel, reporters are barred, and cops whose thuggery has been so successful as to bring them to the top of the force are set to catch lesser thugs!

On June 21 Deputy Inspector Schelling held a hearing. Testimony, was given by victims of police attacks, including several young Socialists, a League member and a non-political worker. Eye-witnesses also were present to testify. The delegation was led by A. J. Gerber, Socialist City Secretary, and Herbert Solow, Secretary of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

At the outset of the hearing, Solow read into the record a protest against the Department's stalling tactics. But the witnesses barely began to give testimony, when Deputy Inspector Schelling stated that since most charges are against plainclothesmen, the delegation had come to the wrong place. The fact is, however, that Schelling himself sent for the delegation and that the original letter of complaint made it clear that dicks were involved. This was just another means of stalling.

In a statement to reporters at the end of the hearing, Solow said: "It is quite clear that the rulers of the police force have not and are not behaving as though they wanted to find out who some of these sluggers are. If we expect to get anywhere with this, we'll have to keep fighting. After marching into office at the head of a Jewish anti-Nazi parade, O'Ryan has brought his own terrorism to New York. Every workers' organization, every enemy of reaction should join in a fight to oust this organizer of brutality against workers. As for La Guardia, it is time to smoke him out too. It is useful that the New York Evening Post is printing some of the facts about police brutality, but when it denies the Mayor's responsibility it defends one who shares guilt equally with O'Ryan."

—A. W. PAUL.