

NEW MILITANT

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The Betrayal In Rubber

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

The rubber workers, including many of the best local leaders who are heart and soul for the union, saw the issue too simply: the workers versus the rubber companies. But experience showed that it was much more complicated. The government run-around was also a factor in the situation; at the critical moment, thanks to the mistaken faith of the rubber workers, it turned out to be the decisive factor.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 Leroux 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 that those comrades who really and sincerely want to make our party a revolutionary one to begin to re-evaluate the present National leadership. In regard to the Right wing, there have long ceased to exist any illusions about their social democratic policies. But in reference to the N.E.C. and their supporters, illusions still continue to exist and some of us have been proudly boasting about our newly found revolutionary principles."

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

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



May First to Be Banner Day

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and groups, with which they used to think it disgraceful and "un-American" to associate! Brushing away from their eyes the webs spun by the bosses' propaganda, they are making May Day their own again!

Thus May Day emphasizes once more the correctness and the critical importance of the decisions of the founding convention of the Party on the mass organizations and mass work. We must get into the unions and the unemployed organizations. We must become intimately bound up with them and with their struggles. Never has there been such an opportunity to draw close to the masses, masses that are in motion, masses bent upon struggle. To neglect this opportunity is treason of the blackest sort.

The Wrong Way

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

The confidence won by responsible revolutionists because they fight side by side with the masses in their struggles, because they labor harder than any others to build the unions and the unemployed leagues, that confidence so hardly won is 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 Marxian party will use the confidence that it wins from the masses to expose illusions, fallacies and falsehoods. On this May Day in the United States it will agitate against every form

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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 battery of the international revolutionary movement. Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain! Given such a program and such a spirit the workers can be confident that—

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

May Day in N.Y.C.

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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.

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

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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 in to the World War. J. P. Morgan's "human" and "love of Christ" part in America's entry into that general slaughter as another touching example that proves how wrong Marx was. American marines out of "pure cussedness" I suppose, travelled around the world, and finally got a chance to die for the "love of Christ" and Rockefeller at Socony Hill, China, in 1928. The Duponts also show a human touch in providing playthings for those wishing to exercise their "pure cussedness" in slaughtering men, women and children.

WHO ARE THE SOCIAL FASCISTS?

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

HAPPY NAZILAND!

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

PRESERVATION OF CIVILIZATION

Twenty-one South and North American countries signed a treaty last week guaranteeing the protection of works of art in time of war. President Roosevelt hailed the treaty as "vital for the preservation of modern civilization." "This treaty possesses a spiritual significance," said the big-Navy President. When bayonets rip 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 Olgun, 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

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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."