

# Call for Revolutionary Mass Action in France

(Continued from Page 1)

en in the traditional havens of neutrality, works of defense, armaments, and military construction grow monstrously.

And in France? The same scene! Aviation, steel, shipyards, chemicals, all the war industries are booming. This year 20 billion francs are devoted to so-called "national defense". A plan for "organizing an armed nation in case of war" is about to come before parliament: it will reduce the country to Hitler German slavery.

The French General Staff is perfecting military plans for the coordination of the Belgian and Swiss armies. It is tightening its alliances with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Finally it has concluded a military alliance with Russia.

Where is democracy in all this? What Sarraut and Maurin want to defend is the power of French imperialism, the domination of the French bourgeoisie over 60 million people in Indo-China, Madagascar, Morocco and Northern Africa, the exploitation of 20 million French workers, the dividends of the Bourse and the Bank of France, the profits of the mine, steel and textile barons! That is what stands behind the lie of "defense of democracy," of "national defense," in 1936 just as in 1914.

### The Versailles Treaty

One of the direct causes of Hitler's gesture was the Versailles Treaty. This monstrous robber pact allowed the French capitalists to arm their frontiers to the teeth. It forbade the German capitalists to keep troops on their own territory to the West of the Rhine. The Locarno Treaty consecrated this law in 1925 at the moment when the Steel Trust with the aid of American capital gave German heavy industry a new start.

Today Hitler has rejected this subjection to the Versailles Treaty. And Sarraut, the champion of democracy, begins to mobilize because the German troops have entered Germany! Once more this democracy is unmasked as a "pacifist" cover for the Versailles Treaty, the direct cause of all the conflicts in Europe since the war.

All this, Sarraut's government knows very well. It was for this very reason that Sarraut, as he revealed in his radio speech on March 8, entered into secret negotiations with Hitler after the latter declared his intentions. For Hitler relentlessly drives forward his plan for uniting the world counter-revolution to smash Soviet Russia.

This example shows, that secret diplomacy continues to plot for the real aims of capitalism while journalistic hirelings continue to shout about "defense of liberty" and other lies.

### How Can U.S.S.R. Be Defended?

But a section of the press, with l'Humanite at its head, plans to put over the lie of national defense by means of the slogan of defense of the U.S.S.R.

The Stalinist bureaucracy which has crushed the conquests of the October Revolution one after another, which even now has re-established Marshalls and Cossacks, finds allies in French, English and Belgian capitalism and the White Guard dictatorship of the Little Entente. By fanning the flames of chauvinism among the masses of the people under the national flags of these "allies", the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union pretends to "defend socialism."

Under the pretext of "defense of the U.S.S.R.," the Stalinist bureaucracy delivers the French working class bound hand and foot to both the "right and the left wing" of the General Staff and the munitions makers. In reality it is interested only in defending its own privileges. Thus is prepared the enslavement of both the French and

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# Blacklist Out In Akron Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

they consider re-employment of the strikers.

The company further agrees to meet and negotiate with the workers individually or through their duly chosen representatives, but the Goodyear Industrial Assembly, a company union whose removal was demanded by the strikers, still remain in the picture. It is this qualified recognition that the rubber workers' union, by the continued solidarity and determination of its membership, now has the possibility of making real. Granting that the determination displayed in such splendid fashion during the trying and difficult days of the strike remains after the return to work, the foothold already gained by qualified recognition should serve as a means of strengthening the union in continued struggle to eliminate the company union outfit.

### Points in Agreement

Other points in the agreement establish certain rules for working hours, changes of wage rates or contemplated lay-offs. The tire and tube division is put on a thirty-six hour weekly schedule and in all other departments hours per week are not to exceed 40 nor to be less than 30 unless arranged by a vote of employees affected. Temporarily a week of 24 hours is to be worked in all departments to avoid lay-offs. And in case of contemplated lay-offs in the future lists in duplicate are to be made available to the representatives of the workers.

Notice is also to be given to representatives of the workers affected of any changes in wage rates before they are posted. In regard to this question, however, no provisions were gained to wipe out the numerous wage cuts that have already taken place and which even the federal fact finding board criticized.

In addition to the actual agreement a special memorandum was accepted verbally by the company representatives as binding upon them which provide for the setting up of machinery in the plant to handle grievances of the workers. By the terms of this memorandum each division within the plant is to have a shop committee for the union and is entitled to take up matters of adjustments during working hours and to be accompanied by union representatives when conferring with the management.

### Union Officials Wavering

While on a whole this strike settlement marks a distinct forward step for the rubber workers' union there need be little doubt that the vacillating attitude of the major officials and their fear of following up in the same spirit set by the strikers on the picket line accounts for the gains not being established, and with the spirit that has been displayed by the rank and file membership up to now, carried forward to the new stage, a gain of momentous importance will be recorded for the American labor movement. Akron has made its valuable contribution. The struggle is not completed. It must go on, and no doubt it will go on until not only the rubber industry is solidly organized, but the example set is taken up elsewhere and the mass production industries are solidly organized.

# Austria Trial Is Victory

(Continued from Page 1)

There is a great temptation to conciliate the capitalist government during a trial. But the effect of such conciliation is disastrous. The defense followed exactly the same policy which led to the defeat of 1934. In effect the defense promised support of the Government in return for a few democratic favors, just as Bauer promised Dollfus support in 1933 in return for continued legality.

This policy may have been successful with the presiding Judge who was "usually stern with non-Nazi prisoners" and who "conducted this case with extraordinary liberality, which won tributes from the defense."

### A Serious Error

But the policy of the defense while it may have conciliated the court must have tended to demoralize the Austrian working class. As the letter of the Austrian Socialists to the Second International after the February defeat revealed, the Austrian workers definitely do not want democratic favors; they want more than the same right as the monarchists; they have broken through the coalition policy practiced in democracies, and their movement is decidedly directed against the state.

The spectacle of defendants fresh from Austrian capitalist prisons expressing their fears for the national defense of capitalist Austria must also have been repugnant to the Austrian workers. In effect the defense practically promised that the socialist workers were ready to join the Versailles imperialist coalition armies in a war against Germany. Throughout the whole trial it was reported that mass arrests

stant at sacrifice or hardships. Centering around the more than three hundred established posts, or "shanties," the pickets took care that all gates were guarded and closed so tight that nothing could move in or out. These pickets were in dead earnest in their fight to establish a union of their own choice and they knew what the struggle meant. Hence their determination and their rejection of several previous settlement offers inferior to the present agreement. The strikers had a continuous battle, not only to keep the scabs out and to compel the company to come to more reasonable terms, but also to stiffen the backbone of the union officials. This responsibility the strikers discharged in magnificent fashion.

### Obstacles in the Road

Viewing the agreement that has been made, and noting its specific compromising features, the situation described above has to be taken into account. And besides this there were factors of even greater consequences, all playing a serious role in the strike settlement. First of all it must be remembered that the organization of any of the gigantic mass production industries is in itself a most difficult task. Terrific obstacles stood in the way in the Akron rubber industry. All the open shop employers concentrated their forces to bolster up the Goodyear company and if possible to defeat this strike and thereby stave off the hour of a campaign of organization in other mass production industries. It is in view of this fact that the partial victory won in Akron, that the present forward step made, assumes real significance.

Then in addition to these factors already mentioned the Akron strikers faced a large scale organization of vigilante forces. Composed of a combination of what is usually called the better people, together with thugs, gunmen and professional strike-breakers, these would be vigilantes had at their disposal a war chest of many thousand dollars made available by the various rubber companies. Deputies badges were freely issued to these high-jackers and plug-uglies by Sheriff Jim Flower, who often managed to appear in appropriate ceremonies with the vigilante leaders. A "red" hysteria continued without abatement throughout the period of the strike.

Even some of the union officials stooped to the level of imitating this "red" hysteria, directing their attacks mainly against the Workers Party and against Comrade A. J. Muste personally, who was in Akron during the strike. These particular gentlemen made clear that what they feared was the courageous militancy displayed by the strikers which was consciously aided by the progressive forces within their ranks.

Despite these weaknesses, the results of the magnificent battle fought with unprecedented fury by the Akron strikers is that now the union has a solid basis. It is firmly established, and with the spirit that has been displayed by the rank and file membership up to now, carried forward to the new stage, a gain of momentous importance will be recorded for the American labor movement. Akron has made its valuable contribution. The struggle is not completed. It must go on, and no doubt it will go on until not only the rubber industry is solidly organized, but the example set is taken up elsewhere and the mass production industries are solidly organized.

were made in the working class suburbs of Vienna, where the workers demonstrated their support of the defendants. But on March 19th it was reported that "Disquiet was caused to both the government and the socialists alike by redoubled Nazi efforts to make capital out of the workers' growing indignation over the trial."

The defense policy evidently tended to drive the Austrian workers into the arms of the Nazis, for they are already disillusioned with democracy and opposed to imperialist war and the Nazis promise them social reforms and pacifist measures.

Thus the apparently successful policy of the defense has disastrous effects—for while the thirty defendants receive light sentences, the working class is demoralized and weakened.

The next defendants who come before the Austrian courts will have less support and less chance for freedom.

The defense of working class prisoners comes first. They should be given every possible support. But their demoralizing policy, to put it mildly, must be deplored.

# Police Aid Hearst News

(Continued from Page 1) protested the arrests of Lauterbach and Polinsky in front of the News building and an hour and a half of mass picketing. Police several times tried to break up the picket lines, guldsmen charged. Strikers storm "Safety" Building After a parade along Wisconsin Avenue, the marchers stormed the safety building to demand the release of Brown and the others. About 125 policemen charged out of the safety building and drove the crowd into a vacant lot across

# N.Y. Painters Defend Rights

The New York Painters District Council has obtained a temporary injunction in court restraining the General Executive Board of the Brotherhood from revoking the Council's charter and from asking employers not to comply with agreements made with the Council. The judge ruled that the council is entitled to function with the newly elected officers and to receive per-capita tax from the local unions.

The attempts of the G.E.B. to revoke the Council's charter grows out of the special elections held by the Council on February 29, which the former has declared to be unconstitutional. It is, however, necessary to understand the reasons for these special elections.

### Committee Finds Irregularities

For years, with but brief interruptions, the New York Painters District was ruled by the corrupt Zauser gang. Honest elections had passed out of practice altogether; working conditions deteriorated. The crookedness of this officialdom in the last regular elections, held last June, provoked a revolt. Several local unions requested the Civil Liberties Union and the Socialist party to constitute a committee to investigate the elections and if the charge of irregularities was substantiated this committee would supervise new elections to insure their fair conduct. The committee found flagrant irregularities and Zauser resigned the secretaryship, usurped through the crooked election deal. But the G.E.B., fearing the consequences with its special henchmen discredited, refused to accept the committee proposed to supervise special elections and ruled that these elections would be unconstitutional.

For the New York locals there was hardly anything else left but to go through with the planned special elections. They did, and the result was a defeat for most of the remnants of the Zauser gang. Twelve business agents were elected, a part of whom were supporters of Louis Weinstein, who won the election for secretary of the District Council with a vote of almost three to one. This became the signal for action by the G.E.B. It revoked the council charter arbitrarily and without a hearing. Its representatives visited the painter bosses in an effort to inveigle them into a refusal to honor the agreement formerly concluded with the council when the Zauser gang held the reins.

Naturally the New York painters union membership resented this attitude of the G.E.B. Its understanding is that an election was held and conducted without any violations of trade union democracy. There can be no doubt that the rank and file membership supports the newly elected officers and there need be no doubt that in a choice between these and the attitude taken by the G.E.B., the membership is entirely justified in this support.

### Officials Watching the Wind

At the present moment the whole issue seems to hang in the balance. The affairs of the council and the local unions are still in a chaotic condition. Some of the elected officials, notably some of the business agents, are biding their time, not knowing where to place their allegiance, since as ordinary bureaucrats they want to feel assured first of which side will win out. Louis Weinstein is supported by the Daily Worker, and his group for the time being is in the leadership. But it is pursuing a tactic often witnessed before and usually with results detrimental to the movement.

Instead of really consolidating the membership in the fight that has been carried on against the Zauser clique and which now necessarily must be continued against the arbitrary actions of the G. E. B., this group concerns itself with meaningless endorsements. In

the street. In that melee the other four persons were arrested. First few and several women were mauled, including Jean Dessel, striking librarian and Mrs. William Oviatt, wife of a striker and head of the commissary.

The roughhouse tactics of the police drew not only the criticism of the strikers but also that of the sideline spectators. Brown was scheduled to speak at Miller's Hall, near the safety building, but he refused to leave on bail until the other six under arrest had bail arranged for them also. The banks were closed and problem was to raise \$40 in cash. An appeal was made to the crowd in the hall. It responded with \$66.

Carl Minkley, organizer for the brewery workers' union, told the crowd that Hearst was "competing with WPA by paying reporters \$15 and \$20 a week."

Brown, who got to the meeting after two hours in jail, brought the crowd to its feet several times in a rousing strike speech.

Trial began Monday before a circuit court jury of the News' charges that the guild has violated terms of the secondary picketing injunction of the court. Herbert Langendorff and George Bergstrom, arrested 10 days ago, will go to trial Tuesday in the municipal court on disorderly conduct.

# Spanish Masses Taking Matters in Own Hands

(Continued from Page 1)

government. The Republican and Catholic press both sound the same note of hope that the opening of the Cortes will stop the disorders by acting as an escape valve. An agreement has been concluded between the Republican Left of Azana, the Republican Union of Martinez Barrios, and the Catalan Esquerre, bourgeois nationalist party, establishing one joint executive committee, thereby making this group, with 150 seats in the Cortes, the most important single voting force. The center republicans, under the last premier, Velarde, have also announced their support of the Azana government.

A general fist fight broke out at a preliminary session of the Cortes on March 19, when a center republican struck the Socialist deputy Escrivano.

A general strike has been going on for several days at La Coruna, in protest against the murder of a construction worker by a Catholic. In Santander and in a town near Seville, workers attacked two prisons where some political prisoners are still being detained. Fights in the last ten days between workers and reactionaries have resulted in over a score of deaths.

The estate of the monarchist, Count de Romanones, in Toledo province, has been expropriated by two thousand land-workers. It is one of the largest estates in Spain.

Azana has taken two significant steps in an effort to consolidate his regime against the proletariat. All police forces in the country, hitherto decentralized in control, have been taken over by the Madrid government "to eliminate local influences on them."

Azana has also announced that, under the pretext of giving the cabinet members more time to do government work, he plans to limit sessions of the Cortes to a few each month, according to an Associated Press dispatch of March 20. This is obviously an effort to reduce to a minimum the use of the Cortes as a tribunal of the proletariat.

Azana is particularly anxious to postpone discussion of the land question. But it is precisely this question which is the most basic issue in Spain today. In the electoral agreement, the republican bourgeoisie declared: "The Republicans do not ac-

cept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants, solicited by the delegates of the Socialist party."

Instead, the bourgeoisie proposed in the electoral agreement signed by it and the workers' parties, a series of measures which do not begin to ameliorate the plight of the peasantry and the land-workers. The right-wing Socialists and the Stalinists are aiding Azana in this issue by making no criticism of his land program.

**Double Fakery**  
Like the Spanish Stalinists, the American "Daily Worker" is covering up the fact that the republican parties in the electoral agreement a flat declaration against the nationalization of land. Harry Gannes, on March 23, wrote: "Today a new democratic government holds power by the same votes (as 1931) but this time it has a specific mandate to give the land to those who work it—and just to make sure, the workers have taken the land in trust until the law shall be passed." This is double fakery: first, the electoral agreement included no mandate to give the land but on the contrary a repudiation of this principle by the republicans; secondly, except for a few instances, the workers are not taking the land but, deceived by their own leaders are waiting for further action by the Cortes.

At a meeting in Madrid on March 22 (not reported by the Daily Worker), the Communist Party came out for a coalition with the bourgeoisie in the municipal elections to be held April 12, and called for a permanent coalition "Popular Front" to go on after the municipal elections.

The Socialists are rent by a sharp struggle on this question, left elements insisting that whatever was to be gained from a coalition with the bourgeoisie in the national elections has been achieved, and that the Socialist party should put up its own candidates in all cities and towns where it has strength. It will be recalled that in the elections of 1931 and 1933 the Socialists showed their greatest strength in these local elections.

**Mr. Laski Advises**  
The right-wing Socialist line was given classic expression by Harold J. Laski in last week's "New Leader," old-guard Socialist organ. Laski declares, "Ten years of profound progressive legislation are essential if Liberal Spain is to be given its letters of credit"—presumably while the workers sit around and wait! Instead of recognizing that the struggle is fast developing into a struggle for proletarian power, Laski declares, "the breakdown of the present union (bourgeois coalition) means something like Fascism" and "the next four years, above all, a breathing space." To declare as Laski does, that "if the left (including the bourgeoisie) are wise enough to maintain their present unity—there will be four years in which to consolidate the ideals for which the Revolution of 1931 was made"—means, reduced to blunt terms, to give the bourgeoisie four years in which to consolidate bourgeois state-power. After the German and Austrian events, Laski wrote a theoretical work on the nature of the state which approached a Marxian position; but at the first sign of the resurgence of the proletariat, when theory must be transformed into practice, Laski reverts to traditional socialism.



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