# In the Labor Unions

=By B. J. WIDICK

AKRON, Ohio-The current issue of the Summit County Labor News gives a succinct plcture of the latest developments in the labor movement here which reveal the great changes that have taken place since the hey-day of the C.I.O.:

"Two incidents happened last week which brought a jolt to Akron residents. One was the announcement of the Goodrich Company that it would build a plant for making rubber soles and heels, in Clarksville, Tenn. The other was the brutal attack upon a picket line at the Loewenthal Rubber Co. by Akron police.

"The background of the strike of the Loewenthal workers is one which is only too common. Back in January. 1938 the company pleaded with its workers that it needed a wage reduction in order to stay in business. It said that as soon as a 90-day emergency was over the wage cut would be restored. It said that if the wage cut were accepted, all workers would be kept on the payroll.

"The workers believed the company. They trusted to its sense of honesty and fairness. They accepted a wage reduction. Two weeks later 30 men were laid off, and when the 90day emergency period was up, the company forgot to restore the wage cut. The workers went along arguing and discussing the matter with company representatives and always they were put off.

"Finally, last week end they decided they had taken the cut long enough. They felt that their confidence and trust had been betrayed. They went on

## "Law and Order"

"The company wanted to move out some finished orders The pickets picketed the railroad tracks. The train crews refused to run the pickets down, The Akron police appeared on the scene. They surrounded the pickets.

"They told the pickets to move on. The pickets moved slowly. Too slowly to suit the police. Without warning, they attacked the picket line-wielding clubs and revolver butts.

"A one-armed man who lost his arm in the course of his work at Loewenthal was clubbed into insensibility. The president of the union, Steve Oziomek, was apparently singled out for attention, because three policemen made for him, surrounded bim, and pounded his head and shoulders with clubs and a revolver butt. When he fell to the ground he was kicked and beaten yet more."

On the question of the decentralization of Goodrich with its threat to the U.R.W.A., the Summit County Labor News quotes L. L. Callahan, president of the Goodrich Local, which fought and won a battle against a proposed wage cut last spring.

"The B. F. Goodrich company has developed from a small shop, valued at a few thousand, to a great corporation with assets now totaling some 147 million dollars. All o has been brought about in : span of some sixty odd years. The brawn and muscle of the people of the Akron area are primarily responsible for this company's phenomenal suc-

# Profits vs. Wages

"The company cleared more than \$2,000,000 profit last year despite the fact that man other companies lost their hold ings in the same period. Cer tainly labor did not benefit greatly through this period even though they were able to maintain their hourly wages Indeed the India Rubber Work says of the Akron factories 'Reduced labor cost per dollar value output and recent ir crease in thre prices . . . cor tribute to a substantial im provement in earnings com pared with 1939. The Wal Street Journal also recentl; reported that labor costs 5 Akron rubber factories declin

ed last year." Callahan blasted away at the Akron Beacon-Journal which printed an editorial blaming ' bor for the decentralization proposal of Goodrich. Counter acting this propaganda is a m: jor task of the C.I.O. movemer

nere. And the problem of the un i cessing police terror against all picket lines becomes mor acute daily.

# Political Resolution for Anti-War Convention of the Socialist Workers Party DRAFT SUBMITTED FOR DISCUSSION TO PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND CONVENTION DELEGATES BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The Perspective of United States *Imperialism* 

1. In common with every other great power, the course of United States imperialism is set directly toward the second world war. The

entire life of the nation is being grooved into the war channel. Every political, economic, and social issue is being more and more subordinated to the war preparations.

2. After six years, the New Deal, as a primarily internal program of huge governmental expenditures and subsidies, liberal demagogy and social concessions to the farmers and workers, has ended in definitive collapse. The intolerable economic crisis continues. The business cycle refuses to turn upward for more than fitful and unsatisfying periods. The impossibility of a solution on the New Deal basis, and the fatuousness of any proposed solution on the basis of old-fashioned, Chamber-of-Commerce Republicanism, have become apparent. Internal measures having failed and offering no hope, the United States bourgeoisie turns to external measures, to the war. It plans to solve its problems through acquiring a greater share in the world market, in particular by gaining monopoly control over Latin America and a major position in the Far East. Indeed, it aims at nothing short of world hegemony. In the present stage of the war preparations, Roosevelt has taken aggressive leadership. His New Deal has ended, and will not be revived except occasionally in his holiday words or in those of his agents. The New Deal has been transformed into a War Deal.

3. Because of the needs both of the war and of tottering U. S. industry, the War Deal is also a deal of social reaction. The months since Munich and the November elections have witnessed a growing reactionary wave. This has been marked above all by the sharpest and most brutal attack since 1929 on the unemployed and by the sustained drive against the democratic rights of labor. In the period ahead this attack and this drive will continue, and it is planned to climax them by the imposition of totalitarian military dictatorship on the day that war begins.

#### The Struggle Against the War

4. The character of the present period dictates unequivocally the main task of the party: The struggle against the war. Just as the bourgeoisie subordinates every other question to preparation for the war, so must the party subordinate every question to the struggle against the war. What is required is not a temporary or episodic campaign, but a sustained, deliberate and enduring policy. The S.W.P. must aim to be and to become known to the masses as: the anti-war party.

5. In accordance with our analysis of the nature of capitalist war as an integral phase of capitalism, the struggle against the war cannot be conceived as a "special" campaign, but must, rather, infuse all of our activities: trade union work no less than our press; youth and defense and unemployed work no less than our occasional manifestoes.

6. We must recognize that our opponents within the labor movement—the social-reformists, Stalinists, and the labor bureaucracyare separated from us now not by mere ideological divergences but by their having become part of the war machine. They have joined the camp of the class enemy. Our attack against them must correspondingly increase in sharpness and intransigence. We must reveal them to the workers in their full and true light.

7. Our press and platforms must be constantly used to make clear the character of the coming war. We must continue to support the popular referendum on war declaration, as a means for reinforcing anti-war sentiment among the masses, for putting forward our own program, and for exposing the antidemocratic nature of the war-makers. Similarly, with the demand for "No Secret Diplomacy!" and with exposures of the secret maneuvers of the State Department we must show the war as a conspiracy against the people. Our unqualified opposition to all imperialist armaments, to all varieties of "national defense," must be modified in no way whatever in the face of prejudices seeking some patriotic loophole. With our slogan of "All War Funds to the Unemployed!" we sum up both our analysis of bourgeois armaments and their relation to the reactionary drive against the masses.

The first aim of U. S. imperialism in the war is monopoly control over Latin America. and the U.S. plans also to use Latin America as a strategic base and a source of raw materials and personnel in the conduct of the war. Our struggle against the war cannot be divorced from the firmest and widest support of the Latin American masses in their own struggle against U. S. imperialism. During the past year, the Fourth International, which is the sole organization supporting on a world scale the anti-imperialist movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, has made notable progress in a number of Latin-American countries. The S.W.P. must in the next year vastly increase its concentration upon Latin American work, and must link this with what has been almost entirely lacking in the past: political activity among the Latin Americans resident within the United States.

## Democratic Rights

9. During the past eight months there has taken place a growing attack upon the democratic rights of labor, an attack required by the bourgeoisie equally as part of the war preparations and in order to aid the suffering business cycle. The illegality of sit-downs has been made explicit by the courts. The courts. State Legislatures, Corgress and the police are engaged in a nation-wide drive to limit or smash the rights of picketing, boycotts. closed shop, strikes, demonstrations; and through a variety of other means strive to hamstring labor organization. This attack will not diminish but on the contrary will increase in intensity during the next period.

10. These democratic rights are indispensable to the very existence of organized labor. central place in the propaganda and general rally. both in the struggle against the war and in

the fight for jobs and food. The end term of the present series of attacks, from the point of view of the bourgeoisie, is the total wiping out of labor's rights through a war-time military dictatorship or through outright fascism. We must understand and explain the present attacks in this sense.

11. The party must, consequently, bring to the forefront during the coming period the question of the defense of the democratic rights of labor. The struggle against war and reaction is intimately and acutely bound up with this question. In the defense of democratic rights, broad united fronts of action are both possible and desirable. In localities where it is feasible, the party should take the initiative in forming committees for the defense of the democratic rights of labor. As the tactic for defending democratic rights, the party should advocate the wide use of militant methods of mass action-strikes, demonstrations. marches, etc .- in place of the hopeless confinement of tactics to parliamentary and legalistic maneuvers.

#### The Fight for Jobs

12. The continuance of the unparalleled economic crisis, the persistence of the army of unemployed at a level of twelve or more millions, and the drive of reaction against the unemployed, place the fight for jobs squarely and enduringly in the front rank of the problems of the working class and of the party. Short of the actual outbreak of war itself, which would temporarily absorb (under a dictatorial regime) a considerable percentage of the unemployed in either the war industries or the army, there is not the slightest prospect of a major economic upturn. Even the vast armament outlays of the pre-war Roosevelt program have a comparatively minor effect on U. S. economy as a whole. Chronic and staggering crises for the masses of the people have become the normal condition of U.S. capıtalism.

13. The older program of "immediate demands" and restrained and legalistic methods of fighting for them are no longer adequate to rouse the masses to struggle or to make any headway against the onslaught of social and economic reaction. We must be bold, open and resolute in advancing the broad and positive slogans of our "transitional program": a job and a decent living for every

# Notice to Members

TO MEMBERS AND BRANCHES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY: Dear Comrades:

The Political Committee herewith submits for the consideration and discussion of all party members its draft of the main political resolution of our forthcoming Anti-War Convention, which will be held in New York City, July 1 to 5,

As provided by our party constitution. the period between now and the convention is one of free discussion. Branch and membership discussion meetings should be organized. Discussion articles or resolutions setting forth different points of view should be submitted for publication either in the party press or in the party internal bulletin. Other convention documents prepared by the Polit ical Committee will be published in an carly issue of the Socialist Appeal.

The convention agenda, approved by the National Committee, is as follows. 1. United States political perspectives in the light of the war crisis. and the corresponding tasks of the party.

2. The preparations of the party for war.

3. The war crisis and the work in trade unions and unemployed orgamzations. 4. The struggle against fascism and

the Workers Defense Guard. 5. The war and the Fourth Interns

tional. The organizational report.

Youth report.

8. Anti-War Manifesto. 9. Committee reports: (a) Resolutions committee: (b) Constitution

committee; (c) Other committees. 10. Election of the National Committee.

Fraternally. James P. Cannon, National Secretary

worker; the opening of idle factories under workers' control; the 30 hour week and \$30 minimum weekly wage; \$20,000,000,000 public works program; expropriation of the Sixty Families: etc.

14. We must take care not to permit the transitional program to become a mere litererary exercise. It is not intended as a finished document valid as a whole and just as it stands for all times and occasions. In the first place, it must be lifted out of the pages of our press and thrust into the midst of the unions and other mass organizations. In the second place, it must be understood as a method for linking the party with the actual struggles of the masses. The conception of the transition program must be used to give depth and extension to issues which arise naturally out of the living experience of the masses. The popular movement for a referendum on war is a prominent example of such an issue. Another, extremely important at present, is the drive for a 30-hour week begun by the electrical workers and the plumbers and, in a somewhat different form, by the auto workers. This 30hour week movement is a concretization of the transition demand for a "sliding scale of hours", and should receive the full and active support of the party.

# The Communist Party

15. The Communist Party must occupy a activities of the party in the coming period.

The total of all other opponent organizations-Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Party. Lovestoneites, etc.-does not add up to a small fraction of the importance of the Communist Party. Insufficient attention to the Communist Party, almost equal attention to other opponent groups, have been one of the most serious weaknesses in the work of the party during the past year. The Communist Party is far and away the greatest obstacle in this country to the building of the revolutionary

16. It is necessary to dispel certain illusions, shared to one or another extent by our own membership, with respect to the Communist Party. It is false that the Communist Party consists only of bureaucrats and hopeless petty bourgeois. In its ranks and especially in its sympathizing circles it includes many genuine and militant workers, as its influence in the trade unions proves. It is deceptive to consider that the C. P. is characterized through and through and in every respect by an iron monolithism. The framework of the party is wholly monolithic. But in the heart of that monolithic framework there have grown in the present period profound conflicts and paradoxes, springing from the conflicting and paradoxical social and political situation of international Stalinism. These internal conflicts are the compelling sources of splits and defections from the Stalinist movement. It is even false to believe that splits have not taken place in the Stalinist movement. Especially in recent times, after the Third Moscow Trial, after Munich, after the fall of Barcelona, what might be described as slow and passive-but very extensive --- splits have occurred. But these splits have led the dissident Stalinists. with a few exceptions, only to complete retirement from political activity or to bourgeois politics.

17. The basis for influencing the Communist Party, for recruiting its members and sympathizers and for hastening its dissolution as an obstacle to the growth of the revolutionary movement, is present. What is required for success is a conscious, deliberate and sustained policy on our part. We must root out all traces of a defeatist or passive attitude toward Stalinism, and orient boldly on the perspective of major and fruitful work in that

## The Struggle Against Fascism

18. In the months since Munich and especially since the fall of Barcelona, and with the failure of the 1938 upturn in business to extend into 1939-thus signalizing the definitive collapse of the New Deal's policies, the fascist and semi-fascist movements in this country have been growing rapidly in numbers and boldness. The nationwide notoricty achieved by Hague through his use of fascist and semifascist methods symbolizes this development, The nationwide series of meetings and mobilizations by the Nazi Bund provided a kind of dress rehearsal for native movements. The Silver Shirts have been especially active in small towns and villages. It is reported that there are now more than 800 fascist and nearfascist organizations in the United States. At the present time the most successful and advancing of these is the Coughlin movement, which, since Coughlin's reappearance on the scene after two years of quiet, has taken on a more and more openly fascist character. Though it is doubtful that a movement led by a Catholic priest can be the authentic fascist movement in this country, Coughlin's followers are being prepared in ideology and methods for fusion into the definitive fascist movement of the not too distant future.

19. It is absolutely inadmissable to neglect or minimize the importance of the current growth of U. S. fascism. Fascism in this country is capable of spreading like wildfire, of strangling the labor movement before it is aware what is happening. The great army of disillusioned unemployed and the disinherited youth are particularly and immediately vulnerable. Europe has taught that in order to defeat fascism the labor movement must never let fascism get a step in advance, that it must anticipate and prepare for the fascist developments before they take place.

20. It is the immediate duty of the party to prepare educational and propaganda material in its press and in cheap pamphlets dealing with the native fascist and near fascist movements. This material should be put in the most popular and simple form, directed especially toward the youth and the unemployed, and must aim at mass circulation to combat the fascist ideas directly on the ground where they chiefly germinate.

21. The struggle against fascism at home, however, cannot even now be confined to propaganda and agitation. It is necessary to fight the fascist movements in action from the very beginning. Our slogan "For Workers Defense Guards against Fascism" cannot any longer be confined to agitation, but must be put into concrete effect. A beginning has been made in a few localities. But the party must now attempt in every section of the country where it has branches to begin the actual organization of at least skeleton defense units, which will work indefatigably to broaden their base, especially through union support. Ideally these should be based on and built through the unions, as in Minneapolis. But where this is not possible, the party must nevertheless lead the way and itself take the initiative in form- of the American revolution demand audacity ing, together with sympathizers and non-party and a bold offensive,

#### AKRON S.W.P. RALLY DEFIES LABOR HATERS

(Continued from Page 1) cessity of workers' defense guards.

surrounded the Legion meet- boos and cat-calls. ing. Threats from a few Le. Quick action by the party and SPRING FEVER DANCE. Ex- not carried out. The failure to gion die-hards to "clean up on Yipsel defense squad prevented | hibition Dancing, Impersonal carry out the decision rests on the reds" falled to materialize any serious disturbance when they saw the large at tendance at the emergency gency rally were distributed

Instead they rounded up ap- downtown sections of the city. BMT to Grand Ave.)

youths who attempted to break up the meeting. These youths were led by Roscoe Albaugh, a Board of Education employee. Police stood idly by while the youths tried to rush the speak A squad of policemen with ers' stand, throw rocks and reserves in cruising police cars drown out the speakers with

proximately 75 misguided

Leaflets announcing the emer

throughout the factory and

#### workers now ready to participate, initiating : uclei of the anti-fascist defense guard, functioning as independent, organized, disciplined and active institutions.

The Labor Party

22. During the past year, the sentiment among the workers for a Labor Party has remained inert, held back by Roosevelt, the labor bureaucrats and the Stalinists. Any extended general campaign on our part around the labor party slogan would have been on the whole academic, and our agitation on this issue has been largely, and correctly, confined to specific and local situations where it was relevant. Nevertheless, the organized intervention of labor in politics has continued and in some respects increased during this same year. The collapse of the New Deal and its transformation into the War Deal, the wave of social reaction, the more openly reactionary character of the Roosevelt administration, the approach of the 1940 elections, are all raising or beginning to raise once more in the minds of the workers questions about political action. So untenable is worn-out New Deallsm becoming that even Lewis and the Stalinists have in recent weeks been compelled to make certain criticisms of Roosevelt. It is hardly conceivable that the disillusionment of the workers with Rocsevelt can in the main take the form of a swing back to Republicanism; and in any case it would be disastrous if this werpermitted to happen. The slogan for a labor party, properly developed in connection with the other aspects of our program, can play a significant role in directing the disillusionment with Roosevelt and the dead New Deal into the sole progressive direction -- toward independent political activity by the working class. We must be ready to utilize every concrete: situation as it arises for propaganda and action in this direction.

23. The slogan for the labor party, as we conceive it, is in no way incompatible with direct entry of the party, under its own name, in elections. On the contrary, experience has amply proved the great value of the party name and party candidates appearing on the ballot, with the wide opportunities for revolutionary education which this opens up. In all localities where this is practically feasible, and where it will not conflict with the development of genuine independent working class political action on a broader scale, the party must in the next period try to enter elections

# The Prospects for the Party

24. The defeats of the working class on an international scale, the lack of organized resistance to the approach of the war, and the apparent passivity of the working class in this as in other countries, above all since the fall of Barcelona, have not been without adverse effect in some quarters of the radical labor movement. In some cases this takes the form of the entirely erroncous opinion that our perspective for the next period must be one mere ly of consolidating a tight and firm cadre and of excluding the possibility of important numerical growth,

25. While the factors that have led to this feeling cannot be denied, the inference drawn is by no means necessarily correct, and other equally important national and internations conditions point to a contrary conclusion. The war is approaching, but the masses, in the United States as in most other nations, are not in favor of the war, and have not succumbed to a blatant war chauvinism. They are on the whole against the war, however incompletely they understand the implications of their opposition. As the only party which fights the war, there is every objective foundation for the growth, even the rapid growth. of the party as the organization concretely embodying the anti-war sentiments of the masses. Again, there is no revolutionary opposition to the party, hardly the pretense of any; and consequently every serious feeling or thought directed against the present order of war and tyranny and starvation can find genuine outlet only in the ranks and actions of our party. Again, the masses want to fight fascism and its growth at home; and only our party has proposed or attempted to carry out a serious fight against fascism. Finally, the end of the New Deal once again poses sharply before the workers the problems of political action; and here also our party alone gives a

26. It is entirely possible that the coming period will be one of rapid growth for the party. It is certain that if we do not have this as our perspective, if we decide in advance that growth is impossible, then stagnation is assured. But our problem and aim is not to retreat, but to advance and to gain. The party has never taken recruiting seriously; it has always allowed new members to drop like ripfruit into the ranks of the party, after suitable and lengthy fertilizing by our ideas and theories. To assure the success of the party in the next months we must radically alter this attitude: we must become crusaders and recruit ing agents, not at all satisfied with a formallcorrect program, but resolved that this program will become the program of masses of workers. Habit and routine dictate caution and reserve. The future of the party and the needs

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

PITCH YOUR TENT at Camp Seven Oaks-Red Bank, N.J. Swimming Pool, Tennis, Plumbing, \$30 and we equip your tent. Complete ki'chen sction was greatly diminished facilities. H. Katz, 58 E. 4th because the original decision of St., New York City.

tions and Singing. Saturday, the shoulders of the steering May 20. Astoria Branch, 28 Reurke and Whitmore, mem-40 31st St., Astoria, (IRT or bers of Thomas's Socialist

# ATTENTION! ALL AGENTS OF NEW INTERNATIONAL

Whether the New International will appear regularly in the future is for the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. units to decide now. Many locals have fallen in arrears, thus jeopardizing the very issuance of the magazine itself. Agents must make efforts to pay up their bundle bills forthwith.

The June number of the New International will be out early. in an effort to catch up on the regular date-line for publication of the magazine. Delinquent accounts will not receive their bundles of the magazine. At this time notice is given especially to the following Locals to pay on their bill, or the June

issue cannot be sent them: San Francisco: Bundle already discontinued with May issue for non-payment of bills. Oakland, Cal.: Non-payment

of bills for several months. Downtown Branch, New York: Slow in paying bills, although among largest branches in country.

Louisville, Ky.: Slowness in payments.

Scattle, Wash.: Non-payment of bills; already discontinued with May issue; unemployment a factor.

South Bend, Ind.: Office not

able longer to subsidize. Portland, Ore.: Non-payment of bills; already discontinued with May issue.

San Diego, Cal.: Non-payment of bills; small unit.

Other cities are in danger of similar action unless payments are speeded up. Mention of names is herein omitted with expectation that those cities will respond before June issue goes to press.

The management wishes to say that the above measures are taken only as a last measure to ensure the issuance of the New International. However, this is a two-edged sword, since a needless loss of circulation is thereby incurred, with a consequent lessening of revenne. The proper and only solution is for the agents to proceed to pay up their bills.

#### N. Y. PICKETS ASK ACTION ON RELIEF NEEDS

(Continued from Page 1) conduct any militant actions against the Wall Street politicians who control the City Council and its leader LaGuar-

Three divisions of the U.P. W.U. were present at the demonstration.

The W.P.A. section demanded that LaGuardia Immediately go to Washington, D.C. to demand the re-employment of all W.P.A. workers recently cut from the rolls, and that city funds be used to restore these jobs until Washington makes the necessary appropriations.

The local homeless division of the U.P.W.U. demanded an Immediate restoration of three meals a day to all homeless unemployed. LaGuardia recently cut them down to two meals a day. They also demanded that they be taken out of the "flop houses" and be transferred to full relief.

The unemployed section, whose members are threatened with voucher relief through the new procedure now being tested in Rochester, to give stamps > instead of money to the unemployed, voiced their protest. They also demanded that summer ice be given to all home relief clients immediately. La Guardia's practice has been to give ice only to families who have small children. Other demands consisted of decent burisls in family lots, more clothing, increases in the food allowance, and the issuance of emergency relief within 24: hours instead of the present practice of stalling for weeks,..

The City Council meeting on the Tuesday of the Union's demo-stration was opened with the blessings of a Catholic priest. His sermon consisted of an admonition to the City Council: "May the Good Lord preserve and protect the City Council from the domination of pressure groups." He evidently referred to the unemployed who were demonstrating against their miserable condi-

While the action of the U.P. W.U. was directed at the right : the union's action committee to organize a sit-down strike was Party.