

LIVELY MEETINGS MARK SPEAKING TOUR FOR WORKERS PARTY

Enthusiastic Crowd Cheers The New Party in Chicago

CHICAGO, Ill., Jan. 20.—The interest in the formation of the Workers Party is such in Chicago, that over 350 workers turned out to hear Comrades Muste and Cannon speak at the Capitol Building on the program and aims of the party. The audience responded with frequent outbursts of applause.

Muste and Cannon laid down an analysis of the present economic and political situation which necessitated the formation of the new party. They showed that the Workers Party, armed with a realistic revolutionary program, with connections in the trade union centers throughout the country, with a powerful unemployed organization and a well circulated paper, bids fair to become THE revolutionary party of the American proletariat.

Communists Behave

A large number of left Socialists listened attentively to the speakers. The Communist Party was also represented by about twenty members, who, surprisingly as it may seem and for the first time, behaved themselves in an orderly fashion and did not attempt, in their usual manner, to disrupt the meeting.

Following the speeches a collection was taken. Over \$70 was collected and \$25 pledged.

The chairman announced that a speaker from the S.P. and the C.P. might take the floor and present their party's point of view. A prominent section leader of the C.P. got up and set forth to damn and slay the W.P.

Brought Down the House

Much to the amusement of the workers, this worthy deplored the fact that the program of the W.P. was really a communist program stolen from the C.P. on a dark night. He literally brought down the house when he referred to "comrade" Muste (not Mr. Muste) and stated that he regarded him as an "honest man who had made contributions to the American labor movement".

God Forbid!

A left Socialist next took the floor and argued that the W.P. should be in the S.P. today, helping to reform it and revolutionize it. He pleaded that the W.P. should follow the example (God forbid!) of Albert Goldman and enter the S.P.

Comrade Cannon replied to this. Deflating the big talk of tremendous mass contact, he showed how the actual left wing was very small and had no reason to look scornfully upon the W.P. The W.P., he stated, did not deny the existence of a developing left wing. But the best way to help the left wing was precisely by forcing it to fight the S.P. old guard, with a view to split with them and then of uniting all revolutionists into one party.

Describes Zig-Zags

No less effective was Comrade Muste's reply to the C.P. speaker. He evoked great laughter when he

showed the recent zigzags of the C. P. both with regards to the class struggle in general and with the characterization of himself as an honest man, whereas up to recently he had been classified as a black-guard and left social fascist. Muste threw into the teeth of the Stalinists the challenge to defend their policy of terror in disposing of political opponents in the Soviet Union, after the Kirov assassination. He concluded with an appeal for support of the Workers Party.

WAUKEGAN, Ill.—Despite bad weather, 55 workers gathered to hear James P. Cannon explain the program of the Workers Party. The speech was the opening gun in the drive of the Waukegan Branch for new members.

DETROIT.—About 150 workers, representing every important political tendency in the labor movement, heard A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon, outstanding leaders of the Workers Party at Jericho Temple Jan. 18. The meeting was the first held by the new party in Detroit. The response was enthusiastic.

In the audience were Socialists, several of them new members who

had joined, hoping for a new revolutionary policy in that party; there were one or two lone Lovestonettes, who are still hard at work "reforming" the local Communist party; and a handful of Stalinists. Present also were some of the leading members of the Detroit Branch of the Proletarian Party, many of whom are the most active militants in the Mechanics Educational Society of America, a union of some 20,000 tool and dye makers.

Twenty new contacts were established for the Workers Party at the meeting.

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—A. J. Muste spoke to 60 persons here on Jan. 15. The question and discussion period centered around the policies of the Soviet Union; the collapse of the Second and Third Internationals and the necessity for the Workers Party.

Following the meeting an organizational meeting of the Branch was held. Rocky Lewis was elected branch organizer.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—Comrades Muste and Cannon helped us get the new party off to a fine start in this city.

Quite a number of youthful, healthy elements of the Cleveland working class were present. The new party is being discussed in every hall and center where workers meet throughout the city.

Textile Strike Looms - Will It Be Another Betrayal by UTW Leaders?

By FELIX GIORDANO

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—The wave of militancy which came over the textile workers last year, and which culminated in the general strike of last September, is far from being dead.

The betrayal of that strike at the hands of the vacillating and inept leadership arouses the workers now more than ever.

It will be remembered that the last convention of the American Federation of Silk Workers, in spite of the top clique, had to promise strike action in case (!) the report of the Industrial Relations Committee appointed by the Winant Board should not be satisfactory.

No report has been made public. But the report may have already been made, and may be now in the hands of the national officials of the U.T.W. and of the American Federation of Silk Workers, without the organizations making it known to the members.

Delegates to Meet

This possibility assumes gigantic proportions in view of the fact that a meeting of delegates from all over the silk industry has been called suddenly for next Sunday in Al-

lertown to discuss the possibility of strike action on a national scale.

It seems, then, that the report has been made, and—naturally enough—it is not satisfactory.

But if that is the case, why call a meeting of delegates to talk about it? Why not let the membership of the organization know about it first?

A burning question now confronts the silk industry. Is this strike to be a repetition of the debacle of last September? Is the same group of bureaucrats that were responsible for that shameful betrayal, going to be in charge of this strike?

Francis Gorman, the official head of the last strike, has recently made utterances to the effect that the textile workers have been betrayed in the confidence they put in the Government.

That sounds very much like an attempt to rehabilitate himself with the workers.

It suggests that the silk-rayon strike, which seems quite certain, may be only the prelude to a new general textile strike to follow either immediately or closely after it.

The question comes up: Can the present U.T.W. leadership conduct another textile strike?

The workers who saw their fellow-workers die in the deep South and in Rhode Island only to have the strike called off when it was still on the upswing, and without any gains, will they forget the lesson of only a very few months ago, and again follow the same kind of leadership? Can they be rallied to follow a general who is so ready to sound the retreat?

On the other hand, there is no

possibility to change now, even mildly, the leadership of the U.T.W. If a strike call is issued, the same men will be at the head of it.

Way Through Strike Committee

It appears evident that if any results are to be obtained by the next strike, be it in the silk-rayon or in the whole textile industry, the only way is through a militant, progressive, clear-sighted Strike Committee—ready to follow the U.T.W. leadership so long as it shows firmness and militancy, but ready to continue the strike in spite of the U.T.W. when the same officials show—as they will—weakness and uncertainty, and lose from sight the situation.

This Strike Committee must be representative of the membership and close to it, coming immediately from its ranks. It must be composed of the most clear-sighted elements in the unions, ready to push on the fight when the fighting is good. This does not mean that it should be composed of adventurist elements, who—mistaking a defeat for a victory—will continue (or try) to push on a fight that has lost morale.

These are the two evils between which the textile workers must steer.

Weakness and reactionary tendencies on the part of the leadership will prove to be the workers' own defeat.

But romantic adventurism will prove equally as destructive by distorting the truth, pushing when retreat would be wisdom, giving hopes to the masses in the face of doom.

Will the textile workers be able to secure such leadership? Only if such leadership is theirs can they hope to achieve any gains.

The League's Fight for Unity

By LOUIS BREIER

History of the National Unemployed League, Part Four.

The National Unemployed League has worked for unity in the unemployed movement. Worked and worked hard—not for a cooked-up or fake unity, but for unity in fact and not as a tactic.

Its history would not be complete without an account of the N.U.L.'s united front experiences with other unemployed organizations, particularly the Communist Party led Unemployment Councils and the Socialist Party led unemployed unions. These experiences lead one to ask—What is unity?

The NUL has taken a clear position on this question.

What Unity Is

Just as the struggle between classes cannot be compromised, but must be fought out to the very last element of opposition in spite of all temporary "accommodations", so the struggle within the working class for a lasting and genuine unity cannot be achieved by a mere "accommodation" but must be worked through understanding of the basic issues and elimination of all obstructing and incompatible elements.

If there is no united action among the organized workers today, it is not because the workers lack a common cause, but because they lack a common theory, a common tactic and a united leadership.

The real disunity is the disunity of working class leadership and the achievement of unity rests with these leaders—or with the workers, if they fail.

This is the basic problem within the unemployed movement and in every other section of the labor movement. It cannot be solved by "accommodations", "coalitions" or by "federations" of unemployed organizations in the name of an abstract autonomy, but only by the most thoroughgoing and uncompromising elimination of all differences in theory and tactic.

Confusing the Problem

The problem has been confused by the very natural inclination of every leader or body of leaders to lay their own plans and aspirations on the doorstep of the plans and aspirations of the workers.

Thus, in the very worst days of the "United Front from Below" when every minute of that practice pushed unity back a year, the C.P. leadership shouted that "the workers were crying for unity"—meaning thereby that the workers were crying for the "United Front from Below" and the subsequent destruction of every organization but the Communist Party!

And thus, every pompous manifesto of the socialist old guard speaks in the name of the "workers"—who are apparently not afraid to defy the bayonet and the machine gun in a strike but fear to oppose imperialist war even on paper because it might annoy the police!

Even the Weisbordites, all 6 of them, weave their incredible phantasmagoria in the name of those same "workers"—who are prevented from embracing Weisbord only because they are handcuffed by Gitlow!

Workers Cannot Deviate

The workers need a clear revolutionary program and a consistent revolutionary leadership. They are not concerned with deviations. The workers themselves cannot deviate, however much they may be led to bark at tinsel moons temptingly dangled over them by the Roosevelt, the liberals and the fascists. In the end there is only one path that leads to the goal—the revolutionary path. When the workers realize this, they will set up the cry for unity.

But they will mean, not their own unity (for it is by the recognition of their own unity that they find the revolutionary path) but the unity of their leadership. The leadership will either lead the way to revolution and the workers world by the shortest and most direct route, or fall by the wayside with the thousand Kerenskys et al.

Nothing finally can destroy the essential unity of the proletariat. It is said that failure to unite against Fascism results in Fascist "unity"—that is, the concentration camp. This is true, but not final. The unity of the concentration camp can be destroyed, but the workers are indissolubly united by a single interest and a single goal. Unity can be delayed, obstructed, led into the lunatic byways and the reformist highways—but it cannot be destroyed.

This is the conception of unity held by the National Unemployed League. It underlies the NUL program for achieving unity in the unemployed movement. But before we come to that program, we will review briefly the united front experiences of the NUL to date.

The Struggle for Unity

The experiences of the NUL in the struggle for unity may be classified as follows: a) the united front on specific issues, b) organizational and organic unity.

In reality, however, this classification is not altogether valid.

The united front is, or should be, a transition measure towards organic unity within a particular field, i.e., the unemployed movement, the trade unions, etc. (The S.P. practice, which strictly limits the united front to "specific issues" is comparable to the lady of high virtue who limits her lover to a single kiss. Neither lovers nor workers will stand for this sort of teasing, finally.) Nor is there any "specific issue" confronting the workers on which they can unite as separated from any other issue on which they, presumably, cannot unite. There are issues that do not immediately involve organic unity, but organic unity is the goal of every genuine united front.

The united front on specific issues is the preliminary to and the testing ground of organic unity. That has always been the understanding of the NUL. Thus, at the first Columbus convention a united front was entered into with the Unemployed Councils WITH A VIEW TO CALLING A UNITY CONVENTION. Failure to carry out the united front successfully would result in failure to achieve the unity convention.

Testing the Councils

At this time the famous open letter of the C.P. to itself in which the united front from below was seemingly repudiated had hardly dried off the press. There was to be no double-dealing, no stabbing in the back. Issues were to be met squarely. The right of criticism was not abrogated, but confined to the work at hand.

The NUL accepted this agreement in good faith, recognizing that as now that dualism in the unemployed movement was one of the greatest impediments to progress. But almost at once evidences of bad faith on the part of the Councils began pouring into headquarters.

In Columbus itself, Council leadership blithely continued to damn the leaders of the NUL as if there had never been a united front.

In Toledo, where the Councils and the Leagues had united to carry out a relief-work strike, the Council leadership promptly forgot about the strike and concentrated on printing exposures of the socialist fascists.

In Pennsylvania, a "red-herring" was deliberately foisted on the Allentown League which might have destroyed that organization.

Patience—Another Letter

When the NUL complained of this sabotage, the leaders of the Councils explained that the new tactic, i.e., the abandonment of the United Front from Below had not yet trickled down to the rank and file. Only time and patience were required. But in the weeks following, the back-stabbing and sabotaging increased rather than diminished and the patience of the NUL came to an abrupt end when a letter from the N. Y. district of the Communist Party to the Toledo Unemployed Council fell into its hands.

The letter called on the Councils to make every use of the united front, not to win the relief strike, but to smash the Leagues!

When A. J. Muste read this letter to the Cleveland Trade Union Conference that same year in the presence of most of the top leadership of the C.P., the only answer was their complete silence. Only a rank and flier in the rear of the hall was heard to mutter: "How in hell did he get that letter?"

FORGOTTEN MEN'S YELL

One, two, three, four. The last war was a bosses' war. Five, six, seven, eight. Rise and make a workers' state. —From "Volve of the Workers"

Leaves Communist Party for Workers Party -- Tells Why

"To me it is becoming increasingly evident that the banner of proletarian revolution is now in the hands of the Workers Party," says Harold Smith, resigning from the Communist Party.

The letter of the section membership committee to Comrade Smith and his reply to the district committee are published below, without further comment.

Jan. 18, 1935

Comrade Smith:

Please call at Section 5 this Wednesday, Jan. 25, 7:30 P.M. to see the Section organizer about the statement that you made in our Section that you are in favor of Trotsky and that he is the only true disciple of Lenin. As this is the second notice that we are sending you, if you do not answer by Wednesday, you will be expelled from the C.P. and publicly exposed as an enemy of the working class.

Membership Committee, Section 5, District 2

Charles Krumbeln, District Committee C.P., U.S.A.

My reasons for resigning from your party I may state briefly.

1. Your party no longer applies the teachings of Lenin but the arbitrary decrees of Stalin and his picked crew. Your party is dominated by a bureaucracy and as a direct result, sectarianism keeps you separated from the working class.

2. Since the suppression of the best minds and spirits of the revolution, your officialdom has accumulated a long list of failures.

3. The Party's trade union policy, its united front tactics, its amours with the League of (capitalist) Nations, its concessions to the French and American bourgeoisie, indicate too clearly the headlong march to the right.

4. When your apparatus grows, it swells with the pus of the petty bourgeois. The backbone is non-proletarian and flabby.

5. You are no longer capable of self-criticism, and having become inflexible, you no longer need polemics. You have very mysteriously caught the knack of avoiding any and all mistakes. Subsequent events invariably prove that the latest debacle of proletarian defeat shows the correctness of the party line.

These are some of my reasons. Your letter informing me that if I fail to see the organizer by Wednesday I shall from that day become an enemy of the working class, is a happy bit of humor. The simple fact of the matter is that by returning my membership book some two weeks ago, I resigned from the C.P.

It is known of course, that you do not recognize a resignation. But on this point there appears to me much discord, i.e. on what you recognize and what the workers are actually doing.

You say I will be "exposed". May I ask—exposed to whom? And exposed in what connection?

I ask my friends and comrades inside the C. P. to recognize the political surge when such sterling proletarian revolutionists as Zack, Strong, Taylor, Terry etc. are making the turn. I ask them to study the platform of the Workers Party so that they may really be able to judge. To discard the "discipline" bugaboo, and begin to study with free heads. To recognize that the monster Fascism can be destroyed not by blind obedience but by democratic centralism, by the widest polemics and by genuine individual initiative.

To me it is becoming increasingly evident that the banner of proletarian revolution is now in the hands of the Workers Party.

—HAROLD SMITH

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Sop to Akron Labor Hides Company Aim

AKRON, Ohio, Jan. 26.—Good-year, Goodrich and Firestone threw Akron rubber workers a bone in the form of a three cent per hour wage increase last week.

This was hatched by the companies as having come through the tireless efforts of the company unions.

The announcement came as a surprise to the red apple boys whose first knowledge of the plan came from the evening papers.

At the same time, tire production is rapidly shooting toward the 1929 peak.

The rubber barons are obviously trying to stave off union militancy with the wage sop while building up a huge inventory toward the time when strike action breaks out.

Meanwhile Dr. Coleman C. Clarity, head of the A. F. of L. rubber workers' council, continues to play the old shell game with an angry and impatient rank and file.

A few more passes like sabotaging the Firestone strike vote, which was lost by only 25 votes, and palavering with the National Labor Relations Board—especially after its own confessed impotence in labor disputes, and the Firestone rank and filers are going to take the medicine show out of his hands.

And once they do that, they aren't going to fool.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Notices for this column should be sent in as long in advance as possible, and if destined for a particular issue, must be on the editor's desk by Tuesday morning.

New York City

Feb. 2, Saturday night—District Housewarming Party, 2 West 15th Street, (third floor). Jazz band. Refreshment and drinks. Members, friends and sympathizers invited.

Feb. 7, Thursday evening—Benefit Theatre Party, "Sailors of Cattaraugus". Tickets from Frances Drake, chairman, or through branches.

Feb. 8, Friday 8 P.M.—Ludwig Lore, "Two Years of Hitler's Rule", 1776 Pitkin Ave., cor. Stone Street, Brooklyn.

Feb. 16, Saturday evening—Gala event. Revue and dance. Germania Hall, 16th St. and Third Ave. Professional show, games, supper and drinks. See ad about tickets.

Friday night forums at all branches. Sunday night informal open forum at Branch 6, Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn. Free admission.

Akron, Ohio
Feb. 4, Monday evening—Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. **Columbus, Ohio**

Feb. 5, Tuesday, 2 P.M.—Branch conference. Tuesday at 8 P.M.—Mass Meeting.

Los Angeles, Cal
Feb. 5, Tuesday evening—Open Forum, 1785 First St. (cor. Boyle). "The C. I. Turns Right Again" Charles Curtis and Rae Ruskin.

Charleston, W. Va.
Feb. 6, Wednesday, 7:30 P.M. at Court House—"The Workers Party and the Trade Union Movement". A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman, B. A. Scott.

Pittsburg, Pa.
Feb. 8, Friday, 8 P.M. Northside Carnegie Music Hall. "The Workers Party of the U. S.—Its Program and Purpose". Speakers: A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon.

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