

May First Manifesto of Communist Party

Against the Roosevelt Hunger and War Drive!
For Unemployment Insurance and Social Insurance!
Against Fascism; for Solidarity With German Proletariat; for the Unity of All Toilers!
Against Imperialist War; for Defense of the Soviet Union; for Defense of the Chinese People!
For the Overthrow of Capitalism!
For a Revolutionary Workers and Farmers Government!
For the Proletarian Revolution; for a Socialist Society!

May First, day of international working class solidarity, day of united struggle against capitalist exploitation and war, finds capitalism broken down and in a state of decay.

Boasted mass production of capitalist industries has broken down. Factories and plants are producing less every month; agricultural output is not only diminishing but large quantities of ready food-stuffs are being destroyed, while the farmers are told to produce less. Finance and banking are going through the severest crisis in history. Trade and commerce, nationally and internationally, are half destroyed. All the economic machinery of capitalism is disorganized, dilapidated, approaching ruin. In the United States, this richest country in the world, the breakdown of production, exchange, credit and currency is more pronounced than in any other country. The boasted strength of American capitalism, said to be exempt from the evils and inherent contradictions of capitalism, has proven to be but a miserable sham. Fascist Terror Against the Workers.

Boasted capitalist political democracy is being more and more revealed as the system of carrying out the wishes and the orders of the ruling propertied classes as against the toiling masses. Capitalism which in its heyday resorted to the sham of democracy to maintain the illusion of self-government and thus prevent the masses from realizing the domination of big capital, is more and more revealing itself as brute force. Capitalism is becoming openly terroristic. Capitalism grasps the big club of fascism not only in Germany or in Poland, but growing symptoms of fascism are evident in the United States where beating up of strikers, clubbing of workers' demonstrations, jailing of militant workers and farmers, lynching of Negroes and deportation of foreign born workers is used with increasing ferocity as a means of suppressing the militancy of the toilers. The Roosevelt administration is equipping the chief executive with dictatorial powers to deal quickly and decisively with the masses in the interest of Wall St. The government of the United States is rapidly approaching the fascist type.

The Anti-Working Class Program of Roosevelt.

What is Wall Street, what is its faithful servant, the advocate of the "new deal," Roosevelt, doing to relieve the terrible sufferings of the people?

They have not introduced any unemployment insurance to secure every worker a minimum of subsistence at the expense of the capitalists and the government.

They have granted no direct federal cash relief for the unemployed. They have advanced no cash relief for the farmers.

Instead they have organized forced labor camps where they drill workers to become future soldiers while paying them a starvation wage.

They refuse to heed the demand of the workers for public works that will actually relieve the situation of the workers, like stum clearing and building houses for the workers.

They have stolen from the pockets of millions their savings through the bank moratorium.

They are about to steal more money out of the pockets of the

--- A WORLD TO GAIN!



By Burck

masses by cutting the value of the dollar through the method of inflation.

They have slashed the wages of governmental employees.

They have slashed the compensation of the veterans—those who were maimed and crippled in the last World War. They refuse to give the long-promised bonus to the veterans.

They are planning to legalize the stagger-system of employment which means making the workers share the little available work with their fellow-workers and thus reduce the earnings of all.

They are planning "wage boards" to determine the bottom wages for every industry and locality, not according to the needs of the workers, but according to the needs of the exploiters.

They have allowed the courts of Alabama to convict Haywood Patterson, one of the 9 Scottsboro boys, to the electric chair to satisfy the southern rulers in their bloody desire to maintain the national oppression of the Negro people.

The Revolutionary Road for the Masses.

May Day, day of international working class solidarity, finds the working class of every capitalist country, finds the working class of this leading capitalist country, in a position where they have to say to themselves with the deepest conviction that they have nothing to lose but their chains. Capitalism has come to a stage where it can no more serve mankind, it can only create more misery, more hunger, more bloodshed, more oppression. It can create more wars and it is actually planning to go into wars in order to get out of the crisis. Capitalism is armed to the teeth and instead of using the major por-

tion of the available funds to feed the hungry, it squeezes the life-blood out of the masses to produce more ammunition, to organize bigger armies for the coming world slaughter.

The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. Capitalism has outlived itself. Capitalism has to be replaced by Socialism where there is no private property on either lands or mines, or factories or railroads, where there is not exploitation of man by man, where everybody shares the fruit of collective labor, where classes have been abolished and life has been lifted to great heights. Capitalism must be replaced by the system of work for common use and not for profit. Capitalism has developed vast possibilities of production which cannot be used under the system of private property, which, however, under the system of Socialism, can be developed tremendously so as to assure everybody a real human living.

The Soviet Union, now in the 16th year of its existence, is the only bright spot in the world-picture of today. While the capitalist world is sinking deeper into the morass of deterioration, the Soviet State, having abolished unemployment, is rising ever higher, rapidly increasing production, raising agriculture to new high levels, organizing large-scale collective farming, improving the situation of the workers, caring for their health, education and recreation, making life worth living for every toiler. The Soviet Union is the only country where the workers are the real masters of their destinies and where they are rapidly approaching a classless society.

On this May Day, the great day of international working class solidarity, there is only one way open for the masses of toilers if they wish

to live and to progress * * * and that is to deal the capitalist state a death blow.

Growing Struggles Against Capitalist Attack.

The workers of the United States are beginning to realize this basic truth more and more. The workers of the United States have been advancing against capitalism in ever greater forces. Last year has witnessed an increasing number of struggles on various fronts. The miners repeatedly went on strike against wage cuts and for better conditions. The automobile workers for the first time in the history of this country actually succeeded in tying up the industry through a powerful strike movement. The needle workers, particularly the furriers, have made a strong stand against their bosses and have secured better wages and union control over many shops. The workers of many other trades have struck against wage-cuts. The farmers not only organized a broad strike movement, but came into repeated clashes with the armed forces of the State. The veterans marched on Washington in a great militant body that threw the entire Federal government into confusion. The militant workers organized a great national hunger march and innumerable demonstrations and local hunger marches in fight for relief and unemployment insurance. The sharecroppers of the South, most of them Negroes, have organized a special union and are fighting against the exploiters. The farmers' conference called in Washington was witness to the growing militancy of the farming masses to fight against the lynchers and for full equality for the Negroes, including self-determination in the Black Belt.

The toiling masses of America are becoming ever more restless and they are organizing to fight. This is nothing unusual for the American working class whose history is the history of great battles against the exploiters and whose struggles gave rise even to the First of May, later adopted as an international day of working class solidarity for struggle against capitalism.

Unite for Unemployment and Social Insurance

Unemployment insurance is the great need of the day. Millions are hungry. Capitalism has thrown them out because the bosses cannot make sufficient profits. The bosses have pocketed all the wealth, whereas the workers are doomed to starvation. That must not be. If there are billions to be had for the bankers and other billions for war purposes, then there must be enough funds to pay every unemployed man, woman and young worker a definite wage every week at the expense of the capitalists and the federal government.

Unite for Increased Wages and Relief to Meet Higher Prices

The struggle against wage-cuts and for the increase in wages in order to meet the inflation prices, is another pressing need for which the workers must become organized through this May Day demonstration. The capitalists are mobilizing to cut the value of the dollar, i.e., to pay the workers in depreciated money which will buy fewer goods. The workers must resist by demanding higher wages, more relief, wherever such relief is being paid. They must demand that all war funds be used for immediate relief and unemployment insurance.

Unite in the Struggle Against Imperialist War

May Day must be a day of struggle against war and against war preparations. The government is recruiting young workers to drill them for the future war while making them work at starvation wages. The government, in connivance with Wall Street, is plotting for new wars, especially against the Soviet Union. The May Day demonstration must raise a mighty protest against these war plans. We will resist all capitalist wars; we will resist the transportation of ammunition for the purposes of war butchery.

Socialist Leaders Prevent Unity

For these struggles the workers must unite. We know that there are mighty obstacles in the way of their unity—in the first place the activities of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the leaders of the Socialist Party. It is these leaders who split the ranks of the working-class movement in 1914 when they joined the camps of their respective governments in the World War instead of fighting the capitalists in every country. It is these leaders who organized the intervention in the Soviet Union. It is these leaders, who, being at the head of the German government crushed the revolution of 1918-19 and subsequently fought against the revolutionary labor movement while protecting the counter-revolutionary forces and thus paving the way for fascism. It is these leaders who do not offer any resistance to the Hitler fascism in Germany even at the present moment, abjectly bowing before the bloody dictatorship, and telling the workers that there

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

Lenin's Leaflet to Russian Workers

This leaflet was written by Lenin for May Day, 1895. This direct appeal reached many workers, though the leaflet had to be distributed secretly because of the close watch by the czarist secret police. Comrade Lenin points here to the need of united struggle against capitalism.

By V. I. LENIN

Comrades, let us consider our situation carefully; let us contemplate the conditions under which we lead our lives. What do we see? We work hard, we produce countless riches, gold and tissues, brocade and velvet; we haul iron and coal from the depths of the earth; we construct machinery. All the riches of the world are created by our hands, are produced by our sweat and our blood. What compensation do we get for our forced labor? If we had our desserts, we ought to live in good houses, wear good clothes and, at any rate, not want for our daily bread. Nevertheless, we all know that our wages hardly suffice to provide us with a bare existence. Our masters reduce the rate of wages and force us to work overtime, they impose unfair fines on us, briefly, they oppress us in every possible way and if we are dissatisfied, they turn us out without more ado.

We have often convinced ourselves that all to whom we apply for protection prove to be henchmen and friends of the masters. We workers are kept in the dark; we are given no education lest we should want to fight for the improvement of our condition. We are kept in bonds, we are driven out of work, we are forbidden to fight; anyone who resists the oppression is deported and arrested. Darkness and bondage are the means by which the capitalists and the government, which does everything for their advantage, hold us captive.

What means have we for improving our position, for raising our wages, for reducing our hours of work, for enabling us to read instructive books and for protecting ourselves from insult? Everyone's hand is against us; that of the masters, who live all the better the worse off we are, and that of their lackeys, of all those who live on the crumbs which fall from the capitalist's table, and who keep us in ignorance and bondage for their advantage. We cannot look for help from any quarter, we can only depend on helping ourselves. Unity is our strength; our weapon is firm, unanimous and unrelenting resistance to the masters. They themselves have known for a long time in what our force consists, and use all efforts to keep us disunited and to prevent us from realizing that the interests of us workers are common interests. They reduce the rates of wages, not all at once but one step at a time; they introduce foremen and payment by piece-work, even reducing the rates of wages arbitrarily, laughing in their sleeve when they see that we wear ourselves out at our work.

Every dog, however, has his day, patience wears out in the end. During the past year, the Russian workers have shown their masters that the submission of the slaves has been replaced by the steadfast courage of those who do not yield to the insolence and shamelessness of the capitalists who hanker after unpaid work. Strikes have broken out in a number of towns; in Jaroslavl, Tejkov, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Bielestok, Vilna, Minsk, Kiev, Moscow and other towns. The majority of the strikes ended with the victory of the workers but even in those which failed, the failure was only apparent. As a matter of fact, the strikes thoroughly frighten the masters, cause them great losses and compel them to make concessions for fear of fresh strikes.

Even the factory inspectors are beginning to get busy, and to discover beams in the eyes of the factory owners. They are usually blind until the workers open their eyes by striking. How, indeed, can we con-

cept the factory inspectors to notice mismanagement in the factories of such influential people as Mr. Thornton or the shareholders of the Putilov Works? We have given the gentlemen plenty to do, here in St. Petersburg. The strike of the weavers at Thornton's, of the women cigarette makers at Lagerme's, of the spinners at Lebedev's, at the factory for the mechanical production of shoes, the movement of the



V. I. LENIN.

workers at Konig's Voronin's and at the docks have shown that we have ceased to be callous sufferers, and that we have thrown ourselves into the battle.

As is well known, workers from many factories and works have formed a fighting union for the liberation of the working class and with the object of disclosing all abuses, of doing away with mismanagement, of fighting against the insolent tyranny and oppression of our unscrupulous exploiters and attaining complete liberation from their rule. The union distributes pamphlets, the very sight of which freezes the blood of the masters and their lackeys. It is not the pamphlets which they dread, but the possibility of our united resistance, the demonstration of our tremendous force, which we have shown them more than once.

We workers of St. Petersburg and members of the union call upon all our comrades to join our union and to promote the great work of the union of the workers in a fight for their own interests. It is time for us Russian workers also to burst the chains with which the capitalists and the government have bound us, to join our brothers, the workers in other states, in the fight, for us to march under a common banner on which is written: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In France, England, Germany and other countries, in which the workers have already united in strong unions and have conquered many rights for themselves, they are inaugurating a general day of celebration for labor on April 19th (in other countries this is May 1st).

They forsake the stuffy factories, march with music and banners in serried ranks through the main streets of the town, thus showing the masters their ever increasing strength; they gather in numerous, well attended meetings, in which speeches are held and the victories won over the masters in the past year are enumerated while plans of campaign for the future are drawn up.

Fear of a strike prevents any single employer from imposing fines on the workers who do not turn up at their work on that day. On that day the workers remind the masters of their chief demand: the limitation of the working day to 8 hours—8 hours work, 8 hours sleep and 8 hours recreation. This is what the workers of other states are now proclaiming. There was a time, and that not so long ago, when they also, like ourselves at present, had no right to proclaim their needs, when they were oppressed by want and dismissal just as we are today; but by obstinate fighting and their great sacrifices they have gained the right to discuss in common the needs of the workers.

Let us wish for our brothers in

MAY DAY UNDER FASCIST RULE

Experiences from Warsaw, Poland

(By a Worker Correspondent)

NEW YORK.—During April, 1930, I was on a visit to Warsaw, which is my home town, the capital city of Fascist Poland, where the dictator, Pilsudsky, rules with an iron hand. The terror against the working masses in Poland is known over the world.

The Polish Communist Party is illegal, the revolutionary unions are semi-legal, the enormous spy system is the chief institution of the government. In spite of this reaction, the impoverished working masses rally to the call of the Communist Party of Poland.

While walking the streets of a workers' neighborhood, I suddenly saw a red flag with the inscription, "Down With Fascism," "Long Live the First of May," appear in the air, attached to a trolley car wire. A crowd gathered. No one had seen where it had come from, but many workers took their hats off. Others applauded. The police arrived on the scene and seeing the waving red banner, they dispersed the crowd with anger, and called an emergency wagon to unhook the Red Flag from the wires. No one was caught—that's how skillfully it was done!

The next time I saw a Red Flag was in the "Polish Defensive" (the Political Police headquarters), after I was arrested for visiting the Needle Trades Red Union. I was taken into the cross examination room. There on the floor was the flag with the slogan "Long Live the First of May." A few of the arrested comrades were questioned by the Political Police.

I spent three days with the Polish comrades in the "Defensive" who were arrested on suspicion of Communist activities. Most of them were young, awaiting years of imprisonment, but that did not kill their spirit. The revolutionary songs echoed far out into the open. This so angered the police guard that they threatened to isolate us, but we kept on singing.

For three days ten of us were kept in a little room, incommunicado. They fed us on black bread that tasted like clay and soup mixed with flies. We slept on bare boards called "noras," piled one on top of another. We were fingerprinted and photographed and cross-examined a few times a day.

In spite of the hundreds arrested before May First, in order to check the demonstrations, there were thousands of workers' demonstrations on May Day, raising their protest against the fascist terror.

—Clara.

other countries, that their fight may very soon result in the desired victory; that the time may soon come when there are neither masters nor slaves, neither capitalists nor workers, when all will work equally and all will enjoy life reasonably and on equal terms.

Comrades, if we act unitedly and harmoniously, the time is not far distant when we also, in firmly welded ranks, shall be able, without distinction of race or creed, openly to join this common fight of all the workers of all countries against the capitalists in the whole world.

Our muscular arm will be raised and the shameful chains of slavery will fall; the working people of our Russian country will rise, and the capitalists and all other enemies of the working class will be filled with terror.



From "Memoirs of A Revolutionist"

This is an excerpt from Piatnitsky's recently published book, "Memoirs of a Revolutionist." Here we have a description of the early May Days in Russia and the heroic struggles of the Russian working class against czarism. It was these links in the mighty chain of class struggles that built the Bolshevik Party which was to lead the toiling masses to the victorious revolution—to the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"Memoirs of a Revolutionist," by Osip Piatnitsky, can be bought at the Workers' Book Shop, 50 E. 13th St., New York. Price, \$1.

"Once, at the end of February, 1899, or perhaps 1900, I was informed on the exchange that someone was waiting for me in a certain house on the outskirts of the city. I went there immediately. A meeting, consisting of representatives of the unions and one comrade intellectual, was in progress. The question of the First of May celebration was being discussed. The point at issue was: should they gather on the First of May in private houses, in the woods, or in the street?"

After a long debate, it was decided to organize a demonstration on the main street. Each union was to organize a meeting of all its members before the First of May, and put the question of the demonstration before them. At each of these meetings an "intellectual" was to be present.

Discuss May Day

I summoned a big meeting of the members of the union. We waited a long time for the intellectual who was to be the speaker, but he did not put in an appearance. I was therefore obliged to explain the meaning of the First of May and why we ought to demonstrate on the streets on that day (until then the First of May had been celebrated either in the woods or at home.) This was not so simple; for at that time our work was confined to the economic struggle with our employers, who had the police on their side. This was all that the members of the unions of that day knew.

As far as I can recall, the reasons I gave at that meeting for the necessity of demonstrating on the streets were that the strikes of the last two years had accomplished nothing as far as we workers were

concerned, and that it was now necessary to show the highest governmental authority in our town, the governor, that the workers were dissatisfied with their conditions, and that they were protesting against them. The meeting unanimously decided to participate in the demonstration. Then and there captains of squads of ten men were appointed who, on the evening of April 18 (corresponding to May 1, new style), were to be, after work, in one of the side-streets near the Bolshaya St. (the main street of Vilna), where the demonstration was to take place, together with the ten demonstrators for whom each captain was responsible.

First Baptism of Fire

At the appointed time I was there with nine comrades. When the moment arrived for our entrance into the Bolshaya St. every body was assembled. The main street was immediately filled with men and women workers, who mingled with the bourgeois promenaders. The mounted Cossacks and police scented the presence of unusually large numbers of persons in the streets, and they were on the alert. Suddenly the red flag was displayed. The crowd began to sing disjointedly in various places; great confusion ensued. The shops were hastily closed and the promenading public scurried to cover. The Cossacks and the police threw themselves upon the demonstrators and lashed out with their whips right and left. This was probably the Vilna workers' first baptism of fire.

A year later the May Day demonstration was held on a public holiday. The meeting place was in a park at the end of Bolshaya St. When the demonstrators came out of the park the Cossacks fell upon them, and a great many were injured. Numerous arrests were made.

The year between the first demonstration and the next had not passed in vain. There was no question now of discussion where to meet on the First of May: in the woods, in private houses, or in the street. Now there was merely an announcement in all the unions that there would be a demonstration, and each union was given directions as to the meeting place and time. That was all. A great many people came to the demonstration even without our having taken the preparatory measures we had taken a year before.

Communist Party Manifesto

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must be no united front of struggle against this new tyranny of the big capitalists and landlords. It is these leaders, who, like Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit in this country, went to Roosevelt to congratulate him on his bank-moratorium which was an act of robbery directed against the masses. It is these leaders, who like Julius Gerber in the city of New York, in a letter to the Police Commissioner Bolan "congratulates him and wished him success." It is these leaders who are opposed to a United Front of all the workers as proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and by the National Executive Committee of the Trade Union Unity League.

Weld the Unity of All Toilers Against Capitalism—for Socialism.

As against all these traitors of the working class, the workers and farmers of this country, whether belonging to one organization or the other, must form one powerful united front of struggle.

Workers and toilers, Negro and white, of city and farm, unite! Unite in the struggle against the Roosevelt hunger government—the government of finance capital for: Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.

Against Roosevelt's wage cutting policy, for higher wages and relief to meet higher prices.

For emergency relief for the impoverished farmers without restrictions by the government and banks; exemption of impoverished farmers from taxes and no forced collections of rents or debts.

For equal rights for the Negroes

and self determination in the Black Belt.

Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers; for the immediate release of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys.

Against imperialist war! For the defense of the Chinese people! For the defense of the Soviet Union—the base of socialism!

Weld firmer the international solidarity of the workers against fascist reaction! Solidarity with the German workers for the struggle against the Hitler fascist dictatorship!

Workers and toilers, the way out for the capitalists from the crisis is by way of war and starvation.

Forward along the road of struggle for the overthrow of capitalism—the breeder of starvation and wars.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union has shown the way for the American workers! It has abolished unemployment, reduced working hours, raised the material conditions of the workers and peasants, marching forward on the path towards a classless society!

Only the destruction of capitalism in the United States will abolish unemployment, wage cuts and wars.

Against capitalism and the dictatorship of the bosses! For the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of a classless socialist society!

Unite for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for the victory of the American working class!

Only the Communist Party can lead the American workers to freedom and socialism!

Central Committee,
COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

Through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to a Classless Socialist Society

May First and the Struggle for Unemployment Insurance

By J. STACHEL.

The outstanding issue in the labor movement today is the fight for unemployment insurance. It must be made the central issue in the May Day demonstrations. It is the issue which expresses the most vital needs of the masses at present. With seventeen million unemployed, with additional millions on a part time basis, with all workers facing insecurity as to their jobs—the fight for unemployment insurance is the fight of the entire working class.

Side by side with the fight for unemployment insurance there must be developed the fight for a whole system of social insurance. Including old age pensions, accident and maternity insurance, etc. All workers today feel the whip of starvation from the very first day that they are unemployed no matter what the reason. Workers' savings which were always small and limited to only a section of the workers are wiped out. The workers have no reserves. They must depend on charity or starve when they are not employed.

Only a system of universal social insurance can bring some measure of security to the workers under the capitalist system. May Day, the traditional day of struggle of the workers of this country, the day of the memorable and historic struggles for the 8-hour day must be converted into a gigantic mass struggle among other things first and foremost for Unemployment Insurance, for Social Insurance.

Capitalists Oppose Unemployment and Social Insurance.

The capitalists are opposed to unemployment insurance. They instead wish to place the whole burden of the crisis, of unemployment upon the shoulders of the masses themselves. It is for this reason that they advocate and put into practice the stagger plan. They divide the work among the workers, in addition to cutting wages. They lower the standard of living of all the masses. They use the large army of unemployed to force wages down to ever lower levels. They



know that if there existed a system of compulsory federal unemployment insurance this would be a force against workers competing in the job market for any wages. They would be unable to force the workers to contribute to the charity they hand out to the workers through the forced collections for the community funds. They would be unable to introduce forced labor for those receiving charity relief and city relief. The capitalists are opposed to unemployment insurance because it would cost them a portion of their profits. Because it would unite the employed and unemployed workers and raise the fighting spirit and capacity of the entire working-class.

Communist and Left Wing Fight for Federal Unemployment Insurance

But notwithstanding the hostility of the capitalists to any form of unemployment insurance they are compelled to maneuver and make gestures favoring some form of insurance. This is due to the fact that the masses of unemployed and employed workers are in ever greater numbers demanding the enactment of unemployment insurance legislation. The Communist Party was the first organization in this country to raise the demand and organize the fight for unemployment insurance. The Trade Union Unity League, the Unemployed Councils, the International Workers Order and other militant labor or-

The Demonstrations in Every City and Town Must Make Unemployment Insurance a Central Slogan

ganizations have endorsed and supported this fight.

This slogan for the first time rallied large masses in the historic unemployed demonstrations of March 6, 1930. It took place throughout the world at the call of the Communist International. Over a million workers participated in the United States alone. Since that time these organizations carried on a consistent fight for federal unemployment insurance. The Communist Party, the TUUL, the Unemployed Councils have organized mass actions in all cities, towns and states. And a number of national actions the last of which was the national hunger march to Washington in December. Within the A. F. of L. with the support of the left wing labor organizations there has been developed a mass movement for federal unemployment insurance despite the stubborn opposition of the AFL leadership that this was the dole and "un-American." The fight for unemployment insurance has become a broad mass

movement which no group in the labor movement can ignore.

Position of the Reformists on Unemployment Insurance

The Socialist Party was compelled to come forward for unemployment insurance at least in name. The unemployment insurance bill passed in Wisconsin with the support of the Socialist Party there, which



controls the city of Milwaukee and other cities, is a clear indication that the socialist stand is in reality one of disrupting the fight for a genuine unemployment insurance. It is the adoption of bills which carry the name of unemployment

insurance, but which does not bring any benefits to the masses of unemployed.

While the official socialist bill varies somewhat from the Wisconsin Bill it is of the same character. These bills in the first place at best would not insure the seventeen millions of unemployed, but only those who still have jobs. Secondly, insurance would be paid only after the reserve fund is built up which would be taken at least in part from the workers' wages. Thirdly the bill limits the payments to only a few weeks in the year and fixes a maximum of 10 weeks payment at a maximum of \$10 per week.

The bills introduced in the various states, Ohio, New York and others are all of the same category. They would not insure the mass of the unemployed but deal with those who still have jobs. They make the workers contribute to the funds to be built up and payments to start only when sufficient funds are raised. They limit the number of weeks and payments to such an extent that the amount the workers would receive is no more than that which the relief agencies are compelled to pay and in some cases even less. In New York the Governor claimed that even if the bill was passed it would take at least two years until the insurance would be paid to anyone. And for this reason he urged that the bill be passed. In addition all these bills are strike-breaking bills. Workers on strike would not receive any insurance. Thus the bosses would convert the bill into anti-strike insurance instead of unemployment insurance.

American Federation of Labor

The A.F.L. leaders who have stubbornly opposed unemployment insurance in "principle" as against the "ideals of Americanism" have been compelled by the pressure of the rank and file to make a gesture and adopt "unemployment insurance" at the last convention. But the plan they adopted was to sponsor state bills of the character mentioned above. In other words under the name of being for unemployment insurance they are continuing under new forms their struggle against a



genuine system of unemployment insurance. The A. F. of L. leaders are opposed to unemployment insurance. They are against the position taken by the rank and file on this as well as many other questions.

The Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill

There is only one proposal for unemployment insurance that has been brought forward which expresses the needs and interests of the masses. This is the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill. This bill is supported by the organizations that have started the struggle for unemployment insurance in the U. S. The Communist Party, the TUUL, the Unemployed Councils. It is now also supported by the A. F. of L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance and by the International Workers Order as well as other left wing labor organizations. In fact the bill in its present form is more concrete. In revised form which was first adopted by the Cincinnati Rank and File Conference that took place at the time of the last AFL convention. This bill calls for a:

"System of federal government unemployment insurance immediately established by an act of Congress and made immediately effective, guaranteeing the average wages in the respective industries and territories in the United States. The unemployment insur-

ance shall be no less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers and \$3.00 for each dependent, to all workers wholly unemployed through no fault of their own, for the entire period of unemployment."

The bill also provides against discrimination, for payments in part to part time workers. It provides for the taxing of the rich to provide the funds with which to pay the unemployed. (The bill is printed in full in this issue of the Daily Worker.—Editor).

This is the bill which the workers should support. We must expose all the other schemes of the capi-



talists and their agents. Regarding the bills introduced in the various state legislatures, we must point out that the most effective way to insure the workers is through the system of federal unemployment insurance. At the same time at present the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill as an amendment to the legislatures to be effective pending the adoption of this bill by Congress.

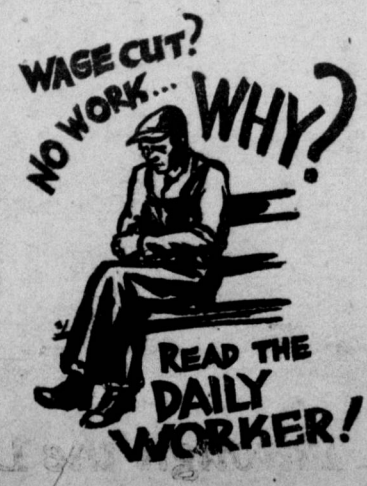
But we must in doing this avoid a number of mistakes that certain workers' organizations have fallen into. These mistakes consisted primarily in forgetting the federal bill, while putting forward state bills. Secondly in changing the bill so that a different bill is proposed for the state and to Congress. We must everywhere fight for the demands embodied in the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill.

Make May Day a Day of Struggle

The masses are in motion. They wish to fight against the attacks of the capitalists. The workers are now confronted with severe attacks. Already wages are only in total 33 per cent of 1929. Now through inflation and through new wage cuts the capitalists and their government wish to further undermine the living standards of the masses. They wish to extend the stagger plan through the "Black 30-hour Bill" which does not carry with it a corresponding increase in wages to guarantee weekly and monthly earnings. The A. F. of L. and the Socialists have endorsed this stagger plan. We must oppose this new attack. We must expose the attempt to cripple the labor organizations through compulsory arbitration, forced labor and other similar measures now before Congress as part of the Roosevelt program. In the center of all these demands must be the fight for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill. The fight for unemployment insurance will help to unite all workers to fight against the capitalist attack.

May Day must be the beginning of big demonstrations and strikes for increased wages to meet inflation prices, against the whole Roosevelt program, for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill.

May Day must be a big step forward in the developing of the united front of the workers in struggle for the realization of the demands of the masses.



Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill

That a system of federal government unemployment insurance be immediately established by an act of congress and made immediately effective, guaranteeing the average wages in the respective industries and territories in the United States. The unemployment insurance shall not be less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent, to all workers wholly unemployed through no fault of their own, for the entire period of unemployment.

For all workers, no discrimination—That unemployment insurance be paid to every unemployed worker, adult, and youth, whether industrial or agricultural, office employees, and all other categories of wage labor, native or foreign-born, citizen or non-citizen, white and Negro, men and women, and without discrimination against race, color, age or political opinion. No worker shall be deprived of unemployment insurance because of refusal to take the place of strikers or to work for less than union rates of pay.

Insurance at the expense of the employers and the government—That the full funds for unemployment insurance shall be raised by the government from funds now set aside for war preparations and by taxation upon incomes over \$5,000 a year. In no instance shall there be any contributions levied upon the workers—in any form whatsoever for this insurance.

Administration by the workers—That the unemployment insurance fund shall be administered and controlled by the workers through unemployment insurance commissions composed of rank and file members of workers' organizations. That unemployment insurance commissions be empowered to establish free employment exchanges for the registration of the workers. The payment of unemployment insurance, the hearing of contested claims for unemployment insurance and appeals from awards made.

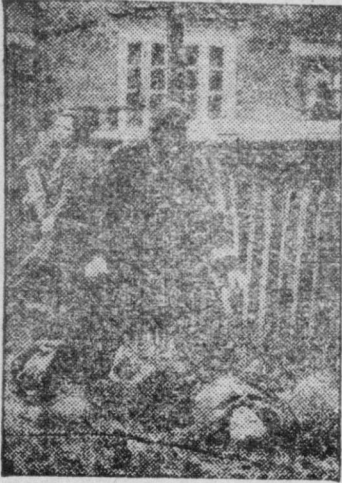
For other forms of social insurance—That social insurance be paid to workers to the amount not less than \$10.00 weekly for adult workers, \$3.00 for each dependent to compensate for loss of wages through sickness accident, old age, maternity, etc.

Part-time workers shall receive the difference between their wages and the unemployment insurance benefit. No worker shall be disqualified from receiving unemployment insurance because he refuses to work at wages below what he was formerly receiving or below the prevailing trade union rates in that vicinity, nor shall he or she be disqualified for refusing to work because of strike or unsafe or unhealthful conditions, nor where hours are longer than the usual trade union standards in the particular trade or locality.

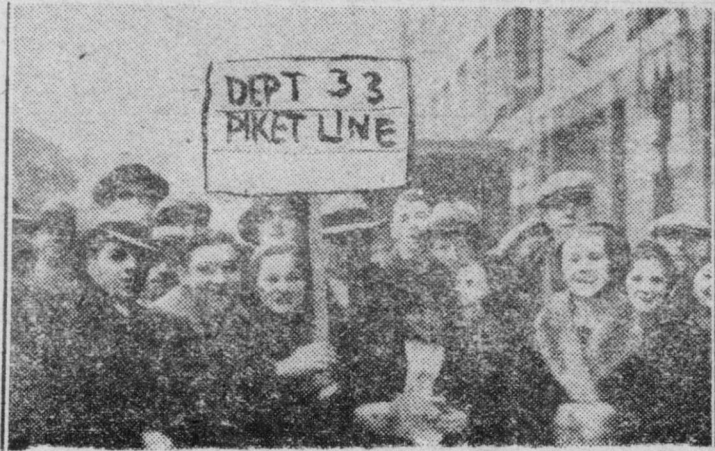
An employee shall not be required to accept employment if the establishment where employment is offered is at an unreasonable distance from his or her home.

FIGHT FOR UNEMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL INSURANCE

STRUGGLES AGAINST HUNGER AND WAR



British workers battling police who try to evict them



Auto Workers strike against wage cuts in Detroit, involving over 15,000



Bonus March to Washington last summer

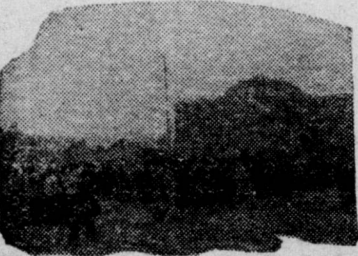
Nation



Japanese imperialists Celebrate after shooting Chinese masses



A worker killed by German police on May First



Scenes from a recent Tramway strike in China, where the workers put up a heroic battle against the most bloody terror

During the past year there has been a sharp plunge to new depths of the economic crisis in the United States. Capitalism, though changing its federal administration, shifting the posts in its government, which is the executive committee of the capitalist class, has pursued one consistent uninterrupted policy. That is to use every means at hand to place the burden of the capitalist crisis upon the backs of the toiling masses by increasingly fierce attacks upon the standards of life. By increased ferocity against the colonial and semi-colonial masses and by a mad drive toward imperialist war, especially war and intervention against the Soviet Union.

The prolonged crisis, the most deep-going in history, has led to the most appalling misery, suffering and wretchedness of the masses of workers and farmers.

Radicalization of the Masses.

It is this economic crisis and the offensive of the capitalist class that has determined the course of struggles in the United States since May Day, 1932. The continuous succession of unemployment demonstrations, fights against hunger, against evictions, the strikes against wage cuts, the national hunger march which was marked by a series of sharp clashes with the police, the war veterans' struggles, the battles of farmers against the police and state authorities, the Scottsboro campaign and the struggle for Negro rights, the demonstrations against imperialist war, the fight against fascism—all these indicate a growing radicalization of the masses in the United States.

Series of Strike Struggles

Two weeks after the May Day demonstrations last year, a strike broke out in the sugar beet indus-



try against wage cuts, involving 18,000 workers. There were a number of small strikes in various industries—printing, building, etc., during that same period. On July 15 came the strike of mill workers at High point, North Carolina. In the middle of August 30,000 miners in Southern Illinois went out on strike. All of these struggles, while they indicated determination on the part of the rank and file to fight against hunger, met with little success. The leadership in some cases did not know how to conduct an effective struggle and in some instances there were conscious agents of the bosses who betrayed the workers.

Victorious Strike Struggles

One of the most significant actions was the strike of workers in the Republic Steel works plant at Warren, O., where a partial victory was won.

But the most outstanding strike struggle of the year occurred late in January when the workers in the Briggs and Hudson plants in De-

troit went out on strike and by their action succeeded in stopping wage cuts in practically all plants in Detroit and vicinity.

In both the Warren and Detroit strikes the unions affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League played an important and leading role. They pursued a policy of urging organization of rank and file committees to lead the struggles. They strived for the most effective united action embracing employed and unemployed, Negro and white, native-born and foreign-born.

In the Detroit struggle, especially, there were clashes with the police thugs of the city, the state police and the private thugs of the auto magnates. But most vicious of all were the attempts of the bureaucracy of the Detroit Federation of Labor to split and disrupt the fighting front of the workers.

That the steel workers and the auto workers have taken up the struggle against wage cuts and hunger is of tremendous significance and is the guarantee that the continuation of the savage offensive against the standards of life will meet with increasing resistance by the masses of toilers in these basic and war industries.

Jobless Demonstrations Everywhere

While strikes occurred in a number of important places, the struggles of the starving workers for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the government and the employers were general. In every part of the country there have been increasingly determined struggles against hunger and in not a few places there have been victories of great importance.

Perhaps the most notable single victory in the series of local struggles for relief was the huge Chicago demonstration on October 31 when 50,000 workers succeeded in forcing the withdrawal of an order for a 50 per cent cut in relief and compelled the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make up the difference.

National Hunger March

On the wave of increasing local struggles, county hunger marches, state hunger marches that assumed more and more militant forms, there was built up support for the National Hunger March to Washington to again place before Con-



The Mooney Congress is now on in Chicago. For his release and for all class war prisoners

Workers, Farmers and Veterans All C by Their Actions the Attempts of the Crisis at the Expense of

gress demands for immediate emergency relief and unemployment insurance.

In the course of this march there were repeated sharp clashes with the police who had received instructions from Washington to "discourage" the marchers. But in spite of this, 3,000 delegates assembled at Washington, where they were at first surrounded by heavily armed police on a bleak wind-swept hillside. The expressed intent of the authorities to prevent the Hunger Marchers presenting their demands

vania and many other states that the big insurance companies were forced to admit that it was impossible to enforce collection of farm mortgages.

But the Roosevelt administration is trying to come to the rescue of the mortgage holders by using the power of the federal government to try to bludgeon out of the farmers enough to satisfy the bankers and the mortgage sharks.

Many of these farm strikes have been highly successful and there is every indication that they are rising to higher levels.

Upsurge of Veterans' Struggles

The dramatic struggle of the war veterans was a powerful factor in unmasking the hunger and war government at Washington. These war veterans, who had been told there would be nothing too good for them when they were needed to defend the investments in Europe of the House of Morgan during the world war, were being cheated out of their back pay—the so-called bonus—by the hunger government.

One of the most infamous chapters in the record of government tyranny was written when a part of the armed forces of the country, on express orders of the president of the United States, drove out with fire and sword the veterans encamped on Anacostia field last July 28. The heroes of yesterday had, in the eyes of the government they fought for, become the outcasts of today!

Share-Croppers' In Action

In the Black Belt of the South the fight of the Negro and white sharecroppers against the frightful tyranny of the bankers and the landlords advanced to a higher stage



when on December 19 Negro sharecroppers with arms in hand drove off a force of armed and murderous deputies bent upon taking the property from one of their number. This conflict at Tallapoosa, Ala., was the



was set aside by the nation-wide protests that flooded Washington and by the splendid discipline and defiant heroism of the marchers themselves.

It can be definitely recorded that there are tens of thousands of men, women and children alive today in the United States who would have starved to death had it not been for this nation-wide struggle against the hunger program of Wall Street carried out by the Unemployed Councils.

Struggles of the Farmers

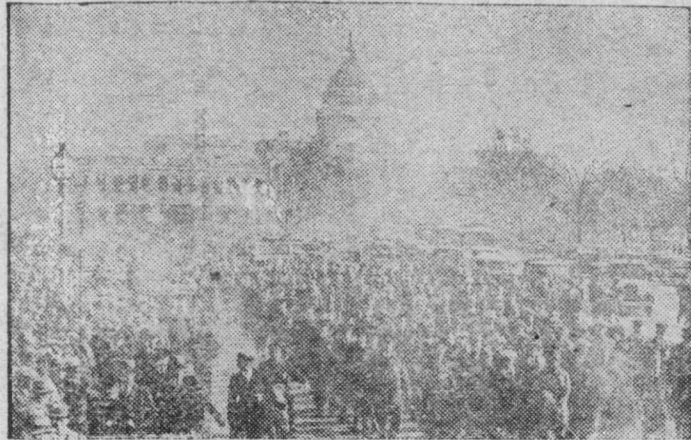
The entire year, from May 1, 1932, to May 1, 1933, has been characterized by spectacular and militant struggles on the part of the farmers against low marketing prices for farm products, against foreclosures of mortgages, against forced sales. On the basis of the experiences of these struggles and the necessity for a national organization of farmers to fight against the hunger program of Wall Street there was held in December the United Farmers Relief Conference in Washington. This has proved to be a powerful coordinating force uniting and giving aim and direction to the struggles of the rank and file farmers.

So effective were the farmers' "strikes" in Iowa, Illinois, Pennsyl-

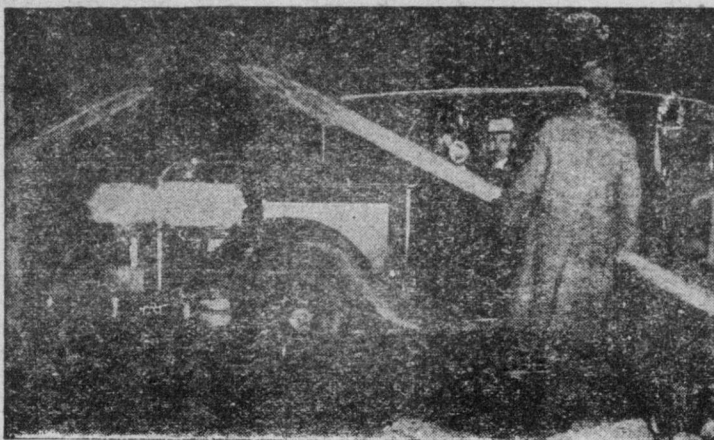


The Scottsboro Boys. Reading from left to right: William Robinson, Ozie Eugene Williams, Clarence Norris, Andy Wright, Olin Montgomery, Roy

WAR---MAY DAY 1932 TO MAY DAY 1933



National Hunger March for Unemployment Insurance in Washington



Strike of farmers in Wisconsin barring trucks on the road



Worker in Soviet Union constructing Moscow subway

All Over the United States Challenge Attempts of the Capitalist Class to Solve Crisis of the Toiling Masses

second share-croppers' struggle—the first one having occurred at Camp Hill a year and a half before.

When white posses recruited from sheriff's forces in nearby counties tried to hunt down and lynch them, the heroic Negro croppers found shelter at the hands of white share croppers. It is this growing unity of action of Negro and whites in the South that strikes fear into the hearts of the ruling class, trying to hold in subjection by every method

expense of the Soviet Union. At these demonstrations the imperialist tyrannies against the colonial and semi-colonial masses was made a part of the whole struggle against capitalism.

A few weeks after last May Day there occurred in New York a demonstration of white and Negro, Chinese, Phillipino and Japanese against the shipments of arms and munitions on the Japanese ship "Toba Maru."

At many ports and in munition and war industries there was consistent work to organize special actions against imperialist war.

In preparing for and sending American delegates to the Amsterdam congress against imperialist war held last August there were many meetings and demonstrations. Since the return of the delegates there has been considerable activity along the lines laid down at Amsterdam.

Every imperialist plot against the Soviet Union was unmasked and contributed to intensifying the anti-war struggle. Finally in the wind-up of the election campaign, occurring simultaneously with the celebration of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution there was widespread popularization of the tremendous achievements of the Five Year Plan of Socialist Construction. Throughout the year the popularization of these achievements, in sharp contrast to the decay of the capitalist world, gave impetus to the struggle against the capitalist attempts to solve the crisis at the expense of the masses of workers in the home countries and the toiling masses in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The Presidential Election Campaign

During the year there took place the presidential election campaign. The Communist Party carried out the revolutionary policy of utilizing it for further development of the struggles of the toiling masses.

At the nominating convention in Chicago on May 28 and 29, William Z. Foster was chosen as the standard bearer of the Communist Party for president of the United States, and James W. Ford, a Negro

W. Ford, a Negro candidate for vice-president.

Co-ordinating All Struggles

Immediately the campaign was begun and the message of Communism was carried into every part of the country. In distinct contrast to the Socialist Party which utilized the campaign to sow parliamentary illusions and to try to disrupt and disintegrate the mass struggles, the Communist campaign gave an impetus to all these struggles and in the midst of the election struggle, raised the call for the Second Hunger March on Washington at the opening session of Congress. In the South, in contrast to Norman Thomas' meetings that provoked be-

fore the lynch law and chain-gang ruling class, the Communist Party defied the jim-crow laws and held mixed meetings of Negro and whites.

In every way the Communist Party in its election campaign acted as a powerful force unifying and co-ordinating all the varied struggles into one common fight against the hunger and war program of the capitalist ruling class and its government.

The outcome of the actual voting showed that although there was increased radicalization, the political consciousness of the masses was still at a low level. The overwhelming majority of workers and farmers supported the capitalist parties—republican, democrat and socialist.

The Communist Party received more than 100,000 votes. To be sure the vote showed that

WM. Z. FOSTER



Candidate for president, 1932

"I CAN NEVER FORGET THE FIRST MAY DAY"

Lucy Parsons Tells of Haymarket Event

By LUCY PARSONS

I can never forget what happened here in Chicago on the First of May, 1886. All the factories were tied up. The masses were on the streets. They showed the bosses of the time that they would no longer slave for 16-12 hours a day. "Eight-hour Day" was demanded. The McCormack Reaper strike was attacked—six workers were shot. The workers were not intimidated. The next day a huge protest meeting was held. The boss class was not satisfied with the blood of the strikers. They caused the bomb explosion which killed and maimed a large number of whom no account was ever given. The explo-

sion gave the bosses a chance to head the movement. The leaders of the eight-hour day movement were framed-up and hanged.

But, comrades, this May Day brings to us a broader, deeper issue. Capitalism is collapsing. Seventeen millions of our brother workers, men and women, are tramping the cities' streets, highways and byways, homeless, destitute, weary, hungry, beaten, clubbed, gassed when they dare demand better conditions. Millionaires and billionaires are rioting in luxury on our labor.

On with the May Day protestation. Be brave, strong men and women. Let your marching feet be heard in every city and mortgage-burdened farms. Let the 200,000 families now existing on charity in Chicago join in the mighty condemnation of the capitalistic system, that consigns its most useful members to lives of such degradation.

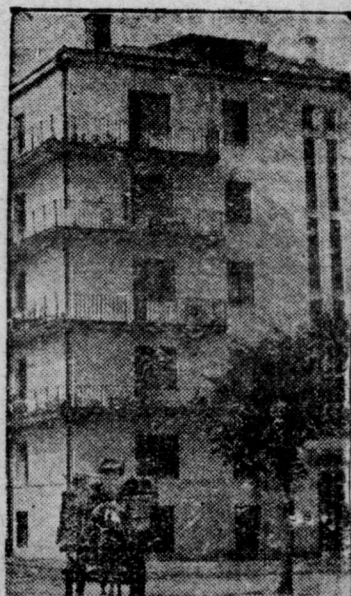
In the name of the fighting working class martyr, Albert Parsons, and his colleagues, and as a survivor of these glorious days of struggles, I call upon the workers of Chicago to carry forward the tradition of May Day,—to once again pour into the streets in huge parade and meeting in Union Park, at 4:30 p.m. and from there to the Chicago Stadium to demand the unconditional release of our fighting comrade, Tom Mooney and the unconditional release of the Scottsboro Boys



Happy Soviet Workers who completed Five-Year Plan



Moscow women in sports parade



Type of new houses being constructed all over Soviet Union for workers

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Robinson, Ozie Powell, Charlie Weems, Roy right and Harold Patterson.



Robinson, Ozie Powell, Charlie Weems, Roy right and Harold Patterson.



Angelo Herndon, 19 years old. Sentenced to 20 years on the chain gang for organizing unemployed in the South

Workers Packed Union Square in May Day Demonstration in 1890

By NATHANIEL WEYL

In 1886, twenty thousand New York workers, fresh from militant strike struggles in the sugar refineries and on the "Third Avenue Elevated" lines, held a tremendous May Day meeting in Union Square. They had come at the call of fourteen unions. The Cigarmakers, the Sugar House Workers' Union, and the Empire Protective Association (leader of the Elevated strike) were each represented by contingents of 700 workers or more. The Square was packed with thousands of workers, bearing banners and placards.

A reformist spirit was entrenched in the New York unions which kept the demonstration on the paths of order and good citizenship. The N. Y. Tribune reports: "The speakers were all in the interests of law and order, and as a rule deprecated strikes. It was understood by the Chairmen at the different platforms that if any incendiary speeches were attempted, the speakers would immediately be stopped by the police."

There were two platforms, one for the English speakers, another for German. On the English speaking stand, the speakers kept up a running fire against the conspiracy laws which the courts were using to outlaw and break practically every strike struggle in the nation. They attacked monopolies, corruption in politics, and demanded the right to boycott "unfair" employers. Thus Samuel Gompers in his speech indignantly repudiates the suggestion that the boycott is un-American. "Was it foreign or American," he asks, "when the tea was thrown into Boston Harbor, and the citizens would not hold communion with anyone who wore English manufacture?"

The speakers on the German stand had participated in the struggles of the European working class. They showed a higher political development, a revolutionary spirit, a familiarity with many of the ideas of Marx. Thus Sergius Shevitch, Editor of the "Volkszeitung," makes an eloquent defense of class war. "If these parasites, the press, grand juries, and the police

The Communist Party Through Struggles Inherits Revolutionary Traditions

throw law aside in the continuance of this persecution, they will find out that we can throw law aside.

This struggle is a class struggle, and if capital continues to arraign itself against labor, it will find out that the people have a million fists and know how to use them."

First International May Day—1890

At the 1890 Convention of the A. F. of L., reformist elements gained control and sabotaged the general strike proposals. It was decided to begin the eight hour strike in only one union, and after a victory had been obtained there to spread the struggle to other trades. Finally the Carpenters' Union was selected to begin the struggle, and the Federation as a whole voted to support it by special donations and leaves.

The then revolutionary Socialist Labor Party issued the call for the May Day demonstration in New York. The action received the unqualified support of the strongest New York unions, and in spite of the fact that there was a heavy rain all day, thousands of workers came to Union Square continuously, singing the Marseillaise.

Seventy-three organizations participated and sent contingents to the demonstration. Three thousand workers came from the Hebrew Trades; the carpenters and cigar makers sent 2,400 each. The Socialist Labor Party sent a contingent of 700, but it gave the demonstration much of its revolutionary backbone. In all, thirty thousand workers demonstrated.

A group of Socialist speakers who had just returned from agitation work in Europe sat in the pavilion. Crowds pressed around them eager to hear of the struggles of the European proletariat and the growth of the Socialist movement. The speakers in 1890 were much more definitely socialist than they were four years before. Wakemann, for instance, begins by stating that the

eight hour day is not the final end of the movement, but only its first step. The goal is the revolutionary transformation of society, and the rule of the working class. At this point, a Socialist Labor Party resolution was submitted which read in part:

"Resolved: that in order to make the eight hour day attainable for all, and a permanent organization, the same must be legally enacted and the economic struggle must be supported by political action in order to attain such legislation."

"Resolved: that in the battle for the eight hour day, we do not lose sight of the final goal of the working class movement, the abolition of wage slavery and that we therefore call upon all workers to mass themselves under the banners of the SLP in order to achieve this final overturn."

While the crowds were going back from the demonstration, the disgruntled anarchist leader, Johann Most interviewed reporters at his home. He regarded the eight hour day struggle as "lunacy on the part of the workers and a little scheme on the part of the capitalists and politicians in order to defer again the final settlement they fear—the social revolution."

The 1890 demonstration showed very strongly the influence of the German Socialist movement. There was more of an emphasis on socialism, but less stress on the hard struggle necessary if we wish to get it. There were traces of that same rotten reformism which led the German Social Democracy to betray the workers in 1914 and 1919, and which makes them abandon the working class to the fascist executioners today.

Nevertheless, the 1890 May Day demonstrations represented also a beginning, a beginning of the International May Day struggles of the world proletariat. A beginning of the revolutionary May demonstrations of the American workers which are being carried forward today under the leadership of the Communist Party.



MOVEMENT FOR 8-HOUR DAY STRUCK FEAR INTO BOSSES

Over Half the Laboring Population of Milwaukee Was On Strike in 1886

In Milwaukee, in 1886, the 8-hour movement was under full swing. Thousands of workers were organized into the Knights of Labor; strikes were occurring daily up till the May Days, particularly amongst the brewery workers, cigar makers, clothing workers, and foundry workers. The slogan was "8 hours work for 10 hours' pay."

Strikes of 800 to 1,500 workers were daily occurrences in the last weeks of April. For some time the newspapers had shown a benevolently "neutral" attitude towards the struggles of labor, helping to maintain the bourgeois democratic illusions. But towards the last of April, the signs of the capitalist preparations for forcible suppression of the 8-hr. movement became apparent in the belligerent tone of the newspaper articles.

Political Character of Movement

The Socialists of Milwaukee were playing a prominent part in the 8-hour struggle. There were not so many workers organized under their leadership as under the Knights of Labor; but thousands of the K. of L. members were under their influence. There were about 140 Socialist members in Milwaukee. They were largely Germans and had a daily paper, the "Arbeiter Zeitung," edited by Paul Grottkau. Grottkau was an able Socialist leader, who had served time in German prisons for his activities, who had been a reporter under Johann Most on the "Berlin Freie Presse"; and after coming to America had been editor of the "Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung" until he broke with Spies. There were also about 40 anarchists in Milwaukee.

The Knights of Labor leadership, Powderly on a national scale, and Schilling in Milwaukee, were now sabotaging the struggle for the 8-hour day. Grottkau and the Socialists were strong in their denunciation of these reformist traitors, and were giving the 8-hour day move-

ment in Milwaukee strongly political features.

The Strike Movement

On April 29, some of the largest factories in the city locked out their men, saying they could not profitably keep going if the 8-hour day were put into effect. Notices were printed in the paper that for the May 1 demonstration "Police and militia are ready in case trouble is caused by Communists. It is not expected by anyone that the laboring men will unite in an outbreak, but from the fact that a number of communists are interested in the demonstration, who are outspoken in their denunciation of capital, it has been deemed advisable to prepare."

The Knights of Labor called off all their men from the demonstration at the last moment; but nevertheless the rank and file turned out to the call of the Socialists (or Communists, as the Journal called them). Over 4,000 men marched in the first May Day demonstration in Milwaukee. In the next two days, thousands of men struck in Milwaukee, till by May 3, 16,000 were on strike. The population of the city then was about 160,000, and these 16,000 men represented over half the laboring population.

March to Factories

The workers on strike began to march on the factories still running, and to close them down; especially the Polish workers, of whom thousands lived on the South Side, and were active in the factory closing movement. The Milwaukee Road shops were forcibly closed, adding 1,600 men to the strikers. Bitter fights took place at the Falk shop, at the E. F. Allis works, and the Illinois Steel Rolling Mills in Bay View. Finally these shops were closed, after hand to hand battles with deputy sheriffs, foremen, etc., throwing five thousand more men out.

On the 4th of May, the first shots were fired—over the heads of the

workers by the Kosciuszko Guard. In return they received stones, sticks, dead cats, and other evidences of the workers' love for official strikebreakers.

On May 5, a monster march of protest to the Bay View Rolling Mills, organized by the Polish workmen, started from St. Stanislaus Church, at 8 a.m. Women and children were in the line of march, which, because of the democratic illusions of the workers, was intended to be a peaceful protest only.

Shoot Down Workers

When the line of march came within a few blocks of the mills, the commander of the Sheridan Guards issued the order to fire. The instructions had been given several days before: "When you are ordered to fire, pick out your man, and shoot to kill." The capitalists were determined to shed blood in order to keep the 10-hour day. The fusillade killed or fatally wounded at least 8 persons; and crippled an unknown number besides. The workers scattered hastily, but took their wounded with them, and perhaps some dead as well.

The full number of fatalities was never known. The papers hushed up all news about the killings within a few days.

The bloody suppression of the strikers, along with certain concessions given by the capitalists, with the treachery of the Knights of Labor leaders, and the immediate arrest and imprisonment of the Socialist leaders, defeated the 8-hour day movement in Milwaukee. The workers went back to their jobs. But they remembered the power that they had possessed when they were organized, and there later were many great strikes in the city. The members of the Kosciuszko guard were boycotted, waylaid, and otherwise made so miserable that they were driven out of town. The Polish workers were blacklisted for some time by the large companies,

so that many had to leave, and thousands were on the edge of starvation. Grottkau, and other leading Socialists were held responsible for the struggles of the workers, and served prison terms after the May Day events.

But the Socialist movement in Milwaukee was given an impetus which stimulated its growth. It required years of treachery on the part of later union leaders and leaders of the Socialist Party to liquidate the organizational and political victories of the workers of this first May Day.

Now, in Milwaukee, the present

Socialist leaders have done their best to bury the militancy and class-struggle character of the early days of the Party. The Socialist leaders are celebrating May Day this year—on April 30, "President's Day."

The Communists and the militant rank and file members of the Socialist Party and A. F. of L. in Milwaukee are keeping up the fighting traditions of May Day, 1886. They are demonstrating on May 1, and they will bring to the workers of Milwaukee the events which inaugurated May Day in Milwaukee, and honor the memory of those who were killed at that time.



THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND UNITED FRONT

It Is Not a Manoeuvre But a Program of Action for the Working Class

By P. BART

Since the Communist International issued the call for the development of the united front, of the workers against the capitalist offensive, a large volume of discussion on this vital question has started. We will deal here mainly with the position of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist and renegade press (Lovestonites and Trotskyites) are shouting with glee "at last the Communist International has adopted a new line towards united front action." Is it correct that we have adopted a "new line?"

The Communist International from its inception has pursued a policy of developing united struggles of the toiling masses. All resolutions of its congresses and plenums are permeated with this idea. The Communist parties in their respective countries have carried out this policy adopting their tactics to the specific situations that they are faced with.

United Front Is Not Manoeuvre

To the Communist Parties the united front is not a manoeuvre. It is a policy of welding together the forces of the workingclass. Of bringing into motion the workers to struggle against the capitalist attacks. In the course of these struggles to raise the revolutionary activity of the workers to higher levels. It is in light of this primary need—to fight back the dark reaction of fascism, against the program of hunger and war, that the problem of the united front becomes a central point.

The Communist International in its call reminds again of the treacherous role of social-democracy. But says "In spite of this, however, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in view of Fascism which is unchaining all the forces of world reaction against the working class of Germany, calls upon all Communist Parties to make yet another attempt to set up the united front of struggle with the Social-Democratic workers through the medium of the Social-Democratic Parties." (Emphasis mine—P. B.).

Rejected By Socialist Leaders

To make another attempt in this crucial period in the struggle against fascism, to set up the united front "of struggle with the Social-Democratic workers through the medium of the Social-Democratic Parties." But what has been the response of these parties? The German Social-Democratic Party has not only rejected the proposal for a united front, but in its stead has gone under the wing of fascism for protection—has been transforming itself into Hitler's "socialism." The parties of the second international have rejected the proposal to set up a united front to struggle against fascism and the whole capitalist offensive.

In spite of the official opposition by the Socialist parties, the call of the Communist International has found a welcome response in the ranks of the workingclass. It was well received by large sections of the membership of the Socialist parties. In many locals over the heads of the leaders, Socialist workers have joined in united action with Communists. It has aroused a tremendous desire for the need of workingclass unity.

Proposals Of Communist Party

What was the response in the United States? The Communist Party in its appeal to the toilers throughout the country to build a united front, to beat back the attacks of American capitalism and in support of the oppressed masses in Germany also addressed itself to the national bodies, as the Socialist Party, American Federation of Labor, etc.

The appeal stated "Under such circumstances it is a life and death question for the toiling masses to form a united front of struggle against the capitalist attacks on

their living standards, against the growing bloody fascist terror, and against the acute danger of war."

But what is the position of the leadership of the Socialist Party. Following the path laid out by the second international, it has raised every obstacle towards hindering a united front. Nay, even more, they have rejected the united front with workers. But in connection with the situation in Germany, they united with the Jewish Congress of bankers and manufacturers.

Why The Rejections

But why does the Socialist Party reject the united front proposals of the Communist Party? Says Mr. Hilquit in the "New Leader" of April 22, the "past offers of the Communist Party have been insincere and treacherous and the recent one bristles with gratuitous slanders of our party." The Communists are "insincere" and "slander" this is why they cannot form a united front.

But what kind of a slander? The Communist Party exposes the crooked connections between the Socialist leaders and tammany politicians. The "Daily Worker" prints the letter of Gerber, secretary of the Socialist Party in New York. In this letter, Gerber, gives advice to the police how to hinder the May Day demonstration.

Do you wish Mr. Hilquit that we should stop such "slander." Do you expect us to connive with you against the workingclass. But then this would not be a united front—this would be treachery to the workingclass. A united front can never become a secret agreement behind closed doors.

Our Party in its statement said: "The Central Committee in line with the proposal of the Communist International advises all districts, local bodies, and the workingclass generally, that the Communist Party is ready to sincerely agree to withhold all attacks upon Socialist, A. F. of L. or other workingclass bodies which sincerely enter into mutual agreements for united struggles around agreed upon issues and loyally carry through the agreement into practice."

To withhold attacks while carrying out united front struggles for the interests of the workingclass. But not to become a partner to the crimes against the interests of the workingclass.

Socialist Argument

Another argument of the Socialist Party is that the Communists are splitters. The united front is only a "maneuver." But who are the splitters and manoeuvrers?

At the Socialist Party state convention in Illinois, Ben Larks, proposed splitting as a definite policy. He urged to "capture the Unemployed Councils" and make them socialist organizations. If this is impossible then the next step to split them by taking out the socialists.

The Unemployed Councils are organizations comprising thousands of workers with various opinions united to fight against hunger. But this means very little to the Socialist leaders. Therefore, split or destroy them, if Socialists cannot control them.

Workers Desire for Unity

But from all sides come increased desires for a united front of the workers. Let us take a few examples. In Chicago the member-



ship of the Young People's Socialist League supported many struggles of the unemployed. For favoring a united May Day they were even expelled from the Socialist Party.

In Detroit the Socialist Party participated in the provisional Free Tom Mooney conference, though the Congress was placed on the black list by the national leaders. In the Southern Illinois mining towns seven locals elected delegates to the Mooney Congress. In Camden, N. J. and Richmond, Va. there is united May Day demonstrations of the Communist and Socialist Parties together with many other organizations. These and numerous other examples show that a united front of labor organizations involving large masses of workers can and must be built.

While taking up the united front with leading bodies of organizations, this by no means implies that we for one moment stop our activities among the membership of these organizations. The renegades from the Communist Party set as a condition that there must be only agreements with the top leadership before a united front can be established. This means only negotiations from the top without connections with the membership. Our line must be, yes, we will negotiate with you leaders to form on a united front, but the workers must be aware of the questions raised and thereby participate fully in carrying out the program agreed upon.

Through our press, meetings and discussions to take up the basis around which the united front ac-



tion is developed. So that the workers are on guard against any hindrances that may be set up.

Especially dangerous at this time becomes the "left oppositions" which arise. What is their purpose? To break the workers away from the swamp of Social-Democratic treachery? No. Their purpose is to stem the discontent. Will they lead the workers away from the betraying actions of the traitors? Yes. But not to lead them in the path of class struggle, but to take them by a different road back to the same betrayers.

The Communist Party welcomes every sincere effort on the part of those who participate in building a united struggle of the workers. But there cannot be any kind words to those who mouth fine revolutionary phrases and in concrete actions stand in the way of unity. We can only build this movement on the basis of fighting on every step. Showing up all vacillations.

The fight for the united front is not a love feast. It is not established on the basis of a sudden new found friendship. It is based upon the vital needs of the workers. In the course of it the organizations which agree, must in deeds carry through the action set up.

There Can Be Only One Revolutionary Party

We are publishing below the concluding paragraphs from the declaration of the Communist International on the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Karl Marx. There can be only one revolutionary party of the working class, there can be no two kinds of Marxism—is the keynote of the concluding paragraphs of the C. I. declaration:

Think carefully, Social-Democratic workers and you proletarians who belong to the reformist trade unions! Is it possible that Marxism means in one party struggles for higher wages, for unemployment relief and organization of struggles against the oppression of capitalist rationalization—and in the other: support of wage-cuts and reduction of unemployment relief, and support and encouragement for capitalist rationalization and compulsory labor?

Is it possible that Marxism means for one party revolutionary readiness for sacrifice in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, imprisonment, shooting, hanging, as was the case with Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and thousands, tens of thousands of revolutionary proletarians throughout the capitalist world—while for the other party—ministerial posts in bourgeois governments, posts of police chiefs, hangmen of the revolutionary proletarians, as was the case with Noske and Zorgebel?

Is it possible that Marxism means in one party proletarianism, determined revolutionary struggle against imperialist war—while in the other party it means defense of the bourgeois fatherland, Pacifist deception in order to cover up imperialist war preparations, and slander of the Soviet Union, the only fatherland of the international working class?

Is it possible that Marxism in one country led by the Communist Party to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the expropriation of the means of production of the capitalists, to the rise of proletarians to heads of gigantic Socialist enterprises—while in the other country it is leading to the growth of capitalist enslavement under the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party?

Is it possible that Marxism in one country led to Socialism and in the other country—to Fascism?

Think it over, proletarians! Can there be two kinds of Marxism? Give your answer to the first Communist, to the first revolutionary proletarian—the fighter for the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin—you come across.

Think it over and decide whether or not we are right when we declare that Marx belongs to the Communists.

To us, the Communists, who, at the head of the millions of proletarians in the daily uncompromising class struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, are carrying out his great teachings.

To us, Communists, who, in the Soviet Union are the master builders of the Socialist society, who, in the imperialist and colonial countries are defending and protecting with our life's blood Marxism-Leninism, defending Socialism; which has been carried out in the Soviet Union. To us, Communists who are struggling for the liberation of all those who are oppressed by capitalist exploitation from the slavery of capitalism, struggling for the

world dictatorship of the proletariat for world Communism.

Marx Belongs to the Communists. To us, the Communists who have carried Marxism-Leninism to the countries of the Near and Far East, to China and India, to Indo-China, to Arabia, to colonial Africa, and to the semi-colonial countries of South and Central America and who have extended the fighting front of the proletariat for Socialist society by drawing the oppressed peoples into the fight against the common enemy, against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Marx Belongs to the Communists! To us, the class-conscious revolutionary workers in imperialist and colonial countries, who are organizing and leading strikes against wage-cuts and against dismissals, organizing the struggle of the unemployed for relief and social insurance.

Marx belongs to us, the fighters against reaction, Fascism, terror and imperialist war, to us, who through our revolutionary struggle against all forms of exploitation and oppression, are organizing the toiling peasants and the oppressed peoples.

To us young working men and working women, for whom capitalism has taken away our means of livelihood and the possibility of vocational training. To us, who are struggling courageously and with determination, in order to avoid the fate of our fathers, and not to become cannon fodder in imperialist wars; to us, who are not willing to live the life of exploited wage-slaves.

Marx belongs to the revolutionary proletarian fighters, for Marx above all was a revolutionist, and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism are the teachings of the organization and leadership of the revolution against capitalism.

Marx belongs to those who are carrying out his teachings in practice.

Proletarians! Make his teachings yours! Bear them to all corners of the earth! Strengthen the class-consciousness of the working class. Strengthen the united front of all workers, under the leadership of the international of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the international of struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, for Socialism, carry into practice the teachings of Marx.

The victorious movement of revolutionary Marxism cannot be held back by the Fascists, the followers of the collapsing capitalist system! The dying capitalist system cannot be saved either by the vile provocations against the working class by the bloody terror of Fascist gangs.

Workers of the world, unite!
Executive Committee of the Communist International.



Workers, Join the Party of Your Class!

Communist Party, U. S. A.
P. O. Box 87, Station B,
New York City:

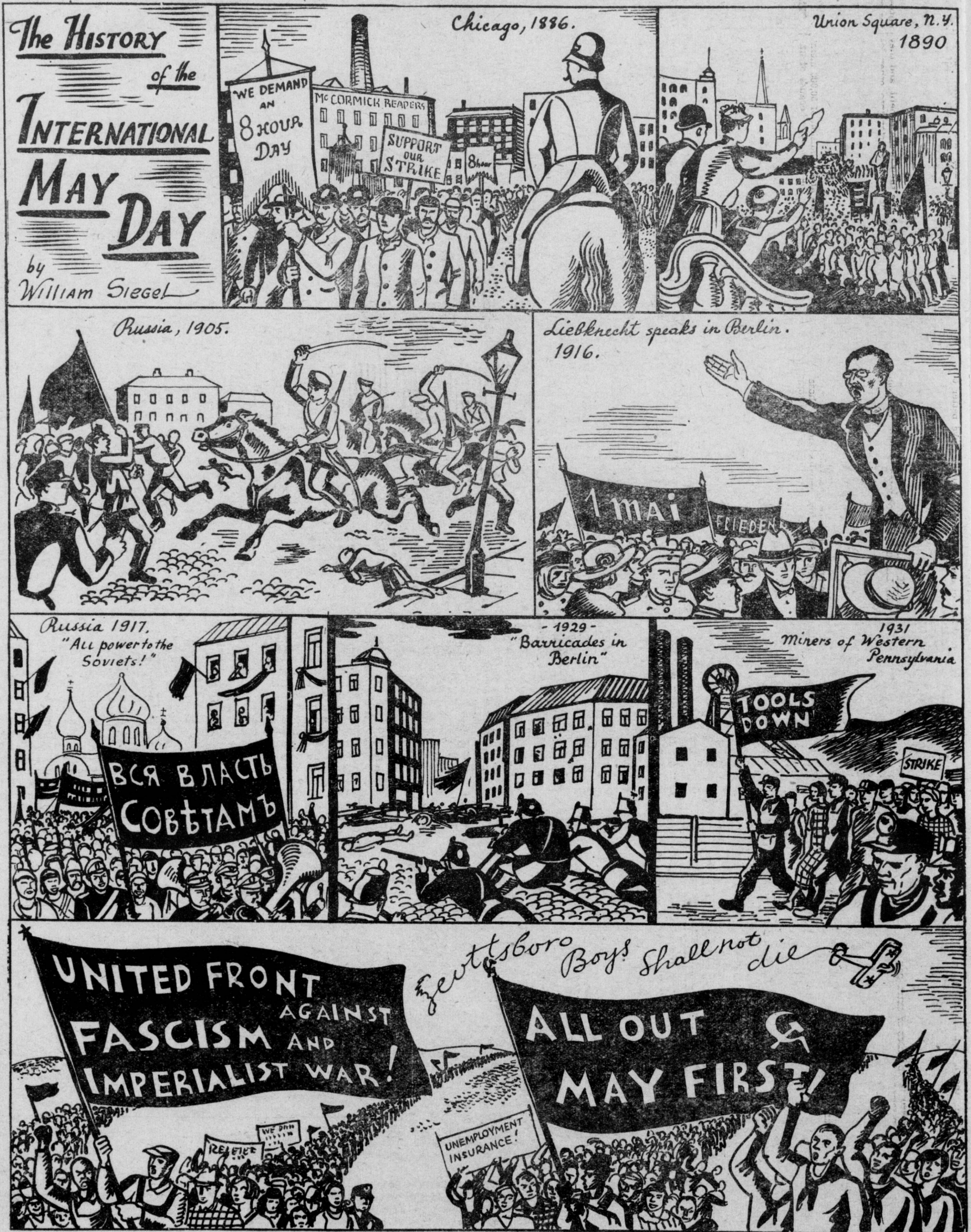
Please send me more information on the Communist Party.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE
OCCUPATION AGE

Mail this to the Central Office, Communist Party, U. S. A.
P. O. Box 87, Station B, New York City

WORKERS! Join the Revolutionary Party—The Communist Party!

Carry Forward the Revolutionary Traditions of May First!



Revolutionary Traditions of American Labor

By A. TRACHTENBERG.

The American labor movement is rich in revolutionary traditions upon which the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League can draw in their work of organizing the American working class for revolutionary action. The great labor struggles which dot the history of the United States, bear testimony

to the militancy of the American workers. Not only have the workers been ready to initiate struggles or accept provocations of the bosses, but when out on strike, they have stayed out long and fought bitterly against the combined forces of bosses and the minions of the State.

A labor movement which can look back to the general strike move-

ments of 1877 and 1886, to Homestead (1892), to the A. R. U. Strike (1894), to Lawrence (1912), to the Steel Strike (1919), to Seattle (1919), to the many strikes in the coal, railroad, clothing and other industries, to the great struggles in Colorado, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, the Mesaba Range and, more recently, to Gastonia and Harlan, can

also look forward to still greater struggles in the future. With the prevailing objective conditions—constantly deepening economic crisis, growing permanent unemployment, intensified exploitation through speed-up methods, acceleration of imperialist rivalries leading to another world war, the American labor movement, freed of its misleaders,

will give an account of itself. The massacre by Ford police of four Detroit auto workers at an unemployed demonstration before his plant, the murder of fighting Negro jobless in Chicago and Cleveland, the Hunger Marches and developing strike struggles are evidences of the sharpening class struggle and the militancy of the workers