

## Against the "New Deal" of Hunger, Fascism and War! For the Revolutionary Solution of the Crisis!

### TO ALL WORKERS OF THE U. S. A.:

We speak to you in the name of 25,000 members of the Communist Party who elected the delegates of this Eighth National Convention; in the name of several hundred thousand workers who elected fraternal delegates from trade unions, unemployment councils, workers' clubs, fraternal societies; in the name of the miners, steel workers, metal workers, auto workers, textile workers, marine workers, railroad workers, whose delegates constitute a majority of this convention.

To you, the working class and toiling farmers of the United States, this Convention of workers addresses itself, to speak a few plain words about the crisis, and about the possibility of finding a way out.

The crisis of the capitalist system is becoming more and more a catastrophe for the workers and toiling masses. Growing millions of the exploited population are faced with increased difficulties in finding the barest means of livelihood. Unemployment relief is being drastically cut and in many cases abolished altogether. Real wages are being reduced further every month, and labor is being speeded up to an inhuman degree.

The vast majority of the poor farmers are slowly but surely being squeezed off the land and thrown on the "free" labor market to compete with the workers. The oppressed Negro people are loaded down with the heaviest economic burdens, especially of unemployment, denied even the crumbs of relief given to the starving white masses, and further subjected to bestial lynch law and Jim-Crowism. Women workers and housewives are especially sufferers from the crisis, and from the fascist movements to drive them out of industry. Millions of young workers are thrown upon the streets by the closing of schools and simultaneously are denied any chance to earn their living in the industries.

### What the "New Deal" Has Given the Workers

The suffering masses have been told to look to Washington for their salvation. Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal have been decked out with the rainbow promises of returning prosperity. But the bitter truth is rapidly being learned that Roosevelt and his New Deal represent the Wall Street bankers and big corporations—finance capital—just the same as Hoover before him, but carrying out even fiercer attacks against the living standards of the masses of the people. Under Roosevelt and the "New Deal" policies, the Public Treasury has been turned into a huge trough where the big capitalists eat their fill. Over ten billion dollars has been handed out to the banks and corporations, billions squeezed out of the workers and farmers by inflation and by all sorts of new taxes upon the masses. Under the Roosevelt regime, the main burden of taxation has been shifted away from the big capitalists onto the impoverished masses.

The N.R.A. and the industrial codes have served further to enrich the capitalists by establishing fixed monopoly prices, speeding up trustification, and squeezing out the smaller capitalists and independent producers.

The labor provisions of the N.R.A., which were hailed by the A. F. of L. and Socialist leaders as "a new charter for labor," has turned out in reality to be new chains for labor. The fixing of the so-called minimum wage, at below starvation levels, has turned out in reality to be a big effort to drive the maximum wage down to this point. The so-called guarantee of the right to organize and collective bargaining has turned out in reality to be the establishment of the company unions. The last remaining rights of the workers they now propose to take away by establishing compulsory arbitration under the Wagner Bill, camouflaged as an attempt to guarantee workers' rights. Roosevelt has given official governmental status to the company unions, in the infamous "settlement" in the auto industry. This new step toward fascism is announced as a "new course" to apply to all industries.

All these domestic policies are openly recognized as identical in their content with the measures of professed fascist governments. This rapid movement toward fascism in the United States goes hand in hand with the sharpening of international antagonisms and the most gigantic preparations for war ever before witnessed in a pre-war period. More than a billion dollars has been appropriated for war purposes during this

year. A large proportion of this has been taken directly out of the funds ostensibly appropriated for public works. Hundreds of millions are being spent on military training in the so-called Civil Conservation Camps, run by the War Department.

The policies of the government in Washington have one purpose, to make the workers and farmers and middle classes pay the costs of the crisis, to preserve the profits of the big capitalists at all costs, to establish fascism at home and to wage imperialist war abroad.

### A. F. of L. and Socialist Party Leaders Support Roosevelt

How can the workers and farmers fight against these policies which are driving them into starvation? The leaders of the A. F. of L. have openly identified themselves with the policies of the Roosevelt administration. To the extent that these leaders control the trade unions, they prevent or demoralize the struggles of the workers and deliver them helpless into the hands of the capitalists. The Socialist Party supports the A. F. of L. leaders and endorses and actively supports every particular policy of the New Deal: inflation, NRA, AAA, PWA, CWA, CCC, Wagner Bill, etc., hailing these fascist and war measures as "steps toward Socialism."

It is clear that the workers and farmers cannot fight back the capitalist attacks unless they break away from the policies of the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leaders. As against the united front which these leaders have set up with the capitalist government, the toiling masses must establish their own working class united front from below, against the capitalist class and the Roosevelt administration.

### Only the Communist Party Fights for the Workers

Only the Communist Party has consistently organized and led the resistance to the capitalist attacks. The enemies of the Communist Party try to scare away the workers and farmers from this struggle by shouting that the Communist Party is interested only in revolution, that it is not sincerely trying to protect the living standards of the masses. They do this in order to hide the fact that they, one and all, pursue the single policy of saving the profits of the capitalists, no matter what it may cost in degrading the living standards of the masses.

The Communist Party declares that wages must be maintained no matter what is the consequence to capitalist profits.

The Communist Party declares that unemployment insurance must be provided at the expense of capitalist profits.

The Communist Party declares that the masses of workers and farmers must not only fight against reduction in their living standards, but must win constantly increasing living standards at the expense of capitalist profits.

The Communist Party declares, if the continuation of capitalism requires that profits be protected at the price of starvation, fascism and war, for the masses of the people, then the quicker capitalism is destroyed, the better.

### Only Unemployment Insurance Bill Is That of the Communist Party

It is no accident that the only serious project for unemployment insurance that has come before the Congress of the United States is the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, H.R. 7598, which was worked out and popularized among the masses by the Communist Party. Only the Communist Party has made a real fight for unemployment insurance and by this fight finally forced before the Congress the first and only bill to provide real unemployment insurance.

It is no accident that the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill is being bitterly fought not only by the Republican and Democratic parties, but also by the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party leaders, as well as by little groups of their satellites, Musteites, Trotskyites, and Lovestonites.

It is no accident that whenever a big strike movement breaks out, the capitalist press shrieks that it is due to Communist influence, and the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leaders wait that the masses have gotten beyond their control.

It is true that all struggles for daily bread, for milk for children, against

### Manifesto of the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States



evictions, for unemployment relief and insurance, for wage increases, for the right to organize and strike, etc., are directly connected up with the question of revolution. Those who are against the revolution, who want to maintain the capitalist system, are prepared to sacrifice these struggles of the workers in order to help the capitalists preserve their profits.

Only those can courageously lead and stubbornly organize the fight for the immediate interests of the toiling masses who know that these things must be won even though it means the destruction of capitalist profits, and who draw the necessary conclusion that the workers and farmers must consciously prepare to overthrow capitalism.

The crisis cannot be solved for the toiling masses until the rule of Wall Street has been broken and the rule of the working class has been established. The only way out of the crisis for the toiling masses is the revolutionary way out—the abolition of capitalist rule and capitalism, the establishment of the Socialist society through the power of a revolutionary workers' government, a Soviet government.

### Example of the Revolutionary Way Out

The program of the revolutionary solution of the crisis is no blind experiment. The working class is already in power in the biggest country in the world, and it has already proved the great superiority of the Socialist system. While the crisis has engulfed the capitalist countries—at the same time in the Soviet Union, where the workers rule through their Soviet power, a new Socialist society is being victoriously built.

The Russian working class, from its own resources and its Socialist system, restored the national economy which had been shattered by six years of imperialist war and intervention. It overcame the age-long backwardness of Russia and brought its industrial production to the first place in Europe, to more than three times the pre-war figure. It rooted out the last breeding

ground of capitalism by the successful inclusion of agriculture in the Socialist system. It completely abolished unemployment and tremendously raised the material well-being and cultural standards of the toiling masses. Upon the basis of its Socialist system, the Soviet Union has become the most powerful influence for peace in an otherwise war-mad world.

Its victories are an unending source of inspiration and encouragement to the toiling masses of every country. They are the living example of the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis in the interests of the toilers. The experience of the victorious workers of the Soviet Union before, during and after the seizure of power, throw a brilliant light showing the path which must be followed in every land, the path of Bolshevism, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

### The Workers Took the Wrong Path in Germany and Austria

In the same period of successful testing of the Bolshevik road in the Soviet Union, we have also the example of the results of the policies of the Socialist Parties of the Second International. The Socialist Parties stood at the head of the majority of the working class in Germany and Austria. The revolutionary upheavals of 1918 in these countries placed power in the hands of the Socialist Parties. Their leaders repudiated the Bolshevik road, and boasted of their contrasting "civilized," "peaceful," "democratic," "gradual transition to Socialism" through a coalition government together with the bourgeoisie on the basis of restoring the shattered capitalist system. To this end they crushed the revolution in 1918.

They followed the policy of "the lesser evil," supported the government of Brüning with its emergency decrees against the workers, disarmed the working class, led the workers to vote for Field Marshal von Hindenburg, and finally crowned their infamy by voting in the Reichstag for Hitler after having paved the way for fascism since 1918. In Austria they supported the Dollfuss fascist government as the "lesser evil,"

until the moment when Dollfuss turned his cannons against the homes of the Austrian workers.

Their "civilized" methods opened wide the gates for the most barbarous regime in the modern history of Europe. Their "peaceful" methods gave birth of the most bloody and violent reaction. Their "democracy" brought forth the most brutal and open capitalist dictatorship. Their "gradual transition to Socialism" helped to restore the uncontrolled rule of finance capital, the master of Fascism. The German and Austrian working class, after 16 years of bitter and bloody lessons of the true meaning of the policies of the Socialist Parties, of the Second International, have now finally begun to turn away from them and at last to take the Bolshevik path.

### U.S.A. Is Ripe for Socialism

In every material respect, the United States is fully ripe for Socialism. Its accumulated wealth and productive forces, together with an inexhaustible supply of almost all of the raw materials, provide a complete material basis for Socialism. All material conditions exist for a society which could at once provide every necessity of life and even a degree of luxury for the entire population, with an expenditure of labor of three or four hours per day.

This tremendous wealth, these gigantic productive forces are locked away from the masses who could use them. They are the private property of the small parasitic capitalist class, which locks up the warehouses and closes the factories in order to compel a growing tribute of profit. This paralysis of economy in the interest of profit, at the cost of starvation and degradation to millions, is enforced by the capitalist government with all its police, courts, jails and military.

There is no possible way out of the crisis in the interest of the masses except by breaking the control of the State power now in the hands of this small monopolist capitalist class. There is no way out except by establishing a new government of the workers in alliance with the poor farmers, the Negro people, and the impoverished middle class.

There is no way out except by the creation of a revolutionary democracy of the toilers, which is at the same time a stern dictatorship against the capitalists and their agents. There is no way out except by seizing from the capitalists the industries, the banks and all of the economic institutions, and transforming them into the common property of all under the direction of the revolutionary government. There is no way out, in short, except by the abolition of the capitalist system and the establishment of a Socialist society.

### What Is "Americanism"?

The necessary first step for the establishment of Socialism is the setting up of a revolutionary workers' government. The capitalists and their agents shriek out that this revolutionary program is un-American. But this expresses not the truth, but only their own greedy interests. Today, the only party that carries forward the revolutionary traditions of 1776 and 1861, under the present day conditions and relationship of classes, is the Communist Party. Today, only the Communist Party finds it politically expedient and necessary to remind the American working masses of how, in a previous crisis, the way out was found by the path of revolution. Today, only the Communist Party brings sharply forward and applies to the problems of today that old basic document of "Americanism," the Declaration of Independence.

Applying the Declaration of Independence to present day conditions, the Communist Party points out that never was there such a mass of people so completely deprived of all semblance of "the right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." Never was there such "destructive" effects upon these rights by "any form of government," as that exerted today by the existing form of government in the United States. Never have the exploited masses suffered such a "long train of abuses" or been so "reduced under absolute despotism" as today under capitalist rule. The "principle" which must provide the foundation of the "new government" mentioned in the Declaration of Independence is, in 1934, the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the new form is the form of the workers' and farmers' councils—the Soviet power. The "new guards for their future security," which the workers must establish, are the installing of the working class in every position of power, and the dissolution of every institution of capitalist class rule.

### What a Workers' Government Would Do

The first acts of such a revolutionary workers' government would be to open up the warehouses and distribute among all the working people the enormous unused surplus stores of food and clothing.

It would open up the tremendous accumulation of unused buildings—now withheld for private profit—for the benefit of tens of millions who now wander homeless in the streets or crouch in cellars or slums.

Such a government would immediately provide an endless flow of commodities to replace the stores thus used up by opening up all the factories, mills and mines, and giving every person a job at constantly increasing wages.

All former claims to ownership of the means of production, including stocks, bonds, etc., would be relegated to the museum with special provisions to protect small savings. No public funds would be paid out to anyone except for services rendered to the community.

Unemployment and social insurance would immediately be provided for all, to cover all loss of work due to causes outside the control of the workers, whether by closing of factories, by sickness, old age, maternity, or otherwise, at full wages without special costs to the workers.

Such a government would immediately begin to reorganize the present anarchic system of production along Socialist lines. It would eliminate the untold waste of capitalism; it would bring to full use the tremendous achievements of science, which have been pushed aside by the capitalist rulers from consideration of private profit. Such a Socialist reorganization of industry would almost immediately double the existing productive forces of the country. Such a revolutionary government would secure to the farmers the possession of their land and provide them with the necessary means for a comfortable living; it would make it possible for the farming population to unite their forces in a co-operative socialist agriculture, and thus bring to the farming population all of the advantages of modern civilization, and would multiply manifold the productive capacities of American agriculture. It would proceed at once to the complete liberation of the Negro people from all oppression, secure the right of self-determination of the Black Belt, and would secure unconditional economic, political and social equality.

With the establishment of a Socialist system in America, there will be such a flood of wealth available for the country as can hardly be imagined. Productive labor instead of being a burden will become a desirable privilege for every citizen of the new society. The wealth of such a society will immediately become so great that, without any special burdens, tremendous surpluses will be available which can be used as free gifts to the economically more backward nations, in the first place, to those which have suffered from the imperialist exploitation of American capitalism, Cuba, Latin America, Philippines, China, to enable these peoples also to build a Socialist society in the shortest possible time.

### Fight for Bread Is a Fight Against Capitalism

The capitalist way out of the crisis lies along the way of wage cuts, speeding up, denial of unemployment insurance, fascism and war. The revolutionary way out of the crisis begins with the fight for unemployment insurance, against wage cuts, for wage increases, for relief to the farmers—through demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, leading up to the seizure of power, to the destruction of capitalism by a revolutionary workers' government.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers, farmers and impoverished middle classes to unite their forces to struggle uncompromisingly against every reduction of their living standards, against every backward step now being forced upon them by the capitalist crisis, against the growing menace of Fascism and war. The Communist Party leads and organizes this struggle, leading toward the only final solution—the establishment of a workers' government.

The establishment of a Socialist society in the United States will be at the same time a death blow to the whole world system of imperialist oppression and exploitation. It will mark the end of world capitalism. It will be the decisive step towards a classless society throughout the world, towards World Communism!

## Join the Communist Party of U. S. A.

On this page you have read the Manifesto which was adopted by the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party held recently in Cleveland. It presents an incisive analysis of the present situation confronting the workers and puts forward the immediate, burning demands of the workers and farmers and all those oppressed by capitalist rule. It presents the Communist way out of the present crisis.

How do you stand? If you agree with this fighting program, join the ranks of the Communist Party, the best and only fighter for

the working class. Fill out the attached application and mail in it to Box 87, Station D, New York City.

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....



# Betrayal Role of Negro Misleaders Must Be Exposed

By JAMES W. FORD

THE First of May this year falls at a time when the capitalists are carrying out the most brutal terrorist attacks along with systematic plans lowering the standards of living of the workers of the United States and the further enslaving of those colonies of American imperialism such as Cuba, the Philippines and Haiti. These attacks are especially directed against the Negro people.

Roosevelt went into office a year ago, promising the return of prosperity, increase in wages, aid to the unemployed. A year later we find the collapse of the N. R. A. and the New Deal everywhere except help to the rich (which it did) and not the poor. This nobody can deny.

C. W. A. has been stopped, throwing hundreds of thousands of workers again out of work and, in turn, off relief which they formerly had. C. W. A. workers are supposed to live off what they "earned" on the C. W. A. jobs.

The codes—what did they mean? The codes were put into operation in order to spread or level down the wages of the workers. The wage differentials for Negroes (Jim-crow wages, supported by the Negro reformists, notably, Dr. Moton of Tuskegee Institute, the Negro philanthropic institution in Alabama), together with the program of plowing up cotton plants, have threatened the Negro nation in the South with extermination, and what is more, dragging down with them the poorly paid white workers on the farms and in the mills of the South. This is shown by the fact that the Negro barons in Alabama to maintain the wage differentials in the South.

During this year we have seen the most brutal terror and torture of the Negro people. To recite a few examples: that Roman Holiday at Princess Anne, Maryland; that week of jubilee of legal lynchings in Alabama and Louisiana when a slaughter of nine Negroes was carried out in one week in Alabama alone; the brutal attack upon the welcome to Mother Wright in England; the system of the Angelo Herndon, that intrepid fighter for the unity of Negro and white workers in Georgia; the torture of the Scottsboro boys in the county jail in Birmingham, Alabama, supported by the race leaders. This is capitalism in the United States on May 1st, 1934.

Roosevelt announces that "I am a tough guy." There is no doubt about it, the Roosevelt government heads towards fascism. Fascism is being developed around a varied program, a few examples: first an intense nationalistic program (in the struggle for markets) — "my country right or wrong"; "Down with Jews, Negroes and foreign-born workers." The U. S. A. capitalists are trying frantically to find her allies to attack the Soviet Union. War! War! War! reads the air! On May 1st, 1934, Plunge the workers into War! That is the slogan. Only the working people by mass action and organization can head off this rapid development towards fascism and war. These are the struggles for May Day, 1934.

THE struggle for the liberation of the Negro people is tied and bound up with the aims and traditions of May Day.

May Day is day of struggle against capitalism and for socialism, for a Communist Society. May Day symbolizes the best fighting traditions, achievements and victories of the working class throughout the world. Its significance is profoundly expressed in the Workers and Farmers Government of the Soviet Union, where by mighty class action the workers and farmers have captured power and are welding together a workers' State, where hundreds of formerly oppressed nationalities have been liberated.

It is to the honor of the American working class that May Day had its origin in the United States. The movement for a shorter working day, covering a long period of bitter and heroic struggle, gave birth to May Day. From 1890 onward the American workers struggled against working 14, 16 and 18 hours per day, which culminated in the great strike of May 1st, 1886. The achievement of the 8-hour day was a most brilliant victory of the American worker.

The capitalists answered with brutal terror. On May 3, 1886, six workers were murdered at the McCormick Harvesting Works at Chicago; on May 4, agent provocateurs (this was later proved) threw a bomb into a squad of Chicago police killing several of them, for which six working class leaders were framed-up and hanged. These martyrs are the best and most beloved fighters of the American working class. One of them, a German, Parsons, a Negro woman now living in Chicago; she is among the few survivors of this great period.

What meaning has May Day for the Negro people? Following the death of slavery, the labor movement of the U. S. A. began a most rapid growth around agitation for the 8-hour day. The Negroes, freed from chattel-slavery, were thrown into wage-slavery. But withal they remained an enslaved nation, with fetters of penance, the denial of all democratic rights still clinging to them. It became the historic task of the American labor movement to support and carry forward, in its fight for the liberation of the workers from the new capitalist regime, the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people.

EARL MARX has summarized this tradition in his brilliant analysis of the Civil War period by the following sentences which appeared in "Capital" published in 1867:

"In the United States of America, any sort of independent labor movement was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new vigorous life sprang. The first fruit of the Civil War was an agitation for the 8-hour day — a movement which ran with express-like speed from the Atlantic to



JAMES W. FORD from New England to California.

It has been left to the best and most advanced sections of the working class of the U. S. A., bringing around it all the oppressed masses, to maintain and carry forward this noble tradition. This is symbolized in practice in the struggles organized on May Day by the Communist Party against the whole capitalist regime of terror, worsened conditions and national oppression of the Negro people.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Negro reformist leaders try to hide these historical conclusions and traditions from the American workers and the Negro people.

The Negro reformist leaders support the whole capitalist regime of terror against the Negro people; they support the N. R. A. and code differentials for Negroes, the New Deal and the whole Roosevelt program of attacks against the masses in the United States in Haiti and Cuba. Moreover, when the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the leaders of the Socialist Party perpetuate white chauvinism among white workers against the Negro workers, the Negro reformist leaders show distrust among the Negro masses against the white workers, in support of the white capitalist rulers.

An outstanding example of this was the declaration of Frank Crosswaith, a Negro socialist leader who declared at the famous Madison Square meeting that "Communists are pigs because they have the nature of pigs." The Communists are the outstanding fighters for unity in the working class, and particularly outstanding fighters for Negro rights and Negro liberation. Especially the white Communists have been the most self-sacrificing fighters in the Scottsboro case, in hundreds of other cases for Negro freedom, while Norman Thomas and Crosswaith are the breakers of unity, in May Day actions, in actions for the support of the Austrian workers. Their unity is with LeGuardia, William Green, Matthew Woll, all enemies of the working class and haters of the Negro people. Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, a Communist leader, typifies those white leaders of the Communist Party and the American labor movement who carry forward the traditions that have been handed down to us by Karl Marx, Lenin and Stalin, on the Negro question.

The Negro reformist leaders in their attack on the Communist Party and the struggle for a united front May Day declare that Karl Marx never lived in the U. S. A., never knew anything about the Negro question in the U. S. A. Robert Vann, Negro editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, assistant attorney general of the Roosevelt government, declares that the Negroes in rags are taking it and should smile through this economic crisis in support of Roosevelt.

The Negro reformists are on the other side of the capitalist coin for splitting the ranks of the working class; they, with their petty bourgeois nationalist hatred, support the white capitalist against the working class movement.

May Day demands the fighting unity of the Negro and white workers against the whole system of exploitation and oppression, against war and fascism, for the Unemployment Insurance Bill (H. R. 7598), against national oppression and for Negro liberation, for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon. Stop the torture of Thaelmann, that great working class leader of Germany.

Negro workers into the streets on May 1st. Come into united action with the most advanced sections of the working class, against the Negro reformist leaders and especially those of the N. A. A. C. P. who support the torturing of the Scottsboro boys. Fight for the freedom of the Cuban, Haitian and Filipino masses from the domination of American imperialism. Forward to a Soviet America!

The Daily Worker gives you the truth about the Soviet Union, the truth about working-class strikes in the United States and abroad. Subscribe to the Daily Worker today.

# Our International Unity Is the Source Of Our Growing Revolutionary Strength

"Our World Party, the Communist International, guarantees worldwide victory of the proletariat"

(The following are the concluding remarks of Comrade Browder's report delivered at the 8th Convention of the Communist Party held in Cleveland on April 2 to 8, 1934.)

"It is the source of our greatest strength that in our work in the U. S. A. we are not isolated from our brothers in the rest of the world.

"We are organizationally united in one World Party with all that is most fearless, devoted, honest and energetic in the working class of every capitalist country, as well as of the toiling masses struggling for their liberation throughout the world.

"We draw additional strength and inspiration from the magnificent achievements of our brother Communist Party in China, which stands at the head of the powerful and growing Chinese Soviet Republic.

"We are proud and inspired by our unity in one Party with such fighters as George Dimitroff and his comrades, who, single handed, met and defeated the Nazi murder bands in the courts of Leipzig.

"It is our strength that we are of the same Party with Ernst Thaelmann, and the thousands of heroic fighters in the German Communist Party, who, through prison cells and concentration camps, defying the Nazi headmen, maintain and carry on every day struggle for the overthrow of Hitler.

"We take special pride in the achievements of our brother Communist Party in Cuba, which roused and led the mass upheaval that overthrew the bloody Machado,



EARL BROWDER General Secretary of the C.P.U.S.A.

and which is now gathering the forces of the Cuban masses to drive out Machado's successors and establish a Soviet Republic of Cuba.

"We are stronger in the knowledge that the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands stands shoulder to shoulder with us in the joint struggle to overthrow American imperialism.

"Our work in the United States gains additional power from the fact that, reaching across the border, both north and south, we grasp the hands of our brother Communist Parties of Canada and Mexico. Throughout Latin-America, our brother Parties are challenging us to socialist competition as to who can strike hardest and quickest against the imperialists and their agents.

"WHEN we contemplate the tasks of the struggle against imperialism, for the defeat of our own imperialism, our muscles are further steeled by the knowledge that our brother Communist Party of Japan is blazing the way for us by their heroic struggle for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism in the midst of war.

"Above all, do we arm ourselves with the political weapons forged by the victorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the mighty sword of Marxism-Leninism, and are strengthened and inspired by the victories of socialist construction won under its Bolshevik leadership, headed by Stalin.

"Our World Communist Party, the Communist International, provides us the guarantee not only of our victory in America, but of the victory of the proletariat throughout the world."

# Lenin's Famous Leaflet to the Russian Workers Calling for United Struggles 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 blood. What compensation do we get for our forced labor? If we had our deserts, 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.

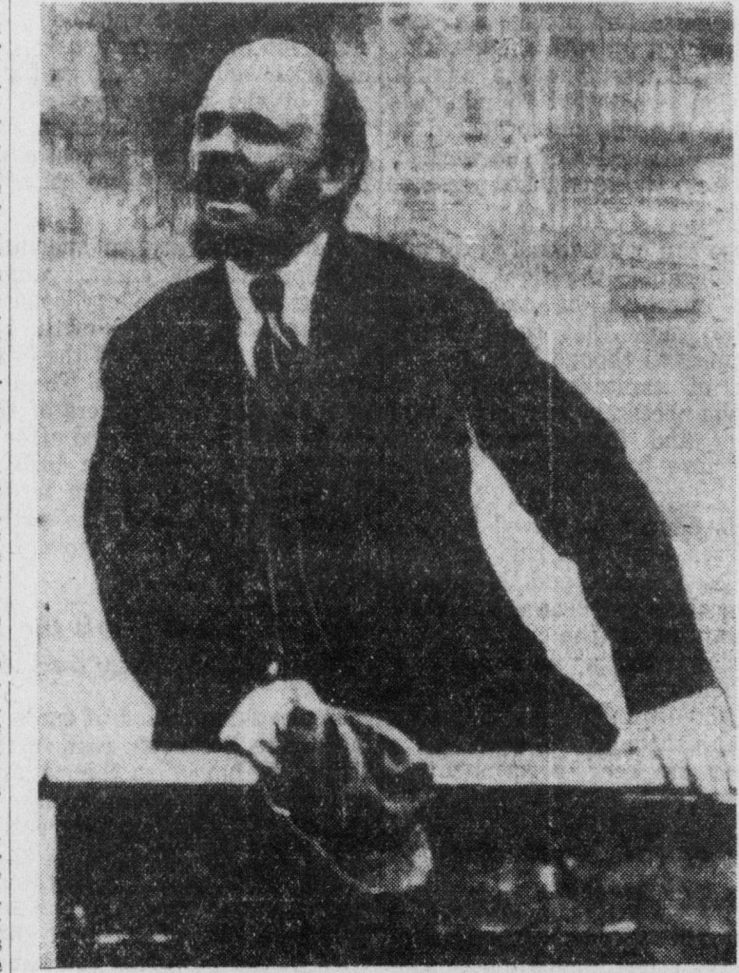
We have often convinced ourselves that all to whom we apply for protection prove to be henchmen and friends of the masters. We workers are kept in the dark; we are given no education, we should want to fight for the improvement of our condition. We are kept in bonds, we are driven out of work, we are 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, holds 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 are all the better the more we are oppressed; 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 and unshakable, 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 divided 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 in our work.

EVERY one, however, has his day, and 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 insults and shamelessness of the capitalists who hanker after unpaid work. Strikes have broken out in a number of towns; in Jaroslavl, Tejkov, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Bielostok, 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 dis-

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.



Lenin addressing Red Army soldiers in Sverdlov Square, Moscow, during the early days of the Soviet republic.

cover beams in the eyes of the capitalist owners. They are usually blind until the workers open their eyes by striking. How, indeed, can we expect 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 Lagern's, of the spinners at Lebedev's, at the factory for the mechanical production of shoes, the movement of the 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 going 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 the object of disclosing all abuses, of going away with mismanagement, 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

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 disunion just as we are today; but by obstinate fighting and through great sacrifices they have gained the right to discuss in common the cause of the workers.

Let us wish for our brothers in 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 capitalist and all other enemies of the working class will be filled with terror.

## Greetings to the Daily Worker on May 1st

- Mohegan Colony Unit Communist Party
- Br. 185 International Workers Order Bronx, N. Y.
- Mutualista Obrera Mexicana New York City
- Lenin Br. 223 International Workers Order Bronx, N. Y.
- Workers of Carnival Lunch New York City
- Workers of Ale Rail New York City
- Klein Workers Section of Office Workers Union Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Unit 431, Section 4 Communist Party New York City
- Hungarian Br. 1026 International Workers Order New York City
- Workers of Cheerful Cafeteria Brighton Beach, N. Y. C.
- To O'Connor, O'Brien, Thompson and Connolly, from a Fenian's granddaughter, New York City
- In memory of Joe Freedman Unit 29, Section 14, C. P. New York City
- Br. 615 International Workers Order New York City
- Br. 85 International Workers Order New York City
- Br. 36 International Workers Order New York City
- Marxism-Leninism Class No. 1 Workers School New York City
- Communist Students of New York University New York City
- Harry Simms Branch International Labor Defense New York City
- Clarte, French Workers Club New York City
- Br. 147 International Workers Order New York City
- Maxim Gerki Br. 705 International Workers Order Brooklyn, N. Y.

# What May Day Means For Negro Masses In U. S.

By CYRIL BRIGGS

TO THE Negro masses, May Day with its traditions of revolutionary struggles and unity of ALL toilers is of special significance.

On this May Day, 1934, the question of a vigorous, united struggle of ALL sections of the toiling population against fascism and war is a life-and-death question for the



CYRIL BRIGGS

toiling masses. It is of special urgency for the Negro masses, harassed by unemployment, unparalleled mass misery, Jim-crow, de facto existence, jobs and relief, increasing fascist terror (49 reported lynchings in 1933), and the furious sharpening of national and social oppression in all sections of the country.

The bloody attacks on the Jews and other minority groups in fascist Germany, Austria, etc., the Nazi dictum of sterilization for the small Negro population in Germany, are a sinister warning to the Negro people of what to expect under fascism.

## New Deal Victimizes Negroes

The increasingly savage attacks on the Negro masses by the "New Deal"—rank discrimination under the N. R. A. code differentials of lower wages for Negro workers, governmental Jim-crowism in the U. S. Senate and House restaurants, cotton plough-under and agricultural reduction programs, sentencing hundreds of thousands of Negro croppers and poor farmers to virtual starvation—are all omens of what the Negro people may expect under a fascist dictatorship of finance capitalism.

Growing fascism carries with it a strengthening of white chauvinist propaganda aimed to poison the minds of the white workers and divert the rising anger of the working class against its worsening conditions inward upon itself, pitting Negro and white workers, native and foreign born, against each other, diverting the mass anger away from the capitalist class responsible for our misery. In the fascist conspiracy against the American working class, every effort is being made to disrupt the rising revolutionary struggles of Negro and white toilers against the "New Deal" program at home and for consolidation of the "national front" for imperialist aggressions abroad.

THE fight against chauvinist ideology is therefore a central point in any effective struggle against fascism and war. The nationalist poisoning of the masses must be persistently combated by all sincere opponents of war and fascism. The white workers must be convinced that the Jim-crow policies of the A. F. of L. leaders,

- DISTRICT 2 New York City
- Unit 407, Section 4: Michael Sala, F. Anastas, Max Zanelli, Colonelo B. Ricchebrion, Angelo Carena, M. Suato, A. Berger, Peter Karas, IWO Br. 1006: John Worolyk, C. Orabi, John Rayko, M. Friedman, Paul G. K. Smalley, J. Wisvanski, M. Tyminski, M. S. O. L. P. Fedorow, N. Kameck, Vera Quertore, J. C. S. Kostuo, M. Yudish, P. N. J. Magerowsky, M. Kondrat, M. W. V. Kaputo, P. Sinita, Ben B. Maurovitz, C. G. S. N. M. Kruger, Miriam Erlich, H. Woziz, M. Slavin, Morris Berman, Ray Gold, G. Bilgore, S. Green, G. Golub, Sarah Borner, M. Koyner, Ethel Korongel, Rose Altschuler

their barring of Negroes from membership in many A. F. of L. unions, their denial of the Negro workers' right to any job, are against the interests of the working class.

The sabotage of the Negro liberation movement by the Socialist Party leaders, their pernicious theories of the Negro liberation struggles as a race war against the entire white population, of the separation of the national revolutionary struggles of the Negro masses from the proletarian revolution, of "laying off the race question" as a "T. N. T. mine in the South" (menacing the capitalist-landlord system of national oppression and plundering of the Negro masses), must be exposed as in the interests of the Southern slave drivers and the whole capitalist class.

## Expose Bearers of White Chauvinism

These social bearers of white chauvinism within the working class must be pilloried before the workers in their true light as enemies of both the Negro and white toilers, as people working in the service of the capitalist class, paving the way for the Socialist parties in Germany and Austria, for fascism and imperialist war. The 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued a ringing call for a relentless fight on chauvinist ideology. Comrade Kuusinen, reporting on Fascism and War, declared:

"In our work in mobilizing the masses against fascism and the war danger we must now, more than ever before, pay attention to the struggle against chauvinist ideology... Evasion of this difficult task, or even mere passivity and silence on this question, indicates in the present conditions, the most dangerous opportunism in the struggle against fascism and war, the abandonment of the most important and urgent tasks of the revolutionary education of the toilers.

The Negro masses, like the white toilers, are searching for a way out of their present intolerable conditions. Like the white toilers, they are bedeviled by misleaders who seek to hide from the masses the truth that there is only one way out of the capitalist morass of mass misery and suffering: the revolutionary way out, the example provided by the Soviet masses, by the victorious October Revolution which overthrew Tsarist oppression and emancipated ALL sections of the toiling population of Russia.

National Minorities in U. S. S. R. The October Revolution achieved the social emancipation of the Russian working class and the national liberation of the oppressed nationalities in a land that was formerly correctly described as the prison house of nationalities. Today we see these formerly backward nationalities, liberated by the October Revolution, achieving to tremendous economic, social and cultural heights under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet workers, under the leadership of the party of Lenin and Stalin, have abolished national oppression, unemployment, insecurity and the harassing fear of poverty from their land. Their example points the way out to the toilers and nations still enslaved under capitalism.

Demonstrate this May Day against fascism and war, against national oppression and plundering of the Negro masses, against the increasing fascist attacks on the entire working class, directed with special fury against the Negro masses. For the defense of the Soviet Union, the stronghold of the world proletariat and of the liberation struggles of the Negro and colonial masses.

- Brooklyn, N. Y. M. Cogan, B. Silver, M. Alpert, May Roseman, C. Weinstein, M. Ghernin, S. Garber, M. Blatt, A. Kruber, F. Antonofsky, M. Guswell, S. Kruger, S. Miller, T. Kupenline, H. Y. N. Birnbaum, M. Marcus, R. Wetite, J. Widrow, J. Eisman
- Workers of C. Weinberg Dress Shop 335 W. 35th St., New York City
- Cedarhurst, L. I. B. Wolny, Romanetti, D. Groscher, Paul Leib, Geland, Reurechel, Paul Jonyer, Hochreiter, Liebe
- International Workers Order Br. 1006 788 Fox St., Bronx, N. Y.
- Ella Reeve Bloor Branch International Labor Defense 524 Hudson St., New York City
- Tom Monney Br. International Labor Defense New York City
- Greetings Jacob Dainoff Br. 807 International Workers Order
- Greetings M. J. McCormack New York City
- Section 2, Unit 23 S. L. Gardner, Pearl Kleinman, Jennie Green Sam, Esther Mr. Star, Ida Maidenbaum, Eva Berg, Gladys F. Sigman, Nodels Frieda Miller, Idam M.
- Section 2, Unit 17 D. Jonesen, Betz, F. P. Faulhaber, T. Hofmann, Hermie Kaman, Arthur DeLia, Raman, M. Batto, T. Quaroni



HAYMARKET, 1934

Lucy Parsons, Widow of Slain Haymarket Martyr, Describes 1886 Massacre

By BILL ANDREWS Daily Worker Midwest Bureau THE first May Day demonstration? Yes, I'll tell you about it. It was what today we call a United Front," said Lucy Parsons, widow of the Haymarket martyr, Albert Parsons.

"This grey-haired woman was an active fighter for the workers in 1886, when May Day was born out of the struggle of the Chicago workers for the eight-hour day. Today she still stands in the ranks of the working class, and is honorary chairman of the Chicago United Front May Day Conference.

"She speaks of the general strike of '86, emphasizing her points with a wave of her hand. "The capitalist class was not organized then as they are now. They were unprepared then and in fact poot-pooted our intended strike.

"But the working hours were long, people were disgusted and when the day came the bosses thought there was really a revolution coming. They were scared out of their wits. They tried every means to get the workers back.

"Every means" . . . These are the words of a front line fighter, not an 'objective' historian. Lucy Parsons knows what police terror means.

"There is no telling the desperation of the police that day," she says. "But it was so much a united front that none but a handful of all the thousands in Chicago would go near the factories."

LUCY PARSONS knows the value of unity. Forty-nine years ago she saw the united power of the workers smash all provocation, all terror, in the general strike that began May First, 1886. As you talk to her, you get the feeling more strongly than ever that the so-called leaders of labor, the Socialists and A. F. of L. bureaucrats, are something foreign to our class, something frantically trying to destroy what the militant workers of Chicago had begun to build years ago.

"The bosses began to sign up the same day," she continues, speaking of the first May Day.

She goes on to tell of the Haymarket massacre. The meeting was called to discuss the killing of six pickets at the McCormick plant on May 3. No one realized at the time the tremendous significance of this mass meeting.

Lucy Parsons tells the story in the following way: "So little did we think of the Haymarket Square meeting that we held another meeting at Fifth Avenue (now Wells Street). Spies called Parsons to speak at the meeting at Haymarket. The whole meeting from where we were, came over to the other meeting.

"Parsons got up to speak. Mayor Harrison, who was present, admitted that the meeting was peaceful, and went away. It was threatening rain. After Parsons spoke he held out his hand and said that it looked as if the meeting would have to break up. Spies followed him on the platform.

"Parsons was not at the meeting when the bomb was thrown. We left the meeting and waited at Lake and DesPlaines, when we heard the bomb."

Parsons left the city until the trial was held, at which the working class leaders were framed up on the charge of throwing the bomb into the meeting. But during the trial he turned, and walked into the capitalist court, deliberately handing himself over to the authorities.

Comrade Parsons said, "He thought he could get a fair trial. His forefathers were Americans, and so on."

ALBERT PARSONS was wrong. The boss class, for all the attempts to whip up national hatreds, to divide the workers, is not fooled by its own demagoguery. Albert Parsons died on the gallows, with his foreign-born comrades, for the 'crime' of leading the workers in struggle. No one knows who threw the bomb, but Parsons, Spies and the rest were guilty of interfering with the profits of the capitalists.

Lucy Parsons, old now, and not so active, still carries on the fight. She is giving her best efforts to carry on what her husband fought for, the united front of the working class in struggle against capitalist oppression.

"This woman sitting in her rocking chair, her chin cupped in her hand, is an inspiration to every worker. She is herself a part of the revolutionary tradition of the Chicago working class, a tradition that survives and is carried on by the Communist Party, a tradition that will smash through every effort of the Social-fascists to divide and confuse the workers.



"In the name of the people of Illinois, I command Peace!"

The Historical Background of May Day In the United States 1886-1934

By JAMES S. ALLEN

A HALF century has intervened since the first May Day demonstration in the United States. Born in the struggle for the eight-hour day, May Day has become the property of the international working class movement. With this movement it has grown, until today it has reached a full revolutionary meaning. The Communist International is at one and the same time its legitimate guardian and its leader. The American Federation of Labor has long since deserted this day of struggle and replaced it with its own so-called Labor Day, a day of peace with the employers. The Socialist Party continues to cling to May Day—one should say, the spirit of May Day still persists among its rank and file, and the leaders are forced to remember it from year to year. But who will doubt that only the Communists today render complete revolutionary homage to this creation of the American workers?

May Day has always belonged to those who claimed it, not in words, but in making it the occasion for the mass expression of the foremost demands of the working class. The struggle for the eight-hour day was always setting the workers into mass motion during the Civil War. Since then, the best traditions of American labor are connected with it. It was proclaimed in 1866 by the foundation congress of the National Labor Union, the first really national organization of labor in the United States, as one of its principal demands. A few months later the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) incorporated the eight-hour day in its program. It was the kernel of the Eight-Hour Leagues, led by an outstanding labor leader of the post-Civil War period, Ira Stewart. The struggle for the eight-hour day proved to be the central point of the movement which brought the Knights of Labor to its apex and which resulted in the formation of the American Federation of Labor.

The First May Day

In 1884, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which later became the American Federation of Labor, designated May 1, 1886, as a day of demonstration for the eight-hour day. A wave of strikes throughout the country preceded the first May Day. And on the first May Day, there were walkouts in the principal industrial cities, with the unskilled and unorganized participating in the movement.

In Chicago, the strike and the demonstration were the greatest. It was here also that May Day received its baptism in blood. On May 3 and 4 the events occurred which led to the Haymarket affair and the martyrdom of Parsons, Spies, Fischer, Lingg and Engle, the leaders of the militant workers of Chicago, who had also raised the demand for the abolition of capitalism in the May Day campaign.

In 1889 May Day was adopted by the International Socialist congress held at Paris. How some of the socialist parties from the beginning of the struggle for the eight-hour day, how it was honored by the revolutionary workers internationally, how finally the Second International turned it into a day against the workers, how May Day became one of the principal days of struggle for the Communists throughout the world, how the A. F. of L. leaders deserted the best tradition of their own organization—all this is related in the excellent pamphlet "The History of May Day," by Alexander Trachtenberg.

Day of Political Struggle

May Day was born as a political day of the working class. The demand to make eight hours the universal working day was directed not only against the employers, but primarily against the government. May Day, therefore, appeared from the beginning as a direct challenge of the working class aimed at the government, "the central committee of the capitalists."

May Day was ushered into the labor movement not by doves bearing the palm leaf of class peace, but by the clarion call of class struggle. Strike was its weapon, mass street demonstrations its political expression. The first May Day shaped the May Days to come: hereafter this day was to be the tribunal from which were to be voiced the foremost demands of the workers, supported by militant mass action.

May Day—Then and Now

The first May Day occurred when industry in the United States was developing at a tremendous rate, when capitalism still faced its own future—bloody, predatory, but still a future. May Day, 1934, occurs when capitalism is decaying at a rapid rate, when it faces its own destruction.

For the labor movement in the United States, the birth of the May Day was coincident with its own first phase of major national organization, when the principal demands were the eight-hour day, the right to organize, the building of trade unions. The consciousness of need for overthrowing capitalism was only beginning to permeate, and was not present as an inseparable part of the May Day demonstrations.

May Day, 1934, faces a working class which has gone through many major strike struggles, which has gone through a whole series of experiences, which has drunk deep from Gompers' and Green's poison of class peace, and stepped from Hillquit's and Thomas' cup of "general evolution to Socialism." It has gone through the greatest war slaughter in history, only to find itself on the brink of another and greater world war; in the midst of mass unemployment, starvation, suffering.

The shorter workday and higher wages, the right to organize, strike and picket are on the banner of May Day as they were in 1886—but today they must be won, not only against the bosses and the Roosevelt government, but also against the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, which fifty years ago initiated May Day, and who are today supported by the Socialist Party officialdom. But these demands arise in a new situation. Today the foremost demands of the workers are directed more sharply than ever before against capitalism.

May Day Demands—1934 The most pressing immediate demand appears not as the eight-hour day, but as the demand for unemployment and social insurance and for the six and seven-hour day with wage increases; not only is the demand to organize and strike directed at the bosses and local authorities, but it is aimed principally at the federal government, which by its N.R.A. apparatus is denying that right.

Today vital political demands are at the core of May Day. The Russian Revolution and the 17-year long existence of the Soviet Union have made the abolition of capitalism a reality. No longer is this demand raised in a utopian, abstract fashion as at Chicago and New York in 1886. Capitalism faces destruction, but the working class and its allies face Socialism—Socialism the reality, Socialism as the result of proletarian revolution and the destruction of the capitalist state power and creation of the working class organized and expressing its political power in the councils of workers and farmers or Soviets. Today this is the essence of the political meaning of May Day, a meaning which has been claimed by increasing masses of toilers throughout the world.

Capitalism on its side also sees the alternative. It drives towards war and fascism, towards the physical destruction of masses of workers by war and terror. Haymarket, 1886, was the reply of the capitalists to the upsurge of the working class in Chicago. A universal Haymarket is today the hope of international capitalism; in Germany it instituted this Haymarket with the Reichstag fire; in Austria over bombarded barricades. It attempts to do it in the United States.

Fifty years ago, the American working class gave the world a day of struggle. Today, when struggles rage throughout the country, when American capitalism, although itself weakening, acts as the prop to fostering capitalism and fascist dictatorships in other countries, the American working class is again in a position to give to the world working class movement a tremendous revolutionary impetus. Its own maturing is marked by the growth of the Communist Party, by the wider acceptance of the Party as the leader of the workers. The American working class gave birth to May Day. Today it gave birth to the Communist Party, the guardian of May Day. Under this guardianship and leadership, the challenge is again hurled forth, with greater volume, with more precision, as we drive towards a Soviet May Day in the United States.

not so fully reported by the Tribune—who were not "animated by the spirit" that they "were having a good sociable time together." Speakers from two platforms denounced the conspiracy laws used by the courts to break strikes; they attacked monopolies, corruption in politics and demanded the right to boycott "unfair" employers. Particularly militant were the speakers on the German stand, who had had experiences in revolutionary struggle in Europe. Thus, one speaker, rather spoiled the pretty pastoral picture which the New York Tribune would have liked to paint of the May 1 demonstration of 1886.

He was Sergius Shevitch, editor of the German "Volkszeitung," who declared: "If these parasites—the press, grand juries, and the police, throw law aside and 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 attack itself against labor, it will find out that the people have a million fists and know how to use them." This flaming statement, made in 1886, opens with an attack upon the chief parasite, the capitalist press. This biting characterization of the capitalist press applies with equal force today when Gen. Hugh L. Johnson praises the press for helping to "put over the N.R.A.," with its strikebreaking-wage-cutting program.

Moreover, it would undoubtedly have discovered a conspiracy among the striking bridge builders to destroy bridges by the use of dynamite.

The Haymarket Tradition Lives and Grows in Field Of American Literature

By ALAN CALMER

DURING the last three or four years, the alliance of American intellectuals with the revolutionary working class has become more than a mere tendency. Today scores of American writers are rallying to the defense of class-war prisoners and creating a literature exposing capitalist justice. We must not forget, however, that this is not a new phenomenon springing full-grown out of the economic crisis. It is the continuation of a thin stream that runs through American letters and is now broadening into a powerful current.

Almost fifty years ago, at the time of Haymarket, when all the forces of the bourgeoisie press cried for the blood of the labor leader, a few American writers were courageous enough to defy "public opinion" and attempt to save the first martyrs in the struggle for the eight-hour day.

Howells Led Weak Protest There was, of course, William Dean Howells, acknowledged as a leader of the literary movement of his time. Howells was convinced that the "Chicago Anarchists" were innocent. "I have never believed them guilty of murder, or anything but their opinions, and I did not think they were justly convicted," he wrote to Judge Pryor in Sept. 1887. He sent a letter to the New York Tribune in their behalf, and attempted—without much success—to enlist other writers, including the once fiery Whittier, to protest against their conviction.

"The last two months have been full of heartache and horror for me, on account of the civic murder committed last Friday at Chicago," he wrote the following month. "You may have seen in the papers that I had taken part in petitioning for clemency for the Anarchists, whom I thought unfairly tried and most unjustly condemned. It's all been an atrocious piece of frenzy and cruelty, for which we must stand ashamed forever before history."

"Capitalism's Lust for Blood" Howells was too firmly entrenched in his New England security to be bolted into action by the labor battles of the eighties—or even to understand the real meaning of these struggles. While he confined his protest to composing letters and speaking to individuals, another writer of the time took a decisive

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of the class struggle; it is the continuation of that struggle under new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat (after it has been victorious, after it has seized political power) against the bourgeoisie, which has been defeated but not annihilated, which still exists, which is still able to resist and is able to consolidate its forces of resistance. —LENIN

stand in the Haymarket case. Robert Reitzel, who was the outstanding German man of letters living in the United States, agitated at mass meetings and in the pages of his literary magazine, "Der arme Teufel," for the liberation of Parsons, Spies and the others. He saw at once the "lust for blood of the monster capitalism" and attempted to arouse the working class to rescue their leaders. On soapboxes in various cities he called on the workers to march to the Chicago jail and free the victims of bourgeois justice.

When they were condemned to death, "Der arme Teufel" appeared draped in black; and the Haymarket case left a permanent stamp upon its pages, as well as upon the literary writing of its editor. Reitzel visited the Haymarket leaders in jail. He printed a letter by Parsons in "Der arme Teufel." Reitzel referred to the letter as a stirring document, which he compared to a monologue from a German drama on Danton.

The Calibre of the Martyrs Spies was himself a man of culture. His labor speeches contain many fitting quotations from German literature. When he was given the opportunity to plead for his life in the courtroom, he turned his speech into a public expose of capitalism (thereby placing his speech in that splendid tradition of revolutionary courtroom tactics that extends from Marx to Dimitroff). He began with a clear-cut statement of the class struggle and directed a slashing reference at the literary knowledge of the prosecuting attorney. "Grinnell spoke of Victor Hugo," said Spies. "I need not repeat what he said, but will answer him in the language of one of our German philosophers: 'Our bourgeoisie erects monuments in honor of the memory of the classics. If they had read them they would burn them!'" This speech, as well as Parsons' address in the courtroom, belongs to the literature of labor.

"The Bomb"—A First Attempt Frank Harris was in England at the time of the Haymarket case and he watched the events from the distance. "The reports that reached us in London from American newspapers were all bitterly one-sided," he wrote. "They read as if some enraged capitalist had dictated them." He decided to investigate the case. But it was not until 1907 that he visited America, and published as a result of his research, "The Bomb," a novel on Haymarket. Although it is a sympathetic account, it contains distortions of fact based upon the very sources which Harris scorned.

A revolutionary novel on Haymarket has yet to be written, although its events and figures furnish the material for a really great piece of revolutionary writing. In the field of art, however, Mitchell Siporin, of the Chicago John Reed Club, is doing a series of drawings on the subject which is a major contribution to proletarian art. And in recent May Day poems by the young Communist poets, Edwin Rolfe and Alfred Hayes, the tradition of Haymarket is carried forward in our revolutionary literature.

Gigantic Struggle for 8-Hour Day Laid the Basis for May Day

By SENNER GARLIN

WHEN the New York taxicab strikers ejected a capitalist press reporter from their strike hall several weeks ago, they were probably not aware that this reporter represented an institution which for decades has acted as a strike-breaker for the employers.

How, for example, did the capitalist press of the United States react to the gigantic 8-hour day strikes on May 1, 1886?

The demand for the eight-hour working day was the central keynote of the May 1 strikes, which later gave birth to International May Day. Hundreds of thousands of workers were stirred by this movement. As far back as 1866 the National Labor Union passed a resolution declaring that:

"The first and great necessity of the present, to free labor of this country from capitalist slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all states in the American union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained."

As a result of the agitation of the National Labor Union, Eight-Hour Leagues had been formed in various parts of the country. The Eight-Hour Day League of Boston at its convention in 1872 had declared of the factory system that: "It employs tens of thousands of women and children 11 and 12 hours a day; owns or controls in its own selfish interest the pulpit and the press; prevents the operative classes from making themselves felt in behalf of less hours, through remorseless exercise of the power of discharge; and is rearing a population of children and youth of sickly appearance and scanty or utterly neglected schooling."

According to a survey made by Bradstreet's, fully 540,000 workers participated in the fight for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1886. Of this number 200,000 workers won their demand.

The capitalist press of the day had not as yet mastered the insidious "technique" of the newspapers of the present day, but their handling of the May 1 strikes of 1886 provides an interesting picture of their anti-labor activities.

Founded by Horace Greeley, who for years was associated with the elder Brisbane (father of Arthur Brisbane) and the other Socialist utopians who derived their inspiration from Fourier, the New York Tribune had always boasted of its "fairness" to labor. In fact, during 1852-62 the Tribune had published



Photostatic reproduction of first page of the New York "Tribune," issue of May 2, 1886, reporting the eight-hour day strikes in Chicago and New York Union Square demonstration, May 1, 1886.

a series of letters from Karl Marx which were later incorporated in Marx's classic, "Revolution and Counter Revolution in Germany," and in other volumes.

It is therefore revealing to see how the New York Tribune treated the momentous events of 1886. In its issue of May 1, 1886, the Tribune carried the following headlines:

"ANXIETY IN CHICAGO; STRIKES FOLLOW EACH OTHER RAPIDLY; MANY FACTORIES CLOSED; POLICE READY"

Then followed the following dispatch: "CHICAGO, April 30 (Special).—The railroad companies have decided not to grant the demand for a working day of eight hours, and this after the freight houses of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy and Alton were deserted. The next largest industry affected is that of the packing houses of the Union Stock Yards, where from 20,000 to 30,000 men are employed.

"The concession of the largest packing establishment, headed by Sidney Kent (president of the Chicago Packing and Provisions Co., S. G.), granting a day of eight hours for nine hours pay, made the situation a difficult one for the remaining packers, and the word, tonight, is that they will close their houses before they will concede the demand."

The other manufacturers of the city are divided in opinion, but already the number who have closed their shops is sufficient to show that many thousands of men will be out of work.

"One of the current rumors was that the McCormick Harvester Works had been closed on account of the demand of its men for the eight-hour day. This was denied at the office. There is said to be no dissatisfaction among the men with the company's treatment of them."

Notice that the Tribune correctly takes pains to point out that, in spite of the fact that "one

of the largest packing houses" had caved in to the workers, "the word tonight is that they (the bosses) will close their houses before they will concede the demand."

"The number who have closed their shops," says the correspondent, "is sufficient to show that many thousands of men will be out of work."

A vivid parallel to the tactics of the capitalist press in 1886 was seen during the recent strike of auto products workers, which closed down the Hudson Motor Plant in Detroit. The emphasis was not on the fact that workers were striking for a real union and better conditions (and breaking through the barriers of the N.R.A.) but that by their action the auto products workers had thrown other workers out of jobs!

The Tribune denies the "rumor" that the men in the McCormick Harvester Works would quit, and moreover announces cheerfully that "there is said to be no dissatisfaction among the men with the company's treatment of them."

As a matter of fact, while the Tribune scribe was composing his dispatch, the men in the McCormick Harvester Works had gone out on strike—even before the May 1 demonstration. (The bourgeois historian, John R. Commons, described it as a "lock-out.") The bosses immediately hired scabs and sluggers, and when, on May 3, the strikers held a large mass meeting, police shot into the crowd and murdered six workers in cold blood.

In fact it was as a protest against this wanton slaying of the strikers that the Chicago workers called the Haymarket meeting on May 4.

The strike for the eight hour day on May 1, 1886, aroused great enthusiasm among the great masses of the workers. Anthony Binns in his "History of the American Working Class," reports that on the second day of the general strike about 80,000 were involved, and that

20,000 at Union Square Demonstration in 1886

FOLLOWING the formula since made famous by contemporary provocateurs in the hire of the bosses, it seems that detectives "discovered 50 masks and a lot of tools and dynamite cartridges," but, significantly enough, "no arrests have been made."

Because the movement in New York was less militant than in Chicago, the Tribune adopted a slightly different tone in handling the New York May Day demonstration of 1886. The reformist spirit was entrenched in the New York unions, and, as one writer put it, "the leaders succeeded in keeping the demonstration on the paths of order and good citizenship."

Fresh from militant strike struggles, which included the sugar refinery and on the Third Avenue Elevated, 20,000 workers crowded Union Square in a tremendous May 1 demonstration. They had come at the call of fourteen unions, and the square was packed with thousands of workers bearing red banners and placards.

Nevertheless, on the morning of May 1st, the New York Tribune had announced agreeably that "the general feeling among the leading members of the various organizations is that at the present state of public opinion in regard to strikes, it would be futile to attempt to accomplish anything through this medium, and in most cases when an amicable arrangement cannot be made between the employers and the men, the matter will be held in abeyance."

Reporting the meeting the next day, the Tribune said that "the speakers were all in the interests of law and order, and as a rule decried 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."

The Tribune reported that "there was no excitement in the square until about after six o'clock, when Sergeant Schmittberger of the 28th Precinct, with 57 stalwart policemen, marched into the square and took positions near the plaza. . . . Police men from other precincts arrived in squads until there were nearly 300 in and about the square."

INTERVIEWED by the enterprising reporter for the Tribune, Capt. Killitea, in charge, said: "They are all good, orderly fellows, and we are having a good sociable time together." "This," commented the Tribune journalist, "was the spirit which seemed to animate everybody."

No, not everybody; for, although some of the conservative chieftains of the Central Labor Union made speeches "in the interests of law and order," in the words of the Tribune, there were other speakers—



# Imperialist Powers Thruout World Prepare New Butchery of Working Class, Speed Armaments to Attack the U.S.S.R.

By ROBERT W. DUNN

ANOTHER world war is now taken for granted. No one denies it. Debate rages not as to whether it will break out, but as to when it will start.

How many May Days will pass before rival imperialisms declare war against one another, or jointly against the Soviet Union, is a question that no one can definitely answer. But that this declaration of war is not far away is admitted by the best informed persons including those in the camp of the capitalists.

When the "war danger" was first discussed a few years ago in the theses and statements of the Communist International and the various Communist parties, the analysis was met with contempt or indifference in the capitalist press. Now, however, this danger is a matter of common acceptance. The headlines fairly shriek of the coming war. Even some of the basic causes of war are cynically admitted by the war-makers themselves.

The next "resort to arms" will be merely the continuation of the present economic war carried on more and more openly between capitalist countries and alliances. The present "peace time" struggles include the fierce fight for markets which involves in turn currency wars, tariff wars, regulation of export and import quotas, subsidies to corporations by governments, and of course intenser exploitation of colonial peoples.

"Peace Time" Hostilities  
Tariff and import quota wars are typical expressions of these peace-time hostilities of capitalist countries reeling under the blows of the crisis. The Germans, for example, have waged these wars mainly with Britain, Poland and France, while the Baltic states have also felt the force of German quotas. France is carrying on bitter trade wars marked with the sharpest reprisals chiefly against Germany and Britain. The British Empire is fighting not only rival imperialisms, like the United States, but has plenty of trade conflicts within its own territories, notably in India. The United States, under the reciprocal, or "trading" tariff bill, gives the President emergency powers to protect Wall Street's interests in the current tariff hostilities.

In connection with the trade wars come also government subsidies. Italy subsidizes its raw silk exporters, the U. S. its wheat, iron and tobacco exporters to Great Britain, its oil and chemical companies. International shipping is receiving subsidies in almost every capitalist country. Most of these subsidies, especially on agricultural products, are levied as back-breaking tribute on the consuming masses.

Moving Rapidly Toward World War  
With all talk of "disarmament" or even "limitation of armaments" giving way to speculation as to how fast rival countries and alliances are rearming, all economic and other international conferences complete failures, the imperialist countries move rapidly toward the Second World War. In Europe the first fires of war are only waiting to be lit by the ready matches of fascism. The recent "understanding" between Germany and Poland opens the way for a more open combine directed against the Soviet Union, in an attempt to solve imperialist antagonisms at the cost of the first workers and farmers' republic. Nazi eyes are still fixed on the rich fields of the Ukraine.

The Austrian dictatorship is the center of a reshuffling of alliances which may ultimately bring about a war bloc of Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary, lining up against France and its allies on the question of armaments, treaty revision and the League. France and Germany have reached a complete deadlock in their bitter "conversations" about arms "limitations."

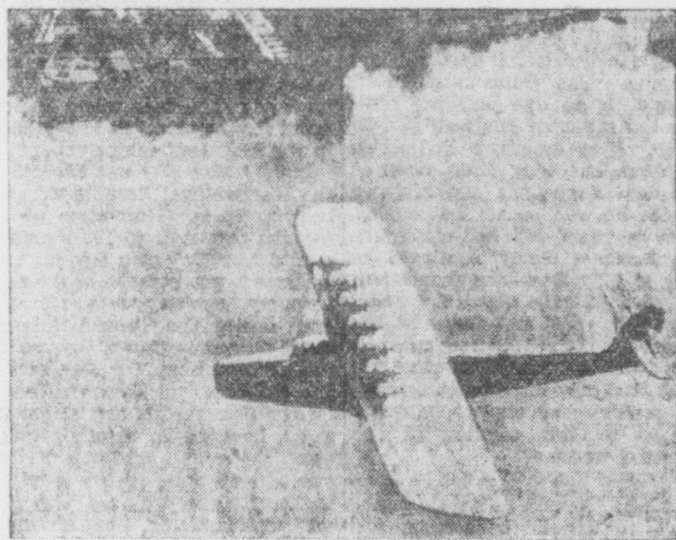
Conflict in South America  
In South America we find the Chaco war breaking out in fresh battles with the League of Nations and all other "mediating" agencies completely ineffectual, as more thousands of workers and farmers of Bolivia and Paraguay are sent to the shambles in this clash between Wall Street and the British imperialists. At the same time the struggle over Leticia between Colombia and Peru is ready for a new outbreak of warfare, both sides buying arms in large quantities and Colombia recruiting more war plane pilots in the United States. Competition between the United States and several European countries, as well as Japan, for the trade of South America, was never fiercer than it is today with U. S. imperialism desperately fighting to prevent losing its leading place in this rich market.

Meanwhile the tension is still even less relaxed in the Far East in spite of all the polite diplomatic notes of the Japanese foreign office to Washington, her imperialist rival in the coming struggle for the Pacific. With Emperor Pu-Yi on the throne in the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo, preparations are speeded up for the coming attack on the Soviet Union and on the Mongolian Peoples' Republic. Soviet protests are sent to the Soviet Union about alleged border "air raids." At the same time the Japanese carry on the most intense preparations for offensive war, with strategic military railroads and highways being built in Manchuria.

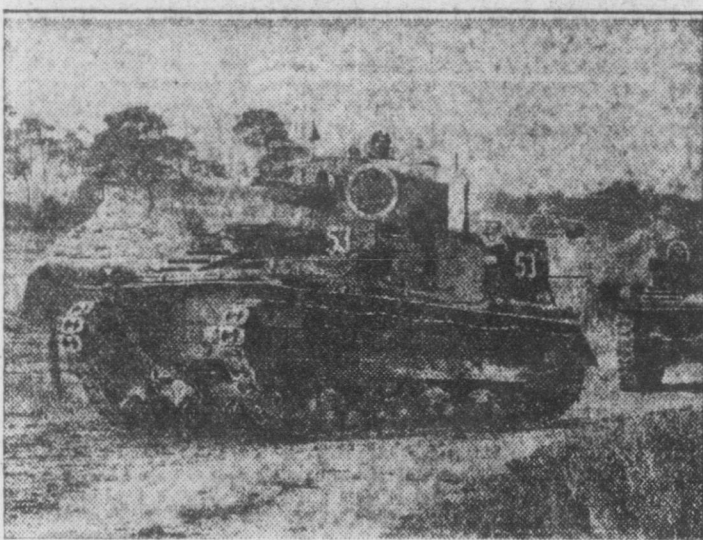
Japan has refused to sign a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union. At the same time it threatens, unless given a "parity" position with respect to naval ratios, to denounce the naval treaties with the United States and Britain before they expire in 1936.

Japan Eyes the U.S.S.R.  
The internal situation of Japanese imperialism is particularly provocative. Fascist military cliques are gaining headway against the corrupt Saito government. These

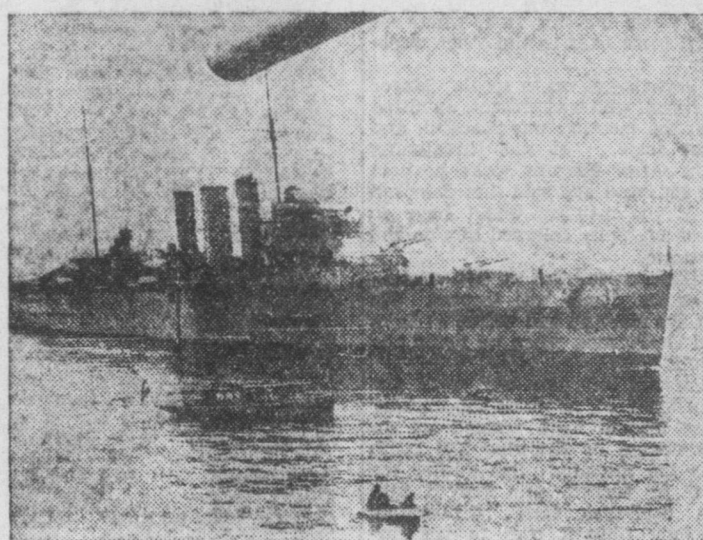
Capitalist Nations in Mad Arms Race While Hunger, Joblessness, Misery Increase for Masses



Three deadly instruments of warfare which are being built today by every capitalist country in the world on a larger scale and at a more rapid pace than even before the last World War. A fourth



and even deadlier instrument—the torturing poison gas—designed for chemical warfare—is being manufactured by the capitalist gov-



ernments in preparation for a new imperialist slaughter and for an attack on the U.S.S.R.

super-patriotic terrorist organizations are increasingly active, and are plunging forward in their designs to solve domestic difficulties with a military dictatorship followed by war on the Soviet Union. The propaganda of this militarist group has, according to one observer, "been entirely successful in stimulating a chauvinistic bellicosity that is almost without modern parallel."

China, the principal area, outside the Soviet Union, not already in the clutches of a single imperialist power, provides the battle ground for the sharpest struggle for markets, leading eventually to open warfare. This enormously increases the danger of hostilities opening in the Orient especially between the rival U.S. and Japanese imperialisms.

WAR preparations have become the mainstay of the myth of return-

ing "prosperity." Such "uptum" as there has been in the heavy industry of Germany, for example, is explained by the open and secret arming of the Third Reich. American Metal Market, trade paper, reports "that the armament and munitions factories (throughout the world) are said to be working at a rate 30 per cent higher than they were in 1913." Annual additions to armaments are now being increased at a far faster rate than in the period immediately preceding the war of 1914-18.

A few evidences of this capitalist race of armaments are culled from scattered recent reports:

In Germany munitions and chemical plants are working overtime, while military and related appropriations jumped from 674 million marks in 1930 to 750 million in 1933, to 1,355 million in 1934.

France is erecting 25,000 gas shel-

ters in Paris while her airplanes are increased and enormous stocks of munitions are accumulated. Construction is to be started on four new ships and 125 miles of new fortifications are built along the eastern frontier with more in process of construction the whole way to the North Sea.

Profits of the big munitions firm of Schneider-Creusot were 25,400,000 francs in the fiscal year ending April 1933, with dividends declared of 100 francs a share.

In Britain the Admiralty is demanding 25 new battle cruisers and three new canals are urged as defense measures; 160 new war planes are being built. Exports of explosives from England jumped tremendously and 40 millions in orders were received at a Clydebank arms plant. Imperial Chemicals Ltd., reports for 1933, the highest net income in its history, as it increases its dividend

payments and looks longingly toward the coming war for further sources of wealth.

In Czechoslovakia the great Skoda works (controlled by Schneider-Creusot) is running full blast turning out shells for at least three countries. In Italy nine heavy and ten light cruisers are under construction or just completed as Mussolini announces he will match French increases, ship for ship.

In Japan the new naval program calls for two aircraft carriers, two light cruisers, 14 destroyers, six submarines and a fleet of small torpedo boats. The tank equipment of the army is to be increased by 100 per cent. The military budget for this year (about \$460,000,000) is the largest peace-time war budget in the history of Japan. The profits of Mitsui & Co. of Japan, allied with Vickers-Armstrong, the big British

firm, increased 100 per cent during the half year ended October 31, 1933.

The United States government is piling up armaments at a rate never equalled in its history. The regular appropriations for the army, navy, aviation, etc., during the present fiscal year are over \$885,000,000, in addition to large amounts recently appropriated under the guise of "public works," expenditures to run over a period of years. In this latter class come the \$238,000,000 voted last year for new cruisers, destroyers, submarines, airplane carriers and gun boats; the \$15,000,000 for aviation construction, \$10,000,000 for army motorization and tens of millions more poured out for shore stations, ordnance, supplies and accounts, seacoast defense, quartermaster corps, rivers and harbors and other items under the control of the army or navy departments.

On top of this comes the Vinson

Navy Act, described as the "greatest peace-time measure for naval building in American history," which authorizes the construction of 102 new warships (in addition to the 52 other war vessels now under construction with public works funds and regular appropriations), and 1,184 airplanes to bring the U.S. navy and air forces up to the full limits permitted by the so-called naval "limitation" treaties. It is estimated that the cost of these additional implements of slaughter will total about a billion dollars during the next five years and will be paid, of course, out of crushing taxes placed directly and indirectly upon the backs of the American masses.

ALL told, about 188 new warships have been authorized by the Roosevelt regime since it came into power in March 1933. This achieve-

ment in "preparedness" is said to exceed even the wildest hopes of the big war lobby. It is estimated that during each of the next seven years (even assuming no larger naval programs are drawn)—the United States will be spending three times as much on the navy—new construction and operating expense—as it spent just before the World War! And all these vessels will be built very definitely for a war to protect "commerce on the high seas," "life and property," and "American interests"—varying terms used by the State Department spokesmen to denote Wall Street's investments overseas.

War industries and the trade in war materials are booming. No figures touching the export of arms can give us any notion of the amount of sales made, for at least 90 per cent of the peace-time sales are made to home governments and are, of course, not reported in the export figures. But it is evident from all reports that war shipments from the United States, about which the government refuses all vital information, are on the increase.

U.S. Sells Arms to Japan

Fragmentary reports tell of vastly increased shipments of manganese and sulphur from Gulf ports to the west coast. Ships pass thru the Panama Canal almost daily carrying scrap iron, nitrates, lead, cotton linters. Shipments of aluminum and other vital important nickel from Canada have increased substantially. Shipments of another war metal, molybdenum, by the leading American company, have increased over 100 per cent above last year. The enormous shipments to Japan of locomotives, nickel steel, airplane engines, tanks, wagons, trucks, scrap iron and other materials for the Japanese war base have already been noted in the Daily Worker.

An "investigation" of the "munitions trust"—with a meager appropriation of \$15,000 to pay for the job—is ordered by the U.S. Senate, but will undoubtedly do no more than previous hearings have done—expose nothing—to take "excessive" profit out of war. The DuPonts, the Schwabs, the Morgans and the Mellons can laugh at such feeble protests. For their own government that is making the "investigation."

Jobsless Trained for War

Typical indications of U.S. preparation for imperialist war are seen likewise in the self-congratulatory expressions of high army officers over the excellent practice in re-cruiting gun-fodder the army has gained from the herding of unemployed youth into the Civilian Conservation Camps, especially the revealing statements of Assistant Secretary of War Woodring.

There is also the recent arms business, obviously a method of checking up on the air preparedness of the nation, opening the way to further appropriations for war purposes. The speeches of Senator Black and others reveal that the main aim of the recent exposure of mail contracts. On top of this came the recent appointment of "a combined military and civilian committee" headed by former War Secretary Newton D. Black. Plans to increase the effectiveness of the Army Air Corps.

Economic preparations for war are seen also in the proposals for merging the wire, cable and radio facilities of the country into a giant system of government-controlled communications services.

Prepare Butchery of Workers

Activities of the Industrial War College and the Procurement Planning Division of the War Department, which reveal a steady progress being made in integrating all the industries of the country into a war-time supplies department and labor regimentation system that would, among other things, abolish strikes and take away the last vestige of "civil liberty" from the working class. (Full details on this department are contained in the Labor Fact Book, Vol. 2, soon to be published.) This program of procurement planning and "educational orders" has recently received fresh support from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, whose special committee on national defense gives 100 per cent backing to the most iniquitous programs of the war and navy departments.

Only the working masses know what war really means and what it costs in life, blood, disease, poverty, hunger, famine. While the capitalists are cashing in on profits (they ran, in the last war, in many instances as high as 1,000 per cent or more) the workers are being butchered in the close-packed trenches or wiped out like flies by horrible lethal gases. While "Steel Common Soars in Million-Share Day" (war-time newspaper headline) for the benefit of the parasite class, the workers will be forced into the shambles by the Gen. Hugh Johnson, and their fellow draft officials.

It is clearly the workers who form the reliable battalions in the struggle against war. It is they who are capable of turning the imperialist war into a struggle against the system of exploitation that creates war. In such organizations as the League Against War and Fascism, workers and farmers, as well as all sincere enemies of imperialist wars, can force the weapons of defense and offense that will finally overthrow the bloodsoaked system of wage slavery and war.

## War Industries and Preparations for War In New Jersey

By R. STUART

THAT place went up the whole of Bound Brook would be swept off the map."

This was repeated to me by another worker, an Italian. "Poof!" he said, waving his hands fountain-like. "Bound Brook no more! Keela everything!"

"What do they make?" I asked. "Explosives. Bigza explosives. Everything, even bombs maybe. Naphtha, T.N.T., gasa."

This checked with what the other fellow told me. "What for? Who for? These explosives?" I asked.

He shrugged his shoulder and shook his head. "Bigza war maybe."

"But," I continued, "Calco is a mile or more outside of Bound Brook."

"Sure," he laughed. "I wouldn't like to be five miles away. Poof!" he repeated, "Keela everything!"

Ship Explosives Out  
Later on I was talking to another worker on the same subject, Calco. "Well," he said, "there's plenty of explosives there."

"Yes," I said, "but they ship them away quickly. Trains are going in and out all the time. They don't store the stuff there."

"Big place," he said. "There's plenty there just the same."

The Calco Chemical Company is working night and day shifts. More and more workers are being hired every month. New buildings are being erected and land is being staked out for what one local official told me was to be the "largest chemical plant in the United States." Things were booming here. There is a Du Pont powder plant on Calco property. The men get paid at the powder plant by Du Pont. Dynamite mixers on the night shift get 65 cents an hour for risking their lives.

The week before I had counted 600 workers' cars in the parking space. This week there were 700 cars. And on one shift. The plant has at least 2,000 workers. I went down the private road to the main building. A guard came up to me. "Put out that pipe," he ordered. Although unlit, my pipe was still in my mouth. Behind the guard was a high fence. Yard engines puffed back and forth pulling in and out the numerous sidings. Smoke and steam puffed from stacks and pipes. Full steam ahead! At one end, about a quarter of a mile away, building workers, privately hired, were constructing new fire-proof buildings, 204 feet long in rows. Something was going on.

Singer's War Activities  
People in this region are much excited. To many of them the crisis is over. They do not see that booming war industries mean a deepening crisis. The so-called optimism expressed by business men in this and surrounding towns has been caused by yet other facts.

Singer Sewing Machine Company, reported to be experimenting in the production of machine guns and airplane engines, has recently purchased 200 odd acres at Findenre across the Raritan River from Manville and about two miles west of Calco. Although no statements of a definite program can be obtained from Singer officials, one remarked, "We are not going to build a playground."

Fairly authentic rumors have it that Singer plans to move its plant at Elizabeth, which in boom times hired as many as 10,000 workers, and set itself up in the Raritan Valley, one of America's greatest war production areas. Already land values are skyrocketing and specu-

### A Glimpse at the Explosive Manufacturing Plants in Only One State Gives Indication of Huge Network of War Industries Thruout Land

lators are planning jerry-built homes in large quantities. One only wonders whether the Diehl Manufacturing Company, makers of ship engines for the United States Navy, and subsidiary of Singer, will move with its parent company. (It is now operating on night shifts.) The chances are likely as three factors are held contributory towards the move: taxes, the effect of salt water on precision instruments, machinery, and metals, and reported negotiations for the property of the present plant as a possible new terminal for the Nickel Plate R. R. system.

Another expanding industry in this area is the Bakelite plant east of Bound Brook. At East Bound Brook there is also the plant of Robinson, Butler, Hemingway & Company, makers of nitrocellulose paper.

Let us move further down the Raritan to New Brunswick. New Brunswick has no large chemical plants or ammunition factories but is important in the manufacture of related war materials. Johnson & Johnson, makers of surgical supplies, is here with 51 factory buildings and 22 acres of floor space. At the present time a new building is in the course of construction. J. & J. is reported to have had numerous government contracts as have had International Motor, makers of Mack trucks, also in New Brunswick. It is significant that A. J. Brosseau, president of International, is a member of the National Defense Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce co-operating with the House Military Affairs Committee.

To get back to ammunition and explosives, however, we have but to move a few miles southeast on the same river to the Union plant of the Hercules Powder Company in the concentration area around the Raritan Ordnance Depot, otherwise known as the Raritan Arsenal. (The Hercules Powder Company reported a net income of \$2,363,055 for 1933 after depreciation, federal taxes and other charges had been deducted. This compares with a net income of \$889,763 in 1932. Dividends equal to \$2.79 a share in 1933 as against 24 cents in 1932.)

Blew 4 Workers to Bits  
The Union plant is at Parlin and like its brother plant at Denville, which only recently blew four workers to bits, is functioning with night and day shifts. It was here that a local official suggested that increase in operations was "due, no doubt, to the hunting season." This remark ranks in cynicism with the report given by Earl L. Smith, economist, before the 27th convention of the American Chemical Society held at St. Petersburg, Fla. in attempting to explain away the real reason for the unusual increase in the production of high explosives. Mr. Smith was reported to have given the following statement (New York Times, March 26, 1934): "Explosives—Civilian Conservation Corps orders, with increased demand from lumbering, coal mining, and other mining, caused a 15 per cent rise in 1933 over 1932. Gain for December, 1933 was 29 per cent over December, 1932." Nothing about war preparations! Nothing about government contracts outside of C.C.C. Nothing about Japanese exports!

Yet chemicals is the only industry which has shown a steady rise during the whole capitalist crisis, its employment index in December being 107.6 per cent of the 1923-25 average.

The Union plant is a source of silent fear for workers living in the region as is the DuPont pyroxylin and nitrocellulose plant also at Parlin, which is constructing another factory addition at the present time. Three units have just been completed at a cost of over \$200,000 and

cently purchased the \$2,000,000 plant at Spotswood less than ten miles away. Justification for suspicion regarding such tremendous investments in the manufacturing of paint, when nearly all paint factories are either closed or operating part time, may be strengthened with the knowledge that a National Lead plant at Maurer near Perth Amboy, only a short distance away, is manufacturing bullets for Japan. The Raritan Arsenal is the key to the Raritan Valley war industries

region. The Raritan Arsenal is awaiting approval of over \$1,000,000 worth of new construction on which plans have already been completed. Over 500 C.W.A. workers were employed at Raritan must keep pace with the structing fences, gates, and roads.

Freight trains come and go frequently at the plants and warehouses. Only recently a machine was purchased which is supposed to put new rims on loaded shells at the rate of 1,200 a day. Activity at Raritan must keep pace with the related activity which is being shown by the ammunition and chemical plants in the surrounding region.

Perth Amboy, Maurer, Woodbridge and Cartaret are important centers for the refining of metals and the manufacture of chemicals. Everyone remembers the part played by these localities in the last war. The Raritan Copper Works at Perth Amboy is considered the second largest copper refinery in the world. At Cartaret is the United States Metals Refining Company reported to be exporting scrap and refined metals to Japan. At Perth Amboy is also located a plant of the National Lead, mentioned before as manufacturing bullets, and the United States Cartridge Works, a subsidiary.

Experimentation  
Further along towards Elizabeth, at Linden, is the Gessell Chemical Company, employing over 1,000 workers in the manufacture of muriatic, sulphuric, and nitric acids. Grasselli only recently completed a large new plant addition. Then there is the Standard Oil Bayway Refinery, one of the world's largest. The American Cyanamid Company plant, parent company of Calco at Bound Brook, is also located here.

Only this March the Lawrence Engineering & Research Corporation took over the former Radio Clock plant at Linden and is engaging in experimental research work on a special air cooled Diesel aircraft engine. Harry Spillinger, engineer in charge of special experimental tests, is a reserve officer and graduate of West Point. This concern is working under contract with the United States Navy.

Another important war plant should be mentioned while we are in this area. It is the copper-processing plant of the Phelps-Dodge Copper Products Corporation at Bayway. Along with related war industries in this region it too is constructing plant additions. The cost of present buildings is estimated at well over \$500,000. While other industries are shut up tight or stand-out regard to present market needs or requirements. Mass starvation and want is answered by the expenditure of further millions in the construction of "paint" factories and copper plants, which can without loss of any time be transformed to manufacture death-dealing armaments. We are not assuming here the more plausible fact that these same capitalist industries have already been transformed in keeping with the only advance capitalism

can make, the advance toward another imperialist war.

Secrecy Cloaks War Moves  
Bill S3173 authorizes the president of the United States to classify as secret or confidential certain material, apparatus or equipment for military use. Secrecy and subterfuge naturally cloak the war maneuvers of imperialism. It is therefore often necessary for us to fall back on circumstantial evidence which in a capitalist court is used to convict. Not all our information, however, is circumstantial. The capitalist in order to make armaments must employ workers. And from this source must come our most valuable material regarding war preparations. It was from this source that the Daily Worker recently printed the fact that the Crucible Steel Corporation plant at Harrison is manufacturing shells and heavy ordnance. From workers we also learned that the Pollock Manufacturing Company at Kearney nearby is manufacturing powder containers for the United States Navy. It is hoped that workers reading this article will not hesitate to fill in omissions that most naturally have been made.

Battleships and Airplanes  
We have been stressing explosives, chemicals and munitions up to now pointing out the importance of New Jersey in this respect and also the abnormal expansion that is taking place in these lines in keeping with imperialist war preparations. Jersey, however, is as equally important in the manufacture of battleships and airplanes. These are no less significant to imperialist designs and expansion policies. And it is only in these industries that we find the same activity as is apparent in chemicals and metals.

The Keystone Aircraft Corporation at Trenton, for example, has been working under contract with the government manufacturing 72 heavy bombing planes. There is the New York Shipbuilding Co. at Camden which has contracts for millions of dollars worth of naval construction. (Workers here have organized and are striking for recognition of their union and higher wages.) Over a quarter of the ships of the United States Navy have been made at Camden. Equally important is the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. of Kearney. Aircraft carriers and battleships are constructed here. At the present time three destroyers are on the way towards completion.

At Paterson is the Wright Aeronautical Company plant with over 3,000 workers. The management of this plant requires the workers to be fingerprinted, a significant war policy already being carried out in peace time.

We could give long lists of subsidiary and potential war plants in New Jersey. That Babcock & Wilcox at Bayonne manufactures ship boilers for the U. S. Navy, that the Eisner Clothing Company at Red Bank is making 17,000 raincoats for the United States Army, etc., etc. The importance of oil refining and shipment could also be stressed as New Jersey is the leading non-producing state in this important war adjunct. We feel, however, that the reader can gather from the material already presented that Jersey is definitely preparing for war. That it is manufacturing a war in accordance with the imperialist policy of the capitalist government, Maine has been used as a political barometer. New Jersey, in the same sense, is a war barometer. When facing the question of war we can say, "As Jersey goes, so goes the country."

Map of New Jersey War Industries



ready for occupancy. These include a casing building, a filling plant addition, and a mixing house. Further expansion is contemplated.

Nitrate and "Paint"  
Across the Raritan from Sayreville Township, of which Parlin is a part, is the Raritan Arsenal and the Nixon Nitrate works, but before leaving the Sayreville side of the river we might mention an interesting industrial development which may or may not have significance. This project has gone beyond the land purchasing stage and has passed the point where the general contract has been awarded. It is for a \$2,000,000 "paint" factory. The Titanium Pigment Company, subsidiary of the National Lead Company, is the owner. It only re-

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Battleships and Airplanes  
We have been stressing explosives, chemicals and munitions up to now pointing out the importance of New Jersey in this respect and also the abnormal expansion that is taking place in these lines in keeping with imperialist war preparations. Jersey, however, is as equally important in the manufacture of battleships and airplanes. These are no less significant to imperialist designs and expansion policies. And it is only in these industries that we find the same activity as is apparent in chemicals and metals.

The Keystone Aircraft Corporation at Trenton, for example, has been working under contract with the government manufacturing 72 heavy bombing planes. There is the New York Shipbuilding Co. at Camden which has contracts for millions of dollars worth of naval construction. (Workers here have organized and are striking for recognition of their union and higher wages.) Over a quarter of the ships of the United States Navy have been made at Camden. Equally important is the Federal Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. of Kearney. Aircraft carriers and battleships are constructed here. At the present time three destroyers are on the way towards completion.

At Paterson is the Wright Aeronautical Company plant with over 3,000 workers. The management of this plant requires the workers to be fingerprinted, a significant war policy already being carried out in peace time.

We could give long lists of subsidiary and potential war plants in New Jersey. That Babcock & Wilcox at Bayonne manufactures ship boilers for the U. S. Navy, that the Eisner Clothing Company at Red Bank is making 17,000 raincoats for the United States Army, etc., etc. The importance of oil refining and shipment could also be stressed as New Jersey is the leading non-producing state in this important war adjunct. We feel, however, that the reader can gather from the material already presented that Jersey is definitely preparing for war. That it is manufacturing a war in accordance with the imperialist policy of the capitalist government, Maine has been used as a political barometer. New Jersey, in the same sense, is a war barometer. When facing the question of war we can say, "As Jersey goes, so goes the country."

ready for occupancy. These include a casing building, a filling plant addition, and a mixing house. Further expansion is contemplated.

Nitrate and "Paint"  
Across the Raritan from Sayreville Township, of which Parlin is a part, is the Raritan Arsenal and the Nixon Nitrate works, but before leaving the Sayreville side of the river we might mention an interesting industrial development which may or may not have significance. This project has gone beyond the land purchasing stage and has passed the point where the general contract has been awarded. It is for a \$2,000,000 "paint" factory. The Titanium Pigment Company, subsidiary of the National Lead Company, is the owner. It only re-



# Auto Worker In U. S. S. R. Greet American Workers

### Formerly Employed At Ford Automobile Plant In Detroit

By T. ANTONOFF  
The writer of this letter was a former worker in the Ford Automobile Plant in Detroit. Because of his labor activities among the automobile workers in that city he was deported last year. In the following letter he gives an account of a visit to the family of a Soviet automobile worker employed in the giant Stalin (A. M. O.) Automobile Plant, in Moscow.

"BECAUSE my father could not support his family on seven rubles a month, I was turned over to the tsar's army when I was only seven years old," said Lisenkov, a worker in the Stalin (A. M. O.) Auto Plant, in Moscow, when I visited him.

"I was not allowed to see my family for three years," he continued, "and it was only once, when I became very sick, that my father was permitted to visit me."  
"In 1903, when I was only four-teen, I was sent to the Russo-Japanese War, all the way out to Vladivostok, and I was not even permitted to tell my family that I was going away. All the fellows, however, under nineteen years of age were sent back to Moscow shortly after we arrived in the East."

Lisenkov's face was grim when he related how upon his return home he learned that his two sisters had perished from starvation and how his mother was worn and sick from undernourishment. He immediately sought work and soon, through the aid of friends, obtained a job in a foundry owned by some German capitalists. He worked there day after day, ten hours each day, for six months—his pay was 20 kopeks a day.

Joined Political Circle  
Some time later, while working in a machine shop for five rubles a month, he joined a group of workers in a political circle (illegal, of course) where they studied Marx and Engels. Eventually the workers decided to demand a ruble raise and Lisenkov was elected spokesman. As soon as he presented his demands to the boss he was fired

and almost immediately afterwards was blacklisted throughout Moscow Province. Lisenkov was sixteen at that time.  
After many hardships he found himself in Petersburg (Leningrad) and through the aid of friendly workers obtained a job in a munition plant.

"When the war broke out," he said, "the workers, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, decided to strike for higher wages. After a bloody demonstration in which the police and Kossaks were called in to beat up the workers, the bosses found that they were up against it. They finally had to give in and raise our wages."

I asked Lisenkov whether he took part in the October Revolution.  
"Yes," he replied. "I took some part in it, but the Bolsheviks were the ones who did the real fighting. I was not and am not a Party member but I have undying admiration for the Bolsheviks—we workers have them to be thankful to for our liberty."

LISENKOV explained that the trade union immediately after the Revolution played a tremendous role. They with the aid of the Bolsheviks helped to drive out the social-democrats and reformist leaders. They reorganized production in the factories and the distribution of products. They helped to select the best workers for the Red Army.

In January, 1918, Lisenkov returned to Moscow where he worked in the A. M. O. plant. At that time there were only 600 workers there and the plant was terribly disorganized.

"Thanks to the trade union council, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, we succeeded in reorganizing things at the plant," he said. "To solve the problem of food we established a collective farm right on this spot where these new buildings are now." He swept his hand out toward a nearby block of apartment houses built by the factory for the workers.

Until 1925 the A. M. O. plant produced only agricultural machinery. The year before approximately 70 automobile workers who were deported from America came to work

### Cites Constant Growth Of Auto Industry In the U.S.S.R.

in the plant and they helped to put things in order.

"For November 7, 1925 (the Eighth Anniversary of the October Revolution) we produced our first ten automobiles and paraded on the Red Square." Tears came to Lisenkov's eyes as he thought back upon that day and his wife interrupted to say, "It was the happiest day of our lives—to see ten automobiles produced in our own factory!"

Last year A. M. O. produced 25,000 cars and the plan for the end of the Second Five-Year Plan is 100,000 cars annually.

Lisenkov spoke about his life and the opportunities of workers in the Soviet Union today. He earns 500 rubles a month, now and lives in a large modern two-room apartment for which he pays 45 rubles a month. According to his wife the factory cooperative supplies all their needs.

"And our children," she added, "have opportunities that we never dreamed of when we were young. They receive free tickets in the schools for the theatre, movies, concerts and lectures. My boy is only sixteen years old and he is studying to be an engineer. My youngest child, Luba, is only thirteen and is making good progress in the study of English."

Upon leaving, Lisenkov and his family bade me greet the American workers and children for them. Lisenkov particularly asked me to send special greetings to the Ford workers and to urge them to build a strong union which would help them in their struggle for a Soviet Power in America.

The Daily Worker keeps you informed of the world-wide struggles by the working class against unemployment, hunger, fascism and war. The Daily Worker for one month daily or six months of the Saturday edition costs only 75 cents. Send your sub to the Daily Worker, 50 E. 13th St., New York City.

### Cops Attack Students' Anti-War Meet



Photo shows police attacking students of the City College of New York, who demonstrated and called a one-hour strike against war on April 13. Similar demonstrations and strikes took place in scores of colleges and high schools throughout the United States.

## "Key to Workers' Victory Over Fascism Is Unity"---Dimitroff

(Continued from Page 1)

By GEORG DIMITROFF

the proletariat, not for Soviet power, but for bourgeois democracy, this outlived form of the rule of the bourgeoisie thrown on the scrap heap. With its policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie, the Second International also is repeating the betrayal of the workers in other countries, France, Spain and England, where fascist reaction is organizing and arming its forces with all its might.

### Leads to Fascism

And this, although the entire experience of the post-war period teaches that compromise with the bourgeoisie, leads to fascism. There is only one path of struggle and victory over fascism. That path is to struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for the proletarian dictatorship, Soviet power.—Marx's, Lenin's, Stalin's path, which already led the Russian working class to victory over their bourgeoisie and for the construction of a new Socialist society.

Millions of Social-Democratic workers, under the blows of events in Germany and Austria, now stand at the cross-roads, they have lost confidence in the correctness of the path of social-democracy, the path of the Second International, but have not yet sufficient confidence in the correctness of the Communist path, the path of the Communist International.

A wall of distrust, condemnation and prejudice, separates these social-democratic workers from their Communist class brothers.

### Millinery Conference Called Today by Rank And File in New York

NEW YORK—A rank and file conference of millinery workers to mobilize for a struggle for improved conditions in the shops and against discrimination and the bureaucratic rule of the Zaritsky machine, will be held at Irving Plaza Hall at 10 a.m. today.

Workers are urged to elect delegates from the shops, minority groups in the shops, irrespective of political opinion or affiliation.

"Let us go forward to a real united conference where we will take up all the problems confronting the millinery workers and work out a program of common action for the improvement of our conditions and the enforcement of the points of the agreement," says the call issued by the United Front Committee.

—WILLIAM BELL  
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### One Year of Roosevelt Brings 400% Profit To Munitions Co'pany

WILMINGTON, Del. (FP)—The Roosevelt New Deal has brought prosperity to the munitions ring.

This is indicated by the report of the Hercules Powder Co., makers of explosives, that profits for the first quarter of 1934 were \$672,926 as against \$228,978 a year ago, almost four times as much this Spring.

After payment of dividends to common and preferred stock, the surplus stands at \$10,436,970, with assets above 17 millions, the company reports.

### Marshals, Captains To Receive Final May Day Instructions Today

All organizations affiliated to the United Front May Day Conference are again reminded to make sure that their grand marshalls, marshalls and captains attend a meeting for final instructions on parade arrangements on Saturday, April 28th, 1 p. m., at the Workers Center, 2nd floor.

All marshalls' and captains' badges and sashes will be given out at this meeting.

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# Four Years of the Marine Workers Industrial Union

### Union Launched in April 1930, to Organize All Seamen

By ROY B. HUDSON

THE Marine Workers Industrial Union is celebrating its fourth year as a union at a time when the workers in the marine industry—seamen, longshoremen, harbor workers—have already begun mass struggles against the low wages and miserable conditions prevailing on American ships and docks. The willingness of the workers in all ports to organize and struggle is growing as it never has for years.

When the union was launched in April, 1930, the seamen were nearly completely unorganized. The longshoremen partially so. This lack of organization prevailed not because of any unwillingness of the marine workers to organize, but because of their disgust with the betrayals at the hands of the Ryans and Furuseths, and a realization of the bankruptcy of the programs of the International Seamen's Union, the International Longshoremen Association and the I. W. W. Behind this disgust lay a real desire for unionism.

The crash of Wall Street in 1929 and the beginning of the world wide crisis were a warning of new attacks by the ship owners and the need of organization to resist them. This situation served to stimulate the more militant and class-conscious workers of the industry, and resulted in the launching of the Marine Workers Industrial Union by 138 delegates in the First National

### Fisher Body Men Hold Auto Parade In Tarrytown, N. Y.

(Continued from Page 1)

not disturb one scab who slugged a striker, and the Tarrytown News played up this slugging as a hero.

At the mass meeting and in the parade all of the strikers were speaking of the effective Cleveland strike, and the spread of strikes in Cleveland. Copies of Cleveland papers were spread from hand to hand. A letter from a Cleveland striker was read at the meeting. The Cleveland strikers will not make an agreement independent of Tarrytown, it was announced at the strike meeting.

The A. F. of L. officials have approached the executive board of the P.A.A. to affiliate. Grady, in his speech to the strikers, said the board asked the A. F. of L. what they had to offer. They would give no money to help support the strike, the A. F. of L. officials answered, but would give "prestige" and will show you how to organize." Grady intimated that the executive board will not affiliate to the A. F. of L. at this time. He said he had nothing against the A. F. of L.

The leaflets of the Auto Workers Union were well received by the strikers. "We appreciate your help and your leaflets helped a lot," said one active striker to the Auto Workers Union representative. The strikers asked for more leaflets. The Auto Workers Union called for mass picketing, the spread of the strike, the election of a broad rank and file strike committee with all departments represented, and that the union should put forward to the company the same economic demands as the Cleveland strikers made regarding 30 per cent wage increase, recognition of the union, no discrimination, more pay for over time, etc.

### Steel, Metal Union Organizes Milwaukee Enameling Co. Plant

By a Worker Correspondent  
MILWAUKEE, Wis. — At the Gauder, Paeschke and Frey plant here, one of the biggest enameling plants in the world, they don't give the workers time enough to change dies and the machines are not kept in good order so the workers make very small wages.

The company has been named the "Black Hole" by the workers, but the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union is beginning to be active there now and it looks like there are going to be some real militant fights for workers rights and wages.

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### Leads Marine Struggles



ROY B. HUDSON

Convention in New York in April, 1930.

The program hammered out by the delegates called for the establishment of the Marine Workers Industrial Union as a militant fighting union, based on the class struggle, controlled by the rank and file, international in character, and uniting all workers, Negro and white, regardless of religious or political opinions.

WHAT has happened in four years? Every single year has seen prosperity get further and further away. The promises of the N. R. A. and Roosevelt are proving no different from those of Hoover, who four years ago proclaimed the return of prosperity in 60 days. Profits have been maintained for the shipowners, but at the expense of slashing wage cuts for the seamen and longshoremen; by worsening conditions on the ships and docks; by widespread undermanning and speed-up; by the establishment of an army of unemployed, which numbers in the hundreds of thousands,—part of the 16,000,000 jobless in this country.

And what has been the role of the I. S. U. and the I. L. A.? What have they done to defend the interests of the marine workers?

FIRST OF ALL, NONE OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS HAS LED ANY STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS! The officials of the I. S. U. and I. L. A. are opposed to struggle. In the case of the I. L. A., where struggles have developed, they have been forced by the militant action of the rank and file, meeting with the opposition of their officials, who tried to prevent struggle. And when this failed, they played the role of actual strike-breakers. These officials have become part and parcel of the N. R. A.; they have participated in all the secret conferences on the codes, have become the "labor advisors" of the Government. They are the fathers of the strike-breaking National Maritime Boards (now Shipping Labor Board) and the decasualization plan. They have urged the workers not to resort to militant action, but to look for higher wages and better conditions at the hands of the N. R. A. They have sabotaged all efforts for united action of the workers.

The once militant I. W. W. is now to be found with strange bedfellows. Although they continue to mouth phrases about "militant" action, about the general strike, their actions are in no way different from those of the leaders of the I. S. U. and I. L. A. They have led no struggles; they at first objectively supported the N. R. A., but are now in "opposition" to it by "boycotting" it and failing to mobilize the masses for struggle against it.

WITH the help of the Wobblies and the labor fakery, the shipowners have attempted to force the mass of seamen and longshoremen to bear the full burden of the crisis by enforcing wage cuts, worsened conditions, and starvation for the unemployed. But the marine workers have not willingly and peacefully accepted these conditions. Their growing discontent has recently taken on the form of organized, militant action. Some historic victories have been scored.

Amongst the seamen a whole series of strikes, 49 on the Munson Line alone, have taken place. As a result of job actions, ship committees are being established on the ore boats. The strike of the fourteen coal boats in Boston, the first mass struggle, forced a \$10 increase in wages, bringing the scale above that called for by the code. In the past few months ship strikes have taken place in practically every major port on the Atlantic Gulf and West Coast. The seamen of the Lakes, too, have begun to take up the banner of struggle with the opening of the present season. Eighty per cent of these strikes have resulted in victories or partial victories for the workers.

The unorganized longshoremen have carried through a number of strikes in St. Louis, Baltimore and Philadelphia and are at present preparing for action in Norfolk, Va. The fight of the Boston longshoremen for meal hour rates; the recent strike decision of the 12,000 West Coast longshoremen organized in the I. L. A.; are all indications of the growing revolt of the rank and file against the policies of their officials.

In this period the first smashing blow against the Blacklist system has been delivered. The seamen of Baltimore have established their own centralized Shipping Bureau; now controlling 85 per cent of all shipping. They are eliminating the power of the shipping shark and graft; are going away with all forms of discrimination and blacklist. That the seamen in other ports will follow the example of Baltimore is proven by the Buffalo seamen, who have already begun a militant fight against the Lake Carriers' Association and for the establishment of a Rotary system of shipping controlled by the seamen.

THE past four years have been a period of growing struggles, and the Marine Workers Industrial Union has been in the forefront of all these struggles. Every struggle and strike of the seamen has taken place behind the banner of the M. W. I. U. Successful strikes of unorganized longshoremen have been led and every struggle of the rank and file of the I. L. A. has received the full support of the M. W. I. U. The M. W. I. U. alone has defended the interests of the unemployed. Tens of thousands of workers, organized and unorganized, have endorsed the codes of the M. W. I. U. and helped elect the two mass delegations which appeared at the code hearings. The M. W. I. U. has been the main force in the industry that constantly sought to establish unity of all workers. The M. W. I. U. has made serious mistakes; it is still not a mass organization and many shortcomings hinder it from rapidly becoming one but its open acknowledgement and criticism of these weaknesses is the main guarantee that these will be overcome, and that it will be better able to organize and lead the coming mass struggles.

These mass struggles are not far off. The continued maneuvers of the N. R. A. show that the shipowners are determined to enforce the wage-cutting shipowners' code which tens of thousands of seamen and longshoremen have protested against. Through this code, with its infamous National Shipping Labor Board, they will try to outlaw militant unionism, company unionize the I. S. U. and I. L. A., and check the growing strike movement by declaring strikes illegal and making arbitration compulsory.

### Organization Has Grown Thru Militant Class Struggle Program

Full use of the past four years of experience. Let us organize and go forward to militant victories. Organize on every ship and dock. Take things into your own hands. Elect your committees, present your demands and take militant action, if necessary, to enforce these demands. Let us prepare to speak to the shipowner with the power and authority we have when tens of thousands of us stand prepared to act as one. Let us unite the growing mood for struggle behind one National program. We can do this if we establish organization everywhere, if we endorse the National Conference of Seamen and Longshoremen for united action, and elect delegates to it and stand ready to back up the conference. Let us unite our forces on every ship and dock, from coast to coast, behind the National Conference, to demand a national minimum wage.

Fight for the right to strike and the right to belong to a union of your own choosing, and against the National Shipping Labor Board and decasualization plan. Build up the united front! Rank and file of the I. S. U. and I. L. A. and other unions! Fight for the right to control your own organizations, against the betrayal policies of the Ryans and Furuseths, for united action with the unorganized and members of other unions against the enforcement of the shipowners' slave code. Unorganized seamen and longshoremen! Rally to the banner of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. Smash the shipowners' slave code, compel the enforcement of the M. W. I. U. code by building a powerful Marine Workers Industrial Union. Join the M. W. I. U. On to 5,000 new members!

Forward to a year of victories for the seamen and longshoremen, and to defeat for our enemies, the shipowners and their agents, the labor fakery!

Let every struggle be one of united action of seamen and longshoremen!

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# One Class the World Over: the International Unity of the Workers

By M. J. OLGIN

**MAY FIRST, 1886.** Chicago is the storm center of a broad labor movement. There is war in the air, the class war of the workers against their capitalist exploiters. Strikes had been spreading like wildfire. Over one half million workers went on strike in 1885 and 1886 in the struggle for the eight-hour workday. On May First the workers of Chicago downed tools. Tens of thousands marched into the streets. Hatred against boss oppression and the demand for an eight-hour workday were blazing on the placards carried by resolute marching labor battalions. The workers of America were the first to mark May Day as the day of workers' struggle. The exploiters and their government, with their attack on the workers in Haymarket Square, May fourth, to revenge the May Day Demonstration, and with the subsequent execution of a number of innocent working class leaders, marked May Day with workers' blood. The First of May became Red Workers' Day.

**MAY FIRST, 1902.** Workers in Petersburg and Moscow, in Vilna and Rostov, march out into the streets under the Red Flag. The Czar's police are mobilized. The Czar's gendarmes have flooded the city with spies. The Czar's Cossacks are waiting with drawn sabers. The workers are unafraid. They rush from the sidewalks into the streets. They close ranks. They raise a banner aloft. They raise their speaker on their shoulders. He begins his brief speech. He speaks of the terrible oppression of the masses by the bureaucracy. He speaks of capitalist exploitation squeezing the life-blood out of the workers under the protection of Czarism. He speaks of the rising wave of revolutionary struggles throughout Russia. He points to the fact that on this very day the workers of the whole world are marching into the streets to protest against capitalism, to demonstrate for Socialism. He lifts his right arm saying, "We swear to carry our fight for Socialism to a victorious end!" He has hardly time to finish his speech. The Cossacks are upon the workers. They brandish their whips. They cut with their sabers. The policemen wedge into the workers with fists, revolvers and clubs. The workers are forced to disperse; some of them will be arrested; but their spirits are high. They see before their eyes the future victories of their class.

**MAY FIRST, 1916.** Germany, as of all Europe, is in the grip of a devastating war. The capitalists of the world are divided into two coalitions fighting for the revision of the globe, for markets to sell their wares to reap greater profits, for raw materials to feed their industries to raise more profits for "spheres of influence" to invest their surplus capital to garner still more profits. Millions have been killed—most of them workers and peasants. Millions have been maimed. The masses of every country are being slowly starved by a system of rationing which gives the rich every opportunity to enjoy the greatest luxuries, while the toilers have the liberty to hunger to work in the munition plants, and to die on the numerous fronts.

The Socialist leaders of all countries have joined their governments in helping to continue the slaughter for the sake of profits. The Bolsheviks alone appeal for a revolution. The capitalists and the Socialist leaders of every country have outlawed May First as a Red Labor Day. But Bolshevism is spreading among the German workers. On May First, masses of workers pour into the streets of Berlin, huge masses, emboldened by revolutionary sentiment, embittered by hatred of capitalism and war. Karl Liebknecht is speaking. Karl Liebknecht is the beloved leader of the masses. He speaks of the horrors of war. He speaks of the forces behind the imperialist war. He says there is one way in which the workers can

terminate the war—and that is by turning their weapons against their exploiters and doing away with capitalism in every belligerent country. He reminds the enthusiastic workers that similar demonstrations are taking place in other countries under the leadership of those workers-class fighters who have remained loyal to the ideal of Socialism, to the interests of the working class.

**MAY FIRST, 1917.** Cleveland. The United States has joined the bloody mess of the war—for the sake of Morgan's profits. Working class demonstrations are taboo. Yet within the Socialist Party, which is in its main supporting the war, there has grown a Left Wing, the nucleus of the future Communist Party. The secretary of the Cleveland local of the Socialist Party is Charles Ruthenberg, later one of the founders and leaders of the Communist Party. Charles Ruthenberg leads a demonstration of 20,000 through the streets of Cleveland to Public Square. The government strikes a blow to the demonstrators through a police attack. One worker is killed. But the ardor of the revolutionists is not dimmed. The revolutionary workers march ahead to the formation of the Communist Party in 1919.

**WHAT is it that makes it possible** for workers in every country to respond to the call of May First demonstrations? How could it happen that May First should become the day of international struggle of the working class? It is because the working class is one the world over, and its interests are the same. The working class is fighting the same enemy everywhere, and the most courageous and clear-sighted among the workers have before their mind's eye the ultimate aim of the class struggle—the overthrow of the capitalist system and the introduction of Socialism. It is to achieve this aim that they direct all their struggles under the leadership of the Communist Parties headed by the General Staff of the World Revolution, the Communist International, and in this common struggle and common aim that finds its clear expression in revolutionary May Day action.

Today the overthrow of the capitalist system has been definitely placed on the order of the day by historic events. Capitalism has outlived itself. In its present stage it can produce nothing but mass misery. It has proven by five years of this common struggle and common aim that finds its clear expression in revolutionary May Day action. Today the overthrow of the capitalist system has been definitely placed on the order of the day by historic events. Capitalism has outlived itself. In its present stage it can produce nothing but mass misery. It has proven by five years of this common struggle and common aim that finds its clear expression in revolutionary May Day action.

**WHEN we march into the streets** this May First, we do so with the consciousness that the world is ripe for the Social Revolution, that in the United States the material basis for the Social Revolution is ready, that the class forces of the workers are increasing both here and in other countries, that the struggle of the workers in one country is aiding and strengthening the forces of the workers in every other country, that the tasks of the workers the world over are the same, and that we must use this international day to increase our fighting power. The best way to increase fighting power is—to fight. May Day of 1934 will forge new links in the chain of international solidarity of the toilers. May First will bring us all one step closer to the world revolution. Long live our Red May First!



## 8th Convention of the Communist Party Blazes the Trail to a Soviet America

By MARGUERITE YOUNG

**EXHILARATION** flared like sparks as registering delegates recognized that the predominating type among them was a Forgotten Man whom the New Deal had taught just one thing—to fight with his class under its one dependable leader, the Communist Party. Suspense welled them in their first session, where Earl Browder, General Secretary, flung out two simple facts that became the theme challenge of the Communist Party's Eighth National Convention—



Marguerite Young

that this Party is striding in seven league boots toward a boss-free America, but yet march even faster to win against fascism.

You could take these two emotions, exhilaration and suspense, and with one or both of them identify the atmosphere of the convention at any point along its six days' program in Cleveland.

**Trail Toward Soviet America**—I do not mean the kind of suspense I saw in a Democratic Party convention sweatily deciding whether to promise its supporters booze. Nor the synthetic enthusiasm I saw a Republican convention manufacture with tin whistles and pipe organ to mark the nomination of their candidate. I mean the deep suspense and sharp exhilaration with which revolutionists lay down their path and check their milestones backward and forward.

That's what this Communist convention did. It blue-printed a trail toward a Soviet America. It did this with its collective eye always on the realities of its world, its country, its class. It thumb-tacked this trail with details of tactics as well as the line of strategy. Through its attention centered on one main object—to win the majority of the American working people to its program, for the revolutionary overthrow of the brass hats of capital who rule on the brink of wars and revolutions—it patiently set down the immediate steps toward that object, the leading and winning of fish for such as human standards of relief to the unemployed who search for bread today, actual recognition of the worker's right to strike today for a fatter envelope this pay day, election of some Communist Congressmen in the very next campaign. It was not, of course, a matter of setting a date for revolution. It was a week of tightening lines, closing ranks, to insure more victories along the road and, yes, to be prepared when the final showdown does come.

**New Forces in Ranks**—Comrade Browder's report for the Central Committee was a basis on which the 470 delegates shaped the program. The adoption of this and of other central reports followed the most exhaustive discussion that I have ever heard, not by any means barring those of the United States Senate famous "deliberative body." One other democratic function the convention performed: it elected a Central Committee composed of veterans of the radical movement and, significantly, of young leaders drawn from new but already tested ranks of the membership.

Those new ranks were an inspiration. If you divided the delegates according to the length of their Party membership, you found the largest group composed of men and women who had joined the Communist Party since last July—the representatives of those hundreds of thousands of Americans who have reached toward the Communist Party following disillusionment with the New Deal and its reformist supporters from President Green of the American Federation of Labor and Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party down.

**Young Delegates**—These were young delegates, too; the biggest age group among them were from 25 to 30 years. They were 92 per cent industrial workers, 64 per cent trade union members. They came fresh from main industries. Although they included workers of virtually every extraction and

color in America, the big majority were native-born. They came from the farms too, and from the professions. One day I glanced along a row of chairs in the convention auditorium—a young white farmer from the middle west; next, a mild-mannered school teacher from an eastern city; next, a well-known woman novelist; next, a white homemaker from the north-west; next, a Negro share cropper from Dixie; next, a Philippine agricultural worker from the Imperial Valley of California. They stood before the convention, these varied types, with one common characteristic, militancy!

Harold Ashe, former Secretary of the Socialist Party of California: "For 19 years I labored under the illusion that the Socialist Party was a revolutionary party." And he told how 350 others like him discovered the fallacy, the reactionary effect, of the Socialist Party's program, and joined the Communist Party. Since last December, this:

**400 Share Croppers' Locals**—"We had 3,000 members in the Share Croppers' Union (last July)," a black Negro comrade explained. His manner was forthright and practical as his words. "At the present time, in spite of terror raised against Negro and white share croppers, in spite of the long hanging lynch clouds that burst frequently, we can now register a membership of 6,000, with 400 functioning locals." Again: "It has been difficult in the past to organize white share croppers and workers in the cities of Alabama. But we are overcoming this difficulty. Now more than 1,700 white members are either in the Party or in organizations led by Communists. Their specific job for the next three months: 1,000 new Share Cropper Union members in Alabama, 150 new Party members.

Here is a slim former feudist from Kentucky, bringing: "Greetings from the Kentucky miners. The miners of Kentucky are learning to stop their feuds and, instead of turning their guns against each other, to turn them against their real enemies in the spirit given us by Comrades Stalin and Browder." To prove it, there is a real opposition in the United Mine Workers of America in two key Party units in historic Evarts, Kentucky, including 16 former Wobblly members. The Communist Party gathers in the bearers of the most notable traditions of militant American labor.

Their humor could turn a critical shaft on Party weaknesses as well as directly upon the class enemy. "I am an employed railroad worker from the West Coast and the greatest difficulty I ever had was finding the Party," said a blond fellow from the Pacific Coast. "I have been looking for the Communist Party ever since the overthrow of the Czar in Russia. . . . Sympathetic workers warned him against speaking of unity, but he refused to hide his allegiance. . . . and he recruited into the Party a couple of his shop buddies earlier wrongly suspected as stool pigeons. From Southern Illinois came a woman delegate, telling how women of an auxiliary of the Progressive Miners fake-radical union "came up to me and said, 'We are Communists too.' . . . Many of them thought Mrs. Weick, a Mustelie social-fascist, was a Communist and that is why they followed her."

There is precious little time for anything but the sessions during a Communist convention, and what time was free in Cleveland seemed to be taken up by private discussions of the same convention subjects. Most of the delegates ate their meals in the building in which the convention sat, local comrades having arranged to feed them in three big rooms there. Those who went out to eat stopped in the small restaurant nearby; one saw them in whispered animated discussion for blocks along Prospect Avenue. Or they might gather, small groups, to talk in the home of some Cleveland sympathizer, and still the questions were the same; what progress have we made, are we making, will we make? It was the only political convention I've seen at which you couldn't expect delegates to go off

drinking between sessions. There wasn't apparently, even any such hope for this on the part of pro-vocateurs, for there were no bootleggers planted outside—as liquor sellers were vainly stationed outside the National Convention Against Unemployment in Washington last February!

**The Commissions**—In addition to the ten hours or more spent in general sessions each day, the delegates gave nearly all their evenings to convention work. The first thing they did after electing a presiding committee of 36 (including as honorary members Joseph Stalin of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Ernst Thälmann of Germany, George Dimitroff of Bulgaria and the leading Communist, many imprisoned, in Japan, Canada, Austria, Cuba, Mexico and Ireland) was to elect seven commissions. These groups met between sessions of the convention. They prepared reports on political, organizational and Negro questions, on the problems of revolutionary schools, work among women and on farms, and on convention credentials.

Exactly 17 rank and file delegates spoke from the platform during one morning's discussion of the Browder report. That's how democratic the comrade contributions were to be offered, the delegate had but to rise and ask for the floor. Debate, some of which was sharp, was disciplined; a speaker was held rigidly to their assigned time and subject. There was a continuous flow between delegates on the floor and leaders on the platform fronted by a long, red draped table, at the side of which hung the red banner carried in 1919 by a Socialist Party unit that came over to the Communist Party en masse when the latter was organized.

**Growth and Growing Pains**—Thus in the variously accented Americanese, the convention examined the growth and the tasks of the Communist Party. Growth was evident throughout—and growing pains. From Comrade Browder's detailed report, showing the paradoxes of capitalism throughout the world and particularly in the United States, the program which has at least temporarily increased profits but has lowered labor's living standards and brought no promises of other bonanza days or even permanent stabilization, through those of every national leader. Comrades Jack Stachel, dealing with Communists in strikes and in trade unions; C. A. Hathaway, with Communist work among youth; Harry Heywood, with the leadership of Negro struggles; and Max Bedacht, with mass-organization, all registered gains—but not enough.

Since the last convention in 1930, they pointed out, membership in the Party has trebled; today it counts more than 25,000 members, and a half million participants in organizations following various parts of its program. It has struck roots in factories employing more than 35,000. It has 1,482 street units. It is concentrating in the steel, iron, transportation, railroad territory of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago.

**Forging a Bolshevik Party**—Still it must carry this concentration further. It must win the Negro people to its liberation program. It must build an independent Federation of Labor, uniting opposition groups in the A. F. of L. and independent unions. It must "Bolshevize" itself—discipline and develop its personnel to the capacity to head the struggles of all workers and their allies, on the farms, in the professions, in mixed-class movements against war, fascism, and unemployment. As leaders pointed out weaknesses, the latter revealed themselves in the convention. One wished, amid the dissection of un-Bolshevik faults, that the lengthy, homely, capable discussion would be lifted by some proletarian orator more powerful than these. One saw that women, as Comrade Browder cautioned, had not been sufficiently trained into leading positions, and that some phases of the Communist program, such as work in the veterans' movement, had been neglected.

**Great Progress**—And yet here was progress to astonishing lengths. Here sat and talked new Negro leaders with a political development, a theoretical equipment of Marxism-Leninism little short of phenomenal. Here were the representatives of a Party spreading in the South at such a rate as to demonstrate Comrade Robert Minor's observation: "We speak of the 'backward South,' but 'backwardness' is a two-edged sword. . . . the 'backward South' is the weakest link in American capitalism." And here stood representatives of four brother Parties of the Communist International, the guide to the convention itself, builder of class unity around the globe. Here was the documentation of Comrade Browder's closing remarks to the delegates: "If we make use of the tremendous opportunities revealed here in this convention, in a short time we will be a mass Party. We will be leading serious daily struggles, and we will be seriously preparing the American workers for their revolutionary task."

One listened, finally, to the voice of 72-year-old "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor, the veteran of them all—and one could understand if not answer the question from this still-leading revolutionist: "I wonder if you younger members realize what this convention means to us older ones. . . . As I listened to the reports and the discussion, I realized that at last we had stopped talking only, and were really doing something to win the American masses."

**On the Occasion of May 1st**—THE BORO PARK WORKERS CLUB 18th Avenue and 47th Street, Brooklyn Extends its revolutionary greetings to our "DAILY WORKER" which leads the working class to victory in its struggle for liberation.

**MAY DAY GREETINGS**—To the DAILY WORKER from a group of class-conscious social workers in social agencies, who are adding their bit to the struggles of the working class.

**Workers of the New Health Center Cafeteria Greet the "Daily Worker" on May 1st**—F. W. I. U. SHOP

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# How Proud a Pioneer Should Be—Organizing Workingclass Children

By MARTHA CAMPION

"I never did realize until I became an I. W. O. Pioneer how proud a Pioneer can really be. I am sorry for all those children who do not belong to us yet. We Pioneers learn to understand how had it is for workers to scab. We also learn the idea of strikes, that our parents are struggling to make our lives better, not to starve, and to have clothes. We Pioneers learn how to appreciate our parents' struggles and hardships in order to support us and to make things better for us. We also learn by being organized how to help our parents in the various struggles by demonstrating with our parents. We learn to understand all the holidays of the workers. We are preparing ourselves for the celebration of May the First. We Pioneers will raise our voices to stop war and hunger that we children are the sufferers of it. We shall organize to be a strong organization of Pioneers." Pioneer "Furray Kallisher, Nine and one half Years Old.

**MINISTERS and priests, and rabbis, usually base their sermons** on texts from the Bible. I would like to base this article on the letter quoted above.

It is impossible to reproduce in print the whole effect of this letter, written painstakingly in pencil on ruled tablet paper, with its childish errors in spelling and grammar. But there is something here that we can lay our finger on, something that characterizes the letter immediately as the letter of a worker's child, and more than that, a child conscious of the fact that he is of the working class. Moreover, at the same time that the letter is class-conscious, it remains the letter of a child, and not of an infant prodigy who is mouthing phrases without knowing their meaning. Many of our enemies, and many comrades in our own ranks, accuse us of encouraging in our Pioneers such a capacity for making speeches and becoming little exhibitionists without knowing what they are doing or why. In these days, when millions of children are slowly starving to death, when their fathers, the workers of the country, are striking against the N. R. A. codes, against the ending of the C. W. A., against further starvation and destitution, can anyone say that these conditions do not affect the children without our telling them about these things?

**We Must Guide Our Children**—One must tell hungry children that there is no bread! The real quarrel of our enemies with us is that we show the children the reasons for the conditions that are already conscious of, and the solution, and teach them to fight against these conditions. What do the reformists of various kinds do in the face of these conditions? Well, it appears that some of them take workers' children to camps and teach them games that their child psychologists tell them normal children of that age should play. The Mustelites, who sponsor a number of summer camps to which workers' kids are taken, go in for child psychology in quite a big way. They believe, they say, that teachers of workers' children should concentrate on problems of "adjustment" to their environment. We, on the other hand, say that workers' children must not be taught how to adjust themselves to the society of hunger and deprivation in which they live, but how to change that

society into a workers' society. Other enemies also accuse us of filling the minds of the children with things they shouldn't be concerned with. In the reactionary "Brooklyn Eagle" of Sunday, April 8, in a stupid and malicious review of "Our Lenin," Selden Rodman makes the same attack—in a more clumsy and openly hostile manner, as one would expect. He says that the pictures of strikes and lynchings will catch the imagination of the child and make him "emulate" these deeds of violence "without knowing why."

Does the letter above indicate that the writer has a mind filled with pictures of violence that he will emulate without knowing why? The mouthings of these people, as well as the increased fascination of the school system, the war propaganda being spread in the schools to an extent incredible to those who have not seen and heard it, all the efforts of the bourgeoisie to bind the children more tightly to their reactionary program, prove to us conclusively that we cannot relax in our efforts, small as they are, to secure the children of the workers for the working class. On the contrary, these efforts of the bourgeoisie, frantic at sight of its doom, to divorce the child of the worker from the problems bound up with the experiences of the workers, should make us realize that we must double and redouble our efforts to organize our children with us and not against us.

The cunning assertion of the people who say, in these circumstances, that the child should not be "bothered" with such problems as their parents face, when the child is visibly affected by these problems, is a step in direct support of the plans of the owners of the schools and factories, who realize that the child can be taught to react in a definite manner to these things—that children can be turned into little nationalists and fascists. The suggestion of these amiable ladies and gentlemen that we take the children out after school and teach them nature study is a suggestion that we disarm the children and leave them open to the fascist propaganda. But we must not give them working class propaganda—oh, no!

And if any doubt remains that children can be mobilized in support of the struggles of their working-class parents, and that they can be not only mobilized, but also, without pounding their heads, taught why they should participate in these struggles as well as initiate their own struggles, we have proof in our Pioneer movement that this is so—that it has been accomplished. To those "critics," who accuse us of "indoctrinating" our children, let us give our final answer: We are not afraid to indoctrinate because WE KNOW WE ARE RIGHT!

And, knowing we are right, let us answer the war propaganda of the schools and the accompanying "protection" of the children by these people from other "propaganda," counter-propaganda they might receive, with our working-class history and working-class lessons. "Who is going to lead us, teach us?" "You, you, you!" "Lustily sing the Pioneers in 'Strike Me Red!' Let us not disappoint them. Let that 'You' be every mass organization of adults in the revolutionary movement in the United States!

### Greetings to the Daily Worker on May 1st

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| Greetings Section 1, Unit 5 Communist Party  | C P Farrell<br>Sturnina<br>Jean Sobel<br>M P<br>O Florentine<br>I Puglia<br>S H   | P Zanella<br>Unit 13, Sec. 1:<br>Mildred Craig<br>Bill Craig<br>Murray Hagler<br>Gus Ferrara<br>Nat P   |
| Greetings Section 1, Unit 8 Communist Party  |   |   |
| Greetings Unit 3, Section 1 Communist Party  |   |   |
| Greetings Federation Deutscher Arbeiter Clubs 78 East 10th St., New York City  |   |   |
| Greetings Unit 2, Section 1 Communist Party  |   |   |
| Greetings Comrades of Spout Springs, Va.   |   |   |
| Greetings Unit 10, Section 8 Communist Party   |   |   |
| Greetings Unit 27, Section 8 Shop Nucleus of Kalmen & Koening  |   |   |
| Nicholson<br>Sylvia Sapira<br>A Miller<br>C D<br>M Michaelson<br>L E<br>S S<br>M Greenwald<br>W S<br>J Gold<br>M W<br>F R<br>A Fedarowitz<br>D M<br>T Filmus | Wm Kooney<br>Roger Jung<br>E Morgenstern<br>A Friend<br>Mary Wolfe<br>Al Besner<br>Harry Fine<br>S Richmond<br>Irving Hood<br>Jack Goldner<br>M B<br>Unit 9, Sec. 1:<br>Rose Kern<br>Lillian Rosen<br>Unit 1, Sec. 1: | P Baselli<br>Rose Miller<br>Edith Kaplan<br>Eva Karonetsky<br>B Brill<br>C W Chong<br>J Lee<br>Jack Novak<br>Esther Zimmer<br>Lew Setkoff<br>J Chacis<br>Kifaree<br>F Wizar<br>Joe Cascina<br>Chas Weinberg<br>B Shore<br>Edith<br>Crell<br>S Shorr<br>R Kurshin<br>R Miles<br>Peter Serban<br>M Brachik<br>F Ruderman<br>Selma Meller<br>T R Dash<br>A Donner<br>S Baticucini<br>Idah Gehr<br>M B<br>M Gansevach<br>Mary Capinera<br>John Bozco<br>C Matriselani<br>Borich |



# TRAVEL

## MORE AMERICANS TO VISIT SOVIET UNION DURING 1934

### Interest in Workers' Fatherland Growing As Tourists Leave Beaten Paths of Europe

In keeping with phenomenal development in industry, agriculture, education and cultural attainment, the U.S.S.R. is coming into its own as an attraction to the tourist and world traveler. Leaving the beaten paths of Europe, many Americans and other nationals are turning to the wonders of this great land and people, reborn under Socialist construction.

With each succeeding year, more and more travelers add the Soviet Union to their itinerary. The prospects for 1934 indicate that this growth in travel interest is being greatly accelerated. Although American recognition of the U.S.S.R. has played no small part in this development, it must be remembered that the Soviet Union offers the tourist a travel program unduplicated in the world today.

The U.S.S.R. is a vast land of many peoples and many tongues. Its borders enclose one-sixth of the earth's land surface and affords a sufficient variety of climates and scenic wonders to satisfy the most discriminating traveler. In addition to these natural resources, the Workers' Fatherland provides the spectacle of an arriarian nation changed in the course of seventeen short years to second place among industrial nations of the world.

**Scientific and Cultural Advance**  
Keeping pace with its brilliant industrial achievements, the educational, scientific and cultural attainments of the Soviets are attracting world acclaim. Students and professionals from many lands now attend Soviet schools. Special courses, as well as summer study tours, are being offered to Americans who wish to combine travel and study in the U.S.S.R.

In the fields of music, the theatre and art, the wealth of old Russia is now contrasted with the vigorous work of a new generation of artists. The Leningrad Music Festival opens the new season on May 20, and is followed by many other cultural events of signal importance, including the Moscow Theatre Festival in September.

### May Day Celebrations

The 1934 travel season in the U. S. S. R. opens on the spectacle of the huge May Day celebrations in Moscow, Leningrad and other leading Soviet cities, towns and villages. The famous Red Square in Moscow, with the majestic Kremlin as a background, will again be the scene of a day-long review. Visitors will be given a graphic picture of a whole people's advance under revolutionary leadership and social reconstruction.

From the vantage point at Lenin's mausoleum, the outstanding Soviet leaders will review representative departments of the Red Army, the various shock brigades of workers, the trade unions, factory and shop workers, workers in their native peasant costumes... a vast panorama of the whole life of the U.S.S.R.

### Strange Races Seen in Cruise Along the Volga

Seven national republics, each with its own language and customs, are passed during the four-day Volga River trip from Gorki down to Stalingrad. Drawing up to each of the 28 landing stages along the route is like entering a strange port. The signs, slogans and announcements to be found at the various landings are written in many tongues and change almost with every stop.

The seven nationalities to be found along the Volga are the Mariisk, Chuvash, Tartar, Mordva, German, Kalmick and Russian. The names of the languages spoken correspond to the names of the republics, except in the case of the Mari, who in their little republic, have developed two dissimilar dialects. One is spoken by the "Meadow Men" and the other by the "Hill Men."

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Workers from the Trade Unions, Factories and Farms Passing in Review in Moscow's Red Square on May Day

### Visitors Impressed By Soviet Hotels

Returning visitors from the U. S. S. R. are giving the lie to the once-prevalent rumor that accommodations in the larger hostels of Moscow, Leningrad and other leading Soviet cities are not up to the standards of Europe and America. That the quarters, furnishings and services available in many Soviet hotels are all that could be desired is best illustrated by the remarks of two school teachers who have returned from the Workers' Fatherland.

"A great crystal chandelier glowed overhead, a golden clock stood on a marble mantel-piece, a cloisonne vase three feet high stood in one corner and wedgewood was on the dressing table. Beautiful paintings hung from the walls and the room was carpeted with an antique Bokhara. We felt very much as if we were sleeping in the Metropolitan Museum," they said.

Moscow has four hotels used by foreign visitors: the Metropole, the National Hotel, the Savoy and the new Moscow. Leading hotels in other cities of the U.S.S.R. include the London in Odessa, the Orient in Tiflis, the Continental in Kiev, the Leningrad in Lita, the Hotel Europe in Leningrad and the Astoria in Kharkov. While much strictly Russian food is in evidence on the menus, familiar French, German and English dishes are plentiful.

### Yalta, an Outstanding Soviet Summer Resort

Located on the southern shore of the Crimean Peninsula, Yalta retains all of the popularity it enjoyed in pre-revolutionary Russia. On three sides it is sheltered by mountains rising to a height of four thousand feet. On the fourth side are the warm waters of the Black Sea. Commencing almost at the water's edge, the town ascends the steep slopes of the wooded mountains which form a flowering green background for its white villas. The lower part of the town, fronting the sea, consists almost entirely of the lavish palaces of the former nobility, now used as sanatoriums and rest homes for workers and professionals. A broad promenade curves about the oval bay, overlooking the excellent bathing beaches.

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## TRAVEL to the SOVIET UNION

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## Soviet Trade Tour Being Organized

### American Industrialists To Visit Manufacturing Centers in U. S. S. R.

American industry will make one of its first official visits to the land of Socialist construction when delegates from various trade groups and technical societies embark on the Trade Promotion Tour that is now being organized by the American Russian Chamber of Commerce.

The purpose of this mission is to enable American executive, manufacturers, industrialists and bankers to study at first hand the great new mining and manufacturing centers which the U.S.S.R. has developed within the past few years, with a view to future trade.

During the course of their travels through the Soviet Union, special emphasis will be given to the new industrial centers recently established in Siberia and the Ural Mountain region — Magnitogorsk, sometimes called the "Gary of Russia"; Novosibirsk; Chelyabinsk, where there is located an enormous tractor plant; Novo-Kuznetsk in the great copper and coal mine region near the Altai Mountains and Sverdlovsk, one of the chief industrial centers of Siberia.

The group will travel over 5,000 miles into Siberia, visiting those parts of old Russia and Siberia ordinarily inaccessible to the traveler. There they will inspect plants and industrial establishments not generally seen by visitors from abroad.

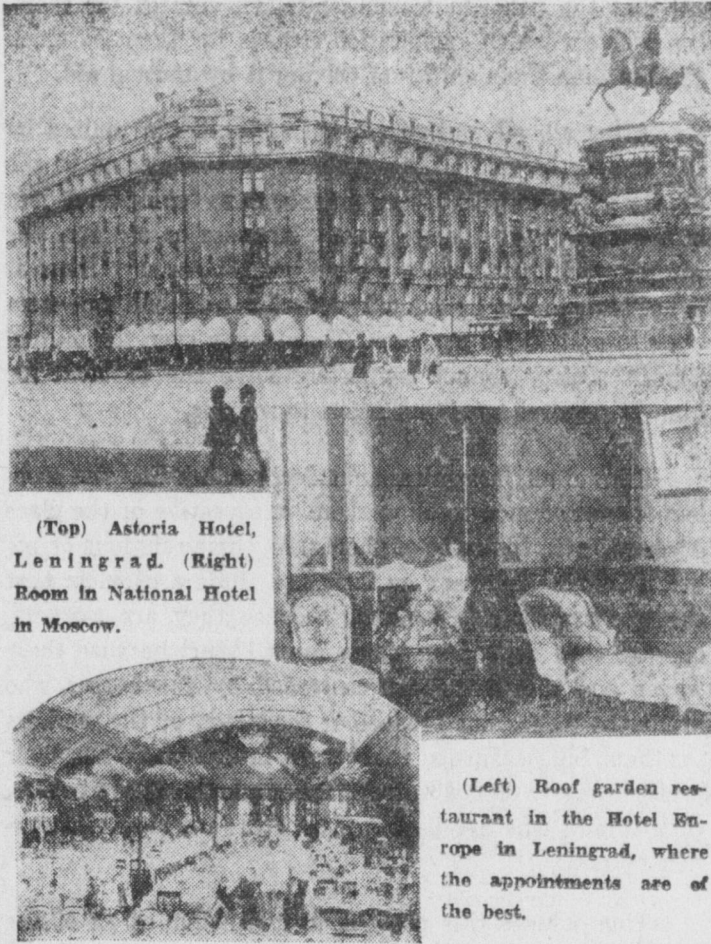
The delegates will make this journey into Siberia on a train of international sleeping, dining and lounge cars, and will be able to spend every night in comfort in their own compartments. Upon their return to Moscow at the end of the tour, a conference will be arranged between the members of the delegation and Soviet industrial leaders.

This Trade Promotion Delegation will sail from New York on June 21 on the S.S. Manhattan. All details of the tour are being arranged and handled by the American Express Company. Special stop-over arrangements in either the U.S.S.R. or Europe, may be secured.

### Woolworth Type Stores in U.S.S.R.

NEW YORK, April 25.—Five and ten cent stores in Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov and other large cities in the Soviet Union, is the latest achievement of "Torgsin," State Corporation for Trade with Foreigners, according to Mr. I. I. Gordoff, new head of the Torgsin representation in the United States, who has just arrived from Moscow. Forty thousand American records for Soviet phonographs have been purchased by Torgsin stores. These were sent on the S.S. KIM on its return voyage from the United States.

### VIEWS OF LEADING HOTELS IN U. S. S. R.



(Top) Astoria Hotel, Leningrad. (Right) Room in National Hotel in Moscow.

(Left) Roof garden restaurant in the Hotel Europe in Leningrad, where the appointments are of the best.

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# TRAVEL

## Many Climates, Languages, Races Found Within Borders of U.S.S.R.

### Wide Appeal of this Vast Land Reflected In Sharp Rise in Spring Bookings

Indications are that 1934 will prove a banner year for travel to the Soviet Union, according to reports from World Tourists, Inc. More Americans than ever are said to be making arrangements for Spring and Summer tours to the U.S.S.R., as well as many groups of workers, students and professionals.

Going into its eighth season, World Tourists, Inc., first American organization to book Soviet tours, offers many unusual services to travelers, as well as to those who have relatives in the U.S.S.R. For example, arrangements can be made for rest cures in Soviet Health Resorts, such as Kislovodsk, Jeleznovsk, Essenkuti, Sochi, Mazeti and the Crimea. The rates are low and can be paid in American dollars. Americans can also procure these rest cures for relatives in the Soviet Union.

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# May Day Greetings of the International Workers Order

## Claim of Bosses That Capitalist Insurance Is Social Insurance Is A Monstrous Deception

By MAX BEDACHT

CAPITALIST insurance companies (and also bourgeois fraternal organizations) insist that their insurance service is a social insurance. Many books have been written by agents of insurance companies on the "social insurance" service of private insurance companies.

There is just enough truth in this claim to make it a monstrous lie. Capitalist insurance companies are as much social institutions as are bread factories. To be sure, both are based on social needs of the masses; but these social needs do not concern the owners of the bread factory; nor do they bother much the grand moguls of the insurance companies. What they are concerned with is profits. Of course they welcome the social need for bread and for insurance. They welcome it not because it gives them a chance to perform a social service by supplying bread or by supplying insurance; they welcome it because this social need forces society to perform a private service to them.

The social need for bread and for insurance forces society to get bread and to get insurance. The masses can get the bread they need and the insurance they need only from the capitalists who own the bread and control the insurance companies.

Neither the grand moguls of the insurance companies nor the owners of the bread factories distribute their wealth to all "social" needs. Both distribute it only to fill their own pockets. When for some reason the masses run out of funds and can no longer pay for their bread or their insurance, both the bread manufacturer and the grand mogul stop the distribution of their wares. Anyway, they stop distributing it to those who, though bitterly in need, can no longer pay for it. The social need continues and even increases, but the "social service" of the capitalists discontinues. The greater the social need because of mass want, the more universal becomes the refusal of the capitalists to serve the need.

The claim of the capitalists that theirs is a social service is a worthless cloak which serves the purpose of making the exploiter of popular needs appear as a lofty social servant. The capitalist tries to pass as a social benefactor. The facts make him a social parasite. He is not a social servant but a modern robber-baron.

No capitalist insurance company can fill the need for social insurance. These companies only exploit that need. Only real social insurance can serve the masses.

### WHAT is real social insurance?

The workers are a class in society which has no other source of existence but wages. They cannot collect wages when they have no jobs. They cannot get jobs in periods of economic crisis. They cannot fill jobs in periods of sickness, disability or old age. In such cases the workers face misery, suffering and starvation. This is not a problem of the individual workers. It is a social problem. The workers suffer as a result of social conditions. The maintenance of the workers is therefore a social duty.

Social insurance must help to solve this problem. Social insurance is a system of insurance which supplies the worker with an income when through no fault of his own he cannot supply it through his own efforts. Social insurance is a system of insurance which begins to operate whenever the worker's wages stop. When the worker loses his job and cannot any longer earn his living, social insurance must supply him with his living in the form of unemployment insurance. When the worker gets sick and can no longer earn a living, social insurance must supply his living in the form of sick insurance.

When old age disables the worker from working, or from getting a job, thus depriving him of his source of life, this source of life must be supplied by social insurance in the form of old age pensions. When maternity interrupts the ability of the working woman to earn her living, she must be supplied with an adequate living by social insurance in the form of maternity insurance. In short, whenever and wherever the worker's ability to earn his living ceases or is interrupted, social insurance must go into operation and maintain the worker and his family.

Social insurance therefore has nothing in common with capitalist insurance companies and their function. It cannot be based on the calculating of actuaries. It cannot be made dependent on the ability of the worker to contribute to the funds out of which payments are to be made. It is not at all the responsibility of the worker to contribute in any form to the social insurance funds. The worker is the sufferer from the condition; his suffering is to be relieved. He is the victim without any responsibility toward the condition.

Social insurance therefore must take its funds from those who are the beneficiaries of the existing society, the profit collectors, not from the workers who are its victims.

tive of race, sex, creed, color or nationality. Second, it provides no limitations in time as to the rights of the workers to this insurance. Third, its insurance payments guarantee the average income of the worker when working. Fourth, it provides the raising of the necessary funds for the insurance out of the profits of the capitalists and out of assignment of funds from useless and detrimental purposes, such as armaments. Finally, it provides a guarantee against the misuse of the social insurance funds by political grafters and corruption-

## The Negro and the Task of Our Order

By SADIE DOROSHIN

THE absence of any form of social insurance in the U. S., the fraternal movement in this country has developed to a very great extent. Membership in fraternal organizations amounts up to many millions. The vast majority of these are workers and farmers. Besides the economic interest the member has in the fraternal lodge, it also serves as a social center. The ordinary worker, farmer or clerk who on his job is known as Bill, John, or Henry, in the lodge gets the title of Sir Knight, Exalted Ruler, Grand Sachem, etc. He puts on his regalia, is greeted by his brothers with his exalted title and goes through his rituals which give him a feeling of exaltation. In this manner he is artificially made to forget the worries about his daily struggle for a living, his problem of getting food, shelter clothing and other necessities for his wife and children. The desires and aims of workers for economic security, mutual aid, brotherly love, and democracy are drowned in the halo of mysticism, and secrecy instead of these aims and desires leading him into the channels of struggle for better conditions. Thus the fraternal organizations in this country play a definitely reactionary role. The workers are made to believe that by living up to the principles of their lodge, universal brotherhood will be achieved. So great a hold have these lodges on the psychology of these workers, that they become important instruments in moulding the political, religious, and moral views in the interests of the bourgeoisie, which leads these organizations.

Above holds true even to a greater extent to the Negro fraternal movement in the U. S. In proportion to their population the response of the Negroes to fraternal organizations is considerably greater than that of the whites. Of a population of about thirteen million Negroes, from three to four million men and women are organized into fraternal lodges. The reasons for this great response of the Negroes to fraternal life is, first of all, their extreme poverty, which create a greater need for mutual aid; then their social ostracism forcing them into closer social contact with each other, thus creating also an outlet for their suppressed national expression. For instance, one of the favorite expressions in the rituals of the Negro fraternal is "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand," meaning that the Negro people will come into their own some day. The biblical expression "the first shall be last and the last shall be first" used in these rituals is another expression giving vent to the national aspirations which, instead of being directed into struggles for the real achievement of their national freedom, are directed into channels harmless to the bourgeoisie.

The Negro occupies the lowest rung on the social and economic ladder. Forced into the most segregated and crowded ghetto, under the most unhealthy conditions, the sick and death rate among the Negro masses is unusually high. In addition to this their inability to provide for the needs that arise in case of sickness or accident and from death makes the Negroes react readily to the illusions spread by the agents and advertisers of the insurance companies. Taking advantage of this situation, the big bourgeois insurance companies exploit the Negroes in the most shameful manner by charging them higher rates for premiums than the whites. Their excuse for this criminal robbery is that the Negroes die faster than the whites. We know that the death rate of any workers living in congested, unsanitary houses with a lack of bathing and heating facilities will be high. The need for mutual aid among workers springs out of their precarious economic condition. They have nothing but wages to depend upon; the cutting off of wages means the cutting off of life itself. There is the constant fear of the insecure future which may bring privation and want to oneself and ones family. As a workers organization, the aims of the I.W.O. are to fight for the elimination of the very conditions bringing about the need for mutual aid, the conditions of low wages, rotten working conditions, miserable living conditions, the sole dependence on wages for a livelihood, with no other economic security, such as social and unemployment insurance. The Interna-

ists by placing the administration of the funds into the hands of the insured themselves.

This Bill is a real social insurance proposal. It is the only real one in existence. All others bear the name of social insurance proposals only to mislead the masses. The International Workers Order as a workers fraternal organization pledges its full support to this Bill. It calls upon its members and upon the millions of workers organized in the fraternal movement in America to organize one solid united front in support of that bill.

tional Workers Order is based on the principle of class struggle. It realizes that these aims can be achieved only through the unity of all sections of the working class, Negro and white, native and foreign born. The ruling class uses the method of splitting the white against the Negroes, the native against foreign born, in order to drag down the standard of all of them. Daily glaring examples in strikes, where one section of the workers is made to act against the others, as on the jobs where the bosses pay the Negroes lower wages. They use them as a club for keeping the standard of the other workers down! Here is a living proof of this. Hence the International Workers Order is particularly anxious to organize within its ranks the Negro workers. It considers it as one of its main tasks to participate in the struggle for Negro rights, which will achieve the unity of Negro and white. Particularly is it the task of the white members of our organization to intensify their activities against every form of race discrimination on the jobs, in their fraternal organizations and wherever it is found. In our present campaign to build the English section we must concentrate most of our efforts to reach the Negro masses, choosing in our concentration plans special Negro territories and shops employing large numbers of Negroes.

In our campaign for social insurance, very special work must be carried on to get Negro fraternal organizations to participate with us in our united front conferences. In our meetings and in our agitatorial material we must raise sharply the slogan of no discrimination against Negroes.

Some success along these lines has already been achieved by us. Our special concentration in the south through sending down a field organizer has already brought into our ranks two adult branches, two children and one youth branch of Negro membership in New Orleans. Our concentration in Harlem, So. Chicago, Crown Heights in Brooklyn, the good work of our comrades in Norfolk, Portsmouth and Richmond, all these are a beginning in this important work. Our present campaign to build the English Section is the most important organizational campaign of our Order. It is a campaign to root ourselves among the basic section of the American working class, the native born. We cannot strike healthy roots among the native born section of the American workers unless a large proportion of those we recruit are our black brothers, the Negro workers of this country. To the extent that we will succeed in building a large proportion of Negro membership in our proletarian Order, to that extent we will be able to serve the workers best as a mass proletarian fraternal organization, taking its proper place in the class struggle for better living and working conditions, for the establishment of a system of social and unemployment insurance.

Make our Order a real challenge to the leadership of the bourgeois led fraternal organizations? Forward to the building of a powerful mass fraternal organization of Negro and white!

## I.W.O. Stresses Need for Social Insurance

The International Workers Order, with its more than 40,000 members, joins the militant workers of the United States and the militant workers of the world in celebration of International May Day. For us May Day is a day of review of our strength; it is a day of pledge to continue to keep our order in the ranks of workers' organizations that struggle for the solution of the problems of the workers.

To carry out this pledge we must first of all keep in mind the need for social insurance. The workers joining our ranks are looking for a solution of the problems created by their economic insecurity. We do our best to help the workers to solve this problem by means of mutual insurance. At the same time we must and do show the workers that the problem which capitalism creates for them, the problem which exploitation creates for them, is much greater than their ability of solving it by mutual aid.

After all, all mutual aid is limited. It is limited by the meager income of the workers. If the income of the worker when he works were big enough to take care of him in the periods of unemployment, sickness or old age, the worker would not need a mutual benefit society. Since it is not big enough, he can only contribute a small amount a week to mutual aid purposes. That is why even the mutual benefit society cannot completely solve the problem for him. It requires a political effort to solve it.

First of all, it requires an understanding that the problem is one common to all workers, irrespective of the place of their birth, the color of their skin, their religious or political beliefs, their sex or their age. It is a problem that the workers have in common because they are workers, because they depend on wages for a living, because these wages and this living are controlled by the bosses who grant the wages not because of the needs of the workers for them, but because of their profit interests. When their profit interests do not warrant the employment of workers, they stop it, whether that condemns the workers to starvation or not.

Thus we see this problem as a problem of all of the workers, and thus we see this problem first of all as one of united action of the workers for a system of social insurance. That is why the I.W.O. endeavors to be a leading factor in the struggle for social insurance.

May Day, 1934, shall receive our pledge that we will multiply our effort in the direction of struggle for social insurance. We shall try to penetrate the millions of workers organized in fraternal organizations in America. We shall try to throw the issue of social insurance into these organizations and thereby raise for the first time a proletarian issue in the bourgeois-infected atmosphere of these organizations. We shall make our organization and the united fronts we are able to establish, the center of most intense propaganda and agitation among the masses for social insurance. We shall raise the issue of social insurance to a most important political issue for the next Congressional election campaign. We shall demand in this campaign that the candidates our members support will be effective social insurance proposal now before us: H.R. Bill 7598.

Thus we hope to make May Day a day of review of our forces, a day in which in this review we will see our weaknesses and unite in the determination to wipe them out and to improve our fighting strength.

Hail May Day, 1934!

Hail the international solidarity of the working class!

Forward in the struggle for social insurance!

## Growing Youth Section of the I.W.O. Provides for Educational and Social Needs of Youth Thruout the Country

By D. GREEN

THE International Workers Order has a youth section which today numbers close to two thousand members. These young workers and students are organized into youth branches in order best to serve the interests of the youth. There are today 95 such youth branches spread across the country from coast to coast. Membership is open to all young workers and working-class students, Negro and white, regardless of race, color, creed or political belief. Those between the ages of 16 to 18 are organized in interme-

diata branches and those between the ages of 18 through 25 into senior branches.

### Mutual Aid Benefits

A young worker can obtain through membership in the Youth Section, sick benefits of \$4, \$6, or \$8, per week. Tuberculosis benefits of \$20 a week, insurance of \$100 up to \$2,000, medical care, dental care and other valuable mutual-aid benefits. The rates are the lowest possible. One can become a member of the youth section for as low as 25c per month.

In the absence of social insurance, the above benefits are of extreme importance to the toiling youth. The youth fortunate enough to be employed, get the lowest of wages. The youth never earn enough to put aside some money for an emergency—when sickness comes, and the wages stop the youth have nowhere to turn for help. The low wages keep the youth continuously underfed and underclothed—this coupled with the extreme speed-up and long hours of work, makes the youth very susceptible to illness and disease. This is especially true of the Negro youth.

The Youth Section not only meets these problems through mutual-aid, but in recognition of the fact that mutual-help coming as it does out of the pockets of the workers, is at best emergency measures, leads in the fight for a full measure of unemployment and social insurance—for the workers' unemployment and Social Insurance Bill H. R. 7598. The Youth Section fights for better conditions in the factories, better sanitation, for protection against industrial accidents in order to prevent sickness.

The Youth Section gives expression to the sport, social and educational needs of the working and student youth—both Negro and white.

Every young worker and working class student is interested in sports. Very little opportunity is afforded the youth for active participation! The existing sport facilities are subsidized and controlled by the bosses. The high fees charged by the "Ys" is beyond the reach of the majority of the toiling youth. "Free facilities," the schools, the community centers, etc., are being more and more curtailed as part of the "economy" program of the government. Through the "bait" of sports, the bosses win ideological control over the youth, developing "patriotism and ingotism" and in this way paving the way for the use of the youth against the working class in strikes—preparing the youth for cannon fodder in the fast approaching imperialist war.

As against this the Youth Section which is affiliated to the Labor Sports Union is developing a workers sports movement. The branches of the Youth Section conduct gymnastics, organize baseball, basketball and soccer teams, conduct track and field events, both outdoor and indoor. We not only develop our own facilities, sport centers, etc., but fight likewise for the opening of the existing facilities for the use of the working class youth. A healthy body and a healthy mind is a prerequisite for the working-class youth who are to fight for a better life.

### Educational Activity

The Youth Section recognizes the fact that the toiling youth who enter its ranks are not necessarily class-conscious. They enter the I. W. O. laden with the ideas and viewpoints of their enemy class, drummed into them from years of contact with the boss-controlled educational system, the boss-movies, boss-newspapers, boss-radio and the boss-culture.

Upon the shoulders of the Youth Section rests the responsibility of providing the cultural and educational antidote to these boss-poisons. The old tenacious boss-psychology must be patiently and consistently broken down. The new healthy working-class ideology must be inculcated in the youth.

This ideology is constructed not only through the media of lecture, discussion, theatre or music. The Youth Section recognizes that the essence of working-class education, the prime fertilizer of the class-consciousness of an individual, is found in direct participation in the daily struggles of the workers for the elimination of unemployment and social insurance and better conditions in the shops. It is in this light that all the educational activities of the Youth Section are conducted.

Youth branches are encouraged to hold short snappy and efficient business sessions, immediately followed by a speaker on a current topic, a general discussion by the membership, a dramatic presentation, mass singing, socialities, scientific demonstration or indoor sports. Wall-newspapers are regular features in the Youth Branches. Regular performing dramatic groups, choruses and occasionally debating circles contribute to the working-class enlightenment of the members. Study Circles on Economics, history of the working class and other vital subjects are conducted by the branches. Emphasis is placed on working class education as the springboard to action in the class struggle.

The National Youth Committee guides the work and through its educational committee issues an organizational and cultural organ—the New Order. This magazine contributes greatly to the enlightenment of the members and creates a wire of contact between the branches throughout the country.

The Youth Section Active in the Class Struggle

The Youth Section in action proves its working class character. The membership and branches of the I. W. O. actively participate in the struggle against War and Fascism in the fight for the freedom of the nine Scottsboro boys and in the struggle against the hunger program of the boss class. At the present time the Youth Section is active in winning the working class youth in fraternal organizations for united action in support of the workers' unemployment and social insurance bill, H. R. 7598.

We extended an invitation to all young workers, both Negro and white, to join the Youth Section of the International Workers Order.

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The International Workers Order is your fraternal organization. In four years it grew from 5,000 to

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—From Lenin's pamphlet on "Cooperation"



# May Day---A Youth Day Against War and Fascism

By GIL GREEN

MAY DAY, 1934, has special significance for the millions of working and student youth of this country and of the entire world. For May Day is International Labor Day, and internationalism this year is more important for the young toiling generation than ever before. May Day, 1934, takes place at a time when the whole world is on the verge of a new imperialist war—a new war for profits. While in the past years the capitalist statesmen and journalists spoke much of peace and disarmament, today they openly speak of the coming war and make no bones about preparing for it. Although the United States still covers its war preparations with pacifist phrases, open war talk is also becoming the order of the day for this country.

The special foreign correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. James, wrote on March 11, 1934: "Hopes of disarmament are thinner now than than at any time since the cry of militarism which ended in 1918. Army and navy budgets are growing all over the world." This is further stated in a special feature article in the Sunday "Times" of April 15, 1934: "The world is not disarming but rearming."

The New York Times, the paper of Wall Street, knows whereof it speaks. For the above applies first and foremost to the United States, especially since its "New Deal."

The last session of Congress went to great pains in surpassing its previous efforts in arming the United States to the teeth. It carried the Vinson Navy Bill, which calls for 65 destroyers, 30 submarines, 1,184 airplanes for equipment on ships under present construction, and a new 15,000-ton airplane carrier. This program will cost from \$475,000,000 to \$570,000,000. Added to previous naval allotments it makes a grand total of about \$1,000,000,000 for a super-navy "second to none."

Although the United States, as all other imperialist countries, tries to make the masses believe that

## Plan Forced Labor On Colorado Water Works

TRINIDAD, Colo.—Work on the city water works here will be done by forced labor from federal "transient camps." The principal work will be the building of a higher dam. The workers are to be paid from 90 cents to \$1.05 a week plus their food and lodging.

The R. F. C. issues relief checks to the local unemployed at the rate of \$9.90 a month for a family of six, \$6.40 to a family of four. Because aged workers 65 years and older receive a "pension" of \$5 a month, they are "ineligible" for relief.

these increased war budgets are solely for "defensive" purposes, the true meaning of the above naval program is admitted by none other than Yates Stirling, Jr., Rear Admiral, United States Navy. This Admiral says, in advocating the above program: "For the purpose of an overseas campaign against an Oriental foe, our battleships are not an asset but a liability. They are now a purely defensive weapon." So the honorable Admiral wants a larger navy, not as our statesmen love to tell us for the protection of our homes, wives and children from the cruel foe, but for purely offensive purposes in the Far East!

**Thousands of Schools Closing**  
At the same session Congress appropriated some \$348,000,000 for the army. This includes larger appropriations for the Citizens Military Training Camps and increased allotments for the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in Junior High Schools and Colleges. This at a time when thousands of rural and city schools are closing throughout the country for lack of finances.

The army budget does not of course include another small item—some \$300,000,000 for six months of the Citizens Conservation Corps. As everyone knows, these corps include more than 300,000 boys from 18 to 25 years of age who work for a dollar a day under army supervision. What a huge military reserve for the army!

All of the above has certainly kept the munitions industries humming. The Vinson Naval Bill when carried immediately boosted the stocks of the U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, etc. Already reports began to filter thru of munition manufacturers activities in bribing Congressmen for increased war orders, of huge profits, etc. The Boeing Airplane Company admitted a profit of 90 per cent on government airplane orders. And this while millions of young men and women are unemployed and hungry. Yes, Roosevelt has certainly given the munitions industry a New Deal.

WHAT does all this mean to the American youth? It means a new imperialist war. A war for the redivision of the territories of the globe among the imperialist giants. A war in which American youth will give their lives to make the markets of the world safe for Wall Street investments.

Behind closed doors the war is being planned. That war will come, is definite. The only questions to decide is against whom and how soon. Japan and Germany with the open support of Great Britain are preparing for an open attack against the Soviet Union. Tension grows between all imperialist powers—U. S. and England and Japan; France, England and Germany; Italy and Germany; England and France, etc. The dies are cast. It is only a matter of time. That is why May Day 1934 is of

special importance for the youth of America. National hatred, chauvinism and patriotism are growing everywhere. The imperialist powers are working overtime to whip up the backward nationalist sentiments of the youth into a war frenzy. Germany's mad man rails against the Jewish people and for war against the Soviets. In the United States race hatred is being created against the Negro people with the aim of destroying the growing unity of Negro and white toilers. Anti-Semitism is growing, and new fascist organizations are being built among the youth (Forest Legion, White Legion, American Legion Juniors, Silver Shirt Juniors, etc., etc.).

**Anti-War Youth Movement**  
But if war preparations and nationalist incitement are growing, May Day will also prove that the united front of youth against war and fascism has also grown. Since the historic Paris International Youth Conference and the U. S. Congress against War and Fascism held last Fall, a powerful united front anti-war youth movement has been created. Hundreds of organizations and tens of thousands of youth have affiliated with the Youth Section of the American League against War and Fascism. These include YMCA's, YMHA's, Settlement and Community Houses, church groups, Socialist youth groups and hundreds of school organizations.

But this movement is only beginning to develop and grow. Anti-war committees are being set up in factories and on ships. State and city anti-war conferences will be held throughout the nation during the month of May. The recent youth anti-war actions were only rehearsals for the powerful mass anti-war and fascist demonstrations to be held throughout the country on Decoration Day—National Youth Day.

THIS is the significance of May Day, 1934, for the American youth. It is a day which must be a mighty answer to the war-mongers, to the fascist inciters. On this day the youth will show their growing solidarity with their class brothers in other lands. They will demonstrate against the preparations for war and fascism at home and against fascism abroad. They will demand the freedom of Thaelmann, leader of the German working class. They will demonstrate their support to the Cuban youth, heroically fighting against American imperialism. They will demonstrate their defense of the Soviet Union and their support of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Young workers, young farmers and students! Join the ranks of the marching millions on May Day, 1934! Show the ruling class that you do not accept national boundaries and national prejudices! You have but one fatherland—the Soviet Union! You have allegiance to but one class—the international working class! Build the united front anti-war movement of the working and student youth and make National Youth Day a powerful anti-war day!

Smash the ugly head of fascism with the mighty fist of proletarian internationalism!

# War Flames In Far East Rising; Japan, Wall St. Feverishly Arm

(Continued from Page 1)

By HARRY GANNES

for the shipment of a huge amount of war planes. These planes have a dual purpose. First of all, they help Chiang Kai Shek in his anti-Soviet war, in an effort to wipe out the Chinese Soviets which cover nearly one-fourth of China, and embrace 100,000,000 inhabitants.

**Role of Chinese Soviets**  
The Chinese Soviets' despite six military campaigns against it, financed by all of the leading imperialist powers, has constantly extended, destroying the landlord-feudal-imperialist grip on the Chinese people in a territory now larger in size than any big capitalist country of Western Europe. They have made enormous improvement in the economic conditions of the people. They have established a central Soviet government in Jukin, Kiangsi province. The regular forces of the Chinese Red Army consists of 350,000 men, and 600,000 in irregular, partisan groups.

Not only have the economic conditions of the Chinese masses been raised, but there has been a great cultural development. Women have been emancipated. Schools and universities are springing up. Throughout all of China, the workers, peasants and students are in increasing numbers rallying to the support and defense of the Chinese Soviets as the best guarantee for the liberation of China.

Japanese imperialism is not averse to attempting to wipe out the Chinese Soviets. In Fukien, on the Yangtze, in North China, it has supplied planes, money gunboats for this purpose. But it figures that that is not alone the objective. They are not wiping out merely for the sake of preserving Chiang Kai Shek.

Wall Street is building its war bases in China in order to get a stronger grip for itself in the Chinese markets. All of the imperialists are speeding towards the dismemberment of China, and Wall Street, through its \$40,000,000 cotton and wheat loan to Nanking, through its heavy shipment of war planes, through its naval race with Japan, is aiming to secure as large a share as possible.

The British and French are active. It is a race to see who can slice up the greatest share of China. The British, with their base at Hong Kong and Kowloon on the South Seacoast of China, with their powerful control in Shanghai, are maneuvering for the lion's share.

The Japanese have already wrenched away Manchuria, and a big section of North China. They are now aiming for Peiping, the ancient capital of China, according to the latest issue of the China Weekly Review, an American newspaper published in Shanghai. The French are penetrating Yunnan and Kweichow, Southern provinces. And the British from India, are

maneuvering in Tibet and Sinkiang, driving towards Szechuan, the Far Western province of China.

China is in the throes of being torn limb from limb by all of the imperialist powers. At the same time, Japanese imperialism is rushing hordes of soldiers, is building military roads and naval and air bases in Manchuria for war against the Soviet Union.

**The Tanaka Document**  
Though none of the capitalist papers have mentioned the fact, the Japanese foreign office declarations of the Japanese war lords is a continuation and confirmation of the famous Tanaka Document, given world-wide publicity by the Communist International.

The latest manifesto of the Japanese foreign office declared "that Japan is called upon to exert the utmost efforts in carrying out her mission in East Asia and fulfilling her responsibilities."

The manifesto goes on to state that Japan "must act single-handed on her own responsibility. Japan considers that no other country except China is in a position to share that responsibility."

No loans, no military aid, no alliances are to be made between China and any other foreign power, declares the Manifesto. So far as Wall Street's actions in China are concerned, the manifesto states:

"For example, supplying China with war planes, building air-dromes and detaching military instructors or advisors to China, or contracting a loan to provide funds for political uses, would obviously tend to separate Japan and other countries from China, and ultimately would prove prejudicial to the peace of East Asia. Japan will oppose such projects."

"Forward to Conquest!"  
It would be well to compare the latest war effusions of Japan, and the war preparations of Wall Street, with the famous memorandum handed by the late Baron Tanaka to the Japanese emperor on July 25, 1927.

In that document, speaking in the name of "interests of self-defense, and the defense of others," and "in the interests of peace and order in the Far East," Baron Tanaka declares:

"With all the resources of China at our disposal, we shall pass forward to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe."

The same document declares war against the Soviet Union is primary. "If the Chinese-Eastern Railway belonging to Soviet Russia develops in this district, then our new continental policy will receive a blow which will inevitably bring about conflict with Soviet Russia in the near future. In this case we shall again be obliged to play the role we played in the Russo-Japanese War. The Chinese-Eastern Railway will

become ours just as the South Manchurian Railway became ours, and we shall seize Kirin as we seized Darien. . . . If we look into the future we must admit the inevitability of war with Russia on the fields of North Manchuria."

Then the document which serves as the basis for all present war-like declarations says:

"In the interest of self-defense and the defense of others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia without pursuing a policy of blood and iron. . . . If we wish in future to gain control over China, we must crush the United States, that is, behave toward the States as we did during the Russo-Japanese War. In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia."

**Roosevelt's War Plans**

The Roosevelt regime has left no stone unturned to increase its military power in China. It has, through the Vinson Bill, provided for a navy "second to none." It is flooding China with war planes, and with military instructors. Yankee imperialism has become the main supporter of the Anti-Communist War of the Nanking regime, in return for which she expects a stronger and a greater foothold in China.

Wall Street's main interests are now centered in Shanghai and along the Yangtze River. The rapid development is a move to spread its colonial influence against Japan and Britain and win all of China for influence and plunder.

The Japanese minister to China, Akiri Ariyoshi, declared recently that two American air bases were being established in Fukien Province, within two hours flying distance from the Japanese island colony of Formosa.

Almost unanimously the Japanese diplomats point out to Wall Street that they are doing in China, what Yankee imperialism does in Latin America. They declare they are setting up an Asiatic Monroe doctrine, setting aside Asia as an imperialist hunting ground exclusively restricted to Japanese plunder, just as Wall Street relegates to itself absolute domination in Cuba, and the Caribbean, and in Latin America.

**Japan's Chauvinism**

Uchiro Yokoyama, Japanese diplomat in Geneva, made it a little more specific, and at the same time increased the chauvinist propaganda of the world. Japan's policy, he declared, is "Asia for the Asiatics." He forgot to add, Asia for the Japanese war lords, with the lynchings of Formosans and Koreans such as been carrying on for decades. It is just such chauvinist propaganda that Japanese imperialist agents carry on in the United States among Negroes. They forget to point out that Japanese imperialism under this policy murdered

25,000 Chinese in Chapel in 1932; that the Japanese war lords have enslaved the 30,000,000 Chinese in Manchuria, and now hold out this perspective for all of China.

Other imperialist conflicts enter into the picture. Japanese imperialism is making secret agreements with German fascism for joint attack on the Soviet Union from East and West. There still exists, also, an old war alliance between France and Japan made in 1908 whereby both countries mutually support each other's claims to spheres of influence and plunder.

So far as Great Britain is concerned the conflicts are more complicated. Britain's chief rival is the United States. At the same time, the Japanese imperialists have penetrated the Indian and African textile markets of Manchester. Recently they have reached an agreement on this matter.

Great Britain is the chief organizer of the anti-Soviet campaign from the West, and supports the U. S. S. R. in Manchuria. Both find their interests conflict with Wall Street in China, and there is every likelihood there exists secret agreements on the division of colonial domination in China between Great Britain and Japan.

The latest news from London indicates a lot of secret imperialist juggling. Quo Tai Chi, Chinese minister to London, visits Sir John Simon, Foreign Secretary, and asks for a joint declaration on the nine-power pact, which is supposed to guarantee the integrity of China. The American ambassador holds some conversations with the same gentlemen.

But according to the New York Times, "The British government today" (April 24) sent a polite reminder to Japan," and Sir John made it clear that his reminder "was a friendly communication."

It is clear that all of the imperialist powers are driving to war for a redivision of the world, for markets and spheres of influence.

One of the first steps taken by Roosevelt when he became president was to prepare for a war of plunder in the Far East, and every step taken since has been to strengthen this war policy. The main activity of the Roosevelt government has been to supply Chiang Kai Shek with war materials and aid against the Chinese Soviets. The Chinese Soviets, and the Chinese Red Army, together with the Communist Party and Red Trade Unions in Kuomintang, Nationalist China, are the bulwark of the Chinese people against all of the imperialist powers and their schemes for the division of China. On the necessity for the destruction of the Chinese Soviets, all of the imperialist powers are united.

As the war flames flare higher, the decision of the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., for the struggle against war and fascism, take

on greater and more immediate significance. Concentration in the basic industries, steel, coal, textile, chemical marine mean anti-war mobilization and activity in the industrial heard of America, in the war machine of Wall Street.

The day-to-day struggles against the increasingly fascist program of the Roosevelt government, for the economic demands of the workers, must be more and more connected with anti-war activities. The building of the revolutionary trade unions, the speeding of the development of revolutionary oppositions in the A. F. of L. and independent unions, becomes one of the most important tasks in fighting against the immediate danger of war.

The objective of intensifying all of our revolutionary concentration must be to led greater and greater masses into the struggle against fascism and war.

We must rally support for the Chinese Soviets, demanding that Wall Street stop supplying the murderous Chiang Kai Shek with war supplies against the Chinese revolutionary workers and peasants. We must more sharply raise the demand of: "Defend the Soviet Union!" We must fight all of the chauvinist propaganda of the New Deal against the Japanese people, calling for united action of the American and Japanese toiling masses against both of their oppressors, and against a new imperialist war in the Far East.

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**Mr. I. I. Gordeeff Appointed New Head of TORG SIN in the United States**



**I. I. GORDEEFF**

NEW YORK, April.—Five and ten kopek stores in Leningrad, Moscow, Khar'kov and other large cities in the Soviet Union, is the latest achievement of "Torgsin," the State Corporation for Trade with Foreigners, according to Mr. I. I. Gordeeff, new head of the Torgsin stores in the United States, who has just arrived from Moscow. These are recent additions to the regular Torgsin stores that sell merchandise for sale to the regular exchange. Imported or foreign goods totaling \$3,000,000 were handled by Torgsin stores in Moscow alone during 1933, according to Mr. Gordeeff.

Torgsin is an entirely original institution. Its 1,700 retail outlets in the Soviet Union deal only in foreign money, gold and silver. In foreign money, gold and silver, relatives of Soviet citizens living in other countries supply some of the funds for purchasing in the Torgsin stores. "This," Mr. Gordeeff explained in a previous assignment in the United States, "is the plan of securing foreign money and gold to help make possible the gigantic expenditures for industrial goods brought in other countries."

"This does not mean to say that the Torgsin stores are the only places where quality merchandise can be secured. Every Soviet citizen has huge co-operative

roughly twenty kopeks to the dollar. Mr. Gordeeff claims that Torgsin prices, when at this exchange, are equal or lower than the United States. Creamery butter of the highest quality, he said, cost 80 kopeks per kilo (2 lbs.), prime meat 34 k. per kilo (7.5 lbs.), and a kilo of ham 45 k. per kilo and a kilo of white bread 17 k. Shoes can be bought for 3.70 roubles, for man or woman, can be obtained for 7.50 roubles.

Mr. Gordeeff, assistant manager of the Torgsin stores in the Moscow district, said that Moscow United States listed 15,000 different articles. "American merchandise of merchandising have been instituted. In some district deliveries of goods are made to the customer and a large mail order service has been set up for outlets in outlying districts."

Torgsin, Mr. Gordeeff pointed out, sells articles and services varying from the daily food staples to automobiles, theater tickets and vacations in health resorts. New stores are being opened almost daily to care for a business that has grown more than 100 per cent since Torgsin was established in 1931.

Forty thousand American records for Soviet phonographs have been purchased in Torgsin stores. These will be sent on the SS KIM, now lying in New York harbor.

**Torgsin Prices Compare Favorably with Those in the United States**

The dollar buys now more than ever in Russia

TORG SIN STORES carry an extensive line of high quality suits, dresses, coats, shoes; cotton, silk and woolen goods,—imported and domestic. Also food stuffs, household utensils, soaps, tobaccos, sweets and countless other articles can be obtained at TORG SIN'S by your relatives IF YOU SEND THEM A TORG SIN ORDER.

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Woman's suits . . . . . 7.30 "	Sugar (2 1-5 Lb.) . . . . 22 "
Children's shoes . . . . . 1.50 "	Chocolate (100 gr.) . . . 16 "
	Cigarettes (100 piece) . . 72 "

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Icor, Biro Bidjan Corp.	Union Bank & Trust Co., Los Angeles
Manufacturers Trust Co.	Citizen's Ntl. Trust & Savings Bank, Los Angeles
Public National Bank & Trust Co.	The Anglo California Ntl. Bank, San Francisco
R. C. A. Communications, Inc.	American Trust Co., San Francisco
World Tourists, Inc.	First Ntl. Bank, Portland, Ore.
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# Soviet Workers' Letters Describe Giant Strides of Industry and Culture in the USSR

## Woman Shock Brigader Describes Huge Auto Plant at Gorki, U.S.S.R.

Dear Comrades in the United States: Thank you for your letters. I have received so many of them that it is not physically possible for me to answer each one of them separately right now. Just a few days ago I returned from the city of Gorki, where I had been delegated to go by my factory organization. Such "commands" are given to the workers so that they may exchange the knowledge they have gained in the experience of their work.

The city of Gorki is the one-time Nizhni-Novgorod, the famous provincial city of old where the merchants of East and West met to barter and trade their wares; now become a thriving industrial center of the Soviet Union. The pride of the city is the recently constructed gigantic auto plant.

The enormous four-story building has large, light flashing windows in the principal departments of the factory. Beyond them, out in the court-yard, covered with asphalt, have been placed a few of the enormous outdoor, separate buildings of the same gray color and with the same enormous windows. These buildings also house various departments of the factory. An exceptional orderliness is to be found within the factory. Cleanliness, asphalt floors, the machinery and their frames polished so that they shone, the windows brightly rubbed up, and huge ventilators.

Each worker is protected by a safety apparatus which is fastened about the frame of his machine. In the course of the order of the factory it is required that each worker wear a certain head-dress in order to keep his hair from being caught in the machinery by any chance. In each section there is a "Red Corner," that is to say, a very large, wide room, arranged with small chess tables, armchairs, and tables for the distribution of newspapers and magazines; there are portieres hanging on the windows and doors, lamps on the tables adorned with green lampshades. In such rooms the workers pass the hours after dinner and after their work during the day is finished.

The dining room is a huge hall, a part of which is glass partitioned to separate the kitchen from the larger room. The floor of the kitchen is white tiled; huge ranges on the top of which are arranged large nickel pots and containers and frying pans; on long tables under netting are lying the different products safely protected. Large tubs of constantly running water serve for the washing of the dishes. The remainder of the dining-room is the capacity of the dining-room; not very large tables with places for four people are covered with clean table-cloths, and on each of these stands a vase of flowers. Waiters bring the various dishes to the tables. During dinner time the workers play in the dining-room. In no time at all the worker has been served with a clean, appetizing meal.

IN THE near vicinity of the factory is to be found a club house and a sport hall. Very often in the club are to be heard lectures by doctors, engineers. Theatrical productions are put on, literary discussions held, entertainments and concerts with the very best talent which the city can offer are given. Every day at the club the Workers Circles study and have their meetings: Technical, Military, Shooting, Chemical, Artistic, Photography, Dramatic, Literary, Art, and other similar circles. Often chess and checker tournaments are arranged. Every day in the sport hall circles of workers conduct their games and exercises under the direction of experienced instructors. Near at hand there is a very good swimming pool with every convenience. Ten minutes walk from the factory are the workers' apartment houses. A huge building is apportioned off into rooms or apartments according to the number of persons in a family. And in some of the apartment houses are to be found clubs where the workers may spend a few of their leisure hours. In the corridors, rooms, and kitchens an exemplary cleanliness reigns. In the various houses there is a sleeping hall for the children, and in the evening a recitation of specially trained women, they pass their time in play and study.

The workers' little city, their homes, left me with the same agreeable and satisfied impression that the factory itself had.

The giant Gorki Auto Plant has been built near the River Oka, on a site where once wild ducks and other smaller birds found hovering about marsh lands hid among the bushes—built for the most part by people who had never before in their lives seen machinery of any kind. Here you will find the representatives of the last remaining of rapidly disappearing nationalities, the inhabitants of Gorki: Chuvash, Cheremiss, Tartar, Mordvi, Votyak, and the Zypa. Not so very long ago before they had joined the kolhozes they were using ploughs, and working with axes and spades, sitting on the schoolroom bench, and now many of them know not only how to run and repair machines, but occupy responsible positions as well.

DURING our visit in Gorki the factory celebrated the anniversary of its second year of existence. I and my comrades, who had made the trip with me, were invited to the ceremony. Everybody in the shop held in the Katanvinski Palace. The entire hall seemed lit up by a flame. Stretched across the wall on a long red banner brightly flashed the words of Comrade Stalin: "We had no automobile industry—and now we have!" During the course of the event the director of the fac-

ory gave an account of his work to the workers, and after the director had finished speaking the workers' engineers and technicians made speeches. The speakers told not only of the progress made in the factory, but of defects and faults in their work, which unfortunately, are still an occurrence and against which it is an absolute necessity to struggle with all the strength possible.

During the two years of its existence the Gorki Auto-Tractor Factory, in the name of Molotov, has turned out 36,390 trucks and light machines. It was in a machine produced at the Gorki Auto-Tractor Factory that the famous run across the desert of Kara-Kum was made. The machine passed the test for speed and sturdiness.

During my stay in Gorki I had the opportunity of conversing with many workers. And all of them asked me to send their warmest greetings to the workers on the Daily Worker staff, and also to all their American comrades.

In order to give you some idea of the types of our workers I shall bring a few examples to your attention. Here is Mary Bobroff, a working woman. For many years, as a day laborer, she hired out in the service of the priests and rich peasants, "kulaks." Now she is working at the Gorki Auto Factory, as a "shock worker." A polisher. Rather a boring art. And she is planning to study to be a lathe-worker.

You have 19-year-old Misha Macksmoff, a Komsomol, who turns out to be for the present the most efficient worker in his group. And here you would also meet Garasima Firshiff, once a house-painter, whom the factory has raised to the place of one of the older masters in the assembling section.

Almost all the really responsible positions in the factory are held by just such people. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat gives each worker the opportunity to grow and go ahead. What the worker succeeds in accomplishing depends entirely upon his wish to work and to study.

With this last I bring my letter to a close. I ask my American comrades, where they can, to send me snapshots and magazines.

With comradely greetings,  
ANNA SMIRNOVA.

## Organize Rank, File Opposition Group in Seaman Body Factory

MILWAUKEE, Wis. — A strong, broad rank and file opposition group has been organized here following the recent strike at the Seaman Body Corporation. The group is fighting for rank and file control of the A. F. of L. union and for militant action in the shop.

The Communist Party has organized a nucleus in the shop which is growing in strength and becoming active in the day-to-day struggles of the workers. The workers are buying the Daily Worker, which is sold before the shop gates and at union headquarters.

The Daily Worker is America's only working-class daily newspaper. It fights for the interests of the working class. A subscription for one month daily edition costs only 75 cents. Send your sub today. Address, Daily Worker, 50 E. 13th St., New York City.

# COMRADE VICTOR

By ANNA NEMSER

The first May Day demonstration in my memory occurred in Odessa in 1903.

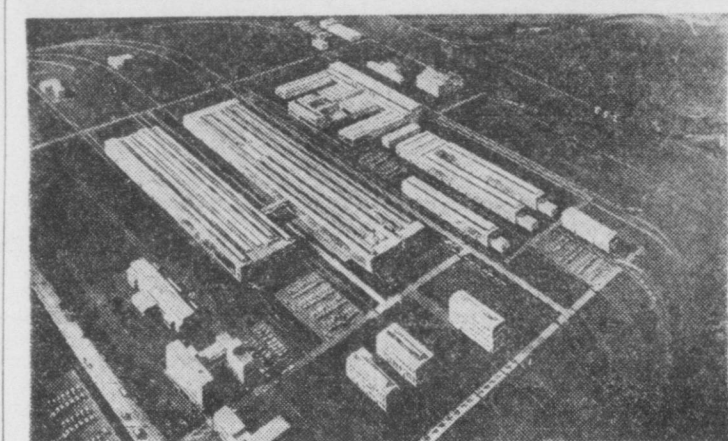
I had been working from my earliest childhood. By 1903 I was already a full-fledged worker, with a working background of five years—yet I was not much over eleven years of age. I worked in a big printing plant which employed about 250 people. In connection with the printing shop, we did book-binding, made fancy stationery, envelopes and many more things in the paper line. Quite a number of girls were working at producing envelopes. The hours were quite long and the pay very miserable. We had no union, no free speech, no right to organize. The boss could have done as he pleased with us. He acted according to the dictates of his conscience. We knew very little of the boss, but we certainly felt the power of the manager.

Very often the manager walked over to a setter or a pressman and said to him, "Take your coat and hat and leave my shop," without any explanations. The reason was that the worker looked too intelligent and it was dangerous for the shop manager to have him among workers in the shop.

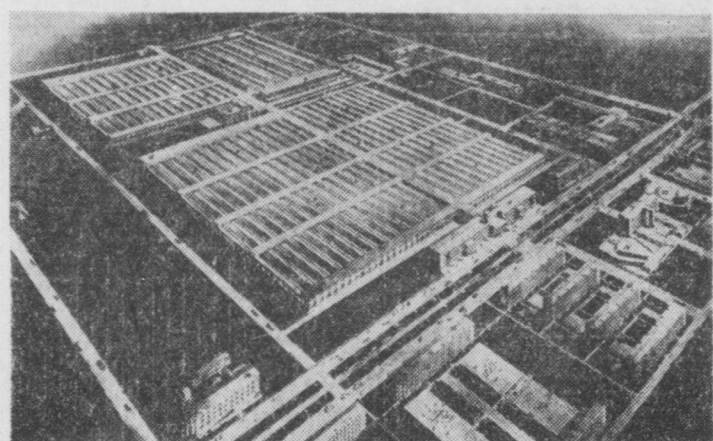
I remember in our printing department there were always a few good workers who were ready to share their knowledge with other workers, but for fear of losing their jobs, were very careful.

Among these workers was one pressman named Victor. Victor was about 23 years of age. He was full of the devil. Everybody in the shop liked him. During lunch hour, in the factory yard Victor talked to everyone. His humor passed from ear to ear. His Russian songs always ended with a Russian dance—the Kazatskia. The yard was very lively at lunch time when Victor was there. His humorous, stinging

## Two of the Huge Factories Built by the Workers in the Soviet Union



THE MOLOTOV AUTO PLANT



THE KAGANOVITCH BALL BEARING FACTORY

# The Soviet Crimea--How the USSR Provides for the Health of Workers

By Dr. HARITONOFF

I AM by origin a worker. When I was 18 years old, that is to say at the beginning of the October Revolution, I worked as a soldier in Tula. During the Civil War I worked as a Sanitarian at the front. In 1921 I was sent to study in the School of Surgery where I was to learn to be an assistant, and at the finish of this school I was to go to the Medical Faculty in Moscow.

After I finished the Medical Faculty I was detailed to work in the Crimea, as my lungs were not in the best condition. In the Crimea I worked as a doctor and a Sanitary doctor for those who have had pulmonary trouble for more than 12 years.

I not only became completely cured myself but I witnessed how ten persons with sick lungs, choking with microbes as they coughed, from six to eight months, become completely cured by an intriguing process, and returned to their work completely healthy.

The Old Crimea Until the Revolution, the Crimea served as a playground for the Tsar, the rich landlords and factory owners. The Sanitarium where I work is found in Yalta on the shore of the sea, and among mountains which reach a height of 450 metres—formerly a palace of the Tsar Alexander III. The palace was built as a caprice of the Tsar 30 years ago, and after its completion was at no time occupied by him. It is surrounded by plantations of grape vines and gardens of fruit—fruit which is considered the very best in Europe. There are forests and alley ways of flourishing cypress trees.

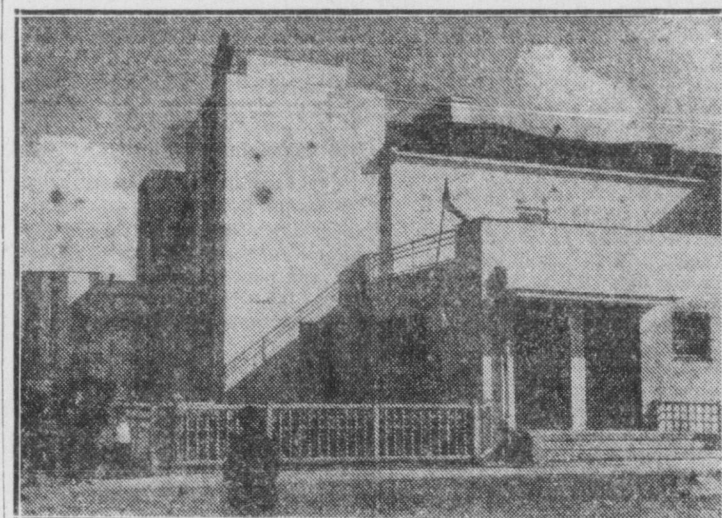
Crimea Under the Soviet The Soviet government has transformed the Crimea from a playground of the Tsar, rich landlords and factory owners, into a resort for the people where hundreds of thousands of workers from the fields and factories regain their health anew. At the present time in the Yalta Sanitarium there is room to provide for 25,000 patients, and during the year around 400,000 persons are taken care of. All the palace buildings, villas, and every suitable large house containing from ten to twenty rooms, is made use of in the Sanitarium.

In the one-time palace of Nicholas at Livadi is now organized a sanitarium for peasants. Since the establishment of Soviet Power a whole group of new sanitariums, outfitted with the very latest in modern technique, has been built: and whereas before the Revolution even a more or less independent worker with a better education could not now afford to go to the Crimea, now our guests with no exceptions are factory and mill workers—workers but recently placed at work in new factories and construction jobs, peasants from Kolhozes, Sovhoz workers, specialists, technicians, doctors, engineers, and other kinds of workers.

Types of Patients During my long practice in the Crimea I have run up against all types of illnesses and patients. You have a man who was once a homeless child. After the Civil War and the Intervention, through the efforts of the Children's Home he managed to finally achieve the Workers' Faculty. When he came to us he was already an engineer. Another who was a day laborer in the fields of a very rich landlord, now the director of a Sovhoz. Here a worker-inventor rewarded for perfecting a machine for his factory by an order on a resort. And again a one-time poor man, now a Kolhoz worker, and taking his first train journey although he is a man of some 40 years.

Here you will also find Khirgiz, Turkish girls, Mongolians from far

## A Workers' Club in the U. S. S. R.



It is in such modern structures as the one pictured above that Soviet workers retire for rest, reading, games and discussion during their free hours. The most luxurious residences of the former Czarist nobles are used as rest homes for workers in need of regaining their health. The accompanying article describes the activities in such homes.

and whereas before the Revolution even a more or less independent worker with a better education could not now afford to go to the Crimea, now our guests with no exceptions are factory and mill workers—workers but recently placed at work in new factories and construction jobs, peasants from Kolhozes, Sovhoz workers, specialists, technicians, doctors, engineers, and other kinds of workers.

These workers, kolhoz workers, and engineers are sent here to be treated by their respective factories, mills, kolhozes, departments of Social Insurance, Professional Unions which not only contribute to the funds necessary for their treatments but their entire train fare as well—giving the patient's family his full salary during his absence to live on.

Right near us is found a children's sanitarium, "El Sholyada," with places for 220 beds, which are occupied by children of Moscow workers suffering from tuberculosis from one to two years. They are treated free of any charge whatsoever and under the very best possi-

ble conditions, with doctors near at hand to give them every care, and teachers who supervise their studies in the school which is conducted right on the grounds for their special benefit. Besides their duties the doctors are able to carry on extensive scientific research work. Each doctor on duty makes use of the free laboratory, the Institute for electrical-water-mud baths, consultations with the best specialists, and a fine scientific library, in the interests of and for his patients.

Resorts Throughout U.S.S.R. In the describing Yalta I forgot to add that resorts and sanitariums are to be found everywhere within the territory of the Union. As a rule each city boasts its Night Sanitariums for workers with weak lungs. Night Sanitariums are organized for workers who are able to work, but whose organisms are weakened. After the working day, these comrades repair to the sanitarium where a special dinner is set before them; later they have supper, and in the morning before they leave for work, breakfast, whereas they have their lunch with them at the factory. Such people are always under the very careful observation of the doctors.

In the presence of such conditions, special food, and a daily regime of treatments in the Night Sanitariums the weakened organisms of the patients become imbued with new strength which prevents the development of tubercular germs and those of other diseases.

At present sanitariums are being built in various agricultural centers with places from 50 to a 100 beds. Everywhere treatment, good food, and care is free, as is all medical aid in the U.S.S.R.

Write me of the conditions under which your medical men and hospital workers practice. Would it be possible to arrange an exchange of scientific magazines and newspapers? I am looking forward to an answer from my American comrades, and in particular from my fellow workers in the medical field.

The Daily Worker keeps you informed of the world-wide struggles by the working class against unemployment, hunger, fascism and war. The Daily Worker for one month daily or six months of the Saturday edition costs only 75 cents. Send your sub to the Daily Worker, 50 E. 13th St., New York City.

## The Forgotten Men of The Furniture Industry In the Berkshires Revolt

By JACK MCCARTHY (Organizer, Furniture Workers Industrial Union, Boston)

In Gardner, Mass., and the surrounding towns (Winchendon, Athol, So. Royalston, Leominster) some 12,000 workers are employed at the furniture industry and allied trades. For years these workers have remained unorganized and were left to the mercy of the bosses' program of wage cuts, speed-up, long hours, etc.

During the summer and fall of 1933, after the blanket code had been announced by the President with its specified minimum of wages for the various industries, the wages of the furniture workers in these Berkshire towns were so low that they had to strike to enforce even the minimum set by the blanket code.

As a result of this struggle on the part of the workers, an independent union of furniture and allied trades workers was organized. When Washington got wind of this strike, Anna Weinstock, federal conciliator and notorious strike-breaker, came down to send workers back to work with arbitration agreements. In this strike-breaking activity Miss Weinstock had the co-operation of the officials of the independent union, the majority of whom were active members of the Socialist Party.

Miss Weinstock made beautiful speeches to the forgotten men of the Berkshires, about the glories of the New Deal and the N. R. A. and how terribly unpatriotic it would be for them to interfere with the President's program for recovery. Norman Thomas, on his part, had told the members of the Socialist Party and other workers through the columns of the New York Times and the New Leader that the N. R. A. was a step towards Socialism. The result was that some of these splendid proletarian fighters in the ranks of the S. P. fell victims to Norman Thomas' and the official S. P. endorsement of the N. R. A.

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The general sympathetic strike lasted from Thursday, March 8, until the following Monday morning. Here the union officials made a serious mistake in not immediately raising with the workers the demands for a general wage increase, for improved conditions and recognition of the union. On the return of the workers on Monday morning the companies immediately started a black-list campaign.

At the time of the mass walkout of the workers on the picket-line, Axel Bachman, president of the union, tendered his resignation as a protest against the violation of the injunction, at which time he attacked the militant elements that were responsible for this splendid demonstration of solidarity. The workers, not recognizing the significance of this act, foolishly refused to accept his resignation in spite of the fact that they rejected his anti-mass picketing policy.

Then Mr. Charles G. Wood, federal conciliator, was sent for and rushed to Gardner to break this strike and to prevent it from spreading to other shops in Gardner and the surrounding towns. He immediately arranged a conference where, after a 10-hour session, 9 out of 11 strike and union representatives signed an arbitration agreement as a basis for settling the strike. One of the union officials, Ted Akin, and one of the strikers refused to sign this document; while Leslie Richards, the union lawyer, signed it. Under the pressure of the workers, between midnite and the next day's strike meeting, Richards changed his mind.

At this strike meeting, Friday, March 16, Bachman came out openly for settling the strike on the basis of this instrument drawn up by Wood. It provided for the taking back of 90 per cent of the workers immediately and the other 10 per cent within 30 days. The workers work for them, which obviously meant the blacklisting of the most militant strike leaders. It further provided that arbitration should proceed on a departmental basis, which meant that the employer could give a few cents wage increase to key individuals in the shops, thus preparing the union way to divide the workers and destroy the union. At this meeting a motion was carried to postpone the vote on the settlement till the next day because of the small attendance.

That afternoon Bachman was seen by the workers in conference with representatives of the company; and labor company representatives were sent to the homes of the workers to take a vote on the strike-breaking agreement.

Sunday morning George Roever, Socialist Party lawyer from Boston, went to Gardner. He, with Bachman, held conferences with the Seibert Company which resulted in their coming back with an agreement that promised a 5 per cent increase in wages, recognition of the union and arbitration of the balance of the 30 per cent.

At the meeting on Sunday afternoon George Roever urged the workers to accept this as a basis for settlement and promised them that he, as arbitrator for the union with Charles G. Wood as "neutral" arbitrator, would be any of the strikers the price of an automobile that he would get 30 per cent as a result of any such arbitration.

The militant strikers fought bitterly against this sell-out. Finally Roever succeeded in putting it through. At the end of the meeting three members of the Socialist Party stood in front of Roever and tore up their Socialist Party books as a protest against his treachery, and lack of confidence in the policy of the officials of the S. P.

## A Narrative of the First May Day Celebration in Odessa in 1903

In the beginning we forced ourselves into the other factories to take off the workers. But as the army of marchers grew larger and larger, it became much easier to call the workers down. Like an echo, it reached all the ends of our big city, Odessa. Our ranks increased by the thousands. Our leaders were in the forefront, shouting and calling down the workers from the factories we were approaching. We walked miles and miles from the upper end of the city to the lower. We made sure that there was not one worker left in a working place. Thus we came to the outskirts of the city called Bagaevka.

Thousands of workers were gathered there. On the lightly-dressed trees speakers were standing high, holding on to the branches, addressing the workers. Hundreds of leaflets were flying in the air and the workers were fighting to get copies for themselves as though they were jewels.

The words uttered by the orators were strong as dynamite, piercing through the hearts and minds of the workers, words that called to struggle, to a determined struggle that would bring victory for the working class. In answer to the orators' call, the proletariat, with determination in their eyes and closed fists, were to continue the struggle for the final victory to come.

I was bewildered and listened to every speaker, fearful to miss a word. I wanted the day to last forever, but the day was coming to an end. The sun set, it became cooler, but the fiery speeches which flowed us warm and closer together.

Suddenly, from nowhere, shots from a revolver were heard, and

Victor fell from a tree. His profuse bleeding body was stretched out, relaxed. In his right fist was tightly held the branch which broke off as he fell down. He was dead. A terrible panic embraced the workers, but no one moved—they remained stoned to the ground. A thunderous curse from the workers was echoed all through the vicinity. Sads and angry faces, with clenched fists raised to the pink-blue sky, raised their voices mixed with anger, shouting "Revenge!"

As our voices grew louder we did not notice from the distance the approach of Cossacks, gendarmes, soldiers, police on horses and on foot and galloping toward us. Bullets were flying in the air, the unarmed workers running in all directions. The bullets were flying over the heads of the workers. If they missed one, they hit another. The unarmed workers were defending themselves by throwing stones toward the enemy. Screams and shouts were heard for miles and miles. It was an unequal fight. The strength was on the side of the police. The workers were dispersed from the Bagaevka, and those that remained were dead. The ground was saturated with workers' blood.

I did not know how long I walked, but eventually I found myself home. My parents, brother, and sisters, with their frightened faces, surrounded me, showering me with questions.

I could not answer a word. It was too impressive, too grotesque. I felt my tears were stifling my throat. I noticed nobody in the house. Before my eyes all the time was Victor's stretched-out body, his wounded heart bleeding, making the ground wet with his blood. His words were ringing louder and louder in my ears. I sat shakily, my head and talking to myself.



# AS ONE AIR-PILOT TO ANOTHER

By a Group of Pilots and Mechanics

Note: This column marks the beginning of a weekly feature dealing with all branches of the aviation industry. It will appear every Saturday. We invite all aircraft workers, pilots, mechanics, or others connected with the aviation industry to write to us.

THE romantic era of the professional transport pilot has passed. The era of the pilot-entrepreneur is passing. For the pilot has become a commodity.

It all came about with the materialization of his early dreams of the day when aviation would become an industry. And it has left the pilot in a position he did not picture in his early dreams.

He pictured in his early dreams a transport system, winged and speedy, far flung over blue sky airways ingeniously controlled. He pictured wide spread airports, shiny buildings, wonder ships. He pictured passengers and cargoes. He pictured factories, schools, and many people flying. And, somehow, in all these dreams, he pictured himself on top, controlling with the practical hand of experience these mammoth enterprises of the air.

He didn't picture bankers, finance and monopoly, which doesn't give a snap for dreams or pilots, but does for profits. We didn't picture routine flying, routine hours being boosted, wages being cut. He didn't picture unions, wage-fights, unemployment.

In short, he didn't picture himself as a wage earner. And still that is precisely what he has become.

And so the pilot has become a commodity, for that is what the labor power of a wage earner is. A wage earner's ability to work, is a commodity in the labor market like a sack of corn is a commodity in the grain market.

But not only has he become a commodity. He has become a surplus commodity. He has become, in part, a commodity for which there is no market.

HERE we must take leave of our analogy between the pilot and the sack of corn. They are both commodities, it is true. And today, it is also true, they are both surplus commodities. But the pilot is human, and the sack of corn is not. So, when the pilot's price, as a commodity, is pushed down and down until as a surplus commodity, it gets down to nothing, he is not content to lie on a shelf, inert and rotting, as a sack of corn is, but is rather stirred to action. He is stirred to the action of organizing himself, of banding together with other pilots, of forming a union.

of protesting to the N. R. A. labor board, of even threatening to strike. Nor is all this fanciful theory on our part. It is actual, factual history on the pilots' part. Witness the Air Line Pilot's Association. (A. F. of L.), the Aeronautic Federal Workers Union, etc.

It is a beginning. It is a beginning which must be followed through. We who are not ailing pilots must support this beginning. But even as the airline pilots could not make this beginning as individuals, but only as an organization, so we cannot support them as individuals, but only as an organization. We pilots who are not airline pilots must also organize.

But further: even as the individual airline pilot is realizing his inability as an individual to effectively resist the pressure which was shinking his living standard in the midst of an expanding industry, and is forced to seek the support of fellow pilots, so will pilots as a group realize their weakness as merely a group of pilots, and will be forced to seek additional support. They will find it only among other workers in the industry who are faced with the same problems of wage reductions and unemployment that the pilots are faced with.

The caste relation of officer to enlisted man, created by the military tradition in aviation, must be broken down between pilot and mechanic.

ARLINE pilot and private pilot, employed and unemployed pilot, airline mechanics and private mechanics, employed and unemployed pilot and mechanic, office man and factory man, must all band together. We must organize and support each other. For wage cuts and unemployment are not respecter of persons. But wage cutters and lay-off artists are respecters of organized mass action.

We, a group of pilots and mechanics, believe this. We have banded together to seek ways and means of translating this belief into action. We call on every individual in the industry who believes with us to do the same. We call upon all to help us translate this belief into action.

Now what we say is, in unity and organization is our strength. And this means pilots too, shiny and romantic pilots, the superman of tradition, who are rapidly becoming only worried men of reality, whose wages are being cut, whose jobs are becoming scarcer, who are wondering how to pay their rent and even, more and more, where there next meal is coming from. Come along and join us. We as a group of Pilots and Mechanics issue an invitation. Let's see what we can do to help ourselves.

# Fear of Mine Strikes Forces Pay Raise; But Mine Companies Increase the Rents and Price on Lamps

## Owes Company for Slave Work; Is Refused Due Wage

### Mine in Ohio Is Tricky Death Trap; Imperils Workers

By a Mine Worker Correspondent. POWHATAN POINT, Ohio. — I left Premier, W. Va., the day after Christmas. The reason was that I owed the company for working. I had a balance of \$38 and on Nov. 15 pay I jumped out \$9; on the second pay in November I jumped out \$7 and on Dec. 15 pay I broke even. The day before Christmas I went to the store and I asked for \$5 scrip and the book-keeper tried to give me one dollar. I had worked \$9 out and I only had \$4 scrip. He refused to give it and I left Premier.

This is the scheme to get rid of active members from the local union at the Powhatan Mine. The mine is not so safe to haul a man trip in. The haul-way is bad top hanging rock that is cracked one inch and has sagged down one inch and the mine management don't care. Some of these days a piece of stone might fall in the car and then a few men will be killed.

It happened about one month ago as a man trip was coming out and it just passed under one of them. The rock and the other trip was blocked as the rock fell right after the first trip passed and the last trip had to walk from 12 Left; that is a good three-quarters of a mile. All of this is going on at the Powhatan Mine.

## Miners Boo New Wage Scale Set by U.M.W.A. Officials and the Bosses

By a Mine Worker Correspondent. VESTABURG, Pa. — The local union 762 of the United Mine Workers of America met April 7th, to take up the new wage agreement that was sent by the International officials. There were many rank and file present. When President Sam Rhodes began to read the new wage scale, there were many hisses and boos, and finally the rank and file rejected the rotten scale. And the rank and file members demanded that a committee be elected to go to the district to take some of the rotten clauses out of the agreement. The Communist Party calls upon the miners to fight for these demands: Abolish the hard safety caps and goggles; \$6 a day, 6 hours and 5 days a week, with an increase of wages according to the increase of the price of commodities; against speed-up; equal rights for Negroes, foreign-born or non-citizens; support the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill (H.R. 7598).

## All Birmingham Mines on Strike; 10,000 Out

By a Mine Worker Correspondent. ENSLEY, Ala. — I'm sorry that I ain't got any more money than this to send you but I just can't get the money. The workers ain't got it. Every coal mine in Birmingham, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Co. is on strike now and they are rais-

## Lewis, Other Mine Fakers Hail Small Gain As a Huge Victory to Boost Themselves

By a Mine Worker Correspondent. LIBRARY, Pa. — Fear of mine strikes forced pay rise, and hour cut for the day men to \$5 a day, but a wage cut for the coal loaders of 72 cents.

This represents important gains for only the day men, and John L. Lewis hails this as a gain for the miners. But Lewis conceals the fact that these gains were made only to further divide the day-men and the coal loaders in case of strike, and on the basis of this wage increase for the day men to \$5 a day for seven hours, the coal company's increase house rents, powder and everything in the coal company's stores, and already the coal companies have increased house rents as high as \$4 a month.

But, what about the coal loaders' wage scale of 56 cents a ton and seven hours a day? No coal loader can load much coal in seven hours at 56 cents a ton as he did in eight hours at 52 cents a ton. Instead he received a wage cut of 72 cents a day.

But what about non-payment of dead work? What about the stealing of coal by the coal company from the coal loaders from 100 to 350 pounds on each car, for so-called dirty coal? What about the raise on powder, rents and everything in the coal company store? Under this April new agreement of \$5 a day for the day men and 72 cents wage cut for the coal loader, this is what John L. Lewis and the coal operators conceal, and hail this as a financial gain for Lewis and Co., but not for the coal loaders.

This is what Lewis and Co. calls a remarkable demonstration of the efficiency of collective bargaining in the Western Penna. coal industry, and believes that tremendous good will follow with this magnificent betrayal of the starving coal loaders in Western Penna. But the starving coal loaders here see through J. L. Lewis and Co.'s magnificent betrayal and is talking of strikes—not for 65 cents a ton, but for 70 cents a ton to meet the wage increase of day men and the higher rise in prices for rent, powder and food and that they would not be kept back by Lewis and his trusted lieutenants; their fines and the anti-strike clause.

And to show how the coal company is carrying out the agreement here, and what happens to any miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America if he tries in the mine or in his local union meeting to force the company to carry out their agreement, or if he is only talking about it, they get laid off or discharged for dirty coal, or for other excuses of the coal company. In that way, no union miner dares to say anything against his conditions in the mine to the mine foreman or at his local union meetings. If he does, he gets discharged for dirty coal next day. Only through mass militant action, rank and file leadership, can we win better wages and working conditions for the miners—not by Lewis' policy of class collaboration, and remember, what you get from the coal companies without struggle is not worth having, and on this point Lewis protects the coal operators through his no-strike clause and fines.

Our shortcoming is that we have not as yet exposed J. L. Lewis' new agreement and his magnificent betrayal of the coal loaders.

## Alaskans Demand Action To Fight Huge Price Rise

### Wages Sink in Mines; Prices 300% Higher Than in U. S.

(By a Mine Worker Correspondent). FAIRBANKS, Alaska. — Alaskans are subject to the same cuts as those in the United States, although living expenses are about 300 per cent higher here than in Seattle, Wash.

Even our delegate in Congress did not state the facts accurately, or rather his comparisons are misleading. In his remarks in the Congressional Record, 73rd Congress, second session, printed January 12, 1934, he compared the prices of the necessities of life in Seattle with Ketchikan and Anchorage, Alaska. The cost of living in Ketchikan was averaged at 75 per cent higher than in Seattle, and the cost in Anchorage was 185.75 per cent higher than in Seattle. No mention was made of the cost in Fairbanks or any interior city. Prices are approximately 100 per cent higher in Fairbanks than in Anchorage.

Take one small item the "staff of life" a loaf of bread. In Anchorage it is 10c, while in Fairbanks it is 25c, or 250% higher. A haircut is still \$1 in Fairbanks, the Golden Rule of Alaska.

The U. S. Government-operated Alaska Railroad freight-rates are too high. The rate from Seattle to Fairbanks is \$90 per ton. I know one man who paid \$42.45 for 950 lbs. The men working on the track receive only \$75 per month and board, so I guess they are not responsible. The General Manager, I am told, receives a salary of \$14,000 per year.

A large mining company here six years ago employed labor at \$7 per day when gold was \$16 an ounce. Now, with gold around \$35, they pay laborers \$5.75 per day and board.

The CWA employs men to shovel snow around that Nature always took care of before. They are not given enough work to keep them alive.

We need a good organizer here. We are past the talking stage. We demand action.

## N.M.U. Leads Strike in Gallup, Gaining Cut in Charge for Lamps

By a Mine Worker Correspondent. GALLUP, N. Mex. — The Allison Mine three miles west of Gallup came on strike April 2, under the leadership of the National Miners Union. After two days strike they gained a cut in the charge for lamps, which was \$1.75 per month before the strike. After the strike was out to \$1.

This should prove to Rank and File miners that only under the N. M. U. can we gain any of our demands. So miners you should look to the N. M. U. and not the N. R. A. and let's get one big N. M. U.—then we can reach out for our demands in a body. With the unemployed at our side, not against us, we can fight a winning battle. Forward for a United Front with the N. M. U. in the front.

# PARTY LIFE Bureaucracy and Opportunism Isolate Party from Workers

## A Persistent Struggle Against Sectarianism Needed in Trade Union and Mass Work

SOME experiences in a branch of the International Labor Defense in Cleveland illustrate well how important is the task laid down in the Open Letter, that "it is necessary to carry on a persistent struggle against sectarianism which expresses itself in all Party and trade union work, which continues to be one of the chief obstacles to the establishment of permanent and live contacts with the workers."

The death of one of the members of a branch of the I.L.D., because of insufficient relief, became the issue around which a new branch was built in the name of the comrade who died.

The new branch from the beginning was never made to feel the responsibility of solving its problems. The hall was paid for by the district representative. At the first meeting she promised printed invitations for the workers to join the branch, to be made by the district office. When a social was planned she promised mimeographed leaflets and signs. It is, therefore, not surprising that when the executive committee of the branch met, the members expected the district to continue to furnish them with whatever material they wanted.

At the fourth meeting of the branch there was a misunderstanding in regard to the rent. No one knew the price of the rent except the district representative. She said the rent was paid although she did not have a receipt with her, and she refused to discuss the question with any of the comrades, telling the janitor, "We will meet here whether you like it or not," and ordering the members to take one of the rooms in the building. At the next executive meeting the members reported that they had had suggestions to Comrade B. on this question but she refused to discuss it. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the members of the committee (mainly non-Party members) with the entire situation. The general opinion was that it was the most uncomfortable meeting they had ever had and they would not go through another one like that. They decided to send a committee to the district office to get definite information upon the rent situation. It is also significant that at this particular meeting Comrade B. happened to be ill and the members thought they would not be able to have a meeting since they said the "big boss" was not present.

Also in connection with the building of the branch on the basis of developing struggles around neighborhood issues, it is necessary that we have in the leadership of the branch the most militant workers who will fearlessly be in the forefront of the struggles. However, at the present time the elements being pushed into the forefront are petty bourgeois elements who although they are sincerely in the branch do not feel the necessity of struggle as do other members in the branch who are proletarians. These petty bourgeois elements are more capable technically—knowing how to conduct a meeting, being versed in Robert's Rules of Order. However, it is not these elements who will be in the forefront of any struggle. For this reason it is much more urgent that we train raw proletarian elements in the organizational work rather than put the branch in the leadership of elements who will tend to turn the branch into a social organization.

There are great possibilities for building this branch into a mass organization since it was created in the course of struggle and is now meeting in a center where other organizations meet with whom we have never had contact, also next door to the church where we conducted the struggle. However, to succeed, the problems must be thoroughly discussed by the Party members in the branch who must organize a fraction and agree upon the policy to be pursued in the branch. Until now there have been many disagreements on the floor of branch meetings between the representative of the district and the other Party members in the branch. These bureaucratic methods and opportunistic actions must be fought against and eliminated, and this can only be done by the building of a collective leadership in the branch under the guidance of an organized Party fraction.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a fight, fierce and ruthless, of the new class against an enemy of preponderant strength, against the bourgeoisie, whose determination to resist has been increased tenfold by its overthrow.—Lenin.

## Bureaucracy Almost Demoralizes Organization

This bureaucracy almost demoralized the branch. Two of the oldest members stopped coming to meetings. The branch organizer explained her dissatisfaction by saying, "Comrade B. likes to dictate but not to be dictated to," and said she would like to resign as she was an organizer in name only.

In addition to such bureaucracy there were some serious political errors—definite opportunist tendencies.

The tickets printed for the affair to be held by the branch had a new name on them. The new members of the executive explained that two of them together with Comrade B. had agreed to this on the word of one of the new members that our comrade in whose name the branch was organized had a bad name in the territory and the workers would not buy tickets with that name. Even the branch organizer was not consulted on this question. Since there had been a struggle around the P— case which involved also the church in which she had been a member (where the preacher had insisted that the charities were not responsible for her death but she died from overeating on Christmas Day) the name of the branch was of special political importance.

Dr. G. Tolsted, Ohio.—Yes, it is true that a physician who has once been convicted of a felony may still practice in New York State. Governor Lehman recently signed a bill which paved the way for the Board of Regents to restore the license of a physician who has been convicted of a felony in connection with his profession, providing he has been pardoned by the Governor or the President. The bill sponsored by Senator Berg, of the Bronx, has been before the legislature for three years. Formerly the license to practice medicine could not be restored if the conviction "has been capacity." We do not know whether this applies to any felony committed by a physician in Ohio. We presume that a felony committed by a physician practicing in New York might be overlooked—for a consideration. Better consult your attorney.

## Answers to Questions

**Springs of Aidspos**  
D. P. New York City.—The springs of Aidspos located near Euboea, Greece, are beneficial in cases of arthritis (rheumatism of the joints). We would advise you to write to your sister to take the baths recommended to her by her physician.

## Crab Lice

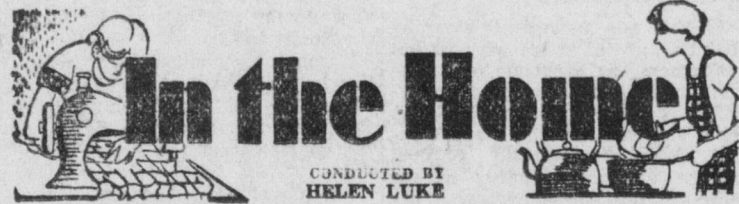
S. G. Brooklyn.—We have answered this query several times. For your benefit we'll say again that shaving of the hair is not sufficient. You must also take a hot bath and after that rub into the affected parts a generous quantity of Blue Ointment, which you can get without a prescription from any drug store. You must repeat this three nights in succession and be sure to discard all underwear or bed clothes which might have become contaminated with the lice.

## Smallpox Cases

T. F. Boston, Mass.—There were 30,000 cases of smallpox in the United States in 1932, and about 46,000 in 1931. Most of these cases developed in states where vaccination against smallpox is not compulsory. During these years, there were no cases of smallpox in several European countries where vaccination is compulsory. Only India exceeds the United States in the number of smallpox cases.

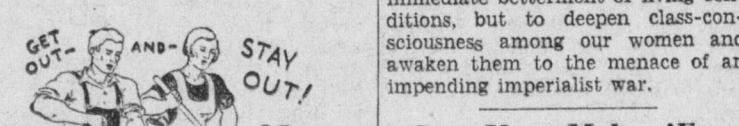
## Eyebrow and Eyelash Dyes

B. V. Salt Lake City.—Several cases of serious injury to the eye, including total blindness, have been reported as a result of the use of dyeing eyebrows and eyelashes. In New York City, there is a law against the sale of dyes that contain aniline derivatives, paraphenylenediamine, paratoluylenediamine and the various mineral salts.



CONDUCTED BY HELEN LUKE

GREETINGS TO ALL OUR WORKING CLASS SISTERS To the United Councils of Working Class Women, and to all those who have actively supported their



Can You Make 'Em Yourself?

Pattern 1804 is available in sizes 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48 and 50. Size 36 takes 3 3/4 yards 39 inch fabric and 1/4 yard 5 1/2 inch lace. Illustrated step-by-step sewing instructions included.



CO-OPERATIVE SPRING HOUSECLEANING

struggles, we extend the heartiest May Day greetings.

The U.C.W.C.W. was organized in 1927, having now 51 Councils with a membership of about 4,000. A membership drive instituted last October netted 700 new members. About 1,400 new members were enrolled since last year's annual conference.

The victories of the Councils in bringing down or holding down rents, and cost of groceries, have been reported here from time to time. Prices on baked goods were brought down in Brownsville and the Bronx, and in both these territories and in Williamsburg, active campaigns are now being conducted to lower other grocery prices, particularly those of dairy products.

In other cities (in all concentration points) there are other Women's Councils, not affiliated with the U.C.W.C.W. In Los Angeles there are seven; in Cleveland, eight; in Detroit, twenty; in Boston, seven or eight; in Chicago, about eight. In the State of Connecticut there are at least six. Most of these have been organized since last May Day. One of the Los Angeles Councils sent to the U.C.W.C.W. a report which was written in Yiddish. It is being translated and we shall report on this later.

The new Domestic Workers' Union in N. Y. C. also came into being since last May Day, having been organized about seven months ago. There is also a women's auxiliary of the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, from whom we have not yet heard. To all these, as well as to all working-class women's organizations, we extend May Day greetings and an invitation to write about their work. We pledge support in a matter of publicity, and will do what we can to make next year a

# WITH OUR YOUNG READERS

Conducted by Mary Morrow, Children's editor, The Daily Worker, 50 East 13th St., New York City.

## WE ARE MARCHING TODAY!

Listen, Comrade—  
In the steel mills of Pittsburgh.  
In the cotton fields of Alabama, in New York sweatshops,  
On under the sun of Imperial Valley—  
You Chinese coolie,  
Scotch miner, Danish seaman,  
Singapore stevedore, Canadian lumberjack.  
Wherever your back is bent, your arms ache,  
And you can hardly lift your feet—  
Listen, Comrade, we are marching today.  
With our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters WE ARE MARCHING TODAY.

Listen—  
Velvet-eyed black children,  
Look up from your cotton picking—  
Said-faced little Mexicans in Colorado's beet fields,  
Unbend your tired backs—  
Yellow-haired "poor white trash,"  
Stop a minute from stacking that sorghum—  
In city streets, bootblacks and newsies.

DO YOU KNOW WE ARE MARCHING TODAY?  
And you, unemployed worker, on the dole, in the breadlines of the world.  
In a flop house, or half dead on a park bench.  
You who have heard nothing but—  
Sorrow—  
No help wanted—  
Factory closing—  
No help wanted—  
Layoff—  
No help wanted—  
COME JOIN US— WE ARE MARCHING TODAY!  
And you in Nazi dungeons,  
In Kilby Prison,  
In jails of California,  
In Polish concentration camps,  
In the Penitentiary of Walla Walla—

We salute you—  
Theachman, Herndon, Mooney, Malatesta, the Ruggas,  
The Scottsboro martyrs,  
And thousands of others unknown.  
But dear to us—  
FOR YOU, WE ARE MARCHING TODAY!  
We have heard

## MAY DAY IS OUR DAY

May First was first of all a worker's holiday all over the world. All militant workers' organizations celebrated it. But the bosses began to plan ways of taking the workers' attention away from this holiday.

So Hoover, whom you all remember, declared that May 1st should be celebrated as Child Health Day. On this day the government TALKS about Child Health. The other days they don't even talk about it. But we know they don't DO anything about it. They need the money for battleships. Let us tell the bosses on their fake Child Health Day that we don't want one child health day in the year, but 365, and 366 in Leap Year!

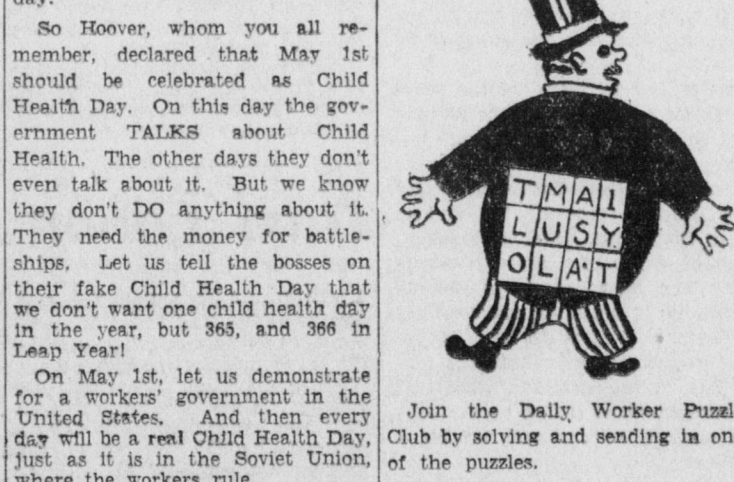
On May 1st, let us demonstrate for a workers' government in the United States. And then every day will be a real Child Health Day, just as it is in the Soviet Union, where the workers rule.

We don't want smooth talk. We want food, clothes, and decent homes. And we're out to get them! That's why we march on May Day.

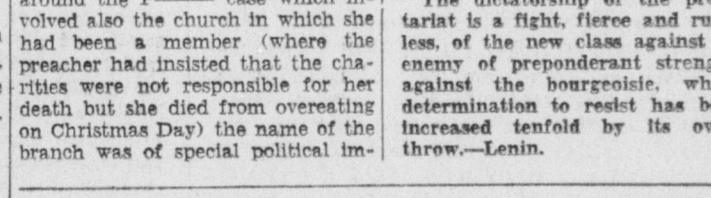
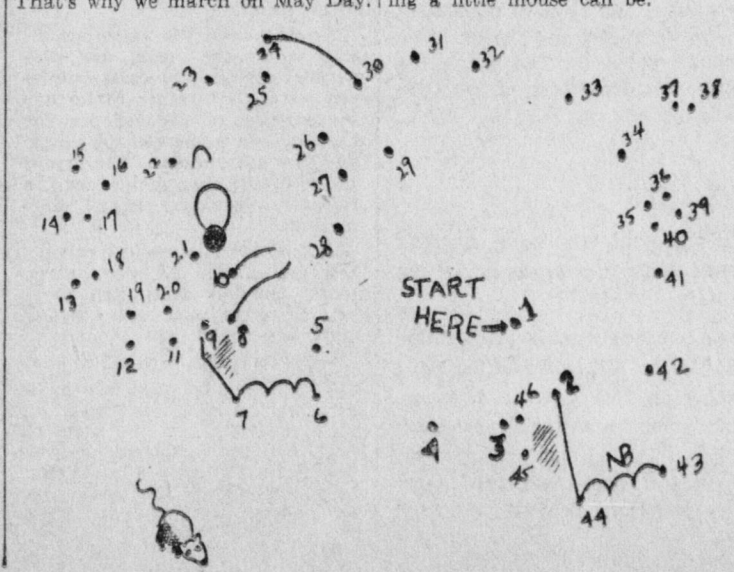
Of that first May Day in Chicago in 1888 America's gift to the workers of the world.  
Brave heroes of that strike day, IN YOUR STEPS, WE ARE MARCHING TODAY!  
To you, workers of the Soviet Union,  
Bridge Builders into the future, Marching past Lenin's tomb Million-throated mass singing The International on the Red Square—  
We who are going to free ourselves are also marching today.  
With our fathers and mothers Brothers and sisters WE ARE MARCHING TODAY!  
Comrades—  
Genossen—  
Tovarischi—  
Let the brown shirts rage And the black shirts squirm—  
There are millions of us.  
What can stop the red tide?  
Come join our companies  
THE INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY IS MARCHING TODAY!  
—W. S.

## PUZZLE CORNER

Start with the dot and go from square to square in any direction. Do not skip any squares. Then see the reason why the patch on Mr. Boss' pants bothers him so.



With your pencil draw lines from dot to dot, and see how frightening a little mouse can be.



Doctor Luttinger advises:

By PAUL LUTTINGER, M.D.

A Felon Can Practice Medicine  
Dr. G. Tolsted, Ohio.—Yes, it is true that a physician who has once been convicted of a felony may still practice in New York State. Governor Lehman recently signed a bill which paved the way for the Board of Regents to restore the license of a physician who has been convicted of a felony in connection with his profession, providing he has been pardoned by the Governor or the President. The bill sponsored by Senator Berg, of the Bronx, has been before the legislature for three years. Formerly the license to practice medicine could not be restored if the conviction "has been capacity." We do not know whether this applies to any felony committed by a physician in Ohio. We presume that a felony committed by a physician practicing in New York might be overlooked—for a consideration. Better consult your attorney.



Daily Worker

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May Day--The Day of the Working Class

ON May Day we drop our tools and march in the streets.
May Day is our day, the great day of the international working class, the day when the workers of the world send their voices to their class brothers all over the world in mighty pledges of proletarian solidarity.

States, and bring back to their sisters a program of real, effective struggle against the looming, murderous menaces of fascism and war.
Women of America, and especially you proletarian women, elect your delegates, organize and raise the funds to send them across! It is a question of life and death for you and those you love.

Join the Party of Your Class!

THE Communist Party is the Party of the working class, the revolutionary class in modern capitalist society that alone can lead the whole oppressed and toiling population out of the yoke of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Every worker who wants to fight against hunger, against wage cuts, against the whole mountain of Wall Street robbery, who wants to strike a blow to end the system that keeps him and his family in the grip of starvation belongs in the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has been in the front ranks of every struggle of the workers, of the oppressed Negro masses, the ruined farmers, and lower middle classes against the drive of the Wall Street monopolies for fatter profits at the expense of the rest of the population.

The Communist Party alone fights for real unemployment insurance for the great army of jobless workers, insurance to be paid for by the Wall Street employers and the Wall Street Roosevelt government.

The Communist Party fights for higher wages, for shorter hours, for real fighting trade unions in the hands of the rank and file workers.

The Communist Party alone fought the N.R.A. slave codes from the very beginning, when the A. F. of L. and Socialist Party leaders were singing hymns of praise to this big Wall Street trap to get more profit out of the workers.

The Communist Party leads the masses along the road of Bolshevism, the road that the workers and peasants took to set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government, in the Soviet Union, a road that will end forever the rule of the bankers, the employers, the landlords, the mortgage holders, the investors, the capitalist State power.

The Communist Party declares that the crisis can be ended and work provided for every worker in the country, by sweeping these capitalist rulers out of power, and setting up a proletarian dictatorship, which will give the workers the greatest democracy, but will be a stern dictatorship against the capitalists and their hangers-on. The Communist Party leads the working class to Socialism.

The Communist Party appeals to every worker to join its ranks, the ranks of the Party of your class!

May 1st in Fascist Germany

THIS May Day, 1934, the surging roar of the workers and farmers of the world rings around the world: "Free Ernst Thaelmann, beloved leader of the German working class."

Ernst Thaelmann is lying in a Nazi hell hole, heavily chained, permitted to see no one but the Nazi murderers. He has been more than once brutally beaten by the Nazi degenerates with steel rods and blackjacks. The very life of the son of the toiling masses of Germany is in grave danger. Ernst Thaelmann is in prison, his life momentarily threatened, because the Hitler fascist dictatorship of the Krupps, of German Big Business, of the bankers, fears the strength of the illegal Communist Party of Germany and its heroic leader, Ernst Thaelmann.

On May First the Nazi mad dogs with Hitler at their head, are trying to pervert the international workers holiday, May First, into a nationalist demonstration. They have called fascist, nationalist, demonstrations to glorify Hitler, to glorify the Nazi rule of finance capital. The workers are forbidden, on pain of death, to demonstrate or observe their own workers international holiday this May Day.

Hitler calls these anti-working class, nationalist celebrations on this May Day under the slogan of enforcing the enslaving National Labor Law, which goes into effect May First. This law places in the hands of the employers in each factory, absolute and dictatorial power over the wages and working conditions of the workers. The fascist terror bands of Hitler's government, agents of the employers, utilize this May Day to cut wages and to prepare imperialist war. The National Labor Law takes away from the German worker any remnant or vestige of a voice as to under what conditions he shall work and enslaves him to the boss. The trade unions were long ago outlawed by Hitler.

But the workers of Germany and of the world will not allow the Hitler government of the Krupps, of the bankers and employers, to carry through unopposed this enslavement of the German workers.

In Germany itself the illegal Communist Party is steadily growing, and is preparing the workers for the overthrow of the fascist, Hitler government, and the setting up of a Workers' Soviet Government of Germany. The heroic German Communist Party, through its Central Committee, has called upon the German workers to demonstrate this May Day, to turn, wherever possible, the farcical Hitler May Day "demonstrations," into real workers' demonstrations against Hitler, against fascism, against war, against the enslaving "National Labor Law" of Hitler.

Every May Day demonstration throughout the world cries forth the demand--Free Ernst Thaelmann! Down with Hitler! Down with Fascism and Imperialist War!

The millions of workers and farmers throughout the world freed Dimitroff, Popoff and Tanoff. Now we demand immediate freedom for Thaelmann, the longshoreman, Thaelmann, the leader of the German workers!

A Word to First-Time Readers

TO the readers of this issue--In this special 24-page edition of the Daily Worker you will find presented not only the historical significance of May Day, the great anniversary of militant labor, born in the struggle for the eight-hour day, but a clear, concise presentation of the program of the Communist Party of which the Daily Worker is the central organ.

has brought hunger and want to millions and their families, and you will find our program for solving this crisis.

You will want to continue reading this fighting paper of the working class. You will find the Daily Worker on newsstands in your city. If it is not available there make enquiries at the headquarters of the Communist Party, Trade Union Unity League, or the revolutionary trade unions. Or, write direct to the Daily Worker, 50 E. 13th St., New York City.

Wages Immensely Increased in Chinese Soviet Area

Austrian C. P. Grows Rapidly; S. P. Men Join

Republican Guards Come Over in Groups; Jeer Dollfuss

VIENNA. (By Mail).--The working class population of Austria is seething with hatred of the Dollfuss regime which finds expression in open actions and demonstrations against the fascist government and in rapidly growing recruiting to the Austrian Communist Party.

A report has been received from Klagenfurt by the C. C. of the C. P. A.: "We can scarcely cope with the press of organization and consultations, and with dealing with the many applications for membership..."

From Graz: "Rapid strides are being made. Both in the town and the suburbs Republican Guards are coming over to us. All the cells have new members. Here we are on the road to a mass Party."

In Muerzzuschlag a group of Republican Guards have come over to the C. P.

In Utendorf (Salzburg) a social democratic group and a number of non-Party workers have joined the C. P. A.

In Graz over 100 workers visited the graves of the victims who fell in the February uprising.

At Villach, whilst a patriotic demonstration was being addressed by Dollfuss, Communists distributed a leaflet and thousands of handbills. Whilst the patriotic procession was being formed, shouts of "Red Front!" were suddenly heard. The wireless broadcast of the demonstration was interrupted by a workman, who broke the contact. When Dollfuss commenced his speech, many workers standing near him shouted: "Shame! Down with Dollfuss!"

At noon a group of Communists sang the "International" in one of the most crowded streets, before the eyes of Federal army soldiers.

At Ehrensdorf a demonstration was organized in the main square, and the "International" sung. Before the police appeared, the demonstrators had vanished. The workers were enthusiastic at the successful demonstration.

At Landshon (Carnithia) the unemployed demonstrated for immediate and more frequent aid from the Winter Relief. The Mayor undertook to get this demand granted.

British Communist Leader Must Face Trial for 'Sedition'

Harry Pollitt Is Held for Jury for Speech at Hunger March

LONDON.--Harry Pollitt, leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain, has been committed at Pontypridd police court to take his trial at the Glamorgan assizes at Swansea (in June some time) on charges of uttering seditious speeches at Treallow and Fendrale in February last at the time of the National Hunger March.

Pollitt, in his defense, submitted that there was no case to go to trial, declaring: "I plead not guilty and reserve my defense. I am aware that I could give and call evidence, but am satisfied that politics, not the law, is the deciding factor and that those who are prepared to accept evidence of the kind given in this case are quite incapable of giving impartial consideration to the evidence called in support of a Communist."

"I don't propose, therefore, to take any further part in these farcical proceedings falsely called justice, for when any Communist walks up through the door of a South Wales police court, justice flies out of the window."

Pollitt also characterized the case as a "frame-up" and submitted the police witnesses to shorthand tests in which they failed.

Nazi Labor Law Hitler's May Day Gift to Bosses

Law Which Enslaves Workers to Employers Is Fascist Flowering of Class Collaboration Ideas of Social Democracy

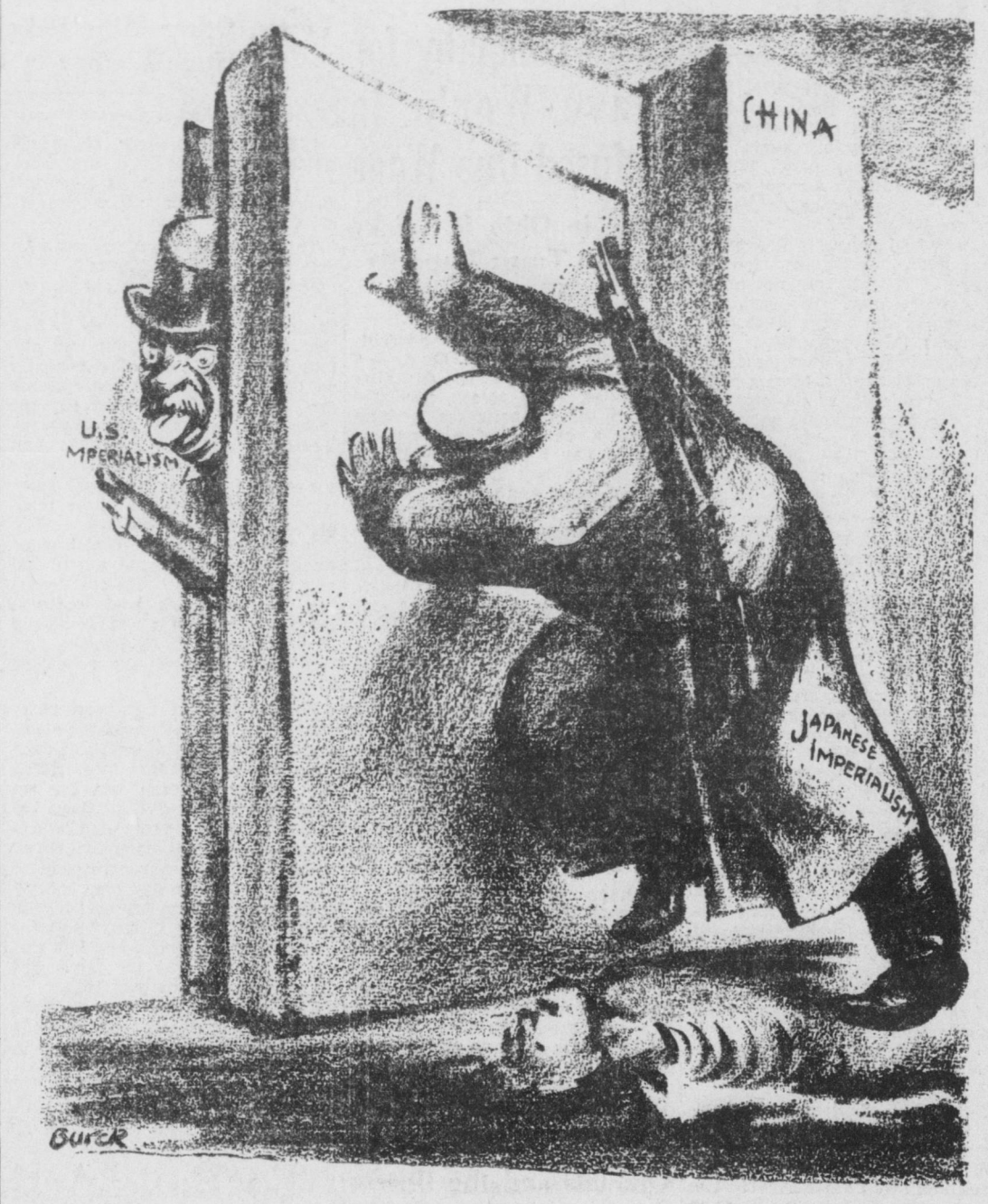
ever the boss says goes. The boss decides on hours, conditions, wages, hiring and firing. The workers is allowed only one privilege: to obey.

"Shop councils" are provided by the new law, but they are not even the old-style Nazi shop councils, which turned out to be incapable of holding the workers in line.

Boss Appoints Workers Representatives--In accordance with fascist practice, it is the boss who chooses, in March of each year, which of his workers will form the "shop council" which is supposed to represent the workers. This council does present itself to the workers for approval, but if the workers vote it down, then one of the state-appointed fascist "Labor Trustees" gets jurisdiction, and decides who shall be appointed.

Boss Decides Wages--This "shop council" cannot even call its own meetings. It can only meet when the employer calls it. The wage provisions of the new law are equally significant of what

THE STRUGGLE--OPEN OR SHUT!



New Wagner Bill Is Gun At Worker's Ribs

(Continued from Page 1)

the Dill Bill, has already formulated its compulsory arbitration program in the railroad field. Here, according to Federal Coordinator of Transportation Eastman, if the National Adjustment Board created by the bill, disagrees, "they must call in a neutral member appointed by the mediation board to decide the case," neutral, of course, means an employer-minded person like Dr. Leo Wolman who is opposed to the use of the strike.

Company Unions Flourish--As in the case of Section 7-A what was announced as sugar turned out to be gravel. When the Blue Eagle was hatched the N. R. A. was bally-hooed as a new charter for labor. It resulted in a 69 per cent increase in company unions, the greatest gain in the history of the country. The Wagner Bill, the spearhead of the drive to abort last month's budding automobile strike, was billed, especially by the liberal chorus, as the legislative fiery dragon that would consume the company unions with one snort.

It revealed itself, as charged from the beginning by the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League, as a strikebreaker and protector of company unionism.

The true nature of the Wagner bill was unfolded during the hearings by both militant labor spokesmen and frank reactionary employers. Bill Dunne, the representative of the T. U. U. L., brilliantly analyzed the bill in his opening remarks before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. "It is true that the Wagner Bill has a certain emergency character, but its main provision is inherent in clause 7A of the National Recovery Act of which it is an extension. As such, the Wagner bill, under the guise of stimulating and increasing the so-called bargaining power of labor organizations, actually diminishes the power of workers to obtain better wages and working conditions by putting still more obstacles in the way of effective use of the strike weapon--that is, the ability of labor organizations to stop production for protest by refusal to work until their

demands have been acceded to," Dunne declared.

George Powers, representing a united front steel delegation from the American Federation of Labor and the Steel and Metal Workers Industrial Union at the Sparrows Point, Maryland, plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, told the committee: "The Wagner Bill would only strengthen company unionism."

Blue Eagle Machine Guns--Pat Cush, President of the S. W. M. I. U., informed the committee that his union had decreased from 20,000 to 12,000 because "everywhere we went to organize, the N.R.A. put a machine gun muzzle in our face." He declared that under the N.R.A. code "for the first time" the hard-won right of steel workers to make their own terms "has been handed over bag and baggage to the Iron and Steel Institute (the steel magnates' chief propaganda organ N. R. A. code authority and trade association.)"

"Your organization will not be affected by the Wagner Bill," Chairman Walsh told a company union spokesman who had just testified that his organization elects company foremen to represent the workers. This followed a vehement assertion by Wagner that "I have no objection to the company union if it is the free choice of workers," though he knows very well that a company union and a free choice of workers are mutually exclusive.

The next day Wagner repeated his promise to employers to re-draft the measure to suit them better. He explained to George Edmonds, President of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce: "I have always, whenever I spoke against company unions, said I meant company-dominated company unions. I don't know why people insist on misquoting me. Whenever I've mentioned the subject I have emphasized employer-dominated company unions. I have no objections to company unions if they are the free choice of the workers."

In addition to clothing company unions with legality, the committee indicated that it will write into

the Wagner Bill specific prohibitions "coercion" by labor unions or workers under this clause virtually any union activity may be suppressed as "coercion."

In brief, the Wagner bill, as it finally emerges, will very probably be stripped of all provisions which make even promises to labor. The assurance that it will open the door wide to company unions is in line with the Roosevelt auto settlement, which even officials now admit lets in company unions.

All this was made quite clear by the brigade of steel corporation spokesmen, the backbone of American capitalism, the most powerful unit of which United States Steel also controls the giant General Motors Corporation. Flushed by the temporary victory in the auto sell out, these corporate beings prefer to treat their wage slaves as people who are to be shot down when they become so bold as to strike for a living wage. In fact, the steel barons don't want any union, even a company union, if they can help it. And they don't want any more demagoguery poured over works--they think the danger point is past, that it is unnecessary to instill illusions into workers.

But Roosevelt, who believes he knows what is best for people like Myron Taylor, N. R. A. Industrial Advisor and President of the U. S. Steel Corporation, is bent upon making them understand that their interests can be served just as well or better by compulsory arbitration backed by government troops.

It must be remembered that Roosevelt has monumental confidence in his ability to fool the workers. In announcing his refusal to budget from his proposal to suffering railroad workers that they accept the 10 per cent basic wage cut another six months he declared that this basic cut didn't cause the terrible suffering in the industry. It was the enforced furloughs, the demotions, and part-time.

In other words, it's not the heat, it's the humidity.

Unparalleled Gains Shown In Report to 2nd Congress

Toilers Win Conditions Never Before Known In All of China

JUIKIN, Soviet China (By Mail).--Gigantic strides in the economic and democratic liberation of the nearly 100,000,000 workers and farmers of the Chinese Soviet regions are recorded in the report of Mao Tse-tung, on behalf of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic at the Second National Soviet Congress.

The Chinese Soviet regions now embrace one quarter of the area of China proper, and of this region the greater part has now a stabilized Soviet Government. Surrounded on all sides by territory in the hands of the enemy, fighting on all its borders, Soviet China has made itself a gigantic island in which the workers and toilers enjoy a freedom and security unknown in all Chinese history.

Within this region, 90 per cent of all workers are organized in powerful trade unions, and in some districts as many as 98 per cent. The eight-hour law is universal, with shorter hours for younger workers, and dangerous trades, and a comprehensive system of social insurance.

This contrasts strikingly with the condition of workers in Kuomintang China, where the Imperialists, capitalists and landlords rule. Here the workers' toil is endless, sometimes as much as 18 hours a day. The workers are practically the slaves of the employers, and have no legal means of protecting their interests. Recently, the real wages of workers in capitalist China have been cut nearly 50 per cent, through direct cuts and the increase in the cost of living. To strike is a criminal act. Sixty per cent of industrial workers in Kuomintang China are unemployed.

Soviet Wage Agreements Are Guaranteed

In Soviet China, wages and conditions of work are guaranteed through collective agreements, and the Soviets have a network of inspectors assigned to see that the employers live up to the agreement. All employment is made through the Soviets, which are democratically elected by all the workers and poor peasants, of both sexes, while all employers of labor and other exploiters are disfranchised.

Where unemployment remains, the workers receive real relief, administered through a Social Insurance Bureau which is set up in all the Soviet towns.

Through their unions and the active help of the Soviets, all classes of workers in Soviet China have won great increases in wages since the enactment of the Soviet Labor Act.

Great Wage Increases

The following comparison of pre-revolutionary and present wages shows the immense gains which the workers have made:

Metal workers, before the revolution, \$5, now \$18; textile workers, \$2, raised to \$35; tobacco workers, \$3.50, raised to \$36; dye workers, \$2, raised to \$20; oil workers, \$8 to \$18; printers, \$5 to \$36; fruit workers, \$2 to \$32; boatmen, per trip, Tingschow to Shanghai, formerly \$14, now \$46.

The enthusiasm which the Soviet regime has inspired in the workers can be gathered from the fact that, for instance, out of 70,580 union members in 12 counties, 19,980 or 28 per cent, have volunteered for the Red Army which is defending the Soviet regime against the Kuomintang attacks, and aiding the workers and peasants of the surrounding regions to overthrow their ruling class and join the Soviets.

Jobless Show Open Resistance To Nazi Forced Labor Order

BREMEN, Germany, April 24--Indicative of the growing rebellion among the millions of jobless, against the Hitler Fascist dictatorship, not one of the 18,000 Bremen jobless stepped forward in answer to the Nazi call for "volunteers" to the Agricultural Labor Camps.

"These Labor Camps are one of the ways that the Fascist dictatorship is trying to 'solve' the unemployment problem. The jobless are herded into the camps to work without pay.

The Mayor complains publicly that the jobless are showing the greatest stubbornness in resistance to the Fascist decrees for the jobless.

S.P. Trade Union Policy Permits Big Dividends

STOCKHOLM, April 24--At the general meeting of the Boliden Mining Co. (gold, copper, and other values) (Agners), it was decided to distribute the usual dividends of 15 per cent, equivalent to a clear profit of 12,000,000 crowns, to the shareholders.

That such gigantic profits are possible is due solely to the constant reductions of wages and worsening of working conditions. The Social-Democratic and Branders trade union leaders have given their consent to all these worsening of wages and working conditions, using as a pretext the "difficult situation of the industries," and have thus contributed their part to enabling these high dividends to be paid.