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COMMUNISTS

IN THE

TEXTILE STRIKE

An Answer to Gorman, Green

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FOREWORD

What the Communists Want in the Textile Strike

THE *Daily Worker* has already had occasion to state the aims of the Communists in the textile strike. Here we wish to elaborate further on this important question.

It has already been demonstrated to all who wish to see that the Communist Party seeks first of all to help and lead the workers to victory in the textile strike. The first aim of the Communists, therefore, is to help the workers win their immediate demands in this strike. The brazen slander of the reformist leaders of the A. F. of L. (Green, Gorman and Co.) and also the slanders by Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, that the Communist Party is not interested in the workers winning their economic demands—this slander has been exploded once again.

The Communists differ from Gorman and Co. not only on the question of revolution, but also, and because of it, on the question of winning the immediate demands of the workers in the strike. Gorman and Co. have become frightened of the strike. They seek to liquidate it as soon as possible, using the N.R.A. trick of arbitration, and naturally, at the expense of the immediate demands of the workers. The Communists greet the militancy and determination of the workers. The Communists say: the more of this determination, the better because only in this way can the strikers secure victory. The Communists, as was brilliantly demonstrated in the Pacific Coast strike and in the San Francisco Gen-

eral Strike, can neither be bought nor browbeaten. The reformist leaders of the A. F. of L. can be both bought and terrorized.

But the Communists also differ from the A. F. of L. leaders and the Socialist Party in that they, the Communists, seek to raise every struggle of the workers to higher and political levels. What does it mean? It means first that the Communists seek to make the textile workers on strike conscious of the fact that in their present strike they are fighting not only the textile employers, but also the government and its N.R.A. The workers, of course, cannot fail to see that the machinery of the government in all the textile centers, in the South, in New England, Pennsylvania, etc., is used to suppress the strike brutally by murder and the shedding of the blood of striking workers. But not many of the striking workers as yet realize that this is no accident to be explained only by the corruption and bloodthirstiness of the local government officials, such as mayors, police chiefs, etc., but that they are facing the workings of a *class government* of the capitalists. Not many workers as yet realize that the responsibility for the bloodshed and murderous attacks upon the striking pickets rests not only with the local government authorities, but with the federal government as well. The Communist Party and the Communist textile workers seek to make their fellow-strikers conscious of this fact. Why? Because as long as the masses of textile workers have illusions that the federal government is their friend, that Roosevelt and the N.R.A. are not as bad as the textile employers and the local government officials, the strike is in danger of being broken precisely by the federal government through its N.R.A. arbitration, assisted in this by Gorman, Green, etc. In other words, the policy of the Communists is to raise the strike to higher political levels, *i.e.*, to make

the workers conscious that in this strike the front of their enemies includes also the federal government, the government of the U. S., and also to guard against betrayal, against being stabbed in the back and sold out by the reformist leaders of the A. F. of L. This is one of the purposes of what the Communists call politicalizing the strike, make the workers direct their struggle also against the government. It is one of the chief means of enabling the workers to guard against the maneuvers that are coming from the federal government.

This is not the only purpose the Communists have in politicalizing the strike, in raising it to higher levels. They, the Communists, also seek that the workers should learn in this strike, as in all strikes, that the way out of their misery and suffering is the working class revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist government and the establishment of a working class government, a Soviet government in the U. S. It is this that the social-fascists seize upon to make the workers believe that the Communists are interested only in revolution, but not in fighting for the immediate interests of the workers. We have shown already that this is nonsense, sheer slander to cover up their own betrayals. The Communists frankly tell the workers that as long as the capitalist class is in power, and as long as the capitalist system prevails, there can be no end to exploitation, to hunger, to fascism and war. Only the overthrow of capitalist rule can put an end to the iniquities and brutality of capitalist rule. The Communists frankly tell the working class to organize and prepare for the overthrow of this rule, for a Soviet America. But, and this is important, the Communists also never tire of telling the workers that the road to the working class revolution lies through the daily mobilization of the working class in the struggle for

its daily immediate demands. By raising these daily struggles to higher political levels, by making the workers more conscious of their class interests and of their revolutionary aims, the Communists prepare the working class for the revolutionary struggle for power. The more the textile strikers will become conscious of their revolutionary tasks, the better will they fight for their daily needs and the closer will they come to the decisive hour of struggle for power.

* * *

The articles of this pamphlet have been previously published as editorials in the *Daily Worker*, central organ of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. This gives them the authoritative standing of Communist Party position on the policies and tactics of the Communists in the strike.

ALEX BITTELMAN.

September, 1934

Communists in the Textile Strike

An Answer to Gorman,
Green & Co.

WHAT COMMUNISTS FIGHT FOR IN THE TEXTILE STRIKE

FRANCIS J. GORMAN, United Textile Workers' strike head, certainly expects considerable blind belief from the textile workers if he thinks they will accept his anti-Communist ravings at face value.

"We will have to fight not only the employers and their hired thugs," he declared on Sept. 1, "but the Communists who are now trying to take advantage of this situation to promote their own philosophy."

Mr. Gorman, in this statement, makes two points. He implies a readiness on his part to fight the employers and their hired thugs, and charges that the Communists, "who . . . promote their own philosophy," are an obstacle in this fight.

What is the Communist Party's "own philosophy" which Mr. Gorman considers an obstacle? What is the Communist Party's position on the textile workers' strike? It can be put very simply: *Stop every spindle and loom; continue the strike, without permitting a*

single mill to reopen, until all the demands as formulated by the textile workers themselves are won.

More specifically, so there can be no doubt as to our stand, the Communist Party will fight with all its energy to aid the textile workers in winning the following demands (the demands as worked out by the U.T.W. convention):

1. Hours: two shifts of thirty hours per week, with no exemptions.

2. Differentials: the establishment of four minimum wages.

Unskilled—\$13.00 per thirty-hour week.

Semi-skilled—\$18.00 per thirty-hour week.

Skilled—\$22.50 per thirty-hour week.

Highly skilled—\$30.00 per thirty-hour week.

3. Machine load: the revision of all work loads on the basis of reason and ordinary common sense.

4. No discrimination against any worker belonging to the organization; reinstatement of all workers victimized because of union membership; recognition of the union.

* * *

To insure victory for the textile workers, the Communist Party further proposes:

1. Solidarity actions by all workers, employed and unemployed, Socialist, Communist and non-Party, union and non-union, textile workers and non-textile workers—a *solid united front* of all workers against the textile bosses and their allies.

2. Mass picketing to close, and to keep closed, every textile mill (cotton, wool, silk, rayon, etc.), until victory is assured.

3. Unity of employed and unemployed to force the immediate payment of adequate relief to the textile strikers and to the unemployed.

4. United struggle of all workers against deporta-

tions, against interference with the workers' right to picket, and for the maintenance of all the workers' civil rights (right to hold strike meetings, freedom of workers' press, etc.).

5. Rank-and-file strike committees in every mill elected by the workers themselves; similarly elected rank-and-file committees in every textile center, representing all the mills, and with complete control of the strike in their hands.

6. No settlement of the strike by arbitration, or otherwise, until *all* the demands of the workers are granted; until all the demands, as listed above, are unconditionally granted, the strike is to go on with the solid and active support of the entire working class.

7. No final settlement of the strike, *on any basis*, until the proposed settlement has been submitted to the strikers, ample time given to the strikers for consideration of the proposals, and an affirmative vote has been taken by the strikers accepting the proposed settlement.

8. No section of strikers to return to work until the demands of all strikers are granted, *i.e.*, cotton, wool, silk, and rayon workers are all to stand solidly together until each group has won its demands.

This is a clear statement of the Communist Party's "own philosophy" so far as the immediate strike issues are concerned.

* * *

But Mr. Gorman, the capitalist-controlled newspapers and the bosses are charging that the Communists desire to transform this textile strike into a revolution, into a bloody insurrection. How about that?

In this strike our aim is the winning of the textile workers' own demands in the manner outlined above, *and not revolution!*

Communists know that the present misery and pov-

erty brought on by the capitalist greed for profits can only be finally overcome by ending the rule of Wall Street bankers and big manufacturers. We know that only through the setting up of a workers' government and the taking over of the banks, factories, railroads, warehouses, etc., as the first step toward Socialism, can the workers permanently solve their problems.

But without having won the majority of the working class for Communism, without the sympathy and friendly neutrality of the broad middle class in city and country, we Communists would not advocate an actual attempt to set up such a workers' government. When the majority of the American working class has convinced itself of the correctness of the Communists' views, when the middle class can see no other way out but the one which we Communists advocate, then the American working class will seize power whether the A. F. of L. bureaucrats or the bosses like it or not.

But this is not the problem at the present moment. We know that the majority of the American workers do not as yet see the need for Communism, although we are trying, and will continue to try to convince them by agitation and propaganda, and by explaining to them the lessons of their own bitter strike experiences of the correctness of our views. But we Communists do not play with insurrection, with revolution, as the reactionary A. F. of L. officials, the Hearst press and the bosses would try to make you believe.

The problem we have to deal with now is the victory of the strike, the winning of the textile workers' demands. On this problem—the problem of bread for the textile workers, of their right to strike and picket all workers, Communists, Socialists, A. F. of L. workers can and must unite. Only through such unity can the textile strike be won.

The Communist Party calls upon all workers to unite for the victory of the strike. Reject all efforts from whatever source to divide your ranks. Be on guard against provocation. Reject the injection of the "Red scare". Stand solid for victory!

If Mr. Gorman wishes to stand on this program—a *victory program*—a program of no compromise, of no arbitration, with a settlement of the strike only when the workers' demands are granted, then he does not have to fear the Communists.

But the Communists and all militant workers will fight tooth and nail against any abandonment of this program, because that would mean the betrayal of the strike.

Reprinted from *Daily Worker* of Sept. 3, 1934.

TEXTILE WORKERS! BEWARE OF ARBITRATION PROPOSALS

SHALL the textile workers, after their bitter experiences with various N.R.A. boards during the past year, again submit their demands to such arbitration procedure?

Victory or defeat for the textile strikers hinges on the correct answer to this question.

That these boards have contemptuously ignored the demands of the textile workers in the past is admitted by Francis J. Gorman, the U.T.W. strike leader.

"Our people have been treated so badly by the Textile Industrial Relations Board," says Mr. Gorman, "that we cannot go to that body. We have been fooled so long that we naturally mistrust that board. We have sought to obtain relief from the heavy burdens imposed on us by going direct to the employers. They referred us to the board AND THE ABUSES CONTINUED."

Now George L. Berry, a notorious strike-breaker who pretends to serve labor as president of the International Printing Pressmen's Union, but who actually serves the bosses as a Divisional N.R.A. Administrator, proposes a new arbitration board as a means of settling the textile strike.

Knowing that the workers mistrust the Textile Industrial Relations Board, and that they will not again trust the settlement of their grievances to that body, he proposes a new three-man arbitration board to be appointed by General Hugh Johnson and Secretaries Roper and Perkins of Roosevelt's cabinet.

* * *

Francis J. Gorman, replying to questions on his attitude toward such a board replied: "*Any attempt to arbitrate the issues would be welcome.*"

Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers, likewise committed himself not only to the arbitration principle, but he already acknowledges a readiness to bargain away the workers' demands as drafted at the U.T.W. convention.

"Our technical demands are broad enough," said Mr. McMahon, "so that reasonable men can sit down and give away here and there. I mean that we're not going to insist on crossing all t's and dotting every i. We want the employers to know that they have a problem on their hands and that we want to help them make dividends. For, if they don't make dividends we get no pay, see. There's an opportunity for the employers and us to sit down together."

These statements by Gorman and McMahon, and the proposals of George L. Berry show that the A. F. of L. leaders are definitely committed to a policy of trying to end the textile strike by referring the work-

ers' demands to one or another arbitration board. They also indicate that the union leaders are prepared to bargain away a substantial portion of what the workers rightfully demanded at the recent U.T.W. convention.

* * *

The Communist Party warns the textile workers against any such arbitration procedure. It can lead only to the ending of the strike without a single substantial gain being won.

Mr. Gorman admits that the workers have been given the run-around by N.R.A. boards throughout the entire past year without a single victory to be recorded from that procedure. You have gone to the employers and they have sent you back to the boards, and, to quote the words of Mr. Gorman, "*the abuses continued.*"

Now, when the workers are completely fed up with the old boards, they offer you new boards, this time a special board appointed by General Johnson, Perkins and Roper.

Is there any reason to believe that this new N.R.A. board will be any different from the old N.R.A. board? Hardly. It will be the same old N.R.A. which is responsible for the present intolerable conditions in the textile industry.

Such a special board was set up in the auto strike situation in order to persuade the auto workers to return to work without the granting of their demands. The promise was made that their demands would be acted upon by the special board. The strike was broken, the demands were not won and the auto union was not recognized. The board postponed action on the workers' demands time and again, while the bosses busied themselves with the setting up of company

unions in order to split the auto workers' ranks before strike action could again be prepared.

In one industry after another (steel, coal, etc.), the workers have been given one arbitration board, and when they became disgusted with it and entered into or prepared strike action they were given another board. *The Roosevelt-N.R.A. administration specializes in handing out arbitration boards as a substitute for improved conditions.*

Each new board has only brought worse conditions—lower wages, or more “strech-out,” or higher prices, or all of them together.

* * *

The Communist Party urges all workers to reject this fatal arbitration road.

Every local union should go on record against settling the strike in such a manner, either through old N.R.A. boards or new N.R.A. boards. *Any kind of an arbitration board is a strike-breaking board!*

The only way to win your demands is to continue the strike until your demands are granted. You are now on the streets, *one million strong*. The textile industry is paralyzed. You can compel the bosses not only to listen to your demands, but to grant your demands.

If you return to work without winning your demands, and with your demands referred to an arbitration board, you will be given the run-around for another long period, during which time the bosses and the government will do everything within their power to make such an effective strike as the present strike impossible.

Textile workers must now realize their strength. Just think! A million men and women are on strike! Every textile mill in the country is closed! In one gigantic action—in *the biggest strike in American labor*

history, more than 3,000 textile mills from Maine to Alabama have been shut tight.

Furthermore, the workers of the nation, Negro and white, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, are watching your great fight, ready to come to your aid, ready to aid you in a fight to victory.

Don't let Gorman, McMahan or other A. F. of L. officials mislead you into accepting any treacherous arbitration scheme.

Close down the mills, and keep them closed with powerful mass picket lines. Fight for relief to sustain yourselves and your families until your demands are granted. Fight for your right to hold strike meetings and to maintain your picket lines.

The Communist Party pledges itself to bend all its efforts to rally the broadest, nation-wide support for your strike.

Join the Communist Party!

Reprinted from *Daily Worker* of Sept. 4, 1934.

HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD SETTLE THE STRIKE

WHAT terms would the Communist Party advise the textile workers to insist upon before they consider any strike settlement? It is necessary to place, and to answer this question in order to block one of the maneuvers of people bent on breaking the textile strike.

Matthew Woll, an A. F. of L. vice-president and leading official of the National Civic Federation, a fascist organization of big capitalists and other reactionary elements, speaking in Newark, Sept. 6, declared that the Communists "would try to prevent a satisfactory settlement [of the textile strike] or acceptance of the settlement if one were reached".

At the same time the Hearst paper, the *New York Evening Journal*, urges "a speedy settlement" under Roosevelt's three-men arbitration scheme, because:

"Continuation of the trouble is playing directly into the hands of subversive influences [Hearst's designation for Communists], who would like nothing better than to see the whole country plunged into chaos in order to advance their revolutionary doctrines."

These statements, both of which lyingly distort the Communist Party's position on the strike, represent an effort to inject the "Red scare" as a means of frightening workers into accepting the textile bosses' terms.

The Communist Party, in order to arm the militant workers against such strike-breaking maneuvers, re-states its position on the strike.

We are for the continuation of the strike, and the spreading of the strike to make it 100 per cent effective, *until the demands as formulated by the textile workers themselves are won.*

The demands for two shifts of 30 hours per week, for the proposed minimum wages (unskilled \$13, semi-skilled \$18, skilled \$22.50, highly skilled \$30), for the revision of the work load as specified at the convention, and for union recognition, are realizable demands. They can be won.

The Communist Party warns against all proposals which would weaken these demands.

* * *

Just as soon as the employers unconditionally accept *these* demands, the Communist Party will urge all workers to return to work in an organized manner, with mill committees in every mill to enforce these demands.

It is a vile slander to say that the Communists want

to see the "whole country plunged into chaos in order to advance their revolutionary doctrines", as the *Journal* would have you believe. It is equally slanderous to say that the Communists would oppose "a satisfactory settlement", as charged by Woll.

Let the bosses offer "*a satisfactory settlement*" today, and the *Daily Worker* tomorrow would advise the textile workers to return to the mills.

But this is the issue: *What is a satisfactory settlement?*

Our answer is: *The demands of the textile workers as formulated by the workers themselves at the U.T.W. convention.*

Let the bosses grant *these* demands unconditionally, and the Communists would consider that a satisfactory settlement.

What Woll means by a "satisfactory" settlement is one that will satisfy the rapacious mill owners. Attempts at this sort of "settlement" the Communists will most certainly fight.

As to the charge that the Communists want to see the whole country plunged into chaos in order to advance their revolutionary doctrines", let us assure the gentlemen of the Hearst press that it is not the Communists who are plunging the country toward "chaos."

That job is being carried out ruthlessly by the capitalists themselves, among them the textile bosses.

This strike arises from the unbearable starvation conditions which the textile bosses, in their greed for huge profits, have enforced in the mills. It is the hunger and misery in the mill towns that have caused the workers to stake everything in a desperate struggle to win improved conditions.

* * *

The Communist Party did not create this strike. The conditions for it were created by the bosses. The Communist Party in the past, and now, strives to organize the workers, and transform their struggle into a conscious, purposeful struggle that will lead to victory.

The road to the Communist goal of a Soviet America, of a workers' government, is not a road toward chaos, but the only road away from the very chaos which capitalism is today creating. If the working class were to seize political power as the Communists propose, the misery and suffering of today would be ended.

The workers, with State power in their hands, could once and for all end unemployment, low wages, the vicious speed-up system and all the other evils of capitalism. With the banks, the factories, the mines, the railroads in the workers' hands, the whole toiling population of the country could quickly solve all their problems as they proceeded with the building of a Socialist society.

But the road of the workers toward this goal is the road of victorious struggle for their immediate everyday demands, a road away from chaos. One does not arrive at working class power, at a Soviet Government, by following the road of Matthew Woll or Francis J. Gorman. Their road of class collaboration, of concessions to the bosses, leads to constantly worse conditions for the masses, to one defeat after another. They, together with the capitalists, are responsible for the present chaos in the textile industry.

* * *

By striving to protect and maintain the capitalist system, the system of great wealth for a few and extreme poverty for the masses, and by striving to liquidate the workers' struggle against the inhuman condi-

tions prevalent today whenever the struggle becomes sharp, they become the direct allies of the bosses in all their terror and murder drives against the workers.

That is the meaning of Gorman's plea today for Federal troops, his proposals for the ending of mass picketing and flying squadrons, his visit to Roosevelt, etc. The fight has become hot, and instead of rallying more strength for the fight, he proposes to retreat. This would mean returning to work in the mills under the same old speed-up and at the same old starvation wages.

The Communist Party calls upon the textile workers to go forward. Refuse to follow Gorman, or Woll, or Green onto a road which would mean defeat for the strike.

Fight on for your own demands. Insist that these be granted before you return to the mills.

This is the way to end the growing chaos. This is the road toward victory in your strike. This is the road toward working class power.

The Communist Party will continue to rally the workers for your support.

Reprinted from *Daily Worker* of Sept. 10, 1934.

ORGANIZE FOR VICTORY IN THE TEXTILE STRIKE

ALL reports from Washington show conclusively that the United Textile Workers strike leadership, headed by Francis J. Gorman, is already preparing a retreat in the textile strike.

On Sept. 8 Mr. Gorman talked of a general strike to back up the militant textile strikers in the face of

the murderous attacks of the bosses. On Sept. 10 Mr. Gorman retreated on this, backing up the declaration of William Green that, "We are not even considering a general strike. Sympathy strikes will not be approved". Mr. Gorman even attempted to stop mass picketing and the effective work of the flying squadron.

At the same time, completely disregarding the murderous manner in which troops, both state and federal, have slaughtered workers in the past (San Francisco, Toledo, etc.), Mr. Gorman asks Roosevelt to call out Federal troops to "protect" the workers. What workers today believe that troops will be called out to aid and protect workers? The very suggestion is absurd.

Finally, to touch only the main points, Mr. Gorman agrees to give full power to Roosevelt's three-men arbitration board, with the pledge in advance that the U.T.W. will accept any decision which this board renders. Of course, as a purely face-saving device, he insists that first the mills close down 100 per cent. This the mill owners are not likely to do; they will close down only *when they are closed down* by the flying squadrons and mass picket lines of the strikers. Mr. Gorman talks of this visionary 100 per cent shut down as a condition for arbitration only to prepare the workers for arbitration. It will be followed by acceptance of Roosevelt's tricky arbitration scheme without any conditions whatsoever.

The handing of the workers' demands over to Roosevelt's three-men board would mean defeat for the textile strikers. The textile workers would get exactly what the workers of Minneapolis, Toledo, San Francisco and the auto and steel workers got from arbitration—*NOTHING!*

All the proposals of Mr. Gorman, the entire strike strategy of the U.T.W. and A. F. of L. leadership are

designed to kill the militancy of the strike and to trick the workers into one or another arbitration trap.

* * *

The central task of every militant textile worker, Communist and non-Communist alike, is to arouse the masses against these arbitration proposals. Arbitration must be blocked.

The demands of the textile workers, those adopted by the workers' delegates at the recent U.T.W. convention, can serve as the only basis for a settlement beneficial to the workers. There can be no retreat from these demands.

The slogan everywhere should be: *a 100 per cent strike, with every mill closed tight, until the textile bosses grant the demands as adopted by the U.T.W. convention.*

The workers in every mill and in every locality should emphatically inform Mr. Gorman that his arbitration agreements will not be accepted by the workers.

Gorman's field representatives may try to prevent the militants from being heard at local mass meetings. But everywhere the job is to break through all such efforts to deny you the most elementary trade union democracy. Every striker has a right to be heard at any union or strike meeting. A point has been reached where to prevent a retreat, to go forward to victory, the workers must make their voices heard against arbitration. Resolutions and telegrams should literally flood Gorman's Washington office against his arbitration proposals and retreat strategy.

This is the immediate task, but this alone will not prevent the betrayal of the strike. At best it can only make Mr. Gorman's retreat more difficult to execute.

The only way to move forward to victory is for the workers themselves to take control of the strike.

* * *

The Communist Party urges all textile workers in all sections of the country to set up their own strike committees at once, and to take all other measures necessary to carry the strike forward to victory. Specifically we urge the following measures:

1. Maintain mass picket lines before every mill to prevent the reopening of the mills before your convention demands are granted to all textile workers.

2. Canvass the surrounding territory. If there is a mill operating, organize flying squadrons and mass marches to close the mill. Bring every mill, wool, cotton, rayon, silk, and auxiliary plants out on strike until all demands are won.

3. Above all, undertake at once to organize rank-and-file strike committees from among the striking workers at your mill, choosing the most trustworthy and militant workers to represent your interests. Pledge them to continue the strike until the convention demands are granted.

4. Get in touch with the similarly organized rank-and-file mill committees in the neighboring mills; invite them to join with you in setting up local strike committees representing all the mills in the county with, say, two representatives or three from each mill committee. This committee should be in charge of the strike in the country, it should maintain the closest contacts with the mill committees and regularly report on all activities and proposals to all the strikers.

5. These county or city strike committees should likewise quickly reach the strike committees in neighboring cities or counties and prepare for regional conferences, with representatives present if possible from

every mill and at least from every locality where regional strike committees, say, one for New England, one for New Jersey, one for Pennsylvania, one for the Carolinas, and one for the lower South are established.

Such regional committees, truly representative of the rank-and-file, and made up of honest, militant fighters, could, within a few days, set up a *National Rank and File Committee* which could really lead to victory.

Comrade textile workers, this job can be done by you. You have shown your ability to organize mass picket lines, flying squadrons and mass marches. Through your efforts hundreds of mills have been closed.

In the same determined manner you can organize the leadership of your strike. You can take it in your own hands. You can set up a leadership that will lead to victory, and to a powerful organization capable of maintaining your gains.

Don't wait for some one to come in to help you. If there are those there who agree with this policy so much the better. But at any rate follow out this method of organizing your strike and victory is sure.

You should also take up the organization of relief. The farmers, workers in other industries, large sections of the lower middle class are ready to help you. Organize relief committees. Recruit strikers to visit workers' organizations, trade unions, farmers, small storekeepers. Ask them for relief. They will help.

Keep up your spirits. Hold regular meetings. Develop sports. Take up singing and other such activities. Draw in women and children. Make this a fight in which all strikers and their families are rallied for a fight to victory.

Finally, the Communist Party urges you to reach the other workers to aid you in the fight for your civil rights, for your right to hold meetings, to picket the

mills, and for the freedom of the workers' press. The workers stand shoulder to shoulder with you. They will join with you in protests against the terror. They can be brought into sympathetic strikes and even into a general strike to aid you on to victory.

Stand firm for your demands. Organize your strike. Arouse the workers in other industries.

The Communist Party pledges its aid. This is the road to victory.

Reprinted from *Daily Worker* of Sept. 11, 1934.

FOR NEGRO EQUALITY

SOUTHERN textile workers have every reason now to revise completely the attitude toward the Negro masses, carefully instigated by the Southern capitalists and landlords.

The ruling class has for years stirred up hatred against Negroes. They, said the capitalists, are "inferior." The white workers were lined up against the Negroes in the name of "race purity" and other such bogeys.

Now the class war between the textile bosses and the workers has reached a high point in the South. The Southern bosses and their hirelings in state offices are shooting down white workers. Nine workers have been murdered already in cold blood. Hundreds have been wounded, many seriously. The bosses, who in the past have sought to divide the working class by playing white against Negro workers, are now threatening to bring Negro workers into the mills to replace whites.

The Negro workers, however, cannot be transformed into scabs so easily, even though many Negro leaders may advise such a course with the tricky promises that the strike offers the Negroes an opportunity to secure jobs in an industry previously closed to them.

Negro workers, on the contrary, are actively supporting the textile strike. Two incidents are typical. Negro tobacco workers in the Greensboro area have voted to contribute \$1 per week each out of their meager earnings to aid the textile strikers. Negro sharecroppers around Huntington, Alabama, have likewise decided to give direct material aid to the strike.

These are straws in the wind which show the growing class solidarity between the Negro and white toilers in the South. They show the possibilities for a fighting alliance between the Negro and white workers against the white ruling class which lynches Negroes and now murders white strikers.

The lynching of Negroes in the past, their exploitation and persecution, has been inseparably connected with the greed of the white landlords and capitalists for profits, and with their desire to keep the toiling masses, Negro and white, divided in order to insure continued boss-class rule.

The white workers, now that they see the murderous policies of the white bosses in the present strike, and the loyal support of the Negro workers, should join with the Negroes in a fight against persecution, jim-crowism and lynching. They should fight for full equality for the Negro workers, in the first place in the textile mills.

One of the demands of the present strike should be the right of the Negro workers to all jobs, and at the same wages as other workers. Such a fight by the textile strikers would do much to advance the unity of Negro and white workers in a common struggle for improved conditions.