

NEW MILITANT

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Wall Street Cracks Whip on Congress

Efforts to Save Capitalism to Continue - New Deal In 1934 Raised Prices, Profits - Put New Millions on Relief

By GEO. CLARKE

Flushed with its recent electoral victory the Democratic Congress opens in Washington once again to do the bidding of the master. The master is not Roosevelt or the so-called sovereign people. The guiding spirits of the nation sit not in Washington but many miles to the north, in the man-made canyons of New York. It is the interests of Wall Street the legislators will serve.

The entire history of the New Deal is alive with instances proving the old maxim that the government is but the "executive committee of the ruling class". Roosevelt and a willing Congress took hold of the political reins of American capitalism, just as it was being steered into the ditch, and brought it back onto a safe highway. An unofficial spokesman for the administration, Raymond Moley, says flat-footedly: "Basically the New Deal was an effort to save capitalism."

Ungrateful Wall Street

Big Business may appear ungrateful to Roosevelt for the helping hand he gave it when in need. But if Wall Street has been grudging in its compliments, this is no indication that Roosevelt and his congressional majority have stinted in their grants. The actions of the President when the banks were on the verge of collapse and the six billion dollar blood injection into the prostrate financial and industrial institutions of American capitalism speak louder than compliments.

Capitalism has reaped a lucrative harvest under the benign administration of Mr. Roosevelt. The Journal of Commerce reports that over six billion dollars in the form of corporate interests and dividends have flowed into its coffers for the year 1934.

These fabulous profits have not been gained in an era of well being and prosperity for all. The economy of scarcity amid abundance is as striking a fact under Roosevelt as under Hoover.

Promises

The promises of Roosevelt to the stricken working class groaning under the full weight of the mounting years of economic crisis have been remarkably prolific. But even as these promises gained in ozone volume they receded in real substance. The talk of recovery has yielded little to the workers. Unemployment, according to the notoriously conservative A. F. of L. figures, shows an increase of 550,000 from October 1933 when the number of jobless stood at the figure of 10,122,000 to October 1934 when it has risen to 10,872,000. The last year has seen an increase of over one million families on relief. Richberg himself estimates that by February 1935 more than 5,000,000 families or over 22,000,000 persons will live on relief pittance.

"No one shall starve," said Roosevelt, and his Democratic Congress cheered him to the echo. The meaning of that promise is now clear. It has meant that death from starvation should be avoided to avert an explosion of discontent stored up for more than five years. Its corollary, however, has been that wages and relief levels must keep the masses on the border of starvation. The recent decree of relief administrator, Harry Hopkins, slashing work relief wages from 40 to 30 cents an hour is a veritable dynamite cure for those suffering from New Deal promises.

Employed Workers

Employed workers have fared no better than those on relief doles. The process of leveling the wages of skilled workers has been a high point of accomplishment under Rooseveltian codes. Its counterpart has been a standard of minimum wages slightly above the government handouts. And these standards have rarely been enforced. How significant is the fact that thousands of Detroit automobile workers, ostensibly living under a paradise of capitalist paternalism, would rather depend on relief checks than on the abominable wage of General Motors or Henry Ford!

On the other hand food prices have risen 28 percent over the figure for April 25, 1933. But pay-rolls have actually dropped 5.2 percent for the third quarter of 1934. When the working class tried to bridge this yawning gap, the New Deal has thrust its elbow in the way. Strikes have either been prevented or, once under way, pulverized by a multitude of arbitration boards. And now, the crowning stroke, is the so-called truce proclaimed by Roosevelt with the direct collusion of William Green and the manufacturers. With the help of its Judas leaders labor has been crucified on the cross of the

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Auto Body Told System Is Doomed

Workers Shun Hearing Held to Stabilize Industry

TOLEDO, Ohio.—"The workers no longer trust the Government. That is why more workers have not come to testify at this hearing."

The NRA committee investigating labor conditions in the automobile industry heard this from Art Preis, speaking for the Workers Party of the United States. The committee, which has been gathering data in Detroit, Flint, Pontiac, Toledo and other auto centers, was unable to understand why more workers did not come forward.

"Testimony has been taken secretly and good union men are afraid to expose themselves at this hearing," Preis told the committee. "This fact speaks eloquently of labor's position in this country. The workers know that the Government is in the hands of the industrialists. If they victimize themselves here, the Government will not protect them."

Whispered Testimony

Preis's statement came as a climax to many hours of whispered testimony by members of the Federal Auto Workers Union in which they told of acts of discrimination against militant workers, speed-up, sordid working conditions, irregular employment and low wages. The hearing was largely a farce. Workers were not permitted to express opinions on the National Auto Labor Board, or on Section 7a of NRA. Data on how to stabilize the auto industry under the profit system was what the committee wanted.

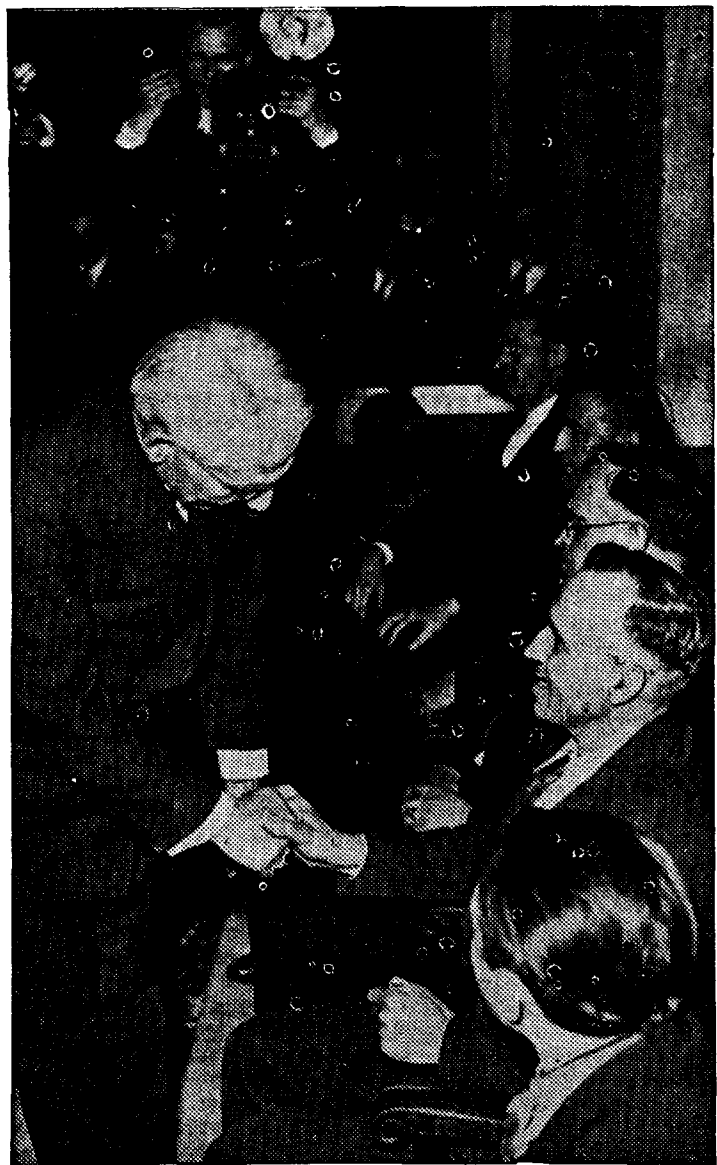
Preis Produces Facts

Refusing to speak from this basis, the Workers Party representative launched into a documented report on developments in the auto industry, showing the increasing rationalization and monopoly control under the NRA. Competition between the remaining major auto corporations is becoming sharper, he said. Facts and figures on unemployment, wages and hours were submitted to show that conditions in the industry would continue to become worse.

"This committee wants to know how to stabilize the industry," Preis continued. "The truth is, as members of the committee well know, the automobile industry cannot be stabilized. The economic system has to be stabilized. And capitalism cannot be stabilized. The profit system is undoubtedly doomed. We must look to a system

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Robber Baron Goes Free



The Insull brothers are free again. The above picture shows Martin thanking the jury after his acquittal on a \$350,000 embezzlement charge. The Insull public utilities companies have taken millions from investors.

Another story on this page tells about 18 workers in California who face long prison sentences on charges of attempting to overthrow the government. Their actual crime is that they had the guts and decency to organize agricultural workers to fight against starvation wages.

Yet there are some workers who believe there are no classes in America! Who believe that the rich are treated the same as the poor!

Huey Long Is Tammany Hall Rising in South

A Clever Politician, Accustomed to Corruption, Graft

(This is the first of a series of articles on would-be fascist leaders in the United States.)

By DAN EASTMAN
Part I

Huey Long is no depression baby; unlike Upton Sinclair, Dr. Townsend, and Father Coughlin, he has been in politics for many years. In 1920 he started his career as a member of the Louisiana Public Service Commission, in 1924 he ran up an astonishing vote for governor, and in 1928, at the very height of prosperity, he was elected.

Long is no kind-hearted socialist muckraker, no misguided visionary doctor, nor fulminating Catholic, but a clever and experienced politician accustomed to the ruthless corruption of capitalist politics. He is Tammany Hall brought up to date.

It is a mistake to underestimate the Louisiana Kingfish. If there had been no depression his antics would be confined to the always poverty stricken state of Louisiana. But with the whole country plunged into poverty and insecurity, the political measures that broke the government of Louisiana are now potentially effective throughout the nation.

Long's Following

On September 1 of this year, Huey Long was able to claim, if not prove, some 1,400,000 members of his Share the Wealth Clubs throughout America. In New York City alone, if we are to believe his

supporters, there are already 200 Share the Wealth Clubs ready to follow Huey wherever he may lead.

The stronghold of Longism is, of course, Louisiana, where there are literally thousands of Share the Wealth Clubs, and where Huey has a deadlock on every apparatus of government. He controls the executive directly through his stooge, Governor O. K. Allen. He has such influence in the legislature that, in the last session, it passed some forty-four bills so rapidly that none of the members ever found out what they were voting. And with so little formality, that it was months before the exact nature of the bills passed was known either to the legislature or to the people. He controls the judiciary; after some fancy political maneuvering he succeeded in getting five of the eight members of the Supreme Court of Louisiana. Huey himself is one of the senators from the state, and the other, Senator Overton, is a Long man. Two of the representatives to the lower house are Long men.

In Arkansas, which ranks second in the number of Share the Wealth Clubs, Long is reported to have assisted and influenced the election of Senator Hattie Caraway, widow of the late lamented Senator Caraway.

In Mississippi, third in the number of Share the Wealth Clubs, Long had a hand in the election of Senator Bilbo.

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STEEL ELECTION CALLED

Carnegie Corporation Will Rely on Government And Courts

By ARNE SWABECK

The National Steel Labor Relations Board has ordered—"reluctantly and after long hesitation"—that an election be held in the plants of the Carnegie Steel Company, subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation. Almost a year ago such an election was ordered by the National Labor Board in the Weirton steel mills, but the Weirton magnates snapped their fingers at this decision. They had previously held an election—in their own way—making sure in advance that the returns would show an overwhelming indorsement for the company union.

Of course, the Weirton steel workers, who had amply proven by their strike in September 1933 that they were in favor of a union of their own and ready to fight for it, got nothing out of the sham maneuvers between the labor boards and the owners of the industry. It is reported that the workers in the Carnegie mills had asked the Wagner National Labor Board last February for an election and on May 2 it was ruled that such an election should be held. Nothing happened.

It is reported also that the Carnegie Corporation had expressed a willingness to bargain with the steel workers union as a concession to them but remained adamant in its demand to negotiate similarly with other groups, meaning the company union through which it feels sure of its powers of coercion and intimidation to control the men in the mills.

It has already been strongly intimated that the corporation will refuse to furnish the payroll for the elections ordered and carry the case up to the United States Supreme Court. A fight in this manner is a fight on the corporation's own front. It knows how to deal with the courts and how to make the influence of its money powers bear fruit. The steel corporation does not mind spending a little time with the courts for it knows it can rely on any branch of the capitalist government to carry out its wishes. In this sense it relies on its own powers, a lesson that the steel workers union has not yet learned.

These are so far the results of the demoralizing practices instituted by the proposals of William Green and Mike Tighe at the steel workers union convention in Pittsburgh last June when it faced the momentous question of striking the mills to compel recognition of the union.

Green asked for the creation of the National Steel Labor Relations Board and got it. The workers paid the price of the resulting disintegrating influence just at a time when an aggressive policy of organization and action was required. Green and Tighe on the other hand are pursuing their victory and forging ahead for an industrial truce of no strikes with monopoly capitalism.

To challenge the steel corporation to a plant election to determine the sentiment of the workers may have had its time. Now that is not the issue and in view of the special powers of coercion in the hands of the corporation in such a procedure it will result only in disorganization of the workers' ranks. Actual union organization means to fight it out.

Prospects for organization were excellent last summer. The Amalgamated Association of Iron Steel and Tin Workers of America, which had 100,000 members, was on guard for their own interests.

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Eighteen on Trial Need Labor Defense

California Fruit Growers Push Prosecution of Union Leaders in Red Drive - Workers Move to Obtain Bail

(Press Service of Non-Partisan Labor Defense)

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—Confronted by a proposal originating with the California growers' associations that District Attorney McAllister, who was defeated in the last election and goes out of office January 5, be hired at a fat fee as special prosecutor in the pending criminal syndicalism cases, the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors is showing signs of fright.

Despite the lack of a serious organized defense movement of the 18 workers shortly to be tried for the crime of organizing to win decent wages, the Board hesitates to hire McAllister. At a special meeting Monday morning, several members expressed doubts of their authority "to spend the taxpayers' money" on a special prosecutor. Underneath a flood of legalistic jabber was this consciousness:

Imperialists Enter New Naval Phase

Japan Ends Treaty -- U.S. Fleet to Mass In Pacific

The Japanese denunciation of the Washington Naval Treaty at the close of 1934 was a bold stroke to overcome the obstacles placed in her way by American and British imperialism. The struggle for the markets and raw materials of the Orient, especially China, is of primary importance to these three powers. At the present juncture this struggle revolves around the question of the naval strength of the Big Three. With the rejection of the 5-5-3 ratio a new naval race begins. It will go a long way in determining who is to control the gateway to the Chinese waters.

If Japan succeeds with her naval policy a gigantic step forward in the further penetration of China is assured. But the United States will not concede (nor will Britain). Already we hear that the President plans to recommend increased naval and military appropriations. At the same time a big Pacific maneuver of the entire navy, the largest ever assembled, is planned with a gigantic squad of airships.

Japan's aim is naval supremacy in the Eastern area.

To accomplish this it was necessary to reject the renewal of the 5-5-3 ratio and instead demand parity. Japan, however, does not want parity at a 5-5-5 ratio. Japan is in no financial condition to build such a navy. The United States is the only nation that could weather such financial hardships. But even if Japan could allot funds for this purpose, such a large navy ratio would strengthen the Anglo-American imperialists and defeat the aims of Japan. Japan demands "disarmament"—that all "offensive" ships (battleships-airships-submarines) shall be discarded and a new ratio of 3-3-3.

The purpose of Japan is to eliminate ships with a long cruising range. If the Anglo-American imperialists are to protect their Pounds and Dollars in the Orient they must have all types of ships that can travel long distances for combat and return to fueling bases. If these are eliminated the Japanese imperialists can easily master the Asiatic area against either of the two main contenders, and possibly both if necessary.

A new armament race has begun another step toward war has been taken. Let the workers of the world be on guard for their own interests.

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1934 - Labor's Story - Hope, Trust, Betrayal, Militancy - 1935

American labor starts 1935 in a militant mood. A year ago workers put their trust in Roosevelt and the New Deal. That trust betrayed by one event after another during 1934, they enter 1935 aware that they must fight if they are to win.

The blood of 52 workers killed in strikes, many shot in the back, stains the old year's record.

During the first nine months of 1934, incomplete returns show 1,104 strikes—more than in any year since 1921—involving 1,500,000 workers.

Unemployed Help

Significant was the increasing cooperation between employed and unemployed workers in strikes. Toledo set the pace last spring,

in the Auto-Lite strike. Barricades were erected in the streets. Two workers were killed by National Guardsmen.

The strikers, with the Unemployed League giving leadership, won a 5 per cent increase and union recognition.

The Minneapolis teamsters' strike was marked by the intelligent way in which it was organized, the strikers' refusal to accept less than victory, and the fact that farmers supplied food to the strikers.

After settlement of the strike in May, it flared again in summer when the bosses broke the agreement. In the bosses' effort to break the strike two workers were killed, and 50 were wounded. The workers won a guaranteed wage scale, the right to represent inside as well

as outside workers.

For 16 Workers—Death

The largest strike occurred in September, when 600,000 textile workers walked out. Sixteen workers gave their lives as 40,000 troops were called out to break the strike.

With the strikers still fighting, the leaders of the United Textile Workers "sold" the strike for a Roosevelt promise—investigation of the stretchout and other evils. The workers are still waiting for better conditions.

On the west coast, the year's most spectacular strike tied up every port as longshoremen walked out. The strike reached its climax in San Francisco, in a three-day general strike. Police killed two workers. In Seattle Mayor Smith

led mounted police into the strike

led mounted police into the strike workers' ranks. The National Longshoremen's Board was set up. Arbitration gave the strikers a 30-hour week, 95 cents an hour, partial control of hiring halls. In San Francisco the Market Street Railway Company, Tom Mooney's old enemy, was unionized.

Victory—For Bosses

Two of the basic industries, steel and automobiles, called off threatened strikers when President Roosevelt "arbitrated". The settlements included recognition of Company unions, in automobiles the retention of the infamous

merit clause". As the new year starts, auto workers are again getting ready to fight.

America's first newspaper strike came in Newark, N. J., where 40 out of 52 editorial room workers of the Newark Ledger walked out in November for union recognition. They are still out, helped by the young American newspaper guild.

Strikes by relief workers and workers on government projects marked the year, as did walkouts by store clerks and white collar workers.

Agricultural strikes occurred all over the country. Like the industrial strikes, they were significant for their growing militancy and the help given by the unemployed. Millions of workers start the new year with their eyes opened.

McAllister, running for reelection last month, tried to capitalize on the red scare arising out of the collapse of the Frisco general strike; he promised that if reelected he would "do justice to every criminal syndicalist"—that is, he would put militant workers of all shades of opinion in San Quentin. Not only did the Sacramento Federated Trades Council and the Building Trades Council (A. F. of L.) adopt resolutions demanding repeal of the C. S. law, but McAllister was defeated in the elections.

Consequently, the Supervisors have lost some of their lust for battle. They have also heard of the wave of new wildcat strikes among the fighting stevedores of Frisco and Oakland. They rightly suspect that the period of widespread working-class retreat which followed the general strike is coming to an end. The fact that the defeat of Sinclair has not meant the collapse of his utopian EPIC movement, but that many EPIC groups are now more radical than before the election, is also impressing vote-chasing politicians.

The truth is that the Sacramento criminal syndicalist cases are being pushed not so much by local conservative politicians as by the growers of the Sacramento, San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys, and the banks of Frisco who are against unions everywhere and always. The most striking evidence is the presence in Sacramento County Court throughout the jury selection of the notorious Red Hynes, labor-baiting, union-smashing and red-baiting police chief of Los Angeles. Hynes will probably take the stand for the State, backed by a flock of stool pigeons.

There is every indication that the jury will be straight anti-labor. The prosecution, in addition to having on the panel plants such as the lady who drinks cocktails with the district attorney, has used its challenges cleverly. Workers have been disqualified and most of the jurors selected so far live in the fashionable part of town.

The bosses hope to send the 18 defendants, arrested during the height of the red scare in July, to jail for terms as long as 84 years. This, they plan, shall finish off the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, which has organized some notable struggles and had at one time a membership of almost 20,000 militants.

The working class as a whole is deeply interested in these cases. As the bloody and outspoken reaction which raged through the autumn begins to subside, the bosses seek to revive it. The conviction of the 18 Sacramento workers would be the signal for a new outbreak of raids, arrests and vigilantism. The fate of these 18 defendants, consequently, is of concern to the entire working class and demands its attention despite all political differences.

The defendants, who include leaders both of the Communist Party and of the union, are not yet getting the broad organized backing to which they are entitled. Should such a movement get on foot within the next week or so, to include large sections of the trade union movement, McAllister may yet be driven out of the case and the whole frame-up smashed. An important aspect is that the defendants be bailed out so that they may move about freely and rally support for the fight. The court has its ear to the ground, and if the workers get going in time, the 18 defendants will be saved and the growers' associations will take a licking.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Clothing Workers Fight Suspension

Eight members of Local 4, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have been given a suspended sentence on charges of belonging to an opposition group in the local. Expulsion is threatened if they take further part in the activities of this group. Some members of the group declared themselves to be members of the Rank and File Committee which is not confined to Local 4 but is a general left wing organization working for a left wing progressive program throughout the entire Amalgamated Union. Only in this one local, Cutters Local No. 4 of New York has the right of members to belong to any group been challenged. The A. C. W., which was founded in a struggle against a bureaucratic machine has prided itself on its democratic and progressive policies and procedure. Nevertheless, this Local administration takes upon itself to discipline members for exercising a right long recognized and practiced in all progressive or democratic unions, that is the right of members to organize groups around such policies as they consider fitted for their union.

We wish to publicly protest against the following violation of elementary democratic rights of union members within their own organization. (1) The suspended sentences and threats of expulsion for belonging to the Rank and File Committee and the barring of members from belonging to organized groups within the union, who loyally support the union and whose aim is to make it a more effective instrument for their struggles. (2) The violation of the constitutional rights of the eight members who were never given copies of the charges against them and who were also refused the constitutional rights of being represented by any

member designated by them at the trial. At a time like this when organized labor, both in this and other countries, is battling for the right to organize into unions of their own choice, etc., it should be the bounden duty of all organized workers to see to it that the widest democracy prevails in their own and other unions.

We hope that this protest of a group of members of a trade union, which has always paraded as a progressive and democratic union, will draw the attention of all honest and truly progressive workers and secure their sympathy and support in our struggle against the violation of elementary democratic rights and against the intimidation of a suspended sentence and the threat of expulsion that hangs over the heads of our eight members.

MEMBERS OF LOCAL 4.
(Signed)

Allard Elected

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 19.—Gerry Allard, member of the Workers Party, was overwhelmingly elected to the pit committee of his local union in recent elections held in the Progressive Miners of America. Fred Schmidt and Walter Repasky, young militant coal diggers, were elected as co-members of the committee. The local union has 437 members. It is a working local with job control under the jurisdiction of the new Illinois miners union.

Officers elected for the incoming year are: James Peyton, president; Cap Hollensack, vice-president; Fred Farrand, recording secretary; John Beamer, financial secretary; Chas. Peyton, treasurer; Louis Cooke, door keeper; Mike Mayerhoffer, Jim Burgess and Ed Donaldson, sick committee; Gerry Allard, Fred Schmidt and Walter Repasky, pit committee.

Relief Head Aids Cops, League Finds

ALLENTOWN, Pa. Dec. 31.—The grievance committee of the Lehigh County Unemployed League recently disclosed that relief officials were working hand in hand with the Allentown Police Department. The facts are as follows:

M. Harisko, father of a 16 year old boy wanted as the alleged murderer of a night watchman, was cut from his job on a relief project shortly after the shooting occurred on Nov. 15. The son has successfully eluded the police since.

Although Harisko has a family dependent upon him, all relief was stopped and he received neither food, clothing nor coal. Reduced to extreme destitution and misery he applied time and again in vain to various relief officials. After a month of suffering, Harisko was approached by the police with the infamous proposition that if he would turn the son over to them he would be given immediately the relief due him.

Appeals to League

Angered, Harisko brought the case to the attention of the Unemployed League. When it was presented to Mrs. Maomi Sheema, local supervisor of relief, she vehemently denied collaboration with the police. However, when she opened the folder containing the records of the Harisko case, what should appear but numerous clippings and a police photograph of the boy.

The committee demanded to know the meaning of this and Mrs. Sheema blushing replied: "As social workers we are interested in the welfare of the boy. We want to see that no harm befalls him."

Due to the efforts of the League the family is again receiving relief. The police department and relief officials are in an embarrassing predicament.

United Fronting In Pittsburgh

PENNSYLVANIA LEAGUES TRY AGAIN

But Councils and S. P. Group Forget to Tell The Rank and File What It's All About

By E. R. McKINNEY

PITTSBURGH.—Once again the Communist Party and its Unemployed Councils have demonstrated themselves to be ineffectual instruments for promoting the united front with other unemployed organizations. For different reasons the same criticism can be directed against the Socialist Party and the Unemployed Citizens League in Pittsburgh.

The story begins about two months ago when the Allegheny County Emergency Relief Board decided to set up a central complaint bureau to be called the "Public Relations Office" (P.R.O.). The A.C.E.R.B. ruled that relations of the unemployed organizations should be with the P.R.O. only and that in the future no unemployed committees would be admitted to the relief stations.

Before the Public Relations Office had been publicly announced, the Relief Board called for a meeting of the unemployed organizations. The Pennsylvania Unemployed League (P.U.L.) in Pittsburgh, had information that this meeting was called for the purpose of telling the unemployed leagues of the board's intention to establish the P.R.O. The P.U.L. immediately sent a letter to the Unemployed Citizens League (U.C.L.) which is led by the Socialist Party, suggesting that the U.C.L. and the P.U.L. get together before the meeting with the board and lay plans for meeting with the P.R.O. The U.C.L. did not reply to this letter and each unemployed organization went individually into the meeting with the A.C.E.R.B. At a subsequent meeting the P.U.L. presented a counter-plan to the P.R.O. and was the only organization to make definite and concrete counter-proposals.

About one week after the first meeting with the board Robert Lieberman, S. P. leader of the U.C.L., sent out a letter to all unemployed organizations suggesting a meeting at U.C.L. headquarters to organize a united front against the P.R.O. When Lieberman was asked why he had not replied to the P.U.L. letter his reply was to ask, "How did you know what was going to be discussed at the Board meeting?"

On the Line

The P.U.L. decided to go into the united front called by Lieberman and the U.C.L., along with the Unemployed Councils, and the Rank and File Veterans. We insisted that our united action must not be directed against the P.R.O. as such but must be a demand for the admission of unemployed league committees to the relief units.

The P.U.L. began to picket relief stations in support of this demand. At the East Liberty relief station the pickets were arrested. The police contended that there could be no strike of the unemployed and that therefore they had no right

to picket. Furthermore, the police took the position that the picket line of about fifteen was a "parade" for which a permit was necessary.

Not a Parade

Despite the arrests the picketing was kept up. At the time the hearing for those arrested was in progress the picket line was still on duty. At the hearing, despite urging from the police, the magistrate decided that a picket line was not a "parade" and that the unemployed could not be stopped from using this form of protest and demonstration. Thus the P.U.L. established the right of its members to be on the sidewalk in front of a relief station.

While the P.U.L. was leading this militant action the Unemployed Councils in the united front committee were advocating a county-wide demonstration to be conducted both inside and outside the relief stations. Some of the unemployed were to demonstrate outside while others were to lay siege to the inside. Out of its experience the P.U.L. knew that such methods would prove futile and defeatist on a county-wide scale. We had tried them and knew that other tactics were more effective. The U. C., the U.C.L. and the Rank and File Veterans voted to ignore this experience. The P.U.L. decided not to participate in the demonstration.

And It Failed

The demonstration was called and was a failure. At only two stations was there any action worth while. There are 10 stations inside the city. At the South Side station about 200 workers turned out but no leader or speaker either from the U.C. or the U.C.L. showed up. At the time these South Side workers—most of whom belonged to the Unemployed Councils—were looking around the relief station waiting for the "speakers" to come, the two Unemployed Council leaders who had advocated laying siege to the relief stations, were busy resting in the headquarters of the U.C.L. over one mile away.

Forgot Rank and File

At a meeting of the Unemployed Council the next day, one leader made the statement that the demonstration was a failure because the P.U.L. had refused to participate.

After a five week's effort the P.U.L. discovered that the rank and file of the U.C.L. and the U.C. had never been informed what the united front was all about.

What Councils Wanted

There was plenty of evidence for the conclusion that the U. C. was only interested to put Lieberman "on the spot" and to push their everlasting schemes for forcing merger on the other organizations.

The P.U.L. decided to discontinue participation in such tomfoolery and sent a committee to so notify the next united front meeting. In this meeting the P.U.L. delegates were surprised to discover that rank and file members of the U.C.L. and U.C. also had come to the conclusion that it was not a genuine united front. Speaker after speaker from the U. C. charged that the rank and file did not know what was going on, that their leaders had given no information or directions to the membership and that they were finding it very difficult to get the members to demonstrate. Collins, the best militant in the U.C.L., charged that the U.C. leaders only showed up on Sunday at the committee meeting.

After these speeches E. R. McKinney delivered the decision of the P.U.L. When he had finished a U.C. member made a motion that a leaflet be distributed exposing him before the workers.

U. C. Hatchet Men

Then one of the U. C. hatchetmen took the floor and made a provocative speech in which McKinney was called a "scab" and likened to a "strike-breaker". This speaker contended that the P.U.L. was composed of "honest workers" and that they must be taken away from the P.U.L. leaders.

After this speech the Unemployed Council speakers who had severely criticized their leaders and called the united front a "fake" decided that not only were their leaders OK but that the failure of the united front could be laid solely at the door of the P.U.L. Not the "honest workers" in the P.U.L., of course, but their leaders.

The P.U.L. is going ahead with the work of organizing and fighting for relief. They are catching up on ground lost while the united front was being attempted. Three concentration points in the city have been established in which large and strong locals are being built.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

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IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Local 802 A.F.M.

One of the most encouraging features of the growth of trade unionism in the last year and a half has been the development of organization spirit among the white collar and professional groups. The existing unions in the field—the teachers, office workers, etc.—have made gains while in various cities throughout the country librarians, artists, auto salesmen, drug clerks and innumerable other similar groups have become part of the labor movement.

There are those who look to this development to cure many of the evils of racketeering and gangsterism that exist in the unions at present. The ladies and gentlemen of the white collar class, so the argument runs, won't put up with the things that the overall stiff is too dumb to kick against. They may be an influence in that direction. But glance for a moment at a few pages from the history of the American Federation of Musicians which tell of the fight of Local 802 in New York for the right of self government.

13 Years Hard Luck

The A. F. of M. and its president Joseph Weber have always been notorious in the labor movement for the hard boiled bureaucracy which they exercised over the membership. It was one of the first unions to go in for union reformation in a big way. Locals were summarily suspended and all their functions placed in the hands of a Weber appointee. In 1921 the rights of the 15,000 members of the New York local were thus taken away. One flare of revolt after the other has taken place in those thirteen years of dictator rule but it is only recently that the membership has begun to win back its rights. Early in 1934 the membership took up the fight again. The local was being milked of \$250,000 a year in dues and fines without even a hint as to its use. Financial reports were never made. Thugs were used against them. Seven Weber appointees sat on the local government board of 13 while the membership was graciously permitted to elect the remaining minority. Edward Canavan, president of 802 was paid \$10,000 a year for ruling a membership who had him crammed down their throats. Weber himself as the big chief, rakes in a salary of \$25,000 per annum plus \$3,000 for personal expenses, \$5 for every day he spends out of New York and additional "general expenses".

3,728 to 127

A membership vote taken in the local last March approved by 3,728 to 127 the demand for self government and the establishment of such rights as other locals of the Musicians Union enjoy under the constitution. The practically unanimous opposition of his N. Y. membership had its effect even on the rhinoceros hide of Brother Weber. At the union convention held a few months later, a decision handed down by the National Executive Board granted self government in all particulars with one exception—Canavan was to remain local president for the next two years at his regular ten thousand a year salary.

But the fight was not over. Fifteen of the active oppositionists were tried by the governing board of the local, found guilty and fined \$300 each. On their refusal to pay they were expelled from the organization.

Labor In Court

It is bad for labor progressives to fight their union officialdom in the courts. The cards are generally stacked against them by the alliances that so often exist between the district attorney and the union leadership. More important, however, is the need to settle the problems of labor within the movement and without recourse to the courts of capitalism. But there are times when it cannot be avoided. This was one of them and by legal injunction the ousted members were reinstated in the union ranks.

Administration Out

In the elections held in local 802 a few weeks ago the administration got a licking. A clean sweep eliminated every old official with the exception of Canavan who has his two years to go by special dispensation.

While New York thus makes progress, the situation of the national organization is not a happy one. Its total membership is 101,115 musicians, a loss of 45,215 within five years. A resolution introduced at the June convention calling for the reduction of initiation fees (\$50 at present) in order to make it possible to carry on organization work was turned down cold. To get back to my original point: the fight for democracy is just as sharp and severe within the unions of the white collar groups as in the organizations of coal miners and longshoremen. They are not immune from the evils which plague the movement generally.

Building Trades

Some weeks ago in this column I discussed the scrap in the building trades and the dilemma of the executive board of the American Federation of Labor in handling the serious split that has developed in the Building Trades Department. Latest news indicates that the differences are growing worse with no settlement in sight. The effort to get the books of the department away from the officials of the "outlaw" group has not succeeded but the insurgents have been evicted from their offices in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington and have set up shop across the street. And the combatants on both sides, we regret to note, are not behaving with anything like the dignity and the restraint we have a right to expect from the responsible leaders of the very respectable American Federation of Labor.

Nevertheless, it is still very doubtful whether a final showdown will see either group withdrawing from the Federation fold. The consequences in the way of jurisdictional fights would be too horrible to even consider. It is significant that the fight has not yet been brought into the local and state building trades councils but is restricted for the present to the highest body. A complete breakdown of all negotiations between the warring groups would mean the dismemberment of every subordinate council in the country.

AGED MAN JAILED FOR SNARING RABBITS

ALLENTOWN, Pa. Dec. 31.—Following a four day (day and night) vigil by game wardens, John Hontz, age 76, resident of an improvised shack of pasteboard and scrap tin, was arrested when he came to remove a rabbit from a snare. Hontz, who is not on relief but makes a living the best he can doing odd jobs, was committed to the Lehigh County Jail on the charge of "illegal trapping".

Contract for Paterson ---- What a Contract!

Silk Workers Must Tear It Up and Fling It at the Bosses

By FELIX GIORDANO

After some six weeks of negotiations, between the Paterson District of the American Federation of Silk Workers and the Silk Manufacturers Association of Paterson, the terms of the proposed contract for the plain goods department have finally been made public.

Since the end of the national textile strike last September the silk workers of Paterson have been working under conditions which were becoming daily more intolerable. The bosses declared the old contract no longer in effect and proceeded without any action on the part of the union to chisel and slash wages, discriminate against militants, and all that goes with the dear old racket.

The union officialdom, meanwhile was busy . . . watching and waiting. This policy has now brought its ripe fruit: A CONTRACT. And what a contract!

"No More Strikes"

The Paterson News summarized its essence in a front page cartoon which portrayed the silk worker shaking hands with the boss under the title of "NO MORE STRIKES FOR TWO YEARS". On this point the contract is specific.

Wages are left for arbitration. "Grievances" are left to an "impartial" Grievance Board. Ample provision is made for any and all decisions, and recommendations, and rulings by any and all government boards, "official or agency on the subject of MACHINE OR WORK-LOAD PER WORKER together with CHANGES IN RATES OF PAY when the machine load is changed, whether the said decision, ruling or recommendation is made to apply generally to the industry at large or to individual cases". But not the question of strikes. Strikes are out!

Are the workers to have any say on the subject of work-load, or "changes" in pay? Not on your life! Not while this contract can keep them down! The bosses have appointed the National Textile Relations Board, the Work Assignments Board and so forth and so on for this very purpose. All that is left for the workers is to accept the contract that binds them hand and foot to accept all decisions of all bosses' boards for the next two years.

Perpetuates 40-Hour Week

The Paterson yellow press and the bosses can very well rub their hands and chuckle, for the workers will be bound for two years to the same and worse conditions in their industry. The contract perpetuates the 40-hour week; it binds them to accept as conclusive any decision on wages and work load that the bosses' boards may hand them.

There are 29 articles in the contract, each article a link in the chain that binds the workers and the union to the wheels of the government arbitration machinery. The only article without a joker in the contract is article 24 which

reads: "This agreement is intended to comply in all respects with Section 7a of the National Recovery Act and with the interpretations and construction thereof."

You bet! Here is collective bargaining in all its glory. It's the bosses' bargain, with the bosses collecting the profits and the workers collectively getting it in the neck.

But, if they have any grievances, they can bring them to the Grievance Committee. The contract provides for everything. Even the bosses relatives, who "shall be entitled to be employed at all times, whether they were previously employed or not". There are plenty of scab agencies to provide the bosses with all the second cousins, uncles and other relatives the bosses may need to add to their family tree. "In other respects, members of the union will be given preference in retaining their jobs." (1)

"Trial Period" Joker

To make assurance doubly sure, Art. 20 sets a trial period, averaging 4 weeks, in which time the worker is no regular employee and is not "governed by this agreement." In other words for a full month the bosses have ample opportunity to discover whether or not he can cut undercover, chisel and bamboozle to his heart's desire. And if he can't get his way as in the past he can fire, or hire a new batch, or call upon the family tree.

Such is the contract which the official organ of the silk and dye workers hails as "THE END OF STRIFE". The December 21 issue of the Silk & Dye Worker, official organ of the A.F.S.W. has the gall to state that this contract is based upon the contract recently won by the dyers, in which the dyers gained not only a substantial wage increase but also the 36-hour week. The only comparison between the two contracts is that the worst features are in both, but none of the gains won by militant struggle are contained in the contract arrived at through "peaceful negotiations and collaboration". Worse yet, the leading article of this official organ boasts that "the union maintains its right to strike"

"The Right Strike"

This right to strike is very well taken care of with a few big IF's. Here they are:

IF the workers have a grievance or a dispute, they must submit it to the Grievance Committee. The Committee has five days in which to rule. IF the Committee rules that this grievance or dispute is a violation of the agreement, and IF it passes a decision which the bosses or the workers do not comply with, THEN the Relations Board has two days in which to rule that "the decision has not or is not being complied with". IF and WHEN the Relations Board does so rule, THEN "and thereafter

the LOCKOUT or strike may be resorted to for purposes of discipline in the mill in question."

There is this boasted "right to strike", such as it actually is in the contract.

To be sure, this agreement can be modified if notice in writing is served in 30 days. But one thing cannot be modified, and it is exactly the "right to strike". "Paragraph 17 of this agreement may not . . . be modified or altered in any respect."

There are no two ways open for the silk workers of Paterson, as regards the proposed contract: tear it up and fling it in the faces of the bosses. The militant traditions of Paterson, the long years of struggle of the silk workers, the splendid record of the recent dyers' strike have been flouted by the very proposal of such a contract. The shameful contract must be rejected.

Richberg Smokes Peace Pipe As He Exonerates the Poor

WASHINGTON. — Donald R. Richberg was furious when he learned that General Hugh S. Johnson, retired, had written a series of articles in which he, Richberg himself, was "exposed". Lolling in his easy-chair, his bald forehead glistening, his broad nose twitching, his heavy underlip between his teeth, lawyer Richberg wrote a letter threatening "legal action"

Said the General, "The ants of conscience are crawling in Richberg's pants!"

Thanks to friends, the day has been saved. Christmas found the NRA moguls, past and present, smoking the pipe of peace, and there will be no "exposures". Good old Santa Claus.

Richberg has undergone a strange liberal sea-change since coming to Washington.

When President Roosevelt elevated him from a big Chicago labor lawyer to Position Number 1 in the Washington regime, liberals hailed him as a Godsend, a wonderful man, in fact a liberal. But when the Chamber of Commerce people clapped hands and took him in tow the liberals slunk away, looking sheepish.

Today the chairman of the President's Emergency Council lolls in his desk-chair and explains to interviewers who want the story of what has happened to him, "They must have thought I was more radical than I am. Fact is, I'm not a partisan—I don't take sides." (Bologna)

Doesn't Blame Poor Men

About the workers, he says:

"I have had a good deal of experience with poor men, and I can honestly say that I haven't found them as a class either anarchists or reckless experimenters. For the most part they have struck me as extraordinarily timid. I don't deny," he continues seriously, "that they want a change, but who can blame them for that?"

Indeed, Richberg has a large heart and a bank account from all reports that would choke a cow. He hates "exposures"

INDIANAPOLIS. — The 40-hour maximum work week in future contracts has been voted by the International Typographical Union. A special assessment of 3% on wages for unemployment relief was also approved wherever locals deem it necessary.

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First National League Convention Stormy Test of 'American Approach'

This is the second of a series of articles on the history of the National Unemployed League.

By LOUIS BREIER

The convention that founded the National Unemployed League is worth considering in some detail not only because its results were far-reaching and lasting, but also because its stormy and colorful sessions revealed the dangers threatening the movement then, as they do now. Fascism, partisan inertia, jingoism and a horde of crack-pot political schemes, any one of which was sufficient to wreck the convention and the movement itself, combined into a desperate onslaught against the building of a militant, nation-wide organization of the unemployed.

Backgrounds

The beginnings of the widely discussed and much more widely slandered "American Approach" are probably to be found in the C.P.L.A. conception of unemployed activity. It represented a definite and realistic manner of directing and participating in the work of the leagues, of carrying on the day by day struggles, of raising the political level of the workers and of building a solid and progressive basis for the ultimate conflict—against unemployment and all other problems confronting the working masses. It was this which distinguished C.P.L.A. practice and insured the steady growth of the Leagues.

How Others Work

Some mention has already been made of the methods favored by the Communist and Socialist parties. In their direction of the Unemployed Councils the C. P. made few concessions to the regular "party line." Mechanical control of the organizations and wholesale indoctrination of the members while they "stick" is characteristic

PERKINS' DAUGHTER ENTERS SOCIETY

Miss Susanna Wilson made her debut to society the other day, at the Hotel Pierre, one of New York's swankiest hotels, where thousands of dollars are spent to launch a girl into society.

What of it? Only this: Susanna Wilson is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Caldwell Wilson. And Mrs. Paul Caldwell Wilson is Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, who feels so sorry for the workers, in public.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

of their work in this field as among the trade unions.

The tactics of the Socialists differ from those of the Communist Party only by the addition of their usual smugness and the myth of their superior regard for "Democracy." Because of this, mechanical control as practiced by the S. P. exceeds anything that even Amter or Benjamin ever hoped to get away with.

Appearing before the executive committee of the NUL last August to present the case for a "new national organization" David Lasser, president of the Socialist-controlled Workers Unemployed Union, stated frankly that he does not believe in rank and file conventions even for the purpose of resolving so important a problem as the formation of a new national unemployed organization, but prefers conferences of the top leadership because "they get more work done with less fuss."

The "American Approach"

Although their tactics placed them in the position of an artist attempting to portray the moon with a mop, the C. P. conception of the purpose of work among the unemployed on the part of a revolutionary party was always sound. It is the business of the class-conscious, revolutionary elements in these organizations to make them militant, effective instruments for struggle against all forms of immediate repression, and to turn the faces of the unemployed toward the larger battle. This was always the philosophy underlying the work of the CPLA.

But philosophy as such never meant anything to the CPLA. Philosophy had to be confirmed in action and there had to be mass organizations before there could be any action.

In a series of articles written for Labor Age in 1931 Louis Budenz, who popularized the term "American Approach", laid down the program for unemployed organization. Leagues, he said, must be mass organizations in the fullest sense of the term. CPLA elements in these organizations must not repeat the doctrinaire and factional mistakes of the C.P.—and the S.P. They were to work to increase the effectiveness of the Leagues in their daily battles for immediate demands and, on the strength of their superior leadership and consistent realism, raise the political level of the masses, reveal the class-struggle, and lay a firm basis for their participation in the coming struggle for a workers' world. During the first national conven-

tion of the Leagues, when Fascist elements seemed to have gained complete control and it was necessary to pronounce the name of Marx in very soft tones and with a great deal of head pivoting, several of the leaders of the Unemployed Councils who were present blamed the "American Approach" for it. The CPLA, they said, had substituted flag-waving for Marxism and those roaring patriots in the convention were only a natural consequence of social-fascism.

But these dervishes of the true faith were wide of the mark. It was not the "American Approach" that was at fault; it was America. As we have shown, the unemployed leagues were all-inclusive. The only restrictions on membership were against old party politicians and bosses of any category. These restrictions, however, could not exclude stool pigeons, provocateurs,

spies, fascist agents, etc. They came in and did their work among the members until they were exposed or until the growing political consciousness of members themselves made them impervious to this poison.

It was the latter condition for which the CPLA worked. In the leagues, as in the general American scene, the effectiveness of a revolutionary organization is based on its ability to win the confidence and leadership of the masses as against the misleadership of the demagogues and fascists. The CPLA was not afraid to face this fact. It did not want another radical tea club. It wanted a mass organization. And it was willing to stake everything on the correctness of its tactics and its ability to lead the workers. The national convention was the test, not only of the courage and integrity of the CPLA but also on a minor scale of the ability and promise of the new party which has emerged from the combined experiences of the CPLA and the Communist League.

Next week we will see what happened at the first national convention of the Leagues.

A Farewell to Bureaucracy

By JOSEPH ZACK

In the previous article I spoke about the system of falsification and trickery used by the Stalin faction in the ideological struggle against the Opposition in the Russian Communist Party. This system naturally expressed itself also in the field of party organization. The false line could be put through only by crushing out party democracy and setting up the uncontrolled rule of a bureaucratic clique. This was done in the Russian party, and then the completed system was mechanically imposed on all the parties of the Communist International.

We in the American movement had to pay for the defeat of Leninist principles and methods in the Russian party. The degeneration of the American C. P. can never be understood until it is traced to this source. The internal regime of the C. P. in this country is only an expression of the Stalinist system which has become universal in the C. I.

Suppressing the Opposition

They began in Russia by suppressing the platform of the Opposition instead of abiding by party statutes and allowing its publication as a document for discussion. Next, they expelled the 14 members of the minority of the Central Committee before the party congress! Meanwhile all their followers were expelled from the party. The result was that when the party congress finally convened it was a mere assemblage of Stalin's caucus. Later on, all those adhering to the Opposition were arrested and exiled to Siberia or imprisoned. Thus the Opposition was "disposed of". Thereafter anyone voicing its ideas was dealt with as a "counter-revolutionist", picked up at night by the G.P.U. and shipped somewhere—sometimes, as in the case of Blumkin, even executed. Now it appears this sort of thing is to be carried out on a wholesale scale.

This is the background of the present terror regime in the Soviet party and the parties in capitalist countries, including the U. S. This regime constitutes a fundamental departure from Lenin's conception of the party and its functions; it is a basically new system that has nothing to do with Leninism. It is of course foolish to think, and I was such a fool, that by complaining about it or appealing against one or another bad spot or ulcer in this system to the E.C.C.I., a sub-committee of Stalin, any remedy can be obtained.

The Stalin Regime

The party regime introduced by Stalin throughout the Communist International is as follows:

1. Centralism, minus inner democracy.
2. Hierarchical method of selecting the leading personnel from the top down.

The method of putting this across with a semblance of "democracy" and greasing the workings of the execution of the general line set from the top; b) a system of "ratification" from below to confirm the selection from the top.

Since those who might have any principled objection to this system as a whole are either eliminated or drop out of the movement beforehand, there is very little or no trouble in getting things "ratified" or "approved" in that form.

The theory to justify the whole system and make it appealing is: (1) Solid iron Bolshevik unity of our party; (2) we are a party that thinks and acts alike; (3) only a monolithic party can be mobile, ready to act at a moment's notice, etc.

As good as this sounds, it is all false, because the democratic processes essential to arrive at such results are eliminated. Once the basic principal line of a revolutionary party—dictatorship of the proletariat, overthrow of capitalism versus social democratic peaceful, gradual transformation of capitalism into socialism—is set, many opinions of major importance may arise from time to time as to how to achieve it. There cannot be such a thing as "people that think alike" on

these matters. There can be, by majority decision, unity of action through discipline, yes, and this is all that Lenin aimed at in his conception of centralization and proletarian democracy. Not every little thing need be discussed by everybody; but the big things, these are precisely the ones that must be discussed and decided democratically. Stalinism allows the discussion of little things; the big questions are decided from on top.

Conditions for Real Discussion

There can be no such thing as a real discussion without giving equal opportunity to the advocates of various platforms and allowing groupings of opinion and their representation up till the convention. Lenin even allowed it on the Central Committee. But after a decision has been made democratically, all must carry it out in action. This is the essence of democratic centralism as Lenin taught it and as the party practiced it in Lenin's time.

All these rights still exist, largely, in the rules and by-laws and even in official theory of the Comintern. But who can truthfully deny that in practice they have abolished all and sundry? What hypocrisy to preach to others about "inner democracy"—as the Daily Worker does to the Socialist Party—when inner democracy has been murdered in the ranks of the C. P. itself!

There cannot be such a thing as "forbidden" subjects in a discussion amongst those who stand on the principle of the overthrow of capitalism and Soviet power. Otherwise there cannot be either "discussion" or inner democracy. But this is precisely what Stalin's system has created—only Stalin's views are "kosher"; the rest are excommunicable. Let the doctors of Stalinism, on the basis of this kind of a recipe, create a better inner life in the party. Even if they were professors they would be wasting their time; it cannot be done. The party is dying of inner sterility, of dry rot, because the system is false to the core.

In a previous issue of the *New Militant* I have already explained, except for some minor details, the inner workings of the party machine under this system. I only want to add an item or two.

Show Business

There is still in the party this staging of so-called "discussions". Of course, these are not discussions at all, but mere "talkings to" or "explanations" of the line already laid down from above; one is allowed only to discuss its "application". There is also the staging of conventions and plenums at which the mere rumor of some one's dissenting creates a sensation.

Prior to the convention there is supposed to be a 60-day discussion period. The press is opened for discussion articles, etc., etc. My dear readers, look over the last convention discussion of the C. P.—the most senile and flabby thing yet seen on such occasions. You may be deceived into thinking that in all the problems facing the working-class there is not one dissenting opinion; in fact, it is made to appear that there is no variety whatever—they all agree on everything!

The followers of Stalin boast that Stalin united the party more than Lenin ever succeeded in doing. And he did—by killing the internal life of the party!

What are the "discussions" that take place, after all? Well, the "big shot" makes a lengthy report. Then everybody talks his head off about his own troubles in the district, section or unit, hardly mentioning the report of the "big shot", or in order to be perfectly "kosher", quoting one thing or another from it. At the end of this "discussion" the line of the report is approved. If anyone disagrees, he leaves his disagreement for perhaps a better time.

Nothing is threshed out in particular. If there is a "new line" in the report it is put in suavely in order "not to alarm the party" and to safeguard the continuity of the line and the infallibility and con-

March of Events

Naval Race Forebodes War of the Pacific

By JACK WEBER

The first international imperialist truce in the building of naval armaments has come to its predestined end. Theoretically it will remain in force till 1936; practically the powers are already at work to start off anew in the race for capitalist domination of the world. Lasting for a decade, the Washington Naval Pact was nothing but a temporary truce, affording a breathing spell to the nations just emerged from war into a critical economic and political period that necessitated the most far-reaching changes and adjustments among the imperialist robber nations. In the war Europe, victors and vanquished alike, had lost, America had won. Germany had been ruined, but England was also badly shaken and her world position so much weakened that

she could no longer demand and enforce by might of arms complete supremacy on the seas. America had captured the world's trade, had become a creditor nation on a par with the foremost foreign investor, England. This victory, American capitalism meant not only to retain but to extend at the expense of all other capitalist rivals until it would command that imperialist hegemony of the world that it felt essential to give full and proper play to its advanced technique. To signalize its newly gained strength, America started afresh, on the very eve of the peace conference, a naval plan that "stunned the world!"

The Imperialist Naval Race

It was the "peace" President Wilson, who proposed the 1916 naval plan that was to give America the largest fleet in the world. He proposed to construct in three years the most powerful dreadnoughts afloat, that would render obsolete all the navies in the world. This program was interrupted by the entrance of the U. S. into the war but at its conclusion, just before Wilson sailed for Paris, he said to Congress: "I take it for granted that the Congress will carry out the naval program which was undertaken before we entered the war."

In the new 1919 program it was then proposed that in three years America should build sixteen capital ships, besides a large number of cruisers and destroyers. Although England then possessed a bigger navy than all the rest of the world combined, this ambitious program would have placed the U. S. in first place on account of the size of post-Jutland super-dreadnoughts to be built, their weight of armor and guns. The armament race was on!

The new war was to be a decisive battle for supremacy in the Pacific, a conflict for the complete control of the only market still undivided among the imperialist free-booters—China. Primarily this meant a ruthless struggle between America and Japan. Hence Japanese imperialism, despite its relative poverty in money and resources, was forced as a matter of its national capitalist life to respond by starting the construction of even bigger ships with heavier armament and guns than those proposed by America. Nor was England to be outdone, for she too began the laying down of vessels to be the largest in the world.

• • •

How The Middle Class Led "Freed" Negroes After Civil War

"The Republican Party Is the Ship and All Else Is the Sea," Leader Told Them

This is the second of a series of articles on Negro Labor in the United States.

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

It was but natural that the Negro middle class should become the first spokesman and leader of the newly "freed" Negroes during the early post-Civil War period. It represented whatever culture and influence the race then possessed. It was cognizant of this fact and was not long in taking advantage of its new opportunity.

Even during the antebellum days this middle class was composed of servants and freedmen. The freedmen had either bought their freedom or won it through some act of benevolence to their masters and in some instances they were the proud owners of Negro slaves. The servants and this class were artisans who had been given long periods of apprenticeship under master craftsmen. They were the craftsmen of their masters. This class represented, then, the most militant spirits of the Negro slaves, and they despised the poor whites since many of the latter had been employed as overseers and, moreover, it was they who were used to catch runaway slaves. The white master class, even then, was shrewd enough to play one against the other.

Frederick Douglass

Shortly after the emancipation of the American Negroes from chattel slavery Frederick Douglass, the most outstanding Negro in the abolitionist movement and the most towering figure that black America has yet produced—the last of his type that the Negro bourgeoisie will ever produce—discovered that the white ruling class kept both white and black in subjection by playing one against the other. In an interview, heading a committee of Negroes, with president Andrew Johnson, who arrogated to himself the leadership of the poor whites, seeking equal citizenship for the blacks, he is recorded as having said to Johnson:

"The hostility between whites and blacks is easily explained. It has its root and sap in the relation of slavery and was incited on both sides by the cunning slave masters. Those masters

secured their ascendancy over the poor whites and the blacks by putting enmity between them."

"They divided both and conquered each," continued Douglass. "There was no earthly reason why the blacks should not hate and dread the poor whites when in a state of slavery. It was from this class that their masters recruited their slave catchers, slave drivers and overseers."

Although no one knew better than Douglass that whites and blacks were played against each other by the opulent whites, he joined the latter and proclaimed upon the platform, "The Republican Party is the ship and all else is the sea."

Other lights of the Negro middle class of that period followed the example shown by Frederick Douglass and entered politics on the side of the exploiting class for self gain. They, like the white bourgeoisie, only on a smaller scale, are the enemies and exploiters of black labor. They would exploit white labor if permitted by their white capitalist ally.

The delegation of Negroes that appeared at the convention of the National Labor union in 1869 had as its most able Negro representatives John M. Langston, lawyer and later congressman from Virginia, and P. B. S. Pinchback, lieutenant-governor of Louisiana. Both men were members of the Republican Party, which the union considered as a land monopoly, and were not in the least concerned about the precarious conditions of Negro workers.

Next week we shall deal with the Knights of labor and the Negro workers.

Necessity for Truce

In comparison with the Anglo-German naval race of 1907 to 1914, the pre-war affair was a mere bagatelle from every point of view. The cost of the new construction to the U. S. alone would have been more in three years than Germany had spent in twenty-five. And this does not take into account the indirect costs for new docks and harbors to house the new fleet, besides the fortifying of Pacific fuel bases to render the fleet effective.

The cost became a particularly disturbing factor when the slump of 1920 occurred. Then too the Panama Canal acted to limit the new race. For this Canal could afford passage only to the size of vessel allowed for in the American plan, whereas to meet the forty-three and forty-five thousand ton ships of the Japanese and English plans, the U. S. would have had to build ships that could not be passed through the Canal. The threat of an immediate war between America and Japan in 1921 found American capitalism in a difficult position too, since it did not possess any adequate base of operations close enough to the new scene of conflict.

For these and other reasons American imperialism found itself forced to back down temporarily and to call for a truce in the naval race started by itself. The result was the Washington Pact of 1922. In this pact the size of battleships was limited to those capable of traversing the Panama Canal, the five-five-three ratio was accepted (England thus yielded its historic mastery of the seas), the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was abrogated, at least in words, and an agreement was arrived at not to fortify the Pacific Islands any further. In the present situation all this stands nullified. Japanese capitalism feels itself firmly enough entrenched in Manchuria, the historic starting-point for all invasions into China, to continue her adventure further. Her demand for naval parity throws down the gauntlet to American imperialism at a time considered favorable by the Japanese militarists. American imperialism cannot refuse the challenge. The War of the Pacific seems close at hand.

labor in the South.

At first the convention refused to send Langston and Pinchback on the grounds that they were office holders. Finally they made a blunder and seated Pinchback. Langston was not seated on the grounds that he was stirring up race prejudice. Langston, therefore, accused Cameron, his accuser, of being an emissary of the Democratic Party. Both men rightly accused the other. Both Langston and Pinchback sought equal citizenship for Negroes, but were opposed to the union's idea of organizing a reform party. They saw their salvation in the Republican Party. They were interested in personal wealth, not labor solidarity.

During this same period John R. Lynch, Negro congressman from Mississippi, virtually got on his knees and begged the Democratic party to change its policy and accept Negroes who disagreed with the tenets and policies of the Republican Party. These early middle class Negro leaders like their present day successors would accept anything for franchise but the organization of white and black labor. Yet their influence and the influence of their successors still goes far with the Negro masses.

However, in the Baltimore state convention of colored labor of 1869 Wesley Howard, a Negro working class leader, told the Negro working men, through their delegation present, that the franchise without the organization of labor would be of little or no benefit.

Howard was ignored. His ideas were not of the Negro middle class. His influence was not as great as that of Douglass, Langston or Pinchback but his vision was broader in scope. Had the black proletariat of America followed his advice organized labor could tell a different story, and the economic status of black America would be much better.

Despite the setbacks of black labor the spectre of Howard's foresight and militancy is hovering over black America again and neither Negro middle class reaction nor white bourgeois chicanery can stop it from taking form.

Lastly, let it be remembered that the Negro Middle class are not interested in the abolition of wage slavery any more than the white bourgeoisie. All that they have ever been or will ever be interested in is the securing of advantages for their group. Segregation is one means of providing this.

Next week we shall deal with the Knights of labor and the Negro workers.

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Eyes on Sacramento

CALIFORNIA, which has given the world such a clear and striking picture of capitalist class justice in the case of Mooney and Billings, is again striving for leadership in the new campaign against workers' organizations and workers' rights. The trial of the 18 workers on the charge of "Criminal Syndicalism," now in process at Sacramento, involves fundamental issues of great concern to all sections of the labor movement. With the charge of "criminal syndicalism" as a club the overlords of California are undertaking to penalize those who have taken active part in the organization of workers. At the same time they aim to intimidate others from taking the same course. A victory of the prosecution in this case would stimulate the search for more victims. It is high time for the workers throughout the country to awaken to the significance of the Sacramento trial and come to the aid of the defendants. Self preservation, as well as the spirit of labor solidarity which ought to be an attribute of every enlightened worker, calls for this action.

In the Sacramento trial the effort is being made to revive the system of hounding and persecuting the militant workers which characterized the highly praised American "democracy" in the war and post-war periods. The chief instrument then, and now again, is the notorious "criminal syndicalism" law. Such laws, directly contravening the civil rights supposedly guaranteed by the U. S. constitution, were passed by most of the States, especially those which had been the scene of industrial conflicts. The purpose was to curb "radicalism," which was broadly interpreted to mean any kind of aggressive and militant struggle for the rights and material interests of the workers.

The victims ran into the hundreds. In California alone close to a hundred prisoners, members of the I.W.W., were confined in prison after conviction of "criminal syndicalism." The infamous statute has lain dormant, with exceptions here and there, for about ten years. The attempt to revive it now is a stern warning to all the advanced workers of the crucial importance of united counter-action. The focal point for such a movement at the present time is the Sacramento trial.

As is usually the case with all manifestations of the system that is founded on deceit, the labor persecution inaugurated at Sacramento under the "criminal syndicalism" law is disguised and concealed behind the mask of the "Red Scare." The aim of the holy prosecutors, they say, is to defend civilization and the American home and to prevent the nationalization of women by the red barbarians. What they really mean is—they want to discourage the idea of workers organizing unions and fighting for a decent standard of living and then later, perhaps, getting bigger ideas in their heads.

The defendants at Sacramento were the organizers and leaders of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, an organization that led some memorable battles of the most terribly exploited sections of the California working class. This fact speaks volumes as to the real motive behind the prosecution. It is also a clear indication to all workers who stand for unionism, to say nothing of those who go farther in their aspirations and ideals, as to what their duty is in regard to Sacramento.

The Sacramento case cries aloud for united action. A national campaign is needed to put the case on the map before the trial is finished and the defendants are quietly shuffled off to San Quentin for long terms. Real efforts are required to secure the release of the prisoners on bail so that they can be useful in the agitation and publicity work. Agitation is needed—not a whisper but a mighty working class shout that will be heard in the court room at Sacramento. Every organization and every individual in the advanced labor movement ought to feel morally bound to lend aid to such a defense movement, and to do it now without further delay.

The American working class stands before a new

epoch of mass struggles and conflicts which will put all previous labor revolts in the shade. The masters of America, especially during the past year, have shown that they will yield absolutely nothing without a bitter struggle. The workers on their part have shown in the same time that they do not shrink from conflict. The exploiters will seek to victimize the leaders and active spirits as they have always done.

We must learn at the beginning to stand together in the face of such attacks. We need to establish the principle at the very start that an injury to one is the concern of all. This grand old motto of the Knights of Labor ought to be inscribed on the banner of the rising labor movement. Its application in labor defense cases should be automatic. We need to establish the principle, and carry it out in practice, that an attack on one organization of workers will promptly call the others to its aid, regardless of the differences between them. Against the attacks of the class enemy we must all stand united.

The Workers Party stands for this policy in regard to Sacramento. The issue is concretized on this case at the present moment. A practical agreement for a united campaign in behalf of the Sacramento defendants right now is worth a ton of abstract theses on the "united front." The Sacramento case is a test.

Hope for the Steel Workers

RECENTLY the attempt of the top officials of the A. F. of L. and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the steel barons and the Roosevelt administration to work out a truce for the steel industry broke down. The trade union officials promptly predicted that there would probably be a battle—in the courts. Arguing about Section 7a in the courts or licking the boots of congressmen and senators for a revision of the NRA is the only kind of fighting these supposed leaders of the working class know.

From Pittsburgh comes the announcement that some of the younger members of the A. A. are calling a national convention of "rank and filers" the first week in February to discuss "ways and means" of "forcing union recognition from the steel companies." That suggests the possibility of fighting it out on the picket lines and is much better.

However, some of the same men backing this insurgent movement, now, talked mighty big to Hugh Johnson and even to Roosevelt himself last spring and then permitted Bill Green and Mike Tighe to out-manuever them and prevent a steel strike. What is going to happen this time? The personality of this leader or that is not a sound foundation for a movement of steel workers. A fake Communist party "united front" or "rank and file" movement even if dressed up very prettily is not a sound basis for a movement of the steel workers.

The progressive, fighting, genuine rank and file elements among the steel workers must get together regardless of personalities or political differences on the basis of a program and loyal determination to put the program into action. The first and chief plank in that program will be: **Fight out the battle for union recognition in the steel industry! Fight it out now! Fight it out on the picket line!**

Churchified Fascists

"A ROSE by any other name would smell as sweet." Conversely, a stink bomb by any other name would smell as ill. We make this observation apropos of what looks more and more like a world-wide movement to build a churchified Fascism—a Fascist regime which meets the approval of the Roman Catholic Church.

Several weeks ago a conference was held in Europe of Fascist organizations from various countries. It was announced, however, that Hitler's representatives were excluded. They did not belong in good Fascist company. Further examination of the participants indicated that they came from those countries where Fascism and the Roman Catholic Church had come to an understanding.

More recently the Pope announced that the Roman Catholic Church would observe "strict neutrality" in the Saar where a popular vote as to whether the region is to go back to Germany or remain under the supervision of the League of Nations takes place on January 13. The other day, however, all the leading Bishops in the Saar read statements from their pulpits, doubtless with the knowledge and approval of the Pope, urging their congregations to vote for returning to Germany. Apparently the Church and Adolf had also come to an understanding.

In the United States Father Coughlin is busily forming his mysteriously financed organization for social justice!

Whatever disguise it may wear and by whomsoever it may be blessed, the masses will rally for an irreconcilable fight against Fascism which smashes the unions, destroys all the democratic rights of the workers and enslaves them to black reaction.

ROOSEVELT and CONGRESS

Sections from an article by John West to appear in the January issue of the New Internationalist

What, then, may be expected from the new Congress? First, the relation of Roosevelt to his new Congress is almost the reverse of his relation to his first Congress. Then, at the beginning of his Administration, by a sweeping popular overthrow, he had been placed in power on the crest of rising mass sentiment. He was the Great Leader whose duty it was to guide a timid Congress into the untrodden country of the New Deal—New at least in the real sense of being a new step in the advance of United States capitalism to its final collapse.

Now, however, Roosevelt is two years removed from direct contact with mass sentiment. Moreover, his unfulfilled promises are drifting back home to roost—in the end, citizens take jobs, security, protection seriously. It is the members of Congress who, just assembling from the tribulations of November's elections, reflect more directly the mass sentiment. They come from localities demanding additional public works expenditures, more relief, bonus payments, changed labor legislation, mortgage moratoriums, inflation, or what not.

Therefore Roosevelt, from having played the Great Leader, must now play the Great Brake; he must calm the wilder members of Congress, shunt aside and compromise "radical" demands, and in general make sure that no accidentally passed "left" legislation hinder the fundamental "right" direction. His task is difficult, for he must do this all the while appearing in the official publicity as the champion of the common men against the Tories.

Second, certain industrial and banking corporations have achieved a temporary relative stability during Roosevelt's first two years, with a reasonable level of profits rolling in. These are consequently anxious to go back to the pre-1929 days, and to take their chances in rugged competition unconfused by the complex intricacies of the New Deal. Their wishes cannot be granted. The pre-1929 days have gone not to return. Individual capitalists have got to be taught that they must occasionally give up a few sweetmeats as individuals to preserve the basic interests of their class as a whole, and its position. And the state—in the days of monopoly capitalism must directly representative of the class as a whole—will be their teacher. However, their reactionary opposition is a useful weapon for Roosevelt both against difficult groups in Congress, and to build up favorable popular sentiment. As against them, Roosevelt can be very left indeed, and can point to them as the bogeyman who will gobble up Congress and the masses if they don't toe the line.

In general, then, we may be sure that, while the underlying socioeconomic drift continues toward a right solidification, the legislation actually passed by the new Congress will be on no basic question unambiguously one thing or the other. It cannot be openly reactionary without antagonizing the public in a manner for which Roosevelt is not prepared; it cannot be in reality left without injuring seriously the position of the bourgeoisie, which position demands now the steady movement to the right.

Mass Action Policy Of National League

By ARNOLD JOHNSON
Secretary of National Unemployed League

Facing the sixth winter of mass suffering, the unemployed of this country are looking with suspicion and skepticism at Washington today. The National Congress opens and will very likely try to feed the unemployed on words and promises. It may even pass some fake unemployment insurance bill which will cut wages, divide workers and starve the unemployed, then go home feeling the unemployed are taken care of.

Another assemblage at Washington which deserves only suspicion from the unemployed is the so-called Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance which is in reality a masquerade preliminary to the second annual convention of the discredited Unemployment Councils of the Communist Party.

Used as Bait
Using the sentiment of the unemployed for the Lundeen Bill as a bait to get delegates to attend the convention of the National Unemployment Councils, the Communist Party and Unemployment Council leaders have again demonstrated their shady methods and false tactics for building an unemployed organization.

This time, they have even gone further than usual. They got a lot of individuals to act as "sponsors" of the Unemployment Insurance Congress. These individuals represent nobody but themselves and are not responsible to the unemployed. The C. P. and Unemployment Councils are responsible for this tactics and demonstrate that they are kidding the unemployed as well as the list of individuals. Furthermore, they have degraded the fight of the unemployed to the parliamentary sphere. They have also divided the demands of the unemployed and thereby the ranks of the unemployed and workers by making only one demand—the Lundeen Bill—the single issue.

The National Unemployed League is not attending the Washington convention of the Unemployed Councils disguised as a congress on unemployment insurance. We stand out on a program of demands worked out by our state and national conventions and fight for them by the method of mass action.

Unemployment insurance at the expense of capitalist profits has been and will continue to be a demand in our demonstrations. At the same time we fight for adequate cash relief now for all of the unemployed.

We fight for a program of real jobs at real wages. We demand the universal 30-hour week in industry with no reduction in pay, from this point of view—as a means of creating more jobs. We demand a complete program of public works with 30 hours and \$30 minimum per week. A \$5,000,000,000 loan to the Soviet Union so it can purchase goods manufactured in this country will make jobs in industry.

A real struggle for the unemployed must put these demands in the foreground.

Need Organization
Moreover, a real program of the unemployed needs a real organization. That organization cannot come out of the National Unemployment Council convention or its curtain-raiser, the so-called congress sponsored by individuals. The attempt to substitute such carnivals for bona fide organizations of the unemployed masses can only injure the movement, insofar as it has any effect at all.

Masquerade conferences, which sidetrack the movement to the narrow channel of parliamentarism, cannot advance the real movement of the unemployed. The struggle of the unemployed requires mass organization. It must be organized on the sound basis of a rounded program and the method of mass action. This is the policy of the National Unemployed League.

Huey Long Is Tammany Rising in the South

(Continued from Page 1)
The Chicago Federation of Labor has endorsed Huey Long for president.

Huey Long, despite the tendency to consider him a joke, has a dictatorship in Louisiana, has gained some national influence, and has already captured important political posts outside his state.

In order to understand Huey it is necessary to know something about his native state, and something about his personal history.

Little Industry
Louisiana is not an industrial state. There is only one city of any size, New Orleans, with 450,000. Shreveport is next with 80,000, and Baton Rouge, the capitol, is third with only 30,000. Altogether there are only eight cities of more than fourteen thousand. Thus the urban population is about seven hundred thousand, while the total population of the state is two million two hundred thousand.

Even in the cities there is little large scale industry. New Orleans is primarily a commercial port. In the north there is some oil industry, and scattered through the state are various sugar and cotton mills and textile plants. The pre-

dominant classes outside the cities are the fishermen of the South, mostly of French stock, the small farmers, and the shopkeepers.

A Venture in Oil
Huey Long was born in the town of Winnfield, in the north, of poor parents. He put himself through school by traveling the country districts as a salesman of knock-knocks. It was this experience that later enabled him to appeal so effectively to the rural vote.

He went to Law School at Tulane, failed to get a degree, but was admitted to the Louisiana Bar. His first political post was on the board of the Public Service Commission. It was there that he attracted attention by conducting a fight against the Standard Oil Co. Huey owned an interest in several wild-cat oil wells. When oil was struck he believed himself on the way to wealth. The Standard Oil Co., however, had a monopoly of the pipe lines, and proceeded to squeeze Long's independent enterprise. Huey put up a fight; he used his post on the Public Service Commission to break the monopoly. Standard Oil managed to have an impeachment proceeding started against him in 1921. The impeachment was later dropped, and Huey gained his point.

Whether he made money on this venture is not known, although he is reputed worth well over a million today. However, his war against the large Standard Corporation did give him material for a political campaign among the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie. He started out as champion of the "people" against the wiles of trusted business and monopoly.

Captured Rural Vote
He ran for governor in 1924 and polled 70,000 votes in the Democratic primaries. (The Democratic primary is the real election in Louisiana, as a Republican has no more chance in the Deep South than the man on the moon.) Huey's vote came, as it still comes, largely from the rural districts. And in 1928 when his opponents split and threw away their majority, this same rural vote made Long governor, the first man to break the machine in decades.

His election in 1928 marked the real beginning of his career. He was only thirty-five years old. Up to that time he had been a backwoods Jackson democrat, who defended the "tenant farmers, small storekeepers, filling station owners and Bayou fishermen." In 1928 he promised the voters nothing more than free textbooks, better roads, and lower power rates.

From 1928 his rise was rapid until this year he launched his nation-wide Share the Wealth Clubs, made his plans on the presidency, was endorsed by such a staid organization as the Chicago Federation of Labor, and promised to "Make every man a king" on five thousand dollars a year.

(To Be Continued)

Wall Street Cracks Whip On Congress

(Continued from Page 1)
National Run Around.

According to many noted Tories in banking and industrial circles the measures taken by Roosevelt and his Congress have been the very essence of Bolshevism. Now however, they are rubbing their hands with satisfaction. Roosevelt, they say, is moving to the right.

If what they mean is that left implies more promises and right fewer promises there is probably little truth in what they say. For this is no time for Roosevelt to cease his promises. Especially when Virgil Jordan, economist for the National Industrial Conference Board declares to a gathering of business men that "We are little, if any, nearer recovery than we were two years ago. . . ."

The speeches of Roosevelt and the willingness of his last Congress have been a bone in the throat of the working class and a boon in the pockets of the plutocrats. The Congress soon to open bodes nothing better and probably much worse. The big planks in the new "new deal" program are widely advertised as a comprehensive "Social Security" program. But the recent social security conference was hardly under way when it received a warning from Roosevelt that he would tolerate no "wild" ideas. The "bright" feathers in this plan are loans to home owners, public works and unemployment. Gems of deception.

It is sufficient merely to review the previous history of this plan to understand how profits by Roosevelt's altruism. Of the \$200,000,000 expended by the Home Owners Loan Corporation more than 90 percent has gone to banks, insurance companies and realty agencies. The hallyhoo about clearing out slums and building homes for the poor has become in reality a building program for people with means. The poor cannot afford the rents demanded by government housing.

Public Works

All this is intimately associated with the famous public works program which it is reputed Roosevelt, with the certain consent of his Congress plans to extend. The past speaks eloquently on this matter. Of the \$2,711,000,000 in PWA allotments almost two hundred million dollars went in subsidies to railroad companies. Large dips in this pork barrel were taken by the army, the navy and the air force. Relatively few men were given jobs through this method. Some time ago the Nation reported that only a few thousand men were employed on such an enormous project as the N. Y. Triborough Bridge which called for millions in expenditure. The one way public works can start employment even on a modest scale is by entering into competition with private industry. And the very idea of such a thing is sacrilege to Roosevelt and company.

The last and probably most important measure, which seems assured of adoption in the new Congress is some form of unemployment insurance. Relief has proved to be very costly. Bankers and manufacturers have been howling for as speedy an end of it as possible.

But since unemployment shows no real signs of decreasing and since a permanent jobless army reaching well over the seven million figure is here to stay, some permanent and less expensive method of keeping Potters Field from filling up too quickly must be found. Roosevelt no doubt has a solution in an unemployment insurance scheme where the largest part of the receipts will come from the miserably paid workers and where the unemployed will receive this insurance for a few weeks of the year on the condition that they accept any sort of job, at any wages offered, even a strike-breaking job.

Congress opens with the New Year prepared to repeat its services of the last year—not for labor, which it can never serve—but for capital which it must serve. Its legislation will remain two-sided—new deal and raw deal, with the workers on the short end of the stick.

JOSEPH ZACK

Former member Central Executive Committee of Communist Party

will speak on

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Preis Exposes Auto Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)
of production for use and not for profit; that will solve the problem. The workers must have control."

Outstanding testimony as to the conditions of workers in the local plants of the Chevrolet Corp. and the Electric Auto-Lite Co. was given by Jim Rolland, and executive member of the union and of the Lucas County Unemployed League. Sam Pollock of the Workers Party and the Unemployed League was requested by the new progressive union leaders to speak before the committee in the name of the union, which he did.

Willis-Overland Co.
Preis introduced his testimony by an exposure of the operations of the Willis-Overland Co. He pointed out that in 1928 this company employed 25,000 workers. Today it has about 1,000. Most of these workers had been imported from

distasteful sections of the country. After three months of speed-up they were fired. Today, Toledo has 23,000 families on the relief roll, one third of the population, and it was the breakdown of the Willis-Overland Co. which largely contributed to this, Preis said.

Remove Modern Machinery
Although the newspapers have been ballyhooing the reopening of large-scale production in the Willis-Overland plant, Preis told the committee that the plant has dismantled its modern machinery.

"The modern machinery has been stripped from the production buildings and sold. The Willis-Overland plant will never operate again," Preis declared. "The 24,000 people who lost their jobs will remain unemployed, with but few exceptions. And not merely unemployed, but disemployed. It is not folly, but cruelty, to consider the stabilization of the automobile industry without also considering how to give these workers their jobs again. And that is a futile task under the profit system."

Zack Meeting Draws Crowd

Two or three hundred people were turned away at the door. Victoria Hall at Irving Plaza was packed and people were standing against the walls. The occasion was the speech of Joseph Zack on the reasons why he quit the Communist Party after a membership of 15 years and joined the Workers Party. The revolutionary workers stormed the hall to hear what Zack had to say. And they heard plenty.

The speaker painted a devastating picture of the internal life of the Communist Party and, point by point, exploded the whole policy of Stalinism and contrasted it with the Marxist position of the Workers Party. For two hours the audience listened with the closest attention, and at the conclusion of his speech a storm of applause registered agreement with his remarks.

Last Sunday night's meeting was another of the successful chain of meetings which are establishing the party as the concentration point of the revolutionary workers in New York. In response to demands of many comrades the district organization is planning a series of Zack meetings in the different boroughs of greater New York and a national tour is being mapped out by the national office.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

Steel Hearing Is Called

(Continued from Page 1)
revival despite the sabotage of its reactionary officials. The steel workers genuinely hated the company union and they still do. New progressive elements came forward in the union but they could not stand up against the reactionary barrage. However, an opportunity does not wait forever.

It is reported that the progressives are planning a rank and file convention to be held in Pittsburgh the first week of February to consider "ways and means of forcing union recognition from the steel companies." The call was issued at a meeting of 500 representatives from ten districts of the union at which speakers said that

"strike is our only weapon left now". Of course, this convention has already been declared outlawed by the Tighe administration.

Unquestionably the rank and file discontent with the reactionary union administration is deep seated and its demand for action widespread. Its real need is progressive leadership that will stand up and make the fight; but to provide that the progressives themselves need organization and a clear cut policy of action. In this respect the steel workers union is no exception from many others and this is only one more reason for the necessity and speedy realization of a new national progressive movement in the trade unions.

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