

# ACROSS THE COUNTRY With Cannon And Muste

From A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, comes further word of the tour he and James P. Cannon, editor of the New Militant, are making to present the program of the W.P. to the workers of the country. Reports indicate that Comrades Muste and Cannon's tour is a march of triumph.

By A. J. MUSTE  
NEW CASTLE, Pa. and YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—From the debacle which overcame the militant movement of the steel workers last spring when Bill Green and Mike Tighe sabotaged the general strike in the industry, the movement is slowly recovering.

The determination to build a union is not dead among the steel workers, though they are somewhat lost in the maze of Labor Board elections, injunctions by the steel companies against the union and by the union against the companies and what have you. A crisis breaking into a strike may develop in one of these mills where an election is denied.

W.P. Has Many Contacts  
The militant leaders hope nothing too serious will break before they get their forces organized better than they were last year. Comrade Cannon and I were called into conference by some of them. We find the Party has many contacts in steel.

Comrades McKinney, Cooper, Sullivan and Berman from Pittsburgh popped into the New Castle meeting. They are hoping to tie in the unemployed movement here with the national movement.

The Party branches in New Castle and Youngstown have a good start and are thoroughly in earnest. The meetings for Comrade Cannon and me brought out most of the active spirits in the locality and made converts to the W.P. After the mass meetings, the branches kept the national officers up until four in the morning to discuss branch problems!

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—On the way up here we visited an old steel worker's home. He still goes to work when there is work. "We are lucky if we make 10 dollars a week now, when we used to make that in a day."

Two husky sons of our friend sat in the house—no jobs. The father put a question to us—really to the capitalist system: "Do you think they'll fix it so there will be something for the young men to do?"

The answer of capitalism to that momentous question we got an hour later when we drove through McDonald, where Carnegie Steel was just breaking ground for a new strip mill. Referring to the labor to be displaced by the new process, the young steel worker riding with us said: "They won't need anything in this damn industry pretty soon except a few button-pushers."

Same Old Story  
We had a well-attended meeting here. Same old story as to C.P. and S.P. They can't meet us in an argument on our Declaration of Principles. The branch has good material, is working out a program of action. It will be felt in the labor struggle in Cleveland.

The branch conference in Cleveland was attended by party members from Akron. As dispatches to the New Militant have indicated, things may pop in rubber very soon. If so, Akron will be the first Toledo-Minneapolis of 1935. Our party members and sympathizers are the only advanced group having real access to the rubber workers. Would that Louis Budenz were well enough to take the field. What a chance his America of the Middle West would give him!

TOLEDO, Ohio.—If there was ever any doubt as to whether our Toledo comrades would be able to dig in and follow up (never mind if the metaphors are mixed, Comrade Editor) the work they did in the great Auto-Lite strike, that day is past. The Central Labor Union supports the Unemployed Leagues openly. Our comrades are asked

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—Business Manager

# NEW MILITANT

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## Buying Power Drops Under "Model" Code

By JACK ELDER  
WASHINGTON.—Did anyone ever believe that the NRA codes would increase the purchasing power of wage earners and redistribute the national income?

Then glance at the recent reports of the Federal Trade Commission and of the Bureau of Labor Statistics on the operation of the cotton textile code: NRA's first and model code. These two reports, taken together, are revealing.

First, the Bureau of Labor Statistics study on wages. In August 1933, when the code took effect, half the cotton textile workers earned less than 21.8 cents per hour. In August, 1934, on the eve of the great strike, the median hourly wage rate was 34.9 cents.

But wait—between August 1933 and August 1934 living costs skyrocketed—because of the drought, because of the A.A.A. processing taxes, because the NRA codes permit cartelized price-fixing and production control.

The result? In that one year, real wages—purchasing power—in the cotton industry, in the north fell away 15 percent; in the south, 25 percent.

This, then, was how the cotton textile code raised the purchasing power of hundreds of thousands of wage slaves.

Significantly, real wages moved upward slightly—5 percent in the north, 8 percent in the south—until June, 1934. At that time, NRA agreed to a 25 percent curtailment in cotton production hours—with no compensating wage increase. The mill owners were given full power to sabotage the industry's productive capacity.

Without delay, real wages plunged down. Under pressure of mass misery, the rank-and-file workers forced a nation-wide strike which their leaders choked off at its height.

Meanwhile, what happened to the cotton mill owners? The F.T.C. report shows that from Jan. 1, 1933 to June 30, 1933 the rate of profit in the 400 cotton textile mills studied was 4.69 percent; from June 30, 1933 to Dec. 31, 1933, 9.59 percent; from Dec. 31, 1933 to June 30, 1934, 5.15 percent; during the two months preceding the strike a slight loss is reported—1.84 percent. These rates are calculated upon the hypothetical value of investment in plant and equipment. The F.T.C. cannot penetrate beneath the accounting logic by which employers make out the best case for themselves; i.e., inflated original valuations and minimum charge offs for depreciation and obsolescence.

Then, too, the rate of return (constituting an accounting profit) does not allow for the generous salary which the owner pays himself as manager.

It now becomes evident why the Cotton Textile Institute loves its code. It is well-calculated to engender profits. As for the workers—let them be happy as guinea pigs of a high-minded experiment in New Deal reconstruction.

## ROOSEVELT'S INSECURITY PROGRAM

Not economic and social security for wage earners but a scheme for forced thrift imposed upon those who can least afford to be thrifty—this is the Administration's "unemployment insurance" and "old age" pension proposal.

The government will not engage to pay a modest income to workers who become aged in the service of profit-making. Oh no! The government will require that each worker make periodic payments toward the purchase of an annuity, maturing at the age of 65.

How much you will receive in the end will depend: (1) upon the number of years you participate in the scheme; (2) upon your average yearly earnings over the payment

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## Akron C. P. Members Follow Zack to W. P.

News that three of the most influential members of the labor movement in Akron, Ohio, have left the Communist Party and joined the Workers Party is received as the New Militant goes to press. These three new comrades, whose names cannot be given at this time, were the leading members of the C.P. in Akron.

The Akron branch of the Workers Party is especially fortunate in getting these three trained militants at this time. A strike of the rubber workers is pending. And it is very likely that Akron will be the Toledo and Minneapolis of the 1934 strike wave.

Announcement of this important news, which is further evidence of

the drift toward the Workers Party, came in the following telegram to the New Militant:

AKRON OHIO JAN 21 1935  
NEW MILITANT  
2 WEST 15 ST  
BROWDER LABOR PARTY LAST STRAW AGAIN CONFIRMS WP THESIS REGARDING CP DEGENERATION TOWARDS SOCIAL DEMOCRACY UNDER UNPRINCIPLED STALINIST LEADERSHIP THIS CULMINATION OF LONG SERIES OF UNMARRIED THEORETICAL AND TACTICAL BLUNDERS LEADS MAJORITY UNIT FIVE AKRON TO RESIGN FROM CP AND FOLLOW ZACK LONG LIVE WP

## That Pittsburgh Convention

Steel Progressives Will Lead - A. F. of L. Leaders Look Askance at Rank and File Conclave

(By Special Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—On February 3, rank and file delegates from unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. are to meet in Pittsburgh. In spite of the unofficial nature of this convention, many of the major A. F. of L. unions will be represented. Foremost, of the unions that will participate, from the standpoint of numbers and influence, is the embattled Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, Tin and Sheet Metal Workers.

Within the union, according to the claims of some of its rank and

file leaders, a powerful rank and file movement has developed in recent months directed to the adoption of a militant program of organization and opposition to company-unionism on the basis of an eventual steel strike.

## Revolt Against A. F. of L.

Ostensibly, this "rank and file convention" is called to consider the decisions of the official San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. and to lay plans for carrying out these decisions, which are mainly concerned with the extension of organization. But there is implicit in such a procedure a revolt against the A. F. of L. officialdom.

There is no prospect that the "rank and file convention" will receive the blessings of the officials. In at least one case, that of the A. A., the officialdom headed by Mike Tighe has already put thumbs down on the whole business, calling on the rank and file to adhere to the union's constitution and to avoid any sins against its "solemn ritual."

Normally, plans for organization issue from the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the International Boards of the affiliated unions. No such plans have been forthcoming since the San Francisco convention and apparently there has arisen a militant rank and file leadership strong enough to take matters into its own hands.

That the steel union will dominate the coming convention is confirmed by the preparations of the A. F. of L. top leadership to propitiate the steel delegates. Bill Green finds himself unable to attend the organization conference of the Aluminum workers this past week in Pittsburgh because he is obliged to attend an Executive Council meeting in Washington devoted to organization in the steel industry.

The conference is very opportune. Out of it will come organizational plans that will be placed before the A. A. delegates to the "rank and file convention" as a proof of their faithfulness and unwarranted action.

Obviously, it is supposed that

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## 56 Released as Leaguemen Storm Court

By ART PREIS

BOWLING GREEN, Ohio, Jan. 22.—A cheering, jeering, clapping, stamping assemblage of Wood County workers and farmers packed the court room here today and forced the release of 56 Unemployed League members who were arrested last Saturday evening after they stormed the relief headquarters and occupied it for eleven hours in an attempt to obtain relief for 26 strikers in a county-wide strike on relief projects.

The defendants formed solidly into a "56 or None Club", modeled on the famous "46 or None" trial of the Toledo Auto-Lite strikers, defeated attempts of county officials, acting as agents of "No Work-No Relief" Duncan, county relief czar, to isolate and frame Ted Selander, Sam Pollock and Art Preis, Workers Party members and League leaders, by giving them a separate trial.

The 56 workers, 47 men and nine women, were tried in a body, and by raising the demand "If one goes to jail, we all go to jail", forced Justice-of-the-Peace Nearing to suspend sentence on all on a charge of "illegal trespass" on the public property of the county relief building. A second charge of "unlawful assemblage" against 55 men and women is set for hearing Jan. 28 with the officials wanting to continue it because they realize what a "hot potato" they had grabbed.

## Force Leaders' Release

At the close of this hearing, when deputies started to take Pollock and Selander back to jail until their hearing on the second charge or until bail of \$1,500 was raised, the entire assemblage surged around them while the "56 or None Club" seized the prisoners, shouting their slogan. The police, deputies and officials were helpless; they could not feed or house the hundreds who demanded to be taken to jail with the two prisoners, and the prosecuting attorney and sheriff had to appeal to the prisoners to protect them from the crowd.

Upon assurance by the prosecuting attorney of a drastic bail reduction and release as soon as the legal arrangements were carried out, the two prisoners quieted their defenders. The entire group settled back into their seats to wait until Pollock and Selander were released and pledged themselves to join them again in the county jail if they were not.

Following several maneuvers by the officials, such as an offer to release the prisoners if they would promise not to return to Bowling Green and veiled threats that a "vigilante" group was forming and they had better leave the county—which the presence of hundreds of League members in the court room made laughable—the defendants' offer of \$300 bail was accepted.

## Are Back on Job

The released prisoners walked right back to the court room, addressed the assembly, and went at once to the relief headquarters on another grievance committee.

The entire trial was a farce. It was obvious the verdict had been

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## United Defense Acts To Mobilize Labor In California Trial

Union Conference Called by Five Groups to Aid 18 Defendants—Decker Bailed Out by NPLD

BULLETIN  
SACRAMENTO, Cal., Jan. 23 (by Wire).—Caroline Decker, organizer of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Agricultural Workers and leader of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union, was released on \$3,200 bail yesterday provided by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Decker is being defended by the International Labor Defense but applied to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for bail. Bail was supplied within 24 hours of the receipt of her application. Jack Warnick, another leader of the union defended by the I.L.D., was bailed out two weeks ago at his request by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Two other defendants are out on bail. The remaining 14 are still in jail, where they have been since their arrest last July.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 22 (by wire).—The newly formed joint defense committee for the Sacramento trial of 18 workers and labor leaders on criminal syndicalism charges, tonight drafted a call for a conference of all unions and other labor organizations Feb. 10, to mobilize the labor movement.

The call was signed by Charles Gordon for the International Labor Defense, Maurer for the Communist Party, Clarence Rust for the Socialist Party, Barney Moss for the Workers Party, Herbert Solow for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Dr. George Hedley, director of the Civil Liberties Union, as temporary chairman of the committee. The Shipyard Union and Machinists Local 68 (A.F. of L.) have already endorsed the defense committee.

The conference will be preceded by a united front mass meeting Feb. 1. The first meeting of the united front defense committee was held Jan. 19, at the end of the first week of the trial.

The united front came at almost

## Second Blast In Mine Kills 11, Injures 71

SHENANDOAH, Pa., Jan. 21.—

Eleven miners were killed outright and 71 injured, at least one fatally, in the second blast in the main shaft of the Gilbert mine here within a week. The first blast resulted in the death of one miner.

Although the miners were warned by the company "not to talk" they reported that the blast followed the detonation of a shot of dynamite. The blast was undoubtedly caused by faulty ventilation of the mine, which allowed the accumulation of fire damp.

A miner, Richard Evans, although fatally injured directed a rescue party to an alley where ten of his comrades lay helpless. When the rescue party returned to him he was dead.

WASHINGTON.—The United States is "the most backward major industrial nation in the matter of mine accident prevention," according to the report of the Minerals Planning Committee of the National Resources Board. Its accident rate is exceeded only by that of Chile.

"Miners and their families lose between \$50,000,000 and \$100,000,000 in income annually due to preventable accidents and ill health," says the report. The average age of the coal miner who is killed is 35 years.

Ten or more percent of the mine cost of producing coal or ore is due to the various factors entering into accident occurrence, which amount in the bituminous industry to between \$30,000,000 and \$50,000,000 a year. "If already known and available improved safety methods and measures could be put into general use, the burden of accident expense could probably be reduced to as low as 1 or 2 percent of mineral production costs," say the government experts.

the last possible moment to combat the united front of the capitalist class which is prosecuting the 18 officers and active workers of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union.

Not only the employers of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys, who "suffered" from the union's successful strikes last year, but the whole capitalist class of California is demanding San Quentin prison sentences.

The Hearst press, the "Associated Farmers", the Industrial Association, indeed every businessmen's organization is calling for the victimization of these trade unionists.

Racial and religious prejudices of the jury are being roused by the prosecution, which spent the whole first week digging up communist expressions on the churches and the Negro. Leo Gallagher and Albert Goldman, defense attorneys, protested but the stuff goes on.

## Special Prosecutor Stays

When the trial opened, former District Attorney Neil McAllister, defeated in the last election and presumably replaced by the new district attorney, suddenly turned up as a deputy attorney general placed in charge of the case with the financial backing of California's leading businessmen's organizations. Attorney Gallagher (I.L.D.) objected but was overruled.

Attorney Goldman (N.P.L.D.) pointed out that during the eight days' adjournment the jury had been subjected to a torrent of newspaper propaganda. Judge Lemmon hurriedly sent the jury out of the court room, fearing the effect of Goldman's charges.

Goldman declared that the mob spirit created by the press warranted a mistrial, and a postponement of the trial for six months. He also called for reduction of bail and investigation into the switching of prosecutors. He made clear that he did not think the new district attorney, Babcock, was any fairer than McAllister. All these motions were denied.

## Prosecution "Bargains" Rejected

The prosecution has tried to induce defendants to turn state's evidence in return for dismissal of their particular cases. Donald Bingham, tubercular union member who has spent six months in the county jail, turned down such an offer.

The prosecution is especially anxious to get Norman Mini out of the case. The fact that this former West Pointer, sole native Sacramento defendant, stands solidly with the other defendants spolia the district attorney's argument that the prisoners are aliens trying to foist "foreignisms" on "the great American nation". Mini, too, has flatly rejected the prosecution's overtures.

The joint defense committee's agreement limited representation to political and defense organizations

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## NEW ADDRESS

of the following organizations:  
National Headquarters, Workers Party of the U. S.  
District Headquarters, New York District, W.P. U.S.  
International Workers School, New International  
New Militant  
2 WEST 15th STREET

Pioneer Publishers and Pioneer Bookshop  
96 FIFTH AVENUE

## To Maintain this Great Work We Must Have Funds--Now!

THE Workers Party is expanding at a rapid pace, so rapid as to completely outdistance our meagre funds. We have our principles, we have our men, workers are crying to be organized, the field is vast, the opportunities are here.

At the present moment we have contacts in the steel industry who are working in the progressive movement. The steel industry is one of the critical battlegrounds in the coming struggles of the American workers, and the progressive movement will be the determining factor in this struggle.

The Workers Party must, it is our revolutionary duty to maintain our work in steel. BUT WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

In Akron, the center of the rubber industry, where a strike is imminent, we have been extremely fortunate. The leaders of the local C.I. unit, who are active in the unions and in workers' education, have resigned from the C.P. and come over to the W.P. just this week. These comrades form a nucleus from which we may penetrate thou-

sands upon thousands of workers. We are sending organizers into the field immediately.

But in order that the comrades may carry on this vital work, WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

In Detroit, where tens of thousands of automobile workers are in a constant ferment, we have already established several party organizers. They are carrying the tradition of Toledo right into the heart of the automobile industry.

## To maintain this work, WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

Last week we mentioned the expense of a new press to take care of the increased circulation of our publications. This week the need becomes even more imperative, so imperative that we are already negotiating for the press, although the money is not yet in sight.

We have undertaken the printing of a national paper for the N.U.L. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of this step: a national paper will unify and promote the unemployed movement to a tremendous political force. We are fortunate to be able to assist in this work, where many of our comrades are active—BUT WE MUST HAVE FUNDS.

To facilitate our activities we have moved to the new office. It is a great advantage to have our work centralized; to have a place where all our committees can meet. At last we have a little space; the Political Committee no longer has to convene on the editor's desk. The International Workers School, an invaluable instrument in the class war, at last has space of its own, where the classes may meet in some semblance of order.

At risk of becoming monotonous, we repeat, WE MUST HAVE FUNDS. Comrades and friends, we must seize on the magnificent opportunities of the moment, and we must have money to do so!

Subscribe to the Party Foundation Fund now. Subscribe yourself, and press every friend and sympathizer to subscribe to the best of his ability.

Pay your pledges now, and pledge again. Press friends and sympathizers to pledge.

Collect all contributions, all pledges, immediately, and forward them to the national office, IMMEDIATELY.

Comrades, friends, sympathizers: We are faced with a great opportunity and a great responsibility. We cannot fail!



## FROM THE FIRING LINE

### Three Convicted on Old Charge For Assisting Evicted Family

In Virden, Ill., Clarence Mayer, of the Workers Party, and two jobless comrades have been found guilty on charges growing out of an attempt last summer to expose and stop evictions in Virden. The New Militant is proud to print the following story of the case.

By CLARENCE MAYER

Last summer Galen Sutphin was served with an eviction notice to vacate the home his father had bought and mortgaged, because of illness, to the Building & Loan Association.

Although the President had said, "None shall go hungry or shelterless in America," the relief organization did not act in time to save him from being evicted and his furniture was placed in the alley next to his home on August 17, 1934. The committee from the unemployed organization practically leaned backwards in seeing the Mayor, the supervisor, the relief authorities, the minister, and many other people who might have influence in getting a house for this evicted family. After every peaceful and legitimate means was exhausted and nothing came of it, the unemployed decided there was only one way to end evictions in Virden and that was to take the furniture into the City Park where it would have public protection and attention.

#### Move Furniture

At two o'clock Saturday, August 18, 1934, this action of moving the furniture to the City Park took place. Nothing unusual happened. The furniture was unloaded in the park.

Two policemen on duty said, "What is all this disturbance?" and the unemployed answered, "We are placing the furniture of an evicted

family in the park."

A picnic of the Progressive Miners was going on and much attention was brought to evictions by the speakers, Laura Clerick and others. For the coal miners in Illinois know what eviction means and the sympathy of the picnic was with the evicted.

#### These Terrible Unemployed!

The authorities were in a turmoil. They had been foiled! What charges could they bring against these terrible unemployed who wanted a house to live in? Gracious! They had broken the law! They had taken the furniture in the park. What could they do about it? They had to save their faces.

So five days later they issued warrants for eleven of the some forty or fifty who tried to help the evicted family. They served five days in county jail, were released on bond by Progressive Miners and other laborers, and when the State's

Attorney and the sheriff and others stated that they go home and be good boys, they thought nothing would come of it.

#### Three Are Found Guilty

From August 23, when we were arrested, until January 14, 1935, nothing happened; it was suddenly brought to trial and there the whole farce and comedy was exploded in a four-day ordeal costing the tax-payers of Macoupin County some one thousand dollars to prove to the authorities of Macoupin County that houses are meant for people to live in, and that they were determined that that should be the case. At the end of the four days the jury deliberated five hours and came to a verdict of five innocent and three guilty. The three found guilty will have a court decision and then appeal the case.

Galen Sutphin and family are good citizens. He worked in the coal mines many years. When they closed, he went to Detroit to the automobile industry. When that closed, he came back to Virden. He is a worker who wants to work. He is denied the right but like all unemployed will fight to have the essentials that belong to all.

### Pearcy Out, Keck In - Worse, Says Germinal, "or I'll Eat a Shovel"

By Germinal

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Jan. 19.—The defeat of Claude E. Percy, president of the Progressive Miners of Illinois, for the position of secretary-treasurer, was great news to all Left Wing miners.

Two conventions of the Progressive Miners of America had decreed that "no officer should succeed himself or run for a lower office". But Percy did not choose to return to the pit.

The man had become infamous among intelligent miners for his hazy, topsy-turvy ideas of what a progressive labor movement should

be. He claimed to oppose the ideas of the A. F. of L. in general, and the ideas of John L. Lewis in particular, but this never panned out in practice. Indeed, in some instances Percy proved that he was "safer" to deal with than Lewis, and on the Semitic question he was more reactionary than the gentlemen who adorn the lofty porches of the A. F. of L. roster.

#### Jones, NRA Socialist

The election of S. L. Jones for the post of secretary-treasurer is in no way a victory. Jones is the union board member of the Belleville territory. Proclaiming to be a Socialist, he has been everything but that; unless one accepts the Oneal-Waldman-Solomon conceptions of "socialism". In the fight against "reds", support of NRA, de-militarizing the Women's Auxiliary, expulsions from the union, removal of left wing members from union positions, the right wing found an able lieutenant in Jones. And when the "Jewish international bankers" scare was raised he gave eloquent support by his well-timed silence.

#### Keckism Wins

William Keck, also of Belleville, was elected vice president. The small coal operators know they have nothing to fear from him. Keck will make a very unpopular president.

"We've got to listen to the people we deal with (coal operators). Mass action is what caused Tom Mooney to remain in jail these many years," sums up Keck's philosophy.

What the miners will do with such a fossil at the head of their union I do not know. Behind closed doors with the bosses, governors, NRA agents and the like he is at home. He is seldom seen congregating with rank and file miners, as he has a secret contempt for them.

Keckism will become more infamous than Percyism, believe it or not. Although it is unpopular to make such statements in advance, clip this item and watch events for the next six months. If Keck doesn't turn out to be a down-right agent of the coal operators I'll eat any miner's shovel.

#### Program for Future

The rank and file should continue their fight. They should keep their local organizations progressive, steer away from any unity with John L. Lewis, work to win over the rank and file of the U.M.W.A. from the misleaders, build unemployed organizations, fight for more pay and better conditions, and last but not least, join the Workers Party. Therein lies the road to salvation; there is no other road to take.

"We must work in mud up to our knees." "We got 15 minutes for lunch." "No shelter is pro-

## TWO YOUNG MEN START SUBWAY UNION ROLLING

(By an IRT Subway Worker)  
What has happened to the workers on the subways? Last week I told of a new spirit among the men. They are organizing a new union, a genuine union, in opposition to the company union!

Two years ago they took a 10 percent wage cut. They took it lying down.

But then—and this is the story:

After the cut the cost of living started to go up and the men began to get more and more "sore". Five or six months went by and one day two ambitious and optimistic young men got some of their friends together, and started a union of their own, in opposition to the Company Brotherhood.

It was so easy to get the first few dozen members that they thought that in a few days they would have the whole road organized, "just like that". It was not as easy as that; but they stuck to their task, and by the time the Pension fund came up there were several hundred men in the union, and several hundred more knew all about it, and talked to others about it, and a new feeling was beginning to get into all the men.

The subway workers began to feel that maybe if they tried they could get somewhere. They were so "sore" about the pension graft, added to their other grievances, that they started flocking into the new union by the hundreds.

#### The Two Men

It was about this time that the two men who had started the union were found out and promptly fired, but it was too late. The company was forced not only to stop firing men for joining the union, but it has agreed to take these two men back. In what capacity was not stated by the company, but if the union continues to grow there is no doubt whatever that they will get their old rating and pay. (Since this was written word comes to us that they are already back at work at their old pay.)

The name of the union is the "Transport Workers Union", and in case there are any who now wish to join it but are afraid of being fired, we respectfully refer you to any one in the station department, and they will verify the following story.

#### The Man Defied Them

About five weeks ago, a man was being followed by "bookies" day and night, they even slept on his doorstep so as to be able to follow him to work the next day; he got tired of this and finally got up in a meeting of the Company Brotherhood and announced that he knew he was being followed and spied on to find out if he was an organizer for the Transport Workers Union, and to settle the question, he stated that he WAS an organizer and had application cards with him at all times if any one wanted to join. This man is still working. Station department men take notice!

We might also add the following: The second month after the

company pension graft was started the union was growing so fast that the Company got scared and published an emphatic statement to the effect that the pension was REALLY voluntary, and anyone who wanted his money back could get it; all he had to do was to ask for it. Three thousand five hundred men asked for their money back and got it. All who were forced to join, and those of the track department who were fooled into joining before they knew what it was all about should get their money back, and can—with no questions being asked.

#### The New Agreement

Now comes the working agreement for the new year (1935) to decide what pay and hours the men will have. There are 16,500 men, and there are about 16,499 different working rules, ratings, wage scales, working days etc. Many men work 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Many work 10 hours a day, six days a week, and so on. Some of these men have been working nights for years and years. There are over 4,000 men working underground in New York seven days a week on one subway alone—the In-terborough Rapid Transit.

The new agreement provides the same wages as now, but with an eight hour day, instead of 9, 10 or 12 worked at present. Those already working eight hours, will receive one half of their cut back, and those who were working 12 hours, will receive their entire 10 percent cut back, and a 10 percent raise in addition, to repay them for the four hours per day which they will lose when the 8-hour day goes into effect. The seven-day week is still in effect.

The men are plenty sore about the whole thing, as they expected the return of the 10 percent cut. Some locals of the Brotherhood had passed resolutions instructing their delegates to demand the 10 percent back, and an additional 10 percent on account of the rising cost of living. More than half of the men, the lowest paid group, get nothing whatever from the agreement. The better paid men, those already on eight hours, get one-half of their cut back, but the lower groups get nothing except a reduction in hours from nine or ten to eight.

#### Men Stirred Again

The men all over the road are getting stirred up again, and there is a steady stream of them coming into the union once more.

This is only the start. Worse times are coming. While wages remain the same, the cost of living continues to go up and up. What are the men going to do? How can they support families on \$20.04 to \$24.80 per week?

What will happen? There can be only one answer: The men will continue to join the Transport Workers Union until it is strong enough to demand—and get—an increase for every man who is now getting less than a living wage. A man cannot support a family, and live like a human being in New York City today on less than \$30 per week.

The Company would like for the men to forget about the wage cut, and to accept the present ratings as permanent, as the "basic" rate. The men, however, will never forget. I think I can say this for every worker on the line.

## A.F.of L. Blocks Rubber Strike

AKRON, Ohio, Jan. 16.—Using every known artifice of labor misleaders, the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy here was able to stave off a strike vote of Firestone rubber workers this week after their rank and file leaders secretly voted "immediate action".

A careful rumor was spread that there would be no meeting for a strike vote, keeping many workers away. The Firestone company did its share by rehiring about 75 of the militant 325 battery workers whose lay-off crystallized strike sentiment. It was argued by the bureaucrats that this indicated the company would rehire all the others and so a strike was unnecessary! Refusing to admit defeat, militant rank and file leaders are planning an "outlaw" strike for which sentiment is rising.

## 600 At League Meet

(Special to New Militant)

ALLENSTOWN, Pa., Jan. 14.—More than 600 workers on relief projects gathered at a mass meeting called by the Lehigh County Unemployed League on Jan. 11 to give the men a chance to discuss grievances and to formulate plans for correcting them.

"We must work in mud up to our knees." "We got 15 minutes for lunch." "No shelter is pro-

vided from the cold." "The water boy has only one tin cup and this spreads influenza." "The boss fired eight of us because we didn't haul enough dirt in our wheelbarrows." "The boss fired me; he said I was agitating." "They don't allow us anything for transportation. My bus fare is \$1.20 a week." "The place where we work is worse than a hog wallow."

The assembled workers passed a resolution that the Unemployed League be adopted as the organization to represent them; that grievance committees be elected on each project; and that project grievance committees meet weekly to discuss matters of mutual interest and to carry unadjusted grievances to higher sources.

Arnold Johnson, Secretary of the National Unemployed League, in a stirring speech, warned the workers of the efforts being made to lower the rates on relief work and stressed the necessity of organization.

## IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

### Hard Facts for A.F. of L. Pow-Wow

A very important meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is due to take place at the end of January. For the first time since the San Francisco convention, the eighteen big chiefs of the Federation will gather in Washington for a pow-wow. And although the pipe of peace will be smoked for the benefit of the public at large, few of the braves will be so foolish as to leave their war-clubs at home.

The boys can't be blamed for feeling uncomfortable and insecure. After a short breathing spell they face the possibilities of another and even more severe strike wave. Auto labor is sore at the elections which are being conducted by the Automobile Labor Board and which are serving to legitimize company unionism in their industry. The Progressives in steel are planning action. Akron's strongly organized rubber workers must either take action soon or see their union killed by a long drawn out court fight. Even in coal, which was so solidly organized with a minimum of trouble by the cohorts of John L. Lewis, labor faces an increasingly difficult situation caused by the collapse of the price and production control features of the coal code.

#### Times Are Tough

The A. F. of L. Research staff has just issued a report which proves that the Great White Father Franklin D. has let down his faithful labor lieutenants most shamefully. It begins its review of the year with this gloomy statement:

"As Labor reviews the year 1934 and looks ahead to 1935, we see no significant gains during 1934 in employment, real wages or hours of work. . . . Such gains as were made since the enactment of NRA were accomplished in the summer and fall of 1933. During 1934 production of mines and factories increased only slightly; production on farms decreased; the wherewithal to raise living standards was not supplied. Industrial profits on the other hand, increased, business failures decreased and the business community was in a better position to carry on profitably at the end of 1934."

The bright side is the constant increase in the number of organized workers. In spite of severe repression by employers, an unparalleled growth of boss organizations and of company unionism, A. F. of L. records show an increase for the year of 3,369 locals affiliated to Internationals and 1,115 directly affiliated to the Federation.

But otherwise the picture is one of unrelieved blackness. "The outstanding fact is," the report continues, "private industry has failed to put the unemployed to work. . . . We find that small employment gains in manufacturing industries, coal and other mining, utilities, trade, service industries, amounted in all to 170,000 new jobs for more than 11,000,000 unemployed (certainly no extreme estimate—K. L.) and even these were offset by employment losses to farm laborers . . . and to railroad workers amounting in all to 230,000 lost jobs. The increase in 1934 of persons seeking work approaches 400,000. . . . Unemployment in November 1934 exceeded November 1933 by 429,000 persons."

#### Wages Down; Profits Up

"The workers' average yearly wage has increased 6.7 percent, while the cost of food rose 11.3 percent and prices of clothes and house furnishings rose 15.3 percent. Clearly, the average employed worker's standard of living was lower in 1934 although his yearly income rose from \$1,029 in 1933 to \$1,069 in 1934. . . . Figures for average hours worked . . . show neither gain nor loss since 1933; the average was 37½ after the codes had been established last fall; it was 37½ this year."

Profits of industry, on the other hand, have gone up. The profits of 418 large corporations increased from \$605 million in 1933 to \$911 million in 1934.

#### Hard Facts

Those are the cold, hard facts assembled by their own research department. It will give the Executive Council plenty to chew on. This cruel set of statistics will

have to be the base of their program.

A major point on the agenda will be the planning of a legislative program. The thirty-hour work week, abolition of company unionism, recognition of the principle of majority rule in employee representation are on the list. Lewis of the Mine Workers wants the coal industry treated as a public utility. The futile and ridiculous political horse trading in which the Federation has indulged so long, will begin again. Nothing will be done to ruffle the feathers of the politicians, especially of that best democrat of them all, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Reactionary interests are pushing bills to outlaw sympathetic or general strikes and to force compulsory arbitration of all disputes. These labor leaders want to prove that they are gentlemen and that no such drastic measures are necessary to keep labor in its proper place. It is interesting to note that the great drive to organize the steel industry, announced with great hubbaloob at the last convention has not yet materialized. It is feared that such a campaign undertaken at the present time would furnish the spark to set off explosions not only in blast furnace land but also in autos, rubber, textiles and God knows where else.

For the same reason every possible effort is going to be made to patch up some sort of agreement in the building trades controversy. All indications are that no compromise has yet been reached and that the main effort will be to keep the rift in the National Building Trades Council from affecting the local units. Peacemakers have pointed out to the warring factions that jurisdictional strikes which would hinder and tie up the federal building program are sure to add strength to the movement for government supervision of labor organizations.

## WHAT TO ATTEND

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

#### New York City

Jan. 26, Sunday evening, Irving Plaza—Max Shachtman, "Should Communists Build a Labor Party?"

Feb. 2, Saturday night—District Housewarming Party, 2 West 15th Street, third floor. See page 1 for story. Members, friends and sympathizers invited.

Feb. 7, Thursday evening—Benefit Theatre Party, "Sailors of Cattaro". Frances Drake, chairman. Few tickets still available. Outstanding tickets must be settled for at once.

Feb. 10, Sunday afternoon—Irving Plaza. Welcoming back A. J. Muste from his nation-wide tour. Report from Comrade Muste on conditions throughout the country.

Feb. 16, Saturday night—Germania Hall, 16th St. and 3rd Avenue. "Red" Cabaret and Dance. Revue, dancing, games, supper and drinks. (See ad in this issue.)

Feb. 17, Sunday, 2:30 P.M.—Irving Plaza. Debate on "Which Program for American Labor?" by A. J. Muste and Jay Lovestone.

Friday night forums at all New York branches, including: Feb. 1, Friday, 8:30—Branch 6, 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn. Hugo Oehler on "Should Communists Organize a Labor Party?"

Feb. 1, Friday, 8:30—1281 49th St., Brooklyn, Branch No. 7. Dick Ellinger on "Roosevelt's Program".

#### Davenport, Ia.

Jan. 29, Tuesday, 8 P.M.—Old Masonic Temple Auditorium, N. E. cor. of Third and Main Sts. A. J. Muste: "What Does America Face in 1935?" Tickets obtainable at Pecks Confectionery, 2224 Rockingham Rd., Davenport. Free unemployed tickets also at this address.

#### Kansas City, Mo.

Jan. 29, Tuesday evening, Workers Library—A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon on "The Workers Party of the U.S."

#### St. Louis

Jan. 31, Thursday, 8 P.M.—Hibernian Hall, 3619 Finney Ave. A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon on "The Program and Purpose of the Workers Party of the U.S."

#### Los Angeles, Cal.

Feb. 1, Friday, 8 P.M., Walker's Auditorium, 730 S. Grand Ave.—"The Message of the Workers Party of the U. S." Speakers: Sam Meyers, Charles Curtiss and Dave Harris.

#### Gillespie, Ill.

Feb. 1, Friday, 7:30 P.M., Socialist Party Hall—"The Workers Party". Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: James Cross.

#### Tovey, Ill.

Feb. 2, Saturday, 2 P.M., School House—"The Workers Party" A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Chairman: C. H. Mayer.

#### Springfield, Ill.

Feb. 3, Sunday, 8 P.M., Carpenters Hall, 5th and Monroe Sts.—"The Workers Party". Speakers: A. J. Muste and J. P. Cannon. Jerry Allard, chairman.

Feb. 3, Sunday, 10 A.M.—All day Left Wing Conference.

## The Party at Work

### MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH MOVES FORWARD

More complete reports from Minneapolis than were available last week give us a picture of a branch buzzing with life. Since the strikes of last summer our Minneapolis branch has definitely become the leading political working class force in this city.

Militant members of Local 574 are making applications and becoming members of the branch. At the same time these militants are in demand for other fields of the class struggle and actually being drafted to take over leading positions in other unions.

V. R. Dunne became attached to the leadership of the St. Paul garage workers' strike. That strike is now settled with a victory for the workers. Miles Dunne was drafted for the Fargo, N. Dakota drivers local in which he has since been active, taking the leadership in one successful strike. He built the local up to a membership of approximately 700. Henry Schultz was drafted for the organization of a new and thriving local union of the Northern States Power Workers. Indications are that this newly emerging local union will win its demands without a strike.

Since the strikes of last summer the progressive forces, not only in Local 574, but in various other unions in Minneapolis, St. Paul and throughout the state have become strengthened and the movement is taking on organized force. Our comrades are the active spirits in this movement.

Sometime ago the progressive forces had a conference in St. Paul, participated in by militant representatives from Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Superior and other cities in this

state. This conference brought the issues of the class struggle to the forefront. It has since become a regularly organized, permanent institution. It includes progressive elements from independent unions as well as from A. F. of L. unions. The next conference will take place on January 26 and will be addressed by Comrades Muste and Cannon. The conference is scheduled to adjourn in time so that the delegates can attend the banquet organized by our Minneapolis branch celebrating the occasion of the visits of Comrades Muste and Cannon. A busy schedule of meetings has been laid out for these comrades and our reporter says: "By the end of that schedule, the town will damned well know that there is a branch of the Workers Party in existence."

Educational activities are not being overlooked by our Minneapolis comrades. Regular weekly forums are being held under the auspices of a workers club organized some time ago. The attendance of this forum is steadily growing. During the garage workers' strike our comrades put on a strike play entitled "Under the Clock". The performance took place right in the strike headquarters.

#### HEAVY SCHEDULE IN N.Y.C.

NEW YORK CITY.—The coming weeks provide a well filled program for the New York District and its branches. Following the trade union conference this weekend and a lecture by Max Shachtman on Sunday night, Jan. 27, we will hold our housewarming party the following weekend, Saturday evening, Feb. 2.

The next event on the program is the theatre party, "The Sailors of Cattaro", Feb. 7, to be followed a few days later by the welcome home meeting to our National Secretary, A. J. Muste at which time he will report on the tour.

Two big events are scheduled for early in February. The first is the "Red" Cabaret and Dance to be given on Saturday evening, Feb. 16, at Germania Hall, and the second is the long heralded debate between A. J. Muste and Jay Lovestone, to be held on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 17, at Irving Plaza. Admission to the latter event is 35c and since the limitations of space in the hall will mean a rush for tickets, readers are asked to buy them well in advance from the District Office at 2 West 15th Street.

GAMES	DRINKS	SUPPER
<b>'RED' CABARET &amp; DANCE</b>		
Saturday, February 16th 9 p.m.		
<b>GERMANIA HALL</b>		
144 East 16th St., near 3rd Ave.		
Dance Numbers, Singing and other Entertainment		
MAX SHACHTMAN, Master of Ceremonies		
In advance 49c	At the door 75c	
Tickets at International Workers School, 2 West 15th St., N. Y. C.		

### Railroad Jobs Get Fewer and Fewer

WASHINGTON.—Railroad employment dropped to the lowest point in the year in December 1934. The Interstate Commerce Commission reports 960,769 railroaders employed in the middle of that month, as compared to the previous low of 966,365 in January, 1934. Since September railroad employment has been below the levels of last year.

The December figure represents a 1.88% drop in employment from the previous month on class 1 railroads and .57% decrease compared to December, 1933.

WASHINGTON.—Consumers paid 11% more on their food bills (or ate less) in the two-week period ending Dec. 18, 1934, than in the corresponding period of 1933, according to Department of Labor figures on retail food prices. Prices were 11% higher than a year ago, and about 16% higher than on Dec. 1932.

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# THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF MODERN WAR

## CAPITALIST EXPANSION ENDS IN OPEN CONFLICT

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of four articles by Comrade West on the problems of the revolutionary fight against war. The remaining three will be entitled: "The Struggle Against War", "The League Against War and Fascism", and "The United Front and War". Do not miss them!)

An integral part of the great aim of the revolutionary movement is the elimination of war. It has become almost commonplace to realize that modern war threatens not merely suffering and death to vast millions, but the actual destruction of human civilization, the thrusting of mankind back into barbarism. No one who, with the lessons of the last war in mind, has followed the recent developments in military technique, can doubt this to be literally true.

In the face of this prospect, it is the revolutionary movement alone that has a solution to offer. From the open war-glorification by Fascism to the futile gesturings of pacifism, all other forces in modern society are not merely powerless to prevent war but in fact aid in preparing war. The responsibility for the struggle against war rests wholly on the revolutionary movement.

The first step in the struggle against war is a clear understanding of the nature and causes of war. A more pious horror at the dreadfulness of war—which is shared by the great majority of men—is useless, and worse than useless.

### AT THE BOTTOM OF WAR

The driving force of the capitalist mode of production is the necessity for the continual accumulation and expansion of capital. This necessity is inescapable. Capitalists must constantly attempt to expand capital, in order to maintain profits. But this attempt comes up against (indeed it is merely the reverse side of) the equally inescapable tendency under capitalism for the general rate of profits to fall. The fall in the rate of profits demands capital expansion, in order to retain an equal or greater total amount of profits; the expansion, however, in its turn involves an increased tendency of the rate of profits to fall, and, consequently, the still further need for capital expansion.

The necessity for the expansion of capital leads to the mighty development of the means of production, to the huge new machines and great factories and mines and railroads, the enormous corporations, the ever-growing monopolies. The expansion is, however, by its nature unregulated and chaotic, for two chief reasons, the first of which is dependent on the second:

(1) It is carried out on a competitive basis, not in accord with

a rational and inclusive plan. (2) It is developed with no relation to the needs of a consumer market.

From the point of view of capitalism, the "market" is only the means for transforming commodity-values back into capital-values for further use in the accumulation of capital. The market is therefore necessarily limited not by the potential needs of consumers (which are nearly boundless), but by the conditions of capitalist production itself—by the possibility of using the surplus value realized from the sale of commodities to produce more surplus value.

The tendency to uncontrolled expansion exceeds the limits; the capitalist created market can no longer "absorb" the products of the expanded capital equipment; expansion becomes over-expansion. The over-expansion is temporarily "corrected" by the periodic crisis, during which capital (i.e. the value of the means of production) is destroyed through falling price levels, bankruptcies and material deterioration. The point is reached where capital accumulation can once more proceed "normally"; the tendencies re-assert themselves on a new and still more violent scale, and the next crisis is rapidly prepared for.

Capitalism thus faces: (1) A chronic necessity for the accumulation of capital, i.e. for the re-capitalizing of all present values and for new capital investments; (2) a periodic inability to find markets through which commodities turned out by the capital equipment can, by their sale to consumers, be re-converted into capital. During the decline of capitalism, this second periodic condition likewise tends more and more to become chronic, thus bringing about a lowering of the scale of capitalist operations. The necessity for capital expansion, however, continues in an even sharper form at the more restricted level.

These two conditions explain the fundamental basis of modern (imperialist) war.

### DRIVEN TO IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

Capitalists of every major capitalist nation are faced with the following situation: In order to sustain the system which sustains them, they must find continuous outlets for capital investment and re-investment; but the internal market, provided by the capitalist mode of production within any single nation, is not sufficient to re-convert into capital values the values of commodities turned out even by existing capital equipment, much less of new. Consequently, the capitalists of each nation are forced to seek outlets for capital investment (and likewise consumer markets) beyond the national borders.

If we glance even for a moment at the history of the United States since the War, we can see this tendency everywhere manifesting

itself.

International Tel. & Tel. builds and operates telephone and telegraph systems in Spain, Latin America, South America, and the Near East. General Electric buys heavily into the electrical industries not only of "backward" countries but of Germany, France and England. New York banks and investment houses exploit the copper mines of Africa and the silver mines of Peru. The Standard Fruit Co. owns and operates the great orchards of Mexico; United Fruit, the orchards of Central America. The American Sugar Refining Co. expands its refineries in Cuba. Curtiss-Wright builds an airplane factory in China. Standard Oil and Texas Co. build oil refineries and operate filling stations all through the Far East, as well as in Bolivia, Venezuela and Mexico. The auto companies build plants in Canada and even (Ford) in England and Germany.

### CAPITALISTS VIE ON WORLD-WIDE SCALE

But the capitalists of England, Germany, France, Italy, and Japan are driven by the same scourge.

Since the world is limited in extent, since the areas available for new forms of capital expansion and exploitation are growingly restricted, conflict is not only likely but inevitable. The grandiose battle of the capitalists of the imperialist powers is fought on a world-wide scale. Into the colonies, mandates, "subject nations", "spheres of influence", flow the surplus capital funds, imperiously demanding to be set to work at making profits.

The political arms of the capitalists—the governments of their respective countries—are extended watchfully over the new investments.

They are ever ready to unseat a Central American government, threaten a native prince, wipe out "red bandits", stop or start a revolution, send a flotilla of warships or a regiment of marines, resent an "insult to the flag", if necessary set two countries—Bolivia and Paraguay for example—flying at each other's throats to settle the dispute of Standard Oil and Shell over rights to an oil field.

To expose the foundation clearly, there must be added to this basic drive of capital for accumulation the closely related struggle for sources of raw materials, for control of shipping, for the ability to manufacture in countries where the standard of living is lower than in the home country, and the determination of the home capitalists to keep the home market for their own purposes by tariffs, quotas, and exchange restrictions.

### CAPITALIST SOCIETY CONTINUALLY AT WAR

The truth of the matter is this: In the stage of imperialism, capitalist society is continuously at war. This is the essence of imperialism. It is not a question of one war starting, then stopping, to be followed in a decade or two by a new war. It is war all the time, changing only in the form it takes, in the degree of violence.

The economic wars of capital expansion, of tariff and exchange and armament and competitive exploitation reach a point where the attempt is made to find a political solution of the economic and social contradictions through war open and undisguised; imperialist-inspired wars between subject nations; wars of subjugation by imperialist nations against subject peoples and the converse wars of these peoples against their imperialist oppressors; the world-wide war of the imperialist nations among themselves. But, though producing a "boom" by loosening the bonds on capital expansion, by destruction of existing values, and by credit expansion, the open wars, far from solving the contradictions, only express their depth, and prepare for still more bitter conflict to come.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR OF THE WORKERS

And throughout this bloody chaos is fought the war that gives historical meaning to the whole mad spectacle: the revolutionary war of the working class against its exploiters. This war, which, after generations of preparation, began on a world scale with the October revolution, continues within every country in a thousand varying

forms, from strikes to armed uprisings to preparations for intervention in the Soviet Union, and will continue until the final issue is decided.

The disguises that war wears—appearing as due to "national" or "cultural" differences, as following from an assassination or an insult to the flag—must not be allowed to hide the fundamental conflicts which are the true source of modern war. Though these other factors may provide the final push that sets open war going or may modify the character of a war, there is nothing in their own nature that must necessarily lead to war. They are the tools of the forces making for war, not the cause of these forces. Nor should we be misled by those who tell us that the present tendency toward "economic nation-

alism" means the end of imperialism and consequently of imperialist war. The lessening of foreign trade and foreign investment during the crisis, far from removing the imperialist contradictions, only exaggerates them, only increases the relative importance of whatever foreign capital expansion and trade remains and makes over sharper the struggle to capture and control it.

The general conclusion is inescapable: Modern war is neither accidental nor due to the evil of human nature nor decreed by God. War is of the very essence of imperialist-capitalism, as much a part of capitalism as wage labor. To speak of capitalism without war is like speaking of a human being without lungs. The fate of the one is inextricably bound to the fate of the other.

## Will the Steel Workers Strike? Here's Record Under NRA to Date

By DENNIS BROWN

The record of the Roosevelt Administration comes up for inspection by the insurgents of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, early in February. That record is here presented in a fourteen paragraph calendar statement of facts.

Two courses have presented themselves to steel workers during the past year and a half. One—then recommended by William Green and Mike Tighe—has been a reliance upon the benevolence of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the NRA. Tacit admissions have given of an alliance between these labor leaders and the Federal Administration. Cooperation between labor and capital has been their stated policy.

### Membership Exerts Pressure

The second course toward which the body of the union has moved steadily is independent action. To bring their own coercive pressure upon the employers is what the union masses have been moving toward. That pressure can only express itself in the strike. This movement now finds its leadership in an organized struggle against Tighe and the union's bureaucracy. It was the Rank and File group, whose criticism of Tighe and the NRA was formulated in the famous slogan "National Run Around", now the watchword of all progressive groups. It must however be pointed out that the Rank and File leadership showed serious weakness in its first struggle. Greater resoluteness in the struggle will be necessary to unseat Tighe and Co.

### Weighting the Record

Many thousands of workers have believed in the policy of Roosevelt-Green Tighe. But the proof of the pudding is in the eating—and the pudding is on the table. Promises were made, and a promise must eventually be realized or withdrawn. Roosevelt, Green and Tighe must now stand on their record while the steel workers weigh against it the policy of independent militant action.

The following is the dated record of Roosevelt and the labor bureaucracy:

1. On October 16, 1933, the National Labor Board induced the Amalgamated to call off the Weirton strike. E. T. Weir signed an agreement providing for an election at which the workers would choose between the company union and the trade union.

2. Early in December 1933, the Weirton Co. refused to go through with its election arrangements. The wordy protests of the National Labor Board notwithstanding, Weirton proceeded to conduct an election of representatives under the company union scheme.

3. After two months of muddling and buckpassing, the National Labor Board finally referred the case to the Department of Justice (but never recommended to NRA Compliance that Weirton be deprived of the Blue Eagle). At length the Department began to prosecute the case, seeking an equity order which would compel Weirton to submit to an election.

4. But—conveniently for the Weirton company—the legal experts

of the Department of Justice did not trouble to familiarize themselves with the Anti-Injunction Act of 1932. Thus on May 29, 1934, Judge Neids threw out the case—on technical grounds—and the Department of Justice had to start all over again.

5. The case was resumed, and is still in the Federal courts. It is now January 1935, well over a year since the trouble began. Judge Neids cannot possibly decide on the case in time to get it before the current session of the U. S. Supreme Court. Thus the NRA will have expired before the election powers of the Labor Boards, specifically, and the meaning of Section 7a, in general, can be decided by the Supreme Court.

### Roosevelt's Pledge

6. On May 30, 1934 (one day after Judge Neids' first decision on the Weirton suit) President Roosevelt, in his executive order approving the extension of the iron and steel code, made the following specific pledge:

"In order to assure the free exercise of the rights of employees under the provisions of Section 7 of this Act and Article 4 of this code, I will undertake promptly to provide, as the occasion may demand, for the election by employees in each industrial unit of representatives of their own choosing for the purpose of collective bargaining and for mutual aid and protection, under the supervision of an appropriate governmental agency and in accordance with suitable rules and regulations."

7. On June 15, 1934, William Green spoke before the Amalgamated convention and induced the workers to call off the strike scheduled to begin the next day. He appeared as a quasi-official spokesman of the Federal Administration; and he let it be understood, by tacit assurances, that if the strike were called off the workers would have their elections, majority rule, recognition, collective agreements: all they were asking for.

### Set Up Steel Board

8. On the same day Congress passed Public Resolution No. 44 (approved by the President a few days later), authorizing the President to set up boards empowered to call for employee elections to determine collective bargaining representation. Section 2 reads:

"Any board so established is hereby empowered, when it shall appear in the public interest, to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot of any employees of any employer, to determine by what person or persons or organization they desire to be represented in order to assure the right of employees to organize and to select their representatives for the purpose of collective bargaining as defined in Section 7a."

9. On June 28, 1934, the President, relying on Public Resolution No. 44, did in fact create the National Steel Labor Relations Board, Section 3 of the Executive Order reads as follows:

"Whenever, after its services are invoked by employers or employees, the Board upon investigation, shall find that an election is necessary to determine by what person, persons or organizations employees desire to be represented, the Board is authorized to order and conduct an election by a secret ballot. . . . After each such election the Board shall certify the results to all concerned, and the person, persons or organization certified as the choice of the majority of those voting shall be accepted as the representative or representatives of said employees for the purpose of collective bargaining, without thereby denying to any individual employee or group of employees the right to present grievances, to confer with their employers, or otherwise to associate themselves and act for mutual aid or protection."

We may say then that the creation of the NSLRB signified a truce: the workers agreed not to strike; the government agreed to call for elections, majority rule governing.

10. From the beginning of July 1934 to late in December—a period of six months—the Amalgamated

### SITUATION IN CUBA AFTERMATH IN SPAIN

The terror regime continues in the island of Cuba.

As the conflict between the Mendieta-Wall Street regime and its opponents (on both the left and right) increases in sharpness, with bombings and street murders again daily occurrences, the government has placed the country under virtual martial law.

All constitutional guarantees have been suspended throughout Cuba for a period of 30 days. This decision was accompanied by a Cabinet decree calling for the death penalty for all persons convicted of setting fire to cane fields or "sabotaging in any form or otherwise interrupting the sugar harvest". Freely interpreted, this decree can

be made to apply to strikers on the sugar plantations.

### Followers Under Imperialism

Imperialism and its puppets are unable to solve the crisis that has held the island republic in its clutches, with ever-increasing privations for the masses, for nearly a decade. The great mass of toilers of city and plantation remember how they were able, during the days of revolutionary upsurge following the overthrow of Machado, to win increased living standards through militant struggle, and are now preparing to press forward once more in order to re-gain the positions that the Mendieta "counter-revolution" has wrested from them.

The period of the sugar harvest is always the period of most intensive struggles by the Cuban working class, and in this case it coincides with the political crisis brought about by the partial breakdown of the ruling clique.

### Mendieta Seeks Allies

The beleaguered Mendieta regime is casting about on all sides for allies. Elements such as the "Auténticos" of Grau San Martín and the semi-Fascist ABC, who under more favorable circumstances would ally themselves with the puppet of imperialism, realizing that a greater future is offered them if they remain in opposition, have spurned every attempt to negotiate. Grau, from his exile in Miami, Florida, has announced that his party "will not accept any formula tending to perpetuate the present regime in Cuba".

While the government casts about in search of a life-line, it is bringing pressure against the left forces on the political field. It is these leftist forces which today represent the main danger for the Mendieta government.

A number of strikes have occurred recently, contributing considerably to the further weakening of the government. If the threatened general strike should materialize, however, it may well become, as in the case of Machado, the lever by which the whole regime can be dumped into the sea.

### The Aftermath in Asturias

According to an official statement made public on Jan. 15 by the governor general of the province of Asturias, eleven thousand miners of the region have either been killed in the recent revolt or are otherwise unaccounted for. The government decreed some time ago, that all miners returning to work, in order to be permitted to do so, would first be required to turn over one rifle to the authorities. A few days ago the Miner's Union of Asturias was declared illegal. It appears that the valiant miners of Asturias who bore the brunt of the armed struggle, are also destined to bear the brunt of the present relatively "peaceful" interlude.

The whereabouts of some of the missing miners is indicated in the same official statement referring to a whole series of rebel groups who are still holding out in the mountainous recesses, and against whom, according to the announcement, a special military expedition is now being sent.

Spanish government officials announce that they have confiscated 89,354 rifles, 35,211 revolvers and 1,026 machine guns, from the workers recently in rebellion.

As the Lerrox regime draws the balance of the Spanish October, its own foundations are being corroded by the internecine struggles now developing within the rightist camp itself. One of the main points of friction from the beginning has been the disagreements arising as to the punishment that should be meted out to the ex-rebels. Some of the rightist forces, especially the Fascists, have been insisting on large scale executions of the leaders of the uprising. The Lerrox government on the other hand has allowed the Left Republican leader, Azana, and others, to go free, while commuting practically all of the death sentences imposed by military court, to sentences of life imprisonment.

It is now quite evident that the struggle of the Spanish working class was at least successful in that it has prevented the Fascists from consolidating themselves in the government. Meanwhile a deep ferment is in process within the ranks of Spanish labor; policies are being reviewed, lessons being drawn; and all indications point towards a renewal of the struggle on a still higher plane in the not very distant future.

## WORLD IN REVIEW

## The Party Fund

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on a collection list		Los Angeles, Cal. Branch	9.25
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MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow.

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics (vol. 1)—H. Oehler

WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationalisms—M. Shachtman.

WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:00—Organization Principles.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swaback.

THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.

FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould.

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## In California

EIGHTEEN workers are on trial in Sacramento, California, facing a hostile jury and possible sentences of long terms in prison. They are charged with criminal syndicalism. But no smoke screen of any kind can hide the fact that these workers are prosecuted because they were the active organizers of the agricultural workers of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. It is the most elementary working class right which is at stake in this trial: the right to organize into trade unions.

To stir up passions and hatred against the defendants the prosecution has raised the "red" issue and has challenged the right to legal existence of the Communist Party.

A special red-baiting Deputy Attorney General—although defeated in the last election—heads the prosecution, amply supplied with funds by the "Associated Farmers" and the Industrial Association. Religious and racial prejudices are played upon to secure a conviction. The Hearst press is flooding California with anti-red and anti-labor propaganda. And in this atmosphere of fierce reactionary agitation the Sacramento City Manager has publicly taken upon himself the arming of 600 "citizens" to repel an alleged invasion of the city.

The American Legion, the Elks, the Lions, Rotarians, Kiwanis, priests, rabbis, pastors, Boy Scout leaders, real estate brokers, brothel keepers and legislators—all are yelling for the incarceration in San Quentin of the eighteen defendants.

In face of this gigantic lynch party one duty remained supreme for those engaged in the active support of the defense: **solidarity and unity of all defendants before the capitalist court despite differences of political views.** Only utter disregard for working class interests could permit any other course.

For these reasons we accepted the building of a united front in the Sacramento defense as our special task and we have not swerved one inch from the pursuance of this aim. One of the defendants no longer adheres to the Communist Party. He shares the views of the Workers Party; but the capitalist court is no place for the discussion of internal working class differences.

We knew that the accomplishment of a united front in this defense would be no easy task. The perfidious attitude of the Communist Party had made that appear well nigh impossible. When members in their own ranks demanded a united front in this case they were denounced as stool pigeons. All the prejudices, artificially fostered, all the obstacles created by their false policies had to be battered down one by one to make a genuine united front possible in which the participants accept its obligations and carry them out honestly.

At the present moment this united front has been accomplished and a defense committee set up including the Communist Party, the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the International Labor Defense, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Civil Liberties Union and other organizations mutually agreed upon by all concerned. The organizations involved and the defendants are pledged not to raise the internal controversial issues before the capitalist court and the attorneys for the I.L.D. and the N.P.L.D. cooperate in the courtroom.

Will this united front last until the case is through? This we cannot guarantee since it involves more than our party. But we can say that only light-minded charlatans would consciously take any steps or carry out any actions designed to endanger or break the united front defense.

Our position is clear. We fought for the united front from the day we entered the case. We are pledged and we carry it out honestly not only for the sake of the one defendant who shares our views, but for the sake of the other seventeen defendants, but for the sake of the working class—the real defendant at Sacramento.

## The C. P. and the Labor Party

AFTER having been the almost exclusive property of the right wing in the Socialist Party for years, the slogan of a labor party has just been taken over bag and baggage by the leadership of the Communist Party.

The leader of the Communist Party, straight from Moscow, rushed down the gangplank of the boat which brought him home, grabbed the first train to Washington, and in the presence of the assembled delegates of the "unemployment insurance conference," set forth the new revelation.

Thoroughly characteristic of the present regime in

## Roosevelts Insecurity Program

(Continued from Page 1)

That workers are chronically thrown out of their jobs, by technological change, by the business cycle, by seasonal influences—all this is disregarded. Similarly, the New Deal social welfare lads forget that the American worker hardly earns enough to support himself, let alone to save for his old age, and that as he grows older, his earning power declines. The annuities are to begin at 65. But the worker under modern industrialism becomes aged economically long before he is biologically old.

## Fifty-Fifty?

The cost of purchasing the annuities will be divided 50-50, in theory, between workers and bosses. But if the boss does not pass on his share, as wage reductions, something is wrong with the theory of the incidence of taxation as it

is taught in our respectable universities.

Where the old age pension scheme is hollow mockery, the unemployment insurance plan is a straight kick in the pants. To begin with, it will be financed by a 3 percent payroll tax. This means the cost will be shouldered back upon the wage earners, through lower wages or higher living costs. In either case, the wage earning masses will not share wages and hours, as they do today, but in addition they will share the enforced saving.

The plan has been conceived to make sure that the various insurance funds will go bankrupt from time to time. It contemplates not one pooled national fund with an offsetting of risks by industries, regions, and enterprises, but 48 separate state funds; and in each state thousands of individual plant reserves. The evident intent is to encourage state schemes modeled up

the Communist Party is the fact that although it has been the policy of that organization for the past seven years to oppose the slogan of a labor party in this country, its leadership never even bothered to inform the membership that a change had been made in the policy.

Up to yesterday, the C.P. bureaucracy looked upon anybody who advocated the formation of a labor party as a deliberate agent of capitalism, a social demagogue and a social fascist. The right wing of the Socialist Party was the special object of C. P. ridicule and attack precisely because it defended the idea of a labor party.

What, then, is the meaning of this abrupt, bewildering and bureaucratic turn-about-face which has been effected in the dark of the moon?

On the lips of Waldman, Panken, Solomon the demagogue that a labor party be formed, or that the S. P. should initiate or help to create one, signified an acknowledgement that the S. P. had failed even as a party of reformism.

The slogan is a confession of bankruptcy.

On the lips of Browder and his trenchmen, the appeal for a labor party in this country has essentially the same significance. In his "historic" speech in Washington, Browder as much as confirmed this. In effect, he declared:

I think the C. P. is the only party that is good for the working class; but the working class doesn't think so. It does not yet want a revolutionary party. Well, since this is the case, we, the Communist party is perfectly willing to create a non-revolutionary party. The kind that you want. After a while, you will learn that this party is not really the kind you need, and just as we created it for you, we will smash it for you so that you can finally follow the leadership of the only, genuine, real, etc., etc., party.

What other sense can be made of this political abracadabra?

We do not believe it to be the job of revolutionists, who have had the opportunity to thoroughly absorb the lessons of what labor and reformist parties have led to in Europe, to create a reformist labor party in the United States.

We shall return to the question of the labor party in greater detail in forthcoming issues of the New Militant.

## Tom Mooney's Freedom

WHEN the United States Supreme Court entertained a writ of habeas corpus for Tom Mooney in November 1934 we said the action was a post election sop to the California working class. At that time the court ordered the state of California to show cause why the writ should not be granted.

Leaving aside the sheer irony of entertaining a writ of habeas corpus eighteen years after incarceration, we remark that our analysis was correct. The court has refused the writ.

The Supreme Court has the colossal gall to inform Mooney that he has not made sufficient efforts to obtain his freedom in the California courts. After eighteen years of appeals and reappeals, after four governors have refused pardon, after the California Supreme Court has declined to review the case!

The Court said that "Mooney had never asked the California court for the writ on the grounds which he now submits," and refused to deny that California would grant him his proper legal rights.

After eighteen years! Ironically, Mooney is sent back to California law at the very moment when it is in the act of railroad-ing eighteen workers in Sacramento—for what? For the crime of organizing agricultural workers!

The Supreme Court is a court of aristocrats and millionaires. Mooney's freedom—the freedom of class war prisoners—is up to labor.

## Attack the Enemy

THE best defense is a good offense. Attack the enemy—put him on the run.

This strategy is particularly important to the workers of the United States today.

The employers are pushing the attack on unionism. Section 7a of the N.R.A. little as it has done actually to secure to the workers the right to organize, is to be emasculated or repealed altogether if the bosses have their way.

Mindful of the growing sense of solidarity displayed by the workers in Toledo, San Francisco, Minneapolis and other strike areas in 1934, the National Association of Manufacturers now proposes federal legislation to prohibit general and sympathetic strikes. If the machinists, for example, go on strike over a question of wages, no other workers even in the same shop may stop work if the N.A.M. is to be suited!

The only answer to these proposals to hog-tie and enslave the workers is for them to pick up where they left off last fall—organize in rubber, steel, automobiles, and fight out the issue of union recognition on the picket lines.

Production is for the moment on the rise in these industries. The bosses would like to avoid trouble.

The American Federation of Labor leaders must not be permitted in 1935 to prevent or sabotage strikes as they did in 1934. It is because these bureaucrats did all in their power to thwart the militancy of the masses that the bosses have dared to take the offensive again.

Let the workers of Akron, of Weirton, of Detroit, and a score of other centers take the offensive again!

Union recognition will not be won in Congress, or in a Labor Board hearing, or in the Supreme Court, but in militant strike struggles.

The Workers Party of the United States pledges its utmost support to these struggles.

on the abortion of the Wisconsin liberals. And the Wisconsin plan does not even pretend that unemployment insurance is its primary objective, but addresses itself to coaxing employers into regularizing production and employment. Thus we shall probably have sanctioned, by the Act of Congress, the idea that individual employers can turn back the tides of economic forces.

## Democratic Poverty

When the President set up his Committee on Economic and Social Security last June, the Secretary of Labor remarked that not for us any European scheme of economic and social insurance, but an American scheme; not for us any socialistic devices, but democratic devices.

"Security"? Perhaps, if you call it "insurance". "Insurance"? Fine—but be sure it encourages self-help and thrift among the casualties of the economic order, and be ever so certain that it costs the owners nothing. To safeguard the profit system, after all you must first safeguard profits.

## ACROSS THE COUNTRY

(Continued from Page 1)  
to write for the Central Labor Union paper.

The Auto Workers' Union has kicked out Ramsey and Bossler and its present leaders make no secret of seeking the help of our comrades. The union is growing rapidly and despite the fact that the Auto-Lite plant itself is still half company union, thanks to Ramsey's influence, the Minger interests hesitate to provoke a quarrel. They've had a lesson!

Five members of an S.P. local drove 60 miles over roads that were a sheet of ice to our Toledo mass meeting. And they weren't sorry!

Toledo branch is growing. Sam Pollock can't be spared for Detroit just now. Ted Selander, however, is going to Columbus to hold down the office of the National Unemployed League of which he was elected treasurer last summer.

\*\*\*\*\*

DETROIT, Mich.—There's going to be big political news soon from Detroit. It will mean a substantial accession to the W.P. But we'll have to keep the comrades guessing for a while.

Meantime we can report that the Detroit branch has a good start, has the respect and confidence of the best elements in the trade union movement, and with the forces that are being sent in will prove itself capable of handling even as big a situation as Detroit.

Reports on the interesting and complex industrial situation here, the New Militant is getting from other comrades. Capitalism is booming here, Ford working 24 hours a day.

So there's no unemployment in Detroit?

Say, comrade, we said capitalism is booming.

\*\*\*\*\*

CHICAGO, Ill.—A hall jammed with nearly 400 people, Spartacus Youth with their red sashes, the crowd so interested that we had to get the management of the hall to extend our time, the C.P. and S.P. attempts to answer us so weak that the workers present often roared their derision, the singing of the International and three mighty cheers for the Workers Party of the U.S.—that was the Chicago meeting.

A Hot Situation

It's 10 below zero here meteorologically speaking, but it's a "hot" situation as far as our branches, the Spartacus Youth League and prospects of growth are concerned.

The Chicago branches believe that a district comprising Illinois, southern Wisconsin, eastern Iowa and Missouri and northwestern Indiana, with headquarters in Chicago, ought to be set up soon. Comrade Cannon and I are convinced by their arguments and are recommending action to the Political Committee.

There are a million things to write about Chicago, but here as elsewhere the time is all too short.

Besides, I can hear the editor cussing now because this copy isn't in. Better have mercy on us. As I said, it's 10 below zero here, the weatherman says the cold wave is staying for a while, and we're headed for Minneapolis and—the North Pole!

## 56 Released by Ohio Leaguers

(Continued from Page 1)

reached in advance. Fearing organization of a proper legal defense, the presiding justice refused to continue the hearing. Since the new defense counsel was unacquainted with the case, the justice permitted Art Preis and Pollock to cross-examine the witnesses. When Duncan was placed on the stand, the cross-examination became so hot the justice quickly ruled these two could not legally carry on the questioning.

The justice refused to permit any testimony on the matter of relief conditions and administration.

Relief Building "Private" Unable to find a legal basis for the charge of "trespass," the justice ruled that the relief building—rented with public funds for a public agency—was the property of the relief administration only and in that sense "private" property. He ruled that the public could remain in the building until the regular closing time.

George McGee, one of the defendants and fighting Negro leader of the Rossford Unemployed League, replied to a question as to why he did not leave the building at closing time, "The closing time of the relief office may be 12 o'clock but when your stomach is empty it's still open."

Mrs. Frederick, a militant Leaguer, asked what right she had to walk up the stairs of the relief building, answered, "Because I am a citizen of the U.S. I believe I have the right to remain as long as it takes to get food for starving children."

Charges are being preferred at once against Duncan before the new state relief administration and a committee of the Ohio Unemployed League will demand his immediate removal.

## That Pittsburgh Convention

Tighe Will Maneuver to Hold Steel Delegates in Check - Bill Spang is Opposition Leader

(Continued from Page 1)

blocking the rank and file revolt within the steel union will automatically upstage the less organized and developed rank and file movements of the other participating unions.

## Will Delegates be Hoodwinked?

Whether or not the delegates will allow themselves to be hoodwinked by these concessions or by any other maneuvers on the part of Green, Tighe and their henchmen is hard to predict. As far as the A.A. is concerned, the rank and file movement seems to be suffering from the same weaknesses that were apparent in the famous Committee of 10 which nullified all its excellent opportunities for destroying the Tighe bureaucracy and rallying the union to a militant struggle against the slow attrition tactics of the steel barons.

These weaknesses resulted from the lack of program, of a common tactic, and a unifying agreement based on progressive union policies. The movement was directed against the person of Tighe rather than the philosophy and tactics that make Tighe possible. The members of the Committee, united by a common dislike of Tighe, were disunited on every other basic point. The rank and file found themselves with an assortment of leaders but with no leadership. It was a comparatively simple business, therefore, for Green to sidetrack the strike movement and to throw the fight against company-unionism onto the laps of the NRA, the courts, the lawyers and all the thousand practitioners of pink sentiment and red tape.

## Not Likely Again

The rank and file members of the A.A. are not likely to repeat that particular mistake. They have had eight months of the Steel Labor Relations Board and are today in a worse position, if anything, than they were at the outset. (For a detailed description of what the Steel Labor Relations Board has "accomplished" for the steel workers see article on page 3.)

## "Our Men Are Desperate"

In the words of Bill Spang, chairman of the Fort Duquesne Lodge which has been the spark-plug of the fight against company-unionism:

"The union will not live through another delay like this. Our men are already desperate. Some of them are hungry—they have kids who are undernourished and wives who fade away right under their eyes. Unless our union starts to fight company-unionism with every weapon at its command right now—there may be no one to fight with later on. The men will go back to work."

Bill Spang was one of the members of the Committee of 10. He will be chairman of the "rank and file convention" and one of the leaders of the rank and file movement for the strike and against the Tighe bureaucracy. Hard fisted,

courageous, sincere, unshakably honest, Spang represents the virtues characteristic of rank and file leadership in the steel unions. And he represents the weaknesses of this leadership as well—weaknesses that may well prove fatal to the present movement as they were to the Committee of 10.

## Bill Spang's Weakness

He does not understand that an opposition movement within a union demands an even more careful organization and consistent leadership than a movement in opposition to boss greed. He will not submit to the discipline imposed by a program, the discipline that obliges every leader to submerge his personal differences, opinions and weakness in the interests of the common program and the common cause. He is an individualist, relying upon personal prestige and ability to storm the bureaucratic barricades. He has the man-of-action's contempt for careful planning, for "theorizing" and, in consequence, is fair prey to the very first plan that comes his way—in all probability the worst possible plan.

Such is the plan proposed for A. A. action in the "rank and file convention." The delegates will lay their plans for organization and appoint their own organizers for carrying these plans out.

## Tighe is Afraid

"Tighe does not want to organize new locals," says Spang, "because he knows he would lose control. If we left it up to him to send in organizers he would send us guys like the one we had last time who was more congenial to the steel company than to us. We are going to organize the A.A.—Tighe or no Tighe, and then he can sit at his desk and look at the four walls of his office."

In these naive reckonings, the seeds of defeat are already sown. Tighe will not look at those four walls long before he evolves a plan for gaining control of the new unions or for keeping control in spite of the new unions. Actually, that is what his position is, if he is not removed from office. And if the rank and file movement within the A.A. is strong enough to follow a plan of organization based on an eventual steel strike in spite of the Greens and Tighe then it is also strong enough to remove Tighe and clean house generally. If it fails to do this, it will also fail to carry out its other plans.

## A Golden Opportunity

There is certainly a golden opportunity in the present movement to overthrow the reactionary Tighe and their destructive class-collaborationist policies and to reassert the militant traditions and the progressive history of genuine trade-unionism. The time is at hand for an entire reorganization of the unions on democratic and non-compromising principles. Will the "rank and file convention" achieve these things?

## Letters To The Editor

An increasing number of readers write letters to the editors of the New Militant. Most of these letters deal with subjects that will be of interest to a large number of readers. In the future, therefore, the editors have decided to turn over this section of the New Militant to its readers. Conditions for publication are: 1) No letter shall be over 300 words in length. 2) the name and address of the writer must be known to the editors.

## START MEETINGS ON TIME!

Dear Comrade Editor:

A party starts out with certain principles, certain tactics, and an organizational set-up.

In the process of building itself, certain "details" are cast aside, even treated with scorn. "There are bigger things" is the answer to these smaller problems.

I would like to bring up one of these "details" for consideration.

In the "left-wing" movement all meetings, parties, gatherings, demonstrations are traditionally unpunctual. Lateness has become almost a fetish.

Originally, perhaps, comrades and workers were so busy, that they could not manage to arrive on time. However, starting a meeting one hour after scheduled time has since come to be a sort of hoary tradition, that no radical party would dare to violate.

Aside from the physical inconveniences of this lateness, it must be remembered that some time, in our career as a revolutionary party, we may come across a "raw worker", one unfamiliar with the ways of the reds. When this worker does come to our meetings, he will be alienated by the undisciplined fashion in which our meetings are run.

Glance over the correspondence section of every working class paper, union, political, social, and you will read this same plea for promptness, for discipline.

What other working class parties and groups have failed to point out, are the political implications of promptness.

The worker is accustomed to effi-

ciency. His boss makes him come to work on the dot of eight.

We as revolutionists admire the well run machine. We base our ideology upon maximum efficiency. We fight for an efficient, well-run society.

In order to secure this society, we ourselves must have a well-knit, well-run machine. And punctuality, discipline in meetings, gatherings and demonstrations, is one very important factor in our efficiency.

Aside from the bad psychological effects of lateness, as a political tactic, it is ruinous.

I would therefore advocate that the National Committee take up discipline in meetings as a real issue. That branches discuss and pass resolutions on this subject, and that disciplinary measures be introduced to insure the efficient conduct of meetings and gatherings not only of the party itself, but of mass organizations in which the party participates.

As an agitational "front" this insistence upon punctuality and disciplined conduct of meetings is invaluable. As a party we will be set apart, our efficiency will be symbolized by this innovation.

A month hence, a year hence it will be too late to decide that we're going to conduct our meetings in a more orderly fashion. You can't break down old habit patterns easily!

What do the comrades in the field think about this question? I believe that the New Militant should devote space to it, and lastly, I urge that action be taken. It's easy to nod one's head wisely and say "that's right!"

Let's become the party that meets on time!

—COMRADE A. B. C.

## REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

## NEW TITLE WANTED

The editors don't like the title of this column, so they got together with the business manager and I am asked to announce that a year's subscription to the New Militant will be given free to the reader suggesting the best title. The editors to decide. Titles must be in by February 15.

## The Mooney Case

Again the "courts of justice", this time the highest in the land, played shuttle-cock with the life and liberty of Tom Mooney. This time the publicity and protests of the radical labor movement was so strong that the nine fossilized tools of Wall Street had to administer a gentle slap to California "justice", while on a "technicality" they condemned an innocent man to a continued living death. They passed the case back to California, where that other "stalwart representative of American democracy", Governor Merriam, says he is too busy to consider it now.

Where do our "labor leaders" stand? That smug Baptist faker, Bill Green, remains as silent on Mooney as he was vocal when helping to break the Frisco general strike.

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## "All the News That's Fit to Print"

That's the motto carried on the masthead of the New York Times, and they print a boxed in front page display to the story of the Judge in the Hauptmann case, giving a cough drop to the defense lawyer, and the Shenandoah mine explosion is tucked away on page 9.

## Slobbering Over Stalin

Never to my knowledge has there been such servile slobbering over a leader in any section of the labor movement as is found today in articles, speeches and resolutions of the Communist Party of Stalin. Even Olgin's poetical praise of America's entry into the World War is surpassed by the following greetings sent to Stalin by the Moscow District Committee of the C.P., which we take from a New York newspaper:

"Long live he who has led our party in the struggle against all enemies of Leninism! Long live he who is teaching the Party daily and hourly the art of discerning the enemy in the very embryo and mercilessly stamping him out! Long live he who has secured the victory of our Party and the iron unity of the Bolshevik ranks! Long live our own great Stalin!"

## The Dignity of the Court

The Hauptmann case continues to be the big news in the capitalist papers. It has been turned into a "Broadway success" by the press, by publicity-seeking lawyers, judges, etc. Here is a man on trial for his life, charged with kidnapping and murder, and yet guards have been posted over the hall to stop the gales of laughter that sweep the courtroom. The Prosecuting Attorney, noting that the interest of his audience lagged during the hearing of expert testimony and fearing that attendance would fall, decided to bring in a Broadway burlesque to break the monotony. Such is the dignity of justice in America, the dignity of a waterfront prostitute.

## Strikers Versus Labor Leaders

After a militant ten weeks' strike, employees of the Kaysee Company of Cleveland returned to work with the signing of a collective bargaining agreement by the company and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. A Cleveland paper reports that following the signing of the agreement a workers' rally was held in the NEWS Auditorium, which was addressed by Sidney Hillman, President of the A.C.W. "In the evening the union tendered a banquet to Mr. Hillman, officials of the company, city officials and judges." We wonder why the chief of police was left out—or was he?

## California Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

and bona fide trade unions. However, at the first meeting among those claiming to represent organizations was one man who said he belonged to the American Veterans Association, "only that organization is controlled by agents of the Industrial Association and last night they expelled me and 11 others, but I represent them officially."

Real United Front The attempt to pack the united front was defeated. Voting together for a real united front policy were the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Civil Liberties Union.

A slanderous article had appeared the previous week in the Western Worker, referring to "racketeering" and linking the Non-Partisan Labor Defense with it. Herbert Solow, N.P.L.D. representative, declared he regretted that the I.L.D. did not make some statement concerning this article. After much hesitation, the I.L.D. representative promised a printed retraction in next week's paper.