

# NEW MILITANT

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## NRA BATTERS DOWN WAGES

### CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

By JACK ELDER  
WASHINGTON.—Judge Nields' decision in the Weirton case put the finishing touch to the National Run Around which the iron and steel workers have been subjected ever since the summer of 1933. Section 7a, the DuPont henchman discovered, was not constitutional. Congress has the power to regulate "interstate commerce". But the manufacture of iron and steel does not involve "interstate commerce". Thus although the iron and steel employers are free to make whatever use they can of the monopoly features of the code—price fixing, basing points, production quotas—they are exempt from the force of the collective bargaining requirements.

At the same time, the court ruled, it was an outrage to maintain that H. T. Weir has "imposed" the company union upon his employees. They participate in the company union of their own free will. It is an ideal little device, all within the family, for settling grievances and getting justice done. Even if Section 7a were constitutional, the labor boards have no right to annoy this good and benevolent employer. The language of the decision is a beautiful illustration of how class loyalties and class interests determine the supposed logic of the law. To say that workers and employers have interests at variance, the learned judge advances, is to accept "Old World" ideas, non-American and outworn. The interests of bosses and wage slaves are as one. Instead of fighting one another, they should co-operate and collaborate. Out with the trade union, therefore and long live the company union. Unfortunately for the judge, you can't get rid of class war by announcing, judicially, that there "ain't no such animal".

**THE LABOR DISPUTES BILL**  
Senator Wagner, it is said, is prepared to reintroduce the Labor Disputes bill which failed to come to a vote in the last session of Congress. The bill has the support of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats who would much rather trust to labor boards than to militant labor action. It lacks the support of the President, who wants the labor boards to be strike-breaking agencies pure and simple, rather than to lay down the law of collective bargaining to big business. The chances of Congress' enacting the bill are slim, unless a new upsurge of strikes smashes the whole apparatus of labor boards. In that event, the bill will probably go through, subject to major modifications. These modifications will probably limit the right to strike and require compulsory arbitration. So far as concerns labor, it is a case of heads you win, tails I lose.

**WHAT SOCIALISM WOULD DO**  
Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator of Transportation, has just put forward various proposals intended to "rationalize" the American railway system. If put into effect, these proposals would reduce still further the number of workers attached to the railroad industry.

In a truly socialized economy, it would no doubt be wise to remove surplus workers from the railroad industry and to transfer them to other regions, occupations, and trades. Under capitalism, however, you can't get much further than the original disattachments: the workers lose their jobs, use up their "dismissal wages", and sink back into the industrial reserve army of the unemployed.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association

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### James Rorty Ouster Goes To Congress

Conditions among the agricultural slaves in the Imperial Valley of California will be brought before Congress, as the result of the arrest on suspicion of communistic activities and ejection from the valley of James Rorty, newspaper and magazine writer, last week. Rorty has been summoned to appear March 13 before the House Labor Committee, as the second witness in the hearings on the Wagner labor disputes bill.

Tentative plans to bring suit against Sheriff Ware of Imperial Valley for false arrest, on Rorty's behalf, are being made by the Los Angeles American Civil Liberties Union. Arrested and "deported" by Rorty was Charles Malmuth, lecturer. Rorty is making a trip through the country, reporting on conditions to the New York Post and the Nation. His business in El Centro, where he was arrested, as he pointed out to the sheriff, was journalistic. The fact that his sympathies are communistic and that he had in his possession a letter from Arne Swabeck (industrial organizer for the Workers Party) on Communist League of America stationery and addressed to "Comrade Rorty", was beside the point, Rorty stated to Sheriff Ware.

Arrested without warrant, fingerprinted, "mugged", Rorty and Malmuth were held in jail at El Centro overnight on suspicion of being Communists, then were informed no charges would be filed against them if they left the Imperial Valley. Rorty and Malmuth agreed to accept a police escort to Yuma, Arizona, just over the California border, as they recognized the real danger of attack by vigilantes. Later Sheriff Ware wrote to the New York Post, in answer to inquiries about the arrest of Rorty: "If you fellows in New York would check up on these enemies of our government as we do here, the country might get somewhere."

It is doubtful whether Congress will do anything more than "investigate" in the usual hopeless manner the bloody peonage in this American valley. General Pelham D. Glassford (of the bonus army fame) has already made a report as investigator for the U.S. Labor Department, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the National Labor Board in which he exposes the boss alliance, the corrupt political machine, and the violence exerted to keep its slave labor subjected. The government knows and has known about Imperial Valley for a long time.

### WIN 62 1/2 PERCENT RAISE IN WAGE-RELIEF WAGE

DECATUR, Ill. (FP)—Instead of 40c an hour tufting mattresses, workers on this Decatur relief project are now getting 65c, a boost of 62 1/2%. The Decatur Trades and Labor Assembly and Local 46 of the Illinois Workers Alliance got the relief authorities to come across, on the prevailing wage regulation. Unskilled mattress workers were raised to 50c an hour.

### BOSS PRESS SUBSIDIZED

Advertisers subsidized the daily newspapers of the United States to the extent of \$490,000,000 in 1934, according to lineage estimates by a recognized trade journal. Using 1929 advertising expenditures in daily papers as normal, the estimate for 1934 makes the \$490,000,000 as 62.1 percent of normal while 1933 was 56.2 percent and 1932 was 51.4 percent.—Federated Press.

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### State League Formed in Kentucky

#### Johnson Urges Fight for Harlan Miners

CATLETTSBURG, Ky.—The solidarity of the unemployed with the employed—Negro and white—was the keynote of the first convention of the Kentucky Unemployed Leagues held here Feb. 22.

G. D. Hayes, president of the Kentucky Leagues, pointed out that only the solidarity of all workers—irrespective of race, color, or creed—can win any rights for the unemployed. He said that in September 1934 the average relief per family in Kentucky was \$7.74 for the entire month, making it the second worst state in the country in regard to relief standards. Arnold Johnson, Workers Party member and national secretary of the National Unemployed League,

### Civil Liberties Union Charges C. P. with Disrupting Sacramento Defense

Following right on the heels of the statement adopted by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in California on the disruptive conduct of the Communist Party in the Sacramento case united front, a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union on Monday, March 4, unanimously adopted the declaration of the Northern California Committee of the A.C.L.U. which deals with the breaking up of the united front on the West coast, and charges that "the Communist Party representatives forced the break deliberately, for reasons that to them seemed good, but that to most of the others present continue to appear inadequate."

**Charges Against C. P. Confirmed**  
Like the statement of the Socialist Party quoted in last week's issue of the *New Militant*, the Civil Liberties Union statement furnishes complete confirmation, from objective and non-partisan sources, of the policy, the conduct, and the charges leveled against the Stalinists by the Workers Party and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee, which have been active in the united front movement to defend the labor leaders and workers now being tried in Sacramento for "criminal syndicalism."

In frenzied desperation at the discrediting of its disgraceful course throughout the Sacramento case, the C. P. officialdom is now striving to cover up its record with a poisonous barrage against the "Workers Party stool-pigeons" and the "Trotskyist disruption."

The record depth of ignominy is reached in a statement published in the *Daily Worker* of March 5 which, like the rest of the "defense work" of the C. P. and the I.L.D., is concerned from beginning to end with a vicious attack upon the Workers Party and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee. The Stalinist case is not improved but rather made more despicable by the fact that the C. P. was able to coerce or cajole all but two of the defendants into signing a statement which can only react to the detriment of the labor movement in general and of the Sacramento defense in particular.

**The Facts**  
To dignify the malicious accusations made in the statement by a detailed refutation, would only mean to cover the same ground which has already been covered so thoroughly and indisputably in the *New Militant* in the past. No amount of demagogic misrepresentation and outright falsehood can obliterate the following facts:

1. For months the C. P. and the I.L.D. failed to launch even the semblance of a campaign for the Sacramento defense cases.
2. For months, the "powerful" and well-fixed C. P. and I.L.D. failed to get the defendants out on bail.
3. For months, the C. P. and I.L.D. officialdom kept a number of leading defendants in jail because of political differences between the former and the latter, and in spite of the fact that the former had the financial means at its disposal to effect their release on bail.
4. The C. P. authorized Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker, two of its members, to accept bail bonds for their release offered by what they now denounce as the "treacherous and disruptive" Non-Partisan Labor Defense, after having first instructed them not to accept "counter-revolutionary" bail!
5. The most active initiators

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### Statements Say Break Was Deliberate

**STATEMENT OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION**  
On Monday, March 4, 1935, the National Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union adopted the following statement on the Sacramento criminal syndicalism case:

"In view of the fact that the defendants at Sacramento include members of both the Communist and Workers Parties, it seemed advisable to set up something like a 'united front' to handle common problems and to obviate the danger of political differences getting in the way of successful defense. A joint defense committee, growing out of meetings held from January 11 on, was in existence until January 26. The chairman of the Northern California Committee of the A.C.L.U. presided at the first informal discussions; later the Director of the A.C.L.U. was elected Temporary Chairman of the joint committee.

"The committee broke up on January 28. It is the opinion of the A.C.L.U. representatives that the Communist Party representatives forced the break deliberately, for reasons that to them seemed good, but that to most of the others present

continue to appear inadequate. "The A.C.L.U. has refused to participate organizationally in any further efforts to create 'united fronts' on the case. . . ."

**STATEMENT BY TRAVERS CLEMENT IN THE NATION**  
In the issue of March 13, the *Nation* will say in an article by the noted California author, Travers Clement:

"That it (the explanation of the revolutionary program in court) is not intellectually an insurmountable handicap was proved during the cross-examination of Mini, the first defendant to take the stand in his own behalf. Without hedging an inch on his convictions, he quietly deflated the 'red terror' fantasies of the prosecutor in a manner which won chuckles of appreciation from the spectators. The other defendants, occupying a somewhat less exposed position on this subject than a Trotskyist, should be able to handle the clumsy McAllister with even less difficulty.

"Incidentally, the recent denunciation of Mini as a 'stool-pigeon' in the Communist Party press con-

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### Green in Detroit Surveys His Ruin of Auto Union Try Another Board, He Cries

By Our Detroit Correspondent  
DETROIT, Mich.—Bill Green has come to Detroit, and has gone—and the situation remains just about what it was before he came. The president of the A. F. of L. in his speech Feb. 25, was to be the big gun in the month-long campaign of the United Automobile Workers of America. But the heavy artillery turned out to be a pop-gun as far as the auto workers are concerned, and nothing for the bosses to lose sleep over.

Any possible fears of the auto autocrats that Green, smarting under the rough treatment Roosevelt has been giving him recently, would preach strike action, were completely allayed. When he finally got around to mentioning strike, he spoke of it not as the only weapon to obtain better conditions, but as a means to be used "if necessary". And after what the workers have put up with under the NRA, they have some idea of how remote such "necessity" is to Bill Green's comfortable existence.

**Bill's "Wisdom"**  
So satisfactory was Green's speech to the manufacturers, that their mouthpieces, the local press, ran long editorials praising Bill for his "wisdom" and "good judgment."

To the 150,000 or more auto workers in the Detroit area, suffering from the most intense exploitation in the history of modern American industry, he advised faith and confidence, not in their mass power, but in the National Industrial Relations Board. For, you see, the Auto Labor Board has betrayed the hope we placed in it—so now let's put our faith in another board!

The 2,000 men at the meeting heard the same old class-collaborationist tune—identity of the interests of workers and capitalists, arbitration and faith in the NRA. He came, he said, not to indict the auto bosses but to plead for fair play and humane consideration for the workers!

**Does Green—many of his disgusted listeners wondered—actually believe that by raising the bogey of the strike "if necessary", "at some future date", he can scare the bosses into making some concessions through an "impartial" board?**

**A. F. of L. Weak in Detroit**  
To the manufacturers this is old bluff. They know Green is playing their game by supporting the Auto Code with its open-shop, merit-clause and company-union provisions, and the whole NRA machinery of arbitration.

They know further that the A. F. of L. is numerically weak here and that its half-hearted organizational campaign has met with little response. They have seen how in the strikes in Lansing and at the Murray Body Plant the A. F. of L. has not attempted to use this opportunity to develop militant

widespread struggles. All in all, the bosses know they have nothing to fear from the A. F. of L. at this time.

As for the workers, their honeymoon with the Auto Labor Board is coming to an abrupt and disillusioning conclusion. Led on to accept the A.L.B. as the means whereby their wrongs would be redressed, since their representatives chosen in the recent A.L.B. elections are finding it impossible to adjust their grievances satisfactorily through the board or in direct negotiations with the bosses, they are coming to the realization that organization is the only way out.

**Workers Waking Up**  
The men whom they represent are beginning to realize this, too. This realization, though still vague, is growing. How fast it will grow, whether it will emerge as an independent force or flow into the existing unions, is not yet evident. It is significant, however, that the A. F. of L. campaign has left these workers cold. They apparently do not think much of Green's suggestion that they exchange one board for another. The failure of the A.

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### HUEY LONG WORKS HOSPITAL AIDS FOR 'KICKBACK'

NEW ORLEANS.—Charity hospital workers will have 5 percent taken out of their semi-monthly salaries for the rest of the year to provide Huey Long's organization with funds for the 1936 gubernatorial campaign.

The 5 percent kickback has been in effect for a month or so, and the workers thought that it was only a temporary levy. Members of the political administration, however, have informed them that it will continue at least through January 1936, when the gubernatorial campaigns held. About \$600 a month is obtained by the Long machine in this way.

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### Building Union Leads Toledo FERA Strike

#### Special to New Militant

TOLEDO, Ohio, March 2.—Significant action was taken here today by the Building Trades Council, attached to the A. F. of L. Central Labor Union, with the calling of an FERA strike in Lucas county and the setting up of a general FERA organization, sponsored by the unions but not affiliated with the A. F. of L. This means that the B.T.C. is accepting leadership in a strike of non-union as well as union workers, of unemployed as well as employed.

The importance of this unusual move by an A. F. of L. body is seen in a statement by Oliver Meyers, secretary of the Toledo Building Trades Council and business representative of the electricians' union, as quoted in the *Toledo Blade*, that "by appealing to both the Ohio Federation of Labor and the A. F. of L. for support, it was entirely possible that the strike would become not only state-wide, but also national in its scope."

#### Character of Organization

The first meeting of the new FERA organization, which is to include all FERA workers, outside and office workers, was held today at C.L.U. headquarters, with approximately 500 in attendance. The majority were unorganized and unskilled workers. The meeting was conducted by the business agents of the B.T.C., with Meyers as secretary. Demands for better wages to FERA workers and plans for a joint strike committee of the B.T.C. and the FERA organization, and the official strike call, were agreed upon by the meeting.

Up to this time, the strike on FERA projects which has been in progress was called a "protest" against the budget system of relief, by the B.T.C., and officially only union men were out. The change in the attitude of the union is clear.

#### W.P. and O.U.L. Active

The Workers Party and the Ohio and National Unemployed Leagues have been active in the setting up of the new organization and the calling of the general FERA strike. Several of the most significant demands made by today's meeting, including the official call for the strike, were based on proposals made by Art Preis, of the Ohio Unemployed League, in his talk at the meeting.

There is also a common understanding, made by Meyers in response to a question from Comrade Preis, that there will be no official representation from the new organization upon the Building Trades Council. Comrade Preis was invited to attend a meeting of the B.T.C.

#### Motions Adopted

The following motions were adopted by the meeting:

1. That demands be made for a minimum of three eight-hour days of work on FERA for skilled workers at prevailing union rates.
2. That semi-skilled and office workers shall receive a minimum of 80 cents an hour and not less than \$20 per week.
3. That common labor shall receive a minimum of 65 cents an hour with four eight-hour days' minimum of work per week.
4. That the assembly go on record for an FERA organization open to all workers not members of trade unions, to be a no-dues payment organization.
5. That no organization, including the new organization, goes back on the job under separate agreement unless all go back on the job.
6. That a joint strike committee

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### But Profits Soar Gov't Board Says

WASHINGTON.—The NRA, by official administration figures, has served to increase capitalists' profits and lower workers' living standards. The recent report by the Division of Research and Planning on the "Operation of the NRA" blows to bits the fantastic pretense that the NRA codes have acted to transfer purchasing power from the capitalists, the haves, to the workers, the have-nots.

So damning is the evidence uncovered by investigators working on the report that the whole intent of the NRA—as announced originally—is twisted to make an apology for the results. The codes, we now learn, were by no means intended to augment the wages and shorten the hours of wage earners in general.

On the contrary, explains this rationalization, they had modest objectives, and "have probably helped those whom they were especially designed to help; namely, those whose real incomes were already pitifully low, e.g. female laborers in the south." In other words, it is affirmed that "laborers getting less than \$10 a week had their weekly earnings raised substantially".

#### Higher Wages?

Perhaps this is true, though the argument is open to considerable question when we examine the most important industry which employs "female laborers" in the south—the cotton textile industry. We find that since the enactment of the code average weekly earnings and real purchasing power have both decreased!

True or false, the argument indicates the ingenuity of the "new deal" apologists when their own investigations drive them into a tight corner. When the NRA codes were first put into force it was pretended that their animating purpose was to augment the purchasing power of the wage-earning classes as a whole. This "purpose" is not accomplished. The Division of Research and Planning becomes aware of the failure. It advances a totally new argument—the NRA was designed to augment the purchasing power of an infinitesimal fraction of the total laboring population!

#### Share-the-Starvation

The extent of the NRA's failure to raise real wages and thus increase purchasing power is revealed in the figures.

First, we are told of an "increase in the spread between production and employment", which indicates an acceleration of share-the-work. The volume of production in the manufacturing industries, December 1934 was a full 20 percent lower than the volume in June 1933. But the index of employment has risen by 16 percent. In other words, a larger number of workers is consuming a smaller aggregate of goods and services. Share-the-work equals share-the-increasing-starvation!

But receivers of dividends and interest have nothing to worry about. For them, at least, the "new deal" has proved a blessing. Taking 1926 as 100, payrolls in December 1934 stood at an index of 60, while dividends and interest stood at 150. The national income, within eight years, had declined almost by half; the wage earners' share therein had been cut 40 percent, the capitalist's share had been raised by 50 percent.

#### Bosses Share-the-Profits

How gently and tactfully the report puts it by stating: "Clearly the recipients of profits have not failed to enjoy their proportionate share of the increase in industrial recovery!"

A few details will make clear what the report has in mind. Some 300 corporations, which had net profits of \$100,000 in 1932, had net profits of \$202,500,000 in 1933—a rise of almost 2,000 percent—and net profits, in 1934 of \$430,540,000—a total rise of about 4,500 percent. The automobile companies, which lost almost \$20,000,000 in 1932, gained \$86,000,000 in 1934. The steel companies, which lost \$100,000,000 in 1933, cut the loss to \$7,000,000 in 1934. Coal and coke, which lost almost \$4,000,000 in 1934, gained almost \$1,000,000 in 1934. The oil companies doubled their profits; so did the chemical and drug companies.

Meanwhile, what was happening to wage-earners? The National Emergency Council figures, most

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### Strategic Labor Attack Triumphs

#### Waukegan Office Workers Stand by Mechanics

WAUKEGAN, Ill.—Solidarity of office and mechanical workers, rapid and well timed action, won a strike for four hundred workers at the Johnson Motors plant in Waukegan last week in short order. The strike marks the culmination of the second effort within a year to organize the workers in a Federal Auto Local. The first attempt was defeated when the company formed its own union and killed strike spirit with fancy promises. This time the union was well under way before the company woke up and fired three members for union activity.

A strike meeting was called immediately, 85 workers attending. By prompt and militant action they pulled the night shift, and later the majority of the force. The company, in the middle of a three shift rush season, was unable to hold out against the strike.

The settlement provided the reinstatement of the three workers who were fired, and recognition of the union. Especially notable in the strike was the solidarity of the factory men with the office workers—the three who were fired for union activity were office workers.

The union has gained recognition by its strategic attack; it still faces a struggle to consolidate its ranks to present a firm and determined front to the bosses in the negotiations for wage increases.

# Choice of Name Biggest Achievement of S.P. Unemployed Meet

## "A Socialist Party Congress" Protests Virginia Delegate

**By Special Correspondent**

On March 2 to 4 about 120 people met in Washington and gave a good illustration of how not to build a fighting national unemployed organization. Delegate Bernstein from Richmond, Va., himself a member of the Socialist Party, correctly characterized the procedure when he said on the floor:

"It seems to me that I have attended the finest Socialist Party convention that I ever heard of. We came here for a non-partisan convention. Most of the people in Virginia are Democrats."

It was plainly evident that the leaders of the convention were interested chiefly in setting up an organization that could be safely controlled by Lasser of the Workers Unemployed Union of New York, Rasmussen of the Illinois Workers Alliance, Trager of the Peoples Unemployed League of Maryland, Lieberman of the Unemployed Citizens League of Pittsburgh and Benson of the Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues.

The Illinois Workers Alliance, a genuine unemployed organization with over 100 functioning locals and a large membership was put on the same level with the insignificant Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues. Illinois had 15 votes and Florida had 15. The 15 Florida votes were cast by one man, Benson. Indiana cast 12 votes despite the fact that the delegate reporting for that state admitted that it had only a few leagues and only "between four and five thousand members."

sen-Trojar-Trager-Cook-Lieberman combination. He approved of the convention and told the delegates it was "a step in the right direction".

**Rev. Myers Speaks**

On Sunday afternoon the convention was addressed by James Myers, of the Federal Council of Churches. Rev. Myers made an appeal for the religion of Jesus and the prophets. There was applause when he said that "real religion believes in democracy" "Any economic system," said Myers, "that deprives a man of the right to work is immoral. We are an immoral nation."

There was a great deal of this sort of activity but it did not seem to strike the convention that it was necessary to put in time and energy on the real active problems that daily face unemployed organizations. There was a tendency—despite much talk about class consciousness—to make it appear that real good could be accomplished by talking to congressmen and the President's secretaries.

**Selecting a Name**

Much time was consumed on the selection of the name for the new organization. Workers Alliance of America was finally agreed on. There was strong sentiment against using the word "unemployed" in the name. Rasmussen said that "the name must be nation-wide, powerful, easy to symbolize and easy to go on a button."

The constitution provides that only organizations can become members of the W.A.A. They must not be affiliated with any other organization having the same purpose.

A resolution was adopted instructing the national executive board to call a conference—not later than three months away—of the executive committees of other national unemployed organizations to discuss procedure for merger and unity. The constitution empowers the N.E.B. to work for the amalgamation of all unemployed organizations and to sit in on conferences and conventions of unemployed organizations. The leaders of the convention were, in fact, forced by a storm of protest to withdraw a resolution which assumed that they were building the national organization of the unemployed.

**Benjamin Approves**

According to the Daily Worker for March 4, Herbert Benjamin of the C.P. National Unemployment Councils, was the dominating figure at this S.P. convention and got a big ovation, "the only ovation given any speaker by an audience who heard among others, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader. Standing cheering, the delegates greeted Benjamin's impassioned plea for unity... with shouts of 'We'll fight for that.' They blocked the aisle, shaking Benjamin's hand... David Lasser... came by and told Benjamin, 'I think we are moving in the right direction at last.'"

So distorted and non-factual was the report that Benjamin the next day submitted a statement to the convention saying that he was sorry the Daily Worker had published such a report and that correction would be made.

Following out the new C.P. turn to the Right, Benjamin capitulated completely to the Lasser-Rasmus-

**Contest Note**

**Minneapolis Ties Davenport on Subs**

The first month of our contest has drawn to a close. Results have not been overwhelmingly good. Neither has the month been without results.

We will start with the bad news. No prize has been awarded under section 4a of the rules for the reason that no individual sent in more than 10 subs during the month. In order to make this drive a success there must be more intensive conscientious effort on the part of the comrades and friends out in the field. Anyone, almost, who will concentrate his efforts in this direction can qualify for the section 4a prize next month. Pledge yourself here and now to get at least 10 subs during the month of March! Write us that you pledge yourself to this task. We want to know how many can be counted upon for this new month. Remember, by 5 P.M. on March 31 you should have sent in at least 10 subs to the New Militant office.

Next comes better news. Several branches are keeping well in the running on bundle accounts, their accounts being paid up regularly, thus qualifying them under sections 4c and d. Los Angeles even goes further. It is paid up ahead. New York branches paid up to date are the Central, East Side and West Side. Others are Oakland, Boston, Worcester, Newark, Tonawanda, Cleveland, Allentown, Northampton, Salt Lake City. There are a number of branches from whom we should hear on this point. Among them are Brownsville, Chicago, Springfield, Detroit, Columbus, Toledo, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh.

And now comes still better news. Two branches, above all others, are taking the sub drive seriously and doing some of the vital spade work in building our party. Those branches are Minneapolis and Davenport. Already they have reached

file convention composed of delegates democratically elected by real and functioning unemployed organizations. 2. Basic units or "locals" of real unemployed organizations would not be given opportunity to elect delegates to the convention. 3. The convention set-up was manipulated from the top by Lasser, Rasmussen and other Socialist Party minor functionaries for the purpose of securing S. P. control of the organization when formed. 4. That the method of voting be followed (fifteen to each state regardless of the number and size of its bona-fide unemployed organizations) would tend further to make the convention undemocratic and non-rank and file.

Anthony Ramuglia, president of the N.U.L. and E. R. McKinney, editor of Mass Action, organ of the N.U.L. were present at the convention. Ramuglia in his address assured the convention that the N.U.L. now as ever stands ready to participate loyally and enthusiastically in any movement to unify unemployed organizations on a sound basis, but would refuse to have any part in any sectarian attempt to impose an organization on the unemployed from the top.

## NRA Speed-Up and Police Brutality Hit in St. Louis

### Three Thousand in Mass Meeting

**By Special Correspondent**

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Goaded to the breaking point by the speed-up under the NRA and the union-smashing tactics of employers and police, workers in St. Louis finally made their protests heard in a mass meeting arranged by the Central Trades Council held in the new Civic Auditorium.

The immediate cause of the protest was a strike at the Forest City Mfg. Co., a garment-making plant where police escorted scabs from the A. A. Ahner Detective Agency through the picket lines, and even sent patrol wagons and police scout cars to the homes of the strikebreakers, then arrested nine workers on the picket line, most of them young girls. Appearing in court several days later, four of the workers were charged with assault and battery! One of the girls so charged weighs 110 pounds.

**The Usual Story**

Behind this strike lies the usual NRA story of inhuman speed-ups in the garment industry. Last year the employers evaded the code by putting all work on a piece-work or "task" basis. In order to make the minimum wage of \$13 a week a worker had to be very fast. Many girls, unable to stand up under the terrific strain, lost their jobs.

This system was all right in slack times. But when orders began coming in faster the bosses were faced with a labor shortage.

To reduce the "task" so that more girls could meet the minimum requirements, meant a loss of profits. Instead, a special group to be known as "privileged" workers was employed. These workers were not privileged, as a naive reader might suppose, to be paid the minimum wage whether they met the quota or not. They were "privileged" to work for less than the minimum of \$13!

The Forest City firm not only violated the agreement it had reached with the workers in the strike in 1933, but it hired a nationally notorious strike-breaking agency, the A. A. Ahner Agency, sometimes known as the Industrial Research and Engineering Co.

**Scab Agencies Work**

Operatives of the scab agency were put into the plant. Loyal union girls were not even allowed to go to the washroom two at a time. They were threatened with loss of employment and even with physical violence for joining the I.L.G.W.U.

At last the conditions became so unendurable that a strike was called for Feb. 6. The union asked other unions to help swell the mass picket line.

The police force outdid itself as a strike-breaking agency. The officer in charge of an army of blue-coats was Captain Wetzel, who had distinguished himself by battering in the heads of relief demonstrators last December.

But the workers were beginning to rebel, to understand what to expect from the "new deal". The rank and file forced the Central Trades Council to pay attention.

On Feb. 10, Mrs. Edith Phillips, an organizer for the I.L.G.W.U., arrived. "I have heard of the labor movement—let's see if it can move," she challenged the workers at her first meeting.

**Call Mass Protest**

Marvel of marvels, they acted! When Charley Blome of the Molders' Union moved that the Central Trades Council arrange a mass protest meeting within a week to protest "police brutalities and to make St. Louis too hot for A. A. Ahner and all other rats," the motion passed with a mighty vote. But when Secretary Brandt of the Central Trades offered an amendment to combine the protest meeting with A. F. of L. President Bill Green's mass meeting Feb. 18, it was unanimously defeated.

Three thousand strong the workers came to the protest meeting. The soft-lighted Civic Auditorium, built with city money but seldom available to workers, seemed far removed from the bitterness of the class struggle.

Fitzmaurice, astute labor politician who scented the militancy of the meeting, denounced the police, the open shoppers, A. A. Ahner, "Judas of the workers" (he formerly belonged to the Blacksmiths' Union.) And then—he suggested a federal committee to investigate the conditions! Hostile silence greeted this proposal.

**Edith Phillips**

The star performer again was Edith Phillips, whose experience and observation in the class struggle have turned her in two years from a flag-waving NRA protagonist into a militant trade union leader. When she appealed to the workers, "Are you going to sit still while our unions are broken up one by one?" a thunderous "No!" answered her.

One of the speakers reminded the police who lined the hall that their last pay increase came primarily as a result of labor agitation.

(But do not be misled: The radicalization of the American working class is far from complete—Huey Long's name received vigorous cheers.)

What were the actual results of this meeting?

Notwithstanding the fact that no definite gains can be pointed to, it showed that in the St. Louis working class there are mighty resources that have not been tapped.

**Green Views Auto Failure**

**(Continued from Page 1)**

F. of L. up to now to secure better conditions for the workers is not likely to inspire confidence. The bosses are on the alert to try to crush any move toward organization. They are speeding up production to the utmost to get through the season before trouble can develop. Although there is sentiment for unionization and strike it is doubtful whether it can crystallize soon enough to produce widespread strike struggles in the present season.

What is needed in Detroit is a group of trade union militants who are not bound by a cut-and-dried formula, but approach the problems of the auto workers in a realistic fashion. Only such a group with a fighting class policy can lead the way to the formation of a powerful industrial union in the auto industry.

**NRA Batters Labor Income**

**(Continued from Page 1)**

authoritative on the subject of unemployment, show that 11,900,000 workers were unemployed in June 1933, and that 10,800,000 workers were unemployed in December 1934. The total decline—rpsa be in the "new deal"—was the magnificent number of 1,100,000. (Roosevelt invariably speaks, making the figures up by wishful thinking, of 4,500,000 re-employed.)

**Real Wages Drop**

Total labor income (non-farm) which was \$2,300,000,000 in June 1933, had risen by December 1934 to \$2,600,000,000. The total gain was \$300,000,000. Measured against the increase in total of workers employed, this gain, per capita, comes to absolutely nothing. Allowance made for the upward movement in living costs, per capita purchasing power has positively declined.

Does this proposition seem incredible? Then consult the NRA's own estimates. In June 1933 the national income, adjusted for cost of living, stood at \$5,700,000,000. In December 1934, adjusted for cost of living, the national income stood at \$5,000,000,000. These estimates are extremely conservative. Conservative as they are, they show that the "new deal" to date has lowered living standards which were already shamefully low. Not all the apologies in the NRA's bag of tricks can wipe out this fact.

**JUST ARRIVED: Bulletin of the Russian Opposition No. 42.** Contains brilliant analysis of the Soviet Union by Leon Trotsky in an article entitled "Where is the Stalinist bureaucracy leading the U. S. S. R.?" as well as other shorter items.

**Also Received Extra Copies No. 41** Devoted to the appraisal of events in connection with the Kirov assassination. Individual copy sells for 20 cents. Bundle orders—15 cents per copy. Subscription rate—\$2.00 per year.

**Order your copy now!** from Sara Weber, c-o New International, 2 West 15th St., N.Y.C. Russian Bulletin carried by Pioneer Publishers, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City and other leading book stores.

## Fur Union Must Move Carefully for Unity; Cannon's Advice Still Holds

**By Trade Union Dept. of W.P.**

Unity of the Fur Workers of N. Y. in one organization seems assured. The conditions under which such unity will be achieved are another matter. The Industrial Union after a great deal of squabbling among the leaders, is now discussing openly with the membership the ways of accomplishing unity. This step, belated though it is, is a correct one.

Conditions in the fur trade are steadily worsening. Active, militant members of the Industrial Union, barred from the shops, are walking the streets. The chief task of the remnants of the Industrial Union is fighting the Industrial Union. The latter, isolated from the main body of needle workers, crippled by the fight with the International, its policies juggled back and forth with each shift in the "correct Stalinist line", is in no position to defend its membership against the attacks of the bosses. It is now forced, not by

a correct appreciation of the condition and needs of the furriers, but by the hundred and eighty degree turn in the "general line", to come out for unity under the A. F. of L.

**Proposals of Industrial Union**

What does the Industrial Union, or rather its Stalinist leadership, propose? A leaflet issued by the Fur Workers Industrial Union and distributed in the market this week sets forth the following proposals:

1. "An open conference with the council, to build one union uniting the forces of the workers against the bosses and contractors for jobs, wages and conditions."
2. An immediate stop to the criminal, bloody battle. The organization of unity on the basis of a union program assuring unity to all furriers regardless of color, race, nationality or political affiliation.
3. No discriminations. No clique dictatorships. Complete guarantee of the democratic rights of every worker. A union of the workers and for the workers.
4. The Lovestonites are opposed to our proposal and program; so are all other dishonest demagogues, politicians and fakers. But the furriers are for it, and that is what counts!

"We are ready and willing to join with the Council in building an A. F. of L. union. But should the Council refuse we shall be forced to continue with the battle to the finish. And we are confident that the militant furriers, who have won every conflict in the past 3 years, will not fall in this one."

Writing editorially in the Militant, March 24, 1934, almost a year ago, Comrade James P. Cannon proposed that the Industrial Union should immediately start a campaign for unity under the American Federation of Labor. He said:

"First, it can demand a charter from the International with only one condition; that the local retain its autonomy and the right to choose its own officials. If that is refused, a proposal can be made to unite the two local organizations into a single body affiliated to the International, and consequently, to the A. F. of L., with officials to be elected in a supervised election of the united organization. Third, the Left wing union can declare its intention to campaign for the amalgamation of all the needle trades unions into one industrial organization affiliated to the A. F. of L."

"If such proposals are made known to all the furriers, and combined with a widespread agitation for unity throughout the needle trades, they will awaken a hearty response from the workers, strengthen the sagging morale of the Left wing and put an enormous pressure on the officials of the International including their Lovestonite come-ons..."

"The Stalinist bureaucrats in charge of the Left wing furriers' union, of course, will oppose such a strategy and will try to suppress any free discussion of it in the union. But these ideas will make their way just the same. They are stronger than the apparatus of the bureaucrats because they correspond to the burning needs of the workers. And, in addition, they indicate the only way to save the furriers' organization from the debacle which overtook all the other sections of the Industrial Union."

## Building Union Leads Toledo FERA Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

be set up with equal representation from the Building Trades Council and the new organization. Negotiation and other committees to be set up in a similar fashion.

7. That a general mass meeting is to be held Tuesday or Wednesday for the further consolidation of the organization and to set up a functioning strike machinery.
8. That a general FERA strike is officially declared, including all FERA workers.

Protests against the recruiting of strikebreakers, to replace the FERA workers already out on strike, by social service workers, also were made by the B.T.C.

At the same time County Relief Administrator James S. Thompson sent to Fred Payne, president of the C.L.U., a letter urging the skilled workers to return to FERA projects, "until the new program is started from Washington." He made every sort of appeal, from the sentimental one that the tuberculosis hospital needs completing (so that the workers' underfed children will have a place to go, Mr. Thompson?) to the practical one that Toledo is losing money because it is not using its FERA allowances.

He promised to make every effort to get budgets increased.

Toledo's workers are learning how to see that such promises are kept—through mass pressure.

**WHAT TO ATTEND**

**Pittsburgh, Pa.**  
March 16 and 17, Saturday and Sunday—Active Workers Conference. Arne Swabeck, Chairman of Arrangements Committee.  
New York City  
March 10, Sunday 3 P.M.—Membership meeting, New York District. At Party headquarters. Discussion on Active Workers Conference.  
March 22, Friday, 8 P.M.—"Impending Strike Struggles in the Basic Industries." Speaker A. J. Muste. Grand Central Palace, 86 Clinton St. Auspices East Side Branch No. 2.  
March 24, Sunday 8 P.M.—Mass meeting on "The Class Struggle in the West." Speaker: James Cannon, recently returned from the coast. Irving Plaza. See ad in this issue.  
March 25, Monday evening.—Theatre Party. "The Black Pit." Civic Repertory Theatre. Lillian Bord, chairman of ticket committee.  
Friday—Forums at all New York branches.  
Forum at 1776 Pitkin Avenue, Brooklyn, under auspices of Branch 6 temporarily suspended due to burning of Branch headquarters. Watch New Militant for notice of opening of new headquarters.

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Please send all copy and definite order for insertion to the Business Manager. No advertisements will be inserted unless we have information as to who will be responsible for payment thereon. All copy must be in by Monday morning on the week of insertion. Rates on application.

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Editor, Young Spartacus  
SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 8 P.M.  
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Entertainment and dancing after meeting.  
Auspices: Spartacus Youth League

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City ..... State.....

Add 15c to above for sample copy of the New International [ ]  
I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the U. S. [ ]

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Italy's Colonial Drive

With French and British acquiescence, Mussolini has found a "safe" outlet for his war spirit...

Japan and the Chinese Consortium

The negotiations between Tokyo and Nanking, in which Japan practically renewed her infamous twenty-one demands on China, have aroused the greatest anxiety among the other imperialists...

Roosevelt and "Prevailing Wage"

How serious is the struggle between Roosevelt and the Senate over the prevailing wage clause added to the work relief measure?

Bankers Hear Plan For Aged

When big bankers get together they tell the truth—to one another. Through some great error this truth appeared in the Herald-Tribune...

At a dinner of the American Bankers Association held in the Waldorf-Astoria, Lawrence G. Hamner, manager of the pension department of Johnson & Higgins, San Francisco, told what he really thought about the President's sham-liberal "security" bill for old age pensions...

"As for the rest—bah. There is no room for these, even in Utopia. Let the future hold for such as they are no more than the poor-house or the prison, and with the passing of years, their number will diminish."

Mr. Hamner is to be congratulated upon his honesty. Capitalism, he has truly stated, has no use for the faithful outworn slaves whom it has wrecked—let them go to the poor-house or prison, so that they will die quickly.

ly interested in protecting the wage scales of employed workers. The Senate had been warned in advance that a measure containing this provision would be vetoed by the President. Hence it cost it nothing at all to avoid the loss of labor votes in the coming elections by making the gesture that would satisfy Green and the A. F. of L. One of the motives back of the entire maneuver was undoubtedly dissatisfaction with the high-handed manner in which Roosevelt had handled the vast funds placed at his disposal. The Senators would like to have more to say concerning where and how this money is to be spent. They miss their former control of the pork barrel. This was shown clearly by the representatives despite the fact that the measure was passed by them without demur. But they were opposed to having the money administered by Secretary Ickes who failed to satisfy the politicians in his dishing out of spoils. Hence even the House refused to pass the measure until after a conference at the White House at which the leaders were reassured as to control and uses of the "mystery" fund of nearly five billions of dollars. One can safely predict that a "compromise" will be reached, that sacrifices entirely the interests of the workers under the proper phraseology, giving Roosevelt precisely what he wants. This will be accomplished by the simple Roosevelt expedient of buying Senate votes by satisfying the proper politicians with their share of the booty. The question remains as to what Roosevelt will actually do with the funds appropriated. How much of it will actually go to workers, how much to subsidize the construction industries? Under the demagogic guise of work relief a large portion of the fund will go not to workers for wages, but to capitalist corporations to provide the materials for the work. Roosevelt has no intention of spending five billions to provide work alone. Rather he will pump profits into the coffers of the financiers.

S.P. Militants Forced to Cover Up Right Wing Labor Defense Maneuver

New light is shed on the labor defense policy of the Socialist Party and especially on the role of the leading Militants in the S. P. by correspondence just released for publication by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense. Last week's New Militant reported and analyzed the violation by the Socialist Party of its agreement to cooperate with the Provisional Committee, the Communist Party (Opposition), the Workers Party and the I. Martello Group (Italian anti-Fascists led by Carlo Tresca) in organizing a conference to launch a permanent, non-partisan labor defense organization. The New Leader of Jan. 26 announced for the first time that the Socialist Party was building its own defense machinery. Until that issue of the New Leader appeared there was no indication that the Socialist Party had changed its labor defense policy.

Morrow's Letter to Baron In an effort to determine the full significance of the New Leader announcement for the relation of the S. P. to the agreement to build a non-partisan labor defense organization, Felix Morrow, Secretary of the Provisional Committee sent the following letter to Murray Baron of the Socialist Party on the 29th of January.

"Dear Comrade Baron, "This is addressed to you as the representative of the National Labor Committee delegated by it to cooperate with us in carrying out the Plan for a New Labor Defense Organization" which the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at its September meeting agreed to carry out together with the other organizations accepting the Plan...

"Our Executive Committee was astonished to discover that the Socialist Party of New York has formed its own Socialist Committee for Promotion of Labor Defense. Also August Claessens, Secretary of the New York Labor Committee, writes in the January 26 New Leader that 'good progress is being made in the organization of a Labor and Socialist National Defense Committee' with local committees in every large city to begin with. We do not of course know whether August Claessens is authorized or not to speak for the national organization though the tenor of his article would seem to indicate that he is so authorized. As for the New York committee formed we note that it includes in its membership the representatives of the National Labor Committee delegated to carry out the Plan for a new defense organization."

"Our Executive Committee, therefore, requests that you write to us, informing us of the relation of the local Socialist committee already organized and the

By A. J. MUSTE

Fellow Worker: You have asked me some interesting questions. Why should I join the Workers Party? What is the program of the W. P.? Why was "another" party necessary? Can we not remove the evils from which workers now suffer without revolution?

Workers have every right to ask these questions of us. No worker, indeed, should join the W. P. without carefully considering and understanding our answer to these questions.

I am going to give our answers to them in as straightforward and simple a manner as possible. I hope you will discuss these letters with the other workers in the shop and in your neighborhood about whom you wrote me. We ask nothing except a careful consideration of our program by honest, class conscious workers. We believe the result will be that they join the Workers Party ranks.

HOW W. P. BEGAN

First of all I am going to tell you briefly how the W. P. came into existence; for that in itself tells something very important about what kind of a party the W. P. is. The W. P. was launched on December 1, 1934. Thus by the calendar the W. P. is, so to speak, a baby. But this is the case only if you judge by the calendar. In organization, in tradition, in personnel, in program, the W. P. begins its life as a mature party.

For the W. P. did not suddenly descend from the clouds or spring up out of the sea. It is not the result of a "bright idea" in the brain of some individual. The W. P. came into existence as the result of the merger of two previously existing organizations, each of which had an honorable history of some years in the labor movement, both nationally and internationally. One of these organizations was the American Workers Party, the other the Communist League of America, popularly known as Trotskyists.

The C.L.A. was composed of revolutionists who were expelled from the Communist Party and the Communist International. They differed with the line taken by the C. P.

and C. I. in certain matters of principle and tactics. They asked for the right to state their views in the party discussions, being willing to carry out party discipline in action, if this elementary right of the members of a revolutionary party were granted them. They were refused the right and expelled.

Nevertheless, they continued for some years as a faction of the C.P. and C.I., attempting to correct their line, hoping to reform them and get back in. When the comrades of the former C.L.A. saw that the evils to which they had pointed were not corrected, but aggravated, and when they saw the result of these evils in the complete collapse e.g. of the Communist Party of Germany before Hitler Fascism, they decided that they would be untrue to the working class if they continued trying to reform the C. P. They decided that a new revolutionary party and a new international must be formed.

The American Workers Party, on its part, was the outgrowth of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The C.P.L.A. was formed in 1928-29. It was composed mainly of trade unionists, most of them in the A. F. of L., some in independent unions. They fought against "stagflation," racketeering and autocracy in the unions. They agitated for a militant policy as against the class-collaboration, "cooperation with the bosses," policy of the A. F. of L. officialdom. They sought to organize the workers in the basic industries which were utterly neglected by the A. F. of L. at that time. When the depression continued, they took a leading part in organizing the unemployed in many states and in building the National Unemployed League.

While the leading members of the former C.P.L.A. carried on their activities mainly in the economic field, they had a revolutionary outlook. They realized that actions relating to the immediate needs and grievances of the workers could be carried out effectively and help in the eventual emancipation of the

workers, only if the vanguard elements among the workers had a correct outlook and philosophy, and this meant being organized in a revolutionary working class party. When they looked about for such a party to which they could belong and bring the workers, they did not find it in the C. P. or S. P. or any other existing party or group. Thus in the fall of 1933 they also came to the conclusion that there must be a new party and a new international, and set up the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party.

Thus there were two groups, which had come from very different directions to the same conclusion. Soon the C.L.A. and the A. W. P. entered into discussions. We said, "If we really mean the same thing, when we talk about a new party, we should be building it together." We were deliberate about the thing, however. We decided that we must not fuse politically, unless we were really in agreement on the fundamentals of a program. Lacking such agreement, we could still work together on concrete issues but political merger must be on the basis of principle. Thus for eleven months discussion went on. At the end of that time a joint committee of the two organizations wrote a Declaration of Principles and a constitution which were adopted at their conventions and which constituted the basis of the merger and of the formal launching of the Workers Party of the United States.

NOT A HASTY DECISION It is clear, then, that there was no hasty, irresponsible decision to go and launch "another party". The workers in the C.L.A. and A. W. P. acted in the most careful and responsible manner in dealing with the problem before them, as revolutionists should.

The W. P. does not, however, trace its history back merely to the former A.W.P. and C.L.A. The members of these organizations have been active in labor and revolutionary work, here and abroad, long before the organizations themselves came into being. So it came about that in the founding convention of the W. P. here were present not a few of the founders of the C. P. and C. I., workers who had been active in the Socialist Party in the days when that was a progressive force, workers who had participated in the Russian revolution, workers who had stood firm in the trying days of the Great War, who had taken a leading part in the labor struggles in the U. S. for the past thirty years and more. The Workers Party is rich in tradition and experience.

OUR CREDENTIALS A party needs more than traditions, however. You and your fellow-workers have a right to ask whether we have credentials from the working class today, what role we are playing in the surging movement and the vast struggles of the present. Our answer is that we do have such credentials. We point to the fact that in the founding convention of the W. P. the leaders of the National Unemployed League, the strongest and most stable of the unemployed organizations which have come out of the depression, the leaders of the great Toledo strike, the leaders of the great series of strikes in Minneapolis, active workers in steel, automobiles, textile, rubber, transportation, the public utilities took part. We are an integral part in all sections of the country of the working class movement and the struggles of the masses.

Let me go back for a moment and emphasize again that the W. P. is the result of a merger. For ten years and more we have seen splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement. Sometimes it seemed as if every week produced a new party, group or grouplet. No wonder that you and many other workers felt discouraged and even sometimes disgusted. Here at last we have a case not of "another party", not of two groups where there was one before, but of one organization where before there were two. Here is an example of revolutionary unity. This, we submit, means more than just adding one and one to make two. The establishment of a unifying center marks an historic turning point in the revolutionary movement. This example of unity will be as contagious, we believe, as was the example of splits in an earlier period. The fact that the former C.L.A. and A.W.P. were able to begin this process of unification is proof that they represented healthy, vigorous and responsible elements. That they may work with these elements to further the crucial job of unifying the revolutionary forces is one big argument for workers joining the W.P.

UNITY—ON WHAT BASIS? When we speak of unity today we have to understand clearly what we mean. Unity—on what basis? Merely repeating the word "unity" or "united front" will not accomplish anything. Political unity, for one thing, is not the same as united front. United front means united action for specific purposes, against wage cuts or evictions, for the defense of labor prisoners etc., by organiz-

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

ations which have grave political differences. Membership in a political party of the working class is not on the same basis as membership in a union. A union is a mass organization to which all workers in a given trade or industry belong—Republicans, Democrats, Single Taxers, Workers Party, C. P., S. P., Baptists, Presbyterians, Prohibitionists, etc. It does not follow that you can put the same Republicans, Democrats, Single Taxers, Prohibitionists, Baptists, etc. in a political party, and have a labor party, much less a revolutionary party.

The revolutionary party does not deal merely or primarily with immediate issues of wages, hours and conditions of work. It deals with the problem of the economic-political system as a whole, how it must and can be changed or abolished, etc. A revolutionary party must, therefore, have a philosophy, a theory, a program. If it has the wrong one, then at the critical moment it will fail and betray the masses.

Take the example of Austria. There we had a great working class party, the Social Democratic Party. It had no rivals. It had in it practically all the best elements in the Austrian working class. There was likewise a powerful trade union movement, closely linked with the political party, great cooperative, cultural, sports organizations. Yet this mighty and united movement collapsed before Fascism. Why? Because it was based upon a false, Social Democratic, philosophy and program. To the consideration of that philosophy and program, I shall turn in another letter. Suffice it now to point the obvious moral: the working class does not want the kind of "unity" that leads to Fascist concentration camps, any more than it wants the divisions that lead to defeat at the hands of Fascism. An army moving unitedly in the wrong direction cannot get to the right place!

What, then, is the philosophy and program of the W.P.? It is not something brand-new, which we patented yesterday. Our Declaration of Principles says: "The W. P. of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian Revolution of 1917 (the 'October Revolution')." The W. P. carries on, in other words, the great revolutionary tradition of the modern working class. To it belong Marx, and Lenin, and Trotsky, for we are not of those who have read him out of the revolutionary movement. To it belongs the Russian revolution, through which the one workers' state, beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world, was brought into being.

As the revolutionary party of the American working class our primary task, as the Declaration of Principles states, "is the defeat of the enemy at home—the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States." Thus, proceeding from the basic principles of Marx and Lenin, we "will use the revolutionary potentialities of American tradition and history", adapt our tactics to the concrete situation and the line-up of the class forces in the U. S., in order to inspire and lead the American working class and its allies in other exploited sections of the population, to the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a society in which natural resources and the machinery of production will be used for the benefit of the workers and not for the profit of a few.

(Comrade Muste's second letter will appear in the next issue.)

While probably destined to remain one of the smaller revolutionary parties (the whole country has a half million inhabitants), the Panama party deserves, in view of the key position of the country, the fullest support of the world proletariat and above all of the proletariat of the United States, whose ruling class practically owns the little republic.

The manifesto of the Workers Party of Panama, after reviewing the world situation and the complete dependence of the economic and political situation in Panama upon that of American imperialism, and after criticizing the reformist policy of the Socialist Party and the failure of the Communist Party to create a revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, sets forth its own program.

"It is necessary to re-group the working-class on an international scale outside of the influence of the two existing internationalists," the manifesto declares. "The final goal of all our activities is the revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the construction of the classless socialist society as the intermediate stage towards communism." The manifesto ends with an appeal for the "Defense of the Soviet Union through revolutionary action" and the "creation of the Fourth International".

The immediate program of the party, while presented in outline in the manifesto, is to be elaborated by the national convention.

Recognizing the importance of the revolutionary party to the small Caribbean nations in their struggles against imperialism, the Workers Party of the U. S. sends its greeting to the Workers Party of Panama, and promises it full political and organizational support.

The proletariat of the largest and of the smallest countries in the American Empire have only one enemy. Their struggle must likewise be one. Jointly for the overthrow of American imperialism! Jointly for the victory of the world revolution!

FACTS ABOUT AMERICA

- 1. A sixth of the entire population of the U.S. is on relief.
2. A fifth of all formerly employed workers are out of a job.
3. A third of all our aged are dependents.
4. Two fifths of those on relief are children.
5. Nearly half of all Americans do not get proper medical care.
6. Millions of Americans live in homes little better than hovels.
7. Even in 1929 the workers' average annual income was only \$1,475.
8. In 1929 the annual earnings of 18,000,000 workers were under \$1,000 apiece.
9. In 1929 the annual earnings of 28,000,000 workers were under \$1,500 apiece.—From Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins' Chicago talk, March 1, 1935.

International Notes

Communist League of China Hails WP

From the Standing Committee of the Communist League of China at Shanghai the National Secretary of the Workers Party U. S. has received a letter hailing the founding of the W. P. and stating that the "Workers Party of the United States will prove a source of inspiration to revolutionaries the world over who are striving to restore revolutionary principle, reassemble the shattered and demoralized proletarian ranks, hurl back the tide of reaction and bring socialist victory to a tortured world. It will be a powerful lever for the creation of the Fourth International."

The C. L. of China is dedicated to the task of establishing a new revolutionary party in that country. "The heavy heritage of ideological corruption and confusion left us by Stalinism, the backwardness of Chinese culture in general," meager material resources, the white terror—all combine to make the task both difficult and dangerous. But they are preparing themselves "for the next high tide of the revolution while doing all that is possible by our conscious work among the masses to stimulate the revival of the Chinese labor movement."

Commenting upon the message of greeting from the Chinese revolutionists, National Secretary A. J. Muste said: "We are establishing close fraternal relations with the Chinese comrades. This is another evidence of the international character of our movement. The Chinese comrades need our support. We must build the W. P. so that this support may be real and strong."

Workers Party Organized in Panama

Another step in the international revolutionary movement has been taken with the formation of the Workers Party of Panama. The provisional national committee of the new party has issued a manifesto and is preparing the first national convention of the party.

While probably destined to remain one of the smaller revolutionary parties (the whole country has a half million inhabitants), the Panama party deserves, in view of the key position of the country, the fullest support of the world proletariat and above all of the proletariat of the United States, whose ruling class practically owns the little republic.

The manifesto of the Workers Party of Panama, after reviewing the world situation and the complete dependence of the economic and political situation in Panama upon that of American imperialism, and after criticizing the reformist policy of the Socialist Party and the failure of the Communist Party to create a revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, sets forth its own program.

"It is necessary to re-group the working-class on an international scale outside of the influence of the two existing internationalists," the manifesto declares. "The final goal of all our activities is the revolutionary conquest of power by the proletariat, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the construction of the classless socialist society as the intermediate stage towards communism." The manifesto ends with an appeal for the "Defense of the Soviet Union through revolutionary action" and the "creation of the Fourth International".

The immediate program of the party, while presented in outline in the manifesto, is to be elaborated by the national convention.

Recognizing the importance of the revolutionary party to the small Caribbean nations in their struggles against imperialism, the Workers Party of the U. S. sends its greeting to the Workers Party of Panama, and promises it full political and organizational support.

The proletariat of the largest and of the smallest countries in the American Empire have only one enemy. Their struggle must likewise be one. Jointly for the overthrow of American imperialism! Jointly for the victory of the world revolution!

FACTS ABOUT AMERICA

- 1. A sixth of the entire population of the U.S. is on relief.
2. A fifth of all formerly employed workers are out of a job.
3. A third of all our aged are dependents.
4. Two fifths of those on relief are children.
5. Nearly half of all Americans do not get proper medical care.
6. Millions of Americans live in homes little better than hovels.
7. Even in 1929 the workers' average annual income was only \$1,475.
8. In 1929 the annual earnings of 18,000,000 workers were under \$1,000 apiece.
9. In 1929 the annual earnings of 28,000,000 workers were under \$1,500 apiece.—From Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins' Chicago talk, March 1, 1935.

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Unity of the Unemployed?

THE Socialist Partyites who managed the unemployed convention held in Washington March 2-4 failed to realize the ambitious objective which they set before themselves—that of setting up an all-embracing, truly national organization of the unemployed. Under pressure from such rank and file elements as the convention contained and others, they had to pass a resolution providing that in three months the executive of the Workers Alliance of America (the name chosen for the new organization) should meet with the executives of other national organizations to discuss unity. Thus they confessed the justice of the charge which the National Unemployed League made against them, namely, that for an essentially factional purpose and on a wrong basis they were trying to set up another national organization when such organizations were already in existence.

What organizations will really affiliate with the W.A.A. after the delegates have gone back home and reported about the character of the convention and how much power it can develop under the loose form of organization adopted is still entirely problematical. If, however, the resolution for unity of the unemployed is carried out in a loyal and realistic manner, important results may yet be accomplished. The unemployed desperately need a powerful, non-partisan national-wide fighting organization. All the forces capable of helping to build such an organization should get together without a moment's delay. Those who fail to do so in the crisis which at present confronts the unemployed are guilty of the gravest irresponsibility.

The National Unemployed League has repeatedly stated the basis on which unity can be achieved:

"Bring together delegates from the local unemployed organizations throughout the country in a convention which expresses the will of the rank and file and in which representation is proportionate to the strength of the bona-fide organizations present. In a fighting organization set up in this way we will unhesitatingly and gladly submerge our separate existence."

We endorse this position. We urge all unemployed organizations to adopt it and to act upon it immediately. Of our S. P. comrades we ask again: "Why do you refuse to accept this simple, straightforward, correct proposal? What are you afraid of?"

The Unemployed Councils (Communist Party controlled) are so weak generally that the Communist Party in most localities is proposing to liquidate them just as on the trade union field its "revolutionary unions" are being liquidated. However, Herbert Benjamin, the leader of the Councils, was at Washington to plead "for united front and unity of the unemployed organizations". In fact, to judge by the Daily Worker Benjamin of the C. P. was the dominant figure at this S.P. convention! So incorrect was the report that Benjamin had to apologize publicly for it in the convention, with what outward smoothness and inward rage we can imagine!

In line with the right swing of the C. P. Benjamin flattered the S. P. leaders and speaks of their occupying "a position far in advance of the leaders of the N.U.L." For the mechanical maneuvering from the top by which the convention was set up Benjamin has, of course, no rebuke. The C. P. believes in doing business that way and no doubt is flattered by the imitation of certain S.P.'ites.

The Communist Party just having deliberately smashed a united front of the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Communist Party, American Civil Liberties Union, International Labor Defense, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, etc. in Sacramento, though this may mean prison sentences for 14 of its own members, Benjamin unctuously offers a united front and unity in the unemployed field!

From this corrupted source no unity will come, but insofar as it still retains any influence, only confusion, disruption and defeat.

Balance of Power--An Illusion

JUDGE Niels has ruled that a company union or employee representation plan is legal under the N.R.A. In making his ruling he set forth his idea of "the 20th century American theory" of the relation between the worker and the boss.

"The traditional old world theory," according to Judge Niels, is that there is a certain divergence of interest between the worker and the boss, and that it is necessary, therefore, to have an "economic balance of the power of labor against the power of capital" through independent labor unions. According to Judge Niels' conception of up to date American theory the interests of worker and boss are practically identical, depend upon "mutual interest, understanding and good will", and can, therefore, be well taken care of by a company union financed by the boss.

Capitalist Press Lies About Mini Scored by Chambers and Warnick

SUPERIOR COURT, SACRAMENTO, Feb. 7, 1935.—The Hearst Examiner of today prints a statement that Norman Mini has offered

WATCH FOR THIS FELLOW

In response to inquiries, A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, states that Carl Leathers is not a member of the Party and that no one answering the description of Leathers is in the Party. Responsible comrades regard Leathers as not reliable and workers' organizations are asked to take note.

Judge Niels has his facts twisted. The prevailing American theory to date, the theory generally held by the A. P. of L., for example, has not been anti-capitalistic. It has insisted, however, that if the workers are not to be oppressed they must be organized as well as the bosses. There must be what Judge Niels describes as "the economic balance of the power of labor against the power of capital".

The theory which Judge Niels advocates is pretty close, well on the way, to the theory that prevails in such countries as Italy and Germany under Fascism. There the independent unions of the workers have been smashed. They are now forbidden, strikes are illegal, etc. Relations between worker and boss are supposed to depend "upon mutual interest, understanding and good will".

Marxists have always contended that the divergence of interest between workers, on the one hand, and the bosses who own and control the basic resources of the nation and its productive machinery and operate them for their own private profit, is so fundamental that the worker cannot deliver himself from oppression and misery without destroying the system and building in its place one which he controls and in which industry is not operated for private gain.

What are American trade unionists now going to do? Accept the theory of Judge Niels and of the Automobile Labor Board, leading inevitably in the end to Fascism and the destruction of all independent organizations of the workers? Try to organize on the theory that under capitalism a balance of power between labor and capital can somehow be worked out? Or organize to take the offensive against the capitalist system which, if it is not abolished, must press the workers' standard of living further and further down and in doing so crush every semblance of resistance against slavery?

QUESTION BOX

A. D., DETROIT—

Question: What is the difference between the "price" system and the "profit" system?

Answer: Certain schools of thought, notably the Technocrats, superficially designate any mode of production in which money in one form or another exists, as a "price" system, thereby indicating their inability to see beyond surface phenomena. The existence of a "price" system, or money, merely means that the production and exchange of commodities is sufficiently advanced historically so that a single commodity, the money commodity, which functions as the measure of values for other commodities and as the medium through these latter exchange, has evolved. (There are other functions of money which we do not mention here since they have no direct bearing on the question.) The existence of money, in itself, therefore, in no way tells us more than this about the mode of production, and money existed while production was based on chattel slavery (e.g. Southern United States prior to the Civil War), or on feudalism (e.g. Europe before the 19th century), and exists under capitalism (wage slavery).

To call a system "price" system, therefore, means to designate a mode of production, taken as a whole, by only one of the characteristics upon which it is based, or which exists within it. However, systems of production are characterized, and this is basic, by the CLASSES upon whom the dominant mode of production is based; i.e., slave owner and slave, feudal lord and serf, capitalist and wage worker.

The production and exchange of commodities is not essential to the existence of either feudal or chattel-slave society; such commodity production and exchange (and therefore money) which did exist played a minor role in the economic life of the system, and existed alongside of rather than being a component part of it. The capitalist ("profit") system, however, is based upon commodity production and has as a prerequisite for its existence that this production be sufficiently advanced so that money exists. But this is not enough. In addition there must exist, on the one hand, a propertyless mass of people (the proletariat) who have nothing to sell but their labor-power (labor-power itself becomes a commodity); on the other hand a class of people who own and control the means of production, to whom the proletariat must sell its labor power in order to live, and who derive their surplus value ("profit") from the fact that they pay the worker in wages a smaller value than he creates for them by laboring.

The capitalist system, therefore, is one which is based on commodity production, a money ("price") system, but commodity production (and the existence of money) is not necessarily capitalist production.

Question: Is it true that in the Soviet Union the "profit" system has been abolished but the "price" system retained?

Answer: By expropriating the capitalists and landlords in the Soviet Union the workers have done away with that class relationship upon which capitalism, the "profit" system, is based, i.e., on the one hand the propertyless proletariat, and on the other a class possessing and controlling the means of production. The present class relationship in the Soviet Union, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a transitional political system standing between capitalist and socialist society and therefore has elements in it of both systems. This is reflected in the currency which is unlike money in capitalist society in that, like Soviet production itself, it can, within certain limits, be controlled; and it is like money in capitalist society in that, particularly for foreign trade and on the "free" market, legal and illegal, it is subject to the laws of commodities which determine the character of money. It is superficial to speak of a "price" system in describing the Soviet Union since the existence of a currency is but a minor aspect of the social relationships in that country: The ownership of the means of production by the proletariat.

mitted no crime. We are fighting for the rights of workers to organize in unions and for the right of the Communist Party legally to exist and advocate its doctrines, and we will not abandon those rights in return for anything McAllister may offer. This is an issue that concerns the working class as a whole, and we will continue to fight until it has been won.

(signed) JACK WARNICK PAT CHAMBERS NORMAN MINI

INSULL FAEBE Sam Insull, conviction-proof Greek tourist and ex-utility manipulator, went to trial March 4 on a state charge of embezzling \$68,000 from Middle West Utilities Co. Only one spectator showed up in the Chicago courtroom for the judicial farce.

Relief Investigators Do Detective Work

Letter from "Inside" Tells the Wretched Story

I work in a Home Relief Bureau in New York City. I am an investigator. An investigator combines the functions of a social-worker and a detective.

How's that? Well, verbally, the emphasis is upon social-work. But actually the work is detective work. After a long talk on the welfare of the clients, we are told that we are handling the community's money and our first duty is to the community—which means the bankers. Concentrate upon "suspicious" cases and close them out! The more cases you close the better your chances for promotion!

Here is a family that lives in a \$20-a-month apartment. Our bureau allows only \$16. Check on how the family pays the difference. Perhaps someone has an odd job? Perhaps a relative is helping?

Our Health "Service" Maybe the family needs a doctor. First have them try home remedies. You know most of them only want a doctor because it is free; if they were working, they would hesitate to call a doctor. If it's a case of dental work, the bureau provides that too, but the waiting list is filled for six months!

Yes—our "superiors" tell us—for an undernourished child we allow 25 cents bi-weekly for cod-liver oil. A special diet can be obtained, but

A.C.L.U. on Sacramento

(Continued from Page 1)

of the genuine united front defense movement, neglected by the C. P. bureaucracy, were the representatives of the same N.P.L.D. and the W.P.

6. The C. P., in its press agitation, and for criminally narrow-minded factional purposes, played right into the hands of the prosecution by denouncing Norman Mini's statement as a "confession", which was just what the prosecution tried to make it appear to be, but which everybody else, including most of the defendants who signed the latest C. P. statement, regarded as just the opposite of a "confession".

7. Despite its scurrilous agitation, the C.P. stands condemned by two groups involved in assisting the defense which are not connected either with the C.P. or the W.P.—the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union (both in California and nationally)—and by the Nation, liberal weekly.

Caroline Decker's Position The fact that Caroline Decker found it possible to append her name to the vicious C.P. statement of March 5 is a source of great regret to us, and our sentiment will be shared by every responsible militant. While we are aware of the terrific difficulties of her position (and that of all the other defendants), and of the cowardly pressure exerted upon her, we cannot justify her signature in any way. We cannot believe that the statement she signed actually represents her views. We know it does not.

It is no great secret that Caroline Decker has expressed herself in unambiguous terms about the conduct of the C.P. bureaucracy, and about those very questions which are dealt with in the Stallist statement. Our convictions about her views are not based upon hearsay, but upon ample documentary evidence which is beyond dispute. If we do not present it to our readers at the present time, it is because, unlike the irresponsible leaders of the C.P., we have no intention, in face of the situation created, of making use of such issues at a moment when the freedom of 16 workers hangs in the balance in a capitalist courtroom. The full reckoning with the Stallists will not be avoided by us; but the interests of the persecuted militants dictate to us a postponement of the inevitable date.

Warnick Stands Firm At the same time, it is a source of deep gratification that Jack Warnick, although also a member of the C. P., refused to lend his name to the contemptible document printed in the Daily Worker. Like everyone else concerned, he knows the truth, the real facts in the dispute, and he has declined to give credit to a document of falsehood and infamy by adding the signature of a proletarian revolutionist. If this courageous attitude has earned him the venomous attack of unprincipled traducers, it has also brought him the cordial and comradely congratulations of all honest workers and their renewed pledge of solidarity with him and his fellow-defendants. His stand is an example to follow.

REVOLUTIONARY DANCE GROUP FORMED

Classes Every Week. Get information from F. Drake, S. Y. L.

of course it's not your business to tell the client. Let him find out for himself and get a letter from a doctor. The dieticians will then take it up—it may take a couple of months.

Most of these people never had anything—most important for an investigator to remember!—and their living standards are higher now than ever, especially these Negroes.

All this is intermingled with chatter about the mental health of the clients, re-vocational training, re-integration into the economic life of the community.

The Spy System The psychic terror utilized by the relief administration is so apparent that even the most naive are impressed. Everyone knows there is a spy system—special investigators to investigate the investigators! Ever so often a field-worker is told, "You stay in today, we have some other work for you." You are under suspicion, and a "special" is looking into your "load", that is, the relief clients on your list.

Perhaps an anonymous letter comes in (the administration encourages and checks on all anonymous letters) saying that a certain client earned a couple of dollars at an odd job and has the investigator reported? This method is used especially against active staff members who are organized into the Employees' Association.

No Kicking Allowed

The hint is broadly spread that there are plenty of qualified workers (which is a lie) to take the places of "suspects" on the staff. If you point out that the amount of work required is tremendous (twice that of any private welfare agency), that working conditions

are poor, with over-crowding, lousy lighting, no supplies like paper, ink, clips, etc., you are a "chronic grumbler", and you have not got a "professional approach to relief problems".

Favoritism is rampant... kowtow to your superiors... go to lunch with your aids and eventually with your superiors... talk nice nothings... show them your main aim in life is to save a penny for the taxpayers... don't join the Employees' Association. And if you are the right color, have the right accent and the right religion, so the superiors like you, you have a chance for promotion.

Speed-Up for Typists

Other employees are not better off. The typists, besides poor technical equipment, work under a speed-system. Their work is checked for errors, they must turn out the quota or get out. The same goes for the ticket-writers and bookkeepers—speed up. The petty tyrants, the straw-bosses, keep a sharp lookout.

Commissioner Corsi, who has the list of all aliens on relief, has on paper given us full privilege to organize. Every discrimination is used against us, however; nothing slips by. How much time we take for lunch, do we weaken the morale of the staff during work hours by agitating for a five-day week and an increase in pay, do we make an error in the rush?—we catch hell. Our friends are warned not to lunch with us and so on and so on. Our answer? The Employees' Association. We are building the association.

Later I will give you more news on the "relief" system, but now I have to write up a couple of "pendings"...

Two Important CP Members in Week Join Workers Party

Two active and important members of the Communist Party in the west have withdrawn from that party and joined the Workers Party.

Lillian Monroe of Fresno, Cal. who has taken a leading part in the struggles in the San Joaquin Valley, and Lloyd Lassen, who was organizational secretary and agit-prop director for the state of Arizona in the Communist Party, both make statements condemning the C.P. for its bureaucratic policies and for its tactics in the Sacramento trial, and the Third International for its ruinous policies.

Comrade Lassen, who was a member of the Socialist Party before affiliating with the Communist Party, further protests against the C.P.'s program "for the formation of a reformist Labor Party", and for making the "shift in strategy in a fashion having nothing in common with a real democratic working class party".

Comrade Lassen has wide influence among the agricultural workers, copper miners and other workers in Arizona and plans to form Workers Party branches in these fields.

In the San Joaquin Valley, Comrade Monroe has great prestige among the workers in the agricultural fields, trucking, oil industry, creameries, railroads and the unemployed. In her work now in and around Fresno she is being assisted by comrades from the Los Angeles and San Francisco-Oakland branches of the Workers Party.

Comrade Monroe who was at one time Fresno section organizer for the C. P., led the big Fresno grape strike in 1933 and was prominent in the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike the same year. As leader of a well-organized relief struggle, she was held in jail for 30 days, then released for lack of evidence.

In her statement to the Communist Party Lillian Monroe accuses the C.P. of failing, in its work among the small farmers, to educate them to their class position, and declares that the antagonism between farmers and workers was deepened. She also points out that the C.P. "completely ignores the necessity of organizing and doing trade union work among the workers in the factories, oil fields, trucking, cotton gins, creameries and so on in the San Joaquin Valley".

Bureaucracy in the Communist International is scathingly condemned by Comrade Monroe, as destructive to the working classes in many countries.

Further reasons for her withdrawal from the C.P. given by Comrade Monroe:

"Because you are guilty of destroying the only union you have ever built in California, the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, by grabbing the control of the union out of the hands of the workers and placing it in that of your bureaucracy, by your bureaucracy being unable to give the workers the necessary leadership in times of stress, by your inability to organize the agricultural workers into anything approaching a stable union, by your continued use of tactics already proven disruptive, by your failure to admit mistakes and correct them, by your failure to under-

C. P. Blamed for U.F. Break

(Continued from Page 1)

stitutes one of the most discouraging incidents in the always discouraging history of radical factionalism. It is a charge which is not even believed by the people who make it and constitutes the triumph of a tactic over truth. In a public statement given out in defiance of the party line on this subject, Jack Warnick has written: "The characterization by the Western Worker that Mini is 'a cowardly, treacherous stool pigeon' must be condemned as an attempt to frame the boy and ruin his reputation for the rest of his life." The so-called "confession" consists of a defiant statement of his own beliefs and of facts known to everyone, made by Mini at the time of his arrest in August and headlined at that time in the Sacramento papers. It is well known that since his arrest Mini, who is a Sacramento boy and popular in the community, has refused two offers of immunity."

LILLIAN SYMES, CALIFORNIA AUTHOR

On February 15, another noted California writer, Lillian Symes, sent a letter of comment to New York, from which the following excerpts are taken:

"The situation out here has been incredible and has just about wrecked all of us who were trying to keep the united front going. I have been through many fights of this kind but I have never seen anything quite so dirty and outrageous as the C.P. maneuvers in the Sacramento situation. Three A.C.L.U. members who went up to Sacramento for two days to observe the trial came back almost hysterical.

"Goldman got his first chance to act in the case when Mini went on the witness stand. It was the first ray of light in the whole trial. Mini was splendid and between them, the jury and the audience, for the first time, was given an exposition of communist theory and a dignified defense....

"As something of an outsider I must say that the W.P., the N.P.L.D. and Goldman have all acted with amazing patience and diplomacy under very trying and difficult circumstances. This is also the attitude of several liberals who have been fairly close to the situation and who are less prejudiced in their favor than I am. The action of the C.P. in this matter has disgusted all elements but their own fanatical followers."

GEORGE HEDLEY, CHAIRMAN UNITED FRONT COMMITTEE

On January 21, George P. Hedley, director of the American Civil Liberties Union in California and chairman of the united front committee, in reply to a news story published in the Western Worker captioned "Trotskyites Splitting Tactics Fail", sent a letter to the Western Worker, which he asked to be published, in which he said:

"The vote against sending out the call already drawn up and signed by representatives of the C. P., W.P., I.L.D., N.P.L.D. and by the writer in his capacity as temporary chairman of the joint committee, meant actually that the recipients of the call signed by the defendants would have no way of knowing that the Conference on February 10 was supported by any but the very miscellaneous and unrepresentative groups mentioned in one paragraph of the defendants' call; specifically, that the Workers Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Socialist Party, the really significant divergent groups which had entered the joint defense committee, were thus eliminated. The argument that the sending of the official and agreed-upon call would have caused confusion is too absurd to require refutation; the actual effect would have been that the recipients would have learned that the Workers Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Socialist Party, had entered into close cooperation with the Communist Party in the interests of effective defense and effective mass protest.

"At the time—immediately after adjournment—I remarked to the Communist Party delegate that I considered the motion 'outrageous'. I see no reason to revise that view...."

Note: This letter has not yet been published in the Western Worker.

Copy for Bill Sherman's column, Left Jobs, came in too late to be included in this issue.

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