

NEW MILITANT

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CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

By JACK ELDER
A.A.A. ACCOMPLISHMENTS
MILK PRODUCTION
CORN BELT CONDITIONS
SAGA OF SCARCITY

WASHINGTON.—News from the New Deal's agricultural front becomes more ominous from day to day. What crop curtailment failed to accomplish, the drought has brought to a dramatic finale. Supplies of meats, grains, vegetables, dairy and poultry products are, as a consequence, running short. The shortage reflects itself in the continued boosting of food prices.

The Agricultural Situation for February 1, 1935, an official publication of the United States Department of Agriculture gives a straight-forward and frank account. Farm stocks on corn (as of January 1) amounted to 800 million bushels—about 300 million bushels "under the shortest supply previously recorded."

From October to December 1934, less than 580 million bushels of corn were used in the country, as compared with about 920 million bushels used during the same period a year earlier. As the government experts put it,

"That gives an idea as to how the feeders have lightened up. Of course there are fewer pigs to be fed. But men everywhere are feasting with one eye on the feeding and mows and the other on the calendar."

Milk Production Lowest on Record

Consider the effects of the tight feed situation upon the production of milk. The production per cow in January was 10.88 pounds. This is the lowest yield which the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has ever recorded. It compares with an average January yield during past years of 12.12 pounds. Even this average, it is important to note, was by no means sufficient to provide American children with the quantity of milk required for health and growth.

More than a million milch cows were disposed of last year, the "greatest reduction in the 53 years recorded". Why such a reduction in the face of higher prices for milk, butter and cream? The answer is simple: Feed prices have soared to such an extent as to throw out of balance the cost-price ratio on which dairy farmers depend for their earnings.

The "poultry industry" we are informed, "is another which has had to tighten up its belt this winter". (Nothing is said about the tightening of belts by wage earners who have had to discard the luxury of chickens and eggs.)

The number of hens and pullets per flock average 78.4 as compared with the 5-year average number of 88.9. The average farm flock in the Central States was producing 15 eggs in January as compared with 19.3 eggs per flock a year earlier.

CORN BELT CONDITIONS

With regard to Corn Belt conditions (Continued on Page 3)

Cuban Workers in Island-Wide General Strike

Darcy Takes The Stand In Sacramento

C. P. Organizer Testifies His Party Stands For -- Reform!

By Special Correspondent
SACRAMENTO, MARCH 8.—The Communist Party has fired its biggest gun in the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial. This week Sam Darcy, District No. 13 organizer, took the stand and testified. In direct examination this member of the Central Committee set the keynote of what was to come by his abstract vagueness on all questions, and by his assertion that "the power might fall into the laps of the workers". Then came cross examination: the stage was set for this leader to explain to the jury and to the workers of California the revolutionary platform in thundering tones. But there in the crisis, in the critical hour, the big gun refused to roar; the trigger was pulled and from the cannon's mouth issued . . . social reformism!

The crass opportunism of Darcy's testimony came as a shock even to those who were expecting the worst from a Communist bureaucracy which is becoming increasingly rickety by the delusion that it is to be forced underground. When contrasted with the revolutionary testimony offered by the Workers Party defendant, Norman Mini, three weeks ago, Darcy's statements are revealed as a complete capitulation to middleclass reformism.

Is This the Communist Party?
When asked what his party would do when a majority of the people supported it, Darcy, instead of describing the road to power the workers must inevitably follow (as Mini had done) refused to say anything!

The question of the seizure of power was the showdown. Where Mini had told how the Workers' Council would develop from simple united fronts for workers' defense into national organizations embracing all the toiling population, Darcy in the same situation said not one word about the soviet.

Where the Workers Party representative told about the formation of the proletarian militia that would defend the workers' organizations and enforce the will of the Councils, Darcy, believe it or not, said: "The workers' and farmers' government might 'collapse' and 'fall into the laps of the workers' by an event and the collapse of Czar-

Mini told how the Workers and Farmers Councils would declare themselves to be the new government in the name of the whole people and would use the revolutionary forces to suppress and expropriate the capitalists; Darcy, in his turn, told how the American government might "collapse" and "fall into the laps of the workers" by an event and the collapse of Czar-

(Continued on Page 4)

Ohio League Congress Holds Impeachment Over Governor

COLUMBUS, Ohio, March 11.—Action toward impeachment proceedings will be started against Governor Martin L. Davey if he refuses to comply with the demands of the unemployed, according to a resolution adopted at a special emergency conference of the Ohio Unemployed League here yesterday and today. Conference delegates were to see Davey today. The con-

Workers Party Sends Letter To P. P.

The following letter calling for the "further unification of the revolutionary forces" has been sent to the Proletarian Party by the Workers Party:

Proletarian Party of the U. S. c/o John Koracher, National Secy. Chicago, Ill.

On December 1-2, 1934, the Communist League of America (Trotskyists) and the American Workers Party held a unity convention in New York City. The Workers Party of the United States was formally launched by the merger of these two organizations on the basis of a Declaration of Principles and Constitution which had been formulated by joint committees and unanimously adopted in the conventions of the two organizations preceding the unity convention.

We regard it as a noteworthy development that after a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement, two organizations should have set an example of unification on the basis of a thorough-going Marxist and Leninist program.

The problem of unifying all healthy revolutionary forces in the United States is of the utmost urgency and importance. The mobilization of the left progressive forces in the unions, the organization of the masses in the basic industries and of the unemployed, the waging of effective strike struggles in the big industries, the combating of Fascism and war, as well as the rallying of revolutionary forces throughout the world, after a period of demoralization and defeat, for a victorious attack upon capitalism and imperialism—the achievement of all these depends in large measure upon the building of an effective revolutionary party in the United States. Elements in unifying the revolutionary elements, and especially those which are already agreed on accepting neither the Socialist party nor the Communist party, the Second International nor the Third, is dangerous and may be fatal. On the other hand, further positive steps toward this goal will have an electrifying effect upon the working class in the United States and throughout the world.

We present herewith copy of the Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Workers Party of the United States for your immediate consideration. We believe that you are in agreement with this proposition. If you are, it should not be difficult to initiate a serious objective discussion on this urgent question of further unification of the revolutionary forces, thus providing added impetus to the building of the new revolutionary party and the new international.

For Political Committee W.P.U.S.
Fraternally yours,
A. J. MUSTE,
National Secretary

SETTLEMENT IN SIGHT FOR DENTAL MECHANICS

Twenty more dental laboratories have signed up with Dental Technicians Equity, bringing the total of shops covered by agreements to sixty, in the first week of the general strike of dental mechanics in the metropolitan area.

As yet, no disorder is reported on one of the widest spread picket lines in recent strike history—764 laboratories in the metropolitan area are being picketed by the 1,100 members of the union.

Negotiations are in progress with the Dental Laboratory Owners of the Metropolitan area, and union officials are optimistic about the possibilities of signing a favorable agreement with that organization. The Associated Dental Laboratories continues its refusal to negotiate.

vention stayed in continuous session from 10 A.M. Sunday to 4 P.M. Monday.

Representing 128,859 organized unemployed from 63 counties in Ohio, 380 delegates declared that "the brutal indifference and criminal neglect of the welfare of the unemployed displayed by Gov. Davey demonstrate that he is unable or unwilling to serve the interest of the people and should be impeached."

Hit Sales Tax

The League also voted to initiate a referendum to repeal the state sales tax, declaring that "the tax is a burden on the poor to relieve the taxation of the rich" and advocating in its place taxation of income of corporations and individuals earning \$5,000 or more per year.

Support was voted for the Workers' Security Bill initiated by the National Unemployed League. This provides for a \$10,000,000-a-year public works program, unemployment and social insurance, and a minimum wage of \$30 a week for a 30-hour week for public and private employment. Funds for the public works program are to be obtained by taxes on incomes over \$5,000.

Pending establishment of unemployment insurance, the bill provides that Congress shall appropriate \$5,000,000,000 for immediate cash relief of \$10 a week for each unemployed worker and \$4 for each dependent. The Ohio League is preparing to participate in the Caravan to Washington of the National Unemployed League in May, before Congress adjourns, to press passage of the Security Bill.

AF of L Busy Sabotaging Akron Strike

Leaders Fear They Are Losing Grip On Rubber Union

AKRON, Ohio.—Desperately striving to keep its grip over the rubberworkers unions here and to regain some of its lost strength, the A. F. of L. is bringing those clever demagogues and notorious working class betrayers, John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W.A., and Francis J. Gorman, of textile strike disrepute, to address mass rallies, Coleman C. Claherty, A. F. of L. bureaucrat and organizer for the rubber industry, told newspapermen.

This action resulted after a three weeks drive for membership brought but few of the thousands of workers back into the union. They had dropped out because of the A. F. of L. inactivity.

Meanwhile, even the United Rubberworkers council, governing body of the rubber unions, and special tool of Claherty, passed a resolution to press "immediate action". Similar motions on union meetings have led the workers to believe that a strike is sanctioned, but they are reeking without the forgiveness of the bureaucrats to inaugurate any real action. Of course, no public mention of strike is made.

Unfortunately, the workers are under the impression that a strike will be called early in April, or that they can wait until then to pull a successful one. Progressives are fighting hard to slack action immediately before the press season sets in and it is an open question whether it can be opened or not.

Wall Street's Priest

Father Coughlin Wins Fame and Fortune with Red Scare -- Says Henry Ford Is a Communist

By DAN EASTMAN
This is the second of a series of articles on Father Coughlin, delayed for a month for lack of space. It proves timely in the light of Coughlin's recent burst into the news with a semi-indorsement of that other arch-demagogue, Huey Long, and his general debate with Long and Ter-Corner Johnson.

Father Coughlin hardly had time to settle down in his new parish and deliver his first sermon before he was negotiating a weekly broadcast. Three weeks after his appointment he was on the air over station WJR in Detroit, at \$58 per week, a modest beginning. His sermons at first dealt mainly with church and Sunday school topics, social and political problems. By 1929 he had influence enough to secure a three station hookup, but it was not until after a series on Russia and the Red Serpent, in the early part of 1930 that he really hit his stride.

The Red Serpent

Let us quote from the first of this series on the Red Serpent, it sets the tone for his subsequent career. "America," he announced, "is tainted with the purple poison of Bolshevism. Between it and the Catholic Church there is war to the death. Our weapons are truth and charity." He goes on to quote from "a personal letter I have received from Harry A. Jung, 'The hellish conspiracy fomented by the Godless government of Russia, etc.' etc." and concludes, "There speaks a patriot!"

Harry Jung, we recall, is notorious as a professional anti-Semite and red baiter, a man who has dedicated himself to raising funds from frightened capitalists, both Jew and Gentile, for the purpose of spreading vulgar, criminal slanders about Communists, Socialists, Jews, foreigners, etc. An ideal type of what Father Coughlin calls a "patriot", a proponent of "truth and charity"

Christ's Prime Minister

"The international socialists," Coughlin continued, "are unwilling to assist in building up a better navy and a stronger army to protect a country where Christ is still king."

Protect the teaching of Christ, cries the Catholic priest, protect it with rifles, machine guns, artillery, bombs, torpedos, gas and high explosives. Millions of bloody explo-

ter and destruction so that Christ may remain king, and Father Coughlin continue on the radio as his prime minister!

"Have I any suggestions to offer?" he asks helpfully. "There are plenty of them. We can start with the leaders of industry. We can ask them to better the conditions of their laborers."

A novel idea indeed! (Why bother to organize and strike? Just ask those kind hearted capitalists who shudder every time a worker is murdered on the picket line, to better the conditions of their laborers. Why hasn't someone thought of it before?)

Coughlin and Hearst

As for the rest of the series, to quote L. B. Ward again, "Father Coughlin continued to detail for his audiences the advance of Communism in America—he drew a picture of the red serpent as it crawled from campus to campus." (Father Coughlin and W. R. Hearst have always been on good terms. The Detroit Times, a Hearst paper, has given him much favorable notice, the whole Hearst chain has carried articles by the good father on the nationalization of women in Russia, and "He drew a picture of the serpent crawling from campus to campus. . . . He mentioned by name Bertrand Russell (sheer courage!) who was a guest at (Indiana State)" etc. etc.

The series on The Red Serpent brought notice from several quarters. None other than the ubiquitous Norman Thomas who hastens from pillar to post explaining to capitalists and workers alike that Socialism is not so bad as it sounds, charged Father Coughlin with "A serious misrepresentation of socialism and of the Socialist party, and a hopeless confusion of it with communism." Thomas endeavors to point out the difference between the rosy beatitude of socialism and the dark horror of communism to Father Coughlin, alas for Thomas, proved unsuccessful.

Father Coughlin's Red Scare

The J. Ham Fish Committee investigating subversive doctrine (J. Ham Fish is better remembered as the red-baiting congressman whose address to Congress, due to a very appropriate typographical error, was once printed in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, in the weekly pet column under a large picture of a guppy fish), meeting in Detroit in

Mendieta Sustained By Wall Street Army Alone

Intolerable Conditions Result of American Sugar Imperialism, Cause of Permanent Unrest All Support to the Cuban Workers!

Wall Street's most important semi-colony, Cuba, is now in the throes of a nation-wide general strike. Martial law has been declared. The death penalty has been decreed for all those offering open opposition to the government. The trade unions have been dissolved.

Ark. Workers College Is In Danger

By GERRY ALLARD

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—Commonwealth Labor College, the Arkansas trail blazer for workers' education, is in danger. The state legislature of Arkansas, a special investigating committee, the Ku Klux Klan, and other landlord-capitalist agencies are working overtime to wreck the proletarian institution—product of ten years of painstaking work.

The college needs no introduction to the militant labor movement. Back in 1930-31 this institution sent a delegation of teachers and students to black Harlan County, Kentucky, to aid the hungry coal diggers establish a union.

Again when the Illinois miners marched by tens of thousands against the betrayals of John L. Lewis in 1932, Commonwealth plunged into the struggle and performed courageous work. Though they were the first to be arrested, the Commonwealth delegation performed a role of solidarity with the Illinois miners which the Left wingers haven't forgotten.

When the share cropper situation popped up, right at the door of Commonwealth in Arkansas, again teachers and students laid aside their studies to enter the fight against the reactionaries. Desperate of vast cotton plantations, were quick to intensify their reign of terror. Ploppings, kidnappings, jailings and threatened lynchings became the order of the day.

Lucien and Raymond Koch, Commonwealth teachers, were arrested, beaten and thrown into jail. The raiders had a noose with them. Horace Bryant, an unemployed organizer in western Arkansas was arrested and charged with anarchy. C. C. Williams, a clergyman was also arrested. Other laborites, preachers, A. F. of L. members, etc. are being arrested and threatened daily.

Summarily a bill was introduced in the Arkansas house of representatives aimed to destroy the labor movement in the state, and especially designed to wreck Commonwealth College.

The labor movement must answer these attacks with a real united counter movement.

ions have been declared dissolved. A great struggle is under way between the workers, professionals and students on the one hand and the agents of American imperialism on the other. Hundreds of thousands of the most oppressed people under Wall Street's domination are desperately attempting to overthrow the Sugar Trust's Cuban lackeys.

For weeks, strikes and bombings have harassed the Mendieta government which in turn has replied with a reign of terror against all of its adversaries. A strike of teachers and students, spread from one province to the other, extended to various industries and professions. As this issue of the New Militant goes to press, practically all labor and professional groups in Cuba, including most of the government employees as well as on strike. The nation is paralyzed. The capitalist press reports the strike is being broken by military terror. Its accounts are obviously exaggerated.

The present outburst in Cuba came as a surprise to no one acquainted with recent developments on the island. The very narrow social base that Mendieta once had, as with Machado in 1934, has been washed away from under him until his sole supports today are the army under Batista and American imperialism, represented by Jefferson Caffery.

Cuban Labor

In spite of division and persecution, the Cuban labor movement has recently conducted a number of exceedingly militant struggles. The increasing poverty of the masses following the loss of the gains made during the "Autentico" (Gruau San Martin) regime (Sept. 1933-Jan. 1934), drove them again to militant action and revolutionary struggle. New revolutionary conspiracies and terrorist activities of the petty-bourgeois parties and groups alternated with strikes of the workers on plantations and in the mills. In some places the peasants and agricultural workers seized landed estates.

The impotence of the government increased as the waves of the new upsurge washed away its social base. The general political strike is but the culmination of a whole series of violent, bloody struggles, which open the way for new revolutionary advances of the Cuban masses.

A Crisis Regime

The Mendieta regime was also in crisis and has lived in a state of permanent crisis. Time and again when its life appeared threatened, the imperialist masters were obliged to take steps to prolong it. Among these measures were the renoucement of privileges under the "Platt Amendment" by which the United

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N.U.L. Paper Announces Club For Jailed Heroes of Labor

Formation of the John Brown Honor Society, with Tom Mooney as honorary president, "to honor all workers arrested in the fight for the right of the working people" is announced in a front page story in the first issue of Mass Action, organ of the National Unemployed League, which has just come off the press.

Members of the 56-or-Nore Club

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—Business Manager.

Roosevelt OK's Machine Gun Squads Formed In Sacramento

Below we reproduce excerpts from a column, "Sacramento" in the Sacramento Union. It reveals what the good citizens of Sacramento are preparing for workers who engage in "strikes and other disturbances"—machine guns, riot guns, gas.—And all with the approval of President Roosevelt and the Federal authorities!

"Vigilante talk in the criminal syndicalism trial has caused several readers to inquire if a secret 'Ku Klux' organization is being formed in Sacramento to exterminate radicals and stir up trouble. The answer is no. There is no secret organization being built up. There is an official special police system being formed at the request of President Roosevelt and federal authorities.

"These special police are picked men, voluntarily enrolled in a corps that is being given strict military and police training with the full knowledge and authority of Police Chief Hallanan and his department. . . .

"The purpose of these special officers . . . is to create a special defense organization in event of disturbance by radicals. Their selection and their activities are strictly within the law, and part of the law. . . . It is an emergency arrangement, not due to any im-

mediate danger, but one inspired by the San Francisco general strike.

"Citizens are not being spied on or annoyed, except those who are regularly watched by the federal government's secret agents. The radical movement has always been kept under careful scrutiny and will be so long as it foments strikes or other disturbances. We have no vigilantes in the community, just a reserve police force functioning without cost to the taxpayer and organized as a precautionary and defensive measure for service whenever needed."

"The nature of this 'precautionary and defensive' police force, 'within the law, and part of the law' is shown in another item, from the Sacramento Bee:

"MITTELSTAEDT IS TO TRAIN

"POLICE TO QUELL RIOTS

"One of the first official acts of Colonel R. E. Mittelstaedt when he assumes the newly created duties of police commissioner next Monday will be to inaugurate a training course in combatting gang warfare and riotous demonstrations.

"Special squads will be selected and trained in the use of sub-machine guns, riot guns and tear gas bombs."

(Continued on Page 3)

Roosevelt Gives A.F.ofL. Cold Shoulder on Auto Board, Codes, Relief

C.P. Leadership Can't Be Trusted

Write Former Members to Comrade Who Asks Them to Come Back to Party

We print below a letter of invitation to rejoin the Communist Party received by Comrades Taylor and Terry of New York together with their reply to the invitation. The reply should prove of particular interest in a discussion on important problems of trade union policy.—Ed. Note.

Dear Fred:

Would you please read this over (Daily Worker clipping) and see whether it doesn't fit your own case? The C.P. is taking real new action along the lines which you and I have always thought necessary and desirable—a great many old sectarian notions are being dropped and it seems a shame you and Jack too—can't get in now when the work is beginning to show results. When am I going to see you? —TED.

Theodore Weeks, New York City

Dear Ted:

Jack and I have read your letter with great interest and here is our reply:

You write "The C. P. is taking real new action along the lines which you and I always thought was necessary. . . ." Is the party really taking "new action", i.e., change of trade union policy and tactics? If so, when has the party leadership publicly proclaimed this change of policy and tactics? . . . Have the worker-communists in the lower ranks of the party discussed this "new action" and has the party leadership changed its trade-union policy in accordance with the experiences of the worker-communists who are in the trade unions?

In the 1929 Draft-Outline of the T.U.U.L.—pp. 22-23-24—we read: "The so-called Muste opposition . . . aims at reestablishing the prestige and organization of the discredited A.F.L. leaders. . . . In this period of rationalization and speed-up, of radicalization of the workers, the

NOTE ON BOSTON BRANCH

The Boston Branch of the Workers Party is now well established at 12 Hayward Place, situated in the heart of the city. These new headquarters, consisting of several rooms, are open every evening and on Sunday afternoons, with a party member in charge to welcome all those who care to come in.

The weekly meeting of the branch takes place on Thursday evenings. These meetings are divided into two parts: the first part given over to party business is closed; the second part which is devoted to education and current events is open to non-members. The branch membership has increased by over 30 percent.

Contest Note

Big Gains in Middle West Chicago, New York lagging Forging ahead this week are Cincinnati, Davenport and Youngstown all tying with a 40 percent score. Minneapolis comes next with no gains since last report. Louisville has achieved 20 percent in the first week.

Compared with these scores the 9 percent of New York and the 5 percent of Chicago do not stand up very well. More concentrated effort is needed in these cities which should be leading the way. Philadelphia is doing a bit better with a score of 16 percent, but even that needs improvement.

Plentywood has achieved 20 percent and Worcester 10 percent. Considering the difficulties involved these scores are not to be censured. But San Francisco, with only 15 percent certainly could do better.

All other branches have a score of less than 15 percent. It is time that they get busy and put in some real intensive work on the drive. Especially should Toledo, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Newark, Boston, Columbus and Los Angeles be able to make a better showing by next week.

There are still some branches from which we have had no subs at all. They are listed here as a reminder. This means that it is time for you to show some results: Akron, Biloxi, Buffalo, Charles-

ton, Cleveland, Dickson City, Fort Wayne, Mineola, Mt. Carmel, Oakland, Peterson, Salt Lake City, Springfield, Staunton, Throop, Washington, D.C., Winston Salem and Waukegan.

Comrades in branches are urged to take up the matter of the drive with their literature agents. See that the drive is put on the agenda of branch meetings and that definite plans are made for intensive work to achieve our goal. Send in reports. You are interested in the progress of other branches and they want to know what you are doing. But don't wait for branch action. Go right out yourself among your friends and fellow workers. Get them to subscribe. Send your remittance directly or through your literature agent. If you send it yourself be sure to mention (a) your name, (b) your branch, if connected with the W.P., (c) that you want this sub credited in the drive, (d) full name and address of subscriber. Note that subs will not be credited unless this information accompanies the remittance.

Subs on combination offer will be credited only if remittance is payable directly to the New Militant.

And now—another week of effort! Let's get all the percentages up to—well over—the 50 percent mark by the 15th of this month! We can do it!

we will quote W. Z. Foster's "Little Brothers of the Big Labor Fakers", 1931 (pp. 4-5-6): "The A. F. of L. is an employers' tool. . . . When unorganized workers undertake to organize and fight they cannot use the A. F. of L. . . . The A. F. of L. leaders will split the unions rather than let the workers capture and use them for fighting purposes". . . . This was declared in 1931 and culminated in the famous C. P. announcement (1934) that it is necessary to build an "independent federation".

The end of 1934 and the beginning of 1935 again brought a reversal of the Stalinist "policy" suddenly and without discussion. No less and no more than the liquidation of the "necessary" independent unions. . . . At one time we stated at a leading fraction meeting of the building trades that the independent Alteration Painters Union must enter the A. F. of L. to strengthen the class struggle elements within the Painters Brotherhood (A. F. of L.) and we were branded "opportunists". . . . Now look at the speed with which the party leadership is "throwing" the Alteration Painters Union into the A. F. of L. Of course now there is nothing much left to "throw" in but the attempt is made, and in a manner that will only further discredit the former.

In one and the same year (1934) we are told: 1) to build an "independent federation" and 2) to liquidate independent unions and to "build and strengthen the A. F. of L." What does this latest zig-zag represent? . . . A sudden swing against further zigzags to the right or to the "left"? . . . To ask this question after what we have indicated above is, to say the very least, naive.

This leadership swings to the right or to the "left" but has no independent policy of its own. There can be no guarantee against further changes of policy by the centrist party leadership.

Comradely yours, ALFRED TERRY JACK TAYLOR

Progressives Suspended From ILG

The necessity for a unified progressive opposition in the I.L.G.W.U. is emphasized by the suspension of two progressive members of Cutters Union Local 10 by the Central Appeals Committee of the International. Oscar Signer and William Zweiborn, members of the Cutters' Welfare League, a Progressive group in Local 10, are the members suspended.

In an appeal to all members of the I.L.G.W.U., the Cutters Welfare League calls upon all progressives to "fight against violations of democratic rights".

The basis for suspension of Signer and Zweiborn, the appeal points out, was the calling of a meeting, by the Cutters Welfare League, of unemployed cutters, with the announced purpose of pushing the local into action on behalf of the unemployed. This was early last winter, when unemployment was at a critical stage. For this action, Zweiborn and Signer were charged with dual unionism and suspended.

On appeal to the General Appeals Committee, the suspension was upheld after a nine months' delay. At the time of his suspension, Zweiborn was manager of the Union Defenders Committee of the Dress Joint Board.

MISERY STALKS FASCIST AUSTRIA VIENNA.—The number of Austrian unemployed receiving public relief has risen to 337,333 during February of 1935. The monthly increase amounts to approximately 3,000 people. One-sixth of the population of the Austrian capital is dependent upon public relief. 51,000 households with a total of 130,000 family members report an income of 20 schillings a month.

Teachers Must Not Rest With Vanderwoude Decision

By a Teacher

A decision handed down by State Commissioner of Education Cole has compelled the New York City Board of Education to appoint some 1,700 qualified teachers to jobs in the city public school system. This decision, the commissioner's reply to a brief filed by one of the eligible teachers, Edith Vanderwoude, finally halts one of the most odious of the numerous "economy" practices of the board; namely, forcing teachers on eligible lists to serve in existing vacancies on a substitute basis.

These teachers had to work at a rate considerably lower than the schedules provided for by state law; moreover, they were deprived of the tenure, increment and pension privileges attached to regular appointment. This practice, the board's contribution to the "economy" program of the banker and realty interests, had been applied so extensively that in some of the largest high schools "substitutes" comprised fully 75 percent of the teaching staff. The effectiveness of this plan as a method of using one group of teachers to force another into submission is evident.

What of the future? The Vanderwoude decision, definitely establishing the impermissibility of compelling eligible workers as substitutes in existing vacancies, is a victory for the teachers. The labor press, in its jubilation, has failed to analyze the nature and consequence of the victory. Serious teachers must not be content solely with winning concessions. They must inquire: What is the result of this victory in terms of building a militant movement? For victories which do not at the same time result in building a movement can be washed away tomorrow.

Let us analyze the victory. 1,700 teachers are affected immediately, are assigned to jobs at the regular rates of pay. But several thousand similarly situated teachers are not actually nearer to getting jobs. Moreover, a number of teachers who were working at the substitute pay rates are now without work at all.

Purely Legal Fight The fight was conducted on a purely legal basis. The Teachers Union of New York participated in it only to the extent of contributing \$50 to help defray legal expenses. It stood by passively, while another organization, the New York Association of Unappointed Teachers, pushed the issue to its conclusion. The union has about 2,000 in its ranks; the Unappointed about 60. The union has prestige and influence. The Unappointed is generally unknown and has very little influence.

Since the fight was won on a purely legal basis, the result must tend to strengthen the illusions of the teachers in the "just" charac-

ter of the capitalist state institutions. To teachers who do not understand what is involved, it must appear that an abuse was corrected by an appeal to the state! All that is required is a capable lawyer to draw up legal documents and justice will take its course. Then what is the necessity for a union? In this sense the victory can be construed as a rebuff to the union movement. This result might have been avoided and positive steps in the militant education of teachers taken, had the necessary legal fight been supported by mass and union pressure.

Role of the Union Jointly responsible are the leadership of the union and the Progressive Group, one of its left-wing groups. The leadership of the union is right-wing Socialist in the main. Its support is in the higher salaried teachers. Its policy is limited to lobbying in Albany. It is not interested in the condition and needs of the unemployed and the partly employed. That is why it could ignore for years the needs of these teachers, and finally look on placidly while another organization conducted a struggle which the union was duty-bound to lead.

It was the duty of the group which claimed to be progressive to conduct a struggle in the union against this leadership; to have the union take up this fight. But it was not its duty to build an organization of union members and teachers eligible for union membership outside the union, and make this organization the "leader" of the fight for appointments.

Yet this is precisely what the Progressive Group did. In the fall of 1931 it set up and has led ever since the New York Association of Unappointed Teachers. The union is now reaping the fruits of this policy.

Struggle Within the Union So will the Progressive Group. In the union it wages a struggle with the right-wing Socialist leadership. And strange as it may seem, the axis of the struggle according to its own analysis is precisely the question of the leadership's line of limiting its efforts almost exclusively to lobbying and legal fights, versus the real progressive's line of mass pressure to back up the lobbying and legal fights. Yet the victory which the offspring of the Progressive Group claims all for itself must strengthen the reformist leadership against the Progressive Group. Such is the result of the Progressive Group policy, essentially factional.

Teachers should repudiate such policies. They should demand that the union fight for the interests of the teachers; and by fight, we do not mean legal fights alone, we mean primarily mass pressure by the teachers and the labor movement of which they should be an organic part.

Administration Getting Ready for Large Scale Wage Cutting Drive Against Unions

By ARNE SWABECK

The rift between the Roosevelt administration and the A. F. of L. leadership has widened, all indications to the contrary notwithstanding. First President Roosevelt, despite the vehement objections from the A. F. of L. officialdom, extended the automobile agreement of last year, which legalized the company union, and extended the life of the Kollman had been consulted prior Sloan of General Motors and Walter Chrysler together with Leo Woolman had been consulted prior to the extension of the agreement, but the opinions of Bill Green were not solicited. And except for the subsequent "gracious" reception given at the White House, permitting Bill Green to introduce by name to the President each one of the members of the Executive Council, nothing was done to mend the rift, not to speak of dealing with the real grievances of the automobile workers.

President Roosevelt next announced the tobacco code with its 40-hour week regulation and the 25 to 40 cents an hour minimum wage, and again over the objections of the A. F. of L. official leadership. To the impassioned criticism made by the latter of S. Clay Williams as chairman of the National Industrial Recovery Board President Roosevelt answered in his "Dear Bill" letter to Green informing him that the former chairman of the notorious open shop R. J. Reynolds tobacco company was a devoted public servant. However soothing this may have appeared to Bill Green, it could mean only another kick in the face in so far as the administration's attitude to the issue of union organization is concerned.

Finally, the insistence of the Roosevelt administration upon a \$50 per month maximum wage for workers on relief projects will unquestionably receive the unstinted support of all the magnates of finance and industry. With that will go an effort to squelch the so-called labor lobby in Congress.

A number of other measures are pending before Congress which will, if anything, tend to widen further the present open rift. There is, for example, the 30-hour week bill. On numerous occasions the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers Association have voiced their determined opposition to this bill. It is a well-known fact that the Roosevelt administration sees eye to eye with them and the hopes pinned by these labor leaders upon the government for support in return for their miserable failure of union organization are due for another blast. Thus, there need be no doubt that the rift is brought about by the initiative of President Roosevelt. That is why there is something real about it.

Serious Problems Ahead These issues which stand out in the recent events in Washington foreshadow the serious problems that the trade union movement will henceforth have to face. In fact, the breach between Roosevelt and the labor leaders is merely the prelude to a wage-cutting campaign on a large scale that is now in preparation. It is signaled by the proposed \$50 monthly maximum wage for workers on relief projects. But the issues go even deeper. They will raise the very question of life or death to the trade union movement.

Of course, the labor leaders are correct when they insist that two wage levels, a higher for private industry and a lower for government relief work, cannot be maintained. The higher rate will be forced down to the lower rate. At first the unemployed workers who are dependent upon relief will be compelled to work for the low rate. Economic experts will next get busy and manipulate statistics to show that workers on relief projects get by on the \$50 monthly maximum wage, that they can keep on producing on that wage rate, that the family budget can be shaved down to that level and that there is, therefore, no valid reason for paying more in private industry. Wage reductions will be on the order of the day in every industry and it stands to reason that one of its inescapable accompaniments will be in the first instance well-prepared and deliberate efforts to chain the trade union movement to a system of compulsory arbitration in which strikes are outlawed. Falling in that, there will be sure to follow the most fierce campaign

yet witnessed to exterminate the trade union movement.

What Is Being Done? The most serious questions now arise before every active trade unionist. What is the leadership of the movement doing to defend and to maintain its right of existence? What are the organizations doing to prepare for a serious battle?

To the A. F. of L. Executive Council is credited a powerful lobby in Congress. Its success to date cannot be said to have been very startling and certainly it holds out much less prospects for the future. So long that it serves merely as a shield for the actual failure of organization and struggle it can only have fatal consequences to the movement. In reality that is all this lobby is today.

The Executive Council has decided that it will not undertake to organize the steel industry. It is too busy with the automobile industry. William Green has even made a tour of the automobile centers and in his public addresses assured the manufacturers that the A. F. of L. does not intend to strike the plants. All it asks is a fair deal. Such a message does not sound very inspiring to the automobile workers. After all, they have also had their experiences and very likely learned by this time that nothing can be gained unless they fight for it. Consequently the meetings of Bill Green were not very enthusiastically attended. In Detroit less than two thousand workers showed up, which compares very poorly with the great overflow meetings held by A. F. of L. leaders last year. But that was before the sell-out agreement had been signed by them. Now the automobile workers' unions show a serious drop in membership despite the fact that there have been many indications of a sentiment for organization amongst the workers provided they are shown how to organize and how to get somewhere. The A. F. of L. campaign of organization does not meet with great response. The automobile manufacturers are, of course, opposed to it. The Wollman Board tells the workers that if they join the A. F. of L. it cannot help them. The A. F. of L. leaders offer nothing except its replacement by the National Industrial Relations Board*. The inducements for joining the union under these conditions are slim indeed.

A serious response by the automobile workers to the call for a strike, opposed to it. The Wollman Board tells the workers that if they join the A. F. of L. it cannot help them. The A. F. of L. leaders offer nothing except its replacement by the National Industrial Relations Board*. The inducements for joining the union under these conditions are slim indeed.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Minneapolis, Minn. March 23, Saturday at 8 P.M.—Card Party and Entertainment to welcome the return of the Branch delegation to the Pittsburgh conference. To be held at the Branch headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S. Admission 25c. Refreshments included.

Philadelphia, Pa. Regular Sunday evening forums at Branch headquarters. New York City Thursday, March 21, 8 P.M.—A. J. Muste will speak on "The Meaning of the Recent Developments in the S.P." Auspices Bronx Branch. Friday, March 22, 8 P.M.—A. J. Muste on "Impending Strike Struggles in the Basic Industries". Auspices East Side Branch, Grand Central Palace, 86 Clinton St. Sunday, March 24, 8 P.M.—Canon Mass Meeting, Irving Plaza. "The Class Struggle in the West". Speaker: James P. Cannon. See ad. Monday evening, March 25—Theatre Party, "The Black Pit", Clivie Repertory Theatre. Lillian Bord, New York district office, in charge of tickets.

mobile workers to a campaign of organization cannot be expected until the unions break off completely from the sell-out tradition established by the reactionary leadership. It may take a few more kicks in the face from the Roosevelt administration to do it, but we may rest assured that such kicks will not be lacking. What must follow next must be an aggressive policy of organization. The very life and existence of the trade-union movement depends upon that.

*The Executive Council has decided that the automobile workers are to have a separate charter for an international union, but it is not to include the tool and die makers or the maintenance men, nor is it to take effect until June, that is, not until after this season is over. This alone should verify that the strike vote now conducted by the automobile workers federal unions, with the actual call for a strike, however, left to Wm. Green, can have no serious meaning. But it is only one of the straws in the wind indicating that the Executive Council is determined to resist any move for industrial unionism. At its recent meeting the Mill, Mine and Smelter Workers Union appealed against a decision to split up the workers in the Butte copper mines among craft unions, leaving in the main only semi-skilled and unskilled workers to the mine union. John Frey of the Metal Trades Department, supported by Arthur Wharton of the machinists and by other craft union chiefs, succeeded in thwarting any attempt of industrial union jurisdiction.

TO ALL BRANCHES AND PROSPECTIVE ADVERTISERS 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. —Business Manager

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Sunday, 8 p.m., March 24th -- Irving Plaza JAMES P. CANNON On His Return from a Coast to Coast Tour WITH Speak On The Class Struggle in the West The Aftermath of the San Francisco General Strike Criminal Syndicalism and the Sacramento Case A Visit to Tom Mooney Agricultural Strikers and Vigilantes Epic Planners and Utopians The Rise of the Workers Party of the U. S. Tickets in Advance 15 cents, 2 West 15th Street (3rd floor)

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(Continued from Page 1)

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

A Dangerous Alliance

An item in the press recently, in connection with the General Johnson-Huey Long controversy, reveals a growing line-up of forces that may prove of the utmost danger to the working class.

The danger to the proletariat from these elements can hardly be exaggerated. They are the symbols heralding the conversion or transformation of the capitalist offensive to terrorize the working class so as to stop further organizing of the unorganized, into a fascist mass movement.

The Labor Party Fallacy

Nothing reveals more clearly the utter fallacy and bankruptcy of those who call for the formation of an American labor party, than a speech by Alfred Bingham, Farmer-Laborite supporter and editor of Common Sense.

Mendieta Sustained By Wall Street Army Alone

(Continued from Page 1)

States had, since 1901, reserved the legal right to intervene in Cuba at any time it saw fit, and the Reciprocal Trade Treaty, signed between the U. S. and Cuba in August of last year for the purpose of saving Cuba and Mendieta for Wall Street.

The first of these measures gave Mendieta a short breathing space from the attacks of the middle class nationalist elements, while the second promised a small degree of economic improvement.

These two "concessions" were such in appearance only, as the trade treaty also reacted in favor of American exporters whose Cuban trade had fallen off five-sixths in four years, and the Platt Amendment had outgrown its usefulness and no longer fitted in with the "pacifist" policies of the U. S. State Department.

A Single Product Country But the general contradictions of capitalist economy are inevitably sharper in such "single product" countries as Cuba (over eighty per cent of Cuba's economic life is sugar; eighty-five per cent of the capital invested in Cuba is American controlled).

The chain of American imperialist economy is today strained to the utmost and is threatening to break at its Cuban link. Therefore it is the foremost task of the American workers in their struggle against the class enemy, to extend their solidarity to their Cuban fellow workers so that by the joint efforts of both, a really serious blow may be dealt imperialism.

the clutches of the capitalists through an apparently working class party which is in actuality a third capitalist party, the vanguard must gain control of the movement by rallying the toilers around a program of proper immediate demands.

To separate immediate demands from the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat means to foster illusions in the minds of workers. It means to hold out the hope that the worker can win security and a better life by fighting for concessions under capitalism. This is all the more illusory in this period of the decline of capitalism when the bosses, far from granting more concessions, are actually wiping out all the previous "sops" granted to the workers.

Our task is not to traffic on the ignorance and backwardness of the masses, not to attempt to win them unawares and by stealth, but on the contrary, to enlighten them and to show them the necessary steps to take along the road to power.

Shall We Compete with Fascism?

When it comes to immediate demands as such, divorced from a revolutionary program, we cannot hope to compete with the fascist demagogues of fake "promises". Our answer to the demagogues of the Huey Longs and the Father Coughlins is not a different brand of demagoguery, but enlightenment and our revolutionary answers concerning the meaning of events.

He was peeved that Long and Coughlin were stealing a march on the Farmer-Labor Party (which might be substituted by any other labor party). As the New York Times reported: "The movement for a third party under radical-progressive leadership that is rising in the West is in imminent danger of being captured by the 'demagogic movement' headed by Huey Long and Father Coughlin, it was asserted last night by leaders of the Farmer Labor Political Federation."

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

Why Join the Workers Party

By A. J. MUSTE

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

Fellow Worker:

In my last letter I wrote about how the Workers Party came into existence, after many years of splits and disintegration in the radical movement, as a new unifying center for the revolutionary forces.

When we speak of our party as "revolutionary" we mean, on the one hand, that its aim is revolutionary and on the other hand that we believe in the revolutionary method. We do not believe that the masses can be delivered from poverty, unemployment, degradation, war, by any reform of the capitalist system under which we live.

We do not believe that the workers and their allies can overthrow the capitalist state, governmental system, and the capitalist economic system by purely legal, "democratic", peaceful, parliamentary methods. They will have to take the revolutionary road to their goal.

An Example of Reform

As for curing the ills of the workers by reforming capitalism, we have just been living through two years of the Roosevelt New Deal which was to do just that. And you know only too well what that has got us.

This takes place in a country where everybody could have a decent, comfortable home, plenty of attractive clothing, abundant food, educational opportunity, money for travel and amusement, if factories were not standing idle, food being plowed under, and so on.

There is always some one who promises the workers to fix things up. Hoover with his chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage. Roosevelt with his New Deal. Huey Long with a house, automobile and radio for everybody. Isn't it about time that the workers realized what Marx taught long ago that it does not make any difference how well-meaning these capitalist saviors may be, there is no way out for the masses under capitalism?

For example, you tell employers that we now have a New Deal, no one is to get below a certain minimum, everybody is to get high wages so "the masses may have purchasing power to buy the output of our mass production" and then turn around and tell the boss that he must run his business at a profit in competition with other bosses, and his chief concern is necessarily to put his prices up as high as possible and to keep his costs, including his labor costs, as low as possible.

For the moment the wage rates are maintained, the boss looks for some other way to squeeze out profit, as by putting in "labor-saving" machinery and putting workers out on the street. The steel barons have a new process with which 1,000 men can turn out as much as 32,000 do now. Out of every 320 now employed 304 can be fired and the other 16 do the work!

General Trend Today

Under capitalism, in this its period of decline, the general trend is toward greater misery for the workers. Capitalists make their profits by paying the worker in wages a smaller value than he creates by laboring. The capitalist thus gets what Marx calls surplus value. It is the only way profit can be created.

At an earlier period capitalism found a way out by getting outlets for surplus capital, possibilities of exploitation, etc. in so-called "backward countries". But as the situation grows more tense in the advanced capitalist countries and the "backward countries" also become industrialized, it is a case of bigger and hungrier dogs fighting for fewer and fewer bones. Terrific and awful wars break out. We have had one world-war. Another is in the making.

Things might be better. Plenty and security can be had. But even if the American working class were willing to accept meekly the fifty percent cut in its standard of living since 1929, it will not be given the "privilege". Capitalism will force the standard lower and again lower. It will lead the masses to slaughter unless they take things into their own hands.

Thus the workers become convinced that capitalism cannot be reformed, it must be abolished.

For the most part, however, the workers who have reached this conviction have been under the influence of the "Social-Democratic" philosophy of the Socialist parties and the Second International. According to this philosophy, we can gradually replace capitalism with socialism and we can do it by peaceful, parliamentary, "democratic" means.

Riding in Opposite Directions

What has happened in Germany and other countries since the war shows plainly enough that this philosophy of "Gradualism" means ruin for the workers and their movement. The idea of running a capitalist and a Socialist, a profit and non-profit, system side by side is crazy. It is like trying to ride on two horses going in opposite directions.

The Pacific Movement

Japanese Imperialism Stirs Up Race Hatred in America

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

The Pacific Movement of the Western World has been organized in the United States by Japanese agents and Negro nationalists to create solidarity among the "darker races" against the "white race". Seeking to establish itself as the imperialist power in the Orient, the Japanese government is endeavoring to make allies of the oppressed American Negroes on the basis of "color" relationship.

Branches of this movement are located in all of the large cities where Negroes reside. It is growing daily in numbers and influence among the Negro masses.

For Japan finds herself in a critical position. Her natural resources are limited and her opportunities for expansion are blocked by the imperialist aims of other world powers. She must undersell her American and European rivals to gain monopoly of the oriental market, or by demagogic maneuvers, entrench herself so as to make European and American economic aggression in the east impossible without a serious war.

"Friend" of the Negro

Thus Japan has taken advantage of the unrest existing among oppressed peoples in other capitalist nations, and, through her agents, poses as the "friend" of the American Negro. In this new venture, the powerful Japanese who control the government, and oppress the Japanese workingman, hide their ambition and greed behind the thin cloak of "friendship" for the American Negro workers.

Japan points with pride to her victory over Tsarist Russia. She teaches that this was a conflict between races, rather than rival imperialist interests, which served as a prelude for the overthrow of "White Civilization" and for the establishment of a "Darker Civilization" in its stead.

However, let us turn our attention to the history of the birth and development of Japanese imperialism in the Orient. When Admiral Perry entered Japan in 1854, he found the country in a state of feudalism, and for some years after, Japan remained reluctant to accept Western capitalist culture.

In 1894 she engaged in war with China. The price of her victory was Korea, which she gained from China in 1895. However, by 1900 the Chinese peasants joined hands with the Chinese bourgeoisie in a relentless effort to drive out Japanese overlords.

But if weak, backward China could not defend herself, Tsarist Russia was not going to stand by and see her "dear friend" China fall into the hands of Japan, since imperialist Russia also had her eye on the rich booty Japan had captured from the Chinese.

crisis is not resolved; it gets worse.

There was a time when capitalism was able to make concessions to the workers, better the standard of living, without cutting into profits. Then the "gradualism" of the social-democratic parties and the unions brought certain results. Now capitalism maintains itself only by taking away concessions—wage rates, social insurance benefits, etc.—which it once gave. To stick to "gradualism" now means one retreat after another for the workers.

Furthermore, "democratic" methods accomplish nothing. For capitalism itself destroys every vestige, every pretense, of democracy and maintains itself at last by means of an open, brutal, fascist dictatorship. Capitalism will inevitably do this everywhere.

Why? Because capitalism must drive the standard of living lower all the time. In face of this, if the masses have any freedom at all, any union or party no matter how conservative, meek, legal, respectable, peaceful, they will offer resistance. They will fight for mere existence. Therefore capitalism wipes out "democracy", smashes every trade union, farmers' organization, political party. The workers cannot save themselves or their movement by being humble and cautious.

Right here in the U. S. today workers are killed in strikes when they try to assert their right to

collective bargaining under Section 7a of N.R.A. The militia is called out against them, not against the bosses! Radical parties are kept off foot to deprive the unemployed of the right to vote.

Under these circumstances, to rely on "democracy", to say that we will gain our ends by electing a president and a majority of congress pretty soon, is to disarm the working class while capitalism arms itself to smash us. That is what the Social Democracy has done.

History gives us no instance of a ruling class which voluntarily gives up its power. It took the English Revolution, the French, the American, to smash feudalism. It took four years of civil war in these United States to smash the slaveholding aristocracy of the South (even after a president and congress representing a new class had been elected by parliamentary methods) and to put the new capitalist class in power.

The capitalists will not quietly land over their power to us, fellow worker. We cannot use the capitalist state, system of government, whose very purpose is to maintain capitalism, in order to overthrow it. We have to smash the capitalist state and put the workers' state in its place. Then we can begin to build a new society on new foundations.

(A third letter will be published in the next issue of the New Militant)

Wall Street's Priest

(Continued from Page 1)

July 1930, called on Father Coughlin to testify.

Although the police chiefs of Flint and Pontiac, the President of the Detroit Citizens Committee, and the personnel manager of General Motors, all testified that there was nothing to fear from the Communists (and who would be quicker to bolster a red scare than police chiefs, citizens committees and personnel managers?) Father Coughlin alone testified that the red menace was acute.

With an eye to publicity and perhaps to his own welfare, he charged that none other than Henry Ford was the man responsible for the insidious advance of communism in Detroit... because he had signed a contract for \$13,000,000 with the Soviet Union!

Why did he pick on Henry Ford? We can only record that four Fisher brothers, who all sit on the board of directors of General Motors, are Catholics, and their mother is a member of Father Coughlin's flock. General Motors, of course, did not sign a contract for \$13,000,000 with the Soviet Union.

On October 5, 1930, as a reward for his stalwart battle against Communism and the Red Serpent, Father Coughlin was promoted from a small three station hookup to a nation-wide hookup on the Columbia system. His affairs began to run into money. A \$750,000 Shrine under way, \$200,000 more for the hookup, perhaps \$100,000 more for publicity, mailing receipts, secretaries, etc. Where does he get it?

We confess we don't know. There is a story, a sort of fairy tale goes the rounds, that his listeners, millions strong, support his colossal business with contributions, a few cents here, a few cents there. We can't deny his tale, for Father Coughlin has never allowed anyone to look into his affairs. However, if we don't know where he gets the original capital, we do know how he tried to increase it, how he has involved in a nice little deal in silver, some five hundred thousand ounces, which might have netted him a neat profit.

LIBERALS

(With Quotations From the Authorities)

LIBERALS are a sensible breed, Well-tempered and soft-spoken; Truth in the middle is their creed, And the peace that's never broken. They view with calm and liquid eye The smoke and storm of battle. Wretched millions scream and die; They see them die like cattle, And coldly talk of what they've seen In terms of the sum and total, Considered through the golden mean Of the dead Greek, Aristotle. They "deplore" and "find regrettable This epoch's wretched madness" That "for convictions most debatable Cause all this cosmic sadness" And call "for a moment's thinking Of just and impartial sort To keep the ship of state from sinking

And bring it safe to port." If one would ask which ship of state Or which the proper port? "These questions only agitate, And they furthermore abort The movement to pacificate This raging social sea, Torn by greed and racial hate And partisanry." For "Violence is the Major crime, And Peace the major goal; And change will come in God's own time With Progress of mind and soul." Yes, Liberals are gods of common-sense, And so it isn't strange That wanting change without violence, They'll get violence without change. —LOUIS BREMER

NEW MILITANT

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The Hoey Long Way

HOEY LONG says to the press, "Organize a Share-the-Wealth Club and elect me President. Then you can have a house, auto, radio plus \$2,500 a year."

Hoover said, "Elect me President and you will have a chicken in every pot and two automobiles in every garage."

Hoey Long says, "Roosevelt is a flop. Elect me President and you will have a house, car, radio, etc."

Long plays the capitalists' game. Long also prepares the way for Fascism, for the ruin of the masses, because he distracts attention from the one way in which they can get freedom and plenty.

Forget the Hoey Long palaver! Do not expect him to give you the factories, the mines, the houses that you have built!

Ask Long why he helped to smash the longshoremen's strike! Why he keeps the workers in the Lane Cotton Mills in peonage!

Build the unions! Build the Unemployed Leagues! Build the revolutionary party! That is the Only Way Out!

A Bloc with Reformists?

IS the Communist Party preparing to make a bloc with "liberal" politicians to form a Labor Party? To make not only a zig-zag to the right but a leap out into empty space?

In New York it is participating in a "united front" anti-Hearst meeting with representatives of the Republican and the Democratic parties!

In the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial, Darcy, C. P. district leader, testifies that "a group of left congressmen" might set up the "new" government to deliver the masses.

An editorial in the Daily Worker for March 11 comments on the organization of a bloc of "liberal" congressmen in Washington. The "test" which, according to this mouthpiece of the infallible revolutionary (?) leader of the masses, the workers must use on these "liberals" is whether they fight against Roosevelt's war appropriations, for the prevailing wage on public works, for H. R. 2827, for civil rights.

If yes—and a "liberal" might easily vote thus—are the workers then to accept these "liberals" on the recommendation of the C.P. as making trustworthy and not false promises to labor? Are these "liberals" then to be included in the mass-class-federated-class struggle—not reformist—not revolutionary—highest form of united front—"Labor Party" which the C. P. is advocating?

The C. P., with all its prestige and apparatus, after six years of crisis knows the masses have no confidence in it, will not respond to its call. Therefore this "Labor Party" cry must be raised. Some typical C. P. "boring-from-within" other organizations, especially unions, is to be pulled off.

The workers, if this trickery succeeds, will be led

straight into a swamp of confusion, into an alliance with "liberal" politicians, into a by-path which can end only in zero results, as did the Federated Farmer Labor Party-LaFollette adventure of the C. P. in 1924.

Our answer to these proposals of "unity" with anybody and anything is: Unity of the revolutionary forces! Build the Workers Party!

The Socialist Party

RECONCILIATION will be the major note at the National Committee meeting of the Socialist Party to be held in Buffalo on March 16 and 17.

Aggressive moves are avoided by both the "Militants" and the Old Guard precisely out of fear of alienating the McLveys, Maurers and Hoans.

However, the nine suspended branches have not been reinstated. The "Militants" have called a meeting to protest the high handed action of the Old Guard.

The appeal for the meeting is addressed: "To All Comrades—Left, Right or Center." It is accompanied by Norman Thomas' open letter to the members of the N. Y. Socialist Party which endorses the "Militants" protest and meeting.

Thomas concludes his appeal: "I ask your support in order to save our party. This he it remembered, is an issue independent of, and infinitely more important than any opinion you may have on the Declaration of Principles, or the United Front."

Unity above principles! Thomas repeats his old slogan; this time with the aim of making the most of the rift between Oneal and Waldman within the Old Guard to win over sections of the Right.

There is as yet no clear Left wing group inside the "Militants". As matters stand now the elements in control are not adverse to compromise. The Socialist Call is intended not as the organ of the centrist "Militants" alone, but a rallying center of all "Socialists", that is, reformists, centrists and revolutionaries.

The probable compromise at Buffalo will settle nothing. For it can take place only on an unprincipled basis. Discontent among militant and revolutionary Socialists is certain to arise.

The need of the moment in the Socialist Party is a clear cut Left wing grouping which will conduct a principled struggle against the Old Guard and reformists and those who conciliate with them.

QUESTION BOX

S. B. BRONX—

Question: Where can I find formulated the idea of the increasing misery of the masses under capitalism?

Answer: Marx summarizes his demonstration of the laws of motion of capitalist society as follows ("Capital", vol. I.): "The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labor, the greater is the industrial reserve army. The same causes which develop the expansive power of capital, develop also the labor-power at its disposal. The relative mass of the industrial reserve army increases therefore with the potential energy of wealth. But the greater this reserve-army in proportion to the active labor-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labor. The more extensive, finally, the lazarus-layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve-army, the greater is the official pauperism. THIS IS THE ABSOLUTE GENERAL LAW OF CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION. Like all other laws it is modified in its workings by many circumstances..." (Emphasis in original.)

S. P. Begins Writing Letters

The Socialist Party is starting a campaign of letters to its members, from at least four places, trying to get them to organize into the Indiana Unemployed Union, which has its base in the small town of Montezuma. Most of the unemployed never heard of the place. The letters come from Lasser, Porter, Rasmussen and other leaders.

The basis for this organization is a factional fight. The Socialist Party of Indiana has withdrawn from the Socialist Party, and in return has been suspended by the National Executive Committee. The fight resulted in rump conventions, a referendum, then another referendum on the first, threats and squabbles of all sorts.

"The Socialists can't organize themselves," a former militant S. P. leader remarked, "so now they are sending us letters from all directions on how to organize the unemployed. I think this Indiana Unemployed Union is just a way for one gang of the S. P. in this state to try to get another gang out."

Hearing of the victories of the N.U.U., Indiana's unemployed welcome the news of the plan to organize the Indiana Unemployed League.

Birchman is staying on the job, with others from the state, while Johnson has gone to Kentucky for the first convention of the Kentucky Unemployed League.

PITY THE POOR OWNERS

"We have before us the instance of a father, with a wife and seven children, working in an apartment... over four years, receiving \$85 a month for 70 hours a week, and compelled to live in part on charity from several directions. They are proof of the increasing distress of building owners..."—From the report of the New York real estate arbitration committee.

Darcy Takes The Stand In Sacramento

(Continued from Page 1)

ism in Russia in 1917 and even went so far as to assign the setting up of the "new" government to "a group of left Congressmen"! Where Mini said that "the workers would have to take hold of the capitalist state and destroy it", Darcy made absolutely no mention of the class nature of the state!

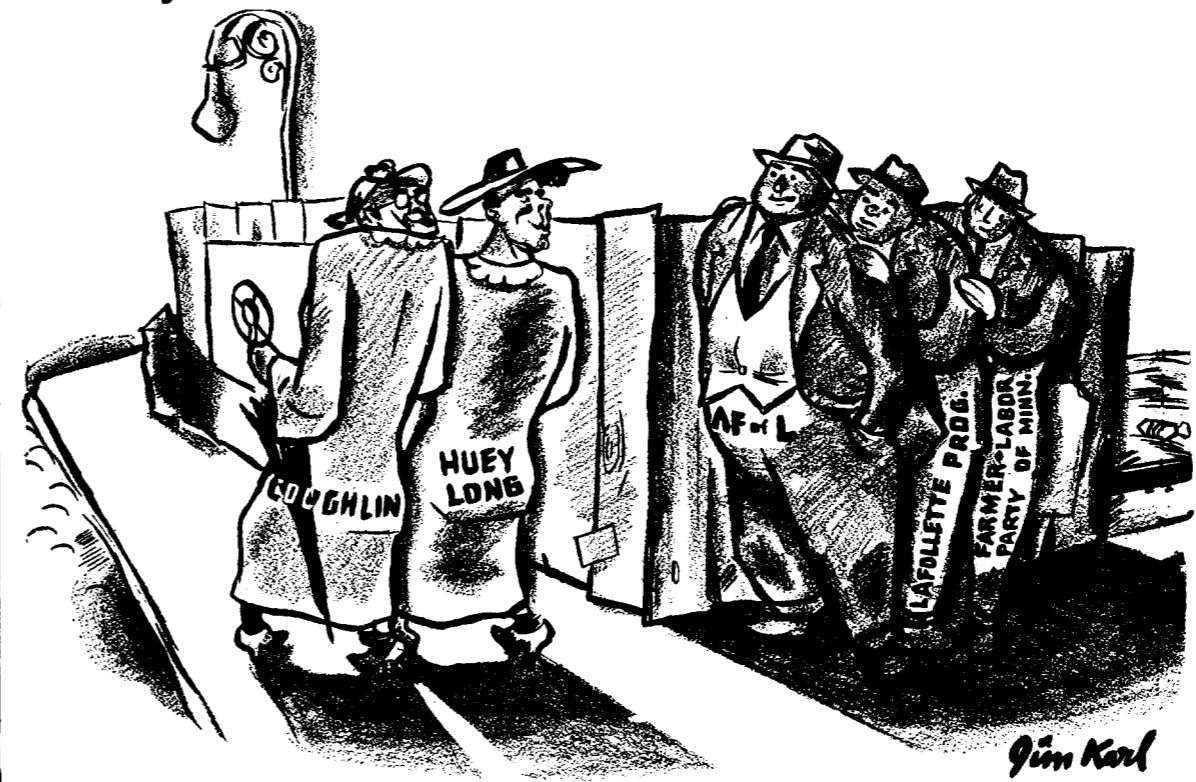
How the C. P. Uses the Courts

Not satisfied with opportunist betrayals of Marxism, the Communist Party is further aggravating the trial by using the capitalist court as a rostrum to denounce its political opponents. No opportunity has been let slip for introducing into the proceedings the maximum amount of Stalinist "argument" against the Socialist Party, the Workers Party and Lovestone.

In this barrage the capitalists as real people and not abstractions—Calif. Packing Corporation, Associated Farmers, Bank of America—have been completely forgotten since the first of the week. The prosecution and the court have contented themselves with playing the merely passive role of ruling out of evidence almost anything that would go to show what the actual policy of the Communist Party (last year's policy!) is.

Outside the courtroom, however,

Will They Make Them?



The Paris Commune

By JOSEPH CARTER

"When the Commune was set up in Paris after the war of 1870, we know what bloody work had to be done by French soldiers to rescue the capital and the country from the deadly menace." (New York Times, February 8, 1934.)

In these words the spokesmen of the American master class rightfully consider themselves the heirs of the butchers of the heroic Paris Commune of three score and four years ago. And four days after this editorial the bloody work against the Communards was repeated in the civilized Europe of today, by the reactionary, Fascist soldiers of Dollfuss against the Austrian workers.

Violence against the oppressed, against the masses, that is patriotism and justice; but violence of the masses against the handful of exploiters for the purpose of building a free and human society, that is treason, a "deadly menace" against which all means are justified.

"All this calumny, which the party of order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims," wrote the founder of the modern militant workers' movement after the suppression of

the Paris Commune, "only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebian while in the hands of the plebian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime."

How true this is to this day! The march of Fascism in Europe, the growth of the vigilante groups in the United States, the terrorism against the trade unions, the Hearst red-baiting campaign, these are the acts of an outlived, but desperate parasitic class which glories in its Paris Commune traditions.

Deadly Menace to Whom?

"The Commune was a deadly menace to the old world, founded on slavery and exploitation," wrote the incomparable leader of the international and Russian working class, Lenin. Provoked by the reactionary national government, the workers, supported by the small shopkeepers of Paris, established their own government on March 18, 1871.

In the seventy days of workers' rule, the church was separated from the state, education was taken out of the hands of the priests, the sys-

tem of fines for workers was abolished, night work for bakers was prohibited, plans made for the taking over by workers' associations of factories and shops abandoned by the former owners.

The standing army, which stood apart from the people as a power for its oppression was replaced by the armed people. The Commune abolished the old apparatus of government and replaced it by an administration in which the officials received the equivalent of the average wages of the Parisian workers. In a word, they rid themselves of the reactionary government and put in its place "a truly democratic proletarian government."

This was too much for the parasites who were accustomed to live by the labor of the masses! The national government of France could not suppress the rebellious workers by itself. The French "national patriots" did not hesitate to call upon their yesterday's enemy-in-war, the Germany of Bismark, to supply hordes to suppress the Paris Commune, murder French workers, destroy Paris. And Bismark willingly supplied the aid. Once again showing the internationalist character of the class struggle, which knows no national borders! An excellent lesson for the workers!

Toll of the Bloody Work

The bloody work was successful. 30,000 Parisians were brutally murdered, about 45,000 were arrested, some executed, thousands were exiled or imprisoned. 100,000 victims was the toll paid by the heroic Paris Communards. In this way, the narrow-minded and short sighted reactionaries thought that they would once and for all do away with the threats of workers' revolution!

What an illusion! For the development of capitalism itself, bringing workers together in large factories, mines and mills, creates the conditions for renewed workers' struggles, for trade union and political organization, for revolutionary action. From the defeat of the Paris Commune the workers learn the lessons of their future conflicts.

The Communards had no strong trade unions or clear headed, trained workers' party. The Parisian workers of 1871 were in the main artisans or workers in small factories. The development of capitalism had not yet reached that stage where the working class could be sufficiently developed to unequivocally go forward to socialism. They had little experience of past workers' battles to go by.

That is why the Communards did not understand the need of concentrating the political power in the hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard, starting an immediate offensive against the national government at Versailles, taking over the national bank, before proceeding with the elections for the Commune.

Russian Workers Learn Lessons of Commune

Drowned in blood, the Commune has remained an inspiration for the producing masses the world over. As the first example of a workers' government it served as the guide to the victorious Russian working class.

They built their revolutionary leadership, the Bolshevik Party, with a clear understanding of the tasks of the revolution.

The Bolshevik Party understood that the old state apparatus, whether its form be that of a monarchy or of a democratic republic, had to be smashed and replaced by workers' institutions. Out of the Russian class struggle arose the Soviets, the councils of workers from the factories, soldiers from the barracks and forts, peasants from the fields. Later the Soviet form arose also in Western Europe, showing that it is not a purely Russian phenomenon.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian workers and peasants, organized in Soviets, overthrew Russian capitalism and established their workers' government as the first stage of the world revolution to usher in international

Banks Increase Control of Gov't. Thru Bond Purchases

NEW YORK.—Franklin D. Roosevelt once talked of driving the money changers from the temple, but today the federal government and the nation's bankers are more closely tied together than at any time in American history.

So large a proportion of the government debt is held by the country's banking system that the picture almost looks like a chart of a holding company system. Now holding 13 of the government's 26 billion dollars' worth of bonds, the banking system has a close rein on government activities. And while they don't actually own voting stock in United States of America, Inc., the nation's bankers do have the financial control and the power to enforce what they "suggest" to Washington.

The facts are revealed in a survey just released by the National Industrial Conference Board which shows the amazing increase in bank holdings of government securities during the depression years.

Who Buys Bonds?

In the 4-year period ending June 30, 1934, the government's interest-

the reactionary campaign against the "reds" continues full blast. The newspapers continue their vicious lies. Vigilantes train openly in Sacramento. Defendant Jack Warnick stumbled upon a group of them drilling with pickhandles last Sunday. When Warnick tried to take down the license numbers of the "cavaliers" cars he was caught, his notes were destroyed, and he was threatened with a beating. When Warnick reported this to the court the attorney general asked "Why doesn't Warnick mind his own business?"

But C.P. Yells Trotskyism

And what is the Communist Party doing about all this? It is intensifying the attack on... Trotskyism! The latest issue of the Western Worker announces, in the main front-page editorial, a "united front" between Hearst and Comrade Trotsky. Covering half of the back page is a "statement", written by the Western Worker's chief hack, Mike Quin, signed by most of the defendants, repeating the state lies against the "disrupters": Jack Warnick, Norman Mini, Attorney Goldman!

It is by tactics like these that the Communist Party is hastening its complete collapse in California. In the meantime it will do its best to disgrace Marxism, to make the ideas of communism the laughing-stock instead of the ideal of the California workers.

By JIM KARL

LEFT . . . JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

Oh, Death, Death!

The "Pacific Weekly", sole offspring of Sam Darcy, Communist Party organizer in California, and Ella Winters, reporting Stratchey's San Francisco address, gurgles—"He spoke of the class struggle in new and delightful ways".

Race Prejudice

In reporting the gangster attack of Ben Gold's (Fur Workers Industrial Union) thugs on members of the Joint Council of Furriers, A. F. of L., the Workers Age (Lovestone) says: "B. Collenberg was attacked by an Italian thug, not a furrier, on the payroll of Ben Gold. This same Italian thug was involved in the crippling of Joe Ferber some months ago." Appeals to race prejudice so strongly and correctly condemned by Lovestone when made by Stalinists in Local 22, I.L.G.W. U., are apparently O.K. in the fur market.

Reviewing the Crisis

IOU—SOS—FDR—NRA — AAA —PDQ—SOL —M.L.

Building the A. F. of L.

From the Swan Song of the T.U. U.L., Daily Worker, March 11, we quote:

"It is no accident that where the T.U.U.L. unions were most active (coal, garment, textile and marine) the workers were most able to build mass unions in the A. F. of L."

It is a fact known to all that the T.U.U.L.—(C. P.)—denounced the A. F. of L. union in each of these industries as "tools of Wall Street", "Fascists", "stool pigeon agencies", "White Guards", etc. etc. Under this barrage "the workers were most able to build mass unions in the A. F. of L." It therefore appears that the Stalinist turn is not a change in policy but in tactics. Finding that the more they attacked the A. F. of L. the more the workers supported it, they have decided to support the A. F. of L. in the hope that this will drive the workers away from it.

From the New York Herald Tribune, March 9, we quote: "The move to glorify Stalin was begun by his colleagues in the Polburo and spread rapidly down through the Communist Party ranks until today it behooves every speaker at a political meeting at Moscow or the provinces to pay glowing tribute to the dictator before taking his seat." A picked group of peasant delegates to the recent collective-farm congress fell into line easily. Here are a few phrases selected from their speeches. Delegate Sid-orov—"Our dearly, our warmly beloved Stalin," and "our beloved friend and comrade, our chief, our Stalin." Delegate Philipenko—"Long live our dear leader, our darling Stalin." Delegate Masonova—"Our shock worker, our best of best, our Stalin."

On this showing it must be admitted that the peasant delegates are one up on the American Stalinists in this international servility competition. However, knowing the flexibility of back-bones and knees plus the readiness of tongue of such "leaders" as Olgin, Browder, Mike Gold, etc., we are sure that they can catch up and surpass any and all contenders before many moons have passed.

Olgin, God, and Father Divine

The New York press reports that M. J. Olgin, editor of The Freiheit, Communist Party Jewish daily, writes in Pravda: "Two hundred and fifty thousand stricken, disease ridden, poverty stricken Negroes live in Harlem. Thousands consider Father Divine their God, and James W. Ford their political leader."

Hailed before Judge Panken on some charge, Father Divine was asked—"Are you God?" Divine had to answer, "No, but thousands of people believe I am and I like them to think so."

If James Ford were to answer truthfully the question—"Are you the political leader of Harlem's Negroes?" he would have to answer—"No but some people like to be fooled and Olgin is the boy to fool them."

socialism. On the basis of the experiences of the Commune they succeeded in warding off internal counter-revolution and imperialist intervention. That is how the present workers' state, the Soviet Union, was established.

Commemorate the Commune—Build Workers Party

The lessons of the Commune and of the Russian revolution must become part of the living movement of the American workers. In the present period, the need of a revolutionary organization which unites the most intelligent, courageous and experienced workers on the basis of these lessons which form an integral part of Marxism, and puts these lessons into daily practice, is greater than ever. The true commemoration of the Paris Commune is the building of the Workers' Party of the United States as a section of the coming Fourth International of revolutionary labor.