

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U.S.

VOL. 1, NO. 14

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

By JACK ELDER

A BIGGER AND BETTER BOARD THE WORKS-RELIEF BILL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Organized labor, the A. F. of L. leaders once again inform the world at large, has no use for strikes as a method of bringing employers to terms. Organized labor would much rather depend on laws which "guarantee" the right of collective bargaining, and on government boards "empowered" to put such laws into effect.

So argue Green and Company in defense of the Wagner Labor Relations Bill, upon which the Senate Labor Committee is now conducting hearings. Pass this bill, they plead with the committee members. If you don't pass it, they warn, wage-earners will fly off the handle; they will become enraged and strike; and then what will become of the New Deal's pretty little dream of class collaboration?

The stupidity of the A. F. of L. leaders transcends all understanding. They have had almost two years of Section 7a and of Wagner boards, Garrison boards, Biddle boards, Wolman boards, Stacy boards, et al. The statute, on the one hand, and the boards on the other, have brought American trade unions absolutely nothing. Company unionism has flourished as never before; the technique for kidding wage earners out of striking has been perfected; employers have thrown the orders of the labor boards into the wastebasket; and President Roosevelt has condescended to deliver several swift kicks in the pants to his "Supreme Court" of industrial relations.

What does all this mean to Green and Co.?

Not that "guarantees" of collective bargaining are hardly worth the paper they are written on. Not that labor boards are good for nothing but sugaring the pill of compulsory arbitration. Not that trade unions must, given a capitalistic society, rely on their own capacity for direct and militant action.

Because Section 7a has not worked, the A. F. of L. leaders reason, let us have more of it. Because the law has been a dead-letter, let us have a bigger, better and more elaborate law of the same sort. Because labor boards have been incapable of forcing anti-union employers into collective bargaining, let us confer a permanent status upon the boards and redefine their purely theoretical powers.

Section 7a, it is true, provided the psychological push which started the great organizational campaigns of 1933 in the iron and steel, automobile manufacturing, bituminous coal and other industries. But by relying upon the abstract rights of Section 7a rather than upon self-help, the A. F. of L. stultified its ability to profit from that initial push. By proposing what is on the face of it a tacit bargain—enact the Wagner bill and you need not fear strikes any longer—the A. F. of L. prepares to paralyze the labor movement in the United States, once and for all time.

THE WORKS-RELIEF BILL

Successful for the time being, in their drive against high wages, Administration forces have induced the Senate to knock the "prevailing wages" amendment out of the Work-Relief bill. The substitute amendment which was passed here, for any practical purpose, to the President's sole discretion. This means, all things considered, that \$50 a month will receive official sanction as the government's idea of how large a living wage ought to be.

It was hardly to be expected, not-

(Continued on Page 4)

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—Business Manager.

Nations Totter On Brink of Another Imperialist War

Capitalists Profited \$12,000 For Every Death in Last

The imminence of the Second World War was vividly demonstrated last Saturday by the action of Hitler Germany when she tore up the Treaty of Versailles and threw it in the faces of the other European powers. Henceforth, announced the Nazi leader, compulsory military service will be introduced in Germany and the Third Reich will enter openly into the race for arms on land, sea and in the air.

This announcement came at the end of a week filled with talk—and acts—for rearmament. And it came as no surprise, despite their public expressions of righteous indignation, to the responsible—or to be exact, irresponsible—rulers of France, Italy, Great Britain—and the United States. That Germany has been arming ever since Hitler came to power has been an open secret for many months. The pretence that she was not had to end sooner or later. The fact that Hitler choose last Saturday to end it only illustrates the increasing tension.

The Second World War

Thus less than seventeen years after the end of the "war to end war," preparations for the second World War are now publicly proclaimed. The death merchants throughout the world are happy. The "dollar-a-year" boys are practicing oratory. And the war-practice-making machines are being oiled.

Meanwhile the conditions of the masses of the people of the world become more desperate. Unemployment and destitution increases. Living standards of the employed workers are being driven down either by direct reductions in wages or by the increasing cost of food and clothing. Appropriations for relief of the victims of the profit system are curtailed while appropriations for battle ships, guns, etc., are doubled and tripled.

Yet the following facts, showing what war means to the masses of the people, have been repeated time and again:

What War Means

The fact that nearly 10,000,000 young men were killed in the First World War, that 20,000,000 more were wounded, and that prisoners or "missing" numbered nearly 6,000,000 does not deter the capitalists for one minute from making ready for the Second World War.

In addition to soldiers killed, wounded and "missing" in the last war, famine, disease and pestilence took a total of over 28,000,000 people "among the civil population alone," according to the Swedish statistician, Hensch.

Left fatherless as a result of the war were 9,000,000 children. War widows numbered about 5,000,000 and some 10,000,000 were rendered homeless due to the war.

Direct money cost of the war for all belligerent countries amounted to over \$200,000,000,000. For the U.S. alone, during the two years, the direct cost was over \$22,000,000,000. Total indirect costs (property damage, etc.) amounted to about \$150,000,000,000 for all countries. The daily cost of the war in 1918 was \$224,000,000.

According to a pamphlet written by Senator Nye it cost about \$25,000 to kill a soldier.

Who Won?

But for every casualty a profit of \$12,000 was made by the capitalist class, according to Lehman-Russbult, German expert on war. Profits of leading American corporations ranged from 25 per cent to 3,000 per cent and more. Eighteen leading United States companies increased their net profits of \$74,650,000 for the 1912-1914 period to \$337,000,000 for the period 1916-1918. The number of known millionaires in the U.S. increased from

(Continued on Page 4)

NEW CLASSES IN SCHOOL

Two new classes have been added to the courses in the International Workers School. The first in elementary Russian, will begin Thursday, March 28th at 7 P.M. under the guidance of Sara Weber. The other is a course in public speaking for members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League, to begin Monday, April 1st at 8:40 P.M. with Martin Glee as instructor. Registrations should be sent to the School office at 2 West 15th Street.

Sacramento C. S. Trial Near End

Judge Rules Case to Continue Despite Ford's Illness

SACRAMENTO, Cal., March 15.—The Sacramento criminal syndicalism case is coming to a close. Practically the last two weeks have been spent reading to the jury. A significant and interesting point of the trial came when Attorney Gallagher, in trying to show that the Communist Party would never think of calling a revolution without the support of a majority, wanted to introduce evidence about Germany.

"I can't see where Germany has any bearing on the case," the judge said.

"Certainly has," Gallagher shouted. "We intend to show that in Germany, where the Communist Party was supported by 6,000,000 voters, the Party allowed Hitler to come to power without raising a finger, because it did not have a majority behind it!"

But most of the time has been spent by the I.L.D. attorneys going over the 205 exhibits of "communistic literature" introduced by the prosecution. Scattered excerpts have been read to the jury on almost every conceivable topic: left social fascism has been followed by the Soviet Army, industrial unionism by self determination in the black belt, conditions of the working youth by the Labor Party. Absolutely no attempt has been made to present a coherent picture of communism to the court. Everything has been garbled, confused, disorganized.

Early this week defendant A. G. Ford, weakened by his 6 months confinement in jail, had to be taken to the hospital with a serious attack of pneumonia. In this situation the judge cynically ruled that the case should go on, minus defendant Ford!

A BRITISH PATRIOT

NEW YORK (FP).—Germany's rearmament move came on the heels of a loan of some \$200,000,000 granted her by Sir Henry Deterding, international oil magnate and Standard Oil rival, according to an exclusive story by Johannes Steel in the New York Post.

20TH CENTURY CIVILIZATION

"Cuba, unfortunately, at present, like the United States and other civilized countries, has four or five persons for every job."—Pres. Mendieta of Cuba.

Cannon Rorty And Chas. Malamuth Will Tell of Cal. Terror

James P. Cannon, Editor of the New Militant, James Rorty, author and newspaperman and Charles Malamuth, well known journalist, will address a meeting at Irving Plaza this Sunday evening, March 24 on "Class Struggles in the West"

Comrade Cannon has just returned from a two months tour of the country, including one month in California, the heart of recent strikes, terror, and class war. He will touch on the aftermath of the great San Francisco general strike, the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trials, on his visit to Tom Mooney at San Quentin, on the famous Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, on the vigilante terror, and (no picture of California is complete without them) on the Sinclair Epitomes and the Utopian movement, and last on the rise of the Workers Party.

James Rorty and Charles Malamuth have just arrived in New York after their now famous expulsion from the Imperial Valley, where they were investigating the incredible peon system of slavery among the agricultural workers.

Democracy Violent In S.P.

Led by Julius Gerber a crew of Old Guard Socialists broke into the New York Ypsel office late last Monday and took possession of all the property therein. Milt Cohen, a young Socialist, who accidentally wandered into the office during the raid was severely beaten up.

These desperate steps taken by the "democratic socialist" gentlemen were an outcome of the conflict between the City Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and the Y.P.S.L. following the latter's unanimous denunciation of the "New Leader" as an organ of the Old Guard promoting splits in the S.P. and as unworthy of the support of the young Socialists.

The S.P. Committee retaliated by preferring charges against the entire Ypsel committee; disqualified the candidates for city organizer and city secretary, in a pending election, because they voted for the resolution against the "New Leader," and called upon the Ypsels to postpone the elections. At the same time they appointed a special investigation committee. The Ypsels defied these decisions and proceeded with plans for the elections.

The Executive Committee of the S.P. met last Monday evening, according to the Ypsel office: "with only 7 members attending out of a total of 17, they accepted the report of the subcommittee appointed to investigate the YPSL, doing so by a vote of 6-1. The committee consisting of Algernon Lee, Bela Low

(Continued on Page 3)

WP Progress on All Fronts, National And International Marked at Ptsbg. Conference

NUL Blasts Roosevelt's Relief Plan

Like Trying to Fight A Forest Fire With Tea Cups

COLUMBUS, OHIO.—Criticizing the Administration's social security program as an attempt to "extinguish a forest fire with a tea-cup of water," the National Unemployed League has issued a tentative draft of the Workers Security Bill which it is sponsoring. This draft is being submitted to state and local Unemployed Leagues for approval and recommendations before being put into final form. Suggestions should be sent to the National Unemployed League, 232 North High Street, Columbus, Ohio.

An extensive drive to win public support for the bill is under way. Plans are going forward for the League's Caravan to Washington in May to push the bill before Congress adjourns.

The comprehensive bill drafted by the League is called "A bill to limit the hours of labor, to provide additional appropriations for public works, and for the relief of the unemployed and to establish a system of unemployment and social insurance."

30-Hour Week

It provides for the 30-hour week for all national, state and local government employees and all wage employees in industry, mining, transportation, agriculture, domestic, technical, clerical and professional services and "all other occupations".

The minimum wage is fixed at \$30 a week, with the prevailing union rate wherever it is higher.

A ten-billion dollar public works program is provided, the money to be spent within one year. This program is to include the building of modern low-rental homes; an up-to-date, fully equipped county hospital in every county; modern libraries and recreational centers in every city and county; rural electrification, and elimination of grade crossings.

Nothing For War

It is specified that none of this money shall be spent for military or naval purposes.

Immediate establishment of a system of unemployment and social insurance by the Secretary of Labor is authorized. All unemployed workers and farmers are to be cared for with insurance equal to average local wages, the funds to be raised by a government tax on inheritances and gifts and on income of individuals and corporations where they exceed \$5,000. The insurance is in no case to be

(Continued on Page 4)

Membership, Trade Union, Strike, Unemployed Work Shows Gain; Daily Paper Up for Discussion

Nearly 100 active workers, representing all important industries such as steel, mining, automobiles, textiles, rubber, gathered in the Active Workers Conference of the Workers Party of the U.S. held at Pittsburgh in connection with the plenary session of the National Committee of the Party March 15-18. The outstanding impression left by the conference was that of the remarkable strides taken by the Party during the first three months of its existence in carrying out the six months Program of Action adopted by the founding convention of the Party last December.

The fusion of the former Communist League of America and the former American Workers Party on which the formal launching of the Party was based has been accomplished at the center and in the branches. Fundamentally, the problems and issues now confronting the organization are those of the

new Party and not of the old organizations.

Membership Increases

An increase of nearly 40 percent in membership has been recorded. The work of projecting the party and its membership in the unions, unemployed leagues and other mass organizations is proceeding everywhere.

A great impetus has been given to unemployed work as is symbolized most dramatically perhaps by the appearance of Mass Action, the weekly organ of the National Unemployed League, to which the Party has given support and assistance. The Party membership has taken a prominent part in a score of strike struggles in every section of the country.

The Party as a whole, and especially its California section, has assumed a leading role in the labor defense movement in the United States in connection with the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial. The destructive policies of the Communist Party in this trial have been made a national and will be made an international issue by the Workers Party.

The Party print shop has been reorganized and provided with new equipment and is now in a position to turn out regularly the party organs, its pamphlets, etc.

While the fulfillment of the pamphlet program has lagged somewhat, an educational department has been set up, an International Workers School giving 11 courses established in New York, one or more classes organized in practically every branch of the Party, three sets of lessons have been sent out and others are ready, and preparations for the first session of a national training school are under way.

S. Y. L. Doubled Membership

The youth organization, Spartacus Youth League, has doubled its membership, issued its monthly organ regularly and immensely improved its organizational set-up.

Comrade Cannon, the editor of the *New Militant*, has made a coast to coast tour. Comrade Muste, the National Secretary, has visited practically all of the party centers as far west as Minneapolis, Davenport and St. Louis. One other tour as far west as Chicago has been carried out.

Fraternal relations have been established with the Secretariat of the I.C.L. in Europe, with the newly organized Revolutionary Party in Holland, product of the merger on March 10 of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Independent Socialist Party of Holland, and with parties and groups in Canada, South Africa, Australia, China and other countries who have declared for the Fourth International and stand on the same programmatic foundation as the Workers Party of the U.S.

Many important problems confronting the revolutionary movement in the United States and abroad were discussed by the National Committee, the Active Workers Conference, or both. These include the Labor Party, Third Party, Huey Long, Coughlin, etc. developments; the recent events in the Soviet Union; the war danger as exemplified in occurrences in the international arena; the tumult in the Socialist Party of the United States and the proper course to be pursued by the revolutionary party toward the splits which appear likely to occur in the S. P.; the present position in the trade unions and the unemployed organizations. The decisions of the National Committee on these points will be published in this and forthcoming issues of the *New Militant* or communicated to the membership and to the workers in other ways.

A Daily Paper

Impressed, on the one hand, by the numerous opportunities springing up before the Party and the eagerness of the Party membership and the workers for information about the Party and its position, and on the other hand by the swift pace of events both in the labor movement in the U. S. and on the international arena, the National Committee authorized the Political Committee to continue a canvass which it had tentatively begun as to the possibilities of raising a sustaining fund for a daily paper.

(Continued on Page 4)

Life, Liberty, the Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH

HOUSING: A widow and two small children were found living in the Railroad Station at Allentown, Pa. . . . In Boston, Mrs. Blanche Campia, destitute, crawled into a freightyard and in a snow-bank bore a baby. . . . Doris Duke, richest U.S. girl, weds a son of the Stotesbury's. Doris owns a 5,000 acre estate at Somerville, N. J. with 35 miles of private paved roadway, a summer palace at Newport, R. I., a Manhattan residence on 5th Ave. with art treasures worth millions, and a palatial estate in North Carolina. . . . Her husband's family owns a home with 145 rooms, 45 baths, 14 elevators and requires 100 servants for its upkeep. They also have homes at Bar Harbor, Maine and Palm Beach.

SOCIETY: Palm Beach reports the best season since the depression. . . . Florida begged and received another \$400,000 from Washington for relief, claiming it was "broke" . . .

SPORTS: More than \$8,000,000 was bet on the ponies at Miami during the racing season. . . . Joe Green of Pittsburgh was fined \$2 for betting on a horse race. "Anybody on relief who bets on the races deserves to be fined," says the judge. . . . J. E. Gibson of Paris, Texas, is given \$2 to buy fishing tackle so he could be removed from

relief roll. "The catfish are biting," he was told. . . .

FOOD: Jack Dempsey eats 19 times a day and keeps two cooks constantly busy over a stove in his private home. . . . Mike Naggis, unemployed steel worker, was found dead in his unheated home near Coatesville, Pa. "Starvation," said the coroner. . . . Food prices have risen 11 percent in the past year, reports the Department of Agriculture. . . . "Prices are still too low," says President Roosevelt. . . .

RELIEF: An expensive government survey reveals that 89 percent of those on relief are in this condition because of unemployment. . . . The Department of Labor announces that \$26.77 per week is needed to provide a family of 5 with the means of bare subsistence, \$31.22 for the minimum essentials for health and decency. . . . President Roosevelt's Public Works Relief Bill allows an average of \$12 per week per family. . . . The U. S. Chamber of Commerce urges a \$2,000,000,000 reduction in the Public Works Bill, this permitting a dole of \$6 per week per family. . . . Philadelphia's 310,596 relief cases average \$2.50 per week per person, Oklahoma's \$2.50 per month per person. . . . "Excessive relief presents the gravest threat to the fiscal integrity of the government," says Richard Whitney, President of the N. Y. Stock Exchange. . . .

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES:

Sally Rand, fan dancer, has patented her new bubble dance. "Like a good businessman, I keep a graph of my popularity," she states. . . . College professors near Washington, D. C. have formed a club with Huey Long as honorary president. . . . "Charley Chaplin is the world's greatest economist," announces Will Rogers. . . . University of Georgia students riot because movie prices are increased. . . . Cuban college students are playing a leading part in the present revolt. . . .

BUSINESS AND FINANCE: "To grant the soldiers' bonus would be a national calamity," says Eugene Grace, President of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, which profited to the extent of \$49,427,000 on war orders. Grace received a bonus of \$3,669,000 from his company. "I wonder if it wouldn't be all right to pay a soldier \$5 a day," he asks. . . . Evidence discloses that the Wierton Steel Co. paid the officers of its company union \$25 per month, permitted them to meet on company time, and paid a \$6,000 printing bill for the union. . . . The Federal District Court of Delaware holds that the Wierton Company union was free from intimidation, domination or control by the management. . . . "Roosevelt is just the man we need now," announces the arch-reactionary magazine *Steel*, organ of the steel bosses.

Nation-Wide Strike of 500,000 Bituminous Coal Miners Looms in April

Short Sweet and Victorious Under Rank and File Control

Danger of Separate Agreements by Leaders

By GERRY ALLARD

Unless leaders of the existing miners' unions succeed in stifling the rank and file through means of separate local agreements, there will be a national walkout of some 500,000 bituminous coal diggers beginning April 1, of this year.

It is unlikely that a compromise will be effected suitable to the mine workers by the time current wage agreements expire. Turmoil in the hard coal region, Illinois, the Southwest, Washington and Nova Scotia is teaching John L. Lewis, International president of the United Mine Workers of America, a few lessons.

The rank and file are again cracking down on their leaders and from Washington, D. C. Lewis has been making statements that appear "progressive". The dictator of the largest union in the soft coal industry is bellyaching for action on the part of the solons on the Black-Connery 30-hour week and the Guffey-Snyder coal stabilization bills. The favorable enactment of these bills by Congress would save Lewis a great deal of embarrassment. It would enable him to consummate wage agreements with the national coal operators association with a minimum of friction.

Never before have the bituminous coal miners of this country been in a better position to strike. What is more, they can make the strike so effective that it will prove to be short, sweet and victorious. That is, of course, providing the rank and file can exercise control over the strike situation.

For the first time in 30 years, the bituminous coal miners' wage agreements expire simultaneously. With the wrecking of the central competitive field through Lewis' treachery in 1927-28, states and parts of states were signed separately, thus enabling one district to be pitted against another, much to the profit of the coal operators.

Now, however, the miners, through the peculiar contradictions of the NRA, are so organized that any attempt to split them will be the signal for wide-spread action, both externally and internally.

Dual Movements

Some readers will perhaps point to the dual unions in several states as a hindrance to real success. This situation does contain an element of danger. But, it is precisely this situation which is causing Lewis to step a little livelier than he has in the past. If he is to hold his army he will have to produce the goods. If he doesn't, the dual movements, and new revolts from within the U.M.W.A. will inevitably amalgamate their forces.

Prior to the NRA, Lewis' organization was practically reduced to a paper union. The complete servility of the U.M.W.A. leaders to the coal operators had almost destroyed, by pressure from within and without, the last semblance of solid union organization in the bituminous coal industry. Along came the NRA and Lewis wasted no time. Approximately 350,000 new members were thrown into his lap. The Appalachian region is solidly organized. With the exception of spots as in Alabama, parts of Kentucky and the coke region of Pennsylvania, the U.M.W.A. and various independent unions have the miners pretty well under control.

Demands

The outstanding demands of the miners are the six-hour day, 5-day week and substantial wage increases.

The 7-hour day, product of pressure of the miners in the Appalachian region under the NRA, has robbed the coal operators of some powerful arguments. Heretofore, coal operators argued that the shorter work day would destroy the coal industry due to the competitive threat of oil and gas. Class collaborating trade union leaders and conservative coal miners were lulled to sleep by this argument. However, the 7-hour day has proven to be both feasible and practicable. Coal operators have maintained their usual production, in some cases increased it, and what is more, the coal operators have been making larger profits.

Some Facts

It is necessary to point out what a wretched sop it really is, for many people, unacquainted with the details, actually believe that in New York City relief is adequate.

Families of five have come to the Bureau expecting that their \$28 a month rent would be paid. They were surprised to find that they would be allowed \$17.50 per month if they proved they were destitute.

For food the actual allowance is \$3.50 every two weeks per man, \$3.10 for a woman, \$2.40 for a child under 16, \$2 for a child under 6, with a 50 percent increase for one person, 25 percent for two, 15 percent for three, then the straight budget until a family of eight is reached, when there is a 5 percent reduction, etc.

Obviously this is a starvation allowance, nor has it been raised in the face of the rising cost of living. . . . logically, one of the main struggles of the unemployed must be to raise the relief budget. Our comrades in the Unemployed Unions must make the "budget issue" central.

Some Facts

The Home Relief Bureau is a tremendously important institution in the life of New York City. It thrives and prospers. Every month larger and larger sums are allocated to it. However, it is one industry which the capitalists would like to curtail. They look favorably upon all schemes to contract its field of endeavor—from Conservation Camps to detectives masquerading as social workers.

The Home Relief Bureau is a scant three years old. But it is already a giant. Today it has on its rolls over 200,000 families and 22,000 single men. Almost one seventh of the population of the city depend upon it for subsistence.

Besides those on relief, there are another 100,000 families, one of whose members, in order to take the family off relief, has been given a relief job. At least another 100,000 have been on relief during the last three years. It is safe to say that the lives of two million people in New York City alone have been directly affected by the Bureau.

The Home Relief Bureau is the capitalist answer to the needs of the unemployed. In 1930 there was a tremendous demonstration of the unemployed. Towards the end of 1931 it was clear that private charity could no longer handle the situation; it was prepared to cure for the "individually maladjusted" but not for mass maladjustment. The relief given was intended to take off the edge of discontent. It was and is a miserable sop.

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2 West 15th St., New York City

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Name

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City .. State ..

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the U. S. []

Separate Agreements

In the beginning of this article I pointed to the only condition which prevents an effective national walkout in 24 states where bituminous coal is mined. Separate agreements are nothing new. It was an effective tactic in the days when the coal industry was a young, booming industry. The industry was decentralized and the market was usually favorable. By permitting one coal operator to recognize the union and concede favorable wage increases, this tactic almost ruined stubborn operators. It served the purpose of entrenching a rising labor union.

Under present circumstances, the coal industry being one of the most decadent sections of capitalist economy with operators consolidated or associated the tactic of separate agreements has a reverse effect. It is on this bone that all present coal miners' unions might break their teeth, consequently defeating the miners at a most opportune time to advance their cause and interests.

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All Males Under 30 in CCC Plan of N.Y. Relief Bureau

Second Letter From A Relief Investigator

The Home Relief Bureau is a tremendously important institution in the life of New York City. It thrives and prospers. Every month larger and larger sums are allocated to it. However, it is one industry which the capitalists would like to curtail. They look favorably upon all schemes to contract its field of endeavor—from Conservation Camps to detectives masquerading as social workers.

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All Males Under 30 in CCC Plan of N.Y. Relief Bureau

Second Letter From A Relief Investigator

The Home Relief Bureau is a tremendously important institution in the life of New York City. It thrives and prospers. Every month larger and larger sums are allocated to it. However, it is one industry which the capitalists would like to curtail. They look favorably upon all schemes to contract its field of endeavor—from Conservation Camps to detectives masquerading as social workers.

The Home Relief Bureau is a scant three years old. But it is already a giant. Today it has on its rolls over 200,000 families and 22,000 single men. Almost one seventh of the population of the city depend upon it for subsistence.

Besides those on relief, there are another 100,000 families, one of whose members, in order to take the family off relief, has been given a relief job. At least another 100,000 have been on relief during the last three years. It is safe to say that the lives of two million people in New York City alone have been directly affected by the Bureau.

The Home Relief Bureau is the capitalist answer to the needs of the unemployed. In 1930 there was a tremendous demonstration of the unemployed. Towards the end of 1931 it was clear that private charity could no longer handle the situation; it was prepared to cure for the "individually maladjusted" but not for mass maladjustment. The relief given was intended to take off the edge of discontent. It was and is a miserable sop.

Some Facts

It is necessary to point out what a wretched sop it really is, for many people, unacquainted with the details, actually believe that in New York City relief is adequate.

Families of five have come to the Bureau expecting that their \$28 a month rent would be paid. They were surprised to find that they would be allowed \$17.50 per month if they proved they were destitute.

For food the actual allowance is \$3.50 every two weeks per man, \$3.10 for a woman, \$2.40 for a child under 16, \$2 for a child under 6, with a 50 percent increase for one person, 25 percent for two, 15 percent for three, then the straight budget until a family of eight is reached, when there is a 5 percent reduction, etc.

Obviously this is a starvation allowance, nor has it been raised in the face of the rising cost of living. . . . logically, one of the main struggles of the unemployed must be to raise the relief budget. Our comrades in the Unemployed Unions must make the "budget issue" central.

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NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th St., New York City

Please enter my name for [] one year, \$1.00; [] 6 months, 65c.

Name

Address

City .. State ..

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the U. S. []

Left Wing Program for Silk; No More Skulking Cliques

By FELIX GIORDANO

In spite of the betrayal of the last strike by Gorman & Co., the American Federation of Silk Workers still maintains itself as a department of the United Textile Workers. The workers refuse to be again unorganized, and, in spite of the many weaknesses of their union, cling to it and try to make it what they would like it to be, a real fighting organization of textile workers.

The silk workers realize that they have a task to perform, a job to finish. Their demands have not been met by the bosses; the government Boards have gone the way of all government boards; their conditions have not improved. Instead, the average wage of silk workers hovers close to the "minimum" of \$13 for a week of 40 hours, and from the present condition of the industry, they face a period when the full week of 40 hours is going to be as rare as a snowstorm in July.

Conditions in the silk industry have not improved. They are, if anything worse than immediately before the strike. The union, as at present constituted, is unable to cope with the manufacturers, or else unable to get started. But the workers cannot keep on tolerating these conditions. They need the 30-hour week, and they demand it.

They demand that there be an end to wage cuts, to speed up, to additional machine load. The union must get ready to fight. And the workers also realize that the union's fight cannot be left in the hands of the Gormans and McMans. That is why they must be ready to do and direct their own fighting, that is why they need a left wing, organized nationally on the basis of sound principles and of a sound program.

The Task of the Left Wing

It is evident, then, that the task of the Left wing is to consolidate all the militant elements in the union for the purpose of supplying leadership to the workers in the coming struggles. For it is only through such a left wing that the workers can achieve victory. It is only upon the left wing that they can rely when all else fails them. The Left wing must be the crystallization of the active union members in an intelligent body working within the union, shaping policies and fighting so that the bureaucracy in the union be forced to accept them and follow them.

No Cliques

The left wing, we repeat, must be the crystallization of all that is genuinely progressive and militant in the union. It can not work in the dark, in secret, but it must agitate the workers, make its program known, and win the confidence of the whole membership.

The silk workers have known too many cliques that never produced the still-to-be-wronged left wing. Cliques have brought havoc among the silk workers before, they must not be allowed to do so again. For it is only the reactionary elements who fear publicity that work in secret, "springing things on" the workers and "getting them across". Let the left wing differentiate itself from such elements, and not follow their system and their tactics.

No cliques then, skulking and plotting behind the scenes, but a genuine, intelligent movement, which has the confidence of the workers, and which acts sanely, without adventurist ideas, without advocating adventurist or showy action if nothing can be gained from it.

In that sense we cannot approve of the newly reorganized group in Paterson, for it has all the earmarks of a clique and not of a left wing movement. We cannot approve of their desire to remain a secret organization, and we cannot approve of their first "practical" proposal of carrying on a demonstration of strength when we are not ready to use such strength. That group shows both cliquism and adventurism, the two greatest evils that could afflict any group working in the union, ostensibly for the benefit of the workers.

A Program for the Left Wing

What then are the essentials of a left wing movement, and more specifically, what would be a minimum program for such a movement?

In the first place, it must not confine itself to a locality or to one branch of the industry. A local movement cannot achieve national success, and no success can be effective unless it is national.

Secondly, it must not be a secret organization. It must, instead, agitate among the workers for the adoption of its program, and must therefore be known to the workers as an organized movement with a definite program, drawing in members on the basis of it.

It must, in the third place, fight for the union to adopt its program; it must convince the workers of the soundness of it and see to it that it is carried through. Such a program must include as goals:

- The 30-hour week.
- Establishment of a maximum machine load.
- Establishment of minimum wages on a graduated scale.
- Industrial organization of the union, as well as the spreading and strengthening of it.
- Autonomy of the American Federation of Silk Workers as a distinct Department of the U.T.W.
- Local autonomy in the assignment of organizers.
- Seniority right in the mills.

These points must be included in the minimum program. The workers have already in the majority of instances come to realize the necessity of securing these demands both internally and in their relations with the manufacturers; they are the first task of the national left wing movement.

Curtain Drops on Work Relief Farce; Wages Will Drop Soon

The curtain falls. The prima donna, la grinning Roosevelt, takes a bow, holding hands with the second lead, Russell, and the ingenue, Wagner. The farce is ended, amid loud applause from the industrial orchestra seats and boos from the labor gallery.

The farce that Roosevelt and the Senate have been playing these last few weeks, titled "The Work-Relief Bill, or the Road to Lower Wages", is played out. Roosevelt has made another hit. (But this time the gallery did boo; the prima donna's popularity is on the wane.)

No one except the most naive ever expected Senator McCarran's "prevailing wage" amendment to the \$4,800,000,000 work-relief bill to win. Roosevelt's "defeat" several weeks ago, when the McCarran amendment was added to the bill by a vote of 44-43, was part of the play. Since it was well-known that Roosevelt would veto the bill with this amendment, those Senators who wanted to slap the President on the wrist had a safe way to do it. That the bill would finally pass with Roosevelt's "security wage" which means \$50 a month—was clear all the time.

Senator Russell, with Roosevelt's approval, wrote the "compromise".

Wages Lag Profits Soar Since 1849

A.F. of L. Figures Condemn Own Policy as False At Best

Workers need no figures to tell them that they are constantly producing more goods and more profits for every dollar they are paid—that their wage slavery is becoming more severe all the time. But figures published in the March issue of the American Federationist, the magazine of the A. F. of L., vividly illustrate the meaning of the speed-up in dollars and cents, in wages and profits.

Between 1849 and 1933, the value of manufactured products per dollar paid in wages increased from \$4.30 to \$5.99. A slight decrease, from \$6.06 in 1929 to \$5.99 in 1933, may be credited to the NRA; but recent reports, government figures themselves show clearly that when 1934 is checked, the workers will find that "efficiency" has re-established itself—and that efficiency is another word for increasing exploitation of workers.

The percentages are telling: In 1849, wages formed 23.2 percent of the total value of goods produced; in 1919, 16.9 percent; in 1933, 16.7 percent.

Stated in another form, as wages versus profits and overhead, the figures show that of value added by manufacture (minus cost of raw materials), in 1849, 51 per cent went for wages and 49 for overhead and profits; in 1919, the ratio was 42.2 percent to 57.8 percent; in 1933, 36.4 to 63.6; in 1933, 30.8 to 69.2. It is significant that even between 1929 and 1933, when the value produced per dollar of wages decreased slightly, the ratio of profits over wages continued upward.

WHAT TO ATTEND

- (Party Branch notices will be published free of charge in this column. All such notices should be sent to "What to Attend" and must be in the office not later than Monday noon.)
- Philadelphia, Pa.**
March 24, Sunday, 8 P.M.—V. F. Calverton, on "The Passing of the Gods". Auspices of Workers Educational Forum, Grand Fraternity Building, 1626 Arch Street.
March 31, Sunday, 8 P.M.—A. J. Muste will speak on "Coming Struggles in Rubber, Auto and Steel Industries".
Every Friday evening, 9:30 to 11 P.M.—Course on "Elements of Political Economy." Instructor: M. V. Stone. At International Workers School, 329 Pine Street (3rd floor).
Every Friday 8 to 9:30 P.M.—"History of Labor Internationalism." Instructor: B. Morgenstern. International Workers School, 329 Pine Street.
- New York City**
March 23, Saturday evening—Social and Dance, by Spartacus Youth League and Harlem Branch of W.P. 2 West 15th Street.
March 24, Sunday 8 P.M.—James P. Cannon on "The Class Struggle in the West". Irving Plaza. See ad.
March 25, Monday evening—Theatre Party, "The Black Pit". Civic Repertory Theatre. Lillian Bord, chairman. Tickets still available.
March 27, Wednesday, 8 P.M.—Ludwig Lore on "Two Years of Hitler". Auspices Flatbush Branch of Workers Party, Franklin Manor, 836 Franklin Ave., Brooklyn.
March 30, Saturday evening—Tri-Borough Band Dance, 2 West 15th St. Games and dancing.
March 31, Sunday, 11 A.M. Picnic and Games. Spartacus Youth League. See ad in this issue.
April 13, Saturday evening—New York District Chess Contest and Spring Frolic, 2 West 15th Street. Watch for further announcements.
- BOSTON BRANCH ACTIVITIES**
George Novack of New York, chairman of the Provisional Organizing Committee of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, will speak in Boston under the auspices of the local Sacramento Defense Committee, on Friday, March 29, at Gilbert H. II, Tremont Temple. Novack's subject will be "Labor's Fight Against Terrorism", and he will cover the Sacramento, Fargo and Arkansas situations.

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WORKERS

Protect Yourselves Against the Hazards of Life, Join the WORKMENS SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE U.S. 1884-1935

Organized, managed by and for workers with only one purpose: to render protection to members and their families, and to support all endeavors and struggles for the improvement of toilers.

About 50,000 members organized in 350 branches. Reserves \$3,400,000. Death benefit graded according to age at entry. Sick benefit payments from \$360 to \$900—to men and women, according to classes. Monthly assessments from 45c to \$2.20.

For further information apply to Main Office:
714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Picnic and Games

at Hunters Island (Lex. Ave. Subway to Pelham Bay Park)
SUNDAY, MARCH 31, 11 A.M.
Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, 2 W. 15th St., N.Y.C.
Proceeds for National Tour Meet at Pelham Bay Station (downstairs) at 11 A.M.

V. F. Calverton
in a series of lectures on "AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES" Tuesdays, at 9 P.M. at The Vagabonds Sheridan Square, N. Y. C. 88 South Seventh Avenue 7th Av. Sub'y. to Sheridan Sq. Dancing and Refreshments Admission 40 cents

REGULAR OPEN FORUM

Europe Is Arming

What Does This Mean to America? Is Hitler Pushing War on Russia? Can the Working Class Prevent It?

Speaker:
Arne Swabeck
National Organizer, Workers Party

Friday March 29th, 1935 8p.m.
WAGNER'S BEER GARDEN, 28-09 Astoria Ave. (1 1/2 blocks below Astoria Ave. Station)

QUESTIONS ADMISSION FREE DISCUSSION
Auspices: Workers Party of the U. S., Astoria Branch

NEW MILITANT DRIVE NEWS

In spite of all obstacles the circulation drive is going over. Charleston increases its bundle. Canada increases bundle orders by 50 per week. Minneapolis continues to send more subs than any other branch to date, achieving a score of 32 percent to date. East St. Louis enters the field with a score of 20 percent. Akron also achieves 20 percent. New York, Philadelphia and Chicago continue to lag behind. Bronx branch, New York, has made the best showing to date in the New York District. Plentywood is climbing up and scores 20 percent at the present time.

But even this is not enough. We must have more—many more—subs and increased bundle orders to make the drive a success. This week should bring in at least 200 new subs. Branches, friends, you are the ones who can make this drive a success. It must be successful in order to put the Party

NEW MILITANT
2 West 15th St., New York City

Please enter my name for [] one year, \$1.00; [] 6 months, 65c.

Name

Address

City .. State ..

I am interested in joining the Workers Party of the U. S. []

OPENING FORUM
FLATBUSH BRANCH OF THE WORKERS PARTY
LUDWIG LORE
on
TWO YEARS OF HITLER
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, at 8 P. M.
Franklin Manor, 636 Franklin Avenue, Brooklyn (near Eastern Parkway)

Questions Discussion

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2 West 15th St., New York City

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Name

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Hitler Unmasks German Rearmament

That disquieting open "secret" of European diplomacy, the rearmament of Germany contrary to the Versailles Treaty, has finally become the accomplished fact...

But the string attached to the negotiations of his signing an Eastern Locarno Pact "guaranteeing" peace with Soviet Russia, was diametrically at variance with the avowed objective of Nazism to expand eastward...

The comment on this unmasking of fascist Germany's preparations for the coming war, particularly in the English press, proves that Hitler judged the situation correctly...

Stalinism In France

Internally and externally Stalinism pursues the politics of the "lesser evil"; that is to say, the politics of meeting reaction half way...

the "lesser evil"; that is to say, the politics of meeting reaction half way. Even before Hitler's casting off of all bounds that prevented the formation of a conscript army to be hurled against the Soviet Union...

The Stalinists pose the struggle basis to maintain bourgeois democracy. In this popular front—inclined to diffuse and weaken the too dangerous united front of the proletarian forces leading the masses—the Stalinists include the bourgeois radical and radical socialist parties in direct alliance with the French government...

Danger of a French Amalgam There can be no clearer explanation for the denunciation heaped on the Trotskyists as police agents by the Stalinists. Where the former call openly in view of the dangerous situation in France, for the arming of the working class to combat and disarm fascist forces, the Stalinists lead the socialist in to the trap of calling on the French government to disarm the fascist bands.

S. Y. L. Guilty to the Future Of the American Revolution

By REVA CRANE

Today the S.Y.L. is the youth section of the W.P. and endorses its political program. It has consolidated its forces and is now in a position to challenge the existing youth organizations for the leadership of the toiling and student youth of the United States...

Only under the leadership and guidance of a revolutionary party can the youth organization fulfill its tasks and serve as a true rallying center of exploited youth.

Today, however, there exists a party which is capable of leading the revolutionary youth, of guiding it politically and aiding it organizationally. There is every opportunity for the Spartacus Youth League to grow and develop and to fulfill the tasks of a youth organization.

The Workers Party has a great responsibility with regard to the youth movement. There is no other force in the country which can create a movement that will keep the youth from falling victim to fascist demagoguery and militaristic jingoism.

In the ranks of the W. P. are many comrades who were the founders of the early revolutionary youth movement after the war. Many of them played leading parts in the life of the Y.C.L. and these comrades can be of invaluable assistance in guiding the S.Y.L.

Spartacus Youth League function as an independent youth organization which is politically subordinate to the Workers Party. By exchange of representatives on committees, by a careful survey of the needs of the S.Y.L., by an active interest in its life, the Workers Party will demonstrate that it can build and lead the Spartacus Youth League and that it defends the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class youth.

Class Struggle In the S. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

and Adrian Gambet demanded:

(1) That the YPSL rescind its statement on the New Leader even though passed unanimously by the YPSL Executive and approved by an overwhelming majority of the Central Committee. (2) That the YPSL call off the pending elections, which are being held subject to the approval of the Party NEC. (3) That Harold Draper be expelled from the YPSL in spite of the fact that the matter is now before the Party NEC. (4) That the YPSL comply with these demands by March 25 under the penalty of 're-organization.' In the interim the subcommittee was to have full power to act. The subcommittee acted.

"That same nite the YPSL Executive rejected the demands. The Party subcommittee went into immediate session. On inquiry, from official representatives of the League, Bela Low and Adrien Gambet indicated that no action would be taken that night. Low stating that a decision would be reached the next day." The Ypsel office was then closed. Later a young Socialist who walked into the office while the Old Guard henchmen were there, was beaten up.

The National Ypsel office has empowered the YPSL City Executive Committee to go ahead with its work. A special subcommittee has been appointed to help it. The entire matter will go before the National Committee meeting of the Socialist Party to be held in Buffalo this week end. The N.Y. "Millie" means are supporting the Y.P.S.L. Meanwhile several N.Y. Socialist party locals have adopted resolutions calling upon the N.C. to reorganize the New York State Committee of the S.P. has already notified the N.Y. State Executive Committee that it should show cause why the State organization should not be reorganized.

Why Join the Workers Party

Letters to a Worker Correspondent

By A. J. MUSTE

Fellow-Worker:

My last letter pointed out that we workers cannot obtain plenty and security, deliverance from misery and war, by trying to reform the capitalist economic system. We have to abolish it. And we cannot abolish it except by the revolutionary method. The capitalists are not going to retire gracefully and without a struggle from the scene!

In your answer you said that the workers in your shop kicked about a lot of things like wages and the way they are being speeded up and the high cost of food, but that they did not read any serious papers or books and were against any "radical theories" You added that although they growled a lot they did not show much fight and that you did not think they would ever be ready to "make a revolution".

If by this you mean that you do not have any hope that the masses of the workers will become students of economics and government, will understand and accept the theories set forth in Marx's Capital, and as a result of intellectual reflection will determine to overthrow capitalism, you are perfectly right. That is not the way things happen in history.

You know how it is when a strike occurs in your mill. It does not

happen primarily because the workers have been reading statistics of what is happening in the industry, or because in general they have become radical in their thinking. It comes because of grievances about things in which they are directly concerned, the way in which a foreman treats them, a wage cut, an attempt of the boss to squeeze more work out of them. Such grievances pile up. Presently workers who have had a meek attitude and still regard themselves as thoroughly conservative, strike and fight. In the strike they learn a great deal about the economic system, the banks, the role of the government. Many a worker has become class-conscious and been started on his way to a life of activity in the labor and revolutionary movement in this way.

WHAT THE MASSES FIGHT FOR

The masses may be said always to fight for direct and simple things, for the right to exist, for a better life. When the great Bolshevik revolution broke out in Russia in 1917, they were not moved by a conscious determination to build "a new social order" and a clear picture of what kind of an order it would be. The slogans in the fight were Peace, Bread, Land. The

whole economic and political machinery of the Czarist regime was broken up, was ceasing to function altogether. The soldiers wanted to quit the army where they were being slaughtered like cattle. The masses in the cities wanted to eat. The peasants wanted the land which was in the possession of the big land-owners.

The time had come when in order to exist, in order to prevent complete ruin, the masses had to carry on their fight, ever more boldly and intensely, and at last against the economic system which served to maintain that economy. Thus, under the leadership of the revolutionary party, the masses carried through the revolution to overthrow capitalism and establish the workers' state.

All the details as to how the job was done in Russia, or how it may be carried through here where, of course, the conditions are not exactly the same, we need not go into here. But we can see before our own eyes how things may shape up. We recall how last year in Toledo, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and plenty of other places, tens of thousands came out on the streets and picketed in support of

strikes which in many cases involved directly only a small number. When a "general strike" occurs, even on a restricted scale, who decides whether milk shall be delivered to children or the light and power kept on in the hospitals?

HOW ARE STRIKES CAUSED?

At this point, another important factor must be emphasized. You know that agitators and radicals do not cause strikes, as the kept press tries to make out. You have had plenty of experience of how at certain times no amount of agitation can cause the slightest stir among the workers. Rotten conditions cause the workers to revolt, particularly when they see a chance of doing something about them. But you know also that when last year the unrest increased in your mill, it was you and the other fellows I have been writing to who got together, talked things over, called a meeting of Bill Roberts' guards, got a lot of workers to sign cards that they would join a union if and when half the mill was signed up, later called a mass meeting, set up the union, sent for a charter from the international, etc. You fellows and a few others are the officers of the union, you serve on the department committees, you were on the strike committee.

In other words, there was a leadership. It consisted of the men who had read and studied some, who knew more about the labor movement than the general run of the workers, who could organize, who had courage and fighting qualities, who could look ahead and plan. Besides, you acted as a group, rather than as individuals. "The time before when the workers wanted to do something, but everything was led by this fellow Jackson, a good fellow in many ways but erratic and a free-lance, everything went wrong. The same conception holds good for the entire revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Criminal Syndicalist or Renegade ?

From a Statement of Norman Mini In Reply To the Slanders of the Stalinist Press

By NORMAN MINI

One of the Sacramento Defendants

On the orders of the Associated Farmers and the Industrial Association, the State of California charges me with being a criminal syndicalist. I am not guilty. I am guilty of helping to organize the working people of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys into a union to fight for higher wages and improved living conditions. For that "crime" I may have to go to San Quentin for forty-two years. I am ready to go if I must; I maintain my right the right of all workers, to organize labor unions, and I will not be terrorized into abandoning that right.

On the orders of the Communist Party, all my fellow-defendants except Jack Warnick charge me with being a renegade and a stool-pigeon. I am not guilty. I am guilty of disagreeing with the Communist Party, of being a member of the Workers Party of the United States. For that "crime," my defense is being cut to pieces by the Communist Party. Again, I am ready to suffer the consequences; I maintain my right, the right of all workers, to disagree with the Communist Party, and I will not be terrorized into abandoning that right.

The statement in the official Communist Party Daily Worker and Western Worker of March 7, bearing the names of my fellow defendants (except Warnick), was dictated by Sam Darcy, District Organizer of the C. P. . . .

Hoping . . . to distract people's attention from the C. P.'s record of criminal mismanagement and wrecking in the Sacramento case, the Darcy machine broadcasts the yarn that the prosecution, which is trying to railroad me to San Quentin, has my cooperation!

If I "sold out," if I am a renegade, why do I still stand in the shadow of the penitentiary? This question can't be answered, nor does the C. P. try to. That fact alone shows the falseness of its charges.

Had it not been for the C. P., all we defendants might today enjoy the active support of a great mass movement of labor. As it is, the whole policy of the C. P., including its malicious attacks on me, is jeopardizing us all increasingly. In the interests of an effective, militant, honest defense fight, I am going to answer these attacks and call on all working people and friends of labor to rally to my cause, which is the cause of the whole working class.

The McAllister Interview When arrested last August, I gave the prosecutor an interview. To talk to a prosecutor may be an even greater blunder than to let police get hold of letters from prominent sympathizers. . . . Darcy's indictment charges that my interview helped the prosecution. It falls to specify how, because the truth is it did not help the prosecution. That is why, after McAllister read it to the jury, several signers of the Darcy indictment declared the famous interview to be "a flop".

In the interview I stated only such facts as were common knowledge (for example, Hougardy's connection with the C. P.), or as I considered it shameful to hide. I also expounded my Marxist belief in the necessity for a social revolution in which the vast popular majority, led by the working class, will use every necessary means to overcome the violent resistance to be expected from the exploiting minority now in power. I did not then know that C. P. wanted to keep two sets of books, to talk one way outside and another way inside court. . . . I thought it shameful to try to hide my opinions. My fight is for

the legality of workers to organize into labor unions, and also for the legality of all workers' political parties to hold and fight their views. To make such a charge, the views involved must be expressed and defended, not hidden or disguised. I stood by my views and still do.

The Darcy indictment lies in saying I kept the interview secret until McAllister produced it in court. It was reported in the Sacramento press in August, and the other defendants and I discussed it in jail.

When I gave the interview, I had been in the C. P. not a few months, as the Darcy indictment says, but almost two years. Far from associating with the Workers Party then, I had never seen a member of it.

The C. P. did not "expell" me for giving the interview. It "expelled" me months later—after I had quit it and joined the Workers Party. Then Darcy decided retroactively that I had been a renegade!

The Darcy indictment charges that I gave the interview out of "fear of a beating, hope of leniency or sheer vengeance". . . . All the defendants had to "forget" that, after the interview was read on February 7 but before Darcy had time to give them orders, they unanimously chose Mike Quinn to draft for them a declaration refuting the prosecution's claim that my interview was a "confession". Pat Chambers has to "forget" that he signed the following statement after the interview had been read: "Not only has Mini made no such offer (to turn State's evidence, as reported by the lying Hearst press) and no such confession, but he has repeatedly refused McAllister's offers of immunity in return for turning State's evidence."

Another Prisoner Speaks The whole question has been settled by our fellow-defendant, Jack Warnick, whom Darcy has not yet dared to call a stool-pigeon, and who has had the courage to defy Darcy and write:

"The characterization by the Western Worker that Mini is a 'cowardly, treacherous stool-pigeon' must be condemned as an attempt to fame the boy, and ruin his reputation for the rest of his life. . . .

The Darcy indictment also attacks my testimony given on the witness stand in my own behalf. The Western Worker of February 18 had this to say about the capitalist press reports of my testimony: "Newspapers reported the last two days' sessions by completely lying about the Trotskyites' testimony. Reports that Mini confessed a plan for violent seizure of power in event of war are based on distortions of his testimony. Quotations alleged to have been made by him are entire falsifications. Immediately following yesterday's session, newspaper reporters held a consultation with G. H. Parker, publicity director for the Associated Farmers, and he dictated the distortions they should publish."

At that time the Western Worker admitted that my testimony made McAllister "squirm". Today the Darcy indictment contains the same distortions as G. H. Parker dictated! The purpose of the distortions is to make it seem that I made "fantastic," wild, criminal statements on the stand. While it is true that I neither concealed nor hedged as Darcy did, I said nothing fantastic or criminal. I explained my ideas without concealment, and that is what made McAllister squirm. That is why, when I in-

ished, my fellow-defendants congratulated me. . . .

The Darcy indictment also charges me with aiding the prosecution through the policy of the Chicago Socialist who was for years the I.L.D.'s leading attorney in that city. It falsely states that Goldman "has done nothing to aid our defense". To sign their names to this charge, Decker and Chambers must "forget" the hours they spent with Goldman getting counsel. The Darcy indictment states that Goldman has sided with the prosecutor in attacking Gallagher. This is untrue.

When Gallagher for the third time squabbled with a juror and declared in front of the jury ("I am not talking for the jury; I am talking to the people in the courtroom," Goldman publicly expressed his disagreement with these tactics.

After all, it is the jury which renders the verdict, and it is good that they should know that somebody in the court besides the prosecution is concerned with what they think. The "masses" in the courtroom's 112 seats (half of them empty lately) won't affect the verdict. That is why Goldman—first privately, finally publicly—as well as some defendants and their friends (always privately and therefore futilely) tried to get Gallagher to behave like a militant labor attorney instead of like a soap-boxer who can't see his audience for the blood in his eye. . . .

The "United Front"

The Darcy indictment accuses the Workers Party of disrupting a "united front". Now, from July until January the C. P. avoided the building of a united front Sacramento defense, and disciplined party members who advocated one. It was forced into one by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense (the N.P.L.D.) which is defending me. Before the united front committee could take any public action, the C. P. introduced (on orders from New York) policies which necessarily drove out the N.P.L.D., the Workers Party, the Socialist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union—everybody who rejects the authority of the C. P.

Consequently the defense is split today. "The growing working class movement" which the Darcy indictment says I slander is powerless to impress prosecutor, court or jury because in reality it is merely the C. P., its phony affiliates and a handful of liberal innocents who represent nothing and nobody. And the movement my defenders are trying to build is knifed by the C. P.!

Who Bailed Out Decker?

The charge that the N.P.L.D. has done nothing for the defense is just another of Darcy's lies. His indictment says: "One of the most vicious lies created and spread by Goldman and the Trotskyites is that the I. L. D. did not bail out Caroline Decker and Pat Chambers. . . . because they were not supposed to be in agreement with the Party line. . . . We were in agreement."

I shall answer this by quoting a document never before published, a letter written by Caroline Decker to a member of the Workers Party on December 18. I have had the original since December: when Caroline Decker calls me a stool-pigeon and pours filth on the N.P.L.D., to whose ball she owes her freedom today, I do not hesitate to answer her with her own words: "I'm convinced now that the District Committee has definite reasons for not getting me out. Elaine's (E. Black, I. L. D. organizer) escape on the matter by say-

ing bail must first be raised for Nora and Loraine, I think is just that—an escape. We long ago agreed that Nora should be getting out. The fact remains, however, that no one is being bailed out.

"I do not want to take issue with you now on the C. and A.W. I.U. (the union). I'm not prepared to say that the criminal neglect of the union by the District Committee was 'opposition'. . . . Elaine says it's not important for us to be out. I'm definitely resigned to that now. . . . So you see—here I am—in jail—ostracized by my own Party. . . . feeling myself that the Party is not sufficiently utilizing the case. . . ."

"There are only the bars to bat against—the gray walls to question and a stone wall as far as my letters of inquiry to the District Committee are concerned."

Decker got out on bail because she applied to the N.P.L.D. for bail and, as she knew, because the N.P.L.D. did not out despite the instructions of the C. P. to her and all defendants to accept no form of "revolutionary bail", as Black called it. Decker's letter proves this when it says with reference to N.P.L.D. bail money:

"Gallagher received a letter from Gordon denying permission to accept the bail."

And Decker has repeatedly said that the action of the N.P.L.D. alone compelled the I.L.D. to suddenly produce a wad of bail and take out the other prisoners whom they had kept in jail for six wretched months!

Who Hurts the Defense?

No, I am neither a criminal syndicalist nor a stool-pigeon. I am as innocent of the charges in the Darcy indictment as I am of those in the State's indictment. I am simply a worker who helped organize a union, who believes that the workers' rule alone can save human society from increasing misery, oppression, war and decay, and who does not take orders from the Communist Party.

HOOEY

What is this? Strip poker? Originally Huey Long wasn't going to allow anybody to have more than a million dollars. In his reply to General Johnson he raised the ante by setting the upper limit at four million dollars. Last week in a speech in Philadelphia Hooey increased the limit still further, to nine million dollars. If someone doesn't call pretty soon Long will add on a few more million just so as not to keep Henry Ford and Andy Mellon from playing.

NOT THIS TIME

Headline: "Cuba Will Seize All Property of Labor Unions." This is one time when financial and sugar interests won't demand American intervention to safeguard property rights.—From N. Y. Post.

throw the state and abolish the capitalist economic system altogether. Then they establish the Workers' State which functions through new governmental instruments and disbands or destroys the old agencies and forms of the capitalists' military forces, etc. Then and not until then, under the workers' state, the masses can use the productive forces to provide plenty and security.

HOW ARE STRIKES CAUSED?

At this point, another important factor must be emphasized. You know that agitators and radicals do not cause strikes, as the kept press tries to make out. You have had plenty of experience of how at certain times no amount of agitation can cause the slightest stir among the workers. Rotten conditions cause the workers to revolt, particularly when they see a chance of doing something about them. But you know also that when last year the unrest increased in your mill, it was you and the other fellows I have been writing to who got together, talked things over, called a meeting of Bill Roberts' guards, got a lot of workers to sign cards that they would join a union if and when half the mill was signed up, later called a mass meeting, set up the union, sent for a charter from the international, etc. You fellows and a few others are the officers of the union, you serve on the department committees, you were on the strike committee.

In other words, there was a leadership. It consisted of the men who had read and studied some, who knew more about the labor movement than the general run of the workers, who could organize, who had courage and fighting qualities, who could look ahead and plan. Besides, you acted as a group, rather than as individuals. "The time before when the workers wanted to do something, but everything was led by this fellow Jackson, a good fellow in many ways but erratic and a free-lance, everything went wrong. The same conception holds good for the entire revolutionary struggle of the working class.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

That is why we say that the basic instrument of the workers in the revolutionary struggle is the revolutionary party.

The working class as a whole is not homogeneous. It is divided by many interests. Many sections are backward. It cannot, as a class, directly plan and guide its battles. Just as you found in your mill, a staff, a vanguard is necessary. If there is none, or if its basic policies are wrong, only confusion, defeat and disaster can result for the workers. As our Declaration of Principles puts it, "this is the revolutionary party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline."

The party does not impose its leadership on the masses. It wins their confidence and support by its devotion to the interests of the masses, its courage, the correctness of its policies. Even immediate struggles are carried forward effectively only where such leadership plays an important, if not a leading, role.

When, and only when the revolutionary party, as the crisis deepens and conditions ripen, gains the support of the majority in the Workers' Councils, or whatever the masses struggle organizations of the workers may be called, establishes its leadership, can the revolutionary struggle of the workers be carried to a victorious conclusion.

That is why it is so important that you and workers like you should join the W.P.—why on the one hand you should contribute your strength, energy and intelligence to it and on the other hand receive from membership in the revolutionary party the training, discipline, comradeship and enthusiasm which can come in no other way, and without which we cannot accomplish the colossal and urgent task before the Party, before the working class here in the U. S. and throughout the world!

(A Fourth and final letter will be published in next week's issue of the New Militant.)

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NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U.S. 2 West 15th Street, New York City Phone: ALgonquin 4-9058

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON Editor HARRY A. HOWE Associate Editor HAWTHORNE WINNER Business Manager

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months. Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c six months. Bundle Rates: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1935 No. 14

We Accuse William Green

UPON the request of Hooley Long, William Green, A. F. of L. president, sent a letter to the N. Y. Evening Post in which he says that Long's "legislative record upon legislation sponsored and supported by labor" is "thus far 100 percent favorable to labor"

Not a word about the Lane Cotton Mill workers in Louisiana where Long's word is law, kept in a state of peonage, their strike smashed by the state's forces.

Not a word about the Longshoremen's strike last year smashed by the militia in the state where Long's word is law.

Not a word about the utter backwardness of Louisiana in such matters as old age pension legislation, unemployment insurance, child labor.

Not a word about the way in which Long is skillfully trying to make the workers believe that his Share The Wealth Clubs and Long For President movement are the road to salvation.

Not a word about the fact that a mere vote for an A. F. of L. bill under circumstances where it means nothing is enough to get a credit on the A. F. of L. legislative committee's record.

Who gives William Green the authority to put a "labor" stamp of approval upon this demagogue? And in doing that to hide the most important facts, practically all the important facts, about his labor record?

Once again, and in the most outrageous fashion, Green plays the role of a misleader of labor.

Friends of Labor

THE A. F. of L. has long pursued the policy of playing up liberal politicians of the old parties. The Communist Party with its new "labor" party line is beginning to do the same thing.

The other day a few of these politicians gave an exhibition of how they can be counted on in the pinch to sabotage even the most elementary of labor's proposals. Wagner, author of the new labor relations bill purporting to outlaw company unions and on which the A. F. of L. today bases all its hopes for unionism in the basic industries, Bob La Follette, white hope of many third parties, Black, author of the 30-hour bill, switched their votes in the U. S. Senate and thus helped to defeat the McCarran prevailing wage amendment to the Public Works Bill!

To the last, the A. F. of L. leaders plead for the amendment. They should now, logically, be attacking Wagner, La Follette and Black as betrayers of labor. They are doing nothing of the sort, because they have nobody but these same men to depend upon for support of the 30-hour bill and the Wagner labor relations bill.

And what assurance have the A. F. of L. leaders that these men in the pinch will not again back down? The answer is: Not only is there no assurance that they will not back down; it is certain that they will on anything that really matters. Capitalism is no longer in a position to give substantial concessions to the workers. Liberals, for all their good intentions and noble emotions, will simply serve as smoke-screens for the insistent drive against the standards of the masses.

The worker must build their own political party; but not a reformist "labor" party which also cannot play a progressive role today. The workers must build their own revolutionary party for the overthrow of capitalism.

Good Work Franklin



AF of L Leaders Hope for New Gov't. Sell Out Board. Want Labor to Confide In Capitalism

WASHINGTON.—"A bill to create confidence in law, on the part of American workers". That is how Pres. John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Dept., A. F. of L., described the Wagner bill to strengthen the National Labor Relations Board, when he testified before the Senate education and labor committee March 19.

Pres. John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers also stressed repeatedly the idea of confidence in the government. He asked particularly that the proposed strong National Labor Relations Board be made part of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, in which he declared labor has "particular pride" (He means the A. F. of L. bureaucrats.—Ed.)

"Labor has confidence in the Dept. of Labor," Lewis said. "Labor has confidence in the Secretary of Labor; and that goes for whoever becomes Secretary of Labor, as labor believes the president of the United States will always appoint someone in whom labor has confidence." (Bill Doak, for instance.) He also expressed his own confidence in labor board appointments of "present and future presidents"

Besides asking amendment of the bill to put the board in the Labor Dept., Lewis also advocated representation of trade unions and employers on the N.L.R.B. Non-labor members, no matter how well-meaning, could have no background in the understanding of labor problems, he said

Under the present conditions and those proposed in the Wagner Bill, Lewis said, there is a "situation where only men who are ignorant of their subject can be appointed to boards of this character"

There are exceptions. Despite his expressions of confidence in the government and his stressing of creation of confidence

among the workers, Lewis mentioned one government official in whom he had no confidence, Roosevelt's close adviser, Donald Richberg, often dubbed "assistant president", was given a severe drubbing.

"Richberg has sold labor down the river," Lewis said. "In his attitude and his interpretations, he has driven a knife to the heart of labor."

Frey called for passage of the Wagner bill to create confidence in law as an antidote to radicalism. "There is no point at which the radical can reach labor more quickly," he said, "than to be able to point out that the workers are an unprivileged class—that they can't enjoy certain privileges (such as the right to organize) which the employers enjoy."

J. A. Farquharson, national legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, offered testimony in particular support of the section of the bill preserving the right to closed shop union agreements. Under the Railway Labor Act, he pointed out, the closed shop was not permitted. The P. of R. T. had 23 such contracts previously, which were set aside.

"Where minority groups contract, they can destroy the conditions of the majority," he said.

Vice Pres. E. J. Helck of the Axton-Fisher Tobacco Co. also spoke in favor of the Wagner bill

CAPITOL NEWS

(Continued from Page 1)

withstanding the Senate's first "re-volt", that the Senate would long hold out against the President's express wishes. The Senate and the President are spokesmen, after all, for one and the same kind of economic system. They are puppets operated by one and the same set of master hands. The earlier "re-volt" was just a bit of play acting, for the benefit of the back-home voters controlled by the building trades unions. Having staged their gesture, the revolvers can now say that the President forced their hands. Unless they gave in, they can explain, there would have been no Work Relief bill at all.

The imminent enactment of the measures raises certain fascinating speculations. It is proposed to pay \$50 a month to unemployed wage-earners who go on "work" relief. This sum, it is assumed, will be sufficient to maintain them in "decency" if not in "comfort". How low will the payments be to wage earners for whom no suitable "work" relief can be found? How much lower will the payments be to the "unemployables"?

The history of the whole Work-Relief program is a beautiful example of the progressive intellectual bankruptcy of the New Deal. PWA got going as a grandiose project in "planned public works". The government was going to spend its way back to prosperity thanks to roads, tunnels, bridges, dams, power plants and the like. FERA got going as an equally grandiose project for alleviating the evils of unemployment. The government would see to it that every unemployed

By Jim Karl

QUESTION BOX

Conducted by A. Weaver MILTON B. BRONX— Question: Is it true that M. Olgin, editor of the "Freiheit", took a patriotic position during the war? Can you give proof?

Answer: Not only did Olgin, who is now one of the chief of Stalin's Trotsky-slayers, take a patriotic position, but he reached heights of eloquence in urging the American workers to shed their blood for Morgan's profits. Here is a typical excerpt from his writings of that time:

"The war has lost for the Socialist world its threatening appearance. It is not a war for enslaving but a war for freedom. One must be blind or insane not to see progressive character of this war. The world at present is not sunk in the depths of darkness but in a severe and risky struggle which must bring light to out-worn humanity."

"A different sort of bravery and a different sort of beauty calls and entices: the bravery of the battlefield, the beauty of people who sacrifice their lives for their country, for that which their country has declared to be their holy duty."

"There is a world of idealistic enthusiasm poured over the present war, a stream of sincere belief in the ideal of freedom. The American is firmly convinced that his country has no egoistic motives in the present war."

"A strenuous task-war. But in it appear many fine sides of both people and nations." (M. Olgin, N. Y. Forward, June 1, 1918.)

It is no accident, therefore, that Olgin occupies his present position.

B. H., BOSTON—

Question: What is the significance of the recent "Gold Clause" decision of the Supreme Court? Is it true that the way to further inflation is opened by it?

Answer: The existence of the clause in contracts requiring that debts be paid in gold of a certain weight and fineness was a certain deterrent to inflation since the latter without repudiation of the gold payment provision, would automatically increase the government debt considerably (all "gold-clause" debts would be increased about 67 percent), and engender new financial convulsions, so that the support given by the Supreme Court to the cancellation of the "clause" removed this barrier.

It was necessary, of course, that this be done in an indirect manner, and this explains the delay and hesitation in finding the proper formula, since a direct approval of the cancellation of the "gold clause" would have given a legal sanction to the repudiation of debts by the European countries and would have stamped as legal the prior claim of society over the property rights of the individual, a dangerous precedent, which might be interpreted by the workers as the right to expropriate capitalist private property. The approval was therefore given by saying that such cancellation was illegal but that nothing could be done about it since the perpetrator of the unlawful act, i.e. Congress itself, was the only power to judge or nullify it.

It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to overemphasize the importance of this legal decision, since, as evidenced by the fact that the change in the gold content of the dollar was made prior to such decision, the existence of the "gold clause" was insufficient to prevent inflation. With or without the opinion of the court, inflation is and will be decided by the laws of money and currency as they are conditioned by the decline of capitalism internationally, and by the juggling of currencies as part of the struggle of the imperialists for a greater share of the world market.

However, the decision has other extremely significant aspects. In the first place it is living proof of the Marxian concept that laws are merely an expression of existing forces ("... the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and reflected into forms of thought."); Faced with an accomplished fact, the court rendered a decision compatible with it and maintaining the status-quo.

In the second place the court action, like the NRA, is legal recognition of the decline of capitalism. Capitalism, based upon commodity production, requires that contracts, i.e. the right of the commodity owner to his own property, be sacred. The repudiation by Congress of the "gold clause" in contracts was a partial cancellation of this fundamental law and the decision of the court that such repudiation was illegal but that it could

Currency Inflation War of Today Leads Inevitably to Military War of Tomorrow

NEW YORK.—The world money war is on—in full force. While rapidly grooming their armed forces for the great conflict they know is coming, the world powers are fighting another semi-secret war in the money capitals of the world. They have not yet called into action their armies, navies and air forces, but they have put their money experts on the battlefield. In Washington, New York, London, Paris and Tokyo the bat-

tle is being fought out, gaining intensity every month.

Although much of the battle is fought behind closed doors and the actual maneuvers are kept secret, occasional incidents and trends reveal the way it is going. The sudden decline in the value of the British pound from over \$5 to around \$4.75 immediately after the U. S. Supreme Court gold decision is such an indicator. Another is the flood of rumors in Wall Street that the Roosevelt administration will in the not-too-distant future further devalue the currency of this country, perhaps to 50c, perhaps lower.

Stabilization Funds

The use of gigantic stabilization funds helps the governments to jockey their currencies into positions they desire. The British government has such a fund, estimated to be above a billion dollars. The United States' fund, since devaluation of gold, probably amounts to at least two billions.

The governments can and do use these funds in speculation. They can help to push a currency up in value, or down, by their buying or selling of other currencies. Each nation's aim is, of course, to get into a position where its large corporations can sell their products as cheaply as possible to buyers in other countries.

The fall of the British pound followed the United States gold decision and the announcement in England that their depression was still severe, previous optimistic reports notwithstanding. A flight of capital from the pound resulted, and the stabilization fund was not called into play—the British government, in other words, assenting to the currency's drop in value. With that drop Britain gained a favorable position in the battle for foreign markets which it had not had since the United States abandoned the

gold standard in 1933. At that time the price of the pound was as low as \$3.50.

The low price of the pound, and the even lower price of the Japanese yen, which has been depreciated to an extremely great degree, has had its effect on American markets. Reports from South America and the Far East indicate that American trade is falling off very rapidly. They indicate, too, that American industrialists will soon pull the strings that will devalue the American dollar even farther. And after that has been done once or twice another method of retaining markets or of gaining new ones will probably be tried.

That method is war.

N. U. L. Blasts Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 1)

less than \$10 a week plus \$3 for each dependent.

Administered by Workers and Farmers

Administration of the insurance is to be by workers and farmers under rules prescribed by the Secretary of Labor, through unemployment insurance commissions committees.

Like the 30-hour week provisions, the unemployment insurance section covers all types of workers and farmers. It further specifies that workers shall not be disqualified from receiving insurance because of refusal to work in place of strikers, at less than normal or trade union rates, under unsafe or unsanitary conditions, or where hours are longer than the prevailing union standards, or at any unreasonable distance from home.

Pending establishment of the insurance system, provision is made for an appropriation of five billion dollars for cash relief for all unemployed at the rate of not less than \$10 per week with \$3 additional for each dependent.

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Second World War Looms

(Continued from Page 1)

7,500 in 1914 to about 25,000 in 1918.

As stated above, these facts have been and are being repeated daily. They are the stock in trade of the liberals and the pacifists who operate on the belief that if enough people can be made acquainted with them or if they can be used to get legislation passed to "take the profits out of war" the Second World War can be prevented.

Those who continue to hold such beliefs are either knaves or incapable of seeing or understanding plain everyday facts. War under capitalism is as inevitable as the rising and setting of the sun. The belief that war can be reformed or legislated out of capitalism is just as foolish and as fatal as the belief of that southern preacher who trusted in God to protect him from the poisonous fangs of a rattlesnake.

Just so long as capitalism lasts there will be wars. This is the fact that workers and the peoples of the world must learn. And the fight to destroy capitalism therefore, is the only fight or war in which the masses can win. That is their war. That is the war for humanity, for

Monroe Clears Up Press Lie

A recent issue of the New Militant reported that Lillian Monroe, former C. P. section organizer, had joined the W. P. recently. The Fresno, Calif., Bee printed a garbled statement regarding Comrade Monroe's attitude toward Communism and the Communist Party. That our readers may know her exact position, we are printing here her letter to the editor of the Fresno Bee.

Fresno, California March 10, 1935

Editor, Fresno Bee Fresno, California

Mr. Editor:

The article you publish about me in your Sunday's issue, March 10, is distorted and incorrect. I ask that you publish this letter in correction.

Firstly, and let's make this clear, I denounce the bankrupt official Communist Party of America and the Third International as a whole as misleaders of the working class. This does not mean however, as you distort it, that I denounce Communism. The corrupt Communist Party has discredited and blackened the doctrine of Communism as advocated and practiced by Marx and Lenin. While I condemn and denounce the Communist Party as misleaders you must get this straight: I am in wholehearted agreement with Marxian-Leninist communism.

Secondly, your article is dominated by an overtone to the effect that I am finished with the class struggle. This is absolutely not so. Always shall I be sincerely devoted to the struggles of the working class in our fight for betterment and final emancipation from wage slavery and the profit system.

I am applying for membership into the Workers Party of the United States and I now advocate the necessity of a new, a Fourth International, as advocated by Leon Trotsky. I am convinced that the program of the Workers Party will lead the American working class to victory.

Sincerely, (Signed) LILLIAN MONROE.

Sunday, 8 p.m., March 24th -- Irving Plaza

JAMES P. CANNON

On His Return from a Coast to Coast Tour

Will Speak On

The Class Struggle in the West