

The tour is over! Comrade Muste reports herein on the final meetings and his impression of the whole tour.

By A. J. MUSTE

DAVENPORT and MUSCATINE, Ia.—It is when one meets a small branch such as the one at Davenport that one sees most clearly, perhaps, how thorough training in revolutionary theory can hold a group together in the face of the greatest obstacles and discouragement.

Crowded Hours in St. Louis ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The standard, not to say classic, Stalinist mimeographed leaflet distributed at our public meeting gives "the new line" of the C. P. on us, at least for that day: the workers are warned to beware of "ultra-revolutionary parties" such as the W. P.

A conference with workers who want to discuss the details of the W. P. program, one with a group of progressive trade unionists, two meetings with middle class sympathizers, a business meeting of the branch, and a public mass meeting are crowded into 36 hours here.

ILLINOIS MINE FIELDS.—Shacks, dirt, poverty. Here one realizes again that Columbia has indeed fallen low. In one mining town, P.M.A. members on strike over two years still believe in the Percy-Keck-Pieck machine in the P.M.A. which supplies them with about fifty cents worth of relief a month, and regard Allard, Pat Ansbury and Jack Battuello as union-wreckers!

"Best Political Meeting Yet" COLUMBUS, Ohio.—The best political meeting yet held in Columbus from the standpoint both of numbers and of the level of questions and discussion. Dick Harrington was on hand. For months he posed as a non-partisan in the unemployed organizations and came

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Watch the number after your name on the wrapper of your copy. When the serial number on the masthead of the paper corresponds to it, your subscription is expiring! This issue is number 9. Please save us the expense and bother of writing you especially about your expiration, and send us 50c or \$1.00 about an issue in advance.

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

Roosevelt Held up Auto Labor Report until Code Was Renewed

By JACK ELDER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Acting on the principle of sentence first and verdict afterward, the President renewed the automobile code one week before the Henderson-Lubin report on employment and labor conditions in the automobile industry was made public.

Not one solitary advantage, large or small, has accrued to the automobile wage-slaves as the consequence of the labor provisions of their code. Let the report speak for itself. To begin with the "speed-up", vicious and unrestrained, is the universal practice throughout the industry.

BITTERLY OPPOSE PAYMENT PLAN

Pass workers are paid on a straight hourly basis or by individual piece work. The typical method of payment is the "group bonus plan", to which method the workers are "bitterly and unalterably opposed", because of "the simple but to them all conclusive fact that they do not know how much they are receiving."

Workers must come to shop "as much as an hour early to prepare work for the day". During the noon lunch interval "material must

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C.P.'s Attack on Mini Decried in Sacramento

SACRAMENTO, Cal., Feb. 11.—That the prosecution's immediate aim in the criminal syndicalism trial is the crushing of trade unionism in the rich valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers has become crystal clear during the fourth week of the presentation of the state's case.

During the first weeks of the trial the prosecution utilized Communist party literature as a smoke-screen. Under this cover, it now begins to sneak up on the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union, or its successors, since the union has been smashed by the terror.

The testimony presented by stool-pigeons, sheriffs and prosperous farmers (i.e., employers of migratory workers) is that Pat Chambers and Caroline Decker, union leaders, openly advocated the use of armed force in various strikes, and provoked violence. Many of the witnesses were obviously lying and cross-examination shot their testimony full of holes.

Stool Pigeon's Testimony The testimony of M. Harris, a stool-pigeon who had been in the Communist party was also featured. This gentleman, who soon after joining the C. P. was made secretary to the section organizer, with access to all party records, is connected with the Associated Farmers (i.e., mortgage-holding banks), the Industrial Association of San Francisco and the State Criminal Identification Bureau.

Leo Gallagher, International Labor Defense attorney, has made no headway in wiping out from the jury's minds the prejudice which middle-class provincials inevitably

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Warnick Defends Mini, Raps 'Western Worker'

Ed. Note: The author of the following statement is one of the 17 workers being tried for criminal syndicalism in Sacramento. Arrested on August 13 he was hauled out by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense after the I.L.D. had let all the defendants except one rot in jail for six months.

Warnick is twenty-eight years old, the son of a blacksmith. He worked his way through the Universities of Washington and California. In 1933 he was San Jose section organizer of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union and was active in the cherry and pear strikes in the Santa Clara Valley, the Redwood City mushroom strike and the San Joaquin cotton strike.

Warnick recently criticized the Communist party for its actions in smashing the Sacramento united front. Now he speaks out against the Communist party attack on a comrade who stands in the shadow of San Quentin. His straight-forward statement is a crushing answer to the Communist Party slander campaign against Mini.

Warnick's Statement No brief or excuse can be held

for a class-conscious worker giving any information whatsoever to the police. That is why Norman Mini should be severely condemned for his statement given at the time of his arrest last August to Neil R. McAllister, chief prosecutor, in the Sacramento criminal syndicalism case.

"However, any attempt, such as is being made by the Western Worker, to characterize the statement of Norman Mini as a 'confession' and the act of a 'cowardly, treacherous stool-pigeon', must be equally condemned.

"I am convinced from my close acquaintance with Mini in jail and during the last months, that Mini did not give the statement with evil intent. I am certain that he neither attempted to save himself from a prison term, nor consciously gave information against his fellow-defendants. Neither do I think the information he gave is damaging to the revolutionary movement. What he said consisted of facts which we have always disdained to hide. The rest was merely his personal opinion.

"Norman Mini made a stupid mistake. But it is not a fatal mistake and he should not be crucified for it.

(signed) JACK WARNICK San Francisco Feb. 10, 1935.

SOCIALISTS VIOLATE AGREEMENT

Now Take Steps to Launch Sectarian Defense Organization

With cynical disregard for existing written agreements binding the Socialist party to united action to launch a labor defense organization, the S. P. appears now to be engaged in setting up a "Labor and Socialist" imitation of the I.L.D.

The New Leader of Feb. 2 announced that a conference to launch a permanent labor defense organization will be held March 15 in the headquarters of the I.L.G.W.U. and that a call for that conference is being sent out to "trade union, Socialist and fraternal organizations". The announcement did not state by whom the call will be issued. The impression one gets from reading the announcement is that the call will be issued by the New York Socialist Committee for Promotion of Labor Defense. It may or may not issue the call. Some other body may do that. A number of organizations—trade union or fraternal—may sign the call. All that is important but not decisive in determining the significance of the conference.

The announcement of this conference follows by a week the announcement of the formation of a Socialist Committee for Promotion of Labor Defense as a step in the direction of the formation of such committees in other cities where the Socialist party is organized and the formation of a Labor and Socialist National Defense Committee. The conference, therefore, must be considered as a part of this policy.

A "Plan for a Labor Defense Organization" was drafted about a year ago by representatives of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Communist Party Opposition, the Left Poole Zion, the Il Martello Group, the Workers Party and the Socialist party. The plan specified how the organization was to be launched. A Conference Committee of representatives of organizations endorsing the plan of the Provisional Labor Defense, and leading trade unionists was provided for. Its function was to "organize and carry through a conference of invited representatives of as many organizations as are interested in the plan as here set forth at which conference the defense organization is to be set up and then publicly launched."

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United Opposition Needed against Tighe

Lack of Preparation Brought Present Progressive Movement in Steel to Disaster

By ELMER COPE

In defiance of an expulsion threat made by President Mike Tighe of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, delegates and members from 78 locals met in Pittsburgh February 3 in a conference called to consider steps toward the organization of the steel industry. Similarly, about seventy miners from Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, in face of ouster action by their officialdom, met in joint session to plan united action with the steel workers.

The call for the conference was issued at a meeting held five weeks previously, attended by regularly elected delegates from three district organizations of the Amalgamated Association. At this meeting six international officials also attended. Though the officials defended their policies they established the legality of the conference by promising to issue the call for the February 3 meeting.

The initiators of this progressive movement are by and large the same militants who took over the 1934 annual convention of the A. A. and forced through a program for general strike action, over the protest of the international officials. This original movement collapsed after a re-convened convention held two months later had—under pressure from President Roosevelt and Bill Green of the A. F. of L.—rescinded the strike action of the previous convention. Last fall the movement took a new lease on life and under the leadership of Clarence Irwin of Youngstown, and William Spang of Duquesne together with Louis Morris of Canton, Mel Moor of Weirton and others began to rally the progressives for the nation-wide organizing campaign which the officialdom had completely abandoned.

The Feb. 3 Conference

In an effort to find a way out approximately 400 steel workers came to the February 3 conference. It is not known how many were officially delegated to represent their respective lodges. The fact that the bureaucrats, after first indicating that they would tolerate the conference, launched an attack outlawing it, undoubtedly kept many delegates away.

It is significant that the bulk of those attending came from lodges where unemployment is high and working conditions most desperate. The lodges with signed contracts, mostly in the tin plate divisions, were cool toward the movement and had no significant representation at the conference.

There is no doubt that the conference, although the majority of delegates came from the Pittsburgh-Youngstown-Canton-Weirton area, expressed the dissatisfaction of the workers in the industry with the inaction of the Tighe machine. The conference illustrated that the job of building a real, national progressive movement in steel has just begun. The vitally important Chicago-Gary district had one representative, no one attended from the Portsmouth, Ohio section, and the entire Michigan area was without a spokesman.

Resolutions

"The steel workers can not depend upon labor boards and other federal agencies but must rely upon their own organized strength," read the main resolution adopted. "We reaffirm our belief in the principles of the A. A. and the A. F. of L. which are principles of struggle." The resolution provided for the establishment of a committee to seek the cooperation of the executive boards of the A. A. and of the A. F. of L. for a general organizing drive.

A detailed program of action called for mass meetings, publicity, unemployed relief committees, ladies auxiliaries and a supporting committee of liberal and professional elements. Another resolution was adopted petitioning the A. A. executive board to liberalize dues payments and provide exemptions for unemployed workers in order to meet the emergency.

Tighe Goes Into Action

Hardly had the conference adjourned when the delegates were informed that Spang and his Duquesne lodge had been expelled, and that the A. A. attorney, Ogburn, had been instructed to withdraw the Duquesne case which was then

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SCHOLARSHIP CONTEST TO NEW YORK WORKERS

To the person who sends in the largest number of subs between this date (February 16) and March 2 the New Militant will award a free scholarship consisting of three courses in the International Workers School. These courses may be chosen by the winner subject to the capacity of the classes. Ten yearly subs or equivalent will be the minimum in order to qualify. In case of the similar scholarships will be awarded to each typing contestant.

Relief Bill Will Drive Wages of All Labor to \$12 Minimum

Prevailing Wage Clause Defeated by Order of Roosevelt

In order to understand the action of the Senate Appropriations Committee in amending the Roosevelt Work Relief Bill it is necessary to understand the financial implications of the amendment.

On Thursday, Feb. 7, the Roosevelt Bill, which provided full time employment for 3,500,000 heads of families at \$50 per month (30c per hour) at a total yearly cost of four billion dollars was introduced. An amendment by Senator Adams, providing a continuation of the present home relief at a yearly cost of two billion dollars was defeated by a 10-10 tie. Senator Adams' amendment represents big business sentiment, as embodied in a resolution of the National Manufacturers Association several months ago, for cheap government and a balanced budget.

Prevailing Wage Amendment

At the same session of the Committee the "prevailing wage" amendment was introduced and passed by a 12-8 vote. This amendment provides for the payment of wages at rates prevailing in the locality where work is undertaken. This was calculated by the Budget Bureau to be 80c per hour as an average for all localities and all sorts of work to be undertaken. The vote for this amendment, 12-8, is rather startling as it shows two Senators who stood out for the Adams' amendment (10-10 vote) as the cheapest method of taking care of the unemployed, switching to an amendment which on the face of it is even more expensive than the original measure proposed by Roosevelt.

Roosevelt Opposes It

How does it happen that two advocates of cheap relief and ten advocates of "expensive" relief get together on the amendment? And why does President Roosevelt greet this amendment which receives support from both camps as an amendment which "defeats the whole purpose of the relief bill"?

First to take the problem of the agreement between the cheap relief and the "expensive" relief factions: The fact of the matter is that the amendment, while it provides higher wages, would not necessarily cost more than the original bill, and might even cost less!

The original bill contemplates full time employment for 3,500,000 heads of families at \$50 per month (30c per hour). On this basis total wage payments per month would be \$175,000,000. At the same time the cost of materials, according to the estimate of the Budget Bureau, would be \$160,000,000 per month, a total of \$335,000,000 per month, or approximately four billion per year.

The amendment provides "prevailing" wage payments (80c per hour) but it says nothing about full time employment. This leaves two possibilities. The first, which attracted the proponents of "expensive" relief, is for full time employment at prevailing wages. This would involve a total yearly expenditure both for wages and materials, of some six billion.

The second possibility, which attracted the proponents of cheap relief, is for part time employment at prevailing wages, part time such as to make the monthly payments total \$50 per worker. Under this plan the monthly payments for

wages would be, as under the original bill, \$175,000,000. At the same time, since the work would be part time, the cost of materials would only be \$80,000,000; the total monthly expenditure \$225,000,000, slightly more than three billion per year!

The Three Proposals

What does the unemployed worker stand to gain from each of these possibilities?

The best proposed plan is that for full time employment at prevailing wages. A plan which would cost six billion per year.

The second best is for part time (62 hours per month) employment at prevailing wages. A plan which would cost three billion per year.

The third choice is the President's proposal for full time employment at 30c per hour. A plan which would cost four billion per year.

Why does the President choose and support the last plan which is the worst so far as the workers are concerned and which is only second best so far as total government expenditure is concerned? Against the first plan, it is true, he may argue expense, as it calls for an appropriation of six billion instead of four.

But even leaving the first plan out of consideration, what argument can be advanced against the second plan, which actually will cost one billion less than the original proposal?

The Sweatshop Argument

The argument advanced by the President, through his agents, is that under the second plan, although it costs one fourth less, the government will receive in return only one half as much construction because workers will be on part time instead of full. Thus the

President of the United States, of this great Democracy, for, of, and by the people, is reduced to bargaining like any common little sweatshop boss!

The President admits that the government is nothing more than a glorified sweatshop, whose first and principal consideration is not the welfare of its workers, nor even the welfare of its taxpayers (who will pay the extra billion) but the amount of profit it can squeeze out of its citizens!

While this argument reveals the complete degradation of the state under the capitalist system, it does not fully explain the tenacity with which the President clings to his plan. There is another reason which he doesn't mention, not even in a whisper, for preferring payment at 30c per hour instead of at prevailing rates.

If the President is willing to argue like a vulgar street peddler, it is because he does not dare mention the real purpose of the bill.

Legalizing Scabbing

The bill is intended to drive down the wages of all labor, employed or unemployed, organized or unorganized, to drive all wages down to the slave level of 30c per hour, \$12 per week.

What other reason can the President have for insisting on his plan, which is least advantageous for the workers, and only second best from the point of view of taxpayers in general?

His purpose is clearly recognized in at least two quarters. Speaking for the Building Trades Employers Assn., C. G. Norman, in pleading that public works be put under private contract said, "The contractor is not averse to using labor from relief rolls." Not averse!

A.F. of L. Helpless; Strike Action on PWA Only Course for Labor

How they would welcome the opportunity to pay \$12 per week instead of the present scale of \$12 per day.

And the A. F. of L., recognizing that the bill threatens its very existence, has hastened to make its feeble and ineffectual protests. To quote the New York Times, "The full force of the A. F. of L. as represented by William Green, president, and the executive council, was brought to bear on the Senate Appropriations Committee in an effort to have it write the prevailing wage requirement into President Roosevelt's \$4,000,000,000 work relief program."

"The Federation President declared the adoption of the relief program without the McCarran (prevailing wage) amendment would wreck the prevailing wage scale throughout the country."

The Outlook

As the matter stands at the present writing the Senate Committee, under pressure from the President, has voted 14-9 to reconsider the amendment which it passed last week. There can be little doubt that the President will finally succeed in having the amendment totally withdrawn. The ineffectual bleats from the A. F. of L. officialdom, if the past is any indication, will have less than any influence. There is only one course for the workers, both unemployed, and employed, for both are threatened, and that is to organize militantly for strike struggle against the attacks of the Administration.

How the A. F. of L. Actually Betrayed the Automobile Workers

A Story from Detroit that Blasts Green's Class Collaboration Policy

By Special Correspondent

DETROIT, Mich.—Less than a year ago, Detroit was in the throes of a crisis. The automotive workers, who had been called "the lowest paid mechanics of America", who for five years had silently suffered unemployment, cruel speed-ups and constant wage reductions, suddenly revolted. Paralleling the movement in steel and textiles, they flocked into the A. F. of L. federal unions by the thousands.

Last Spring
By the beginning of 1934, the federal locals in the Michigan area alone had grown to some 60,000. By March, grievances had so accumulated that sentiment for a strike swept through the industry from city to city. A general strike was threatened at Fisher Body; the plants at Flint, Pontiac, Lansing and Cleveland overwhelmingly passed strike votes. The Hudson plant at Detroit, the Buick at Flint, the Chevrolet, Hupp, Dodge, Cadillac, Chrysler, Packard, Plymouth, Nash plants—all were ready for the walkout.

The arrogant executives of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce for the first time in years had the "jitters". London editors were bombarding the Detroit papers with questions. In the White House Roosevelt was spending sleepless nights and working overtime.

Today
Today Detroit is quiet. The papers gleefully record the change and point out the "peaceable nature of the automotive worker when given the advantage of the secret ballot to express his heartfelt desires". More than 90 percent of the workers participating in the recent Automobile Labor Board's elections voted for candidates unaffiliated with any union. The A. F. of L. received only 5 percent of the total.

Does this indicate that the auto workers, grown wiser during the year, have become immune to unionism, as the capitalist press would like to convince us? Well—

By March 5 of last year, 200,000 auto workers in Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and surrounding areas were waiting for the signal to strike, to battle for their demands for union recognition, 20 percent wage increase, 40-hour week, time-and-a-half for overtime, reinstatement of discharged union employees, etc., etc.

When enthusiasm was at its height, the A. F. of L. agreed, at Roosevelt's request, to postpone the strike until after the hearing of the National Labor Board March 14.

Waiting tensely for this decisive date, local after local voted to strike if a satisfactory agreement was not reached then.

March 14 arrived. That very day the bosses, desperately striving to halt unionization, "voluntarily" announced the 36-hour week with pay increases. "Ford Brings Back the \$5 Day," screamed the headlines.

And on that very day, the Labor Board hearing broke up when representatives of Hudson Motor Co. and General Motors walked out after reading a statement that they were not committed to accept any ruling of the board.

A. F. of L. Acts
The 200,000 men awaiting the order to down tools thought that now even the die-hards, Collins and

Green, surely must act in the face of this sham and defiance. But no! Hugh S. Johnson, still NRA dictator, was placed in charge—and again Collins agreed to a five-day postponement.

The season was drawing to a close; evidently the strike was to be negotiated to death. But the workers, inexperienced, were still hopeful, still did not see through the tricks of their leaders.

On March 20, the day before the new deadline, the Detroit Free Press blazoned a front-page editorial: "Don't Wreck America". "The issue is largely an academic one," it smugly assured the underpaid workers, "a difference of opinion over an economic-political philosophy. . . . No matter which side wins . . . the wage scale and the hours will remain the same."

Next day, March 21, the president announced he would personally take charge of the negotiations, and asked Collins for a postponement. Green wired Collins to agree. This time the strike is postponed— indefinitely!

Capitulation
Five days later, March 25, the A. F. of L. leaders capitulated to the administration, agreeing to the creation of the Automobile Labor Board and proportional representation, which meant legalization of the company union, and signed an agreement which made absolutely no provision for union recognition, hours, wages or anything else.

The strike was called off. . . . The workers, many of whom were having their first trade union experience, were left hanging in mid-air.

The "settlement" came toward the end of the season. With the aid of the press, the A. F. of L. bureaucracy helped the administration create the illusion of the impartiality of the Automobile Labor Board. Instead of concentrating on building a union and fighting for workers' demands, it shifted the problem to lodging complaints with Dr. Leo Wolman, head of the board, and waiting for a vote on representation.

After the sell-out, the workers left the A. F. of L. almost as fast as they had entered it a few months earlier. Thousands were reported as leaving in disgust. Many even temporarily lost their faith in unionism. The A. F. of L. was forced to withdraw Collins from Detroit, so great was his disrepute. And the bosses made a drive for the company union.

The Anti-Labor Board
For nine months, the Auto Labor Board listened to complaints and reports of code violations—and did nothing. In January of this year, at last it got around to plant elections. Thus far they have been held at the Cadillac, Chevrolet, Dodge, Plymouth and Chrysler plants. The ground had been well-prepared by the administration. Of some 40,000 eligible to vote, 38,330 or 90 percent participated; 34,273 voted for unaffiliated representatives, 1,847 for A. F. of L. and 508 for company unions.

The answer to the bosses' campaign for company unionism is clear: the workers do not want company unions. But after the sellout of last year, they have lost faith in the A. F. of L. Fed bunk about the impartiality of the Labor Board for ten months, they have

been taught to believe in the possibility of gaining their demands without a union—through "unaffiliated" representatives. With miserable pay and the speed-up continuing, they are riding toward disillusion; trouble is brewing at the bottom.

A New Attack
The manufacturers, seeing the repudiation of their company union scheme, are trying a new attack. Elmer H. Gustavson, company union man, chairman of the elected Cadillac agency of representation, has told of plans to organize a Federation of Automobile Industrial Employees, to parallel the A. F. of L.

It is not clear whether most of the unaffiliated representatives are blinds for the company union or whether, once elected, they are won by bribes and flattery. Some idea of how they work comes from Gustavson: "The 16 members of the agency met in the council room of the Cadillac Administration Building and spent most of their day in deliberation. Their wages went on just as if they had been at work in the shop." One result of their deliberations: "They ratified an arrangement under which mutual cooperation will be exercised in a study of changes of wage and bonus rates."

It is plain that these agencies, even with the best intentions, with no organization behind them be-

Bankers Control Relief California Legion Aids Drive To Reduce Standard

BERKELEY, Cal.—In line with California's drive against militant workers, employed or unemployed, the S.E.R.A. administration is being reorganized on the basis of control by the banking interests and the American Legion. Because of the growing sentiment for organization among the workers, this change is being pushed—but in the meantime, or until March 1 at least, many relief workers probably will not be given re-assignments and thus will be deprived of relief for several weeks.

Behind the drive of the American Legion to rid the State Emergency Relief Administration of all "communists", which is, of course, being widely publicized by the Hearst and other papers, is a plan to discharge all of the present administrative force of the S.E.R.A. who are not satisfactory to the Legion and the bankers, as the simplest way to control the relief situation.

The ultimate purpose is to prevent organization of the workers, to cut relief costs and to divert relief funds to the various vigilante groups sponsored by the Legion. In some instances relief has been cut to a pound of rice a week. At one food depot in Berkeley recently, when a group of workers who had spent 15 cents in carefare received 10 cents worth of rice as their weekly allowance, they rebelled and scattered rice all over the place.

The California Workers Association must organize the unemployed workers immediately. It must resist all efforts to make of the C.W.A. a mere social organization; it must discourage factionalism; it must organize agitational meetings and mobilize the workers against this threat to their already low relief standard and their right to fight for better conditions.

Act in Newark

NEWARK, N. J.—An overflow mass meeting of 250 relief workers demanded an open hearing on charges against two investigators who were dismissed on five hours' notice, without a hearing. The official charge was "insubordination". The discharged investigators had said that \$8.25 a month is an insufficient allowance for one person. They had also attempted to organize the investigators.

The mass meeting formed a **CROWD HEARS MUSTE REFY ARREST THREAT**

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—More than three hundred workers turned out to the North Side Carnegie Library here on February 5 to hear A. J. Muste's exposition of the program and principles of the Workers Party.

A threat by the chief librarian to arrest Muste if "he said anything about the government" contributed added interest to the meeting. But in spite of the fact that Comrade Muste's speech called for the revolutionary road to socialism in no uncertain terms, the threat was not carried out.

Spiking Lies Printed In the Daily Worker About Printers Election

Under the misnomer, "RANK & FILE PRINTERS WIN UNION ELECTIONS" — Solomonic and Harfield replace discredited Trotskyites, the Daily Worker erects its customary fabric of lies as a preliminary to the destruction of the Independent Printing Employees.

What is the truth concerning the election and the organization? 1. Not a "rank and file administration" came into office but a crew of handpicked and incompetent Stalinists. They won the election through the importation of a dozen ringers whose illegal ballots determined the outcome. They brazenly voted down a motion that "only those with membership in the union at least two weeks prior to the election be permitted to vote". Not one of the ten politically unconnected outsiders present voted for the Stalinist slate. The small group of real rank and filers present, without exception, voted for the old administration, "the discredited Trotskyists".

2. Lie No. 2—"A year ago a few hundred workers got together. . . . Omit the hundred and you are nearer the truth. By the untiring efforts of these few "Trotskyists" the I.P.E. was built up to a few hundred. . . . The leadership of the I.P.E. fell into the hands of a group of Trotskyites expelled from the Communist party as enemies of the workers, who packed the Executive Board with five of their followers" Lie No. 3. The original Executive Board consisted of three members of the former Communist League, one racketeer who was subsequently expelled, and three Stalinists.

3. The record of these Stalinists is as odious as the drive of lies in the Daily Worker. One of them, Golden, without notice to the organization, deserted his post as organizer of the I.P.E. with considerable damage to the drive for membership then on. The other, Tomash, after months of sabotage, similarly deserted the post of organizer, "escamoted" the books, membership cards and all the other vital property of the I.P.E. in the midst of its last drive. This action was defended by the present Stalinist administration when it was brought to the attention of the membership at that time. "Stupid" was all Solomonic, the new president could say when the issue was again raised in the discussion of the report of the outgoing Executive Committee. In effect it was his opinion that there was nothing wrong with this criminal action except that it wasn't administered with sufficient skill.

4. "Through their entire period in office they conducted only one strike, in a shop of four workers." Another half-truth in which the most important facts are omitted. This strike (which was the beginning of a strike campaign), was entered into, with the books still missing and without a single penny in the treasury. The Stalinists now in office failed to appear for a single day to organize or do picket duty, to help collect funds, etc. They sabotaged the strike in the hope that it would be defeated and thus discredit the "Trotskyists".

5. But, to their extreme consternation, a partial victory was lution. They put an ad in the Forward and the Day that the Kartiganer shop is on strike and then they put a few pickets in front of the place. But no strike was ever won in this manner.

A Job for the Progressives
The solution of the problem is a progressive group in the union that will be able to win the confidence of the workers in this shop and cope with the threats of the bosses' association. —B. F.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

Why Progressives Must Organize

The havoc, confusion and demoralization that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy works in the trade union movement finds a glaring example in the strike of the workers of the Kartiganer Co., manufacturers of ladies hats.

Last summer the union declared the shop on strike. The workers responded to the call. The shop located in New York was closed tight while the workers in New Jersey, bribed and terrorized, remained at work.

After a few weeks some of the bosses signed the agreement with the union, but did not open their shop. The union officials, seizing upon the technicality that the strike was settled, refused strike relief.

This continued for seven months when the workers, in despair, went to the boss and asked him to open the shop, promising not to have anything to do with the union. The shop was opened and operates as before with the addition of a company union as a collective bargaining agency.

Today the bosses' association is threatening that it will break the agreement with the union if the Kartiganer shop is not compelled to come up to the same conditions that prevail in the industry. The workers in the shop, embittered by their sad experience, will not budge. The union officialdom, caught between two fires, finds a simple so-

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 18, 1935
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeson
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Organizational Principles—M. Abern.
MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English—F. Becker
MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—Marxian History—Felix Morrow
WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics (vol. 1)—H. Oehler
WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste
WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationals—M. Shachtman.
THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swabeck.
THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.
FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gould.
FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber.
FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—Evolution of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan.
Ten sessions for each course; one evening a week.
Fees: \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.
The International Workers School is ready to give any additional classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter, School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.

WHAT TO ATTEND

Minneapolis, Minn.
Feb. 20, Wednesday at 8 P.M.—Open mass meeting on "Two Years of Roosevelt". Speaker: C. R. Hedlund. At new branch headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S.
Feb. 23, Saturday evening—Housewarming Party in new branch headquarters, 631 3rd Ave. S. Dancing, cards and refreshments. Admission 15c.
Allentown, Pa.
Feb. 23, Saturday, 8 P.M., 9th Ward Unemployed League Hall—Card Party. Supts.: Workers Party of the U.S.
New York City
Feb. 16, Saturday 9 P.M.—Red Cabaret and Dance. Germania Hall, 16th St. and 3rd Ave. Tickets still available at 49c at 2 West 15th St.
Feb. 17, Sunday, 2:30 P.M.—Debate on "Which Program for American Labor" between A. J. Muste for the Workers Party and Jay Lovestone for the Communist Party (Opposition). Irving Plaza. Tickets still available at 2 W. 15th St.
Feb. 22, Friday 8 P.M.—Forum, Branch 4: "Program of the Workers Party". Speaker: Max Shachtman. 29 West 120th St.
Feb. 22, Friday 8 P.M.—"How Shall the Progressives Function in the Trade Unions?" Hugo Oehler, Branch 7, 1281 49th St., Brooklyn. Friday night forums at all other branches.
March 16, Saturday night—Press Ball to be given jointly by the New International and the New Militant. Details to be announced later.

Debate

WHICH PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR

Jay Lovestone A.J. Muste
For Communist Party (Opposition) For Workers Party of U.S.

HEYWOOD BROWN, Chairman
SUNDAY, FEB. 17th, 1935, 2:30 p.m.
IRVING PLAZA AUDITORIUM, 15th St. & Irving Place
Tickets can be purchased in advance of this date at:
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Tickets: 49c in advance at International Workers School,
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

Roosevelt's Open Offensive Against Labor

Nothing restores the feeling of strength and confidence to the capitalists so much as the flow of profits into the tills. The American ruling class was willing to submit to the inconveniences of the NRA and the demagoguery of the New Deal, holding out illusory promises to the despairing worker, only so long as it was necessary to tide over a dangerous period of crisis. Now that the bosses scent the possibilities of an upswing of business, they have exerted the utmost pressure on their government to sweep aside the paper concessions made to labor and to put the workers back in their places. This became perfectly clear when Roosevelt obeyed the voice of his masters (Ford, Sloan, Swope, etc.) and blocked the attempt to organize the unorganized workers in the mass production industries—steel, autos, machinery—by legalizing the company union. Roosevelt was seconded in his attack on independent unionism by the class collaboration policies of those lackeys of capitalism, the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. But the next move of the capitalist government in its attempt to bring about "recovery" (of profits) in the basic construction industries, is directed not against the extension of unions into new fields, but at the very heart of the old A. F. of L., the unions of the once well-organized building trades workers. In accordance with the general internal reorganization of American imperialism with its drive on the living standards of the entire working class, Roosevelt has now taken over the task of restoring profits to the building contractors by a drastic drive on the wages of the workers in this field. This means an attack on the very existence of the unions in the building trades.

Shall the Unemployed Be Used Against the Employed?

The method to be used in this drive is to pit the unemployed against the employed workers. Roosevelt proposes that there shall be no more direct relief in the form of doles, but that relief is to take the form of pay for public construction work. Under the thin disguise that the worker is not to be discouraged from accepting private employment, it is proposed that the wage rates on public construction be considerably less than prevailing rates in the different localities involved. Actually fifty dollars a month has been set as the proper rate. The A. F. of L. has met this menace in its usual style, by attempting to use the backstairs method of congressional amendment to the Roosevelt proposal so as to establish a "prevailing rates" clause. Unless this is combined with the rallying of the entire

working class, employed and unemployed, into a mass movement of protest and militant action against this open offensive of the capitalist class, the bosses will succeed in their plot against the unions. Here is a clear-cut issue on which all workers can be united. Our Party must take a leading role in strengthening the unions of the building trades workers and aiding them to resist the concerted drive prepared for long in advance by the propaganda of the contractors and construction monopolists.

New Methods of Unemployed Work

In this connection our whole task among the unemployed assumes a new and more concrete aspect. By its present tactics the capitalist state, through Roosevelt, offers a means of uniting the employed and the unemployed in a common struggle. It becomes clearer than ever to the employed workers that it is necessary to secure cooperation of the unemployed. The employed workers must, through their unions, offer every help to organize the unorganized in relief workers' unions as auxiliaries to the regular unions. Our answer to the attempt of the bosses to destroy the building trades unions by utilizing as tools the unemployed in the form of relief workers, must be the complete organizing of the unemployed as well as the employed to secure higher wages for both. The recent militant strikes of relief workers in Arkansas for higher pay give us excellent reason to believe that our task is one that will meet with ready response. Already the organizations of the building trades workers are seething with revolt against the direct blows aimed at them by Roosevelt.

The Workers and the State

It is clear that Roosevelt no longer finds it necessary to even appear to cater to the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. When it becomes necessary in the eyes of the capitalist class to make a drive directly forward against the A. F. of L. unions, the A. F. of L. "leaders", only yesterday sitting at the same table with the bosses and their government representatives, are unceremoniously shown the door. The resulting outcry of "Judass" on the part of the labor fakers is quite understandable. But the workers face a problem more difficult, but more educative, than ever before. Their enemy now becomes the combined force of the capitalist class and its political expression, the capitalist state. The building trades workers will find themselves more and more in conflict with the state itself. It becomes clear that the government must take on a more and more repressive character to achieve the bold and undisguised aims of American Imperialism.

THE UNITED FRONT AND WAR

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the last in Comrade West's series of four articles on war.)

The firm understanding that the fight against war is the fight for workers' power and a socialist society is the key to all the "anti-war" activities of Marxists. It is the Marxist, participating actively and constantly in the class struggle, who is carrying on the only genuine and effective fight against war. All the fine phrases and noble sentiments and even the deep sincerity of pacifists are powerless against war, when not actually of aid to the war-makers.

The knowledge that this is true is hard for many, even for some Marxists, to accept. Surely, they feel, there is something important in common between us and the non-revolutionary millions from both the working class and the middle class who oppose war. At least we agree in our opposition to imperialism, in our realization of its barbarous cruelty and horror, and in our earnest wish to put an end to it. Can we not all unite on this basis, leaving other differences aside? Thus we may not only have greater forces to defend ourselves against war and its destruction, but we will come into closer contact with these others and win them gradually to our side on other questions.

Unfortunately, this feeling is mistaken. Whatever the appearances, Marxists have in fact nothing in common with these "war-opponents". The reason for this is that the war-opponents do not really oppose war at all. They do not, because they do not oppose the causes of war, and are not willing to take steps to remove these causes—that is, take revolutionary steps. Their "opposition to war", therefore, is in the last analysis only a screen to satisfy their consciences.

AN ENTRY TO THE MINDS OF PACIFISTS

However, this is not the whole story. There is one advantage which even a vague feeling of opposition to war, so long as it is sincerely held, gives, and this is of great importance to the growth of the revolutionary movement. It provides what might be called a psychological meeting point between Marxists and non-Marxists. In the resolve to end imperialism war, pacifists and Marxists share in common an idea. This gives Marxists, if they make proper use of it, an entry to the minds of pacifists. It gives them an audience, a chance to say: "You believe you are opposed to war. Very well, we will take you at your word. If you are opposed to war, you must want to get rid of the causes of war. We will show you what the causes are..." And Marxists can go on to demonstrate how real opposition to war must lead to a revolutionary position.

Many persons have come to a revolutionary position after starting with a feeling against war. And many more will do so, if Marxists make an intelligent and clear approach to them. The logic of an anti-war stand, if carried out, must lead to the revolutionary movement. Too much should not be expected: economic interest, the powerful propaganda on the other side, will, in the majority of cases, prevent pacifists from accepting the full logical conclusion. But not in all cases. And Marxists cannot afford to neglect any avenue of approach.

WAR ISSUE

This "war issue" is correctly a powerful base for Marxist education and agitation. This is particularly true in approaching intellectuals, professionals and others from the middle class, whose alliance with the revolutionary movement often follows more from psychological and moral considerations than from immediate economic interest. A factory worker who wants security and a better standard of living can be shown how only a workers' state can provide them. A teacher or writer honestly against war can be shown how only socialism will eliminate it.

It is, therefore, correct and necessary for Marxists to participate in "Conferences against War". Their business at such conferences is, of course, not to form permanent "alliances against war", not to tell pacifists that "we are all engaged in a common fight", but to present openly and unequivocally the Marxist analysis of war and the fight against war, and to show why all other analyses are wrong. It is likewise important to speak and write about the Marxist position on war as widely as possible, before both working class and middle class audiences. For example, this is often an excellent opening for the statement of the revolutionary position before meetings of trade union or unemployed league members.

MAKING MARXIST POSITION CLEAR

The Marxist position, moreover, should not be left in the abstract. It is the duty of Marxists at all times to expose concretely the war plans and maneuvers of the imperialist governments. Immediate analyses of treaties, "conversations", armaments, "war games", exchange and tariff struggles, border encounters, arms limitation conferences, naval races, etc., must be given by the Marxist press, in order to make clear to the working class the exact progress of the war danger, and to pierce through the fogs of the "peace talk" of the capitalist statesmen.

Such agitational and educational efforts are all part of the fight against war. Nevertheless, none of them includes anything in the nature of a "united front against war". Even a conference against war participated in by several parties and organizations is not a united front. A united front is constituted when several parties or other groups set up machinery to carry out certain specific activities in common.

We have already seen that there is no such thing as a "programmatic" united front, either against war or on any other matter.

It is moreover true that no united front of any kind can be constituted against war in general. This follows from the fact that only the revolutionary party is actually against the whole social institution of war—and it cannot have a united front with itself.

APPLICATION OF THE UNITED FRONT

Any sort of united front possible in the fight against war? The truth is that the application of the united front is more limited in the fight against war than in any other phase of the revolutionary struggle. It could not be otherwise. The fight against war is too deadly and sharp. In the face of it only the firmest Marxist position can stand up. The last war proved this beyond question. Before the war crisis, not only the bourgeois "internationalists" and the pacifist organizations but the great Social-Democracy itself collapsed. Any compromise whatever with the capitalist state—and only the Marxist position does not compromise—means weakening when the state is confronted with a war situation.

However, there remain certain possibilities for united front activities, and these should not be neglected. For example: If a revolutionary crisis arises in Cuba, the question of United States intervention will be immediately raised. It is quite feasible that a broad united front, including both working class and middle class organizations, should be formed to fight intervention. Or, in the case of a war between Japan and the Soviet Union, a united front might well struggle to prevent the sending of munitions and supplies to Japan. There would be dangers, however, even in such a united front. It might be utilized to support entrance of the U. S. government into the war, against Japan. Since the U. S. would enter only for its own imperialist ends, and could not properly defend the Soviet Union, Marxists would be required to oppose the U. S. government in such an eventuality as implicitly as in any other war. The defense of the Soviet Union can come only from the working masses, not from the capitalist state.

Should Revolutionists Build a Labor Party in America?

By HUGO OEHLER

(Continued from last issue)

The question of the Labor Party must be considered within the framework of our general program of parliamentary action. If we hold to the theory that we can vote the capitalists out of office then a Labor Party may be the ideal instrument to sneak up on the capitalists. But since this is the height of folly the Labor Party falls from grace. On the other hand, it is not difficult for the ultra-lefts who swing to the other extreme and refuse to participate in parliamentary action, to dismiss the Labor Party with one stroke of the pen.

The revolutionary Marxists utilized parliamentary action only as an auxiliary activity and to win backward layers of the masses in the process of exposing the enemy and their agents in elections, etc.

Because we work in reactionary unions and help build trade unions of the workers, some draw the conclusions that we can help build a Labor Party. But there is no comparison between the elementary union organizations on the economic field and the Labor Party on the political field. It is important to obtain a proper relationship between the elementary economic organizations of the class which are the instruments for immediate demands and the political party of the class.

The political party is the instrument of the vanguard and its main objective is the struggle for power. Only a revolutionary Marxist party can lead the masses and fulfill this purpose. A Labor Party can only be an instrument of reform.

Reforms and Immediate Demands

The question of a Labor Party is bound up with the question of immediate demands and reforms. Let us consider the question of reforms.

All working class organizations claiming to fight for the class have stumbled on this problem to a greater or lesser degree. Outstanding in the Marxian camp are De Leon and the S. L. P., which, unable to find a way out, just threw the whole question of immediate demands overboard and denied it all except in the trade unions. But since practical needs of the class today are material things and not ghosts their denial was to no avail. The P. P., to this day, is following the footsteps of the S.L.P., on this vital class question. Both of these organizations have taken a negative position while the S. P., swinging to the opposite direction, has transformed every struggle for immediate demands into reforms of the worst kind. In the Communist currents, sad to say, we find them handling the question with kid gloves.

Marxists cannot borrow many dictionary words and use them to define things and conditions in the class struggle. The word reform is one such word.

Is there any difference in the material gains or practical needs of the day for our class "given" by the bosses or their labor leaders or won by our class in struggle? To every Marxist we know there is a fundamental difference for our class position. Only by understanding the class forces and causes for the way our class receives these material gains from "day to day" can we (after explaining) use the word "reform" in a "revolutionary sense". This understanding enables us to label the kind of material gain to denote reformist or revolutionary action in the struggle for immediate demands.

If the practical needs of the day are "given" by the bosses or their government they are reforms; if they come from the bosses' labor leaders, trade union or political, they are social reforms and if these gains are won by our class in struggle led by its vanguard they are sparks for revolution. Practical needs of the day for our class cannot be abstracted from the class struggle and the organizational and ideological position of the class. If we could abstract these immediate demands or gains from the position of battle of the class forces we could say all these gains are reforms. But such an abstraction is false while other abstractions, such as are explained in "Capital" are not false.

We know that reforms or social reforms do not come from the big heart of the bosses and their flunkies. We know they are granted from above because the class pressure from below compels them to relinquish this material gain for

who are prepared to carry it through to the revolutionary transfer of power to the workers can genuinely advocate it. It presupposes, furthermore, a tremendously advanced working class, ripe for power, and without this would either evaporate or go quickly down in the uselessly spilled blood of the strikers. The imperialist state, staking its existence on its greatest gamble—imperialist war—is scarcely going to give up and accept defeat from abroad because of pressure at home—unless the pressure at home is a revolutionary force which is itself prepared to defeat and overthrow the state.

But though the united front is thus strictly limited in the fight against war, narrowly understood, the analysis of war shows that actually every successfully carried through united front is an advance in the fight against war.

This is the answer to those who say that we must have an approach to the middle class and to middle class minded workers; and conclude therefrom that we must build pacifist Leagues to publish pacifist literature and make pacifist speeches. By no means. Marxists approach all groups with their own Marxist program intact. Marxists join them, where it advances the cause of the workers, in common action.

United fronts to defend civil liberties, to protect workers' rights, to resist vigilantes, to free class war prisoners and defeat lynchings by courts or mobs, to force through a workers' security program, to build an effective non-partisan labor defense league—these are united fronts broad enough to include all groups who are honest in their protests against the excesses of capitalism and their desires for a better social order.

These, moreover, provide in action approaches to the middle class and to the working masses, without the illusions of a middle class program. And these, properly understood, like every advance in the workers' movement toward power, are real and genuine actions in the fight against war.

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WORLD IN REVIEW

FASCISM DEGRADES ITALIAN WORKERS TO FEUDAL SLAVES

MILAN, Italy.—Neither Mussolini's bombastic declaration that the long-announced Italian corporative system has finally been ushered in, nor the creation of numerous new fascist organizations has improved the lot of the Italian workingman.

At the end of 1934, Italy had more than 1,200,000 unemployed. Unemployed agricultural workers increased from 118,000 in the summer of 1933 to 144,000 for the corresponding period of 1934. Due to the fascist trade union regulations of 1926, which safeguarded the employers, wages have sunk constantly to lower levels. Collective bargaining means in practice only the regulation of wages by the state. According to figures published in the November issue of *Lavoro Fascista* the average wage decreased 20 percent in 1927, 10 percent more in 1928, and in 1930 a further 8 percent.

Mine Wages Decline

Since 1930 wages are no longer regulated on a country-wide basis, but according to the needs of the employers' groups in the various districts. The organ of the Federation of Italian Industrialists, *L'Organizzazione Industriale*, states that the wage level in the mining industries declined 23 percent from November 1930 to June 1934, and 19.4 percent in the building industries. The reduction of wages has been greater than the decline in living expenses.

Return to Feudalism

Agricultural wages even in the most fertile centers are so miserable that the government has been compelled to create the "Compartecione" Under this system the landowner turns one-half to one acre over to the worker, with implements and seeds. The worker tills the land in his free hours, and keeps one-third of the crop. Two-thirds go to the employer, who has no wage obligation. In other words, the corporate state has brought about a return to a feudal system.

In the political arena, opposition reaching far into the ranks of government officials is evident. Organized labor which fought fascism tooth and nail for more than six years, is not dead, as is clearly shown by the steady increase of political trials before the special Fascist tribunals. During October the terror tribunals were in session almost daily. Many socialist workers were sentenced to long prison terms for their efforts to resurrect old political organizations and distribution of illegal literature.

By shells and ammunition. But the comparison does not hold water. Because a material gain even in relation to the capitalist is just so much spent, while in relation to the workers it is a material gain. Let us see. If the vanguard of the workers moves up and intrenches the class behind the material gain (reform and not a spark) it is already a NEW PROBLEM and especially a totally different struggle if the capitalists try to retake what they gave, and not what we won, it is no longer a question of reform in the sense of immediate demand (offensive struggle) but a problem of defensive struggles of our class.

How many material gains (regardless of how they came) were retaken and are being retaken by the capitalist in the present crisis? Any thinking worker can answer this fairly well. In this case if the vanguard does not measure up to standards we can say, the greater the number of these gains through reforms and social reforms, the easier it is for capitalism to retake them and those that come to us as material gains as sparks toward revolution, the harder it is for the capitalist to retake.

One only has to look at the sick coal industry (favorable to the capitalist) with past gains primarily through class struggle and compare it with other healthy capitalist industries (favorable to the workers) where gains were mainly reforms and realize the difference between the two. A comparison will show reforms are relinquished easier than the gains through class battles unless the vanguard's right or wrong policy alters the problem.

Can we lay down definite plans to prevent our action from following the reformist camp? We can lay down principles in general, but it is impossible to lay down a line of march that is fool proof. Each concrete struggle must have its tactics formulated on the basis of Marxian analysis. A line of demarcation between reformist action (reforms) and revolutionary action can be made in every struggle but every developing struggle will have forces and action of both. It is up to the Marxists to move these struggles out of the channels of deeper class struggles. A simple struggle (made in the office of the bureaucrats) is just as wrong (isolation) as to enter movements which are organizationally part of the enemy forces (Parliamentary action—charity organizations, etc.)—the latter will not be isolation from numbers but will be isolation from the role of the Marxists as the vanguard of the revolution.

The Party Fund

THE Party Foundation Fund Campaign is coming to a close. According to the report listed below we have received close to \$3,000. This leaves another \$2,000 to be collected in the remaining period.

CAN WE DO IT? YES! PROVIDED THAT—

Every member of the organization

Every friend and sympathizer of our Party gets busy NOW.

Comrade Muste who just returned from a trip as far west as Minneapolis and Chicago and down south into West Virginia, gives a hopeful picture of the possibilities for quick growth of the Workers Party.

The immediate need, according to Comrade Muste, is a few capable organizers in the field.

If we collect the balance of the \$5,000 we can fulfill our Program of Action.

WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER? MAKE IT TO-DAY!

Respond to the circular letter sent you a month ago, if you are a sympathizer.

Complete payment on your pledge if you are a member.

Don't delay. Let us prove that we are able to make sacrifices for our convictions. Pinch your personal budget. Make a small loan if necessary. Make it possible for us to announce that we have been able to rise to the occasion and complete our first task.

WE ARE WAITING FOR YOUR ANSWER! WHAT SHALL IT BE?

Table with columns for Receipts and Donations. Includes entries for New Castle, Pa., Los Angeles, Cal., Minneapolis, Minn., Chicago District, New York District, At Muste Dinner raised for Party Fund, etc.

Workers Party of the U. S. 2 West 15th Street New York City Enclosed find \$... for the Party Foundation Fund. Name Address City

GOT ANY LABOR BOOKS TO SPARE? WE NEED THEM

CHARLESTON, West Va. — We are starting a workers' library here and would like the assistance of all other branches of the Party, or of individual comrades. We can use old pamphlets, old books, papers, everything! We are starting weekly classes and can use outline material for teaching these classes. The workers are flocking into the Unemployed Leagues. We need lots of labor books! LAWRENCE CONWAY 233 1/2 Kanawha St. Charleston, W. Va.

NEW MILITANT

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Socialist Party Adventurism

In two most important fields the Socialist Party of the United States now seems bent on demonstrating that when it comes to betrayal of the united front, "mechanical domination by paper organizations" and all the rest of it, they are not to be outdone by the Stalinists.

In March it is proposed by S. P. elements to hold in Washington a "convention" to form a "non-partisan national unemployed organization". Each state organization of unemployed is to have fifteen votes in this "convention", regardless of its membership. Even at that the fifteen need not be present; one "delegate" can cast the entire fifteen votes on behalf of the unemployed of his state!

The S. P. elements in the unemployed field will not accept that simple and straightforward proposal. Instead, in the most approved Stalinist manner, they seek to gather a few top officials, many representing only paper organizations, and so to erect a dual organization. Why?

As indicated elsewhere in this issue of the New Militant, the S. P. seems about to set up its "own" so-called "Labor and Socialist Defense Organization" in much the same arbitrary fashion, after the N.E.C. and the Labor Committee of the party had formally gone on record for a sound non-partisan defense proposal and had for months been negotiating with the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee, the W. P. and other organizations on that basis.

What becomes, in view of such outrageous actions, of the stock S. P. charge that a united front is impossible because the Communist Party "always wants

to dominate and capture, brings in paper organizations, breaks agreements, in short, cannot be depended upon for honest united action?"

Revolutionary Marxists have never been duped into believing that Socialist right wingers, "labor lawyers", trade union bureaucrats, would participate loyally in united mass struggle actions, in the course of which their own impotence and traitorous character would inevitably be exposed.

But it is the Militants and left-wingers in the S.P. who must give an account of themselves now. They claim to be Marxists and revolutionists. Do they line up with the S. P. right wing in these matters? Are they going to play a typically centrist confusionist role which is in effect more harmful than that of open and avowed reactionaries? Or are they going to fight uncompromisingly for a principled united front for struggle?

At all events, once again the crying need for the leadership of a sound revolutionary Marxist party is demonstrated. Without it, there will be no clear and vigorous united action in the many fields which need it today.

Bootlickers

A MEERK and humble "worm", according to a well-known rhyme, finally turned upon his tormentor and said: "It was all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me down-stairs?"

The A. F. of L. Executive Council seems incapable of showing even that much self-respect and healthy resentment in its dealings with President Roosevelt. Roosevelt, as was pointed out in the New Militant last week, rebuffed and insulted the A. F. of L. by renewing the automobile code without including any of labor's amendments and then rubbed it in by making a public statement charging, on the basis of elections conducted by the anti-union Auto Labor Board, that the A. F. of L. had no members in Detroit. John L. Lewis, Bill Green et al. howled with rage, talked about the NRA "betraying" the workers, etc.—as indeed it has done in every one of the basic industries.

Within one week the whole Executive Council marches to the White House in its best bib and tucker and "organized labor and its Roosevelt administration reestablished an entente cordiale". Roosevelt in honeyed phrases said he recognized the A. F. of L. as "one of the great and outstanding institutions of the country". Green in equally honeyed language said the A. F. of L.'s criticism was not against the NRA but against "those clothed with administrative authority in the NRA".

What results Roosevelt and big business get out of this love-fest between the capitalist government and the trade union bureaucrats was shown a couple of days later when the A. F. of L. gave up its fight for the prevailing rate of wages under the new public works bill, accepting a typical Rooseveltian compromise.

Union officials who expel militants who try to organize and lick the boots of a capitalist politician even when the latter has openly sabotaged efforts of the workers to organize, and who then turn round and agree to a new cut in the wage standard by this same capitalist henchman, are the most dangerous and shameful traitors of the masses.

Let the honest and militant forces in the unions organize to smash the power of this piteous and traitorous officialdom!

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

(Continued on Page 4)

be (got) ready for the afternoon". Quite in the same spirit, "the line is run past the noon hour and also past the quitting time". We find, to add the final touch, "the practice of requiring men to report for work every day and sometimes waiting around for hours before being told that there was no work for them". Unless the worker "shows up" when there is no work to be done, he will find it difficult to get a job when work does come along.

BOSS DIPS IN PAY ENVELOPE No sooner does the worker earn his wage, however, than the boss begins to dip into the pay envelope, extracting little deductions here and there, for the support of "group insurance" and "group welfare" plans. These plans, the report informs us, "are in effect compulsory even though theoretically voluntary". As for the workers, "they have nothing to say about the conduct of the plans and of their management. They do not know what happens to their money. They consider (these plans) a publicly device which the employer pays for".

Not only do the employers fail to recognize seniority rights—the one sure safeguard against discrimination—but deliberately pursue the policy of scrapping workers over 40 years of age and replacing them with fresh recruits imported from the South and elsewhere. The situation of the older workers, the report tells us, "is terrible. They are doomed to idleness. These men have 15 or 20 years of life ahead of them. They are not really old—they are from 40 to 50 years of age. Their savings may last a couple of years. Some of them may be fortunate and have grown children who can take care of them. The others must fall back on public relief and, after a time, to the poorhouse".

Safety and health do not concern the employers. "Men on the line cannot leave their jobs to get medical treatment for hours after an injury occurs." In many plants, "the machines have not been kept in good repair and as a result accidents are more prone to occur". Many workers are "subjected to occupational diseases because of the failure of the management to furnish modern devices for drawing off fumes of various sorts, particularly in the paint shops where the lead hazard is great". As for the ventilating systems, they are often broken-down, decrepit, repaired at long intervals.

CODE IS VIOLATED Violations of the code labor provisions (innocuous though the provisions be) are by no means infrequent. Production workers are required to labor more than 48 hours per week (the code limit) and when they complain, are informed "an exemption" by the NRA. Highly skilled employees have been placed "on a salary basis in order to get complete exemption from hourly provisions for them". Piece rate earnings have been "averaged over an entire pay period", although on quite a number of days "the earnings may have been less than the code minimums".

As for the code provision which permits the averaging of hours, it has "denied reemployment to many who have been without work for months and given greater force to threats of summary dismissal directed at those who might express an unfavorable remark about the speeding up of production. It tends to maintain the length of the waiting line of job seekers", which is one of the principal devices by which the bosses smother grievances and complaints. The tool, die, jig and fixture workers, and all the maintenance employees—whose maximum hours in any one week the code falls to limit—are worst off of all. "Everywhere we are told that during the busy season they worked 70, 80, perhaps 90 hours a week. And always they contend, and are willing to prove, men who had worked in their departments were idle".

EXPERTS SPEAK OF RATIONAL WORKERS But what do the experts who gathered all these data recommend as a practical solution? The simplicity of their scheme staggers the understanding. Instead of having one single prolonged seasonal peak in automobile production, the annual show of new models should be advanced to the autumn, thus making for two shorter seasonal peaks! But what more should we expect from a group of experts who on the face of their own findings, can blandly remark:

"The impression we gathered from the attitude of the rational (!) workers was that they were more hopeful for what the future of the code might bring them than satisfied with any salutary effects on their interests up to the present."

BRONX OPEN FORUM "Two Years of Nazi Rule" Speaker: LUDWIG LORE (Noted Columnist) FRIDAY, FEB 22, 8 P.M. Hollywood Gardens 163rd St. and Prospect Ave

United Opposition Needed against Tighe

(Continued from Page 1)

pending before the National Steel Labor Board.

In the next few days Irwin and Morris got the axe, and instructions were sent to all lodges that attendants at the conference should be immediately expelled. Failure to do so meant the withdrawal of the charter. Indications are that some 78 lodges are affected.

A committee led by Spang which attempted to see the International officials was met at the door of the union building by a squad of police and detectives, and was refused admittance. A statement by secretary Louis Leonard declared that the A. F. of L. is through with the progressives.

Attempts of the progressives to gain a hearing before the executive council of the A. F. of L. have not yet been successful, although it is reported that President Green has met with the committee. It is obvious that the A. F. of L. big shots will not give the progressives any measure of genuine support. However, it may be that this august body will attempt to string them along with half-promises and much delay.

Job Before Progressives

It is obvious that the progressives can only build a union in steel if they completely wipe out the entire Tighe official family. Organization will never be established in the steel industry except by a determined and courageous battle. Mike Tighe cannot and will not fight such a battle. Neither will Bill Green. The progressives can do it only if they constitute an independent, organized force in the union, functioning on the basis of a clear program.

A successful fight against the steel barons depends, furthermore, upon a united progressive movement of militant labor in all industries.

The progressives must realize now that they had not done the necessary spadework in the local lodges. The militants had not formed an organization of their own and were not solidly organized into a disciplined force. They had depended almost exclusively on informal conferences of leaders of local lodges or districts. But, as was so tragically demonstrated in the re-convened convention last June, this constitutes an inadequate and hopelessly undependable base. There must be organization at the bottom.

The Tighe machine and influence can be destroyed only by developing a powerful, coordinated machine in opposition. Failure to do this has not forestalled a wholesale expulsion policy by the Tighe ma-

chine, nor has it secured effective aid for organizing work from the A. F. of L. The miners who attended the joint conference were also placed in a hazardous position. They had even less of an organized progressive movement with which to combat the wrath of the much more powerful Lewis-Fagan gang.

No Compromise With Fakers

On the other hand, there was evident in the Pittsburgh conference at times a "rightist" attempt to conciliate and white-wash the A. F. of L. bureaucracy which can only confuse the workers and cannot advance the cause of a militant organizing campaign. The A. F. of L. leadership must be challenged to get to work, to furnish support to the progressives; not tending to in hypocritical fashion. The Communist party is now doing this sort of thing as part of its latest unprincipled zig-zag to the right. Their example should not be copied by honest trade union militants.

Similarly, the red hysteria must be fought not as was done in the Pittsburgh conference by crying "Do we look like Communists?", but by insisting on the principle that a union man is judged by his union activity and by showing that Tighe and Company raise the red scare only to cover up their own inaction and treason.

The real revolutionist has and can have no other program than the building of a powerful fighting industrial union in steel and a strike against the steel corporations to compel them to deal with their workers. The Workers Party stands for this program. The C. P., which has pursued an adventurist and disruptive role in steel for years, with its S.M.W.I.U., is incapable, in the absence of a revolutionary policy, of anything but the same adventurism and disruption now.

What's the job for the progressives? First and foremost is the task of building a strong, disciplined and united movement in opposition to the Tighe machine. Expulsions must be fought to the last ditch. Every attempt at red-baiting by that machine must be exposed and vigorously fought.

A vigorous campaign for reinstatement of expelled lodges and members must be organized. The lodges in "good standing" must be won to support this campaign.

The fight to force the A. F. of L. to undertake a national organizing campaign in steel must be pushed to the limit. This must lead to general strike action against the steel trust for only in this manner can a strong union be built.

Action Training School Opens

"Send us a comrade who can help in the Unemployed Leagues." "We need someone to conduct elementary education in our progressive group." "All our comrades are busy in the trade unions, can you send a comrade or two to act as organizer of the Workers Party branch." "Excellent possibilities for growth of the Workers Party. Need trained forces to take advantage of the situation."

These are typical requests which come in regularly to the national office of the Workers Party. With the growth of the party and the increased preparations for strike action in many industries skilled militants will be in ever greater demand throughout the country. Intelligent preliminary training in the class room is invaluable for effective leadership in the class struggle. New York will be called upon to supply a major part of the forces.

With this in mind, the first semester of the International Workers School in New York includes such courses as American Labor History, instructor A. J. Muste, Trade Union Strategy and Tactics, instructor Arne Swaback; Organization Principles, instructor Martin Abern; Workers Party Fundamentals, instructor Ben Borkeston. Other courses include Marxian Economics, American History, Elementary English, History of the Three Internationals, Philosophy of Marxism, History of the Youth Movement, A B C of Marxism, and History of the Russian Revolution.

Classes open this coming week, February 18. Registrations will close after the second session. Register immediately. See page 2 of the current issue of the New Militant or send for School bulletin.

(Continued from Page 1)

to the N.U.L. convention at Columbus last summer supposedly as the representative of numerous unemployed bodies in several states of the Pacific Northwest. He has found it possible to leave the unemployed in that great area to their fate these many months and to busy himself in a vain effort to disrupt Unemployed Leagues in Ohio and turn them into Councils. He was given the floor and indicated that he was going to demolish "Trotskyism". After one sentence he was off on a typical demagogic appeal for "united front in the struggle for bread" which netted him exactly nothing except applause from half a dozen "stooges" he has brought with him. And even these all gathered after the meeting around Sam Pollock of Toledo who happened to be present and listened for nearly an hour to his exposition of what a "united front" is and is not!

The mass meeting was followed by a three hour meeting of the Branch devoted to a serious discussion of how a revolutionary party functions in mass organizations.

An Old American Custom

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Here the revolutionary party holds its meeting in the Court of Common Pleas of Kanawha County! This is because the Unemployed Leagues

have established the custom of holding workers' mass meetings in public buildings. This was done on two grounds. First, the workers have a right to the use of buildings built and maintained by taxation; second, this differentiates the Leagues clearly from Ku Klux Klan and similar outfits which operate secretly and enables the Leagues to undermine their influence as organizations which do not operate in the open and consequently cannot be for the interest of the masses. Despite winter weather and almost impassable roads party and mass work goes forward.

Pittsburgh—the Last Stop PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Last stop. Several hundred attended our mass meeting in Carnegie North Side Library. Rumors before the meeting that the police would break it up proved unfounded, though a few hung around the doors. A wave of repression and terrorism is sweeping Allegheny County, reflecting the nervousness of the authorities over the unrest among the unemployed, in the steel mills, etc. When committees protest to the mayor, a Single Taxer, he fretfully answers: "There isn't anything I can do about it. Why, the police stopped one of my meetings once in North Side Park."

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

TITLE CONTEST ENDS

With titles still rolling in, the contest approaches its conclusion. Feb. 15 is the last day. At sun-up, or thereabouts, on Feb. 17, the court of editors will meet in solemn session to judge all titles. It will be a strenuous job but the editors are sworn to arrive at a final decision before midnight. What will the new title be? Today more than the gods know. In a week from today it will be the property of the entire world, for the column will appear with its new masthead. We want to thank all readers who sent in titles and we hope that they and many others will continue their interest by contributing items that will help make the column worthy of its new title and also representative of the entire country.

A Voice from Philly

"Dear Bill: It is very simple to get an interesting title for your column. Merely reverse the words and presto—the title appears like a C. P. Labor Party decision from this air—"Renewing Your Views". —M. P."

Other Titles

Left Jabs, Red America, In the Red, Journo-Analysis, Butting In, Looking 'Em Over, I Read It Myself, Billoney (and that from an S.Y.L. female), Check and Double-check, Between the Lines, Perpetual Commotion, Political Pi, What's What, and What's Not, Column Left, and a host of others.

OBITUARY NOTE

The Daily Worker announces that the T.U.U.L. is now going to be dissolved. The obsequies will be held at those funeral parlors at which numerous other corpses have recently been embalmed, namely, the Red Peasants International, the National Miners Union, the Dry Pretzel Polishers International Industrial Union, and others. We are reliably informed that a typographical error in the Daily Worker omitted the important initials: S.A. F.T.B.S.N.F. (Shed a furtive tear but send no flowers). The rank and file Rabbi, Goldstein, and the rank and file God, Divine, will officiate at the ceremonies, assisted by Sexton Stachel.

Investigating a Company Union

The Consolidated Gas Company of New York decided to give their employees a union. Being a very "generous" company they decided to write a constitution, publish membership books and to make things still easier, run the union for the employees. Some of the men applying to the Consolidated the old adage "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts", decided to investigate the company's "wooden horse". A committee was duly elected by the Chemical Dept. They took an office in the company building, printed stationery and set out on their investigation. It wasn't the kind of work the company expected from the nice spick and span new union which they had set up. The committee wanted to know who authorized the expenditures. They wanted to know how decisions were arrived at. They quizzed the members of the "General Council". They mimeographed detailed reports to their investigation and passed them around. They found the only gains to the employees from the Employees Representation Plan were: "Six thousand little yellow company union books". In their final summing up the committee denounced the "union" as a tool of the company and called on the workers to set up a real union free from company control.

Labor Proves Gratitude

That was the headline in a New York paper over the story of the gift of ten thousand dollars by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablenen and Helpers, through its president, Dan Tobin to Postmaster General Farley to help pay off the Democratic Party deficit. It might be well to recall that when Local Union 574 of that International was struggling against the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, backed by all kinds of Democratic agents, the only help they received from Tobin was a stab in the back.

A Warm "Fascist" Smile

From the Daily Worker, which for five years denounced Bill Green as an "outright Fascist", we clip the following: "Despite Tighe's telegraphed insistence that the committee be denied recognition, Green again received the committee (Steel Workers Rank and File Committee) today. Green implied that they would be included in the Executive Council's Organization Plan. Green smiled warmly. . . . Is that the way to speak of an "outright Fascist"? Or does a change in the "general Stalinist line" also change "Fascists" into "warm smiling" friends? According to the same issue of the Daily Worker, "Browder spoke with warm brillance" . . . "Green smiled warmly" . . . Come, come, this is too much.

Greetings from the New Manager

The confusion caused, of necessity, by the combination of merging and moving is beginning to subside; that is to say, system is being restored and the new business manager is able to take time out occasionally to breathe, eat an occasional meal, and, incidentally, to write this brief greeting to all friends of the New Militant.

During the past several weeks Cara Cook and myself worked hours and hours so that things should be in good order when the fatal day arrived upon which she would no longer be able to postpone her departure. In her "last will and tes-

S.P. Violates Defense Pact

(Continued from Page 1)

to propose for the organization". This plan was twice endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. It was incorporated into the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of last September and published in the Socialist party press. The Labor Committee of the Socialist party was instructed to proceed with the work of the Conference Committee. For six months on one pretext after another the Socialist party, through its negotiators, delayed action. Now it is proceeding with the policy announced in the New Leader. Although the S. P. has been formally committed to the plan of the Provisional Committee, it announced its new policy without previous notice or discussion with the organizations which had endorsed the plan.

Does this change of policy signify only a change in the method of launching a permanent labor defense organization? Not at all. The real significance lies deeper. The plan of the Provisional Committee provides that "the organization's chief activities for the defense of class-war prisoners . . . shall consist of . . . (3) organization of pressure campaigns enlisting broad masses of worker and sympathizers in meetings and public demonstrations. . . . To make this possible the plan provided for a structure which included in addition to affiliation of trade unions, local branches on a national scale, along the lines of the I.L.D. in its good days.

Will this be the policy adopted by the conference launched and controlled by the S. P.? What reason is there to think so? All the indications point in the opposite direction. To begin with, the old policy was agreed to by the Militants when they were in control and riding high. The new policy is announced by August Claessens

in issue number 8 she forgot to mention that she bequeathed to me a set of records in excellent condition and well-arranged for efficient working. To tell the truth I do not believe she forgot; I think she was just too modest to say so.

However, I wish to express appreciation on this score and to say that if all you friends out in the field will cooperate to the same extent, especially in seeing to it that bundle payments are kept right up-to-date, bundle orders increased as rapidly as possible, and as many new subscriptions sent in during the drive and thereafter as it is possible to get, we will soon have an even better paper than we have now; and I think that is saying something.

On with the drive!

Fraternally,

HAWTHORNE WINNER

as secretary of the New York Labor Committee, subsequent to the capture of that committee by the right wing and the ousting of the Militants from it. Moreover, this policy is announced at a time when the right wing in the party is advancing and the Militants are in retreat. (Claessens himself defines the function of "a powerful and effective Labor and Socialist National (Defense) organization" as immediate action in response to "calls for strike relief, emergencies (riots), arrests and preparation for trials and for appeals in cases of conviction". In short, the Labor Defense policy of the right wing is an efficient organization on a legalistic basis plus the present strike relief activities which the S. P. is conducting. It is reformist through and through. That will be, as the thing stands now, the policy of any defense organization controlled by the S. P. especially today.

The Socialist party appears to be heading in the direction of launching a sectarian defense organization. The March 15 conference is being organized on that basis and to accomplish that end. The Socialist party is violating its agreements with other working class organizations. It is still further dividing the labor and defense movements. It is sabotaging an opportunity to take a significant step forward in the direction of unity.

That is a responsibility which we do not care to share. As before, the Workers Party stands for a broad, inclusive, representative, non-partisan labor defense organization. It is ready to enter into united action to build such a movement. Is the Socialist Party now going to read itself out of such a movement? Above all, what are the Militants going to say and do about the proposed betrayal of the policy to which they have for months stood committed?

Decry Attack Against Mini

(Continued from Page 1)

week a statement made in August to the district attorney by Norman Mini. In this statement Mini openly declared himself a member of the Communist party and a believer in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The existence of the statement has been known ever since the Sacramento papers headlined it in August. Mini was a member of the C. P. as late as December when he left it to join the Workers Party.

Prosecutor McAllister offered Mini's statement as a "confession". Attorney Goldman immediately objected, pointing out that the defendant is ready to stipulate that he belonged to the C. P. and believed in what he understood to be its doctrines, but that he could not "confess" these things since they are not crimes. The judge blandly admitted the statement as a "confession".

The Communists, who are well aware that Mini has repeatedly refused offers of immunity (as reported several weeks ago by the N.P.L.D.) has joined the prosecution in characterizing Mini's statement as a "confession", adding that Mini is a "stool-pigeon".

But immediately after the statement was read to the jury, many of the defendants, led by Caroline Decker, Pat Chambers and Nora Conklin, rushed up to Mini to inform him that the statement was a "flop" as far as damaging the case was concerned. All expressed readiness to sign a statement expressing solidarity with Mini and denouncing the prosecution for calling this document a confession.

At this point however, Sam Darcy, district organizer of the C. P. appeared and ordered everybody to withhold their signatures. Despite this, Jack Warnick has issued a statement over his own signature defending Mini and denouncing the slander campaign against him.

Unable to divert attention from their disruption of the united front several weeks ago, the C. P. is now trying to center attention on a crusade against Norman Mini. A similar attack is planned against Jack Warnick. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense is active, although laboring under great disadvantages due to the slander campaign of the Hearst press on the one hand and the Communist party press on the other against Mini. The Socialist party state secretary has sent out a statement accusing the C. P. of disrupting the united front, and appealing to all branches to contribute to the N.P.L.D. Sacramento fund. A resolution on behalf of the defendants has been received from Local 574, famous truckdrivers union of Minneapolis.