Hearst's Program and the Petty Bourgeoisie

ween the two great contending classes of at once for commerce and defense. He today, the capitalist and working classes. It is finding its position more precarious a Secretary of National Defense. An unus the contradictions between socialized broken bridge spans Pacifism. Jingoism production and capitalist appropriation and Imperialism. Each serves its purincrease. The deepening crisis is causing pose in a different way, but all for the them to move, and at present they are same end. running around in circles. American capitalism is concentrating and centralizing the industrial and financial structure to a "higher" level. This squeezes Democratic leaders played their role in the middle-class to a greater degree between the embryo battle formations of

the capiatlists and the workers. One phase of the middle-class reaction to this development is expressed through the Hearst program. The Hearst papers advocate 15 points as their program for America. It clearly reflects the contradictions of the middle class and at the same time shows that the imperialist offensive pulls in its wake this chain of papers for its own ends. The few sugarcoated measures turn out to be walls which the reformers hope to erect between the Communist forces and the our special and political task to unmask working class. The burden, in preventing the building of these walls, rests upon the Communist Party by means of a correct Marxian struggle for immediate demands as against a reformist policy.

Wants Cheap, Efficient Government

Four of the fifteen measures are advocated for the purpose of obtaining a more centralized, cheap, efficient Government. They call for proportional representation in the United States Senate which would give the middle class and small industrialist a better hand at fighting the monopolies and trusts. They advocate the abolition of the electoral college. They want to end the lame duck sessions so that the new president and congress can sit right after elections. They want the modification of the Volstead Act. These measures would centralize, cheapen and make more efficient the Government apparatus. Where on the one hand, the demand for proportional representation in Congress is intended to satisfy the big capitalists, the production and not devote too much time modification of the Volstead Act, on the to beating down the cost of living. They other hand, is designed for the workers in order to catch their votes. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy and a large section of the workers are swept behind the middle class attempt to stem the tide by these measures.

The Middle Class Demands

One plank, "Honest friendship with all nations-entangling alliances with none," is the worn-out attempt to pull the results of the productive forces of American capitalism back into the national boundaries. This plank is hopeonly stir up the nationalism of the exploiting rulers, playing upon the "paa nationalism that develops into dangerous proportion as the crises deepensdangerous against the working class.

The middle class is not so dumb that they do not see the effects of the crises and trend of imperialism against the workers. And, knowing that an aroused and class-conscious working class may tip over the boat and spill all the profits, they move certain measures as reforms. These reforms have the purpose of creating, instead of a class-conscious proletariat, a contented and docile. Amthings as a thirteen month calendar, with all holidays falling on Saturday, and a five day week. But if all holidays fall on aSturday it will cut from under the five day week. The middle class needs a docile class in order to reap profits in all their avenues of exploitation. They want a Secretary of Education, and Federal control of education. All in .all, reforms from the top in order to head gins to loom before us-June 1st-on man situation. The eyes of the interoff the pressure of the workers from be- which date the drive closes. And behind national working class are instinctively low. Far sighted middle class politicians June 1st looms darkly the period of the fixed on Germany to see what will be see the writing on the wall that the summer recession. Against their inex- the outcome of the struggle there. In blind 'Stalinites cannot see. The slogan orable approach we are able to record the fire of the class struggle the lines for the Six Hour day and the Five Day this week some progress over last week's of Stalinism and the International Left week with no reduction of pay-a class report. The standing of new and re- Opposition are being weighed and tested. slogah of first magnitude for immediate newed subs, and new bundle orders is as demands, that can be turned against the follows: New York-17: Minneapolis-5; must forward more energetically the capitalist class and cement together a Boston-4; Chicago-3; St. Louis-1; point of view of the Left Opposition. We larger section of our own class—has been Newark—1; Philadelphia—1; Misc.—12; must spread our press. Workers everysmacched up and exploited by the middle New bundle orders: Chicago-2; Newark class reformers because the Stalinites don't understand the differences between

Jingoism Breaks Through

Three of the measures are outright jingoist planks, natural sequences Hearst's past Mexican campaign and his present Japanese campaign. Hearst wants the French and English West Indies as part payments of debts.

...... Minneapolis Attention

The Militant and Left Opposition literature can be procured at the following downtown newsstands:

> Engelson News Co. 234 2nd Ave., S.

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ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS SUBSCRIBERS!

All Minneapolis readers of The Militant, especially those whose subscriptions the distributor. have expired, may expect a visit from one of our Militant buit lers team who

The middle bourgeoisie is pressed bet- wants the Nicaragua Canal to be started wants the army, navy and aviation under

A Dangerous Stalinist Slogan

In the workers ranks also opportunism makes strange bed-fellows. The Social this evolution in 1914. In America where pacifism wants the United States to boycott Japan for her present acts in China, the Stalinists want us io expel the Japanese representatives in America. It is true the Stalinites have not travelled the road as far as the Social Democrats did in the last war, but it was just such a way that led the Social Democrats on the path to social-patriotism-by seeing the worst imperialist, not at home, but across the border. The Marxists fight against all imperialists but FIRST and at all times against "their own". It is the treacherous and despicable role of American Imperialism in the Far East in the League of Nations, in the disarmament conference and at home.

One measure of the Hearst program calls for a five billion federal loan for public works. This measure, as well as others, has enabled him to corral large numbers of workers. Hearst is against the Bankers dole in the form of the two billion dollar credit pool, and he is against a dole (social insurance) for the workers; but he wants a dole of five billion that would be divided among the exploiters with a goodly share going to the middle class and a few crumbs for the workers.

Anti-Working Class Program

The three remaining planks we have not yet spoken of are so clearly antiworking class measures that even the blind could recognize them. Hearst wants a federal tax and excise tax to replace the income tax. True, workers must keep their eyes on the point of must keep their eyes on the relation of forces between the classes. But the capitalist class can use the lever of taxes and prices and currency manipulations to further worsen the workers' conditions. And at this stage, the sales tax, just like inflation, will take its toll among the workers.

Hearst wants selective immigration and deportation of "undesirable" aliens, etc. Yes, Hearst is longing for the "good old past", for the docile American born the party press, is sufficient evidence worker, who was satisfied with a "full that the attempt at the organization of radiator has been put into condition. lessly reactionary and utopian. It can dinner pail". The Hearst program only the drug clerks by the Medical Workers shows some of the many contradictions Union was unprepared, without a clear of the middle class. In resisting the en- perspective and program. Hence its than other workers, that the crisis has triotism" of the working class and mid- croachments of the big capitalists they failure. This error is, of course, not not diminished any since Hudson's redle class youth, and paying the way for make a gesture toward the workers. In fear of the militancy of the working class, they support the most reactionary measures. Between these two great classes, the workers and the capitalists,

the middle class is fighting for its life. The stronger the pressure from either side the greater the contradiction in their camp. The Hearst program is aiming both ways, but ends,-as all centre forces must end-by helping the strongest forces in the struggle; and since capitalism and imperialism is at present on the offensive, the independent middle class erican working class. They propose such action, in its own special way, works

against the proletariat. -HUGO OEHLER.

Second Month of Militant Drive

:-: LETTERS FROM THE MILITANTS

Among the Drug Clerks

Is the leadership of the T. U. U. L., and especially, of the Medical Workers necessary, to attempt to describe or an-Union aware that a Drug Clerk's Union alyze the general conditions-unemploywas recently organized under the guard- ment, hunger and wage cuts-on New lanship of the A. F. of L. reactionaries, York's waterfront separately from those and is already counting close to 400 of other sections of the city or apart

members in its ranks? I read the Dally Worker every day, But they are not much different from but I failed to "discover" in its news anywhere else, and when one reads in the columns any mention of the existence of leading article of the only revolutionary such an organization as the Drug Clerk's

Was it printed in such infinitely small type that only a microscope of an appreciable magnifying power could detect its presence? Is it against the principles of Communist theory and practice to divulge news concerning reactionary and reformist trade unions? Or are these socialism in one country, that such trifles are apt to escape their "vigilant eye"?

This "infantile disorder" of ignoring reactionary trade unions, which had afflicted German Communism in its invehemently fought, has since Lenin's death relapsed and appeared again in a different form, but pathologically identical. It has appeared in the form of "social Fascism" "united front from below only" and other consequential complications. These acute infantile disorders have, under the personal supervision of "Doc" Stalin, developed into a gangrenous sore permeating the blood stream of the fighting organ of the proletariat with the toxins of "social Fascism" and other related toxins and thus isolating it from the living body-the working masses.

It is obvious that a trade union policy flowing from such an attitude towards reactionary and reformist trade unions is fatal to the vanguard and the revolutionary movement;, the terrible consequences of such a policy are being daily registered on the pages of the history of not only the American revolutionary movement but of that in all countries where Stalinists are in the leadership.

The medical Workers Union has, not long ago, made an atempt to organize fact ever been disclosed in the official range. At that time he could not find party press? No. Why not?

Is not there anything at all for the revolutionary unions to learn from such an attempt?

The mere fact that the dreadful situation of the drug clerk and the chaotic condition in the pharmaceutical industry has never been analyzed and a program of action has never been discussed, in

inside A. F. of L. drug clerk union.

workers' paper on the waterfront, the Marine Workers' Voice, that the sailors basic industries, then surely one is inclined to take notice of it and to look around for evidence for such a statement. The same Ray B. Hudson, who with

' It would be quite proper, though un-

from conditions in other basic industries.

On the Waterfront

other "delegates" to the Soviet Union "leaders" so preoccupied with building last fall was depeatedly embarassed by Russian workers with the question; "Who elected you?" and who upon further investigation was forced to admit that the "delegates" were not at all elected but rather "selected" (his own admission in fancy and against which Lenin had so the Daily Worker of March 26) has the nerve to step out and insult the scamer by saying that the American marine worker is exempt from general suffering and has not felt the crisis as acutely as the other workers! To quote him in the semi-yearly Voice (March-April issue)

than any workers in all the basic industries. Seamen, despite the great un-

It may be true that Hudson himself still carries some of the weight he said he piled on during his latest visit to the Soviet Union. And it is quite true that he has since held a soft job in the National Office of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, but how can that be taken as an indication of the prosperity of the seamen as a whole?

Before his departure for the Soviet Union, Hudson was made to run around the piers and docks as port organizer the drug clerks. It failed. Has this and he saw the conditions at a closer words strong enough to depict the misery and starvation of the seamen. Now he accepts the chair left vacant by Mink, who is, by the way, taking his turn at "delegating" to the Soviet Union and despite the fact that the crisis has be come deeper during the last year and the suffering more acute, the swivel chairs in the National Office have been replenished with new padding and the

But the unemployed seamen themselves know that they are not much better off N.Y. Auto Workers new in the annals of the Stalinist lead- turn from the U. S. S. R. They know ership. From this point of view, one that wages have been cut generally and might excuse them for being silent-but even more generally than had been exwhat about the drug clerks who are pected. They know that graft and bribdriven by this error into the A. F. of L. ery in getting jobs are commonplace, camp where certain defeat awaits them? | that insults and exploitation in the Sea-Among other things the Daily Worker men's Church Institute and the company should throw open its columns for an all- offices are just as sharp and as heavy sided discussion of the drug clerk pro- as in the shore industries. They also blem. A program of action flowing from know that the seaman has to wait in a the actual conditions existing in the long line before he can register at the pharmaceutical industry and not from office window-often all day, before he the heads of the leaders of the Medical is given his flop ticket, that the distances Worker's Industrial Union to be worked from South Ferry to the "Muni", to out for the revolutionary drug clerks the "Gold Dust" or to the Brooklyn "Y" are still as hard to tramp with worn-out shoes and socks as ever. They also know that the seaman often has to spend the night in freight wagons and dark doorways, just as the jobless uptown. Sol why these mistatements, this "exception-

> alism" for the seamen? "The seamen are relatively better off than other workers". Are the officials of the M. W. I. U. waiting for things to become desperate before they make a real move to organize the waterfront proletariat?

> Such a "watchful waiting" policy has been in evidence for many months. Despite the fact that an effort at organicolumns of the Daily Worker in the form less activity and has never been so disorganized as at the present moment.

Two years ago, when the first convention was held and the Union formed, a splendid start was made. A good basis was at hand. A real representative body of seamen was willing to sacrifice time and energy in building the Union, but it seems the party leadership did its best to keep it from making headway. Many splendid possibilities for the organization of the movement were thrown away. Everything of importance was left to "further consideration" and all kinds of results were promised by the incoming still a nucleus for building up an auto committees, but the ultra-mechanical control by the party leadership and the incompetency of its appointees on the National Committee have throttled the activities of the Union until it has become almost a wreck.

The leading element and the active membership in the Union have melted N.Y. Carpenters' Union away like snow in the springtime. The remote parts of the U. S. A. For quite a the carpenters, and

ganizer, has turned miner, and the last they have to face, and we heard of him was that he was in WHEREAS-The above evils can be eliactivities.

So the Union is leaderless and for that matter, also memberless. The defense ily in the hall are hardly able to act even as speakers at open forums or as chairmen at membership meetings, let alone cope with real organizational work.

opened up new headquarters for its organization and immediate relief must waterfront section. So far, it has re- be given to them to prevent a total dis-. . . it is of importance to note that acted to the new instructions from the integration of the Union, therefore be it no general wage cut has been made in R. I. L. U. to build up the union only RESOLVED-That we, the membership the marine industry. The marine work. by sending delegates to the various con- of Carpenters' Local Union No. 2090, U. ers have felt the effects of the crisis less ferences, more delegates to the First of B. of C. & J. of A., assembled in special May celebration in Moscow and still meeting on February 18, 1932, at 247 E. more delegates to the World Unit Conemployment, are relatively better off." | gress in Hamburg on May 20. The Union will start functioning again

only when the party bureaucrats are driven to the wall, when the party returns to the Leninist line, when innerparty democracy is reestablished. This alone will breathe the breath of life into the Marine Workers Industrial Union again and enable it to gather around the nucleus, the leading element of proletarian fighters who have been expelled or otherwise kept away from the movement. Then the conditions of existence themselves will drive the Marine Workers to unity and aggressive action.

At present, the marine workers should see to it that their rights as members of the revolutionary working class and of the revolutionary union are fully respected. Only by a freedom of criticism which makes possible a collective working out of our common problems, can the marine workers be brought into the line of march of their class, toward the conquest of power over capitalism.

No other indutsry has suffered much from the economic depression as has the automobile industry, with its over 50 per cent of unemployment. The automobile manufacturers have taken full advantage of the situation and have cut the wages of the auto workers to the lowest level in the history of automobile

No organized effort has been made to resist the terrible exploitation of the automobile workers. The A. F. of L. has time and again passed resolutions to organize this field, but it remains unorganized. The only exception is New York City, where a small local is still struggling along.

On March 1st the automobile bosses in New York notified the union that the men must accept a 40 per cent wage cut or no contract would be signed. More than half the members of the union were out of work and there was no money in the treasury, but the men unanimously turned down the proposition and declared themselves ready for a struggle. A commitee was elected to serve notice on the auto body manufacturers and was given

full power to act. When the committee met with the bosses it announced that the union would not accept the cut and that it was ready to fight it out. This had an immediate zation is seemingly being made in the effect on the employers, and they agreed to talk the matter over, with a view to of editorials and resolutions, the actual a compromise. After several days of fact is that the Union has never shown bargaining a 20 percent wage cut was arrived at. Faced with agreeing to this or accepting open shop conditions, the committee felt compelled to accept and at last a two-year contract was signed) by both parties.

Although the 20 percent cut was a setback for the union, it was an unavoidable compromise, remembering the 40 per cent cut that was first demanded, and the unsuccessful attempt of the manufacturers to destroy the union. It was the militancy of the union men that prevented the destruction of their organization. As matters now stand, there is workers' union that may some day be a power in the industry and not have to submit to compromises.

GADFLY

Resolution of the

We have received the tollowing resolution for publication? Further information is to follow:

WHEREAS-The negotiations for the coming agreement between the New York District Council of Carpenters and the and gain support from the membership. employers are now taking place, and such 20th, representing the I. W. O., the In-Such members are soon "disciplined" to an agreement must be in the interests of dependent Workmen's Circle, the Work-

functioning as the driving force on the ery and technical skill in the building band, friend and fighter for the revoluwaterfront. He visited incoming ships industry in general and the woodworking tionary struggle, Morris Winchewsky, and spoke regularly at the open air meet- industry in particular has for the past and we pledge to continue his fight in the

aries. Suddenly he was transferred to WHEREAS-As a result of the applica-Duluth, to take charge of the paper local tion of such modern devices and also as there, but the party had a hard time a result of the present economic crisis to get the New York membership to agree thousands of men and women have been thrown out of work, and unemployment Only recently Karl Koster was unex- among the carpenters has reduced them pectedly sent to Boston after he had won to the point of actual starvation, and the real support and cooperation of all WHEREAS-As a result of the present the rank and file members of the Union, improper control of jobs by the Union He had just broken all records in in- our trade became so demoralized that dividual efforts of personally lining up the carpenters are suffering from such more new members aboard the various evils as overtime work that is detrimentships in New York harbor, for the Union al to the incrests of the members, the than any one else. A short while after present system of stewards that has his arrival, the hall in Boston was closed proven to be a failure, the present pracand longshoremen are not suffering as by the authorities. According to reports, lice of hiring and firing which is conductmuch as their fellow workers in other Koster, unable to get permission to re- ed in a discriminatory way so that a turn to the New York local, has been delected few are steadily employed, leavforced to panhandle in the streets of ing the rest of the men destitute and Boston, H. Harvey, the National Or- with no consideration as to the misery

jail in Pineville, Kentucky for union minated only by having a proper and centralized control of the jobs in the form of an Employment Bureau that controls the hiring of men and carries corps around the stove or the element out the rotation of jobs, and that the that takes care of the large kitten fam- proper control can be had only if a system of shop and job committees is established, and

WHEREAS-Because of these miserable conditions thousands who are unable to All this, at a time when the party has pay their dues are dropping out of the 84th Street, New York City, hereby go on record for the following:

Proposals for an Agreement With the Employers

- 1. Six-hour, five day week on the basis of \$1.65 per hour.
- 2. Hiring of men to be done through the Union Employment Bureau. 3. Recognition of the shop or job

committee as the representative

- of the Union. 4. Firing to be done only with the
- approval of said committee. 5. No man shall work more than six hours a day.
- (a) On overtime no man shall work more than 3 hours, which equals one day's pay.
- (b) The above two points to apply unless no more men are available in the Employment Bureau.
- All overtime to be paid double. 7. Only union woodwork to be handled by union men.
- 8. A guarantee bond to be deposited by the employers to insure com-

pliance with the agreement.

Orangizational and Relief Demands

1. Rotation of jobs.

In order to enforce the rotation of jobs, the Union shall establish an Employment Bureau for the whole district, the Bureau to be composed of rank and file committees elected from the locals. 3. Said Bu. an to have a system of

registration of all the members. 4 No man shall be permitted to work more hours than constitutes the union work-day.

5. On overtime no man shall be allowed to work more than half of the specified number of hours that constitutes the work-day, which canals a union day's pay.

6. Abolition of the right of the boss

or foreman to hire and fire. 7. In order to fight the present speedup system and other evils in the shops and on the jobs, shop and job committees to be elected instead of the present system of stewards appointed by the business-agents.

8. Firing to be done only with the consent of the shop or job committee, which shall be under the supervision of the Employment Bureau.

9. A one-year term for District Council Officers and Business Agents.

10. Referendum vote on agreements, election of District Council Officers, and District Council By-Laws and trade rules. .11. All officers and functionaries of our Union to be subjected to recall by al. majority vote of the members.

12. Amalgamation of those small locals that cannot keep up themselves, and the reduction of the salaries of the officers to the union scale of wages of the carpenters in order to effect savings in ex-

13. All unemployed members to the exempt from paying of dues, and the locals to be exempt from paying the per-capita

taxes for their unemployed members. 14. To demand Federal Unemployment Insurance.

and be it further RESOLVED-That in case the employers

do not accept the above proposals for the agreement, a strike shall be declared, and be it further RESOLVED-That a copy of this resolu-

tion be sent to the District Council demanding immediate adoption and enforcement of same, and be it further RESOLVED-That the above program be

spread in all the locals in the District for their consideration and endorsement.

IN HONOR OF M. WINCHEWSKY From workers of Minneapolis, we have

received the following resolution in honor of the deceased Jewish poet, Morris Winchewsky. The resolution (addressed to Mrs. Morris Winchewsky and family)

"We, the assembled in the Labor Lyceum at an open forum Sunday, March men's Circle express the deepest symlong time local secretary Johannesen was WHEREAS-The application of machin- pathy for the loss of your beloved hus-

(Signed by the Committee) 8. ZALMANOFF

The staff of Militant builders is now a revolutionary struggle for immediate a little larger and reads as follows: A. the central inducement in a really intendemands and a reformist utilization of Konikov-4; J. Carter-1; W. Curran-| sive and sustained drive to get new 1; C. Cowl-1; Zalmanoff-1; L. Basky subs, renewals, new bundle orders and -1: R. Sacharow—1.

> must realize is the necessity, the abso- we will bound forward. lute and sheer necessity, of building the We give here again the literature precirculation of The Militant. On Sept. 29, miums: with each one year sub or re-1931 comrade Trotsky in sending greet- newal of \$2.00 a free copy of the Pergings to El Soviet wrote, "The resolution manent Revolution by comrade Trotsky, does not wait. Woe to those that lag or a free one year sub to Young Sparbehind. With all my heart I wish you tacus; with each half year sub or renewmay not prove to be lagging behind." al of \$1.00 a free copy of the Strategy Great struggles are preparing in the U. of the World Revolution. by comrade S. The German situation is developing Trotsky; with each trial sub of thirteen toward a decisive historical moment. In issues for 50c a free copy of one of our Spain further revolutionary struggles are 10c pamphlets. inevitable. We must not, dare not lag

We must strive with all our power to The rival Militant builders teams ders, a special 25c sub for eight issues, and free mass distributions postpaid to

are hot after subs and renewals. If your ment which in conjunction with the points and sends them in. sub has not yet expired, they will supply others should be decisive for subscriber At this writing, the standing of the teams

As we turn the corner to speed down At the present time there is a widethe second third of the drive there be- spread and intense interest in the Ger-

Now before the decisive moment, we where will read it. They want to know

the truth about the German situation. This series of extracts must be made make mass distributions. If every com-What our comrades and sympathizers rade and sympathizer will do his part

MINNEAPOLIS STANDING

reach a wider and ever wider circle of | Minneapolis (whom we will call Ranga-Left wing and working class militants, tangs vs. Ringtails) have both held their We must penetrate with The Militant secret meetings and outlined their plans policy of alienating and driving away deeper into the party and its auxiliaries, of action. Both plans are suspiciously new elements, promising militants, has into all working class organizations. The alike, and there is mutual recrimination been going on in full force. The party technique for doing this is worked out: about every scout getting reports, etc. and the appointed officials in the Union literature premiums, combined subscrip- The rules of the contest provide that are afraid and suspicious of any new tion, rates, special rates for bundle or subs for all Left Opposition organs count members who show leadership qualities as points, the unit being the dollar. All subs, after being reported to the team captains, who keep a record, goes through Now: in addition to these inducements the hands of comrade Coover, the branch we are able to offer a political induce- treasurer. He counts and credits the

you with the name and address of a and subscription getter alike. We refer is roughly: Team I: Dunn, captain-5 ings and Union Square demonstrations. years permanently and disastrously re-future. needy worker who will benefit by a sub. to the series of extracts from comrade points; Team II: Curran, captain-7 everybody liked his straight forwardness duced the necessary man-power, thereby Will you cooperate with our committee? Trotsky's new work on Germany, What points. This does not include two new before the membership and his fearless- necessitating a sharp reduction of work-