

Hearst's Program and the Petty Bourgeoisie

The middle bourgeoisie is pressed between the two great contending classes of today, the capitalist and working classes. It is finding its position more precarious as the contradictions between socialized production and capitalist appropriation increase.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Jingoism Breaks Through Three of the measures are outright jingoist planks, natural sequences of Hearst's past Mexican campaign and his present Japanese campaign.

Minneapolis Attention

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

- Engelson News Co. 234 2nd Ave., S. Oleisky's Newsstand Washington at Hennepin Shindler's Newsstand Hennepin, at 6th St.

ATTENTION, MINNEAPOLIS SUBSCRIBERS!

All Minneapolis readers of The Militant, especially those whose subscriptions have expired, may expect a visit from one of our Militant builders team who are hot after subs and renewals.

CARL COWLE, Secy.

wants the Nicaragua Canal to be started at once for commerce and defense. He wants the army, navy and aviation under a Secretary of National Defense.

A Dangerous Stalinist Slogan In the workers ranks also opportunism makes strange bed-fellows. The Social Democratic leaders played their role in 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 to expel the Japanese representatives in America.

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' role in the form of the two billion dollar credit pool, and he is against a dole (social insurance) for the workers.

Anti-Working Class Program The three remaining planks we have not yet spoken of are so clearly anti-working class measures that even the blind could recognize them. Hearst wants a federal tax and excise tax to replace the income tax.

Hearst wants selective immigration and deportation of "undesirable" aliens, etc. Yes, Hearst is longing for the "good old past", for the docile American born worker, who was satisfied with a "full dinner pail".

The staff of Militant builders is now a little larger and reads as follows: A. Konikov-4; J. Carter-1; W. Curran-1; C. Cowl-1; Zalmanoff-1; L. Basky-1; R. Sacharow-1.

Second Month of Militant Drive

As we turn the corner to speed down the second third of the drive there begins to loom before us—June 1st—on which date the drive closes.

The German situation is developing toward a decisive historical moment. In Spain further revolutionary struggles are inevitable. We must not, dare not lag behind.

We must strive with all our power to reach a wider and ever wider circle of Left wing and working class militants. We must penetrate with The Militant deeper into the party and its auxiliaries, into all working class organizations.

Now, in addition to these inducements we are able to offer a political inducement which in conjunction with the others should be decisive for subscriber and subscription getter alike.

Among the Drug Clerks

Is the leadership of the T. U. U. L., and especially, of the Medical Workers Union aware that a Drug Clerk's Union was recently organized under the guardianship of the A. F. of L. reactionaries, and is already counting close to 400 members in its ranks?

I read the Daily Worker every day, but I failed to "discover" in its news columns any mention of the existence of such an organization as the Drug Clerk's Union.

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?

This "infantile disorder" of ignoring reactionary trade unions, which had afflicted German Communism in its infancy and against which Lenin had so vehemently 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" and other consequential complications.

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 attempt to organize the drug clerks. It failed. Has this fact ever been disclosed in the official 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 the party press, is sufficient evidence that the attempt at the organization of the drug clerks by the Medical Workers Union was unprepared, without a clear perspective and program. Hence its failure.

Among other things the Daily Worker should throw open its columns for an all-sided discussion of the drug clerk problem. A program of action flowing from the actual conditions existing in the pharmaceutical industry and not from the heads of the leaders of the Medical Worker's Industrial Union to be worked out for the revolutionary drug clerks inside A. F. of L. drug clerk union.

HUGO OEHLER. J. D.

On the Waterfront

It would be quite proper, though unnecessary, to attempt to describe or analyze the general conditions—unemployment, hunger and wage cuts—on New York's waterfront separately from those of other sections of the city or apart from conditions in other basic industries.

The same Ray B. Hudson, who with other "delegates" to the Soviet Union last fall was repeatedly embarrassed 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 the Daily Worker of March 26) has the nerve to step out and insult the seamen by saying that the American marine worker is exempt from general suffering and has not felt the crisis as acutely as the other workers!

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 and he saw the conditions at a closer range. At that time he could not find 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 become 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 radiator has been put into condition.

But the unemployed seamen themselves know that they are not much better off than other workers, that the crisis has not diminished any since Hudson's return from the U. S. S. R. They know that wages have been cut generally and even more generally than had been expected. They know that graft and bribery in getting jobs are commonplace, that insults and exploitation in the Seamen's Church Institute and the company offices are just as sharp and as heavy as in the shore industries.

Such a "watchful waiting" policy has been in evidence for many months. Despite the fact that an effort at organization is seemingly being made in the columns of the Daily Worker in the form of editorials and resolutions, the actual fact is that the Union has never shown 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.

The leading element and the active membership in the Union have melted away like snow in the springtime. The policy of alienating and driving away new elements, promising militants, has been going on in full force. The party and the appointed officials in the Union are afraid and suspicious of any new members who show leadership qualities and gain support from the membership.

Whereas—The negotiations for the coming agreement between the New York District Council of Carpenters and the employers are now taking place, and such an agreement must be in the interests of the carpenters, and WHEREAS—The application of machinery and technical skill in the building industry in general and the woodworking industry in particular has for the past years permanently and disastrously reduced the necessary man-power, thereby necessitating a sharp reduction of working hours, and

Suddenly he was transferred to Duluth, to take charge of the paper local there, but the party had a hard time to get the New York membership to agree to the transfer.

Only recently Karl Koster was unexpectedly sent to Boston after he had won the real support and cooperation of all the rank and file members of the Union. He had just broken all records in individual efforts of personally lining up more new members aboard the various ships in New York harbor, for the Union than any one else.

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 inner-party 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.

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.

WHEREAS—As a result of the application of such modern devices and also as a result of the present economic crisis thousands of men and women have been thrown out of work, and unemployment among the carpenters has reduced them to the point of actual starvation, and WHEREAS—As a result of the present improper control of jobs by the Union our trade became so demoralized that the carpenters are suffering from such evils as overtime work that is detrimental to the interests of the members, the present system of stewards that has proven to be a failure, the present practice of hiring and firing which is conducted in a discriminatory way so that a selected few are steadily employed, leaving the rest of the men destitute and with no consideration as to the misery they have to face, and WHEREAS—The above evils can be eliminated 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 out the rotation of jobs, and that the proper control can be had only if a system of shop and job committees is established, and WHEREAS—Because these miserable conditions thousands who are unable to pay their dues are dropping out of the organization and immediate relief must be given to them to prevent a total disintegration of the Union, therefore be it RESOLVED—That we, the membership of Carpenters' Local Union No. 2090, U. B. of C. & J. of A., assembled in special meeting on February 18, 1932, at 247 E. 84th Street, New York City, hereby go on record for the following:

N.Y. Auto Workers

No other industry has suffered as 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 production.

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.

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 effect on the employers, and they agreed to talk the matter over, with a view to a compromise. After several days of 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 percent 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 still a nucleus for building up an auto workers' union that may some day be a power in the industry and not have to submit to compromises.

Resolution of the N.Y. Carpenters' Union

We have received the following 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 employers are now taking place, and such an agreement must be in the interests of the carpenters, and WHEREAS—The application of machinery and technical skill in the building industry in general and the woodworking industry in particular has for the past years permanently and disastrously reduced the necessary man-power, thereby necessitating a sharp reduction of working hours, and

WHEREAS—As a result of the application of such modern devices and also as a result of the present economic crisis thousands of men and women have been thrown out of work, and unemployment among the carpenters has reduced them to the point of actual starvation, and WHEREAS—As a result of the present improper control of jobs by the Union our trade became so demoralized that the carpenters are suffering from such evils as overtime work that is detrimental to the interests of the members, the present system of stewards that has proven to be a failure, the present practice of hiring and firing which is conducted in a discriminatory way so that a selected few are steadily employed, leaving the rest of the men destitute and with no consideration as to the misery they have to face, and WHEREAS—The above evils can be eliminated 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 out the rotation of jobs, and that the proper control can be had only if a system of shop and job committees is established, and WHEREAS—Because these miserable conditions thousands who are unable to pay their dues are dropping out of the organization and immediate relief must be given to them to prevent a total disintegration of the Union, therefore be it RESOLVED—That we, the membership of Carpenters' Local Union No. 2090, U. B. of C. & J. of A., assembled in special meeting on February 18, 1932, at 247 E. 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. 6. All overtime to be paid double. 7. Only union work to be handled by union men. 8. A guarantee bond to be deposited by the employers to insure compliance with the agreement.

Organizational and Relief Demands

- 1. Rotation of jobs. 2. 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 Bureau 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 equals 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 speed-up 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 a 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 expenses. 13. All unemployed members to be 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 resolution 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) reads:

"We, the assembled in the Labor Lyceum at an open forum Sunday, March 20th, representing the I. W. O., the Independent Workmen's Circle, the Workmen's Circle express the deepest sympathy for the loss of your beloved husband, friend and fighter for the revolutionary struggle, Morris Winchewsky, and we pledge to continue his fight in the future.

(Signed by the Committee) S. ZALMANOFF M. KATES FINNK