

NEW MILITANT

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Eyes on Sacramento

CALIFORNIA, which has given the world such a clear and striking picture of capitalist class justice in the case of Mooney and Billings, is again striving for leadership in the new campaign against workers' organizations and workers' rights. The trial of the 18 workers on the charge of "Criminal Syndicalism," now in process at Sacramento, involves fundamental issues of great concern to all sections of the labor movement.

In the Sacramento trial the effort is being made to revive the system of hounding and persecuting the militant workers which characterized the highly praised American "democracy" in the war and post-war periods. The chief instrument then, and now again, is the notorious "criminal syndicalism" law. Such laws, directly contravening the civil rights supposedly guaranteed by the U. S. constitution, were passed by most of the States, especially those which had been the scene of industrial conflicts.

The victims ran into the hundreds. In California alone close to a hundred prisoners, members of the I.W.O., were confined in prison after conviction of "criminal syndicalism." The infamous statute has lain dormant, with exceptions here and there, for about ten years. The attempt to revive it now is a stern warning to all the advanced workers of the crucial importance of united counter-action.

As is usually the case with all manifestations of the system that is founded on deceit, the labor persecution inaugurated at Sacramento under the "criminal syndicalism" law is disguised and concealed behind the mask of the "Red Scare." The aim of the holy prosecutors, they say, is to defend civilization and the American home and to prevent the nationalization of women by the red barbarians.

The defendants at Sacramento were the organizers and leaders of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, an organization that led some memorable battles of the most terribly exploited sections of the California working class. This fact speaks volumes as to the real motive behind the prosecution.

The Sacramento case cries aloud for united action. A national campaign is needed to put the case on the map before the trial is finished and the defendants are quietly shuffled off to San Quentin for long terms. Real efforts are required to secure the release of the prisoners on bail so that they can be useful in the agitation and publicity work.

The American working class stands before a new

epoch of mass struggles and conflicts which will put all previous labor revolts in the shade. The masters of America, especially during the past year, have shown that they will yield absolutely nothing without a bitter struggle. The workers on their part have shown in the same time that they do not shrink from conflict. The exploiters will seek to victimize the leaders and active spirits as they have always done.

We must learn at the beginning to stand together in the face of such attacks. We need to establish the principle at the very start that an injury to one is the concern of all. This grand old motto of the Knights of Labor ought to be inscribed on the banner of the rising labor movement. Its application in labor defense cases should be automatic. We need to establish the principle, and carry it out in practice, that an attack on one organization of workers will promptly call the others to its aid, regardless of the differences between them.

The Workers Party stands for this policy in regard to Sacramento. The issue is concretized on this case at the present moment. A practical agreement for a united campaign in behalf of the Sacramento defendants right now is worth a ton of abstract theses on the "united front." The Sacramento case is a test.

Hope for the Steel Workers

RECENTLY the attempt of the top officials of the A. F. of L. and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the steel barons and the Roosevelt administration to work out a truce for the steel industry broke down. The trade union officials promptly predicted that there would probably be a battle—"in the courts".

From Pittsburgh comes the announcement that some of the younger members of the A. A. are calling a national convention of "rank and file" the first week in February to discuss "ways and means" of "forcing union recognition from the steel companies". That suggests the possibility of fighting it out on the picket lines and is much better.

However, some of the same men backing this insurgent movement, now, talked mighty big to Hugh Johnson and even to Roosevelt himself last spring and then permitted Bill Green and Mike Tighe to out-manuever them and prevent a steel strike. What is going to happen this time? The personality of this leader or that is not a sound foundation for a movement of steel workers.

The progressive, fighting, genuine rank and file elements among the steel workers must get together regardless of personalities or political differences on the basis of a program and loyal determination to put the program into action. The first and chief plank in that program will be: Fight out the battle for union recognition in the steel industry! Fight it out now! Fight it out on the picket line!

Churchified Fascists

ROSE by any other name would smell as sweet. Conversely, a stink bomb by any other name would smell as ill. We make this observation apropos of what looks more and more like a world-wide movement to build a churchified Fascism—a Fascist regime which meets the approval of the Roman Catholic Church.

Several weeks ago a conference was held in Europe of Fascist organizations from various countries. It was announced, however, that Hitler's representatives were excluded. They did not belong in good Fascist company. Further examination of the participants indicated that they came from those countries where Fascism and the Roman Catholic Church had come to an understanding.

More recently the Pope announced that the Roman Catholic Church would observe "strict neutrality" in the Saar where a popular vote as to whether the region is to go back to Germany or remain under the supervision of the League of Nations takes place on January 13. The other day, however, all the leading Bishops in the Saar read statements from their pulpits, doubtless with the knowledge and approval of the Pope, urging their congregations to vote for returning to Germany.

In the United States Father Coughlin is busily forming his mysteriously financed organization for social justice!

Whatever disguise it may wear and by whomsoever it may be blessed, the masses will rally for an irreconcilable fight against Fascism which smashes the unions, destroys all the democratic rights of the workers and enslaves them to black reaction.

Preis Exposes Auto Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

of production for use and not for profit; that will solve the problem. The workers must have control."

Outstanding testimony as to the conditions of workers in the local plants of the Chevrolet Corp. and the Electric Auto-Lite Co. was given by Jim Rolland, and executive member of the union and of the Lucas County Unemployed League. Sam Pollock of the Workers Party and the Unemployed League was requested by the new progressive union leaders to speak before the committee in the name of the union, which he did.

Willis-Overland Co. Preis introduced his testimony by an exposure of the operations of the Willis-Overland Co. He pointed out that in 1928 this company employed 25,000 workers. Today it has about 1,000. Most of these workers had been imported from

distant sections of the country. After three months of speed-up they were fired. Today, Toledo has 23,000 families on the relief roll, one third of the population, and it was the breakdown of the Willis-Overland Co. which largely contributed to this, Preis said.

Remove Modern Machinery Although the newspapers have been hallyhooping the reopening of large-scale production in the Willis-Overland plant, Preis told the committee that the plant has dismantled its modern machinery.

"The modern machinery has been stripped from the production buildings and sold. The Willis-Overland plant will never operate again," Preis declared. "The 24,000 people who lost their jobs will remain unemployed, with but few exceptions. And not merely unemployed, but disemployed. It is not folly, but cruelty, to consider the stabilization of the automobile industry without also considering how to give these workers their jobs again. And that is a futile task under the profit system."

Zack Meeting Draws Crowd

Two or three hundred people were turned away at the door. Victoria Hall at Irving Plaza was packed and people were standing against the walls. The occasion was the speech of Joseph Zack on the reasons why he quit the Communist Party after a membership of 15 years and joined the Workers Party. The revolutionary workers stormed the hall to hear what Zack had to say. And they heard plenty.

The speaker painted a devastating picture of the internal life of the Communist Party and, point by point, exploded the whole policy of Stalinism and contrasted it with the Marxist position of the Workers Party. For two hours the audience listened with the closest attention, and at the conclusion of his speech a storm of applause registered agreement with his remarks.

Last Sunday night's meeting was another of the successful chain of meetings which are establishing the party as the concentration point of the revolutionary workers in New York. In response to demands of many comrades the district organization is planning a series of Zack meetings in the different boroughs of greater New York and a national tour is being mapped out by the national office.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY. ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

ROOSEVELT and CONGRESS

Sections from an article by John West to appear in the January issue of the New Internationalist

What, then, may be expected from the new Congress? First, the relation of Roosevelt to his new Congress is almost the reverse of his relation to his first Congress. Then, at the beginning of his Administration, by a sweeping popular overthrow, he had been placed in power on the crest of rising mass sentiment. He was the Great Leader whose duty it was to guide a timid Congress into the untried country of the New Deal—New at least in the real sense of being a new step in the advance of United States capitalism to its final collapse.

Now, however, Roosevelt is two years removed from direct contact with mass sentiment. Moreover, his unfulfilled promises are drifting back home to roost—in the end, citizens take jobs, security, protection seriously. It is the members of Congress who, just assembling from the tribulations of November's elections, reflect more directly the mass sentiment. They come from localities demanding additional public works expenditures, more relief, bonus payments, changed labor legislation, mortgage moratoriums, inflation, or what not.

Therefore Roosevelt, from having played the Great Leader, must now play the Great Brake; he must calm the wilder members of Congress, shunt aside and compromise "radical" demands, and in general make sure that no accidentally passed "left" legislation hinder the fundamental "right" direction. His task is difficult, for he must do this all the while appearing in the official publicity as the champion of the common men against the Tories.

Second, certain industrial and banking corporations have achieved a temporary relative stability during Roosevelt's first two years, with a reasonable level of profits rolling in. These are consequently anxious to go back to the pre-1929 days, and to take their chances in rugged competition unconfused by the complex intricacies of the New Deal. Their wishes cannot be granted. The pre-1929 days have gone not to return. Individual capitalists have got to be taught that they must occasionally give up a few sweetmeats as individuals to preserve the basic interests of their class as a whole, and its position. And the state—in the days of monopoly capitalism most directly representative of the class as a whole—will be their teacher.

However, their reactionary opposition is a useful weapon for Roosevelt both against difficult groups in Congress, and to build up favorable popular sentiment. As against them, Roosevelt can be very left indeed, and can point to them as the bogeyman who will gobble up Congress and the masses if they don't toe the line.

In general, then, we may be sure that, while the underlying socio-economic drift continues toward a right solidification, the legislation actually passed by the new Congress will be on no basic question unambiguously one thing or the other. It cannot be openly reactionary without antagonizing the public in a manner for which Roosevelt is not prepared; it cannot be in reality left without injuring seriously the position of the bourgeoisie, which position demands now the steady movement to the right.

Mass Action Policy Of National League

By ARNOLD JOHNSON Secretary of National Unemployed League

Facing the sixth winter of mass suffering, the unemployed of this country are looking with suspicion and scepticism at Washington today. The national Congress opens and will very likely try to feed the unemployed on words and promises. It may even pass some fake unemployment insurance bill which will cut wages, divide workers and starve the unemployed, then go home feeling the unemployed are taken care of.

Another assemblage at Washington which deserves only suspicion from the unemployed is the so-called Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance which is in reality a masquerade preliminary to the second annual convention of the discredited Unemployment Councils of the Communist Party.

Using the sentiment of the unemployed for the Lundeen Bill as a bait to get delegates to attend the convention of the National Unemployment Councils, the Communist Party and Unemployment Council leaders have again demonstrated their shady methods and false tactics for building an unemployed organization.

This time, they have even gone further than usual. They got a lot of individuals to act as "sponsors" of the Unemployment Insurance Congress. These individuals represent nobody but themselves and are not responsible to the unemployed. The C. P. and Unemployment Councils are responsible for this tactics and demonstrate that they are kidding the unemployed as well as the list of individuals. Furthermore, they have degraded the fight of the unemployed to the parliamentary sphere. They have also divided the demands of the unemployed and thereby the ranks of the unemployed and workers by making only one demand—the Lundeen Bill—the single issue.

The National Unemployed League is not attending the Washington convention of the Unemployed Councils disguised as a congress on unemployment insurance. We stand on a program of demands worked out by our state and national conventions and fight for them by the method of mass action.

Unemployment insurance at the expense of capitalist profits has been and will continue to be a demand in our demonstrations. At the same time we fight for adequate cash relief now for all of the unemployed.

We fight for a program of real jobs at real wages. We demand the universal 30-hour week in industry with no reduction in pay, from this point of view—as a means of creating more jobs. We demand a complete program of public works with 30 hours and \$30 minimum per week. A \$5,000,000,000 loan to the Soviet Union so it can purchase goods manufactured in this country will make jobs in industry.

A real struggle for the unemployed must put these demands in the foreground.

Need Organization Moreover, a real program of the unemployed needs a real organization. That organization cannot come out of the National Unemployed Council convention or its curtain-raiser, the so-called congress sponsored by individuals. The attempt to substitute such carnivals for bona fide organizations of the unemployed masses can only injure the movement, insofar as it has any effect at all.

Masquerade conferences, which sidetrack the movement to the narrow channel of parliamentarism, cannot advance the real movement of the unemployed. The struggle of the unemployed requires mass organization. It must be organized on the sound basis of a rounded program and the method of mass action. This is the policy of the National Unemployed League.

Huey Long Is Tammany Rising in the South

(Continued from Page 1) The Chicago Federation of Labor has endorsed Huey Long for president.

Huey Long, despite the tendency to consider him a joke, has a dictatorship in Louisiana, has gained some national influence, and has already captured important political posts outside his state.

In order to understand Huey it is necessary to know something about his native state, and something about his personal history.

Little Industry Louisiana is not an industrial state. There is only one city of any size, New Orleans, with 450,000. Shreveport is next with 80,000, and Baton Rouge, the capitol, is third with only 30,000. Altogether there are only eight cities of more than fourteen thousand. Thus the urban population is about seven hundred thousand, while the total population of the state is two million two hundred thousand.

Even in the cities there is little large scale industry. New Orleans is primarily a commercial port. In the north there is some oil industry, and scattered through the state are various sugar and cotton mills and textile plants. The pet-

dominant classes outside the cities are the fishermen of the South, mostly of French stock, the small farmers, and the shopkeepers.

A Venture in Oil Huey Long was born in the town of Winnfield, in the north, of poor parents. He put himself through school by traveling the country districts as a salesman of knickknacks. It was this experience that later enabled him to appeal so effectively to the rural vote.

He went to Law School at Tulane, failed to get a degree, but was admitted to the Louisiana Bar. His first political post was on the board of the Public Service Commission. It was there that he attracted attention by conducting a fight against the Standard Oil Co. Huey owned an interest in several wild-cat oil wells. When oil was struck he believed himself on the way to wealth. The Standard Oil Co., however, had a monopoly of the pipe lines, and proceeded to squeeze Long's independent enterprise. Huey put up a fight; he used his post on the Public Service Commission to break the monopoly. Standard Oil managed to have an impeachment proceeding started against him in 1921. The impeachment was later dropped, and Huey gained his point.

Whether he made money on this venture is not known, although he is reputed worth well over a million today. However, his war against the large Standard Corporation did give him material for a political campaign among the farmers and the petty bourgeoisie. He started out as champion of the "people" against the wiles of trustified business and monopoly.

Captured Rural Vote He ran for governor in 1924 and polled 70,000 votes in the Democratic primaries. (The Democratic primary is the real election in Louisiana, as a Republican has no more chance in the Deep South than the man on the moon.) Huey's vote came, as it still comes, largely from the rural districts. And in 1928 when his opponents split and threw away their majority, this same rural vote made Long governor, the first man to break the machine in decades.

His election in 1928 marked the real beginning of his career. He was only thirty-five years old. Up to that time he had been a backwoods Jackson democrat, who defended the "tenant farmers, small storekeepers, filling station owners and Bayou fishermen". In 1928 he promised the voters nothing more than free textbooks, better roads, and lower power rates.

From 1928 his rise was rapid until this year he launched his nation-wide Share the Wealth Clubs, made his plans on the presidency, was endorsed by such a staid organization as the Chicago Federation of Labor, and promised to "Make every man a king" on five thousand dollars a year.

(To Be Continued)

Wall Street Cracks Whip On Congress

(Continued from Page 1) National Run Around.

According to many noted Tories in banking and industrial circles the measures taken by Roosevelt and his Congress have been the very essence of Bolshevism. Now however, they are rubbing their hands with satisfaction. Roosevelt, they say, is moving to the right.

If what they mean is that left implies more promises and right fewer promises there is probably little truth in what they say. For this is no time for Roosevelt to cease his promises. Especially when Virgil Jordan, economist for the National Industrial Conference Board declares to a gathering of business men that "We are little, if any, nearer recovery than we were two years ago. . . ."

The speeches of Roosevelt and the willingness of his last Congress have been a bone in the throat of the working class and a boon in the pockets of the plutocrats. The Congress soon to open holds nothing better and probably much worse. The big planks in the new "new deal" program are widely advertised as a comprehensive "Social Security" program. But the recent social security conference was hardly under way when it received a warning from Roosevelt that he would tolerate no "wild" ideas. The "bright" feathers in this plan are loans to home owners, public works and unemployment. Gems of deception.

It is sufficient merely to review the previous history of this plan to understand who profits by Roosevelt's altruism. Of the \$200,000,000 expended by the Home Owners Loan Corporation more than 90 percent has gone to banks, insurance companies and realty agencies. The ballyhoo about clearing out slums and building homes for the poor has become in reality a building program for people with means. The poor cannot afford the rents demanded by government housing.

Public Works All this is intimately associated with the famous public works program which it is reputed Roosevelt, with the certain consent of his Congress plans to extend. The past speaks eloquently on this matter.

Of the \$2,711,000,000 in PWA allotments almost two hundred million dollars went in subsidies to railroad companies. Large dips in this pork barrel were taken by the army, the navy and the air force. Relatively few men were given jobs through this method. Some time ago the Nation reported that only a few thousand men were employed on such an enormous project as the N. Y. Triborough Bridge which called for millions in expenditure. The one way public works can start employment even on a modest scale is by entering into competition with private industry. And the very idea of such a thing is sacrilege to Roosevelt and company.

The last and probably most important measure, which seems assured of adoption in the new Congress is some form of unemployment insurance. Relief has proved to be very costly. Bankers and manufacturers have been howling for as speedy an end of it as possible.

But since unemployment shows no real signs of decreasing and since a permanent jobless army reaching well over the seven million figure is here to stay, some permanent and less expensive method of keeping Potters Field from filling up too quickly must be found. Roosevelt no doubt has a solution in an unemployment insurance scheme where the largest part of the receipts will come from the miserably paid workers and where the unemployed will receive this insurance for a few weeks of the year on the condition that they accept any sort of job, at any wages offered, even a strike-breaking job.

Congress opens with the New Year prepared to repeat its services of the last year—not for labor, which it can never serve—but for capital which it must serve. Its legislation will remain two-sided—new deal and raw deal, with the workers on the short end of the stick.

JOSEPH ZACK Former member Central Executive Committee of Communist Party will speak on

WHY I JOINED THE WORKERS PARTY FRIDAY, JAN. 11th, 8:30 P.M. 1176 Pitkin Ave. near Stone St Brooklyn

Auspices: Workers Party, Branch 6 "WILL HITLER SEIZE THE SAAR?" Speaker: MAX S H A C H T M A N SUNDAY, JAN. 6th, 8 P.M. Irving Plaza, 15th St. & Irving Pl. Admission 15c Auspices: New York District, W.P.

ALARM SIGNALS IN THE SOVIET UNION Speakers: A. J. Muste J. P. Cannon THURSDAY, JANUARY 10th, 8 P. M. HOLLYWOOD GARDENS Prospect Ave. & 163rd St., Bronx Questions Admission 15 Cents Discussion

Steel Hearing Is Called

(Continued from Page 1) revival despite the sabotage of its reactionary officials. The steel workers genuinely hated the company union and they still do. New progressive elements came forward in the union but they could not stand up against the reactionary barrage. However, an opportunity does not wait forever.

It is reported that the progressives are planning a rank and file convention to be held in Pittsburgh the first week of February to consider "ways and means of forcing union recognition from the steel companies". The call was issued at a meeting of 600 representatives from ten districts of the union at which speakers said that

"strike is our only weapon left now". Of course, this convention has already been declared outlawed by the Tighe administration. Unquestionably the rank and file discontent with the reactionary union administration is deep seated and its demand for action widespread. Its real need is progressive leadership that will stand up and make the fight; but to provide that the progressives themselves need organization and a clear cut policy of action. In this respect the steel workers union is no exception from many others and this is only one more reason for the necessity and speedy realization of a new national progressive movement in the trade unions.

Anniversary Dinner for A. J. MUSTE Celebrating his 50th birthday and his more than 15 years of activity in the labor movement. To be held at IRVING PLAZA, 15th Street & Irving Place WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9th 7 P.M. 75c per Plate General Admission at 9 P.M. 15c. For reservations: Write Lucile Kohn, Treasurer, Dinner Committee, Room 702, 112 E. 19th St., N. Y. C., or Telephone ALgonquin 4-9058.