

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

SUPREME COURT DELIBERATES DEBITS AND GOLD HUGHES IS SHREWD PERPETUATING RULE OF RICH

The judicial arm of the American capitalist government has played an inconsequential role during the period of crisis and the N.R.A. The august judges, than whom there would seem to be no higher authority but God himself, have felt rather aggrieved at being so completely eclipsed by the executive power in the hands of Roosevelt. But such power on the part of the executive authority becomes inevitable whenever a major crisis threatens the very foundations of bourgeois rule. There is nothing, in this respect, so firmly established concerning capitalist society, as that the boss class will violate every single law set up by itself, if these laws stand in the way of the fundamental interests or the continued existence of the ruling class. For that matter the ordinary "rights" won by the workers under bourgeois democracy are violated with impunity day by day. In regard to such violations of workers' rights by the exploiting class, the whole system of courts, including the Supreme Court when the interests of the class in power as a whole are involved, becomes merely a cloak for the proper veiling of class justice from the naive vision of the masses.

But the courts also exist, not merely in their role of judicial means of oppression of the exploited classes by the oppressors, but also to "keep the arena" where property interests come into conflict, causing, at times, deep-going differences within the ruling class itself. In such cases the Supreme Court may be called upon to render a decision generally in accord with the historic interests of the upper strata of the ruling class. The Supreme Court is now "deliberating" over the government's abrogation of its gold contracts when it went off the gold standard.

Case of the Gold Standard

It was to the interests of the capitalists, in order to maintain their power and to prevent an even worse collapse of their system than actually occurred, to scale down

the entire debt structure within American economy. It was also to the interests of the big financiers to lay the greatest burden of the crisis on the backs of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie. By depreciating the currency these aims were achieved.

Such depreciation amounted to wholesale expropriation of the wealth in the form of savings, common stock, insurance, etc., held by the small people. The big financiers were capable of protecting their own interests so that their wealth was not expropriated at all or to a minor extent as compared with the other classes. Furthermore, going "off gold" or depreciating the currency met the demands of competition for foreign trade due to the money manipulations of other countries. For the working class there was involved a subtle class cut by this process.

In view of all these effects of the abrogation of the gold clause by the U. S. Government, corresponding to distinct needs of the bourgeoisie, can anyone be under the illusion that the Supreme Court would dare to declare the government's act unconstitutional?

Majesty of the Law

In reality the Supreme Court is putting on a show, is covering with the necessary amount of flummery and formality the foregone conclusion of its decision. Hughes has no intention to bring about the chaos that would result from an adverse decision.

The Constitution Itself

The Marxian who knows the history of the American Constitution itself, is well aware that this sacred document is nothing but the legalization of the capture of power after the American Revolution by the rich, exploiting section of colonial society, destined to become the modern capitalists. The Constitution was designed to protect private property, to prevent interference with this private property by the majority of the people. In short, the Constitution was designed to perpetuate the rule of the rich minority against any attacks by the future proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. Surely a "yardstick" to be respected by this same proletariat which it was designed to keep from attaining to power!

Huey Long's Labor Record; He Says Mussolini Indorsed His Plan

This is the third and concluding article on Huey Long, demagogue and dictator of Louisiana. Next week comrade Eastman will begin a series of three articles on Father Coughlin.

By DAN EASTMAN It is not by chance that Huey Long, the most glaring of "practical" politicians, has a program distinguished for its impracticability. Huey Long is not interested in a real redistribution of wealth; he is only interested in appealing to the most ignorant prejudices of the backward sections of the population.

He is not interested in the welfare of the workers, but solely in the welfare of Huey Long.

To increase his power and influence, he is willing to promise anything—and does.

As for carrying out the promises? That's another story.

His Labor Record

Huey Long has never in any of his writings or speeches given support to union labor. He has never given support in his actions to union labor. So far as he is concerned union labor does not exist.

On the construction of the very roads and public buildings which Huey "gave" to the workers, scab labor was employed wherever possible.

During numerous strikes in Louisiana Long has never given support, or even sympathy, to the strikers. During the longshoremen's strike in New Orleans, last year, Huey Long courts issued the usual injunctions in restraint of the right to picket.

"Every Man a King"

There has been no improvement of the status of the working man in his state where "Every Man is King".

An example: In New Orleans cotton mills the wage scale was \$3.36 per 56 hour week before the N.R.A. The workers were forced to pay two dollars of this sum in rent for company owned shacks. After the N.R.A. the scale was raised from 36c per hour to 20c per hour, but the hours were cut to eighteen. At the same time that wages were thus raised from \$3.36 to \$4.50 per week, however, the rent was raised from \$2.00 to \$3.00 per week, so that the total gain was 14c per week for the workers.

This example is a bad enough indictment of the N.R.A.; but consider that Huey Long was dictator of Louisiana, both before and after the N.R.A. During that time he did nothing to aid the workers in the cotton mills, either when they struck or when they were at work. The N.R.A. raised wages 14c per week; Huey Long raised them not at all.

Long's attitude toward union labor is best and most completely revealed in one incident.

Suppresses Pamphlet

Last year a New Orleans labor editor, whose name I omit, printed at his own expense a pamphlet on Long's labor record, an expose of the Kingfish. The pamphlet never saw the light of day.

Two racketeers threatened the editor with violence, not against his person, but against his print-shop, the means of support of himself and his family, unless the pamphlet was destroyed. Rather than take the chance of becoming poor in the state where "Every Man is King" the editor, out of consideration for his family, complied.

Negroes Are Oppressed

One of the most oppressed classes in Louisiana are the Negroes, who number 750,000. They are subject to the most degrading conditions, to Jim-crow discrimination, they are excluded from juries, are prevented from voting, are deprived of even the smallest shows in the government that oppresses them.

Huey Long has done nothing for the Negroes in Louisiana. They are still excluded from the law and from the vote. Long himself indulges in Jim-crowism.

For instance: During the so-called vice investigation of New Orleans, Long called a city wide conference of ministers. Two Negro preachers, who were naive enough to take him at his word, turned up for the conference; they were barred. There are plenty of other instances of actual personal discrimination by the Kingfish himself, against Negro reporters, doctors, etc.

Lynchings

There is no better index of the attitude of the state, and of the oppression of the people, both Negro and white, than the number of lynchings. In 1933, the last year for which I have complete figures, Louisiana tied with Georgia and South Carolina for first place in the number of lynchings.

Huey Uses Troops

There is no class poorer than the unemployed and the "unemployables". Of the latter there are 15,000 in the city of New Orleans alone. Last August they were cut off without a penny of relief. When a hunger march descended on Huey's capital it was met by the National Guard, the leaders were arrested, and the marchers dispersed.

Huey Long failed to approve a bill providing a meagly \$10,000 (66c each) for these workers, as a

temporary measure of relief. Instead the legislature, Huey Long's legislature, turned the care of the unemployed over to the parishes, unbending the problem of the poor on the poor.

(President Roosevelt stole a trick from Huey when he returned 5,000,000 unemployed to state charity. It's all the old army game of passing the buck, with the workers getting it in the neck every time.)

Relief Is Low Huey Long, now a Long city, has never provided one penny for relief (New York City pays some \$5,000,000 a month), every cent coming from federal and parish resources.

As a consequence of Huey's great concern for the poor man the average relief in Louisiana is two to five dollars a week; in a state where the legislature appropriated more than \$100,000,000 for the construction of vote getting roads.

Like all demagogues Huey talks big and does little. What is Huey's future?

In an issue of The American Progress, his paper, there appeared a little box notice:

"Mussolini says Long is right on sharing the wealth. Premier Benito Mussolini, who has rapidly risen to the forefront among world statesmen (!) has given his indorsement to the Huey Long plan for redistributing wealth."

The quotation that follows, however, contains no reference to the Senator. The important fact is that Long's paper, and by inference Long himself, publishes with pride an indorsement from Mussolini.

There are points of similarity between Huey and the Italian murderer. Both are ruthless politicians, both are great popular orators, who conceal the continuing oppression of capitalism under a cloak of fine phrases about abolishing poverty. What Mussolini has is the backing of capital, and a completely crushed labor movement. What Huey Long needs is—

Mechanization In Steel Bodes Uncertain Future

Fewer Workets Needed in Modern High-Speed Mills -- Companies Contract for Eight More

By FRED RAYBURN

NEW CASTLE, Pa.—Fourteen steel producers, representing 83 per cent of the ingot-making capacity of the country, report an aggregate deficit of \$19,023,200 for the third quarter of 1934, indicating that the net deficit for the entire industry was close to \$22,919,000.

Steel workers in the Youngstown, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Gary and Detroit areas did not have to read these figures. They knew—not in terms of dollars or cents or trips to Europe, which is what the deficit means to steel mill owners. They knew in terms of bread and butter, of milk for their children, shoes for their wives.

A stagger system of one or two days' work a week, with the speed-up still operating full-force to keep down employment costs, brings full realization to workers of their plight under a dying capitalism.

See Uncertain Future

And now the steel workers, harried almost to the breaking point by the uncertainties of the past few years, must watch the steel mills carry on and increase the process of mechanization, and know that insecure as their jobs have been in the past, in the future they face the certainty that thousands of them will have no place in this industry.

If the mills were being operated to supply the needs of the workers, this would not frighten them. It would mean that the back-breaking work of the steel industry would be done by machines, and the men would be freed to provide other goods.

But as long as the mills are run with profits for the owners as the first and chief consideration, these workers know that this mechanization means only unemployment and misery; for with millions being replaced in other industries there is no place for them to go.

Erecting Modern Mills

Contracts for high-speed modern mills have been let by various steel companies. These mills, costing between \$6,000,000 and \$12,000,000, are capable through a continuous operation of producing 2,200 tons of 75-inch sheet steel in 24 hours, or 680,000 tons a year. Compare this with an ordinary hot sheet mill with eight plants, rated at 60,000 tons a year, and you have a clear picture of the future for those workers who as yet are employed in old-type mills.

Ford Motors has one of the new mills in the process of installation. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. is building one in Youngstown, Ohio. The Great Lakes Division of the National Steel Company has let a contract for a similar mill at Detroit; Carnegie Steel (United States Steel), at Youngstown.

Brings Loss of Jobs

It is significant to note that the Inland Steel Company, which reported a profit of \$3,108,358 for the first nine months of 1934, when most of the large companies showed deficits, is equipped with the latest in tin plate machinery, which not only produces much larger quantities with fewer men, but results in a higher quality. And this results, not in a better life for the workers, as it should, but in their losing their jobs.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation is considering erection of one of these new mills either at Sparrows Point, Md., or Lackawanna (Buffalo), New York.

Steel Towns Passing

The conclusions to be drawn from these recent developments are that complete mills will become obsolete. The towns that grew around these mills will in turn become desolate and barren. These new type mills will employ a small working force, or in a circus exhibition, free the big robbers of the people—"Wall

WORLD IN REVIEW

FRANCE

PARIS SOCIALISTS

PROGRAM FROM "LA VERITE"

Ed. Note: An event of great importance in the struggle against Fascism in France was the adoption by the Paris District of the Socialist Party of the Program of Action sponsored by the Trotskyist group which recently entered the Socialist party. The members of this group, known as Bolsheviki-Leninists, have conducted a vigorous agitation for their program of action in their newspaper "La Verite" and in the Socialist Party organizations. For the information of our readers we reprint this important document in full as it appeared in La Verite.

THE CRISIS

Capitalism is passing through a crisis against which it cannot stand up except by retrenching its productive capacity in order to adapt it to the capacity of consumption which is more and more narrowing. It has exhausted its possibility of reform.

The reactionary offensive and the utilization of fascism are not the results of a revolutionary offensive; in France they are the reply to socialist reformism, itself incompatible with the existence of capitalism if it is to be a "reformism" serious and logical. It is because it has entered the stage of retrogression and decadence that capitalism opposes us with a growing resistance. Capitalism is forced to substitute for a regime of parliamentary and bourgeois democracy a regime of strong force resting on the army, the police, the armed fascist forces, and to crush the democratic conquests, by the suppression of the rights acquired by the workers (organizations, press, demonstrations, meetings, etc.).

The ministry of Flandin is but a variant of this regime. Under these conditions the task of preserving and extending the democratic conquests cannot be assured merely by parliamentary and democratic means. These methods must be paralleled by extra-parliamentary struggles of the masses. Either the reaction will crush the

workers as in Germany, Austria and Spain or the masses will overthrow capitalism and take power.

To expose the illusion that parliamentary means are sufficient for a defense of democratic conquests, to guide the will of the masses for preserving their conquests in a struggle for their own power—that is the task of the Socialist Party. The problem is posed whether socialism or fascism will arrive at power first.

The present parliament has betrayed the interests of the people who have chosen it. It no longer represents their will. It must go.

WE DEMAND ITS DISSOLUTION

WE WANT POWER

How to Bring the Masses on to the Road of the Decisive Struggle for Power.

1. The party must be in a state of permanent mobilization: daily propaganda must be carried on (distribution of leaflets, meetings at factories, at workers' centers).

A parliamentary group must be at the disposal of the Federations for systematic agitation in workers quarters and at factory gates.

2. The unity of the workers' front must be on the broadest basis. It is necessary that this unity be effected around central slogans common to large proletarian organizations and capable of rallying the big mass of the workers, of involving in the struggle step by step even the most hesitant layers (peasants and middle-classes) which will gain their experience in the fight, will abandon illusions and will rally to socialist solutions. That is why the 19th Section believes that the plan of the C.G.T. contains four slogans:—Nationalization of key industries; Control of production; Control of banks; 40 hour week—which should serve as a common basis for the propaganda of the united front, involve the CGT in this united front and give to the popular front an actively revolutionary content by realizing the bloc of all those who today are robbed and exploited by capitalism. The French Socialist Party must cease being the tail-end of the united front, but on this basis must put itself at its head.

To hasten the decisions, to give to the united front a content of action so that those who have to act in common become more firm and decisive, it is necessary:

1. To hold joint meetings between socialist and communist districts.

2. To break all resistance to trade union unity.

The strengthening of the unity of the front will facilitate the realization of the unification of the two parties for revolutionary action.

The Struggle for Power

The Socialist Party which poses seriously the problem of the struggle for power must know how to adapt its tactics and its preparation.

It is necessary that it know how to break the resistance no matter from where it comes.

For that the general strike is the best weapon. It will hinder the revision of the constitution by a capitulating parliament as well as hasten its dissolution.

Between the riots of Feb. 6 and the workers' answer of Feb. 12 too much time elapsed. The time may not be allotted to us in the future!

In the present state of tension the general strike will unloosen the forces of the bourgeoisie against the workers. In order to defend themselves the working masses must organize the people's militia sufficiently strong numerically and materially to crush the reactionary bands.

The organization of the general strike and the organization of the people's militia must embrace volunteers from all the layers of the anti-fascist toiling population.

From this follows the necessity of creating (in accord with all other organizations which will accept it) shop committees and local committees for the general strike which organize local militia groups and prepare the days of proletarian power.

Necessity of the regional and national coordination of these committees.

The general strike must have for its, socialists, positive objectives:—The Government of Workers and Peasants—the problem of which will embrace essentially:

- a) Convocation of a Constituent Assembly chosen by all the inhabitants over 18 years of age; b) Disarmament of bourgeois formations; c) Arming of the workers; d) Realization of the principal demands of the united front mentioned above.

We Socialists, we must prepare this giant's step by organize the working class struggle so that it can lead it. We must make it understood that even under a hypothesis that a government results from universal suffrage, that once this government decides to apply reforms of structure capable of realizing the demands of the workers, small merchants and the peasant masses, that it will meet the resistance of the bourgeoisie which will not hesitate in violating its own legality to oppose by force the realization of these measures.

—BILL MONROE California

The Party Fund

Building the new party is not a matter of choice. It is a duty imposed upon us by events.

The task is enormous, made more difficult by the disillusionment of the leftward moving elements who looked with hope to the Communist Party and the "Militants" in the Socialist Party. Misled and frustrated by these two parties, the class conscious workers are waiting to see what we, the Workers Party, are going to do.

We must prove our seriousness and earnestness. We must show by concrete work in the class struggle that we can and are willing to give correct leadership in the struggles.

We can do this. But we must have the full support of all who see the problem clearly and know how to answer it.

The first requisite is a party, organized on the basis of democratic centralism, with functioning units throughout the country.

We must tend all our energies toward this end. We must aim to keep organizers and speakers constantly in the field. We must build a national training school for workers. We must extend and strengthen the unemployment movement; organize the Left-progressive wing in the trade unions; help the Youth consolidate its organization.

HELP BUILD A MASS WORKERS PARTY. CONTRIBUTE TO THE FOUNDATION FUND.

REPORTS FROM THE SECRETARIES

Waukegan, Ill.—The secretaries writes: At our last meeting, the unemployed members pledged their 25c assessments and each of the employed members made their pledges. The total equals \$25, the sum assigned us by the national office.

Los Angeles, Cal.: Received a quota of \$100.00. Has definite pledges of \$91. No doubt the balance will be made up by local sympathizers.

Detroit, Mich.: Accepts the quota set, but will be a little late sending in the money due to unemployment in the branch.

The South: This branch has to function underground due to local conditions. However they accept their quota and will do their best to meet it as fast as possible.

Philadelphia, Pa.: Accepts the full quota and has already asked for \$70 worth of certificates.

Kansas City, Mo: Will meet the quota. More than half already pledged.

New York: The following is a detailed report from the New York District. It gives the names of the members who paid on their pledges since the last report printed in the New Militant.

Table with columns for Branch (1-7), Name, and Amount. Total receipts: \$1,432.20

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