#### NEW MILITARY

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SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1935 No. 12

### Unity of the Unemployed?

HE Socialist Partyites who managed the unemployed convention held in Washington March 2-4 failed to realize the ambitious objective which they set before themselves-that of setting up an allembracing, truly national organization of the unemployed. Under pressure from such rank and file elements as the convention contained and others, they bad to pass a resolution providing that in three months the executive of the Workers Alliance of America (the name chosen for the new organization) should meet with the executives of other national organizations to discuss unity. Thus they confessed the justice of the charge which the National Unemployed League made against them, namely, that for an essentially factional purpose and on a wrong basis they were trying to set up another national organization when such organizations were already

What organizations will really affiliated with the W.A.A. after the delegates have gone back home and reported about the character of the convention and how much power it can develop under the loose form of organization adopted is still entirely problematical. If, however, the resolution for unity of the unemployed is carried out in a loyal and realistic manner, important results may yet be accomplished. The unemployed desperately need a powerful, non-partisan nation-wide fighting organization. All the forces capable of helping to build such an organization should get together without a moment's delay. Those who fail to do so in the crisis which at present confronts the unemployed are guilty of the grossest irresponsibility.

The National Unemployed League has repeatedly stated the basis on which unity can be achieved:

"Bring together delegates from the local unemployed organizations throughout the country in a convention which expresses the will of the rank and file and in which representation is proportionate to the strength of the bona-fide organizations present. In a fighting organization set up in this way we will unbesitatingly and gladly submerge our separate ex-

We endorse this position. We urge all unemployed organizations to adopt it and to act upon it immediately. Of our S. P. comrades we ask again: "Why do you refuse to accept this simple, straightforward, correct proposal? What are you afraid of?"

The Unemployed Councils (Communist Party controlled) are so weak generally that the Communist Party in most localities is proposing to liquidate them just as on the trade union field its "revolutionary unions" are being liquidated. However, Herbert Benjamin, the leader of the Councils, was at Washington to plead "for united front and unity of the unemployed organizations". In fact, to judge by the Daily Worker Benjamin of the C. P. was the dominant figure at this S.P. convention! So incorrect was the report that Benjamin had to apologize publicly for it in the convention, with what outward smoothness and inward rage we can imagine!

In line with the right swing of the C. P. Benjamin flattered the S. P. leaders and speaks of their occupying "a position far in advance of the leaders of the N.U.L." For the mechanical mancuvering from the top by which the convention was set up Benjamin has, of course, no rebuke. The C. P. believes in doing business that way and no doubt is flattered by the imitation of certain S.P.'ites.

The Communist Party just having deliberately smashed a united front of the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Communist Party, American Civil Liberties Union, International Labor Defense, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, etc. in Sacramento, though this may mean prison sentences for 14 of its cwn members, Benjamin unctuously offers a united front and unity in the unemployed field!

From this corrupted source no unity will come, but insofar as it still retains any influene, only confusion, disruption and defeat.

### Balance of Power -- An Illusion

JUDGE Nields of the Federal District Court of Delaware has ruled that a company union or employee representation plan is legal under the NRA. In making his ruling he set forth his idea of "the 20th century American theory" of the relation between the worker and the boss.

"The traditional old world theory," according to Judge Nields, is that there is a certain divergence of interest between the worker and the boss, and that it is necessary, therefore, to have an "economic balance of the power of labor against the power of capital" through independent labor unions. According to Judge Nields' conception of up to date American theory the interests of worker and boss are practically identical, depend upon "mutual interest, understanding and good will", and can, therefore, be well taken care of by a company union financed by

Judge Nields has his facts twisted. The prevailing American theory to date, the theory generally held by the A. F. of L., for example, has not been anticapitalistic. It has insisted, however, that if the workers are not to be oppressed they must be organized as well as the bosses. There must be what Judge Nields describes as "the economic balance of the power of labor against the power of capital".

The theory which Judge Nields advecates is pretty close, well on the way, to the theory that prevails tigator. An investigator combines for himself and get a letter from a clips, etc., you are a "chronic in such countries as Italy and Germany under Fas- the functions of a social-worker doctor. The dieticians will then grumbler", and you have not got cism. There the independent unions of the workers and a detective. have been smashed. They are now forbidden, strikes are illegal, etc. Relations between worker and boss are supposed to depend "upon mutual interest, understanding and good will".

Marxists have always contended that the divergence of interest between workers, on the one hand, and the bosses who own and control the basic resources of the nation and its productive machinery and operate them for their own private profit, is so fundamental that the worker cannot deliver himself from oppression and misery without destroying the system and building in its place one which he controls and in which industry is not operated for pri-

What are American trade unionists now going to reau allows only \$16. Check on ent that even the most naive are do? Accept the theory of Judge Nields and of the how the family pays the differ- impressed. Everyone knows there nical equipment, work under a Automobile Labor Board, leading inevitably in the ence. Perhaps someone has an odd is a spy system—special investiga- speed-system. Their work is check- in the Sacramento papers. It is end to Fascism and the destruction of all independent job? Perhaps a relative is help- tors to investigate the investigate ed for errors, they must turn out well known that since his arrest organizations of the workers? Try to organize on ing? the theory that under capitalism a balance of power between labor and capital can somehow be worked out? Or organize to take the offensive against the capitalist system which, if it is not abolished, must press the workers' standard of living further and further down and in doing so crush every semblance of resistance against slavery?

## **QUESTION BOX**

A. D., DETROIT-

Question: What is the difference between the "price" system and the "profit" system?

Answer: Certain schools of thought, notably the Technocrats, superficially designate any mode of production in which money in one form or another exists, as a "price" system, thereby indicating their inability to see beyond surface phenomena. The existence of a "price" system, or money, merely means that the production and exchange of commodities is sufficiently advanced historically so that a single commodity, the money commodity, which functions as the measure of values for other commodities and as the medium through these latter exchange, has evolved. (There are other functions of money which we do not mention here since they have no direct bearing on the question.) The existence of money, in itself, therefore, in no way tells us more than this about the mode of production, and money existed while production was based on chattel slavery (e.g. Southern United States prior to the Civil War), or on feudalism (e.g. Europe before the 19th century), and exists under capitalism (wage slavery)

To call a system "price" system, therefore, means to designate a mode of production, taken as a whole, by only one of the characteristics upon which it is based, or which exists within it. However, systems of production are characterized, and this is basic, by the CLASSES upon whom the dominant mode of production is based; i.e., slave owner and slave, feudal lord and serf, capitalist and wage worker.

The production and exchange of commodities is not essential to the existence of either feudal or chattel-slave society; such commodity production and exchange (and therefore money) which did exist played a minor role in the economic life of the system, and existed alongside of rather than being a component part of it. The capitalist ("profit") system, however, is based upon commodity production and has as a prerequisite for its existence that this production be sufficiently advanced so that money exists. But this is not enough. In addition there must exist, on the one hand, a propertyless mass of people (the proletariat) who have nothing to sell but their labor-power (labor-power itself becomes a commodity); on the other hand a class of people who own and control the means of production, to whom the proletariat must sell its labor power in order to live, and who derive their surplus value ("profit") from the fact that they pay the worker in wages a smaller value than he creates for them

The capitalist system, therefore, is one which is based on commodity production, a money ("price") It is no great secret that Caroline system, but commodity production (and the existence Decker has expressed herself in of money) is not necessarily capitalist production.

Question: Is it true that in the Soviet Union the "profit" system has been abolished but the "price"

Answer: By expropriating the capitalists and landlords in the Soviet Union the workers have done away with that class relationship upon which capitalism, dence which is beyond dispute. If the "profit" system, is based, i.e., on the one hand the propertyless proletariat, and on the other a class possessing and controlling the means of pro- unlike the irresponsible leaders of duction. The present class relationship in the Soviet the C.P., we have no intention, in Union, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a face of the situation created, of transitional political system standing between capitalist and socialist society and therefore has elements in it of both systems. This is reflected in the currency which is unlike money in capitalist society in that, like Soviet production itself, it can, within certain limits, be controlled; and it is like money in be avoided by us; but the interests capitalist society in that, particularly for foreign of the persecuted militants dictate trade and on the "free" market, legal and illegal, it is subject to the laws of commodities which determine the character of money. It is superficial to speak of a "price" system in describing the Soviet Union since the existence of a currency is but a minor aspect of the social relationships in that country: The ownership of the means of production by

## Capitalist Press Lies About Mini Scored by Chambers and Warnick

MENTO, Feb. 7, 1935.—The Hearst ramento Bee carries a report that in return for anything McAllister Examiner of today prints a statement that Norman Mini has offered

WATCH FOR THIS FELLOW

In response to inquiries, A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party, states that Carl Leathers is not a member of the Party and that no one answering the description of Leathers is in the Party. Responsible comrades regard Leathers as not reliable workers' erganizations are acked to take note.

SUPERIOR COURT, SACRA- to turn state's evidence. The Sacthis case. Both statements are absolutely false. . . .

Not only has Mini made no such offer and no such confession but he has repeatedly refused McAllister's offers of immunity in return for turning state's evidence. McAllister has been peddling his offers of immunity for six months and he has been turned down by still awaits trial, and by others of a state charge of embezzling \$66,000

mitted no crime. We are fighting for the rights of workers to organize in unions and for the right of the Communist Party legally to exist and advocate its doctrines, and a "confession" has ben made in may offer. This is an issue that concerns the working class as a whole, and we will continue to fight until it has been won.

(signed) JACK WARNICK PAT CHAMBERS NORMAN MINI

INSULL FARCE Sam Insull, conviction - proof Greek tourist and ex-utility manipulator, went to trial March 4 on still awaits trial, and by others of the present defendants. We need and ask no immunity. We can make no confessions since we comdiciel farce.

# Relief Investigators Do Detective Work Letter from "Inside" Tells the Wretched Story

I work in a Home Relief Bureau or course it's net your business to are poor, with over-crowding, lousy

How's that? Well, verbally, the emphasis is upon social-work. But actually the long talk on the welfare of the their living standards are higher with your superiors . . . talk nice work is detective work. After a clients, we are told that we are handling the community's money and our first duty is to the community-which means the bankers. Concentrate upon "suspicious" cases and close them out! The more cases you close the better your

chances for promotion! Here is a family that lives in a

Our Health "Service"

Maybe the family needs a doctor. First have them try home remedies. You know most of them only want a doctor because it is free; if they were working, they would hesitate to call a doctor. If it's a case of dental work, the bureau provides that too, but the waiting list is filled for six months!

Yes-our "superiors" tell us-for an undernourished child we allow 25 cents bi-weekly for cod-liver oil. A special diet can be obtained, but

## A.C.L.U. on Sacramento

(Continued from Page 1)

of the genuine united front defense movement, neglected by the C. P. bureaucracy, were the representatives of the same N.P.L.D. and the W.P.

6. The C. P., in its press agitation, and for criminally narrowminded factional purposes, played right into the hands of the prosecution by denouncing Norman Mini's statement as a "confession", which was just what the prosecution tried to make it appear to be, but which everybody else, including most of the defendants who signed the latest C. P. statement, regarded as just the opposite of a "confession".

7. Despite its scurrilous agitation, the C.P. stands ecademned by two groups involved in assisting the defense which are not connected either with the C.P. or the W.P .- the Socialist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union (both in California and nationally) - and by the Nation, liberal weekly.

Caroline Decker's Position The fact that Caroline Decker found it possible to append her name to the vicious C.P. statement of March 5 is a source of great regret to us, and our sentiment will be shared by every responsible militant. While we are aware of the terrific difficulties of her position (and that of all the other defendants), and of the cowardly pressure exerted upon her, we cannot justify her signature in any way. We cannot believe that the state-

ment she signed actually represents

her views. We know it does not.

unambiguous terms about the conduct of the C.P. bureaucracy, and about those very questions which are dealt with in the Stalinist statement. Our convictions about her views are not based upon hearsay, but upon ample documentary eviwe do not present it to our readers at the present time, it is because, making use of such issues at a moment when the freedom of 16 workers hangs in the balance in a capitalist courtroom. The full reckoning with the Stalinists will not to us a postponement of the inevitable date.

Warnick Stands Firm At the same time, it is a source

of deep gratification that Jack Warnick, although also a member of the C. P., refused to lend his name to the contemptible document printed in the Daily Worker. Like everyone else concerned, he knows the truth, the real facts in the dispute, and he has declined to give credit to a document of falsebood and infamy by adding the signature of a proletarian revolutionist. If we will not abandon those rights this courageous attitude has earned him the venomous attack of unprincipled traducers, it has also brought him the cordial and comradely congratulations of all honest workers and their renewed pledge of solidarity with him and his fellow-defendants. His stand is an example to follow.

#### REVOLUTIONARY DANCE GROUP FORMED

Classes Every Week. Get information from F. Drake,

in New York City. I am an investell the client. Let him find out lighting, no supplies like paper, ink, take it up-it may take a couple a "professional approach to relief

of months. Most of these people never had anything-most important for an now than ever, especially these Negroes

All this is intermingled with re-integration into the economic life of the community.

The Spy System

The psychic terror utilized by the \$20-a-month apartment. Our bu- relief administration is so apparis told, "You stay in today, we have is looking into your "load", that sharp lookout.

is, the relief clients on your list. Perhaps an anonymous letter comes in (the administration encourages and checks on all anonymous letters) saying that a certain client earned a couple of dollars at slips by. How much time we take an odd job and has the investiga- for lunch, do we weaken the mortor reported? This method is used ale of the staff during work hours especially against active staff by agitating for a five-day week members who are organized into and an increase in pay, do we make the Employees' Association.

No Kicking Allowed there are plenty of qualified workers (which is a lie) to take the Association. We are building the places of "suspects" on the staff. If you point out that the amount of work required is tremendous on the "relief" system, but now I (twice that of any private welfare have to write up a couple of "penagency), that working conditions dings" . . .

problems". Favoritism is rampant . . . kowtow to your superiors . . . go to

investigator to remember! - and lunch with your aids and eventually nothings . . . show them your main aim in life is to save a penny for the taxpayers . . . don't join the chatter about the mental health of Employees' Association. And if the clients, re-vocational training, you are the right color, have the right accent and the right religion, so the superiors like you, you have a chance for promotion.

Speed-Up for Typists Other employees are not better off. The typists, besides poor techtors! Ever so often a field-worker the quota or get out. The same Mini, who is a Sacramento boy and goes for the ticket-writers and popular in the community, has resome other work for you." You bookkeepers-speed up. The petty fused two offers of immunity." are under suspicion, and a "special" tyrants, the straw-bosses, keep a

Commissioner Corsi, who has the list of all aliens on relief, has on paper given us full privilege to organize. Every discrimination is used against us, however; nothing an error in the rush?-we catch hell. Our friends are warned not The hint is broadly spread that lunch with us and so on and so on. Our answer? The Employees'

Later I will give you more news

## Two Important CP Members in Week Join Workers Party

Two active and important mem-|stand the tasks of a revolutionary west have withdrawn from that occatically controlled unions. party and joined the Workers Party. Lillian Monroe of Fresno, Cal. who tage of the Sacramento criminal struggles in the San Joaquin Val- important comrades on trial, failprop director for the state of Ariand for its tactics in the Sacramento trial, and the Third International for its ruinous policies.

Comrade Lassen, who was a member of the Socialist Party before affiliating with the Communist Party, further protests against the C.P.'s program "for the formation of a reformist Labor Party", and for making the "shift in strategy in a fashion having nothing in common with a real democratic working class party".

Comrade Lassen has wide influence among the agricultural work- titude. At least it has taken this ers, copper miners and other workers in Arizona and plans to form Workers Party branches in these

In the San Joaquin Valley, Comrade Monroe has great prestige among the workers in the agricultural fields, trucking, oil industry, creameries, railroads and the unemployed. In her work now in and around Fresno she is being assisted by comrades from the Los Angeles and San Francisco-Oakland branch es of the Workers Party.

Comrade Monroe who was at one time Fresno section organizer for the C. P., led the big Fresno grape strike in 1933 and was prominent in the San Joaquin Valley cotton strike the same year. As leader of a well-organized relief struggle, she was held in jail for 30 days, then released for lack of evidence.

In her statement to the Communist Party Lillian Monroe accuses the C.P. of failing, in its work among the small farmers, to edu- and the prices charged consumers; cate them to their class position, and declares rather that the antagonism between farmers and work- and tobacco processors, etc.; (3) ers was deepened. She also points the introduction of labor standards out that the C.P. "completely ignores the necessity of organizing tracts; and (4) protection for the and doing trade union work among the workers in the factories, oil fields, trucking, cotton gins, creameries and so on in the San Joaquin Valley".

Bureacracy in the Communist International is scathingly constructive to the working classes in Triple A's job is to hand out submany countries.

Further reasons for her withdrawal from the C.P. given by Comrade Monroe:

"Because you are guilty of destroying the only union you have which spring so lightly to the lips ever built in California, the Cannery and Agricultural Workers In- the other Brain Trust luminaries dustrial Union, by grabbing the can go hang. control of the union out of the hands of the workers and placing proaching a stable union, by your as usual. continued use of tactics already them, by your failure to under- has been killed off.

bers of the Communist Party in the party in building progressive, dem-

"Because of your criminal sabohas taken a leading part in the syndicalism cases, slandering the ley, and Lloyd Lassen, who was ing to raise bail until you were organizational secretary and agit- forced by the Workers Party to do so, failing to rally mass support zona in the Communist Party, both in protest of this frame-up, hedg- tion of the C.P. in this matter has make statements condemning the ing in the formation of a genuine C.P. for its bureaucratic policies united front on the case; and then, when the real united front committee was set up-and this is the last straw-you broke it up.""

### CAPITOL ■ NEWS ■

(Continued from Page 1)

Association has taken what is, for organized labor in the United States, a surprisingly advanced atattitude in words, if not in acts, for Mr. Harrison, the chairman, has declared: "Tens of thousands of additional railroad employees must not be driven to the breadline in order that the railroads of America may continue to pay a dole to idle capital". The R.L.E.A. leg- cipients of the call signed by the islative program proposes, instead, the six-hour day, full crew and train limit bills, reduction of service hours, various safety and in- but the very miscellaneous and unspection measures, and certain am- representative groups mentioned in endments to the Employers' Liability Law.

NEW DEAL "LEFT WING" OUT The pious hope that the New Deal is capable of engaging in "social control" received a body-blow by virtue of the recent dismissals from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of its so-called "radical wing". These "radicals" were dismissed because they advocated: (1) a narrowing of the spread between the prices paid to farmers have been that the recipients would (2) strict supervision of milk distributors, packing houses, sugar into A.A.A. agreements and contenant farmers who are being driven from the soil thanks to the curtailment of cotton production. It is the "practical-minded men",

the "dirt farmers" who never farmed, who now are in complete control of the A.A.A. Their prosemmed by Comrade Monroe, as de- gram is the simplest imaginable: sidies for the wanton destruction of natural resources. These subsidies are to be collected by the levy of processing taxes. All those fancy theories of social control of the Tugwells, the Franks, and

Meanwhile. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports indicate that food it in that of your bureaucracy, by prices continue to shoot upward at your bureaucracy being unable to a dizzy pace, with no letup in prosgive the workers the necessary pect for the near future. What the leadership in times of stress, by production cubs began, the drought your inability to organize the agri- has completed-and the wage earncultural workers into anything ap- er gets the short end of the stick

Do the farmers, however, benefit? proven disruptive, by your failure Ask the farmers whose crops have

## C. P. Blamed for U.F. Break

(Continued from Page 1)

stitutes one of the most discouraging incidents in the always discouraging history of radical factionalism. It is a charge which is not even believed by the people who make it and constitutes the triumph of a tactic over truth. In a public statement given out in defiance of the party line on this subject, Jack Warnick has written: "The characterization by the Western Worker that Mini is "a cowardly, treacherous stool pigeon" must be condemned as an attempt to frame the boy and ruin his reputation for the rest of his life.' The so-called 'confession' consists of a defiant statement of his own beliefs and of facts known to everyone, made by Mini at the time of his arrest in August and headlined at that time

#### LILLIAN SYMES, CALIFORNIA AUTHOR

On February 15, another noted California writer, Lillian Symes, sent a letter of ecamment to New York, from which the following excerpts are taken:

"The situation out here has been incredible and has just about wrecked all of us who were trying to keep the united front going. have been through many fights of this kind but I have never seen anything quite so dirty and outrageous as the C.P. maneuvers in the Sacramento situation. Three A.C.L.U. members who went up to Sacramento for two days to observe the trial came back almost

hysterical. "Goldman got his first chance to act in the case when Mini went on the witness stand. It was the first ray of light in the whole trial. Mini was splendid and between them, the jury and the audience, for the first time, was given an exposition of communist theory and

a dignified defense. . . . "As something of an outsider I must say that the W.P., the N.P. L.D. and Goldman have all acted with amazing patience and diplomacy under very trying and difficult circumstances. This is also the attitude of several liberals who have been fairly close to the situation and who are less prejudiced disgusted all elements but their own fanatical followers."

GEORGE HEDLEY, CHAIRMAN UNITED FRONT COMMITTEE

On January 21, George P. Hedley, director of the American Civil Liberties Union in Californis and chairman of the united front committee, in reply to a news story published in the Western Worker captioned "Trotskyites Splitting Tactics Fail", sent a letter to the Western Worker, which he asked to be published, in which he said:

"The vote against sending out the call already drawn up and signed by representatives of the C. P., W.P., I.L.D., NPLD, and by the writer in his capacity as temporary chairman of the joint committee, meant actually that the redefendants would have no way of knowing that the Conference on February 10 was supported by any one paragraph of the defendants' call; specifically, that the Workers Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Socialist Party, the really significant divergent groups which had entered the joint defense committee, were thus eliminated. The argument that the sending of the official and agreedupon call would have caused confusion is too absurd to require refutation; the actual effect would have learned that the Workers' Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense and the Socialist Party, had entered into close cooperation with the Communist Party in the interests of effective defense and effective mass protest.

"At the time-immediately after adjournment-I remarked to the Communist Party delegate that I considered the motion 'outrageous'. I see no reason to revise that

Note: This letter has not yet been published in the Western Worker.

Copy for Bill Sherman's colum, Left Jabs, came in too late to be included in this issue.

PHILADELPHIA BRANCHES

SPRING DANCE and

## Entertainment

SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 8 P.M.

1033-35 West Glrard Ave. Please note change of hall. Distribution of premiums will take place

at midnight. Admission 35c

to admit mistakes and correct been burned out, whose livestock Doors will be closed during performance of program numbers.