

NEW MILITANT

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Danger in Sacramento

DANGERS threaten the Sacramento defense. We must be on guard.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, since its entry into the case, in support of all the defendants has pursued a clear, principled and straight-forward policy. This policy has been based on the following platform:

1. Win acquittal for the defendants. 2. Fight out the case on its real issue—the right of labor to organize—and prevent the State from hiding the real issue by turning the trial into a Red hunt. 3. Thereby draw in the support of the trade unions and the working class generally. 4. Maintain a solid working class front before the capitalist court.

As a result of the vigorous efforts of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the case was raised from the dump where the International Labor Defense had left it, bail was secured for defendants who had been lying in jail for six months, and the case itself was brought publicly before the working class. A united front agreement, embodying the N.P.L.D. position, with the Workers Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party all participating, was formally entered into, and had an excellent prospect of broadening rapidly.

In the midst of the trial, the Stalinists broke the united front agreement, and are now carrying on a slanderous and vicious attack against the N.P.L.D. and the Workers Party. Nevertheless, the N.P.L.D. refused to allow the solidarity of the defense to be broken.

In this trial, all the machinery of the capitalist class—from the blare of Hearst's publicity to intimidation of the jury to organization of vigilantes to testimony of the most contemptible stool pigeons—is being used to convict the defendants. The provocation is extreme, and it takes firm political judgment to stand up against it. The provocation of the State, in and out of court, must be met by a principled working class defense. If the defense attorneys allow themselves to play into the hands of the State in their conduct of the trial, they will jeopardize the fate of the defendants, prevent the real issues from being made clear, and antagonize mass support on the Pacific Coast.

Let the I.L.D. and the Communist Party, take warning. We will fight with all our strength to preserve the unity of the Sacramento defense. But we are not going to stand idly by while Stalinism leads the working class to another in the long series of Stalinist-led defeats.

For the acquittal of the Sacramento defendants! For labor's right to organize! For a united defense!

"Planned Economy" in the U.S.

SOON we will enter the third year of the New Deal policies pompously heralded again and again as a method of planned economy. With every step taken in this whole scheme one note is repeatedly dinned into our ears: Business is on the road to recovery. What do actual facts reveal?

Following upon the heels of the N.R.A. came the A.A.A., the P.W.A., the C.C.C. and all the lesser ventures. In the main they were all part of a general scheme designed to strengthen monopoly capital at the expense of the working class.

It is true there have been certain signs of what is called an upward trend in business. Most impressive is the record of net profit gains made by the monopoly corporations. The Analyst of January 11 informs us that for 190 companies representing the basic and key industries in the country, the net profits were \$320,635,000 for the first nine months of 1934. This compares with \$182,096,000 for the same period in 1933 for the same companies. Profits were almost doubled in 1934.

But what happened to the unemployed? The statistics of the A. F. of L. which cannot at all be said to exaggerate, presents the following picture, according to its own finally revised figures: It gives a total number of unemployed in November 1934 of 11,469,000 which is 429,000 higher than its figures given for the same month in 1933. Net profits are rising and unemployment is increasing. Such are the results of the business recovery under the New Deal.

Of course, this has nothing in common with planned economy. It is capitalist production for profit wrung out of the surplus value produced by the workers—those who are employed. Any expansion that takes place is on the basis only of capital investments where the rate of profit is the biggest regardless of

the need of employment and regardless of the need of food, clothing and shelter for the masses.

Planned economy means the exact opposite. It means first of all the total elimination of unemployment. But that is possible only under Socialism, only after capitalism is overthrown and the working class has taken power. That is our goal.

A Watchdog of Capitalism

JOHN L. Lewis barks again. This time he barks for William Randolph Hearst. Hearst wants to head up the reactionary forces in the country and hog-tie labor.

Mr. Lewis' yappings in behalf of the Hearst campaign appeared in Hearst's New York American, on February 9.

Nothing could reveal more clearly the true nature and worth of the President of the United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Lewis fears the rank and file coal diggers. They are becoming more militant, and they are apt to get him in bad with the big business boys—the coal operators. They might even dump him overboard, should the opportunity arise! This explains why the "great leader" accepts money from Hearst and lets loose a broadside in the Hearst campaign—against militant coal miners, whom he labels agitators and Reds.

In some coalfields, particularly in West Virginia and Kentucky, sheriffs and company gunmen make a practice of hustling agitators out of the county and giving them "grim warnings" . . . Lewis recounts this with satisfaction. But to suit Hearst, Lewis lies. He tells the Hearst readers that the coal miners, not the company gunmen, are responsible for this!

Less than two months ago deputy sheriffs in Harlan, Kentucky, entered a hotel and beat up two U.M.W.A. organizers who were holding a conference.

In identifying himself with the Hearst campaign John L. Lewis reveals himself again as an enemy of labor. He is, indeed, one of the well-paid watchdogs of capitalism.

On the Flying Trapeze

THE resolution adopted at the Central Committee meeting of the Communist party held Jan. 15 to 18 is an interesting, yes amazing document. It deals with three points—the trade union question, the united front and the labor party. On each of them the C. P. is executing a right about face. The "man on the flying trapeze" has nothing on the Stalinists when it comes to flying "through the air with the greatest of ease".

For years the C.P. has asserted that the A. F. of L. unions are company unions, that they must be smashed and that independent "revolutionary" unions must be built all along the line. Anybody who objected was a counter-revolutionist, social fascist, etc. Now everybody must go into the A. F. of L. and the "revolutionary" unions must be liquidated.

For years "the united front from below" was the C. P. policy and with it went the great "theory of social-fascism". But in the latest pronouncement there is not a word about this dominant tactic and leading theory of the last decade. Tossed overboard! In dealing with the Social Democrats, the comrades are now instructed to avoid "the replacement of argument by abuse".

Just last year an Independent Federation of Labor had to be built in the U. S. Anyone opposed was an enemy of the Soviet Union and conspiring to assassinate Stalin. Now "it is inadvisable to put the question of forming an Independent Federation of Labor"—delicately put at that!

For years anyone who talked of a Labor Party was a counter-revolutionist, etc. He was preventing the workers from rushing into the C. P. Now the C.P. proposes to take the initiative in forming a Labor Party, though it is hard to tell through the fog of words they use just what the concrete program is to be.

Does this amazing resolution of the C. P. in which every single one of the leading policies of the party in recent years is thrown overboard, in which, therefore, the utter failure of the party is implied, does it contain any straightforward Leninist admission of this failure? Does it have anything to say about the havoc wrought in the American labor movement, in one union after another, in the unemployed work, in the defense work, by the insane disruptionist and adventurist tactics of the C. P.?

On the contrary. On the basis of the repudiation of its entire past program, the C. P. comes forward claiming to be the revolutionary vanguard and leader of the American working class! "Everything we have done is wrong; the American workers have repudiated it, even we have to toss it all overboard now; therefore we are the only safe guides, the only revolutionary party. And anyone who now dares to stand for what we stood for yesterday is a counter-revolutionary assassin of Kirov!" That is the C. P. argument today.

In thinking that the American masses will "fall" for such an amazing performance, they once again insult those masses. The workers will not forget what destruction has been wrought these many years by the so-called Communist Party. They recognize the leopard despite the tawern power he has sprinkled on his spots. Everywhere they are flocking to the banner of those who long since pointed out the destructive and ruinous role played by the C. P. They are flocking to the banner of the Workers Party of the U. S., the revolutionary vanguard of the American masses.

to city for a number of years he was appointed, in 1926, to the position which he still holds, by Bishop Gallagher of the Detroit Diocese.

Father Coughlin Re-echoes Popes

Efficially the above "liberal" encyclical, "In rebus Father Coughlin found the nucleus for his sermons on social evils." Father Coughlin was born Charles Edward Coughlin, of Irish parents, at Hamilton, Ontario, in 1891. He was educated in parochial schools, and later under the Basilian order of monks. During the course of his education he showed great interest in social and political problems, and doubtless regaled his mind with the above and other even more entertaining papal dictums.

It might be noted that while Father Coughlin never ceases to inveigh against "international socialism", "internationalism" and on this very date (Jan. 21) against entrance into the world court as an instrument of "international bankers", he is not himself an American citizen by birth, nor, so far as I can find by naturalization. He was born in Canada and remains a Canadian.

Father Coughlin's career begins properly with his installment as pastor of the parish of Royal Oak, a little town some twenty miles outside the industrial city of Detroit. After wandering from city

Hearst Calls the Tune . . .



NPLD Statement on Sacramento Case

The following statement on the part it has played in the defense of the 17 workers being tried in Sacramento under the criminal syndicalism laws of California has been issued by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense—Ed. Note.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, hitherto active in the New York labor movement, was called into the Sacramento case by Norman Mini, one of the defendants now facing a long term in San Quentin, who was not in accord with the policies and practices of the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense.

We responded by bringing from Chicago the experienced labor attorney, Albert Goldman, to defend Mini and to cooperate in the defense as a whole. We raised \$6,200 and liberated Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker after they had spent six months in the wretched Sacramento jail.

We began a press campaign which has brought the Sacramento trial to public attention in other states and stimulated trade unions and other organizations to voice opposition to the persecution of workers "guilty" of organizing a union. We have arranged a mass meeting in New York at which prominent union leaders, writers and

educators will speak. In many other ways we have aided the general defense cause.

On the suggestion of American Civil Liberties Union officials, conferences began several weeks ago in San Francisco, resulting in the setting up of united defense machinery, including our organization, the I.L.D., several labor unions, the Socialist Party, the Workers Party of the U. S. (to which Mini belongs), and the Communist Party. An agreement was reached covering plans for a mass meeting, a publicity campaign, fund-raising, the barring from court of factional issues, the calling of a broad supporting conference, etc.

The defendants were gratified to learn that they were to have the support not merely of the usual C. P.-raked set-up of "innocent clubs" and paper organizations, but of a genuine and broad united defense which might appeal for aid to the whole labor movement and all progressive elements. Our organization carried out its obligations to this united defense in every respect.

The Communist Party-controlled delegates, however, after repeated breaches of faith, and despite many concessions made by other groups for the sake of unity, deliberately smashed the united defense. At a committee meeting on January 26, acting apparently on orders from New York, they violated every agreement previously made with the other delegates. This they did despite the unity appeals of Dr. George P. Hedley of the Civil Liberties Union and two of the I.L.D.'s defendants who were present. A policy frankly designed to bar the cooperation of any delegate unwilling to accept Communist Party orders, was laid down as an ultimatum. Thereupon C.P.-controlled delegates called for "a united front under the leadership of the C.P. and I.L.D." They thus drove all non-C.P. delegates out, including the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and A. F. of L. union observers present and prepared to participate in a genuine united front defense.

The Communist Party and the Western Worker, seeking to shift responsibility for this unfortunate break-up, have completely misrepresented what happened on January 26. The real truth can be testified to, not only by delegates present and free of Communist Party control, but also by three members of the Civil Liberties Union and Mr. Clark of the Oakland Labor Council, all of whom were present as observers.

More than ever an aggressive policy of organization and struggle is necessary if the trade unions are to meet this offensive successfully. But that is not the policy of Green and Company. There should not be any illusion that the announced rift will mean a change of policy on their part or a change of their relations with capitalism. It is true that they cannot remain unmindful of the rank and file pressure for action and the rebellion that is brewing behind this pressure, but the orientation is to crush the rebellion. Attempts to outlaw strikes will follow in an effort to throw demoralization into the ranks.

It is not decided in advance, that this will succeed. The American workers are getting into a fighting mood and learning how to deal with those who betray them. The policy of Green and Company foreshadows deep going splits and break-ups in the A. F. of L. A warning now is timely so that these break-ups may become only a separation of the officialdom from the rank and file. In any event the preparation for the struggle with the trade union bureaucracy is now a duty of all real progressive elements. The sooner it is prepared for in an effective manner the more assurance there will be that the ranks of the trade unions will remain united and that the separation of the splits will be only from the reactionary officialdom.

FDR Kicks Green & Co.

(Continued from Page 1)

associations (company unions), 5,440; for the Associated Automobile Workers of America, 3,124; for the A. F. of L., 2,286; and for the Mechanics Education Society, 314. These two last mentioned organizations opposed the elections and advised the workers not to participate.

There is, however, a vast difference in voting in plant elections for a union and in fighting for a union. By the methods of the former it is safe to say that a union would never be established. It is true that the pressure of capitalist exploitation and the intense speed-up system remains in either case; but the workers bending their backs over the assembly lines under surveillance of foremen and superintendents are not at all free to vote according to their desires. Their job is at stake, and they have no guarantee against a loss.

Striking for union recognition is an entirely different matter. It brings out the fighting qualities that the workers possess and it instills into them a fighting spirit. The feeling of strength by solidarity of mass numbers becomes a powerful factor and obviates the fear of the job that is at stake. Workers move forward by action and in the struggle they will feel that they act directly for their union. Even the fierce onslaughts they meet from the employers when on strike tends to stiffen their resistance.

But this is all assuming that the unions give actual leadership in the struggle for recognition. This is an imperative prerequisite. Precisely this is what has been lacking in the automobile industry as in other basic industries and this is what has enabled the directors of monopoly capital together with their executives in Washington to kick the A. F. of L. leaders in the pants. For this situation the Federation officials themselves bear the whole responsibility. They had nothing more to offer

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHEERMAN

A New Militant Sub for the Best Title

Feb. 15 is the deadline for titles: "Lead 'em and Weep" and "The Weekly Weep". Among others, Ratsbane for Brisbane, By the Way, Now that You Mention It, High Spots and Otherwise, Side-lights on the Class Struggle, Covered Wagon, False Alarms, Low-down on Highspots, Lie Detector, Unexpurgated, and the following letter:

"Dear Comrade Sherman: A hot vapor of unreality has always hung over America. Added to this obnoxious condition was the practically free distribution of 'American Baloney'—the daily news. Today American workmen are becoming fed up with it; and the vapor is fast condensing to cold water. The atmosphere is really stimulating. Your column, a catalyst to the vapor, must have a fitting name. So I take the liberty to suggest a few names; here goes: 1. Real World. 2. World as Is. 3. America the Real. 4. True News. That's all, Comrade. N. Bronx N.Y.L."

Tommy Malloy, Labor Leader

It was the largest banquet ever held in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago. Judges, police captains, and a representative of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, a representative of Tammany Hall, politicians, labor fakery, business men, gangsters, all were well represented. Tom Malloy, head of the Chicago Moving Picture Operators Union, was leaving to attend the 1930 British Trades Union Congress as representative of the A. F. of L. and his "friends and admirers" had gathered to say bon voyage and also to present him with \$26,000 for his expenses. A judge hailed Tommy Malloy as "an ambassador from the best citizens of America to the people of Europe". A special song, "Bon Voyage Tommy Malloy" was written and sung for this occasion. The Chicago FEDERATIONIST grew lyrical in describing the event. Tommy went to Europe, came back to denounce "reds" and to face an indictment for "conspiracy to murder." He could always beat the "legal rap" but two of his erstwhile gangster "friends and admirers" presented him yesterday with slugs from a sawed-off shot gun, and Tommy Malloy is dead. He was one of the "safe" labor leaders, a typical representative of the gangster racketeer that dominated the A. F. of L. and still dominates a large section of it. So, Bon Voyage, Tommy Malloy. May your fellow parasitical labor fakery soon join you.

Well! Well! "We know that the A. F. of L. is a workers' union and not the bosses' union" writes a steel worker in the Daily Worker. Evidently this worker doesn't believe what he reads in the Daily Worker, which for five years has repeated over and over again the "A. F. of L. is a bosses' organization with Fascist leadership and not a workers' union".

NATIONAL JIG SAW Bill Releh

BABIES: Christopher Reynolds, three year old son of Libby Holman and suicide Smith Reynolds, tobacco heir, was granted \$6,000,000 or an income of \$300,000 annually by court decree. . . . JIST BABIES: "I'll send you the Labor Department's booklet on child care," was the answer of Edward McGrady, Ass't Secretary of Labor, to the plea of a West Virginia miner's wife who described the appalling conditions of hunger, starvation and death in the feudal company towns of that state.

FASHION NOTES: "I don't spend more than \$20,000 a year on clothes," said Mrs. Harrison Williams, recently voted America's best dressed woman. . . . Sears Roebuck advertises discarded four socks, excellent for making underwear, children's shirts, etc. . . . Arkansas children wear shoes made of discarded auto tires.

TOY WORKERS STRIKE IN SECOND WEEK; GAINS WON NEW YORK, Feb. 8. The stuffed-toy workers have now entered the second week of their strike. The picket line is still unbroken and the flying squads are functioning with the same effectiveness as at the beginning of the strike.

Two of the largest shops, in the union before the strike, have returned to work with all their demands granted. The rest of the workers are still out, demanding: union recognition, increase in wages and a forty hour week.

The bosses' association has at last come out into the open and agreed to deal with the union.

The Association has been meeting continuously for the past few days. A few of the shops have already signed up with the union. The bosses are beginning to crack. All that is needed now is one last concerted effort to smash the bosses and make them recognize the union's demands.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

N.Y. MEMBERSHIP MEETING TUESDAY, FEB. 12th AT 8 P.M. A joint membership meeting of all the New York branches of the W. P. will take place this Tuesday evening, 8 P.M., Feb. 12 at Irving Plaza Hall. The National Secretary, A. J. Muste will give an intimate report on his recent national tour. Admission to this meeting will be by membership book only.

Debate on WHICH PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR Jay Lovestone A.J. Muste For Communist Party (Opposition) For Workers Party of U.S. HEYWOOD BROWN, Chairman SUNDAY, FEB. 17th, 1935, 2:30 p.m. IRVING PLAZA AUDITORIUM, 15th St. & Irving Place Tickets can be purchased in advance of this date at: WORKERS PARTY OF THE U.S., 2 West 15th St., New York City Admission 35 Cents