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THE END OF THE BLUE BUZZARD

AN EDITORIAL

By its decision in the Schechter Poultry Case, the Supreme Court has finally signed the death warrant of the NRA. During the past months the once proud structure of the New Deal's major achievement has been gradually picked apart, stone by stone. Little more than a skeleton was left for judicial execution.

What is the central lesson to be drawn from the Supreme Court decision, coming as it does as the last act in the grim farce of the Blue Eagle? Is it, as the A. F. of L. leaders would have us believe, a staggering blow at labor, which is now "deprived of the benefits" of the labor-loving NRA? Or are we to conclude logically from the two year propaganda of the Communist Party that it is a "victory" for labor, since it does away with the "Roosevelt Slave Act"?

It is necessary to review the facts. When Roosevelt took office in 1933, the capitalists were faced with what seemed to them a nearly insurmountable crisis. The banks were closed, and complete financial collapse was threatening. The volumes of production and employment were at their lowest points of the depression. Industry as a whole was operating at a loss. The price structure was weakening under an avalanche of desperate competitive price-cutting. Labor was growing increasingly restless, and moving toward direct action.

Strong arm methods were necessary to pull capitalism out of the ditch and to set it going once more along the road of profits. Only the Federal Government was in a position to apply these methods; and the Federal Government could do so only by departing widely from the traditional Constitutional forms.

Roosevelt took control. Realizing that the ponderous machinery of the courts would only get into the picture many months later, he concentrated the full power of government into his own hands, reducing Congress for the time being to a rubber stamp. By a rapid series of measures, he saved the banking system, stopped the bankruptcies of large corporations, and started U. S. capitalism once more going forward—that is, once more in a position to make profits.

Among the measures he used, the NRA was the most grandiose and the most unusual. It was the NRA that was supposed to usher in the New Age of "fullness of life" for all. This was the Roosevelt solution to the crisis—the most ballyhooed measure ever passed by a U. S. Congress.

Essentially the NRA consisted of two distinct parts: (1) Regulations to secure what was called "fair competition." This phrase covered a multitude of capitalist sins. Under its banner, codes were set up to eliminate "destructive price cutting," "reg-trade groups," etc.

The actual effect of these regulations, as brought out by the Darrow report, was to increase the domination of trusts and monopolies within each industry, since it was the monopolies that controlled the code authorities.

(2) The second part of the NRA dealt with "labor provisions"—partial prohibition of child labor, regulation of minimum wages and maximum hours, and the famous Section 7a, covering so-called "collective bargaining."

The pretended aim of these labor provisions was to aid "the forgotten man." The actual chief purposes were two: First, the New Deal in its early stages needed the unified support of all classes of the population. The labor provisions, looking on the surface like a concession to labor, were worded in such a way as to soft soap the working class into supporting the New Deal program. Second, they were designed to prevent independent class activities (i. e., strikes) on the part of the workers, by turning the workers' struggles aside into governmental channels. With the cooperation of the A. F. of L. officials, the workers were encouraged to look to Roosevelt for higher wages and better conditions, not to their own efforts; and they were tied up in a complicated system of "neutral" Labor Boards whenever they tried to start actions on their own account.

The NRA, aided by a partial "natural" upswing in the business cycle, did its job. Helped by the "codes of fair competition," the big corporations were once again piling up profits by the end of 1933. Though the labor provisions could not entirely prevent independent working class struggle, they did manage to strangle two strike waves in their infancy, and to keep every large strike from reaching maturity. This was not done without certain real concessions to the workers in some industries. But it should be understood that, with few exceptions, these concessions resulted not from the NRA but from the threat or actuality of militant labor struggles. The business of the NRA as of every capitalist "plan" was to increase profits not along with but relatively at the expense of wages, since that is the only way in which profits can any longer be increased or even continued.

With U. S. capitalism temporarily out of the ditch, a division of opinion set in among the capitalists themselves. During the first months of the NRA, almost the entire ruling class was too worried to ask questions. But as profits returned, more and more bankers and industrialists began to protest against "government interference in business," "regimentation," etc. The ruling class was not unanimous in this protest. The codes of fair competition met with approval, for example, throughout most of the retail trade associations. Again, these codes and also the labor provisions were well liked by the big clothing manufacturers with closed shops, who were helped in their fight against the sweatshops which had been undermining their markets prior to NRA.

But the big shop industrialists and bankers were impatient with "interference." They felt confident of their power to go their own way both against their competitors and on the field of the class struggle. They wanted a return to the pre-NRA structure, at a stage higher of finance-monopoly development.

The Supreme Court decision marks a partial temporary

(Continued on Page 4)

Wage Slashing Drive Begins

Victory Greeted Efforts of Ill. Jobless Masses

C.P. Rivals Mr. Hearst In Slurs at I.W.A.

By GERRY ALLARD
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 23.—Over 3,000 jobless workers, from seventy-two Illinois cities and towns, converged on the state capital for the third time Tuesday in defiance of the orders that they were to starve unless the sales tax was increased.

City and state police warned the marchers that they could not march or parade in this city. The jobless did parade. They marched through the heart of the city and passed on the towering state capital building. Weary, hungry and desperate, the throng proudly marched, waving high the Illinois Workers Alliance banners so the political oppressors who had starved them for nearly four weeks could read and take heed.

One Marcher Dies

The plight of the workers was clearly shown by the fact that one of their numbers died and several fainted during the march, undoubtedly from the lack of food. Several women from northern Illinois rode a C. & A. freight to get here. Others hitch hiked, commandeered trucks and cars and still others walked for miles. Nevertheless the hundreds of thousands of starving men and women sent their mass delegations to Springfield to tell the capitalist agents that they were not going to starve without a fight.

That afternoon the sales tax was defeated again for the fifth time. Late that night news eked out that Gov. Horner would give up the attempt to pass the bill as an emergency and instead pass it in the ordinary procedure which requires a majority vote of the legislature. Gov. Horner had a majority from the start but he persisted for weeks to pass the increase in sales tax as an emergency to take effect immediately which required a two-thirds vote of the House. The sales tax increase will not take effect until July 1.

A committee headed by Edward C. Morgan, chairman of the Illinois Workers Alliance, was refused an audience by the Governor. Gov. Horner's secretary stated that the chief was too busy to pay attention to a committee representing thousands of starving workers.

Jobless Make History

The Illinois Workers Alliance put up a militant fight against the sales tax. It was mainly responsible for the six weeks deadlock in the state legislature over the issue. The unemployed made history. They carried their fight for bread to great political proportions. Out of this

(Continued on Page 3)

N.U.L. Protests Paupers Wages on Work Relief

Demands Adoption of Workers Security Bill

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 22.—Reminding the President of his inaugural promises, the National Unemployed League, with headquarters in Columbus, Ohio, and affiliated organizations in 22 states, today condemned the administration's "starvation wage scale" in a letter to President Roosevelt, stating, "The organized unemployed will refuse to work for the privilege of starving on wage rates which are not enough to live on and just too much to die on."

Quoting the President's statement, "that no business which depends for its existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country. By living wages I mean more than a bare subsistence level—I mean the wages of decent living."

The League demands that the President live up to his promises and scrap the entire present program by going before Congress for the Workers Security Bill sponsored by the National Unemployed League.

The Bill provides for the 30 hour week in all industry; a program of public works on a basis of 30 hours per week at a minimum of \$30.00 per week; a system of unemployment and social insurance to be paid by the employers and the government through taxation on individual and corporation incomes of \$5,000 per year and over, and taxing gifts and inheritances to provide benefits to all unemployed during the total period of unemployment at a rate of \$10 per week per person plus \$3.00 per week for each dependent. Pending such unemployment insurance, that direct cash relief shall be given on the basis of \$10 for a single person plus \$3 for each dependent weekly.

The Bill proposed by the Unemployed League combines into one document a complete program "to protect the health and welfare of the workers of the land," according to the communication.

NEW YORK (FP)—With the world, and especially Japan, preparing for war at record speed, the exports of steel scrap from the United States reached a new high at 500,000 tons in the first quarter of 1935—a 66 percent gain over last year's record-breaking total and more than was ever shipped in any whole year prior to 1933.

The proportion of steel scrap exported to that used in the United States has increased four times in four years.

Muste Speaks for Workers' Revolution on Nat'l Hook-Up

Choice Between Fascism or Communism He Declares

NEW YORK, May 30.—In a stirring address over WJZ on a national hook-up comrade A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Workers Party of the U. S. pointed to the fundamental maladies of the modern economic system. He concluded his broadcast by placing before the American people the dilemma that stirs the modern epoch—fascism or the workers' revolution. Comrade Muste represented the standpoint of Communism in a three-cornered debate under the auspices of the League for Political Education, in which the other speakers were Norman Thomas and Lawrence Dennis.

The complete text of Muste's address follows:

"I wish to make it clear that in setting forth the Communist answer to the problem confronting the American people today, I am not representing the Communist Party or the so-called Third, Communist, International, with which I have no connection and of which I have never been a member. I am setting forth the historic Communist position embodied in the experience of the modern working-class and in the writings of its great teachers, which constitutes the program of the United States.

"According to both the popular and the official conception, this nation embodies and was founded to realize certain great social ideals. It was to differ radically from 'the old countries.' There were to be no aristocracies of birth or wealth. No individual or group was to be allowed to exploit and oppress others. Not for a favored few, but for the masses of the population there was to be abundance, security, an equal voice in the government, the opportunity for self-expression and self-development,—a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Abundance for All

"The material and technical resources for such a society, unquestionably exist in the United States today. No competent student doubts that insofar as it depends upon natural resources and the productive plant, everybody could have a comfortable and attractive home, abundant food, decent clothing, opportunity for recreation and education, security against accident, sickness, and old age; and the sense of independence and self-respect that goes with these things.

"What we actually have, however, is mass unemployment, widespread poverty, a fifty percent cut in the standard of living since 1929, a society which does not know how to use the thousands of its youth coming out of the high schools and

(Continued on Page 4)

N.R.A. FLOPS

Bosses Rush To Cash In On Court Decision

Organization Is Only Power In Labors' Hands

By F. FERRY
The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court handed down last Monday effectively killed whatever was still alive of the NIRA.

It may be of some interest, but probably of no great importance, to look into the reasons why the legislation pertaining to the National Recovery, as it is called, was held to be against the Constitution. It is more interesting and also more vital, as far as the working class is concerned, to analyze the situation for the purpose of being able to see the effect of the elimination of the NIRA. Not to be misunderstood—the workers know from their own experience that the NIRA, all and parts of it, was in no effective way helping them in their fight against the so-called principal employers of this country.

They recall it too well, that whenever there was a conflict between the workers on the one side, and Mr. Ford, General Motors, the large coal companies etc. on the other side, and whenever in such a fight the workers in their innocence invoked the help of the NIRA, the result invariably was special consideration given to the large employers; as in the President's automobile decision or in the decision pertaining to the longshoremen and shipping workers.

Anti-Labor Decisions
The lesson learned by the workers in the anthracite field of Pa. was and cannot be forgotten because it clearly showed that the authorities in charge of the enforcement of the NIRA were neither willing nor able, nor at any time ready to challenge effectively the coal barons for the purpose of securing the merger advantages which the NIRA alleged to give to the workers. It cannot be forgotten how flagrantly the decisions of the NIRA board were violated by men of the type and size of Weirton of the Weirton Steel companies, nor did the workers forget the pitiful and cowardly attitude of the government representatives in the recent Toledo strike, or the humiliation which the National Labor Board or Madam Fannie Perkins was exposed to in the controversy with the rubber barons, in which controversy the government and the blue buzzard representing the NIRA came out second best.

There is very little sentiment left among workers for the NIRA: as a

(Continued on Page 2)



A. J. MUSTE

Drive on Pro-Labor Professors Assumes Wide Proportions

With the dismissal of five members of the staff of Columbia University's medical college this week, suppression of pro-labor professors reached the proportions of a systematic campaign.

Two instructors and three technicians were fired at the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia without a hearing and no reasons given.

Dr. Lienhard Bergel, instructor in German at the New Jersey College for Women, a unit of Rutgers University, dismissed for his anti-Nazi opinions by the chairman of his department, a Nazi sympathizer, was effectively aided this week by colleagues and students during hearings being held by the college trustees. The hearing, forced by widespread protests against Dr. Bergel's dismissal, heard evidence piled up to prove the Nazi basis for the action against him.

Hicks Dismissed

Granville Hicks, professor of English at Rensselaer Technical Institute in Troy, New York, dismissed by the university on the grounds of "retrenchment," charged that his dismissal was due to a red scare.

Dr. Winslow N. Hallett, professor of psychology and mathematics at Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pa., was dismissed on May 11.

C. I. U. to Extend Action

Dr. Hallett's case is unique in being fought not only as an issue of academic freedom but also as a straight labor case. The Central Trades and Labor Council is solidly backing his fight. Dr. Hallett is a delegate to the council and treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers local. The American Federation of Teachers is circulating its hundreds of locals for support

(Continued on Page 4)

Statement on the Franco-Soviet Alliance

By the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U. S.

The military alliance signed between France and the Soviet Union, and the statement thereon issued jointly by Laval and Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov, mark another departure by the present heads of the Soviet Union from the principles upon which it was established.

The Soviet Union is the only land in which the workers, allied with the poor farmers, succeeded in overthrowing their exploiters and oppressors and setting up a workers' republic as the gigantic first step to a free socialist future. Its great advances are a promise of the glorious future which the working masses throughout the world are striving to achieve. As such it is the elementary duty of workers everywhere to guard the achievements of the Soviet working class, and to defend the Union from all attacks made upon it by its capitalist enemies. In essence, this means the extension of the workers' revolution throughout the entire world.

The workers in the capitalist countries, the slaves of imperialism in the colonies, are thus the only true allies of the Soviet Union. Even though the working class of several countries has suffered cruel defeats in the past year, and has been weakened as a result, it nevertheless remains the only reliable defender of the workers' republic against the destructive designs of world imperialism.

It is precisely because of these defeats, however,

to which both the Socialist and the Communist parties alike have contributed, that the present leaders of the Soviet Union have considered themselves obliged to seek alliances with one imperialist power or another against the danger of attack which threatens Russia most acutely from the side of Hitler Germany and reactionary Poland and Japan.

This is precisely the principle which was violated by the Socialist parties in the last World War, when they betrayed the working class, supported their imperialist "fatherland" and concluded a "peace" with the capitalist class.

This is precisely the principle which is now being violated by the leaders of the Communist parties in their support of the manner in which the Franco-Soviet Pact is being carried through. The latter are thereby preparing to play the same part in the coming world war that was played by the Socialist parties in the last war!

The preparations for the new world war are being made at break-neck speed. All the preliminary steps have already been taken. Never since 1918 have the military, naval and aviation budgets of the imperialist powers been so big as they are today.

In the Far East, Japan is engaged in a brutal war of aggression against the Chinese peoples.

In Africa, Italian Fascism has launched a pirat-

ical war against the Ethiopian people, even though both countries are part of the notorious League of Nations.

Germany is rearming at a furious pace with the openly avowed intention of regaining her former imperialist power.

France is increasing her armaments with the hypocritical assurance that it aims to preserve the peace, but in actuality as part of her preparations for a war with Germany for the preservation of the imperialist robberies she committed at the end of the last war.

England is arming heavily for that next world war, whose coming is inevitable unless the working class first crushes imperialism, in order to safeguard and extend her vast colonial empire.

The United States is in the race with the rest and is even now conducting preparatory maneuvers in the Pacific in rehearsal for the war with Japan.

Everywhere, a decaying capitalist society is proving again that war is one of its inevitable products. Once more it is being shown that war is not prevented by "good" or "peaceful" capitalist powers, or caused by "bad" and "bellicose" capitalist powers—but that it is only one of the most frightful and most natural products of capitalism itself. Only in the Soviet Union, where capitalism has been over-

(Continued on Page 4)