

Capitalist Offensive Can Be Beaten Back

By ROSE WORTIS

When the N.R.A. was first introduced with great ballyhoo to strengthen the waning confidence in the capitalist system, we Communists were the only Party in the United States who told the workers:

Don't dely on the promises of the New Deal and the N.R.A.

Don't trust the demagogues.

Under capitalism there is and can be no genuine new deal for the workers, farmers and the middle class.

If you want to achieve something, then you must organize yourselves as your own class and fight. Those we said, who speak about partnership between industry and labor, really mean the partnership between the executioner and the executed. Partnership between Ford the billionaire and the auto workers, today on the headline, tomorrow on the belt, breaking his back for Ford's profits. Partnership between the steel worker and Mr. Schwab lolling on the beach in Miami, Florida. Partnership between Mr. William Randolph Hearst and the miner slaving in Hearst's silver mines. Partnership between the rich white, slave-driving landlord and the Negro sharecropper.

Life Helped Us Teach

When the N.R.A. was first passed, we must say that we were not yet able to convince the majority of the American workers what it really meant. We were neither strong enough nor able enough at that time to prevent the demagogues from cheating the workers, in which tasks these demagogues were so greatly assisted by the top A. F. of L. bureaucracy and some of the so-called liberals. Even certain Socialist leaders lent their support to arousing in the hearts of the workers a hopeful response to the treacheries which lay in store for them in the N.R.A.

But life helped us to teach the workers, and itself taught the workers some bitter lessons. During the last two years, it taught the workers, the farmers and the middle

class the mockery of such beautiful promises of Secretary of Labor, Madam Perkins, when in the first days of the N.R.A. she foretold:

"We may find we have built up a new kind of civilization, a blessing beyond anything we in our generation have ever dared to dream of."

Though many workers were pumped full of such illusions, advanced by President Roosevelt, and his cohorts, the Johnsons, Tugwells, Greens, Perkins, and the whole tribe of liberals around the "Nation" and "New Republic," they did not wait inactively for these dreams to unfold. The workers very soon recognized that the situation was not as Norman Thomas pictured it in those first days of the birth of the N.R.A.

Workers Fought

"Nevertheless the labor clause in the bill as introduced into Congress, rightly used, will give the workers an enormously powerful weapon for progress toward genuine Socialism," wrote Norman Thomas in the New Leader of June 10, 1933.

True, later Norman Thomas had occasion to revise his views.

But the workers started to fight in order to force through the fulfillment of the promises, or at least some of them. In 1933 there were more than 1,000,000 workers who went on strike. In 1934, according to official reports, more than 1,300,000 were involved in more than 1,600 strikes. Hundreds of thousands of workers in these strikes fought for recognition of their union, for wage agreements, improved conditions, and through this fight built and strengthened their organizations.

Where the workers showed their

(Continued on Page 2)

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(Continued from Page 1)

strength by their organization, strike and other actions, they achieved some success. It was usually in such cases that the Labor Board conciliators, together with the top bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. (as for instance, in the San Francisco general strike), tried through negotiations to cheat and rob the workers of their successes won on the picket lines.

Wherever it was possible for the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to prevent the workers from fighting or to silence the only language the bosses understand, the language of the mass strike, as in steel, auto and rubber, there the workers, despite the existence—nay, because of the existence of the N.R.A. and Section 7-A, gained no union organization and no improved conditions. Quite the contrary. The company union became the blessing that Madam Perkins spoke about.

What are the lessons which follow from these facts?

Where the workers trusted the N. R. A. and had confidence in the New Deal government, there the workers were fooled, beaten and cheated.

Where the workers had confidence only in their own power, their own organization, their own picket lines, in their own class, there they were able to fight for and win concessions from the employers.

Especially at this moment is it important to emphasize these vital lessons when the Supreme Court has declared the N. R. A. void, and the Greens and Dubinskys and the other heroes of partnership of industry and labor run around greatly disturbed and worried. True, those people who have no confidence in the working class, for whom every strike is a mistake and liability, who do not see any further along the road of human progress than the capitalists themselves, certainly these people have reason to be afraid at the present moment, for they fear that the workers will fight.

What Court Cannot Wipe Out

But what is beyond the power of the Supreme Court to wipe out by decision?

That is: The organizations of labor deeply rooted among the workers themselves, and not existing by the grace of the laws and Labor Boards made by the legislature of the millionaires, and interpreted by the retired lawyers of the big trusts, called the United States Supreme Court.

Now much more, workers will understand the truth of what we Communists persistently and insistently have been telling them for the past two years.

Build the Unions

Don't have confidence in the N. R. A.

Don't have faith in the capitalist politician's promises.

Rely only on your strength.

Increase this strength.

Enlarge the power of your own organizations.

Now it will be easier for many workers to understand why we Communists continuously criticized the policies of the A. F. of L. top leadership. Now the workers will more easily understand why we criticized these leaders so severely, because they put their faith in the hands of the President, in the N. R. A., in the Labor Boards, in the capitalist Courts.

With one stroke of the pen the whole rotten structure of these illusions, which have already cost the workers sweat and blood, is demolished as if by an earthquake by the nine kings of the Supreme Court.

Trusts Wanted Decision

The millionaires observed more and more that the masses wanted instead of the fake N. R. A. legislation real labor legislation, the outlawing of company unions, social and unemployment insurance, pension laws, the passage of the bonus. This decision of the Supreme Court, on the order of the big trusts, tries to stop the burning demand of the masses for their most important needs. That is the real sense of the Supreme Court decision.

These gentlemen will always interpret and judge the laws passed in the interest of the millionaires and the big trusts. That is the ancient wisdom of capitalist society. The millionaires make the laws, change them, interpret them, and have the police, the courts, the prisons and soldiers to execute them. They have the legislatures, the Congress, the judges and the hangmen—all of the state equipment necessary to preserve their system of private property and exploitation.

Masses Can Force Action

The constitution after all is a lifeless document, a piece of paper. How it will be interpreted, what actual effect it will have on the lives of the masses depends on the struggle of the classes.

If the tolling masses show their strength, their determination, through powerful organization, with fighting ability, if the ruling class becomes fearful of the shouts of labor, and of its marching battalions, of the militancy of mass and growing picket lines, then these rulers will be forced through their courts to find interpretations of the constitution favorable to labor.

If every wage cut and lengthening of hours is answered with a well-organized and prepared strike, supported by labor, by drawing in the natural allies of labor into these struggles (the farmers and middle class) if the capitalists observe that with their increased attacks they stand to lose more than to gain, their offensive will be beaten back, and the workers will advance.

The Right Medicine

San Francisco and Toledo in every town where the bosses attack, that is the right medicine for the new attacks ordered by the Supreme Court, and for the Congress and the Senate.

Does the Supreme Court decision mean it is impossible to achieve serious labor legislation as against

the fake and demagogic New Deal legislation, for the working class? For instance, unemployment and social insurance, pension laws, minimum wages, maximum hours, anti-company union laws, bonus, health insurance, abolition of child labor, and the like, are they now unachievable? No, a thousand times no!

The American people twice in their history have fundamentally and drastically changed the social laws of this nation. They did it first by the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of King George in the colonies. They did it again in the Civil War in the fight against Negro slavery. The Civil War days also were preceded by a Supreme Court decision, the infamous Dred Scott decision.

Today's "Dred Scott"

Roosevelt demagogically refers to the present Supreme Court decision as "a new Dred Scott," but he does everything in his power to keep the masses from drawing the lessons of the Dred Scott decision and mobilizing for the necessity of repeating for the third and last time the history of 1776 and 1861.

The same Roosevelt who with out a Supreme Court decision on his own initiative set the coolie relief wages at \$19 a month and vetoed the bonus, cheated and robbed the steel and auto workers, certainly must choke over his words when he tries to talk as the defender of the interests of the masses as against the Supreme Court.

Cannot Stop Struggle

No Supreme Court and no constitution will prevent the American workers and farmers from marching onward in their fight for a better life. No Supreme Court nor constitution can decree starvation for the American masses.

It was not written in the destiny of this country that the millionaires and bankers, the trusts, the profiteers and racketeers, the speculators and the exploiters are forever ordained to rule this land.

There may come Mr. Green and cry: That won't do! That's Communist, that's red, that's treason, that's against the constitution. But, Mr. Green, be careful what you say. Didn't you and your patron, Mr. Roosevelt, as the Supreme Court said, work two years against the constitution under the N.R.A.? A Communist who would be adjudged to be working against the constitution for only one day would be immediately clapped into prison.

Then Change System

We do not propose that you, like Angelo Herndon, get 20 years on a chain gang, because you for two years advocated the N.R.A. against the constitution, while Herndon was charged with being the advocate of Negro rights against the slave-laws of the Southern ruling class.

If, for the sake of the millionaires, the judges declare that the constitution demands that millions of people shall get lower wages, work longer hours, be forced into the company unions, to hell with such an interpretation of the constitution by these jurists!

If the jurists of the millionaires declare laws must be made only in the interests of the rich and exploiters to hell with such a system.

We Are Revolutionists

We Communists are being attacked day in and day out because we are revolutionists. We are proud of this. What shall we be in this country, a revolutionists or a toady of the Supreme Court dictates, one who keeps quiet and demands nothing until the Supreme Court issues its edicts of what is holy and right?

What was better for the interests of the people, the toadies of King George and the slave owners, or the revolutionary fighters, who organized against the law and order of their day?

We Communists are the only heirs of the American revolutionary traditions, who organize the masses today not to take these offensives of the bosses lying down. The decision of the Supreme Court, the bankruptcy of the N.R.A. and the New Deal, the bankruptcy of all promises, prove ever anew and ever stronger: the truth of Communism—to change this rotten system you must be a revolutionist!

Youngstown Shows Way in 'Daily' Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

newal. The renewals are all to be daily subscriptions, as Youngstown's slogan is to turn all Saturday subscriptions into daily ones.

Cardinal Factor

One cannot doubt that Youngstown will succeed in its tasks. Youngstown has systematically organized itself to obtain new readers; and this is the most telling point. It is a tribute to Youngstown that other sections are following its example in establishing special groups for Daily Worker circulation.

Special groups in every section, with the sole assignment of getting new readers and subscribers, should be the order of the day. But not only special groups—all hands are needed at the switches to make the drive for 50,000 new readers a success!

Every supporter of the revolutionary movement should be activated! Let us work unstintingly to carry our slogans into action! Let us make the Daily Worker the guide of the millions upon millions of impoverished workers and farmers in America!

Hitler brought race discrimination to Germany and taught contempt and hatred against Jews, Negroes and all oppressed nations. Thaelmann and anti-fascists fought for equality. Show solidarity with Thaelmann and the anti-fascists of Germany.