

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U. S.

VOL. I NO. 9

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1935

PRICE 3 CENTS

Roosevelt Kicks Bill Green Downstairs

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

Labor Bureaucrats Howl as Roosevelt Disregards Auto Union

By JACK ELDER
WASHINGTON. — For once in their lives, the bureaucrats of the A. F. of L. spoke the plain and simple truth when they howled that the newest version of the automobile code had been "imposed" not on the employers, but on the workers.

Did the President consult with organized labor before extending the code, for the third time, without the formal pretense of a public hearing?

He acted as if the Labor Advisory Board—executive arm of the A. F. of L.—simply did not exist.

Did the President accept the advice and counsel of his National Industrial Recovery Board?

By a vote of 5 to 2 the code he scrapped rather than renewed on the basis proposed by the Automobile Manufacturers' Association.

Did the President ponder upon the joint report submitted by his two disinterested experts, Messrs. Henderson (Research and Planning) and Lubin (Bureau of Labor Statistics)?

Their report, he blithely informed the press at large, had been "lost" in the shuffle of papers on his desk.

One readily sympathizes with the A. F. of L. leaders in their disillusionment and dismay. But what on earth did Mr. Green and Co. expect? They had their chance to assert the claims of labor in the automobile industry last March when the rank-and-file workers were pressing for a nation-wide strike.

Faced to face with the threat of direct mass action, the President was ready to deal with the A. F. of L. He dealt so well, assisted by Green's stupid betrayal, that the workers have been groaning ever since under the burden of works councils, proportional representation, and the ineffable Wolman board. Rather than drop the class collaboration ideal (that famous partnership among management, government and labor) the A. F. of L. leaders sold out the strike. They entered the agreement of March 25, 1934, with their eyes wide open, fully aware that the President's settlement meant a complete tactical route for the United Automobile Workers.

Thanks to that sell-out by its leaders, the A. F. of L. has lost most of the power which it once commanded among the robots whom General Motors, Chrysler and Ford find it convenient to employ. Today the federal unions in the automobile industry are pitifully weak, low in membership, downcast in morale, torn by internal strife, the theatre of a bureaucratic scramble for offices and emoluments.

The President, after all, is a consummate master of Realpolitik. Why should he pay the least attention to a negligible quantity? Why should he disturb himself for the benefit of a ghost?

We can leave Green and Co. to their agonies. They have the capacity to discover, but not to learn. What is more important, is that the rank and file workers should profit from the lesson. They have nothing to rely on but organization and force. They can acquire what is worth fighting for, only when they are ready and able to fight for it.

There is no hope for them in the New Deal's professions of belief in "social justice," "economic planning" and the "redistribution of wealth and income." There is still less hope for them if they trust to Messrs. Green, Collins, Dillon, etc. And by fooling around with the apparatus of official labor boards, they merely paralyze their ability to strike.

SUBSCRIBERS, ATTENTION!

Watch the number after your name on the wrapper of your copy. When the serial number on the masthead of the paper corresponds to it, your subscription is expiring! This issue is number 9.

Please save us the expense and bother of writing you especially about your expiration, and send us 50c or \$1.00 about an issue in advance.

Business Manager

Fantastic Evidence Used by State in Labor Trial

SACRAMENTO, Feb. 4.—Most of this week's session of the trial of 17 defendants charged with criminal syndicalism has been taken up with testimony and cross examination of 70-year old William Hanks, stool pigeon hired last April by Prosecutor McAllister to frame-up the union.

The prosecution's attempt to make capital out of Hanks' fantastic claims that he had been driven out of Sacramento in September at the point of a gun by persons he believed to be communists was turned into a farce by Hanks' thick-witted remarks.

Hanks declared he "didn't think it was necessary" to notify police that he had been intimidated. Asked why he didn't telegraph local authorities of his plight when he reached Omaha, Nebraska, Hanks replied: "Well, there's communists there, too." He decided, he said, to stay out of town because there "was a big communist convention in Sacramento September 20, and I didn't know but that I might be hurt."

More Defendants Bailed

Five defendants were bailed out on Thursday by the International Labor Defense. Only one defendant had been previously bailed out by the I.L.D. It was only after the Non-Partisan Labor Defense had bailed out two of the chief defendants, Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker, and was about to bail out Nora Conklin, that the I.L.D. bailed five out, including Conklin. The prisoners had been in jail over six months. Eight others, including tubercular Donald Bligham, are still in jail. The funds loaned to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for Conklin were earmarked for her and were withdrawn.

George Hedley, director of the Northern California Civil Liberties Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, has sent a letter to the Western Worker, protesting its lies about the break-up of the united front last Saturday. The C. P. broke up the united front by repudiating the call for a conference signed on January 21 by the Socialist party of California, the Workers party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Communist party, the I.L.D., with Hedley as chairman. Instead the C.P. laid down as an ultimatum that the only call for the conference must be an earlier one issued by the I.L.D. and signed only by four C.P.-controlled organizations, none of them unions.

All the non-communist organizations are continuing in their efforts to build a campaign of organized labor to save the Sacramento defendants.

MASS MEETINGS BUILD P.A. UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE
PITTSBURGH, Pa.—New locals of the Pennsylvania Unemployed League in Allegheny County are forming rapidly as a result of mass meetings being held all over greater Pittsburgh. The P.U.L. is waging war on a relief cut.

This cut was hidden behind a change from the despised commodity relief system to cash relief, for which the P.U.L. has been fighting for three long years. By arbitrarily establishing a lower "budgetary deficiency" standard, the relief administration is now able to send the average family a weekly check of \$8.50.

The President, after all, is a consummate master of Realpolitik. Why should he pay the least attention to a negligible quantity? Why should he disturb himself for the benefit of a ghost?

We can leave Green and Co. to their agonies. They have the capacity to discover, but not to learn. What is more important, is that the rank and file workers should profit from the lesson. They have nothing to rely on but organization and force. They can acquire what is worth fighting for, only when they are ready and able to fight for it.

There is no hope for them in the New Deal's professions of belief in "social justice," "economic planning" and the "redistribution of wealth and income." There is still less hope for them if they trust to Messrs. Green, Collins, Dillon, etc. And by fooling around with the apparatus of official labor boards, they merely paralyze their ability to strike.

Judge's Trick Approved by Union Leaders

Stay of Injunction Gains Time for Bosses in Waterfront Fight

The battle of the New York truckmen and longshoremen against the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants Association has just begun. Last week's one day rank and file strike forced Justice Humphrey to postpone decision on the threatened injunction restraining collaboration of the two unions until this Tuesday. The injunction as finally handed down contains a stay until an appeal can be made in March to the Appellate Division.

This stay grants absolutely nothing to the truckmen. It is nothing more than a trick to give the merchants and shippers time to mobilize against the union; to save the face of the union leaders, Cashal and Ryan by giving them a breathing space between now and March, and to postpone action until the attacks of the bosses, by the trickery of the union leaders, and by the long wait, the uncertainty and confusion attendant on an appeal. The stay will not prevent for a moment the wholesale laying off of union truckmen which has been going on for the last month, under the mere promise of an injunction.

A Lousy Plot

The terms under which the stay was granted reveal the whole lousy plot. "It is to be operative," said the New York Times, "only during the good behavior of the defendants. . . . Under the terms of a 'gentlemen's agreement' the plaintiffs agree not to enlarge their non-union personnel and the unions agree not to molest non-union crews already at work."

What a farce! The stay on the injunction remains in force so long as the bosses refrain from firing union men. If they fire union men the stay is inoperative and the injunction comes into force.

What a Victory!

If the merchants try to break the union the court will "punish" them by . . . enforcing the injunction! In other words the court says to the merchants, "You mustn't take it, candy, because if you do take it, we will give it to you." This is what Lyons, secretary of the Joint Council, Joe Ryan, president of the I.L.A., and McGuire, attorney for the unions all hail as a victory sufficient to warrant calling off the strike.

To quote Joe Ryan—"The most pleasing part of the stay is that while it prevents us from making any demonstration until the appeal is heard, it also guarantees that the practice of discharging union employees will have to be stopped in the interim."

What is Ryan pleased about? He is pleased that the rank and file is prevented from demonstrating. He is pleased that the merchants have "guaranteed" not to discharge union employees, by the "guarantee" of the very injunction they applied for.

The bosses and the union leaders are following exactly the same tactics which broke the auto strike, the tactics of hesitation, compromise and deception. Instead of the usual phony "impartial" board, like the auto board, the "impartial" Appellate Court is the machine used to crush the strike and break the union.

The truckmen and longshoremen's unions are in the greatest danger. Unless a broad rank and file movement, well organized, is started, headed toward a militant strike, regardless of all the legal maneuvers of the bosses and the unions' leaders, a strike set and called to throw the whole question of injunctions, stays, "gentlemen's agreements" out of the window, the unions will be smashed.

Truckmen! Longshoremen! Act now, or you are lost.

The Department of Agriculture, so reports run, has just discovered that the A.A.A. program is divorcing thousands of share-croppers from the soil.

An army of special agents has been sent into the field (Arkansas and other states) to go through the motions of "investigation and adjustment."

Naive as ever, the Department of Agriculture suspects that something has gone wrong with the program to make it bear so heavily on the poorest of the tenant farmers.

Mass Meeting Calls Hearst Labor Enemy

Audience of 2,500 Indicts Millionaire Publisher and Red-Baiter

William Randolph Hearst, multimillionaire publisher, arch-jingoist, and friend of all monarchists, was indicted as "Labor Enemy No. 1" in a statement unanimously adopted by 2,500 workers, students and friends of labor at an anti-Hearst meeting at the Central Opera House, New York, last Sunday. The meeting was called by the provisional committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Speakers included labor leaders, college professors, noted liberals and heads of student organizations who had been assailed in the Hearst press for "subversive activities". They denounced the "stool-pigeon" campaign Hearst has been waging against them, made clear the anti-labor, anti-culture character and purpose of his attacks, showed clearly his pro-Nazi and pro-Mussolini sympathies and revealed him as the prime mover and instigator in the prosecution of the 17 labor leaders in the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial.

Among the speakers were Professor Sidney Hook, chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Professor James Burnham, New York University, Professor George S. Counts, professor of education, Teachers' College, Columbia University; Luigi Antonini, vice president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Rodgers Baldwin, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union; Heywood Brown, newspaper columnist; Morris Milgram and Monroe Sweetland, organizers of the Student League for Industrial Democracy; Carlo Tresca, anti-Fascist editor of Il Mattino; Felix Morrow, secretary of the provisional committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense. George Novack of the provisional committee was chairman.

Telegrams of greetings were read from two of the Sacramento prisoners, Jack Warnick and Norman Mini.

The "indictment" passed at the meeting read, in part:

"We, 2,500 workers, students and friends of labor, assembled in mass meeting, accuse William Randolph Hearst of being an enemy of labor and culture. Like his fellow magnates in Europe, Hugoenberg of Germany, the late Coty of France, Rothemann of England, he is using the power of his press to make systematic attacks upon all that is progressive in American life. . . . We call upon all members of working class and cultural organizations to bring this indictment to the attention of their fellow members in order to broaden the struggle against Labor Enemy No. 1, William Randolph Hearst."

Father Coughlin Adopts Popes' Fake Liberalism

By DAN EASTMAN

"Father Coughlin," says L. B. Ward, one of his apostles, "bases his social and economic philosophy on the liberal encyclicals of Pope Pius XI and Pope Leo XIII."

Pope Pius XI, the present incumbent, who gained his knowledge of politics and economics while scaling mountains (he is the author of a textbook on the Climbing of Alps) has done very little but elaborate the basic thesis laid down in the encyclical of Leo XIII, On Social Evils.

On December 28, 1878, seven short years after the "hallowed" heads of the French government had shot down twenty-five thousand men, women and children, Parisian workers, because they dared to abolish night work in bakeries and institute an eight-hour day in the name of socialism—seven short years after the cold-blooded slaughter of the Paris Commune, that kindly shepherd, Leo XIII, produced his famous "liberal" encyclical. Let us quote:

Leo Takes Sides

"In short they (the Socialists) are spurred on by greedy hankering after things present, which is the root of all evil, which some covet have ever from the faith, they attack the right of property, and threaten by law of nature (!) and

'Leaders' in Dilemma Still Cling to F.D.R.

By ARNE SWABECK
Labor widens rift with Roosevelt, announce recent capitalist newspaper headlines. This, of course, refers to the official American Federation of Labor family. It appears that William Green—usually so soft spoken—together with the more belligerent John L. Lewis has made some strong remarks on the action taken by the President in extending the automobile code. Advertised by the Federation officials as "Labor's hope and strength", Roosevelt now turns around and kicks these labor officials in the pants. He feels he can afford to do so. The automobile agreement of March 25 last year put the manufacturers on the offensive while the automobile unions still suffer from the demoralization of the policy pursued by the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

A Dilemma

The Executive Council faces a dilemma. Organization of the unorganized under its leadership has come to a stop. The "perfect" equilibrium of cooperation of labor, industry and government is coming tumbling down over the heads of these labor officials like a house of cards. Instead of striking out boldly like real leaders and utilizing the favorable mass sympathy for organization they stall and sabotage in fear of the consequences of the struggle. Now these craven souls feel that they have been let down. Dangers threaten their position from two directions.

Silk Strike Is Voted Pending Referendum

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Continuance of unbearable conditions in the silk industry led a conference of 80 delegates from 36 locals of the American Federation of Silk Workers in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York to go on record for an industry-wide strike if approved by a referendum of locals. The local unions represented all took part in the 1934 textile strike. The A.F.S.W. is affiliated with the United Textile Workers.

Delegate after delegate at the conference, held Feb. 3, expressed disappointment over the outcome of the 1934 strike and bitterness that the Winant report on wages and hours, due Feb. 1 and one of the reasons for the calling of the conference, has not yet been made. Only realization that the time is not yet ripe prevented an immediate strike call. A regional conference to get further support for strike action will be held in New England shortly.

Strike sentiment is growing and it is evident that in any 1935 silk strike the workers will not abandon the picket lines until explicit wage-hour and stretchout concessions are won—regardless of White House promises.

A telegram was sent to Governor Earle of Pennsylvania demanding the immediate release of organizers indicted in trouble at a mill in Columbia, Pa.

THIRTY DAYS, SAYS BUFFALO JUDGE, INSTEAD OF FOOD

Buffalo, N. Y.—When Mary Janowski was brought before Judge Peter Maul of the Buffalo court on a vagrancy charge, he asked her, "Have you any money? Have you a home?"

"No," she replied.

"Where do you sleep?"

"In box cars," answered Mary.

"That's no place to be sleeping."

"In this weather. Thirty days . . ."

ordered the honorable judge. And so Mary, who recently came from Toledo was assured regular shelter and food for the next thirty days at the Wendt prison.

At this moment the otherwise soft spoken officials are preparing to reinforce their blast against all opposition and against all progress, whom they label "reds", with a campaign of expulsions, beginning in the very fortress of the basic industries, in steel. All local lodges of the steel workers union that sent delegates to the recent Pittsburgh progressive conference they threaten with outright expulsion. Make no mistake about it; their next step will be outlawing of strikes. This is the most serious feature of the present situation.

The Auto Agreement

In several respects the automobile agreement of last year entered into by the Federation officials became a turning point. It was a blow to the whole trade union movement. It advanced the automobile manufacturers into a position of being the spearheads in the struggle against organization of the unorganized in the basic industries. This agreement provided that any group of workers may be represented in conferences for collective bargaining with the employers. In other words, it legalized the company union and put the trade unions on the defensive. The trade unions, of course, had rich possibilities of embracing the great majority of the workers and becoming the recognized spokesmen of all the workers in the industry. Due, however, to this treacherous agreement these possibilities were frittered away, as the recent elections in the Detroit automobile plants, conducted by the despised Wolman Board, show.

With such doctrines spread far and wide and such license in thought and action it is no wonder that men of the most lowly condition, of humble home and lowly workshop, should fix eager eyes on the abodes and fortunes of the wealthy.

"They (still the Socialists) in good sooth cease not from asserting that all men are by nature equal, and hence they contend that neither honor nor respect is owed to public authority, nor any obedience to laws, save those sanctioned accord-

"They (still the Socialists) in good sooth cease not from asserting that all men are by nature equal, and hence they contend that neither honor nor respect is owed to public authority, nor any obedience to laws, save those sanctioned accord-

"They (still the Socialists) in good sooth cease not from asserting that all men are by nature equal, and hence they contend that neither honor nor respect is owed to public authority, nor any obedience to laws, save those sanctioned accord-

"They (still the Socialists) in good sooth cease not from asserting that all men are by nature equal, and hence they contend that neither honor nor respect is owed to public authority, nor any obedience to laws, save those sanctioned accord-

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 4)

Food Workers Bare Union's Alliance with Schultz Gang

An Example of the New Trade Union Policy of the Communist Party

(Introductory note by Joseph Zack)

The Food Workers Industrial Union (split off in 1929 by the Communist Party from the Amalgamated Food Workers) started as an "ideal" Red union. With less than 2,000 members it endorsed the Communist party and addressed demands to the bosses that could not possibly be obtained without the widest organization.

This policy brought the union close to liquidation. The food workers wanted a union; by tradition and as a result of their experience with the American Federation of Labor, they were inclined to join an independent union. The writer, then secretary of the Trade Union Unity Council, in 1931 endeavored to reorganize the union to suit the needs of the rank and file. Jack Rubin became secretary.

Today, with the C. P. swinging to the right, Rubin, along with Gold, Potash and others, wants to be in line with the party or perhaps a step or two ahead. In the name of flexibility and practicability, they are introducing class collaboration politics of a kind familiar in the A. F. of L.—a policy as sure to ruin the independent unions as the policy of Red unions did before.

It is very well to be practical and to take advantage of quarrels between bosses and labor fakers—but not at the expense of the workers and the prestige of the union. If the union is to live in the workers' interests, the Stalinist bureaucracy must be halted.

* * *

By a Group of Progressive Food Workers

Mystery, telephone conversations in Rubin's office, conferences, maneuvers—only the top fraction of the Communist Party is in on the secrets, and not all of it. Some of these "insiders" think Rubin is clever—delicate politics must be played in secret. Others are dissatisfied. The active rank and file is suspicious—a suspicion that may flare into a hurricane.

On the other side of the alliance, Coulcher and Co. do quite a bit of talking which percolates down to the masses as rumor. To calm the class-conscious element, the mysteries are finally theorized into a "united front." And since there are still some doubts, Stachel, of the C. P. Political Bureau, is brought to the Central Opera House meeting (Dec. 17, 1934) to declare it "kosher."

What is this United Front?

The "united front" that Stachel boasts about is a "gentlemen's understanding" behind closed doors, between Rubin, Stachel, Coulcher, Pincus Goldstein and Co., officials of A. F. of L. Locals 302 and 16 and the Industrial Union. The rank and file know very little about it.

Why? Because it is a shady, unprincipled alliance between the leaders of the Food Workers Industrial Union and one of the racketeering gangs in the food industry in control of Locals 16 and 302, hand in hand with the new Metropolitan bosses' association in the cafeteria and restaurant trade.

This racket into which the Industrial Union got hooked through Rubin and Stachel could not stand daylight because it is not in the interests of the workers.

C. P. "Unity" In 1935

Let us examine a bit the united front allies of Rubin and Stachel. Radek and Coulcher, A. F. of L. leaders of Local number 16, during the general hotel strike in 1933 took out an injunction against the Amalgamated Food Workers. It is naive to suppose that suddenly they have turned honest labor leaders, working for unity!

We also know that J.J. Williams and Pincus H. Goldstein, officials of the Industrial Union, after getting A. F. of L. Local 302, after getting what they wanted three months ago forced their members back to work under old conditions in spite of the fact that the bosses had conceded the majority of the strikers' demands.

Only a year ago these officials expelled 12 opposition members who carried out inside the A. F. of L. the major part of the Industrial Union's program. In short, begin-

ning with 1929 and continuing to a few months ago, Williams and Goldstein acted as open strike breakers for the bosses' association in the cafeteria industry.

Jules Martin who acts as a politician behind the scenes for the new Metropolitan bosses' association, and is the real theoretician and inspirer of this united front, is one of the big capitalists in the trade. Dave Krumholz, organizer for the Metropolitan, is his lieutenant.

These, then, are Rubin's allies.

Every progressive worker in the food industry knows that the organizers of Locals 16 and 302 are connected with the Dutch Schultz mob.

It is also an established fact that in April, 1933, the books of Local 302 showed that \$2,500 was turned over to Jules Martin, who worked hand in hand with Dutch Schultz, after a conference between the gang and Local 302 officials in a midtown hotel. To this day special monthly taxes are collected in Local 302 which go directly to the gang.

The new Metropolitan Cafeteria and Restaurant Association is the offspring of this alliance between A. F. of L. officials and gangsters. It was the old United bosses' association which inspired the creation of Local 302 in 1929 in order to break the cafeteria strike led by the Amalgamated Food Workers. The unions created by the old association are now used by the Dutch Schultz crowd to terrorize the bosses into joining the new Metropolitan association, with an initiation fee of \$500 up. Into this unholy alliance, the leaders of the Industrial Union have entered.

How the "Unity" Works in Practice

The old United bosses' association, which was working with the officials of the International Union of H.R.B.D.A. is being broken up by the manipulations of the Dutch Schultz gang and Jules Martin, who want to get the real gravy for themselves and keep the International union out. By getting control of labor, and through it, of the bosses' association, they expect to work the racket both ways, at the expense chiefly of the workers.

What can you workers think of the united front policy of the C.P. if it can so easily become a cover for these maneuvers? Some will say, Beal among them, what do we care as long as we get something out of it? Now Beal, a leader of the top fraction, darling of the mobsters who was repeatedly brought up on charges of corrupt practices, and whitewashed—Beal gets something out of it. But how about the workers?

Some Pertinent Questions

Is it not a fact that in the Sherman Cafeteria settlement, the exact terms of which are not known to the rank and file, the following conditions exist:

1. The wages of the workers earning \$14 to \$16 per week have not been increased in spite of the fact that they are far below standard?
2. Those who worked during the strike and were accepted into the union afterward are keeping their jobs while the militants among the strikers are being weeded out one by one? Thus far the union has done nothing about it.
3. The company hires and fires

GAMES

DRINK

'RED' CABAR

Dance Numbers, Singing and

MAX SHACHTMAN, M

Saturday, February

GERMANIA

144 East 16th St.,

In advance 49c

Tickets at International Workers S

The Soviet Union is finally defended by attacking! The real building of socialism will be accomplished in the only way it can be accomplished—by the extension of the revolution. This is the only mode of "defense". In any other direction lies disaster, and the world-wide triumph of reaction.

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
THIS MILITANT
Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U. S.
2 West 15th Street, New York City
Phone: ALgonquin 4-9038

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON, Editor
HARRY A. HOWE, Associate Editor
HAWTHORNE WINNER, Business Manager

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months.
Canada and Foreign: \$1.50 per year; 75c six months.
Single Rates: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1935 No. 9

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 solidity 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 Stalin-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 din 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 tawdry 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.

Debate

on
WHICH PROGRAM FOR
AMERICAN LABOR

Jay Lovestone

For Communist Party (Opposition)

A.J. Muste

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

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 bail 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 unified 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.-ruled set-up of "innocent clubs" and paper organizations, but of a genuine and broad unified 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 unified 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.

ZACK TOUR

Comrade Joseph Zack, who was expelled recently from the Communist Party and joined the Workers Party is about to start a national tour. The schedule of his visits is as follows:

Thus, Fri. Feb. 7-8—Buffalo, N.Y.
Sat., Sun., Mon., Feb. 9-10-11—Detroit, Mich.
Tues., Wed., Thurs., Feb. 12-13-14—Chicago, Ill.
Fri., Sat., Feb. 15-16—Toledo, O.
Sun. Monday, Tues., Feb. 17-18-19—Cleveland, Ohio
Wednesday, Feb. 20—Akron, Ohio
Thurs., Feb. 21—Columbus, Ohio
Fri., Sat., Feb. 22-23—Youngstown, Ohio
Sun., Mon., Feb. 24-25—Pittsburg, Pa.

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.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

A New Militant Sub for the Best Title

Feb. 15 is the deadline for titles. Two fearful titles by Taylor: "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 S.Y.L."

Tommy Maloy, 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 fakers, business men, gangsters, all were well represented. Tom Maloy, 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 Maloy as "an ambassador from the best citizens of America to the people of Europe". A special song, "Bon Voyage Tommy Maloy" 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 Maloy is dead. He was one of the "same" 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 Maloy. May your fellow parasitical labor fakers 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 that "A. F. of L. is a bosses' organization with Fascist leadership and not a workers' union".

NATIONAL JIG SAW

Bill Reich

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 \$360,000 annually by court decree. . . . JUST BABIES: "I'll send you the Labor Department's booklet on child care" was the answer of Edward McGrady, Asst. 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 visited America's best dressed women. . . . Sears Roebuck advertises discarded flour sacks, 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.

Father Coughlin Re-echoes Popes

(Continued from Page 1)

ing to their own good pleasure. . . . "The Socialists wrongly assume the right of property to be of mere human invention (!) repugnant to the natural equality between men; and, preaching the community of goods, declare no one should endure poverty meekly, and that all may with impunity seize upon the possessions and usurp the rights of the wealthy."

It's More Profitable

"More wisely and more profitably (!) the church recognizes the existence of inequality amongst men, who are by nature unlike in mental endowment and strength of body, and even in amount of fortune (even!) and she enjoins that the right of property and of its disposal, derived from nature, should in the case of every individual remain intact and inviolate." "Therein," says R. Mugglesbee, another sycophant biographer of the Radio Deacon, referring spe-

cifically to the above "liberal" encyclical, "therein 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