

LABOR ACTION

FOR THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

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New Party Opens Fight For Workers' State

Workers Of N.Y. Rally To Support Party

With mass action as the keynote, the Workers Party of the U. S. was launched publicly at a meeting Sunday night, Dec. 2, at Germania Hall in New York. Before 1,200 members of the new party and sympathizers, the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party took their final bows and shook hands on the pact which marks the first step toward unity in the radical movement in ten years.

The meeting, of which Max Shachtman was chairman, was given over to workers from the field—to men who are leading employed and unemployed workers in their fight to free themselves from the burdens capitalism has forced on them.

From Minneapolis, Vincent Dunne and Carl Skoglund told of the victorious strikes of Truck Drivers Local 574. They told, further, of the attempts of the Citizens Alliance to frame members of the union on murder charges, and urged the workers present to assist in the fight to save these men.

From West Virginia, Brant Scott, veteran militant in the struggles of the miners, founder of the West Virginia Mine Workers' Union, urged upon the Workers Party the need to crush the John L. Lewis bureaucracy in the mine unions.

From Toledo, Ted Selander and Sam Pollock, youthful leaders of the Auto-Parts strike of last year and other strikes of employed and unemployed, described the way in which workers and jobless marched side by side on picket lines, fought side by side when attacked by the National Guard—to victory.

Three active workers in the militant Negro movement—James Watson of Philadelphia, Ernest Rice McKinney of Pittsburgh, and Simon Williamson of Kansas City—pleaded for a realistic approach to this problem.

Their plea was joined by that of James Wheeler of Mobile, Alabama, one of that group whose courage as leaders of the unemployed and the workers' movement in the deep south has resulted in a large and growing force against reaction there.

The young workers and students added their support when Joseph Carter, national secretary of the Spartacus Youth League, pledged his organization to the new party. The league, which met in convention the following day, is politically subordinate but organizationally independent of the party.

The change in the unemployed, from disorganized groups making futile gestures toward better relief, to a politically conscious mass pressure movement was described by Anthony Ramuglia, president, and Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League.

James P. Cannon, editor of the new party's weekly organ, the New Militant, and A. J. Muste, general secretary of the party, pictured the negotiations which led to the unity of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P., and predicted a new period of unity within the radical movement, led by the Workers Party.

Finally, to the singing of the Internationale, the formal launching of the Workers Party of the U. S. reached its climax.

Unemployed Getting Enough, Hopkins Tells Committee

WASHINGTON.—Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, told a committee of 16 representing the National Unemployed League and 10 other unemployed organizations that the unemployed are getting enough relief. The committee presented to Hopkins the demands raised November 24 in the national demonstration of pressure groups numbering more than 1,000,000 members.

(The following account of the great National Unemployed Day demonstrations and the interview with Harry L. Hopkins and Francis Perkins, Secretary of

Labor, in Washington, was written for LABOR ACTION by Anthony Ramuglia, President of the National Unemployed League.)

By ANTHONY RAMUGLIA

On November 26, a committee of 16 representing the organized unemployed demonstrators, the National Unemployed League and other organizations cooperating on November 24, journeyed to Washington and met with the Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins and Federal Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

Ed McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor and A. F. of L. big-shot, was there to receive us. Smiling and jovial, he shook us all by hand, was glad to see us—he said—and told us he too had known lean days at one time, etc., etc. Good soapoper, Mr. McGrady.

He assured us that the government in Washington was "really ours as well as other people's."

Madame Perkins listened impatiently to the demands of the unemployed. She injected many remarks, just to explain things, but on the matter of cash relief and higher rates she stated she was not qualified to declare for or against that demand!

Perkins Doesn't Know

On the chief question, that of the government providing work through an extensive works program—well she was not competent, she said, to pass judgment as to whether that was the manner to deal with the unemployment problem or not.

On the demand that war funds be turned over for unemployment relief—well, that was a matter for the House Ways and Means Committee to determine.

Just at this juncture, the time was up, and the delegation left Madame Perkins for the office of Mr. Hopkins.

We told Hopkins we were fed up with evasiveness. Mr. Hopkins didn't mind that, it seemed, as he proceeded to give us some more.

On demand number one—work instead of relief for the unemployed—Mr. Hopkins agreed, but not on the 30-hour week and \$30-week minimum. On the point there was a sneering, hard boiled and categorical No. Asked for his reasons, Mr. Hopkins declared he did not believe in an "economy of scarcity". Asked where the economy of scarcity came in on the 30-hour, \$30-week, Mr. Hopkins said "he would not go into that."

On cash relief, well, there are some sound arguments for that,

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Fused Groups Launch Workers Party of U.S. Muste Nat'l. Secretary

NEW YORK.—Having as its aim a government in the United States for and by the workers, with the machinery of production owned by the workers, the Workers Party of the United States was formed on December 2 in New York by delegates from the important industrial centers of the country.

The new party will say to the masses, in a statement to be issued, that the technological equipment of the nation if run by a workers' government could flood the country with goods.

The ultimate aim of the party is a world federation of workers' republics.

Amid scenes of great enthusiasm the delegates, members of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, launched the party in a unity convention Sunday afternoon at Stuyvesant Casino. Fusion was unanimously voted.

Old Guard Threatens S.P. With Split

Balancing between Right and Left with the agility of a Roosevelt, the national executive committee of the Socialist party, at its recent meeting in Boston, gave modified approval to a united front with the Communist party. Authorization for united action, in individual situations, must come from the state Socialist committee, where there is one, or otherwise from the national executive committee.

The right wing, which has been threatening a split for many months, was not placated by the gesture of local autonomy, according to statements issued following the meeting. Louis Waldman, New York State chairman, announced the calling of a meeting of the state committee to repudiate the action of the national committee.

In the meantime, with other leaders from New York and Pennsylvania, Waldman issued a statement denouncing the Boston decision, as they had earlier denounced the Detroit declaration of "militant" policies, refusing to sanction a decision which "will have the effect of drawing the party nearer to the Communists".

This action by the right wing, headed by Waldman, Charles Solomon, James Oneal and Algernon Lee, following upon the compromise reached in Boston, climaxes the long struggle for control between the right and left wings within the S.P.

Today the right wing is in the saddle and threatens to split the party rather than submit to a program of militant action.

Historic Work Completed

A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon, speaking for the merging organizations, declared that henceforth they owed allegiance to the Workers Party of the United States and to no other organization.

The historic work was completed. Minneapolis and Toledo, symbolizing the rising militancy of the American working class, were the symbols also of the new party: the leaders of the two great strikes are members of the party.

A. J. Muste was elected national secretary; J. P. Cannon editor of the official weekly, the New Militant; Harry Howe, associate editor. The theoretical organ, the New Internationalist, will be under the editorship of Max Shachtman and an ex-A.W.P. member. Eleven comrades of the A.W.P. and eleven from the C.L.A. will comprise the national executive, from which will be chosen the political bureau of 10 members. Louis Budenz and Arne Swabeck will be the national organizers.

Looking to Future

"We are not repudiating our pasts, rather we are looking toward the future," A. J. Muste said in opening the session.

An ovation greeted Vincent Dunne, one of the leaders of the strike of the Minneapolis truck-drivers, and chairman of the opening session.

"In view of the immediate work that lies before us, and the heavy responsibility we have assumed: namely, the organizing of the working class on a militant basis, for the overthrow of capitalist rule," Dunne said, "we may dispense with speechmaking."

Fusion Endorsed

With this as the keynote, the session moved swiftly. In a short space of time, and despite the utmost liberty allowed in discussion of all matters not previously settled by the separate conventions, the convention heard and approved the appointments of committees, elected the important organization, trade union and unemployment committees, and passed upon the organizational agreement reached between the executive committees of the A.W.P. and the Communist League.

At the second session, Sam Pollock, active in the unemployed movement in Ohio and Illinois, and one of the leaders in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, presided.

The second session passed upon the constitution of the new party as proposed by the joint negotiating committee, with a few amendments from the floor. It also sanctioned

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Industry To Extend NRA Another Year

NTW YORK.—Calling for an extension of NRA with modification for another year, 1,200 industrialists, members of the National Manufacturers Association, adjourned from the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel where they had been in convention for four days with plans for setting up a "committee representing all business elements in a united front" to cooperate with the government on a "platform for recovery".

Pointing out that the New Deal had brought a 200 per cent increase in profits for 500 leading Wall Street corporations, U. S. Secretary of Commerce Roper told the bankers and industrialists present that Roosevelt is now entering upon the "second phase of recovery" with a major objective of "closer cooperation between the government and business".

Gives 6-Point Program

Secretary Roper declared that the Federal Government is tapering off its expenditures as rapidly as possible and submitted a 6-point recovery program for the manufacturers, designed to cut relief, give business a free hand, and to establish unemployment insurance that would not "penalize business progress".

The convention was told by Donald Richberg, Roosevelt's right-hand man in the NRA, that business "has nothing to fear from the government".

In Washington the united front committee of all business interests will confer with government officials.

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HAIL THE NEW MILITANT!

THIS will be the last issue of LABOR ACTION. With the merging of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party to form the Workers Party of the United States, LABOR ACTION gives way to the NEW MILITANT, official organ of the new party.

LABOR ACTION, first published by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and then as the official organ of the AWP, has considered its chief task to be that of bringing the American workers and farmers to an understanding of the revolutionary way out of their difficulties.

It has attempted to speak to the masses in their own language—to interpret events and happenings in relation to their every-day problems. In its reporting of news it has striven to be accurate, believing that the truth about capitalism needs no exaggeration. In its dealings with other working class groups it has been content to rely on the cogency of its criticisms—refraining from slander or misrepresentation.

The NEW MILITANT will continue this policy. It will not only continue this policy but, because of the combined forces of the former AWP and C.L.A. it will be able more effectively to perform the task of revolutionizing the American masses.

The NEW MILITANT will be a weekly. It will therefore be able to deal with a larger range of subjects vital to workers.

And finally, the NEW MILITANT will be the organ of a much larger party.

We call on you therefore—Comrades, subscribers and friends of LABOR ACTION:

Support the NEW MILITANT! Secure subscribers. . . . Raise funds. . . . Order bundles. Temporary address: 144 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.

(Note: Any unfinished LABOR ACTION business—which includes payment of outstanding bills—should be concluded with Cara Cook at 112 East 19th St.)

LABOR ACTION

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Organ of the AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY

For the New Party

ON SATURDAY afternoon, December 1, 1934, at about 6 o'clock—almost exactly a year to the minute since it was established—the American Workers Party as an organization and a name went out of existence. We make this announcement, however, not with grief but with enthusiasm. As a reality, a force, in the revolutionary movement of the United States and of the world, the AWP marches on.

The AWP was established under a Provisional Organizing Committee at a convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action at Pittsburgh in December, 1933. It was to serve as an agency for laying the foundations of an effective revolutionary party in the United States, and a convention for the formal launching of the party was to be called when in the opinion of the POC and the branches the opportune moment had arrived.

When that time came, not only the AWP but another revolutionary group, the Communist League of America (Trotskyists) which had come by an entirely different route to the same point, was prepared to participate in the formal launching of the new party. The two organizations, therefore, merged for the founding and the launching of the Workers Party of the United States.

As was stated at the unity convention, we do not disown our past. We are proud of our struggles and achievements. We have learned from the mistakes we have made. The most significant thing about our past was the decision to found the new party. The act of merger and the formal launching of the party, therefore, constitute the fulfillment, the logical and revolutionary climax of our past.

On the other hand, it is well to repeat that the CPLA and AWP never were slaves to tradition. From the beginning we insisted that the tested principles of the revolutionary movement must be applied in realistic fashion to the present scene, that our approach must be experimental and not dogmatic. A fresh and striking illustration of this determination to approach all problems in a fearless and realistic manner was given at the AWP convention preceding

the merger, when an entire day was devoted to the most intensive, frank and comradely discussion of the problem of work among the Negroes, the relations between Negroes and whites, etc. in the South.

It is thus to the present with its mighty tasks, to the future with its struggles and victories to come, that we now set our faces.

In that spirit we call the attention of our members and sympathizers of the former AWP—in this statement in which we pay tribute to our past and at the same time announce that our sole allegiance is now to the Workers Party of the U. S.—to certain practical objectives which the new party has set itself for the next six months and which illustrate as clearly as anything could that it stands for principled realistic action, and not for talk.

The Workers Party will take the lead in organizing the left progressive elements in the trade unions into a cohesive, driving force. In spite of the tremendous upsurge of the American masses, their proved militancy and mighty struggles during the past two years, the issue over the right of workers to organize in unions of their own choosing has not yet been fought out. Company unionism is still rampant. The workers have fallen far short of gaining results proportionate to their militancy and struggles. Primarily this is due to the lack of a left progressive wing. This in turn is the result of the false policies of the C. P. and S. P. on the economic field and the lack of a revolutionary party. There must be no further delay in meeting this need. Along with this work in existing unions the party will take the initiative in an organization campaign in the automobile industry.

The Workers Party has endorsed the work of the National Unemployed League and has pledged its fullest support to the efforts of the League to extend its work, to lead broader struggles of the unemployed and to unite the unemployed of the nation into a single powerful organization.

The Workers Party is resolved to double its membership in the next six months, to raise the paid subscriptions of its official weekly organ, the New Militant, to 10,000, and of its monthly theoretical organ, the New International, to 6,000.

The conditions with which the working class is confronted, the failure of the Communist and the Socialist parties and the internationals with which they are affiliated, necessitated the building of the new party and the New International. These conditions likewise demand that no time be lost in executing the tasks of the party. In the face of reaction, Fascism, the threat of war, the insecurity and misery of the masses, we give less than all we have, we shall indeed be traitors to the working class of the world.

Moreover, the opportunity now before us is tremendous. Much will depend on how we take advantage of it in this initial period. After a decade of splits and disintegration in the labor and revolutionary movements, while, in fact, the process of splitting and disintegration still goes on in other parties and groups, we have given a dramatic and convincing example of unity. We have established a unifying center. Let us lose no time in drawing new recruits to this center. Let us march forward with the comrades of the former CLA and the thousands of others who will be drawn into our ranks unitedly and steadily. For revolutionary unity! For the new party! For victory!

THE NEW UNITY

By LUDWIG LORE

In a recent issue of LABOR ACTION I commented on the fact that the Third International had approached the Socialist Labor International with the proposal to enter into negotiations at once for joint action in the interest of the Spanish proletariat and against support by other capitalist powers of the Lerroux government in Madrid. This was followed not long afterward, by a conference held in Brussels at which Emil Vandervelde and Friedrich Adler for the Socialists and Marcel Cachin and Maurice Thorez for the Communists met to discuss the C.I.'s proposals. As a result of this conference the former promised to lay the matter before the November session of their Executive body.

This session took place on November 13-16 in Paris and ended, after four days of serious deliberation, with the decision that it be left to the affiliated national organizations to accept or refuse such offers on the part of the Communist Party units of their respective countries. United front on an international scale was rejected as premature and unattainable at the present time. The Executive members from France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, Russia (S.P.D.), Poland (Jewish Bund) and Austria presented a minority resolution expressing their dissatisfaction with the decision of the International Executive Committee. They demanded that the 2nd International repeat its offer to the C.I. in February 1933, when it proposed joint international action against war, in defense of democratic institutions where they still exist and for the revolutionary class struggle where fascism has crushed the labor movement.

The action of the Second International has defeated all hope of an international united front movement for the time being. But the idea is on the march and will not be gainsaid. Thus in France the (Communist) trade unions of the Confederation General du Travail Unitaire have dissolved their organizations to enter the unions of the Confederation General du Travail (Amsterdam).

Meantime a development of far-reaching importance has taken place in Moscow. Late in September a special conference of the "Red Trade Union International" adopted what amounts to a motion to liquidate the Moscow International and its affiliated unions and federations. It was decided to order the Communist parties and the Red trade unions to change their tactics in the propaganda for a united front of labor, to reinforce their heretofore unsuccessful attempts for an understanding among the masses with a "united front from above" by direct negotiations with the leaders and executive members of the trade union organizations.

A second decision was even more unequivocal. In those countries, it declares, in which trade union unity can be achieved on the basis of membership in the free trade unions, all Red trade unions shall be dissolved and all Communists instructed to function actively and constructively as members and functionaries of these organizations.

The desire to bring about a united labor movement was, to be sure, only one of the reasons which prompted the adoption of this sweeping motion. There were others, less idealistic and more practical. There was the important consideration that the Red trade union groups are almost everywhere small and without influence. In Germany, England, France, Czechoslovakia, Spain and Switzerland and in the Scandinavian countries they are small minority groups out of all proportion to the total of organized labor. This is true to an ever greater extent of the United States. There have been strikes in which the Communist trade unions rallied mass support. But with the end of the struggle, little or nothing remained of concrete and lasting accomplishment. The workers left these organizations as precipitously as they had joined them, as soon as they realized that on

the economic even more than on the political field, disunion is suicide.

Moscow has understood for some time that the creation of dual "Red" unions was a grave mistake. The 13th Plenum of the Communist International in December 1928 seriously discussed the dissolution of that organization but hesitated to take the ultimate step.

On the other hand there was the realization that fascism can be combatted and defeated where it is in power and checked where it is advancing only if the labor movement is able to close its ranks in organizational unity. But even before Moscow had come to this decision, the German working class itself had taken the bull by the horns and had accomplished unity on a basis of illegal unions.

This was admitted by Comrade Pjatnitzki in the September Trade Union Conference in Moscow in his report on the work of the International and its affiliated federations. In Germany, he stated, there are neither "free" nor "Red" trade unions, neither "reformist" nor "revolutionary". There is only "the slow growth of an illegal united front in which trade unionists from both sides pool their efforts in harmonious work."

The illegal Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Germany and Austria responded to the Moscow conference with an appeal to their members which reads in part:

"... True, the building of free trade unions cannot be the work of the political parties. But recognizing the paramount importance of trade union organization, the Communist Party pledges its members to give active support to the efforts of those who are building unified trade union groups, to work earnestly and constructively as members of such trade unions. Reformistic tendencies and policies in these united trade unions will have to be dealt with by the membership in accordance with their rich and varied experience in the years that led to May 2, 1933. They will have to decide how these trade unions shall be turned into organs of the class struggle. It goes without saying that the Red trade unions shall abolish their organizations wherever the efforts to create united front unions meet with success."

The merging of the two wings of the French trade union movement is the first step in the right direction, the declaration of the C.P.G. and the C.P.A., the second. Upon them there came a third—an appeal by the Moscow Trade Union International to the Norwegian Trade Union Federation which after years of indecision joined the Amsterdam (Socialist) Trade Union International two months ago. In a communication to the Executive of the Norwegian trade unions Losowski, the president of the Red Trade Union International, urged them to use their influence in favor of a merger of the two international organizations within the framework of the free trade unions. Norwegian labor will meet in convention in February to take action on the Moscow communication.

Many of those who are now active in the work of the Workers' Party of the United States were expelled from or left the Communist Party because they objected to its trade union policy of "red" dual unions. Had William Z. Foster followed the dictates of his conscience and understanding and not those of the C.I., the course of the revolutionary labor movement in the United States would have been a happier one. Every attempt to revolutionize the American labor movement by the creation of dual unions has failed. In 1905 the last scattered remnants of De Leon's "Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance" joined the I.W.W. Ten years of incessant conflict had split the political movement in 1899 but had failed to line up class conscious labor in S. T. & L. A. unions against the American Federation of Labor. Then and now again it took many years of intensive work to prove to the revolutionary wing of the labor movement in this country that unity is the first prerequisite for successful trade union organization work.

NEWS REEL

By A. A.

"Recovery Gaining, President Assures Mayors of Country," reads one headline. "Hopkins Cuts Relief Wage to Meet Local Pay," proclaims another headline.

Wholesale sales have declined 53.6 percent since 1929 according to the Census of American Business, published by the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce.

This figure reflects accurately the terrific decline in the country's consumption.

No recovery is possible unless and until the workers of the country are able to consume enough goods to allow them to maintain a decent standard of living.

HEADLINES—THANKSGIVING

Let us repair to our places of worship, say our President and Governors, and give thanks. World-wide buying of munitions and war-supplies goes on feverishly. Unemployment is rampant in the United States relief rolls mount by 20 percent. Unemployed demand jobs and cash relief. "Unless relief rolls are lessened" says Secretary of Commerce Roper, "there is danger of increased taxation. This assurance (that

there will be a tapering off of Federal expenditures for relief) will make business move more rapidly."

Jobless in October this year show increase of 550,000 over October, 1933. 17,000,000 people are receiving some type of relief from the Government. About 3,000,000 more have no apparent means of subsistence and are still lacking any relief.

Two-thirds of all bank funds in the United States are controlled by 800,000 out of a total of 50,000,000 depositors. The remaining 49,200,000 are thankful they have a deposit at all. \$2,500 a year is the minimum income for an American family on which to maintain a moderately full life. Fully 71 percent of American families in the boom year of 1929 had incomes below this level. Don't ask how many more are below this figure in the "recovery" year 1934.

Wall Street Melons Growing Juicier. Fifty corporations declare extra dividends to the tune of \$32,322,244. 1934 profits show increases. New Deal turns to the Right. New Deal will not interfere with business. J. P. Morgan is thankful. John D. Rockefeller is thankful. Insull, utility magnate whose manipulations cost tens of thousands of investors losses running into many millions of dollars, acquitted of government charges of fraud. Insull is thankful.

Youth Convention

NEW YORK.—Hailing as political leader the newly-formed Workers Party of the United States, the first National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League was brought to a close here on December 5 after three days of discussion. The convention gave its enthusiastic support to the New Party, voting unanimously to be constituted as its youth movement, politically subordinate to it and organizationally independent.

The future potentialities of the League were revealed by the representative group of revolutionary youth who attended the convention. Thirty-eight delegates representing 250 organized young workers came to New York from all parts of the country, including such important centers as San Francisco, Chicago, Youngstown, Ohio, Detroit, Philadelphia and Canada. The building up and centralization of these local branches which dot the country toward a broad mass revolutionary youth movement on a national scale was the main job tackled at the convention.

Fraternal delegates from the former A.W.P. attended the convention and took an active part in the deliberations. They included Comrades Drake, Cohen, Jager, O'Brien, Moser, Robbins and Birchman.

DANCE DANCE DANCE

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15 9 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA—15th Street and Irving Place

Auspices: WORKERS PARTY

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At the Door 40c

There will be 25 complete sets of LABOR ACTION, bound in stiff covers, available for the first applicants. We do not know the exact price yet, but it will be reasonable, and if you are interested, get your application in at once to the Circulation Manager of LABOR ACTION.

A. W. P. Convention Votes Unanimously For Merger Program

Fulfilling the mandate given it by the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago, the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party laid before the delegates to the A. W. P. convention held November 28 to 30 detailed proposals for immediate merger with the Communist League of America as the first step toward the building of a new and effective revolutionary party in the United States and a revolutionary international.

They were adopted substantially without change after the fullest discussion. The A. W. P. vote for merger came late in a session that lasted for a score of hours into the early morning and was unanimous. The Provisional Organizing Committee was instructed to call a unity convention of the two groups on the next day for the final ratification of the proposals and the formal creation of the new Workers Party of the U. S.

Historic Occasion

This was the last and most important act in the career of an organization that within the few years of its existence initiated and led some of the most significant and militant struggles of the American proletariat, blazed the trail in the trade unions of honest, militant, left-wing leadership, built the greatest of existing unemployed organizations and won for itself an impressive niche in the history of the working-class march to power in America.

"This convention is an historic occasion," A. J. Muste said in the opening address. Muste reported for the P. O. C. to the convention, tracing the party's history, and growth from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago.

Relief Sufficient Hopkins Says

(Continued from Page 1)

Hopkins agreed—but there were arguments against it too, said Hopkins, pulling his chin, and he agreed with the latter.

In plain language—No cash relief. A flat No. On the point of raising the relief standard—again No.

Unemployed Getting Enough

The writer asked Mr. Hopkins if it would be misquoting him to say that he held that the unemployed were getting enough relief.

Pulling his chin, Mr. Hopkins said yes, we could quote him as saying: "The unemployed by and large are getting enough."

On the question of the organized unemployed committees being recognized by local relief agencies as spokesmen for the unemployed, Mr. Hopkins declared that his office had sent letters to relief agencies instructing them not to refuse to meet committees of the unemployed.

The conference came to an end. The committee filed out.

November 24 Historic Date

National Unemployed Day, November 24, is an established historical date in the labor movement of the country.

A complete account of the demonstrations in all localities is here impossible. It would read like a city and town directory of the nation. But reports still coming to the national office of the National Unemployed League, which initiated the movement, are indicative of ferment in the working class everywhere.

The demonstration of 1,000 white and black workers, unemployed, marching in the city of Gulfport, Miss., was classified by the press as tantamount to insurrection. They marched to the relief headquarters demanding a solution of the unemployment evil—not alms. That, in the deep south, is more than just a parade. The same is true of Ashland, Ky., where two

"We have a great many times described ourselves as not slaves to tradition. We have often spoken of a new or American approach, and we have insisted that we be realistic and experimental."

The report to the convention gave the history of the Communist League of America and the negotiations leading to the merger.

Much of the discussion at the convention centered on the Declaration of Principles prepared by the joint Negotiating Committee of the A. W. P. and the C. L. A., the theoretic foundation of the new party. Section by section and paragraph by paragraph the Declaration received the most careful and detailed discussion by the 50 delegates from all parts of the country. Every theoretic proposition was immediately matched by the practical experience of the delegates, all active leaders of trade union

Party Maps Big Drive To Rally Jobless

The Commission on Unemployment of the Workers Party Convention, with Anthony Ramuglia, president of the National Unemployed League presiding, took up a number of problems connected with the relation of the Workers Party to the N. U. L. and the tactics to be used in building and extending the influence of the movement.

A decision was taken to recognize the National Unemployed League as the largest and most effective organization in that vast and relatively untapped field, and to place the Workers Party in full support of the N. U. L., working vigorously for its extension.

Real and inclusive unity of the various unemployed organizations was judged impossible of achievement at the present time, mainly because of the attitude of reformist elements (especially of the S. P.)

thousand workers, white and black, marched to present demands to the authorities. In High Point, North Carolina, the authorities were "scandalized" by an unprecedented outpouring of the unemployed.

From Dallas, Texas, Carl Branin reports that more than 2,000 marched to the city hall, demanding that the city manager endorse the National Unemployed Day demands, and that he write President Roosevelt to that effect. A banner in the march called for the abolition of capitalism, bag and baggage. In Texas a "scandalous" performance.

In Ohio, particularly in the interior, the day was a holiday of protest. Newark, Ohio, saw a super-demonstration. Twenty thousand poured through the streets. The sheriff and the business men decided it was "Red Saturday". The chief of police came to the Newark League the day before, apologizing for an American Legion "incident" some two months previously, assuring the League members that there would be no interference with the demonstration. And most assuredly there was none.

Authorities Stand By

In West Virginia, Kanawah, Wayne, Boone and Putnam counties, miners and their wives, National Unemployed League members, marched, while the authorities were content to stand by, watching for undue bulging of clothing indicative of fire arms. There was no trouble.

In Butte, Montana, 1,200 jobless marched, demanding relief from the misery of unemployment.

In Milwaukee, Des Moines, Tampa, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Allentown, New York City, in all the battle scarred centers of labor, there were great demonstrations.

and unemployed movements.

When the discussion ended it was felt that the Declaration represented a body of clear revolutionary principles. Minor changes adopted by the convention were referred to the joint negotiating committee for an early formulation.

Adopt Organization Proposals

Concrete proposals for the organization of the new party were adopted without change. The most important of the proposals included the Constitution of the new party which was accepted on principle and referred for final action to the unity convention; the officership of the new party on a 50-50 parity with suggested names on the part of the joint negotiating committee and the set-up of the National Committee of 22 with 6 alternates on the same parity.

The convention voted unanimously to accept the names of A. J. Muste as National Secretary of the Workers Party and of J. P. Cannon, editor of the new party paper.

Because the A. W. P. had no youth organization, it was decided that while youth members of the party were to be placed on the executive committee of the Spartacus Youth League (to become subsequently the youth organization of the new party) it would not be carried out on the 50-50 basis.

in organizations more or less controlled by them from the top. The National Unemployed League looks forward to and will work for the genuine unity of the unemployed within a single national organization, but federations of scattered organizations bureaucratically controlled by its top leadership such as have been proposed by the Socialist Party is not only unacceptable as unity, but also unacceptable as a united front. Until this object is achieved, therefore, the Workers Party will aid in the building of the N. U. L.

Workers Party tactics and principles in its unemployed work follow closely the tactics applied in the past by the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America and which have proved their correctness and effectiveness. There is to be no mechanical control of unemployed organizations on the part of the Workers Party.

The Workers Party maintains that the unemployed must be organized on a non-partisan basis and will fight to keep them on such a basis whether the Party finds itself in the leadership or in a minority.

Unemployed organizations are to use mass-pressure and militant activities of all types as opposed to class-collaboration policies. Members of the Workers Party in the Leagues are to work ceaselessly to raise the political level of the unemployed, explaining the social and economic implications of unemployment and focusing attention on the problem of unemployment itself; exposing the role of the state by its day by day activities; pointing out the identity of interests of the unemployed and employed workers; breaking down racial antagonisms; preparing the unemployed against fascist tendencies; recruiting from the ranks of the unemployed its most advanced and militant workers for membership in the Workers Party.

The co-operation of unemployed and employed on the picket lines, anti-injunction battles, etc., already symbolized by the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes and a hundred others, will be intensified. Decision was reached at a joint conference of unemployed and trade union workers to establish Industrial Relations Committees wherever possible. These committees are to serve as a permanent link between the employed and the unemployed to preserve civil rights, to promote the general economic interests of the workers and to insure united resistance to the onslaughts of the bosses and politicians.

Biddle Heads Board

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Francis B. Biddle of Philadelphia was named chairman of the National Labor Relations Board by President Roosevelt.

Biddle is a corporation lawyer and was formerly retained by the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Atlantic & Pacific Tea company and several other corporations.

Third Convention of League Draws Balance Sheet of Six Years

NEW YORK.—The third national convention of the Communist League of America unanimously voted to disband the organization and merge with the American Workers Party in the Workers Party of the United States.

Max Shachtman, editor of the New International, announced the adjournment of the convention—the last convention of the C. L. A. Six years of activity as a propagandist group came to an end.

Balance Sheet Written

The ideas of Marx and Lenin, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the theory of the permanent revolution, had been kept alive in the United States.

Three years ago the Communist League (Opposition) was a skeleton organization with only a few branches in major cities. Arne Swabeck, national secretary, reported to the convention that the

membership had doubled and that 21 branches existed in industrial centers. Forty-three delegates were present. Six delegates attended from the Workers Party of Canada.

Note Achievements

Achievements noted by the convention included the maintenance of The Militant as a weekly paper which in the six years of its publication had gained wide recognition and influence, and the recent launching of the New International, which will be the theoretical organ of the new party.

In the past year the League made a splendid showing in Minneapolis, where it demonstrated that sound theory and sound practice can bring victory to the working class.

The convention was preceded by three months of discussion in branch meetings and internal bulletins. Minorities were accorded every democratic right and were given proportional representation in the convention.

Discuss Reports

Comrade Cannon reported to the convention on international questions. On the question of the action of the French section of the Trotsky movement in joining the Socialist Party, two full days were spent, serious disagreements arising. The final vote overwhelmingly endorsed the move in France.

In the United States and other countries, where the political crisis is at a different state, Cannon said that the proper course is to build the new party.

Shachtman dealt with the problem of building the new party, including negotiations with the American Workers Party and the Declaration of Principles prepared by a joint committee of the two organizations.

Merger Vote Unanimous

In the final vote on merger, minor differences in past methods of approach and tactics of the two groups were noted, but the vote was unanimous.

The convention ended Saturday, November 1, after an all night session.

Industry to Extend N.R.A.

(Continued on Page 1)

cial and request Congress to continue NRA for another year. Secretary Roper suggested in the 6-point program that unsatisfactory features of NRA be eliminated, and asked the industrialists to "prepare suggestions for Congress" to that effect.

Attending the convention were representatives of Wall Street and many of the most powerful financial and industrial barons, men who own the productive plant of the country and hire and fire millions of workers. The heart of the plans adopted boils down to two points: slash relief, and assure industry a free hand in dealing with labor.

New Party Opens Fight

(Continued on Page 1)

the party-building report brought in by Max Shachtman, the trade union report read by Arne Swabeck, and the report on work in the field of the unemployed, presented by Anthony Ramuglia, national president of the National Unemployed League.

Resolutions were passed in support of Tom Mooney, and on behalf of Happy Holstein, whom the hangmen of the Citizens Alliance in Minneapolis are trying to frame on a murder charge. A resolution also endorsed the proposal of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, for the creation of a permanent labor defense organization. The text of the reports and resolutions will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Here ended the main business of the convention. Fraternal greetings were extended to the convention by Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald, representing the Workers Party of Canada.

Declaration of Principles of Workers Party of the United States

The American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have united on the basis of the following Declaration of Principles to form the Workers Party of the U.S.A.

THE DECLINE OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism in the stage of decline and decay as a world system, subjects the masses everywhere to insecurity, misery, Fascist terrorism and war. The present world crisis marks much more than a depression or dip in the business cycle. Under the capitalist system of social and political relations the productive machine can no longer function effectively. Its operations are directed not to fulfillment of human needs but to the making of profits for private individuals and corporations. It cannot expand the productive forces further—it contracts them. It cannot feed the masses—in the very midst of plenty it starves them.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR

Seeking new outlets for uninvested capital and new possibilities for capital accumulation, as well as cheap raw materials and profitable markets for the goods which their own population could not purchase, the capitalist nations entered the imperialist stage of their development. Having divided the world among themselves the struggle for new capitalist outlets, for raw materials and markets now becomes daily more intense. Driven by the lash of the crisis the capitalist nations are plunged into economic, tariff and exchange struggles and armament competition among themselves. The capitalists strive to shift the burdens of the crisis and the decline to other classes, especially the working class and the colonial peoples. The period of the decline of capitalism is accordingly marked by a series of the mightiest struggles in history, imperialist wars, wars of liberation of the colonial peoples, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class for its own emancipation.

FASCISM

In its early progressive period capitalism fought against feudal and clerical reaction, and relied for its victory upon the support of the workers and farmers. In the period of capitalist decline the owning class cannot maintain a measure of profits and its position of privilege save by constantly reducing the standards of the masses. When the social crisis thus generated approaches a climax, and the working class, as the result of the lack of a strong revolutionary party, fails to act decisively for a revolutionary solution, it suffers internal demoralization and loses the confidence of the middle class masses ruined by the crisis. Under the domination of finance capital, fascism then succeeds in mobilizing the desperate middle class elements and even certain demoralized sections of the working class on a reactionary basis. "Stabilization" is thus temporarily achieved by the destruction of the workers' organizations, the wholesale murder of working class militants and the suppression of all forms of independent class expression.

Under Fascism democratic rights are suppressed, all the forms of democracy are abandoned. The trade unions and all other independent organizations of workers and farmers are smashed or compelled to become a passive part of the state machinery. The right to strike is abrogated. The standard of living of the masses is steadily driven downward. Open terror is exercised not only against avowed revolutionists but against any workers engaged in a militant struggle for their own defense. Fascism sows racial division among the people by appeals to the basest racial prejudices and nationalistic passion. Thus capitalism allies itself in its period of decline with everything that is archaic and reactionary and threatens to drive whole nations back into barbarism and savagery.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

With the war, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power in the world. It assumed this leading role at a time when capitalism everywhere was in decline and conflicts between the great Powers were therefore intensified. American imperialism cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the millions in the U. S., Latin America, Europe and Asia whom it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. In extending its power throughout the world, U. S. capitalism thereby introduces the instability of the capitalist world system into its own foundations. The economy and politics of the United States depend more and more upon crises, wars and revolutions in all parts of the world. These circumstances profoundly shake all the classes in the country, change the relations between them, sharpen and accelerate political differentiations, and open the way for a stormy revolutionary development of the working class. In the very nature of the power of U. S. imperialism, lie those irrepressible conflicts that herald its collapse.

THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

The Roosevelt program is essentially that of monopoly capitalism, concentrating power and wealth in the hands of a decreasing few financiers and industrialists. It fosters an open alliance between industry and finance and the government. It strengthens monopolistic tendencies in the form of codes and cultivates the view of the state as umpire in conflicts between capital and labor. It seeks to tie the trade union movement to the capitalist state machine.

ery, breaks strikes under the pretext of impartial composition of differences by government boards, and attacks militant workers and their organizations. Its vast military program is designed both as an instrument against dissatisfied sections of the population at home and as an agency of American imperialist interests against those of other nations in the wars which are inevitable so long as capitalism endures.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

There is only one alternative to capitalism—to crises of cumulative intensity, growing unemployment and impoverishment, Fascism, war and chaos, ending not only in final collapse of the capitalist system but in a relapse into barbarism. That alternative is to wipe out the central contradiction of capitalism, to take the ownership and control of the natural resources, the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and communication, out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs; and not for private profit, to build a socialist society. Thus and only thus can the masses in the modern world achieve plenty, security, peace and freedom.

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ALLIES

The central position among the social forces which must be depended upon to destroy the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state and effect the transition to a scientific socialist economy, belongs to the working class. It will, however, need the support of other sections of society who are also exploited or oppressed. Sections of the middle class, the debt-ridden farmers, the Negroes as a persecuted race, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the American Empire—these are the allies of the American workers fighting a common foe. It is only in the social revolution that all groups of workers and producers, all the oppressed sections of the population, can find deliverance from insecurity, want and tyranny.

THE CAPITALIST STATE AND DEMOCRACY

This deliverance can come only as the result of victory in a revolutionary struggle. The belief that we live in a free, democratic society in which important economic changes can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and parliamentary methods, is an illusion. Such a belief must be an illusion in every capitalist society, and, in fact, in any society which is divided into socio-economic classes. Freedom can be realized only in a society based upon the economic and social equality of all individuals composing it, and no social and economic equality can obtain so long as the means of production and distribution, by which members of society live, are outside the control of society as a whole. Capitalist society, in which a small minority owns and controls the means of production, means and must mean capitalist dictatorship. The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself. The state or government is thus the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power and suppresses the working class. As the necessary political phase, therefore, of the change of ownership and control of industry, the workers in the cities and on the land must take control of state power by revolutionary means.

CONQUEST OF POWER—THE WORKERS' STATE

The opportunity for the workers to take power will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses will find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. Taking advantage of the growing discontent generated by the crisis of capitalism, led by the revolutionary party and supported by ever larger and more significant sections of the population, the workers will take power and put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

The fundamental mass instrument of this struggle for power, forged in the course of united actions of the workers, will be the Workers' Councils (Soviets). The Workers' Councils, representing the interests of the majority of the socially productive elements of the population, are the organs which mobilize the workers for the revolutionary assault as well as the organization through which state power after the victory. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, which represents the interests only of the capitalist minority, that the workers will overthrow the capitalist class and take power. The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentality for establishing a new social order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state, based on the Workers' Councils. The workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies.

ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

For the victory of the workers a revolutionary political party is all-important and indispensable. The class war is fought by class armies. The working class as a whole—to say nothing of its necessary allies in other sections of the population—is not characterized by firm homogeneity. It is divided by conflicting philosophies, by separatist interests of

caste, religion, nationality, race, sex, age. Without the revolutionary party its most valiant struggles fail to achieve lasting results. The working class as a class, as a whole, cannot directly plan and guide its battles. For that a staff, a vanguard is necessary—not imposed from above, without the possibility of control and verification from the ranks, but rising from the ranks by tested ability and common approval. This is the revolutionary political party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline.

The revolutionary struggle of the workers can be victorious only on the condition that the Marxist party has gained the confidence and support of the majority of the working class and leads it in the attack. The united front of different parties and organizations of the working class, welded together in the Workers' Councils, can mobilize the workers and conduct partial actions even when the workers and their party is yet supported only by the minority. Its leadership in the Councils, however, are a prerequisite for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime and the consolidation of the workers' rule.

The revolutionary party likewise of necessity leads the working class in the consolidation of its power after the victory, in the organization of socialist economy, in the suppression of internal counter-revolutionary enemies, and in wars of the workers' states against capitalist states. The role of the party as the leader of the class continues until all forms of class organization, including the state and the party, are finally dissolved in the classless society.

THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

The Workers Party of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, "October Revolution" of 1917 (the October Revolution). The Workers Party convalesces as its duty the realistic application of these principles to the present historical situation. Since its primary task is the defeat of the enemy at hand—the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States—the Workers Party will seek, first and foremost, to demonstrate to the working class of the U. S. and its allies that the application of the principles of revolutionary Marxism is the sole means for the fulfillment of their historical needs and interests. Proceeding from these principles, the Workers Party of the U. S. will use the revolutionary potentialities of American tradition and history, and adapt its tactics to the concrete situation and the relation of class forces in the United States.

The Workers Party is a voluntary organization of the class conscious vanguard whose members are united by a system of ideas set forth in this Declaration. Its organization principles are: democracy, centralization and discipline. Freedom of discussion, party problems and freedom of criticism, including the criticism of the leadership and its policy, is the inalienable right of every party member. The leadership, from the lowest unit up to the National Committee, is freely elected by the membership and subject to its control and removal.

The party Convention is the highest authority of the party; its decisions are binding on all members. Every member is obligated to observe discipline in action. The administration of the party is centralized. Lower units are subordinate to the higher units. The National Committee as the representative of the entire organization, elected at the Convention, has full authority to act for the party and to enforce discipline of subordinate units. Party members working in non-party organizations are subject to the control and direction of the respective party bodies.

At all times and under all conditions the Workers Party maintains its organizational and political independence. In relations with other political organizations, in united front actions or other forms of cooperation, the party, while obligating itself to discipline in common action, reserves its right of criticism and rejects in principle all "pacts of non-aggression".

FOUNDATIONS OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The most important of the economic measures to be taken by the revolutionary government in its initial period is the appropriation and socialization, without compensation, of all monopolies in industry and land; all mines, factories and shipping; all public utilities, railroads and other organized means of communication; all banks, credit agencies, gold stores; and all other supplies and services that the revolutionary government finds it necessary to take over in order to lay the foundations of a socialist society. This socialization of the means of production and exchange injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people. The policy of socialization pursued by the Workers' State will make possible the guarantee to every willing worker of a well-paid job, security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness. There will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and oppressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers. The example of the social and personal advantages of the socialist organization of production, and assistance from the workers' government, can be trusted to lead them to voluntary collectivization. Socialism will release

the productive forces to serve the needs of men, and will enable production to be planned rationally in terms of actual social requirements. It will allow the utilization of every technical improvement. The leisure and educational opportunities which will accompany these material advantages, together with removal of the dead-weight of the perverted capitalist culture, will offer every individual possibilities for the fullest creative development.

THE GOAL OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

The elimination of all socially useless and parasitic classes and groups will proceed simultaneously with these material and cultural changes. The entire population will be transformed into a community of free producers owning the total productive wealth and resources of society. The need of coercion and repression of socially alien classes will disappear with the disappearance of these classes. With it will vanish the need for a state machinery—even the workers' state. The noblest objective of the human race, the classless communist society which inaugurates a new era for all mankind, will be realized.

The working class can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of world division of labor and world cooperation. The Workers Party aims not merely to lead the working class of the U. S. in revolution but to unite with the workers of all other countries in the international revolution and the establishment of world-socialism. Modern forces of production have compelled capitalism itself to transcend national boundaries. Imperialism, itself a predatory force, cannot, however, achieve a harmonious society. World-socialism is the only solution for the conflicts and disorders in the modern world, as well as for the major contradictions within a single nation. A socialist society will utilize rationally the natural resources and productive machinery of the earth in the interests of the people of the earth, and solve the conflict between the efficient operation of national forces and the artificial restrictions of national boundaries. It will grant the rights of free cultural self-determination and self-defense to all nations and all individuals. World-socialism will remove the causes of international wars that under capitalism now seriously threaten to send mankind into barbarism or complete destruction.

CRITICISM OF EXISTING PARTIES

The founding of the New Party on the basis of the present Declaration is the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. A mere attempt to fuse the programs and tactics of existing parties would lead nowhere since careful analysis reveals their falsity and inadequacy.

a. Socialist Party

The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is their false conception of the nature of the state and of the colonial question. From this flow its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its feishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration, and betrayal of colonial revolts and revolutions. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the party; its union movement and important sections of the party are directly associated with these elements. Though now as at other periods in its history the Party contains many militant and forward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the "Militant" leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude and a policy of capitulation to the right wing. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of hindering the consistent development of the workers to a revolutionary position. The genuinely revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party can carry out the implications of their position only when they break with the reformists and social patriots and unite with the Workers Party and the New International.

b. The Communist Party

The adoption of a nationalist, and therefore non-revolutionary theory and practice, associated with the abandonment of the principle of workers' democracy in the Third International and its sections, constitutes the root cause of their decline and degeneration. Having left the firm ground of revolutionary principle, the Stalinist bureaucracy of the C.P. U. S. which mechanically dominates the Third International and its sections, has everywhere followed a centrist zigzag policy, which in the U. S., for example, has ranged from opportunistic efforts to cooperate in the formation of the LaFollette "Third Party" of middle-class radicalism to partisan exclusiveness and ultra-leftism.

No semblance of party democracy obtains in the International or its sections. They have sponsored divisive tactics in the trade unions and other mass organizations, the policy of building dual sectarian unions, the theory of social fascism and the tactic of day of the united front from below, and the next

day of purely formal united fronts "only from above" in which "non-aggression pacts" with reformist parties in the labor movement, time and again ordering their members to break up meetings called by other labor organizations, and to beat up spokesmen of other viewpoints. In their own ranks, dissident opinion is stifled and bureaucracy reigns supreme.

The C. I. and its sections are completely and mechanically dominated by the bureaucracy of the C.P. U. S. As the revolutionary tide temporarily subsided in other countries, the Russian workers were obviously confronted with the need of concentrating upon the tremendous task of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union, in expectation of decisive aid from the workers in other lands when the next revolutionary wave raised them to power. At this juncture the leaders of the C.P.S.U., however, instead of purging the work of laying the foundation of a socialist economy in the S. U. as a significant part of the movement for world revolution, adopted the position that a socialist society could be built in the Soviet Union alone (the theory of "socialism in one country") even though revolutions did not take place in other countries and that the building and defense of "socialism in the Soviet Union" is the first and well-nigh exclusive task of the entire world revolutionary movement. In the process of mechanically imposing this position upon the Communist parties of other countries all semblance of party democracy was wiped out. These parties, instead of concentrating their attention and energies primarily upon advancing the revolutionary movement and seeking the overthrow of the capitalist state in these countries, became little more than agitational groups dedicated to so-called "defense of the S. U.", pacifist agitation "against war and Fascism", etc.

This degeneration of the Communist parties everywhere and their diversion from the task of achieving the revolution in the capitalist countries, weakened the real defense of the Soviet Union and contributed to the defeat of the workers in other lands, as was tragically demonstrated by the collapse of the C. P. in Germany when Hitler came to power. The effective defense of the Soviet Union today and the support of those revolutionists in the U. S. who fight for the reform of the Soviet State and the revival of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's time based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and workers' democracy depend therefore upon the building of new revolutionary parties in the capitalist countries and a new revolutionary international. To accomplish all these objectives we devote ourselves with all our energies to the building of the new revolutionary party in the United States.

c. Centrist Political Groupings

The Workers Party of the U. S. firmly opposes centrist organizations and tendencies on the national and international fields, which try to reconcile or find a middle-of-the-road position between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. While ready to cooperate with organizations and groups evolving from reformism or centrism to revolutionary Marxism the Workers Party will not tolerate any conciliation with reformist or centrist policies.

d. Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties

At present the Farmer-Labor party movement in this country is weak and inconsequential. It is, however, possible that there will rise into being a "radical" farmer-labor movement, or some combination of farmer, labor and middle class movements, which will seek to reform capitalism.

The workers' revolutionary movement faces a complicated problem in dealing with such developments. It is the task of the revolutionists to build their own party, not to engage in building up any party of reform. In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeal "to all classes", is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test. We do not believe that the American working class must inevitably pass through a protracted experience with reformist parties. It is entirely possible that it will either skip this stage, or else concentrate it within a brief period. Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chauvinistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. However, the membership of these groups represent real blocs of social unrest and of potential antagonism to the existing order. The Workers Party will work out its tactics toward these groups and movements in the light of its basic principles. The masses in the movements must be won to support the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary party will show them by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve capitalism, and hence are inimical to the interest of the workers. In order that it may effectively perform this task the revolutionary party must at all times maintain its own political and organizational integrity and independence.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The workers' revolution by its very nature is international in character. Beginning in one or more countries it must be extended progressively to others until it embraces the entire world and establishes socialism as a world system. The revolutionary party must therefore be an international party with sections in every country. We are therefore committed to the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world and their union in a New International. The needs of the working class movement in earlier periods of capitalist development led to the formation of the First and later the Second International, and demanded the establishment of the Third International when the Second betrayed the working class in the war and post-war crisis. Today the existing Second and Third Internationals are bankrupt. The problem of international organization cannot be met by an amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals based on a mixture of the bankrupt policies of the two. A new, i.e., a Fourth International, based on the theoretical and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin, representing the historic continuity of the international revolutionary movement, and applying these basic principles to the historical realities of the present stage of capitalist decline, must be built. The W. P. is prepared to establish fraternal relations with all groups, organizations and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own and to cooperate with them in the elaboration of a complete world program and the speediest possible establishment of the New International.

STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Workers Party is pledged to a revolutionary struggle against war, which can be eliminated only by the overthrow of the society which breeds it. It will strive by every means in its power to prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war. It will combat the idea that it is in the interest of the workers to support defense of the "fatherland", based as this idea is on the conception of a community of interest between classes which capitalism by its very nature makes impossible.

Under no circumstances will the W. P. give any support, directly or indirectly, to any war conducted by the capitalist government of the U. S. On the contrary, it will actively fight such a war and work not for the "victory" of the capitalist government but its defeat. The Workers Party rejects the utopian and illusory ideas of pacifism. We support the wars of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the enslaved peoples against the imperialist exploiters, of the colonies against those who keep them in servitude, of the nationalities, races and minorities who suffer under the yoke of a ruling class, the policy of folded arms, passive resistance, "conscientious objection", etc. is completely futile as a means of struggle against imperialist war, regardless of the sincerity and courage of those who resort to it. The answer to imperialist war is the workers' revolution. This policy holds good also in the event of a military alliance between the U. S. and the Soviet Union (an alliance which under certain circumstances the W. P. unreservedly supports). In such a case the State, would expose the treacherous aims of the government of U. S. imperialism. In the alliance, call for its overthrow and its replacement by a revolutionary workers' government which alone would be capable of making a loyal alliance with the S. U. and giving it unqualified support in the war.

THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union is a workers' state, product of the Russian revolution and beacon of light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. Despite all the difficulties imposed upon it by its isolation within a ring of capitalist enemies the Russian workers have already accomplished marvels, and have demonstrated beyond doubt that planned socialist production is manifestly superior to capitalist production even in its best period. The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist attack is an elemental duty of every worker. Any attempt by the imperialists of any land to attack or undermine the Soviet Union will find the revolutionists of the Workers Party ready to defend it to the utmost. Fundamentally this real defense of the Soviet Union depends not upon the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts, or any such measures, but upon successful workers' revolutions in other countries.

THE MAIN TASK

The main and immediate task of the W. P. is the mobilization of the American masses for the struggle against capitalism and the preparation for its revolutionary overthrow. To this end the Party will work within the mass organizations of workers and farmers and will support and seek to give leadership to all their immediate practical struggles, strikes, demonstrations, mass action for relief and social insurance fights against lynching, evictions, foreclosures, etc. The W. P. will participate with its own candidates and program in election campaigns, without, however, sowing the fatal illusion that the workers can accomplish their emancipation by means of the ballot box. Election campaigns will serve primarily as a means of revolutionary propaganda. Our candidates elected to Congress or other governmental bodies will utilize their positions for the purpose of exposing the sham of capitalist "democracy" and promoting the development of the mass

movement of the workers. It will carry on constant propaganda to educate the vanguard workers in the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Everywhere it will seek to demonstrate in action the applicability of its principles and tactics and the competence of its leadership in the mass movements of the workers.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions are the elementary and basic organs of working-class defense against capitalist aggression, and of all trade unions the most important are those of the workers in the large shops, mills, factories and mines of the basic industries. With these as its base, the Party will penetrate similarly the unions and federations of all groups of workers, activating and politicizing their struggles. The main aim of the W. P. in the trade unions is to infuse them with the spirit and policy of class struggle and to aid in developing a militant leadership in accord therewith. To this end it will wage an irreconcilable struggle against the reactionary officialdom of the trade union movement. We shall encourage and inspire workers in the unions to fight against autocracy, corruption and gangsterism and against the class collaboration tendency so prevalent in the trade union movement, wherever these appear. The W. P. stands for rank and file control and trade union democracy. It will take the initiative in organizing the left and the progressive forces to fight for a militant, class-struggle policy and leadership in the trade union movement.

The W. P. stands for trade union unity; a divided trade union movement facilitates the progress of reaction and Fascism. The Workers Party is opposed to the Communist Party policy of building paper unions, mechanically controlled by the party, which are in no sense genuine mass organizations. The W. P. favors the organization of workers into unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. wherever possible, since the A. F. of L. represents the main mass of organized labor and the trend of workers now moving for organization is in the same direction.

The Workers Party does not believe, however, that the American Federation of Labor has any right to claim a monopoly in the field of labor organization. Too often the Federation officialdom has repelled workers in the basic industries by an insistence on craft union forms. In numerous cases, important groups have been forced out of its ranks by outright betrayal of strikes, by bureaucracy, racketeering and other evils. Where the masses are forced to form independent unions as a result of such intolerable situations the W. P. will support them in their efforts and struggles. We are firmly opposed to the present maneuvers of the Communist Party for the arbitrary and mechanical liquidation of independent unions, regardless of the circumstances that called them into existence. Where the A. F. of L. is unable or unwilling to organize the workers, the W. P. will assist them to form independent unions on an industrial basis. It will, however, continue to work for a united, industrially constructed and militant trade union movement.

The Workers Party stands for industrial unionism, and will press forward the issue of amalgamation in every field in which such action is necessary.

We warn the organized workers against the tendency, particularly noticeable since the NRA, to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government. This policy, nourished and supported by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, must inevitably result, if it is allowed to prevail, in emasculating the unions, in restricting the right to strike, to picket and carry on any normal activity, and undermining the workers' power of resistance.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FARMERS

The section of the agricultural population on which the Workers Party bases itself directly consists of the agricultural laborers whose standard of living is even lower than that of the industrial workers and whose efforts to organize in order to improve their conditions are met by the most brutal repression. The organization of these workers into militant unions is an essential part of the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Workers Party will give special attention to this task, and pledges its fullest support to all the struggles of the oppressed agricultural workers.

Millions of share-croppers and tenant farmers in various sections of the United States have been reduced to virtual serfdom and a peasant basis of existence. Even those farmers who nominally own the land they occupy, are loaded with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and under capitalism are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. This situation has driven them to openly violent "Holiday" movements, milk strikes, anti-foreclosure and anti-eviction demonstrations, etc. These struggles, however, can have a consistent results only if they are directed against the capitalist system itself. For the farmers, as well as for all oppressed groups, emancipation and security can come only by allying themselves with the working class in the struggle for a socialist society.

NEGROES AND OTHER OPPRESSED RACIAL GROUPS

The Negroes compose the most exploited and persecuted section of the population of this country. Racial differences are used by the capitalist dictatorship to drive down the standard of living of all

(Continued on Page 7)

Non-Partisan Defense Is Aim of New Party; Adopts Resolution For Mooney

The founding convention of the Workers Party unanimously adopted three resolutions on defense questions, including one endorsing the idea of setting up a broad militant labor defense organization. It is interesting to note a leading comrade of the W. P., James P. Cannon, was secretary of the International Labor Defense from the time of its founding until the Stalinist regime transformed it from a class instrument into a puppet of the Communist Party. Other W. P. leaders have been active in defense work.

The resolutions adopted at the convention are the following:

RESOLUTION ON MOONEY

In the history of the American class struggle there has been no more striking illustration of capitalist oppression and class justice than the case of Tom Mooney now completing the eighteenth year of his martyrdom in San Quentin Prison in the State of California. Imprisoned there at the behest of the capitalist class of California, after his life had been saved through the intercession of the organized revolutionary workers of Russia who demanded his freedom, he has steadfastly refused to concede to the proposal that he obtain liberty at the cost of whitewashing the criminal conspirators of the judiciary who placed him in jail.

Tom Mooney's freedom will be realized solely through the organized expression of that profound indignation felt by all workers that one who should be at liberty and leading in the struggles of the day, is kept in confinement year after year. The organization of a great campaign for the liberation of our class brother is a solemn duty and a vital need of the whole class. The Workers Party of the U. S., at its founding convention, pledges its unremitting efforts in a struggle for the liberation of Tom Mooney.

To Tom Mooney himself this convention sends its warmest comradely greeting and a solemn pledge of solidarity.

RESOLUTION ON HOLSTEIN

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. has been informed of the plot instigated by the capitalist class of Minneapolis acting through the labor-hating Citizens Alliance and Police Chief Bloody Mike Johannes, to railroad militant trade unionists to their death in order to deal a blow to the trade union movement of Minneapolis and especially to General Drivers Local 574.

To Emanuel Holstein, falsely charged with murder, and whose only crime has been that shoulder-to-shoulder with thousands of his trade union brothers he has gone forward on the picket line to defend the rights of labor and to gain for himself, his family and his class brothers a standard of living above the starvation level, we send greetings and a pledge of solidarity.

To the Trade Union Defense League of Minneapolis, organized to defend Happy Holstein, we pledge our unflinching support.

This Convention gives to the N. C. of the Workers Party of the U. S. the mandate to communicate immediately with the Trade Union Defense League and with Happy Holstein and to arrange measures whereby we can assist in his defense.

RESOLUTION ON LABOR DEFENSE

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. takes note of the fact that the rising tide of labor struggles is logically accompanied by a wave of persecution of labor militants and revolutionaries throughout this country. Hundreds of workers are today in prison or jail, or so threatened, solely because of their political or economic views or activities in the labor or revolutionary movements. It is only a few weeks since a close friend of our movement, Antonio Belluso, was deported from this country by the "liberal" Roosevelt regime because he is a confirmed fighter against Italian Fascism and

its offshoots in this country. Today members of our party active in trade union struggles in Minneapolis are in danger of arrest on a frame-up charge of murder inspired by the labor hating Citizens Alliance of that city. Not long ago comrades A. J. Muste, James Cross and H. Mayer were indicted in Belleville, Ill. and Comrade Louis Budenz and others in Toledo, Ohio, for the crime of assisting workers in a strike struggle. Comrades Cannon and Shachtman were jailed in Minneapolis. Delegates to this convention have failed to reach their destination because the police of various cities have arrested and detained them.

While the heaviest blows of the capitalist oppressors naturally fall upon the most revolutionary elements of the class and particularly members of the revolutionary party, these blows are also directed against all militant and class-conscious workers and in times of great crisis against all elements of the population who dare to express opinions or engage in actions inimical to the interests and plans of the capitalist exploiters and their executive committee, the government of the U. S. and its subdivisions. In the struggle against reaction against Fascist and semi-Fascist trends, against the suppression of civil liberties and the rights of labor to organize, strike, picket and otherwise defend its interests, against deportations, against the oppression of aliens, Negroes and other minority elements of the population, the entire working class has a common interest. It is the task of the revolutionary party to make clear to the class this common interest and to bring about united action on behalf of this interest. In such action on an honest, fighting, united front basis, labor will advance step by step against its class enemy and out of the fires of the struggle will come new revolutionary elements and an ever-larger militant movement.

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. notes with regret that there exists no organization capable of giving continuous and organized expression to this common interest. A broad, class-conscious militant defense organization does not exist today. Its creation is a crying need. To it should rally all class-conscious elements, regardless of political differences. It should be partisan only of the class as a whole, including all militant workers and fighting on behalf of all working class victims of capitalist oppression regardless of their political beliefs or affiliations. It should combine with skillful legal work, the organization of mass campaigns so that the capitalist courts and administrative agencies will learn to fear the anger of the class and be compelled to abandon their plots against the workers.

The founding convention notes with approbation the proposals made some months ago by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense and discussed on several occasions with representatives of the American Workers Party, the C.I.A., the Socialist Party and other elements of the labor movement. The convention authorizes the N. C. to carry these discussions further and to hasten the establishment of a militant, class-conscious, non-partisan defense organization as a primary need of the working class in a period of intense struggle and bitter reaction.

Seek Defense Fund

LANCASTER, Pa. — An appeal for funds to help fight the cases of militant unionists who were framed as a result of their activities in the general textile strike in Lancaster and Lebanon county was sent out to labor by William W. Brocius, 22 S. Queen St., secretary-treasurer of the Textile Workers Defense Fund.

Constitution of the Workers Party

Resolved, That the following document be adopted as the CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, and be it further

Resolved, That all members of the American Workers Party and of the Communist League of America, as certified by the Secretaries of the respective organizations, shall become Charter Members of the Workers Party of the U. S. upon signifying their desire to do so, and are eligible for election or appointment to all offices, and be it further

Resolved, That all persons applying for membership within sixty days after the first Convention, and whose applications are accepted, shall have the status of Charter Members, and be it further

Resolved, That the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U. S. in the period between the initial and the second National Conventions, is empowered to increase its membership up to and including thirty by two-thirds vote, and to elect additional members accordingly, likewise by two-thirds vote.

CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the organization shall be the WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES (hereinafter referred to as "the Party").

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

The purpose of the Party is set forth in its Declaration of Principles.

ARTICLE III: INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

The Party, at its launching, is affiliated with no other group, party, or organization in the United States or elsewhere. Its National Committee is empowered to enter into fraternal relations with groups and parties in other countries, and, if they stand on the same fundamental program as its own, to cooperate with them in the elaboration of a complete world program and the speediest possible establishment of the new revolutionary International. Action on any organizational affiliation must be submitted to a National Convention of the Party.

ARTICLE IV: MEMBERS

Section 1. All those who accept the Declaration of Principles adopted at the First Convention, who agree to abide by the discipline of the Party, and to engage actively in its work, are eligible to membership.

Section 2. Every member must belong to a duly constituted branch of the Party in the locality where he resides, if such a branch exists. In localities where no branch exists, members shall be admitted as members-at-large.

Section 3. Applications for membership shall be acted upon by the local branch concerned, in accordance with the general regulations laid down by the National Committee, and subject to review by higher units of the Party. Applications for membership-at-large shall be acted upon by the National Committee, or by such committee as it shall designate.

Section 4. An official Membership Card shall be issued to each member.

Section 5. A member desiring to leave one locality for another must apply to his branch for permission, and receive a transfer card, which is to be deposited with the branch of the locality to which the member moves. If no branch exists in the new locality, the member shall remain a member-at-large.

Section 6. The National Committee is empowered to accept groups or organizations of individuals, eligible under Section 1 of this Article, as members en bloc, and to assign them to the proper branches.

ARTICLE V: ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The basic unit of the Party shall be the branch. A branch shall consist of not less than 5 nor more than 50 members. When a branch achieves a membership of 50, it shall be subdivided into two branches. Exceptions can be made only by permission of the National Committee.

Section 2. Wherever two or more branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be formed by delegates from the respective branches elected on the basis of proportional representation.

Section 3. In such cases as may be decided by the National Committee, District Executive Committees, comprising delegates from a given group of local branches, shall be formed.

ARTICLE VI: ADMINISTRATION

Section 1. The highest governing body of the Party is the National Convention. Its decisions shall be binding upon the entire membership.

Section 2. Between National Conventions, the authority of the Convention, subject to the decisions of the Convention, is vested in the National Committee elected by the Convention.

Section 3. The National Committee shall be comprised as follows:

Par. 1. There shall be twenty-two members.

Par. 2. The National Convention shall elect also six alternates, to fill vacancies in the National Committee in the order decided upon by the Convention.

Par. 3. Members of the National Committee may be dropped from the Committee and/or from the Party only by vote of the National Convention. Members of the National Committee may, however, be suspended from membership and be barred from all rights as members, pending final decision of the Party Convention, by vote of two-thirds of the membership of the National Committee.

Section 4. The National Committee directs all the work of the Party, decides all questions of policy in accord with the decisions of the Convention, appoints subordinate officers and sub-committees, including

the Political Committee, and, in general, constitutes between Conventions the functioning authority of the Party.

Section 5. The local governing body of the Party shall be the Local Executive Committee, or, where only one branch exists, the Branch Executive Committee. Where District Executive Committees shall be constituted, the National Committee shall decide their relation to the Local and Branch Executive Committees.

Section 6. The Branch Executive Committee shall be elected by the membership of the branch, and is subordinate to the branch membership. Its duties are to direct the activities of the branch, and to act with full powers for the branch between branch meetings. This section applies likewise to Local Executive Committees.

ARTICLE VII: INITIATION FEES AND DUES

Section 1. Each applicant for membership (other than Charter Members) shall pay an initiation fee of twenty-five cents, which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Office. The entire initiation fee shall be paid to the National Office.

Section 2. Each member shall pay monthly dues of fifty cents which shall be received for by dues stamp furnished by the National Office through the Branch Treasurer, and affixed to the membership card of each member. In addition, all members are expected to make regular voluntary contributions according to their means. In special cases, the National Committee may authorize a reduction in the amount of monthly dues, not more than fifty per cent, upon application by the party unit affected.

Section 3. Where branches are joined in Local or District Committees, one half of all dues payments shall go to the National Office; where Local or District Committees do not exist, two-thirds of all dues payments shall go to the National Office. In the case of members-at-large, the entire amount of dues payment shall go to the National Office.

Section 4. No members are exempted from the payment of at least the minimum dues. In special cases, however, local branches are at liberty to provide payment for individual unemployed branch members from the branch treasury, upon vote of the branch. The National Committee is, however, empowered to exempt a branch, and its members, from this requirement, and to issue special unemployed stamps.

Section 5. Housewives, not employed, who are members of the party, may, on request, be granted unemployed exempt stamps.

Section 6. Dues paying members of the youth organization who are simultaneously party members shall, on request, be exempted from the payments of dues in the party branch.

Section 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing, and shall be so notified by the Branch Executive. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls of the Party.

ARTICLE VIII: DISCIPLINE

Section 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party are binding upon the members and subordinate units of the Party.

Section 2. Any member or unit violating the decisions of a higher unit of the Party shall be subject to disciplinary actions up to expulsion by the body having jurisdiction.

Section 3. Charges against any member shall be made in writing and the accused member shall be furnished with a copy. Charges filed before branches shall be considered by the Branch Executive Committee at a meeting to which the accused member is invited. The Branch Executive Committee shall submit a recommendation to be acted upon by the membership of the Branch. Charges considered by higher units of the Party shall, however, be acted upon by the said units.

Section 4. Disciplinary action by a higher unit of the Party shall be initiated in the local branch. Failure of the branch to act, or branch action deemed improper by the higher unit, may be followed by direct disciplinary action by the higher unit.

Section 5. Any member subjected to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher unit, up to and including the National Convention. Pending action on the appeal, the decision of the Party body having jurisdiction remains in full force and effect.

ARTICLE IX: QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTION

Section 1. Except in the case of newly organized branches, members of Local and Branch Executive Committees must have been members of the Party for at least three months.

Section 2. Members of the National Committee must have been members of the Party for at least one year.

ARTICLE X: NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Section 1. The National Convention of the Party shall be held once a year. Special Conventions shall be called by the National Committee upon the demand of branches or Local Executive Committees representing one-half of the membership.

Section 2. The Call for the Convention, together with an agenda and the proposals of the National Committee shall be issued at least sixty days before the date of the Convention for discussion in the local organizations and in the official publications.

Section 3. Representation at the Convention shall be proportionally based upon the membership in good standing at the time of the Convention Call.

ARTICLE XI: FRACTIONS

Members of the Party in trade unions and other

(Continued on Page 7)

Lewis Over the Anthracite--The True Story

By STANLEY DZIENGELEWSKI

All but an infinitesimal part of the anthracite resources of the country lie in an area of 480 square miles in northeastern Pennsylvania. Seventy-five percent of all the coal mines and 90 per cent of the future supply are owned and controlled by the anthracite railroads, which in turn are controlled by the First National Bank of New York.

Those producing the coal are theoretically organized into an industrial union called the United Mine Workers of America. In normal times, the miners in this area produced about 70,000,000 tons annually. Now production has dropped to about 50,000,000 tons. At the present time about one third of the miners are totally unemployed. Of the remaining two thirds, about half are working only part time.

The U.M.W.A. does not represent the miners any more. It is hardly more than a company union with a camouflage that makes it easier for the bosses to control it, through its head, John L. Lewis. The members do not even have the power to elect officers.

In 1922, Alex Howat opposed

John L. Lewis for national president, and would certainly have been elected. However, Lewis simply annihilated him. In 1924, George Voyzey of Illinois took a shot at John L's job, and got the same medicine. In 1926, John Brophy defeated Lewis by a vote of two to one, but Brophy was covered with so much slime by the Lewis machine that the delegates were not able to seat him. The last man to run for president of the U.M.W.A. was Mike Demchak of Mt. Carmel, Pa., but J. L. refused to print his name on the ballot.

Now just take a bird's eye view of affairs in District No. 1 of the U.M.W.A. during the last decade or more. In 1922, William Brennan was president of the district, which is composed of two counties, Lackawanna and Luzerne, and is the biggest district in Lewis' domain. In 1923, the mine workers revolted against the Lewis set-up as typified by William Brennan, and Rinaldo Capellini was elected district president.

Was a Spoiled Kid

Rinaldo Capellini was really a spoiled kid, but because of his

courage and the noise he made at the miners' meetings, he won everyone's support, including that of the progressive element. The illusion that he was a "real man" lasted only until the national convention, when Capellini bowed down before John L. Lewis and in his speech denounced everything that was progressive in the labor movement.

In a very short time, Capellini organized a powerful machine of his own, importing gangsters and gunmen and putting them in charge over whole mines and sections. They hired and fired the mine workers, they paid them as much as they pleased, and became so powerful that they never thought of any law except their own might. Cap (as he is called) hired a big bozo named Frank Agatti for a bodyguard, and no one could see or talk to Cap before he passed the grilling of Agatti.

Sam Bonita—Big in Spirit

Meanwhile conditions were daily becoming worse and worse. Finally one of the Pittston locals, No. 1703, which had been oppressed the most, revolted. The miners elected a new president—Sam Bonita, an

Italian, small in stature but big in spirit. Sam was honest to his men and constantly pressed to adjust their grievances. That was why Cap directed his bodyguard to silence Sam. One morning when Sam called at the district office Frank Agatti decided to finish him off. Sam was pushed into Agatti's room and the door closed behind him. Agatti stepped up, slapped Sam in the face and grabbed a gun. At the same time, Sam had his fingers on the gun in his pocket and just squeezed it. Agatti fired and missed, but Sam shot Agatti in the abdomen. Agatti died.

When this happened the whole machine of so-called "law and order" got into motion to murder Sam Bonita, with the aid of Capellini's gunmen. However, the miners organized a defense committee, hired lawyers, collected funds and created a favorable public opinion which saved Bonita from the electric chair. Nevertheless the judge, who was a coal owner, railroaded Sam into Eastern Penitentiary. Before the trial, however, two of Sam's friends paid for defending him with their lives. Alex Campbell, a district organizer, and Peter Reilly were cut to pieces on the streets of Pittston by machine gun bullets while on their way to a meeting of the defense committee.

Cap Is Ousted

While organizing and collecting funds for Sam's defense, the miners of District No. 1 were aroused to such an extent that John L. Lewis had to dump Cap in order to save his own control. The miners called a rump convention and elected Frank McGerry for their president. Lewis condemned the convention as illegal, but out of 130 locals in the district, 89 were with the rebellion. Lewis knew what was coming, so he advised Cap to resign, secured for McGerry a state job and maneuvered John Boylen, one of his own men, into the district presidency.

"Our" Present Ruler

Now we come to "our" present ruler, John Boylen the first. John Boylen has been serving the coal bosses since 1928. He is the regular reactionary type of A. F. of L. leader. He weighs approximately 300 pounds, fears God, loves his meals and his country. He expresses his wisdom by keeping silent, having learned from Cap's lessons.

The wages of the miners were being slashed directly and indirectly. The mine owners, with the aid of John Boylen and his boss Lewis, followed a policy of keeping a number of selected mines working overtime, while the rest were idle, thereby forcing the miners through this policy of starvation to revise the rate sheets, bringing about a condition where miners got as low as three dollars a day. If one colliery miner took a cut and went back to work, the other colliery workers had to stay idle or else take a larger cut. It was becoming a race for cuts.

Rank and File Grows

At this point, the Rank and File Committee began to spread throughout the country. Before it was thoroughly organized, however, Thomas Maloney, a Luzerne county politician, decided to ride into office on the wave of protest which the committee had started. So in 1931, he ran for John Boylen's job and, though he was no better than his opponent, the miners wanted a change so badly that he was elected. However, Maloney and his group were "crooked" out of the election by the usual method of discrediting him before the convention and maneuvering around until the delegates turned against him. Thereafter he organized an "insurgent" group.

Since then Maloney has led several strikes with no results for the miners. Of course, some of his friends and associates obtained fat jobs, from either the national union or the district, and some even from the federal government.

Maloney Begins to Worry

In 1932 the Rank and File Committee movement was spreading so fast that Maloney began to worry. The Rank and File Committee was a united front movement of all progressive elements. This movement had a program such as: The opening of all collieries; all lay-off men

to be put to work; guarantee of at least four days a week at the union scale of wages; no discrimination; abolition of the individual contract system; a day's pay for every day lost through no fault of the miner; all supplies to be delivered to the miners' chamber; pay for dead work; consideration rate to be paid in all abnormal places; equal pay for equal work for the young workers; abolition of the check-off; a six-hour day with no reduction in pay, and strict enforcement of the eight-hour day pending the inauguration of a six-hour day; no compulsory assessments, and recognition of the Rank and File Committee.

On the basis of these demands, miners began to rally and prepare for a strike. Maloney and his satellites were afraid that they would not be the leaders of the strike, so in March of 1933 they called a premature strike. There was nothing left for the Rank and File Committee to do but to support the strike, of which Maloney was the leader. The only program Maloney put up was: "Put Boylen out and put me in." Many progressives refused to take part in the strike. Finally the strike petered out; Maloney called it off and organized a dual union, the A.M.P. (Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania).

Two Unions Now

Now there are two unions, one recognized by the coal owners, with a check off system in the agreement, the other collecting a dollar a month from whomever possible. Some miners pay to both unions, some pay to none, others pay to one or the other.

At one time, the new union controlled a majority of the miners because of their dissatisfaction with the U.M.W.A., but due to several bad moves on Maloney's part, the strength of the union has weakened considerably.

In the first place, the exposure of Maloney by Gorman, who revealed that Maloney was drawing a salary as president of the union and another \$50 a week as government investigator, was a severe blow. In addition, the last November election finished him for good. Maloney had been a member of the Luzerne County Democratic Committee. However, since Thomas Kennedy, his enemy, was running for lieutenant governor on the Democratic ticket, Maloney turned Republican and predicted a Democratic defeat. He seemed to reason thus: "I cannot be on the same side of the fence with my enemy." So he jumped on the other side.

Lewis Machine Closes In

As long as Maloney had considerable influence among the coal miners, John L. Lewis kidded him through the Federal Labor Board. But as soon as he started losing his popularity with the miners, the Lewis machine closed in to annihilate him, and immediately some of the coal companies started laying off the dual unionists. For example, the Susquehanna Collieries discharged seven members of the A.M.P. in one day. Maloney threatened to call a strike, but no one listened to him any more. The coal operators and John L. Lewis knew they had him paralyzed. Maloney went to Washington with Father Curran's blessing, to tell the gods how badly he is being treated, but he was laughed at.

We Shall Fight Again

Although the miners were betrayed time and again, although many of them are tired and disgusted, although they have lost faith in human nature, yet the conditions are such that sooner or later they will have to fight in order to live. Those who work are being driven to death by the speed-up system; those out of work are dying of cold and hunger. Thousands of unemployed middle-aged miners never expect to see the inside of a mine again, for machines are doing their jobs. With the new devices, nine men can load approximately 325 tons of coal a day. So how can they ever expect to find work? Many of them already know that either they have to fight a life or death struggle to change the system, or fight in order to get into the poorhouse. There is no middle road!

Declaration of Principles of Workers Party

(Continued from Page 5)

workers and to keep them from uniting against their oppressors and thus achieving complete emancipation. The Workers Party will labor unceasingly to convince the white workers on the one hand, and the workers of the Negro and other oppressed racial groups, such as the Japanese, Mexicans and Filipinos, on the other hand, that their interests are the same. The elementary and basic task is to unite the workers regardless of race in economic and political organizations for a common struggle. The W. P. stands for the complete equality of the Negroes and all other races and will fight against every form of race discrimination—economic, political, social, against wage differentials, lynching, Jim Crowism, the barring of Negroes and other groups from the trade unions, and all other forms of racial and national chauvinism. At the same time, we point out that the Negro urban and rural masses cannot achieve deliverance by reliance upon Negro capitalists and middle class elements or a so-called "Negro capitalism". Only by the complete abolition of capitalism will they gain freedom from discrimination, exploitation and tyranny.

COLONIAL PEOPLES

The workers in the United States and the peoples of Latin America, the Philippines, Hawaii and Liberia, have one enemy in common—American imperialism. The Workers Party pledges its unqualified and active support to these peoples in every progressive struggle they undertake to gain the unhindered right of self-determination, free from military, political or economic intervention or pressure by U. S. imperialism. Our Party stands for the unconditional and immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and all other colonies and dependencies of the U. S., and for the withdrawal of all troops from any territory outside the boundaries of the U. S. The Workers Party is further pledged to active opposition to any endeavor by American imperialism, be it open or masked, to infringe upon the right of self-determination of any nation or people.

The revolutions in the colonies, semi-colonies, and "spheres of influence" of U. S. imperialism will play an important part in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the imperialist exploiters at home, and vice versa. A successful revolution in the United States would be decisive for the emancipation of the rolling masses throughout Latin America. On the other hand the revolution beginning in one of the Latin American countries, or in one of the colonies or semi-colonies of the United States, can spread throughout the continent and powerfully accelerate the development of the class struggle and the revolution in the United States. The struggle against U. S. imperialism at home and throughout its vast empire is thus indissolubly linked together. The Workers Party will actively support and endeavor to coordinate all the manifestations of this struggle.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS

The professional and technical workers have a distinctive contribution to make both in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and in the building of a new social order. With these considerations in mind the W. P. will help to build up economic organizations of these workers and seek to penetrate existing organizations. It will seek to overcome the traditional hesitancy of American professional and technical workers to take part in social and political activity and to draw them along with all other exploited groups into the labor and revolutionary movement.

THE UNEMPLOYED

The great and largely permanent army of the unemployed during the period of the rapid decline of capitalism is a vast depository of every kind of social discontent. In a position where the conduct of their lives has lost social meaning, the unemployed will join with the movement that convincingly promises them a new and integral place in the social order. Unless the working class movement by giving support to their struggles and by convincing presentation of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, draws in the unemployed, they will be a prey to chauvinistic and military propaganda, to fake social nostrums and to Fascist demagoguery. The Workers Party will resist all efforts to erect barriers between the employed and unemployed, will constantly stress the community of interest between them, and will show in action how the fight of employed and unemployed against their common oppressor can be united. It supports and helps organize the struggles of the unemployed masses for relief, against evictions, for social insurance, etc.

THE YOUNG WORKERS

The capitalist system has throughout its existence been marked by the most hideous exploitation of children and youth. Capitalist society today cannot offer jobs even at starvation wages to millions of its youth, but only frustration or actual destruction under Fascist reaction or war. The working and student youth will find in the Workers Party which aims at the establishment of a socialist society the constant champion of their interests. The Party will undertake as one of its most urgent and important tasks the building of a youth organization embracing young workers, young farmers and young students based on the party's principles of revolutionary Marxism.

THE UNITED FRONT

In spite of organizational and political differences, the workers, to defend their rights and advance their interests, must achieve united action. If they do not, wage and relief cuts, increasing abrogation of political and civil liberties and finally war and the victory of fascism are assured. This does not mean the false and in practice disruptive united front such as was proposed by the Communist party in the "united-front-from-below." Likewise the W. P. rejects arbitrary arrangements between bureaucratic officials imposed upon the masses, and so-called "non-aggression pacts" which in practice mean capitulation to reformist tendencies since they obscure differences of principle between reformists and the revolutionary party. The Workers Party stands for an honest, straightforward, carefully defined united front of organizations on specific and immediate issues facing the workers. Such united front actions in which the participating organizations retain complete political and organizational independence develop the mass power of the workers, teach the workers the need and value of unity, expose the weakness or treachery of reactionary and reformist leaders, and give the revolutionary party the opportunity to show in action the correctness of its principles and tactics. Thus, united front actions are indispensable preparations for the revolutionary unity which, in the revolutionary crisis, will enable the workers to take power.

Constitution of the W.P.

(Continued from Page 6)

mass organizations shall organize themselves into fractions for common work within such organizations. The work of a fraction within a given mass organization shall be under the direction and control of the Party unit having jurisdiction over the Party members constituting the fraction. The members of a fraction must work as a unit under all circumstances. Violations of fraction discipline shall be reported to the proper organization of the Party for action.

ARTICLE X: AMENDMENTS

Amendments shall be made to this Constitution by majority vote of the National Convention.

NEW BOOKS

Food and Religion

THE PASSING OF THE GODS. By V. F. Calverton. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

In "The Passing of the Gods" Calverton has applied the Marxian method to the entire field of religion. He has searched the gods out in the pillared temples, stripped off the gaud and mysticism and revealed them in all their historic nudity to be merely the interests of the ruling class in disguise or the earthly desires of the tormented and oppressed vicariously enjoyed in a heavenly attire. He has clearly shown how closely the needs and inadequacies of man are linked to the gods he establishes and worships and to the credos he composes and then ascribes to divine inspiration. He has pointed out the reasons behind the rise and fall of the different faiths and he has traced to their economic sources the changes that have taken place within the surviving churches.

"When the old religion could no longer supply the need for power which the populace craved, a new religion had to take its place." This sentence indicates the basic motive force behind the creation and ascendancy of certain gospels, the decline and withering away of others, and the constant warfare that raged for thousands of years among the followers of different gods. When millions of ragged and hungry subjects under the Roman Caesars could find no solace in the arrogant gods of the Roman patrians or in the thunder-voiced Jehovah of the wealthy Pharisees, they evolved a god of the poor and the meek, a god who would give those who were oppressed and beaten on earth an after-life of eternal happiness in a paradise of splendor and love. The oppressors, the rich and powerful would be kept out of this heaven. Christ issued his familiar dictum: Easier is it for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to gain entrance into heaven.

Those early Christians believed as they did because such belief gave them a feeling of power. Let the rich and mighty trample upon them if they would, the meek and oppressed were certain that god was with them; after this brief and painful life on earth they would be rewarded with an eternity spent in a gold-paved land of ecstasy. Convinced of this, the cruel persecution of the Roman governors held no terror for them. Gladly they faced the hungry lions in the coliseum. "The lion's roar," writes Calverton, "could not frighten souls dedicated to the destruction of flesh."

But with the decay of Rome and the decline in the economic security of the wealthy classes, Calverton shows, converts began coming from the ranks of the former rich. Beginning to lose actual power, these persons had anew the need for a compensating feeling of strength which Christianity could give them; the old gods would no longer suffice since they had been effectively buried during the period of Rome's golden era, when real power had made it unnecessary to believe in the gods, a belief which, at best, could give only a feeling of power. "While the upper classes deserted the old gods out of lack of need for them, the underdogs deserted them because they were unable to fulfill the need which it was imperative for them to serve," writes Calverton. This was the need for the feeling of power. However:

"Like the middle-class liberal elements who joined the Labor party in England in the twentieth century, the upper-class contingents who made alliance with Christianity in the later days of the Empire were converted more by the possibility of being on the winning side in this world than on the heavenly side in the other. It was this latter group . . . that came to qualify and modify the primitive ardors and asceticisms of the early Christian brethren."

Soon, the tenet that the rich were damned eternally was stricken from the Christian creed. The church leaders declared that there

Wrong Tactics In Illinois Fail to Gain Right Results

An Analysis of the Role of the C.P. in the P.M.A.

By GERRY ALLARD

Ralph Shaw, southern Illinois organizer of the Communist Party, writes another story of the Illinois coal miners in the Nov. 24 issue of the Daily Worker. Shaw writes of the struggle to place militant candidates on the ballot for the elections in the Progressive Miners union, Dec. 4.

He charges that the Left Wing miners, an amalgam of A.W.P.'ers, Socialists, Syndicalists, and independent radicals refused to join with the Communist Party in fighting for a radical slate in the P.M. of A. elections. If Shaw means that we turned him down in a united front proposal he doesn't know what he is talking about as no such offer was made on this specific situation. The Left Wing group has turned Shaw down on a number of occasions when he approached us on united front proposals on the "basis of supporting" the Unemployed Councils, the International Labor Defense, etc.

The Left Wing faction of the P. M. of A. has time after time made unity with Communist miners, over the heads of Ralph Shaw and B. K. Gebert. We have no reason to alter our policy in this connection. We are dealing with a coal miners' situation; therefore, when we speak of united fronts in the Progressive Miners union we deal with members of that organization, and not with people who have opposed and scabbed on the Progressive Miners of America.

The struggle in the P. M. of A. to nominate a Left Wing slate was conducted without ballyhoo a la Communist Party. The line of the Left Wing faction was one of concentrating on local union elections.

Shaw states that the refusal of the Left Wing to unite with the Communist Party enabled William Keck, reactionary incumbent secretary-treasurer, to secure the nomination for president without opposition. In another paragraph he hastens to assure the readers of the Daily Worker that the Communist Party will support Joe Burrell, Left Wing candidate for secretary-treasurer. Shaw does not explain just how the refusal of the Left Wing to join in a united front with the C. P. resulted in electing Keck president of the union by acclamation.

The Real Story

Here is the real story: During the nominations for union offices in Amalgamated local union Number 1, at Gillespie, Ill., with a membership of some 2,400 members, Claude P. Pearcy, incumbent president, was nominated by his faction for the position of secretary-treasurer. Joe Burrell, Left Wing candidate, was nominated by our faction. As predicted, the vote proved to be

nothing wicked in the accumulation of wealth and the pope looked with approval on the institution of slavery. Calverton points out that it was only when "with the advance of the economic revolution, it was found that free labor was more profitable than slave, that the Church altered its attitude." The strength of the religious hierarchy was consistently on the side of the oppressors against the oppressed in the conflicts between the classes. When Luther joined forces with the German princes against the revolting peasantry he urged them to "stab, hit, kill", because their cause was the just one since Christ had said, "Give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." The camel passed through the needle's eye and the rich entered into heaven.

In a word, Calverton has demonstrated how "the mode of production, that is, of food-getting, determined in large part the development and origin of man's magic and religion." S. L. SOLON

MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.—The largest medical center in the world, designed to accommodate 5,500 doctors and research specialists, will be built near this city beginning in the spring.

very close. In order to make it easier for the reactionaries to win the nomination the Communist Party miners, not of their own free will, but because of fraction discipline, nominated Laverne Pruett, who everyone agreed had very little chance to receive the nomination. The result of the vote on the nominees resulted in Pearcy receiving 118 votes, Burrell 115; and Pruett 4. Burrell was snubbed out by a nose, thanks to the treachery of the Communist Party.

Indignation swept through the rank and file miners of this territory. The repercussions penetrated deeply within the ranks of the Communist Party, and rumors are circulating to the effect that Adam Chura, leading rank and file Communist, has resigned from the C.P. Shaw and the professional ballyhoos began to justify the course by stating that the C.P. did not believe in the theory of the "lesser evil". This is horse radish to the miners who know Burrell, and the miners accepted the Shaw version of the C.P. position as an insult.

Shaw switches from his lamentable "theory of the lesser evil" to a blanket endorsement of Burrell. He does this not because of the interest of the rank and file, but in order to check the revolt within the C.P. coal miners.

C. P. Tactics

The treachery of the C. P., under caucus instructions by Shaw, was duplicated in scores of local unions where Left Wing candidates were nominated. In local union after local union, the reactionaries are plurality candidates not majority candidates, thanks again to the Communist Party leaders' tactics.

The Left Wing miners succeeded in placing in nomination candidates for every desired office with the exception of the presidency. What the result of the election will be is a foregone conclusion. The right wing have a machine, funds, political connections with the Reactionaries, etc., which will enable them to land the major offices. If the Left Wing fails to elect its slate, it will not be because of the workers; it will be because the Communist Party is theoretically supposed to be a part of the left wing labor movement. Until the Left Wing miners can definitely clarify the relations of the bankrupt Communist Party to the Left Wing, as that of being fundamentally dissimilar, the right wing will continue to be plurality candidates.

C.C.C. Camps

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The 360,000 young men in the CCC camps cannot read Professor Osburn's book, "You and the Machine". The book has been stamped taboo by the army officers in charge of the work camps.

Professor Osburn's book is a plea for men to use their intelligence in conquering the machine.

MARCHING ORDERS

Workers of the world
And you of America!

From the shops, mills, mines, quarries;
From the yards, ovens, fields, forests;
From the ships and camps,
The skyscrapers and offices. . . .

You there! slicing a mountain
With your metal toothpick;
You there! pouring steel
Like a cup of chinese tea;
You there! raising granite needles
To stitch man's motto into the sky;
And you there! waging the old, bitter battle
Against the thought-weary, cynical sea!

Workers of all kinds, colors and all lands,
Makers of life and makers of Glory
Shorn of both by the makers of Sorrow
And the makers of War—
Come forth and join ranks:
Freedom is giving her marching orders!

And you workers' wives,
Steamed and parched and faded;
Lean breasted and lean-larded;
Half a loaf and half of that for your babies. . . .

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Steel and Autos

Watch these two industries in the months ahead. All is quiet at the moment. There have been no important strikes in either field for some time. The younger and more aggressive elements have been pushed into the background, temporarily and the old line A. E. of L. officials have been working hard to strengthen their hold. Company unionism is getting stronger too. But just the same—watch steel and automobiles. Under the surface there is a restlessness that means trouble for the feudal lords of these two most basic of our industries.

Conditions Worse

For a short time the steel and auto moguls were really scared. Workers were pouring into unions, strike talk was in the air and things looked bad for them. They made some concessions in the way of higher pay and decreased speed up. When, however, in both industries, the old leadership succeeded in heading off threatened general strikes, wages resumed their downward trend, production lines were geared up and new labor displacing equipment was introduced at a record breaking pace. Wages in autos have been going down steadily the last few months and the average wage is now less than \$900 a year.

Production lines which turned out 1,000 units per day six months ago are now doing 1,500 with fewer men. In steel, eleven new continuous sheet and strip mills will be in operation within the year. Each of them will displace 96 old fashioned mills and the 130 men required to operate each continuous mill compared with 4,500 who would be required to man the displaced units.

National Run Around

It was the steel workers' "Committee of Ten" who first gave that name to the NRA and they have had no reason to change their minds. The attempts of the Amalgamated Association to get Labor Board elections held in steel trust plants have been fruitless. The Weirton Steel case, already over a year old, faces another long delay in the courts and all indications are that the final decision will be in favor of the company. There is acute dissatisfaction among the auto workers with the Labor Board for their industry which was set up to regulate labor relations and to settle cases of discrimination. "It was against our better judgment," wrote the White Motor Truck auto workers local of Cleveland in a letter to that Board, "to submit any case to the automobile labor board. . . . May God forbid that this union ever have any more such moments of weakness."

An additional swat in the eye to the auto slaves was the decision of President Roosevelt to extend the auto code without even a hearing. Labor had hoped to get a chance to fight the merit clause and to put up a scrap for a 30-hour week and for a different kind of Labor Board.

They have been promised an investigation.

Militants Must Organize

In both industries, unionism is still a potent force. There have been losses, of course, but the idea of organization seems to be too strongly entrenched to be easily uprooted. The serious aspect in the situation lies in the declining influence of the progressive and militant elements. In steel the old guard succeeded in electing its candidates to every really important post although progressives were elected to a few minor positions. The disunity which has always been the curse of the progressive forces in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers still prevents a unified opposition to the reactionary Tighe machine.

The National Auto Workers Council of the A. F. of L. rests securely in the hands of Bill Green's henchman F. J. Dillon and an opposition movement which seemed to have great potentialities has been unable to make any serious inroads. The Independent Mechanics Education Society which thrilled the labor world with the great Detroit Die Makers strike has been trying to travel on its reputation ever since.

No group has yet succeeded in building a real opposition movement in these two vitally important industries. Reports from the great centers of steel and auto production indicate a growing restlessness on the part of labor. Dissatisfied with ever worsening conditions, sold out by its union leadership and by the government labor boards, realizing more and more the power that lies in organization, the workers in the mills and on the assembly lines are getting ready to strike. But without progressive influence and guidance their fight may be again sidetracked. What steady and consistent work may do is demonstrated by the progressive elements in the auto workers unions in Toledo. There the Ramsey-Bossler administration has been kicked out and the locals are undertaking the serious job of putting themselves into shape for the next period. A progressive movement in steel and automobiles is the biggest job ahead.

"Cheap Diets"

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Children should have fresh milk, not less than a quart a day to be healthy, the doctors say. How this jibes with reality in the United States was shown in a preliminary report by the Consumers Advisory Board on the largest survey ever made of what children and adults in the low-income groups (workers) actually covered 29,485 families in 59 cities in 46 states.

Widespread malnutrition and underconsumption of milk was revealed, with 14 per cent of the families unable to buy any milk and the remainder consuming a half pint per capita daily. This is far below the "safety margin" prescribed by the "cheap diets" worked out by government agencies.

Come forth and join ranks:
Freedom is giving her marching orders!
And you young workers
From the schools and the factories of pompous fancy:
Learn how far your hope is from life and work
And come forth: Freedom gives her marching orders
And points to the sun!
And you artists who daub figurines on a rotting canvas,
And you writers who sing songs to a pimpled muse,
And you engineers who lash man's strength to a green cash box,
And you teachers who embalm tutor and pupil with dust and wormwood:
Freedom is giving her marching orders and points to the sun!
In a brave line singing brave songs
March to the sun and put shoulders to it,
Letting it blaze into the dark valleys
Licking up social swamps with a vermilion tongue.
Workers everywhere . . .
Come forth and join ranks:
Freedom is giving her marching orders
And points to the Workers World!

LOUIS BREIER.