MURDER IN CHICAGO
Lessons from the Strike

No doubt many people were shocked when they saw the Paramount News reel record of the police attack on the striking workers of the Republic Steel Corporation in Chicago last Memorial Day. Without seeming provocation the shooting of men and women and the brutal clubbing of the defenseless wounded left audiences "seemingly too aghast for comment," stated The New York Times. Thanks to the development of the moving picture industry (in spite of earlier attempts to suppress the film) an opportunity was afforded many people to view a police force performing one of its basic functions.

The actions of the Chicago police aroused a great deal of protest and started a Senate investigation. Police Commissioner Valentine, of New York City, had his officers view the film in slow motion. He is quoted, in The New York Times of July 10, 1937, as follows:

The sole purpose in having the officers see the pictures was to see what went on and to take advantage of whatever mistakes occurred out there in order to prevent such mistakes happening here...

Questioned as to the reaction of the police, the commissioner tersely replied, "We don't want any shooting here."

Neither does the owning class want any unnecessary bloodshed, especially if they understand that other means are at hand to serve their purpose. The New York Herald Tribune after the general strike in Terra Haute gave thanks in their editorial columns in this vein:

The strike was not without violence, but rather conspicuously lacking in bloodshed. The answer is tear gas. Not so long ago such clashes as those between the National Guard and the pickets at the plant of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company would almost surely have resulted in serious casualties. There would have been sufficient provocation for a volley from the Guardsmen, whose only weapons then were guns. In the interval, modern warfare, so indiscriminately damned for its frightfulness, has supplied them with a much more humane and also a more effective weapon. The use of tear gas in quelling mob disorders is nothing new. But familiar as we are with it, at least in the news columns, we can still afford a pinch of gratitude for its invention. Give the devil his due.

The workers must not be fooled by Senate Investigating Committees who will talk a lot but do nothing. As long as the employing class retain control of the armed forces, just so long will they be used as they see fit, whether the means employed be guns, tear gas or just plain billies. That employers have no illusions about the powers they have, has been demonstrated time and again.

The vast majority of the citizens have always looked up upon the police as an impartial body acting in the interests of the people as a whole. It is to be hoped that, as a result of viewing the film the illusion of impartiality may be exposed and that the workers observed it was not employers who were murdered, but the striking workers and sympathizers. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that they will be moved to inquire as to the facts.

To this end we propose, briefly, to examine the society in which we live to find an explanation of the conditions that give rise to police brutality, strikes, etc., and to see what lessons the workers can learn from our study. On first appearances it would seem that we are all living in harmony with each other, mainly because of the general acceptance of things as they stand. The police keep us in order, direct our traffic and protect our property, all of which we all seem to have a share, even though for most of us, it is but a few sticks of furniture, or at best a second-hand car. It appears that we are all being treated alike with privileges and protection in common. Many are the means employed to keep this concept of equality alive, such as schools, newspapers, church, etc., yet despite all attempts to create this illusion and a general satisfaction with the conditions, reality compels a rejection of the idea and discloses the opposite in all its ugliness. The luxury of Park Avenue and the squalor of First Avenue, the abundance of the wealthy and the poverty of the poor, are realities that no amount of abstract teaching can conceal.

Let us see why this is. It will hardly be denied that the people of this country are not united by a bond of common interest. It will be seen that the population is divided into two main classes. The smaller class is made up of all those people who own property such as factories, mines, railroads, department stores, etc., or have claims on property through their ownership of stocks, bonds, and mortgages. From these properties they derive sufficient income to enable them to live. They are the property-owning class, the "employers of labor" now generally known as the capitalist class, because their property has assumed the form of capital. The other class, the vast majority of the population, are the propertiless class, who, in the main, live by the wages obtained from the sale of their labor-power to the owners of property. This class produces the wealth of society and constitutes the working class. Simply stated, one class lives by purchasing labor-power and the other by sell-
ing labor-power. It is this fundamental difference of function that gives rise to antagonisms and to which we can trace the source of most of the ills that afflict society today.

Society understood in this light can be viewed as a house divided against itself because of the conflicting interests of the two classes, each struggling to gain the advantage on the labor-market. When conditions are favorable to the sellers of labor-power, the workers, banded together in organizations, strike in an attempt to compel an acceptance of their demands. This action assumes the nature of a declaration of war, a war between the two classes. It is then that the police force is called upon. The mask of impartiality is laid aside as they move into action to protect the property, not of the people as a whole, but of the owning class. Should the local police force prove ineffectual for this purpose, the armed forces of the state stand prepared to give them support. Surely no one who has viewed the film from Chicago, or knows a little of the history of Labor, can have any doubt as to the class bias of these forces. Secretary of War Woodring, in an article which appeared in Liberty Magazine of January 6, 1934, at the height of the depression, when “fear and unrest” stalked the land, stated:

... Our Army happens to be the only branch of the government which is already organized and available not only to defend our territory but also to cope with social and economic problems in an emergency. It is our secret insurance against chaos. It is our “ace in the hole” for peace as well as war.

(Italicics his)

Mr. Woodring continues with a more detailed statement as to what he means by the phrase “social and economic problems in an emergency.”

Similarly, the Army has sometimes been called upon to suppress disorders activities in defiance of government by large groups of individuals. It has always been successful in this work without antagonizing any party to the political or industrial disputes involved. It is scarcely too much to state that the Army’s existence for this purpose alone would justify the investment we have made in it. Economic breakdown, unless promptly corrected, induces social breakdown. In such a crisis the Army is the only organisation in the country which is able and ready to maintain the government. (Italicics ours)

Could anyone find a clearer statement of purpose, or fail to recognize the type of emergency Mr. Woodring had in mind?

The advantage of the owning class lies in their control of the powers of government, with the right to order the armed forces to do their bidding. By control of the government, their ownership has legal sanction. But this control rests upon the majority of society. The workers’ votes are necessary for the control of political power, but when the goal has been achieved it is the interests of the owning class that is the basis of the politician’s “actions,” no matter what slogans have been put forth or which “cat’s-paw” has been used. The importance of control is fully realized and is the strongest instrument in the hands of the ruling class.

We will now sum up and see what we have learned as a result of our analysis: (1) The class basis of society; a. The Capitalist class. b. The Working class. c. Their opposing interests. (2) The class function of the powers of Government and the armed forces, police, etc. (3) The means whereby control of Government is obtained,—by the sanction of the workers who constitute the majority of society and support the political parties of the owning class.

Only with an understanding of the conditions as outlined above, can the workers get on the road to a solution of their problems. With this knowledge, the understanding of the working class will be in harmony with their interests. Then they will see themselves as the producers of the wealth of society by the force of their collective labor. The parasitic nature of the owning class, contributing nothing yet reaping all the benefits of society’s achievements, will no longer be obscured by the smoke-screen of “equality.” The workers will no longer be satisfied with a wage share of the wealth they produce and the degradation arising from a slave status. Realizing that the will of the majority is the will of society, they will move to take over the machinery of Government through a political party organized for that purpose. With government in the hands of Socialist workers, the power of the owning class will be destroyed and the workers will take over the means of production in the interests of society as a whole. That, fellow workers, is the lesson to be learnt not only from the experience of Chicago, but from the history of the working class.

—K.

Working Class Leader

The increasing misery of the working class makes it harder to rationalize the realities of the present system and compels the ruling class to introduce reforms. The workers continue to accept the present system and to give their support to its representatives, who hide their identity behind a mass of sympathetic platitudes. This point is well illustrated by a type like Mayor La Guardia of New York City, the “progressive, anti-fascist, friend of labor.” The N. Y. Herald-Tribune, of July 31, 1937, endorsed him for re-election after reviewing his record, and stated:

It is equally well fitted to give the answer to those who are fearful of radical tendencies in the next four years. The ticket is unmistakable conservative—in the sound sense of that much-abused word. We share with many of our readers a distaste for the Mayor’s flaming utterances. But we prefer to judge him by his actions, and those have been based, with few exceptions, on the fundamentals of sound finance and an enforcement of law and order .... (Italicics ours)

No doubt it was the “flaming utterances” and his promises that lured the workers’ votes, without which he could not have been elected, but it is on the basis of “sound finance and enforcement of law and order” that the owning class judge him and give him their support.

—K.

Party Directory

National Office and Local New York, 5 Sylvan Place, New York, N. Y.

Boston Local, E. Rabinowich, Sec’y, 12 Hayward Place, (off 600 Washington Street) Boston, Mass.

Los Angeles Local, H. Dyer, Sec’y, 330 W. Covina Blvd, Baldwin Park, Calif.
The Communist Party and La Guardia

During the 18 years or so of the existence of the Communist Party in this country, it has earned for itself a reputation as a political acrobat of the first order. Consequently, it has been a difficult task to find the C.P. in one position for any length of time. At one time it was the victim of the illusion that the “world revolution was around the corner,” and it saw with the myopia of the politically short-sighted, “revolutionary situations” at every turn of events. These illusions have apparently been dispelled, only to give way to many others. The most recent is the bogeyman of Fascism. Every movement of the capitalist class or their representatives is immediately analyzed by the theoreticians of the C.P. as either Fascism or a trend in that direction. This interpretation was laid on thick and heavy during the last Presidential campaign, with the Republican Party playing the role of the big, bad wolf of Fascism. (We plead ignorance for not having discovered who was to have saved the working class,—the Communist Party or Franklin D. Roosevelt.) This same hue and cry of “Fascism” is being continued by the Communists, this time in the City of New York, where a Mayoralty election campaign is in progress. The Communist Party, in the fashion set up by their school of political thinking, see in this mayoralty campaign and election the struggle between Democracy and Fascism. 

Mr. Earl Browder, General Secretary of the party, stated the following, in a radio address reported in The Daily Worker of July 30, 1937:

It is a political struggle of national significance, reflecting a national concentration of forces. The issue is whether America shall be controlled by those forces working to maintain and extend the democratic rights of the masses and an increasing governmental support of social and labor standards, or shall America pass into the hands of the anti-democratic forces driving toward limitation, and destruction of labor rights and organization and the wiping out of social and labor legislation which helps the masses. In short, the issue is the choice between Democracy or Fascism. (Italics ours.)

In the 1936 Presidential election, according to the Communist Party, the forces of darkness were to be found in the Republican Party; today, these forces have found their way into the Democratic Party in New York City, especially the Society of Tammany. The Communists, having appointed themselves the “leaders” of the working class long ago, point the way out. Thus, according to Mr. Browder:

The chief and most important task of labor and all progressive and democratic people in the municipal election is to guarantee the defeat of Tammany Hall and everything it represents.

This presents a problem for the working class electorate of New York. Both major political parties in New York bear the Communist Party “mark of Cain.” What, therefore, should the working class do to escape these forces of darkness? The answer is supplied; it is the “People’s Front.”

Let Mr. Browder use his own words:

This cannot be accomplished if the progressive and democratic forces are split up into several camps. It can only be done if there is brought about a united front of all progressive people. For over 18 years we were informed that the “progressive people” were to be found only in the Communist Party, so we naturally expected to read that Mr. Browder appealed to the working class to muster under the banner of his party. But this is not the case! The recently organized American Labor Party, (see The Socialist for June, 1937) has turned the trick for the United People’s Frontiers, for Mr. Browder continues:

We of the Communist Party see the most important agency of achieving this united front in the American Labor Party. With all its shortcomings, this still provides the most promising medium by which the workers can be united for common political action and for cooperation with other progressive forces. We of the Communist Party, while maintaining our independence and putting up candidates who do not compete with the American Labor Party slate, are prepared to subordinate our own particular views to the imperative necessity of complete united front of all progressive forces to defeat Tammany and the Liberty League. (Italics ours)

In passing, it is interesting to note how the Communist Party maintains its independence by subordinating its own views.

Does the above quotation mean that the United Fronters the Communist Party, et al, will through the American Labor Party indulge in independent political action? Are we to infer that the forces of Fascism expressed in the two major capitalist political parties will be met on the political field by this new political party in a struggle for political power, with the American Labor Party placing its own candidates in the field? The answer to these questions is, no.

The American Labor Party has already gone on record supporting for re-election Mayor Fiorello La Guardia. Thus does the Communist Party, in its usual indirect manner, support an avowed representative of capitalism. This gentleman has accepted his renomination for office. Besides he has not been very fuzzy about the supporters he has gathered around him. All has been girt that comes to his political mill. His supporters have been drawn, not only from the American Labor Party, but from the conservative and reactionary Republican Party.

A few words regarding Mr. La Guardia will not be amiss. With the tactics typical of the opportunist, professional politician, he acts to create the impression that he is the best candidate to represent “everybody’s” interests. To the tax-paying property-owners he promises cheap and efficient city government, which to a certain extent he has done in the past, but which is of benefit only to these tax-paying property owners. To the working class he makes many other promises. The unemployed he promises greater relief, knowing full well that he cannot keep this promise. The actual amount of relief does not fall within his sphere of government, but rather in that of the Federal administration in Washington, where he continually runs pleading for help. To the employed workers he poses as “Labor’s friend.”

(Continued on Page 8)
The Futility of Reform

PART II

Necessity for Capitalist Control of Working Class Ideas

ONE of these social forces is the working class. It must be reckoned with. Its very name, Working Class, is indicative of its social function, and upon its willingness to continue as the Working Class does capitalism and the capitalist class depend. This willingness is expressed in another direction, in the control of the powers of government. No group can obtain control of these powers without the consent, tacit or otherwise, of the majority of society. The workers comprise the great majority and the capitalist class must pay heed to this fact. They do so primarily by seeing to it that the ideas current are those best suited to their class interests. The capitalist class controls the entire educational system, the press, and the motion pictures and radio industries and the church although it is declining in influence.

Despite the power for controlling ideas which the capitalist class possesses, the ability to do this becomes increasingly difficult as capitalism develops. In the final analysis, the general acceptance of ideas is predicated upon the extent to which they reflect actual material conditions. The less ideas reflect reality, the less, despite high pressure methods, will they be acceptable. The idea for instance, that all have “equality of opportunity” is no longer as widely accepted as it formerly was. This is not because the propaganda for this idea has been lessened, but because the more recent development of capitalism has shown definitely that this idea in no way conforms with reality.

Capitalism Requires Reforms

It is in the interest of the capitalists, not only to perpetuate their system but to keep it running as smoothly and as efficiently as possible. To do this requires contented and submissive workers. Adjustments are necessary from time to time. Social reform is the method used for patching up some of the worst features of the capitalist system, piece by piece; of polishing off some of the roughest corners. General Hugh Johnson, one time head of the N.R.A. said of the W.P.A., of which he was the administrator in New York City:

This made-work doesn’t do a bit of good. It’s a bella donna plaster to ease the pain . . .

The General, who was addressing a group of businessmen at the Advertising Club, went on to reveal that it was not altruism which actuated the granting of these reforms:

All this relief does is to reduce the raucous and visible signs of this unrest. But if relief were to be stopped at midnight, by morning there would be bloodshed all over the country.

Take New York City. You can’t take the food out of the mouths of 1,500,000 people and expect them to eat cobblestones. I don’t care what anybody says, no man is going to let his family starve. He’ll go out and get himself a piece of lead pipe and get food any way he can. (N.Y. Sun, 9-26-'33)

To demonstrate further that such reforms serve to allay the active discontent of the working class, Mr. Edmond B. Butler, secretary of the Emergency Relief Bureau, while addressing a symposium on “The Catholic Church and Labor,” said:

The total cost of the WPA, CWA and other work relief projects has been cheaper than one major riot would have been.

Defending the present system of work relief as superior to the dole, he said there had not been a single major disturbance in the country since the depression. The work relief projects, despite their shortcomings were responsible for this, he added. (N.Y. Times, 3-16-'36)

Investigation will show that the capitalist class can use reforms to improve even further its own position in society. If they give with their right hand, it is less than they take with their left. If reforms reduce the cost of living, the capitalists benefit by paying smaller wages since wages are based upon the cost of the necessities of life.

There are other reasons why the capitalist class interests itself in reforms. One reason is that one way of handling a “social problem” may cost less than another. We learn, for example, that the granting of old age pensions is not an act of altruism. Dr. William J. Ellis, State Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies in New Jersey, is reported to have said:

We have found that it is almost 50 per cent cheaper to keep the average old person in his own home or in the home of a relative. The average per capita allowance on this basis in New Jersey is $15 a month.

Dr. Ellis presented statistics to show that the cost of maintaining a person in an institution was $30 a month . . . (N.Y. Times, 10-'33-'34)

We are also informed in the Literary Digest of July 29, 1933 that:

. . . Now, under the new welfare code, as George W. Gray relates the story in The New York Herald Tribune Magazine, the (Old Age Pensioner) lives her own life on a pension which averages (according to its sponsors) $11 a month less than the poorhouse per capita expense. (Italics our).

Poverty a Cause of Crime

With the working class confronted with want and insecurity, many of its members are forced to crime. Former Police Commissioner Mulrooney of New York City in his Annual Report to the Mayor, showing a definite link between this problem and reform, had this to say:

The generous provision made by the city, the State and organized charity for the relief of the unemployed and their families has done much to maintain civic morale and stability and to lessen disorder and crime. (N.Y. Times, 3-20-'33)

To cope with crime is a constant source of expense to the public authorities and through them, to the property

(Continued on Page 7)
Poverty and Unemployment

Does it not seem ridiculous and tragic that the shelves in clothing stores and factories can be filled to overflowing with new clothes, at the same time that charitable organizations engage in campaigns for the purpose of getting the more fortunate among us to give our old or castoff clothing to the "deserving poor." This and many other glaring contradictions exist despite the fact that a stage of civilization in the capitalist countries of the world has been reached in which the needs of society, and many things usually considered luxuries, can be produced by about one-half of their working population. The productive forces have been developed to the point where actually, or potentially, enough can be produced for all, but still people starve, sleep in parks and doorways, go without decent clothes and the bare necessities of life.

As this problem emanates from the material conditions of modern life, we must seek an answer to it in the very material conditions that give rise to this most important of present-day questions. Let us consider the following explanation:

A worker gets a job in a shoe factory. His employer must make a profit from his labor in order to keep him employed. After working a part of the day, for the purpose of this general example we will assume the first two hours, the workman has produced enough to compensate the boss for his outlay in wages. Whatever the worker produces in the balance of the working day also accrues to the employer. In the value of the shoes produced that day is included the cost of the wages, the cost of the raw materials, such as the leather, the wear and tear of the machinery employed, depreciation of the plant, buildings, etc., and the profit. The same thing happens when any worker has expended his labor-power in the employ of any employer, although the amount of the profit made by the owner may vary from industry to industry. If the employer cannot make a profit from the employment of labor, he must give up factory or mine and look for a job himself, unless he has saved enough from the past labor of others.

Looking at the matter from the point of view of the total social production in any country, the value of the goods produced by the workmen is much greater than the values they receive in the form of wages for the use of their labor-power by their employers. Thus there remains in the hands of the latter an excess of products or commodities which must be sold if they are to realize the profit, or surplus value, created in the productive process. The employers, or the capitalist class, consume some of the wealth produced for their own personal consumption and by far a much greater proportion for the needs of their own industries. The workers, due to the fact that they receive back in the form of wages only a part of what they have produced, can only buy back or consume this equivalent amount. Public works, taxation, waste, etc. consume or dispose of another part of the total social production. After these possible channels are taken into consideration, there still remains another part of the products of labor that must find a market. The markets of the world, such as Europe, Asia, Africa and South America, are looked upon by the capitalist to absorb this surplus.

As international capitalism develops, these one-time markets develop their own industries, and they also begin to look for an outlet or market for them. When that stage in the business or economic cycle is reached, which finds the markets of the world glutted with commodities for sale, and the owners of these goods cannot find any buyers, they are forced to curtail or to stop entirely the production of goods. Their factories are shut down or are put on part-time production schedules, their employees are laid off and the army of unemployed increases. This is a continuous cycle.

As long as the motive for producing wealth is profit for the owners of the factories, mines, etc., this condition will continue. Perhaps a new industry or some form of legislation may temporarily relieve the situation, but in a short time the crisis will occur again and eminent persons will continue to preach "The poor we shall always have with us." When goods will be produced because society has need for them we will have a new order of things. At that time factories will not stand idle because the owners of the factories cannot make a profit, since there will be no private ownership of the means of wealth production. Production will be for social use and not for profit. No longer will it be necessary for people to wear another's castaways when the warehouses are bursting with clothing; no longer will it be possible for those persons who have never produced anything and do not know how, to give handouts to those persons who have produced the wealth of the world.

PARTY ACTIVITIES

Local New York and Local Los Angeles

Information regarding activities can be obtained from the Local Secretary.

Local Boston

Sunday—Open-Air Meetings, Boston Common. Every Sunday from 3 P. M. to 6 P. M.—Forum at Local Headquarters, 12 Hayward Place, every Sunday at 8 P. M.

Monday—Open-Air Meetings, Talbot & Blue Hill Avenues, Dorchester. Every Monday from 8 P. M. to 11 P. M.

Tuesday—Marxian Study Class. "The Communist Manifesto." 1163 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester. Every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

Thursday—Class. Text-book, "Theoretical System of Karl Marx" by Louis Boudin. Every Thursday at 8 P. M. 12 Hayward Place.
War and the Working Class

Published by The Socialist Party of Great Britain.
36 Pages. Price 2d. (Ten Cents in the U. S. A.)

The subject of War, with the general recognition of the probable imminence of international conflict, has produced much literature, together with the formation of organizations, from the hysterical Anti-War and Fascist Leagues, to the more respectable and sober peace societies, having as their object the prevention of another World War. War and the Working Class is a refreshing contribution. In fact it serves to clear the confused and oppressive atmosphere surrounding the subject, like cooling showers on sultry, summer days.

At the outset, war is correctly defined as "the determination of Governments to defend or to conquer valuable possessions by armed might when other means have failed."

The second chapter analyzes "Some False Theories About the Cause of War." One theory mentioned, and rather widely accepted, is that the large firms making materials and supplies for war purposes, the armament industries, are responsible.

... It is said that these firms encourage competitive armaments and war as a means of making profit ... The evidence given at the recent official inquiries into armament manufacture in U.S.A., and Great Britain has proved beyond question that these interests resist disarmament schemes, divide up the world's armament market among themselves, supply arms to all Governments without distinction, bribe newspapers and politicians to promote sales, and in general apply to their trade the methods applied in every other ... (Page 6)

Allowing for all this and granting that the armament firms take advantage of the antagonisms existing between governments, continues the pamphlet, there still remains to be explained the reasons for the existing antagonisms. Which is quite correct! The munition makers play a very small, contributory part in this business, although their role may be somewhat larger in wars between smaller and more backward nations, than in the armed conflicts between the major powers.

The real causes remain to be shown, which is done in the following chapter. The real source of modern wars is ascribed to capitalism. This is not to say that "wars are deliberately and wantonly plotted by individual capitalists or groups for the purpose of making money." What is meant, is that international capitalism produces material conflicts between capitalists, or groups of capitalists, of different nations over markets, sources of raw materials, trade routes or the profitable investment of surplus funds abroad. When commercial treaties or diplomacy fails, and the material interests of dominant sections of the wealthy owning class are hampered or endangered, the call to arms is then resorted to. As evidence, some very interesting quotations are presented. Concerning the War, Marshal Foch admitted its commercial nature in the following passage, taken from page 12:

What do we all seek? New outlets for an ever-increasing commerce and for industries which, producing far more than they can consume or sell, are constantly hampered by an increasing competition. And then? Why? New areas for trade are cleared by cannon shot. Even the Bourse (the Stock Exchange), for reasons of interest, can cause armies to enter into campaign. ("United Service Magazine," December, 1918).

During the War, if anyone expressed such ideas in any of the belligerent countries, his freedom or even his life, would not have been worth a "tinker's damn." For at the time, was not that a war to preserve Democracy and the world from the German Huns? (That is, in the Allied Nations.) But the war clouds had hardly lifted from the most devastating collective homicide in the history of mankind, when the so-called civilized world was treated to a deluge of "now it can be told" literature. Today the economic character of the last war is generally accepted.

If a war should break out in the near future, the ground-work is being laid for at least one good slogan that will be utilized by the ruling classes in order to get the workers to fight their battles. That slogan will be "Democracy vs. Fascism." The so-called working class parties in this country, England and France, have given valuable assistance to their respective capitalist classes in this matter. Due to the political and economic ignorance of the workers, they fell prey to war propaganda in 1914, and from present indications it seems the "War against Fascism" battle cry, will get them to rally around their masters in the next war.

This chapter is replete with such pertinent quotations from such very good sources, that it is impossible to refrain from mentioning a few more. On the subject of the Colonial expansion of France, Marshal Lyautey, Commander of the French Army fighting in Morocco in 1922, stated, in part:

Our object is commercial and economic. The military expedition in Morocco is a means, not an end. Our object is the extension of foreign trade. (Star, October 31, 1922).

Concerning England's conquest of India, the late Lord Brentford, (formerly Sir William Joynson-Hicks) Conservative Home Secretary 1924-28, declared in a speech (reproduced in the "Daily News," October 17, 1925):

We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at Missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it. (Page 11)

The fourth chapter points out that "the workers' interest is to get rid of capitalism." The workers comprise the majority of the population and produce wealth for the capitalist class to enjoy, own and invest abroad. The working class is, in the main, propertyless and hence in order to live, is forced to work for the wealth owners for miserable wages. Markets for goods, sources of raw materials, trade-routes and investments abroad are all problems for the capitalists, their employers, and of no concern to them. As a conse-
The penultimate chapter is concerned with the Italo-Abyssinian War, its background and causes, and the attitude towards it of the League of Nations, and many so-called Socialists organizations.

As modern wars are the product of capitalism, and as the poverty and economic insecurity of the working class also have the same root cause, it naturally follows that the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism is the only solution to both social problems. The pamphlet closes, calling on the workers to join up with The Socialist Party of Great Britain with this end in view.

—B.C.

This pamphlet presents the Socialist attitude to war and is the only one published that we know of. Every worker should read it. The Workers Socialist Party is in complete agreement with its contents and offers it for sale at Ten Cents a copy, obtainable at any of its Locals, or by mail.

The Futility of Reform
(Continued from Page 4)

owning class. Destitute men become desperate men. They often become a menace to property. It is cheaper, therefore, to grant these destitute workers some form of relief by which they can eke out an existence, than to be compelled to pay for the far more costly machinery of larger police forces, more prisons, more judges, more courthouses, etc., as well as run the risk of having capitalist property stolen. Senator Samuel H. Wragg, Chairman of the Committee on Municipal Finance of the Massachusetts Legislature and Chairman of the Joint Special Committee on Public Expenditures of the same group, while speaking on "Taxation" was reported to have said the following on the comparative cost of crime and relief:

He condemned the "coddling of prisoners" and pointed out that Massachusetts was paying 35 cents a day for the support of each convict while cutting to 3 cents a day the allowance for a deserving honest man out of employment. He said it costs five times as much to maintain a prisoner as to educate a child. (N.Y. Times, 1-27-'34).

U. S. Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, making a plea for slum clearance, made it plain that the cost of this reform is cheaper in the long run than the cost of fighting crime. Before the New York State Conference of the National Council of Jewish Women in his speech as reported in The New York Times of March 31, 1936:

Remarkably that there are 54,000 square blocks of slums in the cities of America, he continued: "These are poisoning the nation just as surely as if we piled them with factories producing and distributing germs of disease."

He said his proposed bill would involve $40,000,000,000 in trade and over the prescribed period of ten years aid 10,000,000 families not living under sordid conditions.

Citing figures to show that the homicide rate in this country, which he ascribed indirectly to slum conditions, was thirty-one times greater than that of England, Senator Wagner said it seemed to be our present philosophy to spend thirty-one times as much as England for law enforcement.

Our special courts, special judges and houses of correction are a memorial to our neglect, he held. (Italics ours) —S. F.

(To be continued)
The Communist Party and La Guardia
(Continued from Page 31)

When strike-pickets and other striking workers have been clubbed and beaten by the police, he has made a great display of indignation and has given much publicity to the announcement that he would start an investigation of such brutality. On the other hand he has been repeatedly quoted in the press as encouraging some members of the Police Department to use the nightstick more freely. In short, Mr. La Guardia is the typical professional politician representative of and representing capitalism.

On numerous occasions the Communist Party had reason to note the anti-working class acts of Mr. La Guardia. For instance, on May 1, 1935, in a May Day leaflet, they state:

Our “liberal” Mayor LaGuardia has revealed himself the strikebreaker we always claimed he was. Too many workers know of his police attacks against the N.B.C. workers and others who struck for better conditions. (Italics ours)

In a special leaflet, “Did You Vote for a Strikebreaking Mayor?”, we find the following:

Mayor LaGuardia poses as a labor man. Before elections he promised to be a People’s Mayor — to build schools, to increase relief, to return the wage cuts of the civil service employees, to be on the side of the workers — with organized labor in its fight for union wages and conditions of work.

This is followed by a record of Mr. La Guardia’s anti-working class activities, especially in the strike of the building-service workers, and they concluded that:

The lesson of the strike is clear. Labor and its friends cannot trust the politicians of the old boss parties. Fusion, Tammany Hall, the Republican Party are all parties of the union busters, the bosses, bankers and landlords. (Italics ours)

Even if the claims of the Communist Party were correct, that there is a danger of Fascism from the forces of the Republican-Democratic-Tammany parties, there is little reason for their support of La Guardia via the American Labor Party. For upon the Communist Party’s own admission, not even the Mayor can be depended upon to resist the above forces. In the same brochure the following appears:

LaGuardia is not fighting Tammany sufficiently. He does not struggle against the Tammany controlled legislative bodies even for those mild reforms that he is proposing. LaGuardia accepts defeat in the Board of Aldermen. He does not, as chief executive of the city, raise these issues before the masses in order to get their support for an attack by the people against Tammany Hall. (Italics Ours)

It is the logical objective of any organization that claims to exist for the purpose of building up a movement for the emancipation of the working class, to continually point out the necessity to organize for the acquisition of political power, in order to establish Socialism. It is quite obvious that the La Guardia administration does not exist for, nor does it claim to exist for, this purpose. Consequently, a vote for La Guardia is as much a vote for the perpetuation of capitalism, as is a vote for Tammany Hall or a candidate of any other political party contesting the election. Hence, the reelection of La Guardia means nothing for the working class.

The Workers Socialist Party
Its Object and Declaration of Principles

OBJECT: The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

The Workers Socialist Party holds:

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railroads, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labor alone all wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted into an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation for the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE WORKERS SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labor or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the workers of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labor, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those who agree with the above principles and who desire membership in the Party, should apply to the Secretary of the nearest Local.

of New York City. The fact that the alleged social-revolutionaries of the Communist Party will give Mr. La Guardia their support through the American Labor Party, in no way alters the situation. It is but another indication of their lack of understanding and confusion as to what and how the interest of the working class can be furthered, or their opportunism and insincerity, or a combination of all these.

The problems of the working class, employed or unemployed, have in no way been altered by the La Guardia administration of the affairs of capitalism in New York. The only hope of the workers lies in their organization into a party that has as its object: SOCIALISM. —C.W. and S.F.