

Daily Worker

Central Organ of the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

Published by the National Daily Worker Publishing Association, Inc.
Daily, except Sunday, at 25-28 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
Telephone Stuyvesant 1694-7-A. Cable: "DAIWORK."
Subscription Rates:
By Mail (in New York only):
\$4.50 six months \$2.50 three months
By Mail (outside of New York):
\$5.00 six months \$3.00 three months
Address and mail all checks to the Daily Worker, 25-28 Union Square,
New York, N. Y.

Mussolini Holds An Election.

The Mussolini fascist dictatorship in Italy takes pride before the world in the number of voters who marked "Yes" under the emblem of the crossed revolver, dagger and black jack in last Sunday's elections. The kept press, like the New York Sun, declaring (Tuesday, March 26), that, "That endorsement is worth having at home and abroad," will seek to coin out of the election results, popular approval of the Mussolini regime.

Workers and peasants forced to the polling booths, with the barrel of a gun placed at their heads, and a fascist dagger scratching their ribs, are "Yes-men" on paper only. Suffering the agonies of rationalization, and all its evils, unemployment, wage cuts, the longer workday (the eight-hour day has been completely abolished) and the disruption of their organizations, the masses evidently feel they are not yet in a position to strike back successfully. They bide their time.

Arnaldo Cortesi, writing in the New York Times from Rome, declared with blackshirt joy that:

"What the fascists could do, in the way of obliging the voter to go to the polls, by means of their powerful organization, embracing every field of activity in Italian life, they did."

This Cortesi even suggests that:

"Perhaps some voters had a vague fear that the fascists may have had some system for checking up contrary votes, and this may have induced some who would have wished to vote against them to change their minds."

It is reported that in a large number of Communes in Tuscany, the workers and peasants were lined up in military formation and forced to go to the polls listening to bands playing fascist anthems. It may be taken for granted that this mass intimidation was quite general. Everywhere the catholic clergy, Mussolini having made peace with the vatican, participated most energetically, thus sprinkling holy water on the whole ghastly proceeding.

Even under such conditions the Italian Communist Party carried on an heroic and historic struggle against fascism. It waged its campaign, illegally to be sure, but effectively in the great industrial centers. The greatest number of contrary votes were cast in the great industrial centers of the North. Milan, with its revolutionary proletariat, headed the list, with 23,000 opposing votes, followed by Genoa with 8,000; Turin with 7,000; Trento and Bologna 5,000 and Como, Cuneo and Udine 4,000. These are the figures that carry significance for the world's revolutionary movement. They prove conclusively the strong contact that the Communist Party has with the Italian masses, who will in time slough off fascism, its grand council and 400 handpicked candidates, along with the big industrialists, bankers, landowners and priests and establish the democratic rule of the workers and peasants in the Italian proletarian dictatorship, that will abolish class tyranny, of which fascism is one of the vilest expressions in the present imperialist era.

The Agonies of "The New Tammany"

The seeming tumult in the ranks of New York Democrats over the Tammany Tiger's efforts to give birth to a "new leader" to succeed George W. Olvany, recently resigned, should not excite the workers of the metropolis. The delivery will take place in due time and the Tammany Tiger will not have changed or lost any of its stripes in the process.

There is much talk of the "chaotic situation" created because the "new leader" has so far failed to materialize, "the embarrassing situation" confronting the "Big Four"—Smith, Walker, Wagner and Foley—that has been appealed to in an effort to get the job done in approved style, while the district leaders are kept crowding each other in the background.

It should be a good circus act for the working class, not to be taken seriously, instead to be laughed at. But it is a serious business for Tammany, since it involves bringing to life and keeping alive a "New Tammany," a "Reform Tammany" for the municipal elections this fall, that will be able to attract all of the "best people" at the polling booths.

"Al" Smith tried to put over the "purified Tammany" in the presidential elections last fall. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the "silk stocking" Tammany governor, is even now trying desperately to carry out the same mission at Albany. Roosevelt even goes so far as to claim that he is not allied with Tammany at all. But the fact remains that the votes controlled by the Tammany machine in New York City sent him to the governor's chair up the river. Without these votes he would have lost miserably. The women leaders of Tammany, in this purification process, are even consulted to the extent of having their pictures taken for the daily press.

Governor Roosevelt, in the closing days of the state legislature, keeps issuing alleged favorable statements on proposed "labor legislation," with the object of throwing good big buckets of sand in the eyes of the workers. But somehow, at the critical moment, sufficient votes do not seem to materialize to put any worthwhile legislation on the statute books. It is often conveniently blamed on the republicans. The labor bureaucrats, who are a part of Tammany, and the socialists who have a great admiration for "Al" Smith, seize upon Roosevelt's publicity, and similar propaganda, as sure indication that something good can come out of the Tammany Tiger, thus carrying out their role of loyal reformist agents of the established capitalist order. But Tammany, creature of capitalism, remains as anti-labor as ever.

It is not too early for the workers of New York City to study this situation as part of the preparations for the struggle leading up to this autumn's elections. Nothing good for the working class can come out of Tammany, out of the republican party, or out of the socialist party. The only fight for labor in the fall elections will be waged by the Communist Party under the banner carrying the slogan "Class Against Class" in the war against the oppressors of labor. This election will take on not only a national, but an international significance. Labor the world over looks to New York City as the strongest citadel of imperialist oppression. Labor will be cheered everywhere by the knowledge that the fist of the working class, within the walls of this imperialist fortress, grows stronger and stronger. An aroused working class in New York City can make the new leader of the "New Tammany" the standard bearer of another forlorn hope of capitalism.

All the Protection You Want! — We'll Show Those Bolsheviks!

By William Gropper.



The "Real" New Negro

By OTTO HALL

In a previous article we reported on the general conditions of Negro workers in Northern industrial centers, as seen by us on our recent tour. The present article will tell of the reaction of these workers to these "slum" conditions.

This tour, in which all districts were covered, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, brought the writer in contact with many thousands of Negro workers in all important industries in which they are allowed to work. These workers were very frank in expressing their opinions regarding conditions as they saw them.

Those of you who have been interested in the "New Negro" question and have been keeping up with all the literature extant purporting to deal with this question, have heard much about the "New Negro" who seems to have appeared during and since the recent world imperialist war. And as a result of this much bunk is extant about this supposedly new type of Negro, and many wrong impressions prevail. Many have assumed that the "noisy complaints" and whinnies of a certain group of Negro intellectuals representing, as they call it, the "cultured tenth" expressed in poetry, essays and novels, are the "voice" of the "New Negro." This is erroneous. These Negroes represent only a rising Negro capitalist class who want to be taken into the great white capitalist class and together with them exploit all the workers.

Modern "Uncle Toms." There is not much that is "new" about this Negro that they refer to at all. Many of this type are the same old "handkerchief heads" who have only exchanged the cotton bandanna for a silk one. In other words, they are the modern "Uncle Toms" who instead of wearing the old "cotton jeans" are now appearing in "cutaway" coats and "top" hats.

The real "New Negro" is to be found among the workers who have been drawn into the industries. The consequent process of proletarianization is making these workers more and more class conscious. Their resentment against conditions is not expressed in loud mouthed "vapors" or whining pleas for justice but by determined attempts to organize and fight for better conditions. These "New Negroes" voted the Communist ticket in the recent election campaign because they were convinced that the old bourgeois parties do not serve workers but capitalists. There were more of those who voted our ticket than is commonly known. In almost every district where our candidates were on the ballot, I spoke with Negro workers who had voted our ticket. In such out of the way places as Spokane in the far west and mining centers like Wheeling, W. Va., and Triadelphia, I found Negroes who voted for our candidates. They told the writer that what convinced them more than anything else of our sincerity was the campaign we carried on in the South.

"Party Practices What It Preaches" A woman worker in Denver told the writer that when she heard of Comrade Foster's arrest in Delaware

Defense Corps Organized by Negroes Smashes Lynching Bee of White Mobsters

for advocating complete equality for all workers, regardless of color, she was convinced that our Party practices what it preaches. When she was told that our Party is a permanent organization that not only carries on election campaigns but organized the workers for a continuous fight against the bosses till capitalism is finally overthrown, she said that she had been waiting for this kind of an organization for a long time and that she was willing to join and fight with us. These workers are the real "New Negroes."

Negro Defense Organization. Another example of this "New Negro" was found in a certain city whose name will not be mentioned for obvious reasons. Many Negro organizations have drawn up resolutions against lynchings, petitioning presidents, governors, etc., in a vain attempt to check this vicious "pastime." But a certain new "defense" organization tried a more effective method.

A Negro who was suspected of the "usual crime" was picked up in the heart of the "black belt" of this city late one night by a gang of white hoodlums in an automobile. Some Negroes noted this, and suspecting the purpose of these "hoodlums" notified some members of this "defense" organization. These Negroes, about 25 in number and well armed, got into automobiles and followed these hoodlums to the outskirts of the city where a mob with all the equipment for a lynching festival was waiting for the victim. Before the mob had a chance to accomplish their design these Negroes who were following them caught up with them, held the mob at bay, and took their intended victim away from them. And in spite of the protests of the mob that they were not going to harm the "darker" but were just going to have a little

"fun," marched them back to the city, and turned them over to the chief of police. The chief of police refused to hold any of the mob but wanted the Negroes to turn over to him the Negro who was to have been lynched. This request was refused and the chief was warned that the next time this mob attempted anything like that they would not be taken to jail, but would be killed on the spot. The news of this episode spread all over the state and this organization has now from 800 to 1000 members.

Pershing Speaks to Negro Workers.

This defense organization shows not only interest in Negro workers but class conscious white workers as well. George Pershing, well known organizer of the anti-imperialist league passed through that city on his recent tour. While there he spoke at a street meeting to Negro workers out in the "black belt." A Negro policeman attempted to interfere with him and arrest him. This policeman told him to take that "stuff" he was talking out of that vicinity and go away to the whites where he belonged. Several Negroes in the crowd who were members of the defense organization got around the policeman and prevented him from breaking up the meeting. One of them told the policeman that if they wanted to listen to the speaker it was nobody's damn business and that he would not "get well" if he attempted to butt in. After Pershing, finished speaking the leader invited him to speak before their organization. They told him they were very much interested in what he had to say.

Not Interested in Religious Bank.

Another interesting incident dealt with how the "New Negro" looks

upon religion. In a midwestern city the writer was billed to speak at a church. This church differed with many churches in that the entire membership from the pastor down were workers. The preacher was of the type known as "Jackleg" preacher, a type that is now disappearing, one who was not a permanent fixture anywhere but who goes where he is "called" and who usually works at odd jobs during the week and preaches on Sunday.

As was his usual practice before meetings, the writer visited this place early in the afternoon to become acquainted and make connections. In the pastor's "study" were a couple of preachers and a few workers, members of the congregation. They were discussing conditions generally and talking about the scarcity of work and the condition of the Negro workers. One of these preachers said that this period was predicted in the book of "revelations" or something of that sort, and we must be like "Daniel" who although cast into the lion's den never lost his faith in God. These workers told him that this was the "bunk" and that they were not interested in what happened 2,000 years ago, but wanted to know what could be done to better their conditions now. They said, "That is the reason why we asked this 'gentleman' to come down here and speak to us. What we want to know is how to organize and fight against these hard times and 'Jim Crow' conditions." My family cannot live on the book of revelations.

Although the writer never liked to speak in a church it was sometimes unavoidable and this meeting was fruitful and got good organizational results.

The next article will deal with the organizational results of the tour and our future prospects.

Blind Workers Uncared in "Socialist" Reading

READING, Pa. (By Mail).—A plea has been made to the state department of welfare that a woman who held a position as a caretaker of a comfort station in this "socialist" city be considered for reappointment because her husband had been blind for the past 15 months and his wife is practically the sole support of the family, which includes three children, aged 13, 12 and 2 years.

"We shall give this matter our consideration," was all that Mayor Stamp had to say.

The power of the bourgeoisie rests not alone upon international capital, upon its strong international connections, but also upon the force of habit, on the force of small industry, of which, unfortunately, there is plenty left and which daily, hourly, gives birth to capitalism and bourgeoisie, eventually and on a large scale.—V. I. Lenin ("Left" Communism).

No sooner in the exploitation of the laborer by the manufacturer, so far as an end, than he receives his wages in cash, then he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.—Karl Marx (Communist Manifesto).

BILL HAYWOOD'S BOOK

Labor Congratulates Haywood on His Release—Strange Attitude of Moyer, Darrow and DeLeon; Two Letters

In previous installments Haywood has told of his early life on farm, cow ranch and in the mines; of his leading strikes of the Western Federation of Miners, and helping to organize the I. W. W.; of being tried and acquitted on a frame-up charge of murdering a governor. In the last issue he told of visiting friends after his release, including one in a convent hospital. Now read on.

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

PART 70.

ON the street corner, as I left the convent, I met Robertson, who was the oldest man in the jury. He said, "Well, my son, how are you?" "First rate, thank you," I answered. He continued: "William, they could have bleached my old bones before they could have convicted you. Now you be quiet awhile." Then he wished me a safe journey home.

That afternoon Moyer was released on twenty-five thousand dollar bail, furnished by the Butte Miners' Union. I went to the jail and bid Pettibone good-bye. The date of his trial had not yet been fixed. Some of the witnesses were going to remain for his trial, or at least until the date was set.

When the news of my acquittal was received in the mining camps of the West there was a general jubilation. Perhaps tons of dynamite were exploded in the celebration. In Goldfield when I went there later they showed me the dents that had been made in the mahogany bars in the saloons by the hobnails of the boys who had danced to celebrate their joy at my release. There is no way of estimating how much whisky was drunk for the occasion. Drinking whisky was the miners' way of celebrating.

That night I drove with my wife and mother to the depot, where the train was already made up. I helped my mother on board, and carried my wife to her berth. Then I went to get Murphy. As I picked him up in my arms he whispered to me, "Let Charley help you, Bill." Moyer was there visiting Murphy. He and I put our hands together and made a "chair" to carry Murphy to the carriage.

The first town of importance that we came to was Pocatello. There was a big crowd at the station, and at the request of a committee I spoke to the crowd, standing on a freight truck. The weather was sultry, and my invalids were worn and tired when we got to Salt Lake. We stopped there two days, my wife and daughters staying with my sister Maud. Murphy went on to Denver with a friend. In Salt Lake I was overwhelmed with the congratulations of relatives and members of the labor organizations.

Darrow accompanied us on part of the journey. He seemed peevish and sulky, but I knew of no reason for this except my refusal to retire to the mountains as he had advised me.

When we got to Leadville, though it was very early in the morning, there was a delegation to meet the train. I was still in bed, but some of the boys handed in a bottle of whisky from the platform in honor of the occasion.

The train made a record trip; it got to Denver on time for once. There was a tremendous crowd awaiting its arrival. Outside the Union Depot in Denver there was an arch with the word welcome in electric lights, to greet travelers arriving in the city. The sign was dark; I was told that the authorities, under the influence of the Citizens' Alliance, had had the light put out. But the sign was nothing to me; I could see the light of welcome in the eyes of the thousands of workers who had come to meet me.

I put my wife in a chair and rolled it to the carriage that was waiting, and we moved through cheering throngs to the Albany Hotel. I carried my wife to her room, then went back to the carriage and spoke from the seat to the people gathered in the street, thanking them for what they had done for me, and asking them to continue their support until Moyer and Pettibone stood beside me, free men.

MY work began at once, as I had many hundreds of telegrams to answer, and letters of congratulation were coming in every day. I replied to them all. One of especial importance was a resolution from the Socialist Congress then in session in Stuttgart:

"The International Congress sends William Haywood the congratulations of the Socialist movement of the world in view of the magnificent fight he put up in the interests of the organized workers of the United States. It condemns emphatically the attempt of the mine owners to have an innocent person punished by law only because of his services to the cause of the organized workers. The Congress sees in the legal proceedings and in the systematic campaign of slander carried on by the entire capitalist press against Haywood the expression of the class policy of the bourgeoisie of America, which is coming more and more to the fore, and of the bourgeoisie's total lack of tolerance and sense of honor in all occasions when its profits and its power are threatened. The Congress also congratulates the Socialists of the United States on the enthusiasm and solidarity with which they resisted this attack. The class conscious proletariat of Europe looks upon the enormous strength manifested by this act of solidarity as a guarantee of unity for the future and hopes that the American proletariat will show the same solidarity and determination in the fight for its complete emancipation."

AMONG the communications was a letter from Daniel DeLeon, written before he had left for Stuttgart, and delivered to me some time later.

"Such, I know, must have been the shower of congratulations that poured upon you at your acquittal that I purposely kept in the rear lest my voice be drowned in the multitude. . . I am about to leave for Europe for the International Socialist Congress. Things in America remain in a disturbed and disordered condition. Nevertheless, it is a state of disorder and disturbance from which your acquittal is calculated to bring speedy order and harmony. The capitalist class has again wrought better for the Social Revolution than that class is aware of. It has, through your own celebrated case, built you up for the work of unifying the movement upon solid ground. Those who have been early in the struggle have necessarily drawn upon themselves animosities. However undeserved, these animosities are unavoidable; and what is worse yet, tend to disqualify such organizations and their spokesmen for the work of themselves speedily effecting unification, however certain the soundness of their work may make ultimate unification. Important as their work was in the past, and will continue to be, through them could a short cut to victory, through united efforts, be made. The very value of their work in one direction interferes with their power in another. As I said, the capitalist class, through this late persecution of you, has 'produced' the unifier—the Socialist who understands, as the Socialist Labor Party does, that, without the labor, the emancipation of the working class cannot be reached; and that, without the industrially economic organization of the workers, the day of the workers' victory at the polls (even if such victory could be attained under such circumstances), would be the day of their defeat; last, not least, the Socialist who is unencumbered by animosities inseparable from the early stages of the struggle. We are again in the days when the old Republican Party was organized out of warring freemen and abolitionists, and of up to then warring elements. Thanks to your own antecedents, your celebrated case, the unanimity of the working class in your behalf, and your triumphant vindication, the capitalist class has itself hatched out the needed leader. The capitalist class has thrown the ball into your hands. You can kick it over the goal. . . . Men who are incapable of appreciating straight-forward and consistent action have long been pronouncing the S.L.P. dead, more lately also the I.W.W., and myself as merely anxious to 'hang on to something.' The soundness of the S.L.P. principle with the power of its press, insures it against any such death. As I stated in the course of the recent debate, 'As to Politics,' so long as its mission remains unfulfilled, the S.L.P. will hold the field untrifled; the day, however, when the I.W.W. will have reflected its own pitiful party, in other words, the day when the vicious nonsense of 'pure and simple political Socialism' will be at an end, it will be with a shout of joy that the S.L.P. will break ranks. . . ."

In the next issue, Haywood tells of his reaction to DeLeon's letter, and the great speaking tour he undertook. You can get Haywood's book free with a year's subscription, new or renewal, to the Daily Worker.

Breaking Chains

