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Roosevelt's Program For «Social Insurance»

As Congress nears the close of the present session, President Roosevelt delivered what is supposed to be one of the most important and far-reaching messages presented to it. The bourgeois press hailed the message as the dawn of a new day. The message called for "security for all" through a housing program and ask for the enactment of old age and unemployment insurance.

Without a doubt Roosevelt is a master at the art of demagoguery, and in that sense this speech was one of the best. Once we analyze the Roosevelt program presented to Congress we will find that this sugar coated pill, delivered in the name of the "common people", is in reality, a program against the working class.

Roosevelt's speech was designed for public consumption while at the same time it must inform Congress what the President hoped would be enacted before adjournment. The speech is only an outline and if the administration desires its parts to be enacted they must be turned over to the proper sub-committees or administration forces and drawn up in Bills for Congressional consideration. When we examine those parts of the speech that have been presented in proper form for consideration we find that the high points of the President's speech and the parts the press played up could not possibly be enacted this session. Therefore it becomes good propaganda, that costs nothing and will pave the way for the administration's rallying cry for the next election. The points that deal with old age and unemployment insurance are those that catch the imagination of the working class, and take the wind out of the sails of the social reformers.

An examination of the bills pending before Congress will prove that they are measures for and by the imperialist group of capitalists that the Roosevelt administration serves. In last week's issue of the Militant we have dealt with the Wagner Bill and have shown how this bill is not a savior for labor, but a straightjacket. Before we deal with the other acts it is advisable to say a few words about the social insurance features of the Roosevelt program.

It means that America has at last been forced through necessity to realize that the millions of unemployed are a permanent feature of our industrial system. That this so-called un-American foreign debt must be resorted to if capitalism is to continue. It means that the President has at last realized that it will cost no more, to set up a mild bourgeois form of social insurance, than it cost the government at the present to maintain its present form of city, county, state and national charity relief. The estimations presented for the coming period of what will be needed by the nation to continue its present charity relief can be taken care of far more effectively by changing the system of relief from charity to social insurance. Of course it will not be a social insurance as needed by the working class. That is not the purpose of the Roosevelt Program. It will head off criticism, cost no more than the present or rather future estimates and requirements, and will at the same time, snatch the fruit from the hands of the social reformers. Roosevelt's propaganda speech is to pave the way, not only to dupe the workers, but also to educate the backward layers of the capitalist class.

The National Housing Act and the Industrial Loan Act are primarily aimed at the worst phase of the crisis and to speed up recovery in the basic industries that have not been touched by the other measures so far passed under the New Deal. The Industrial Loan Act will authorize the R.F.C. to use a half billion fund for direct loans to industries falling in the category of durable goods and will endeavor to stimulate the reinvestment of new capital in the means of production. The Reciprocal Tariff Act is intended to give the president power to make arrangements with any and all countries in any part of the earth where reciprocal tariff relations on commodities will enable America to increase her exports. The Sugar Control Act and the Cotton Control Act are intended to enable the American imperialists to eliminate the worst features of

free competition and attempt to modify overproduction.

If one reviews the results of the New Deal and the measures enacted, one will find that they are all measures to further strengthen imperialist rule over the United States and strengthen its world position. From the NRA down through the list from A.A.A., to the Gold Reserve Act, the Silver Purchasing Act, to the Stock Exchange Act one finds links comprising a chain that tightens the capitalist grip upon the workers and the middle class. The clever demagoguery in which the Roosevelt administration put through these measures receives its due praise from the Wall Street overlords. The working class must become more capable of distinguishing words from deeds. —HUGO OEHLER.

I. L. A. Leaders Weaken Pacific Coast Tie-Up

San Francisco, Cal.—The combination of ship owners, mediators and top officials of the International Longshoremen's Association have gained a first and partial success in the unceasing efforts to set the strikers of one port against those of the others, to set one union against the others. To obtain separate agreements in the various ports has been the policy of president Ryan from the inception of the strike. It played directly into the hands of the ship owners who could have no more ardent desire than to break-up first the coast-wide character of the strike in a hope to be able to defeat it finally and separately, port by port.

To the Seattle local of the I.L.A. all the demands have been conceded and the men are now loading Alaska freighters. This is the first breach in the strike front. It has had the effect of stiffening the ranks elsewhere among the longshoremen and the other workers involved who realize that in the general and complete character of the tie-up along the whole of the Pacific Coast lies the best prospects of victory for their demands. Nevertheless the effects of this breach may be serious. The gain made in Seattle may prove a defeat elsewhere of serious proportions unless these splitting and dividing efforts are effectively spiced.

Right now the ship owners are striving to get the longshoremen back to work elsewhere and leave the striking seamen and other unions out in the cold. Ryan works hand in glove with these efforts, and sad to say the elements which should form the militant backbone are unable to cope with this situation.

Good Programs Not Carried Out
From the beginning the Longshoremen put up an excellent battle. Solidarity prevailed to a high degree. The seamen's unions in a number of ports, together with other unions in or associated with the maritime industry, made common cause with them and joined the strike. At an early stage of the de-

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The Eggs in the Eagle's Nest



Steel Union Letter to Roosevelt

President Roosevelt, White House, Washington.

We understand you have left for a week-end cruise on the Sequoia. We wish we could join you, but we must return to our lodges to report that all we get out of your National Recovery Administration and Section 7A was an offer to tighten the company union chains that bind workers in the steel industry.

The proposal by the Iron and Steel Institute and General Johnson is an insult to every worker in this country. Millions of us reposed confidence in you and your administration, despite the doubts that have plagued us as a result of NRA's refusal to enforce the very plain words of Section 7a, guaranteeing us the right to organize and to bargain collectively with our employers. We have lost the faith which we held in your administration, which promised justice and a new deal to the nation's workers.

Mr. President, the least you can do is to throw the Iron and Steel Institute's brazen company union proposition into the waste basket. And if you really mean to abide by your own recovery law, the least you can do is to summon the steel manufacturers to Washington for a genuine collective bargaining conference with the steel workers.

General Johnson has discredited himself forever in the eyes of the

workers of this country. As if to add insult to injury, he followed up the vicious Steel Institute company union plan by a radio address in which he called us Communists because we want the thirty-hour week.

Mr. President, the entire labor movement of this country is a unit in demanding the thirty-hour week, with a just wage. There is no other way to make a dent in the terrible unemployment which grips every industry and especially our own.

General Johnson denounced us for asking for what he calls the closed shop. In this Johnson, is just parroting, as usual, the lies of the steel magnates. We have not demanded the closed shop. Our union is a voluntary organization. In mills where our membership comprises a majority of steel workers, we claim the right to represent all the workers in that mill, or department of the mill. Even Johnson himself has said that this is reasonable.

It is useless for us to waste any more time in Washington in the national run-around, rejecting traps for us. We are returning home today to prepare for action. We have done our best to abide by the law and to get it enforced. We conferred a favor on the administration by warning you of the consequences of non-enforcement of Section 7-a. If the government will not help us, then we must use the only means

BUILD THE LEAGUE AND PRESS

Never before have the tasks of the revolutionary movement in this country been as great as they are now. Never before has the multiplication of the efforts of our organization been more urgent. In every field, in every center, there is a call for our organizers. In various sections of the land the nuclei of our League are sprinting forward into new activity. Throughout the country the working class is surging ahead in struggles that have not been witnessed here for years.

Our job is primarily to enter this movement with the maximum of our strength, with our press, with our speakers, our organizers. To neglect this fertile field, or merely to dabble in it, would prove fatal.

To enable the League to drive ahead full steam, we have launched our Organization-Press Campaign. Now is the time for every member, sympathizer and friend to do his utmost to equip the League with ammunition in the struggle. Without the loss of a minute, every comrade must bend every bit of energy to put the campaign over the top to a successful conclusion.

Throughout the country, we are sending the campaign coupon books. Each book contains ten coupons at 10 cents each—making a total of \$1.00 per book. In addition, those able to contribute regularly for the maintenance of The Militant and the League can fill out one of the three auxiliary coupons. Fifty percent of the campaign income will go to The Militant and fifty percent to the League.

With the first number of our theoretical organ scheduled to appear in the next few days, The Militant will be converted increasingly into a popular agitatorial paper for widespread distribution. Every comrade can help make this change and help sustain the paper and the organization behind it, by selling at least one book.

We want to put over this campaign in the shortest possible time, so that the decks are cleared for action. It is up to YOU! Send all available funds immediately to The Militant, 128 East 16th Street, New York City.

All united for a successful campaign to build the League and its press!

Steel Workers Union In Meeting to Decide Action

Mike Tighe is Conniving to Surrender Demands

In the first round of feverish attempts to avert the nation-wide steel strike the union has stood its ground. But the powerful combination of capital in steel is just beginning to show its teeth. At this moment delegates from the union lodges, now established throughout the important steel centers, are meeting again in convention in Pittsburgh to hear reports of the reception given by the American Iron and Steel Institute to the union demands. Will the outcome lead to another presidential settlement like in the automobile industry or will the union feel sufficiently strong and determined to fight it out? That remains to be answered at this convention. The action it takes will be decisive for the future of the union.

From the Steel Institute the union has received what its rank and file committee spokesmen characterize as a "brazen company union proposition" and "an insult to every worker in the country". That is about what could be expected from the rulers of the steel domain. It is accepted as a challenge. But to what extent will the union be ready to take up this challenge and fling it back into their teeth? Undoubtedly it has a strong foothold in the industry and can speak authoritatively for the workers. Moreover, the steel workers have before them the glorious example of Minneapolis and Toledo.

Steel Trust Names Its Own Board
The Steel Institute made a proposal to the NRA administration declaring its readiness to accept the establishment of an industrial relations board similar to the one created for the automobile industry. But it specified that on that board, of the men representing labor, one would have to be a company union designate. The other, to be appointed by President Roosevelt, could not be a member of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. The steel masters are definitely committed to the maintenance of the company union, they declare, and they will not yield an inch on this point

which they consider a vital point. Meanwhile the steel trust is rushing its preparations to meet a strike situation. No reports are forthcoming from the Steel Institute as to what these preparations are. It remains silent. But the underlings, the professional strike-breakers, the armed guard hirelings and the steel trust appointees, who in the most brazen and high-handed fashion rule the little towns clustered around the mills, know what to do. They have their orders.

One Mr. Bergoff, with offices at 2 Columbus Circle, New York, proclaiming himself to be the dean of

Browder 'Exposes' Strike 'Sell-Out' In Minneapolis

Minneapolis, Minn.—The General Secretary of the C.P. U.S.A., Earl Browder, came across half the country to Minneapolis to prove that the General Drivers' strike had been betrayed by its leadership. The occasion was a state nominating convention of the official party. He had an audience of about 750. But the results were very disheartening to Browder.

The General Secretary found himself before an audience in a city where one of the great labor struggles of the year had been fought. He began by getting familiar with his audience, by asking them questions on the "New Deal". In reply by show of hands, it was revealed that the over-whelming majority were Communist voters, there were a few Socialist and a few who had voted for Roosevelt. "That's bad, I thought I was speaking to a strange crowd. There isn't much use for us to talk to ourselves", he blurts out. Possibly his lieutenant, Karson, told him the crowd represented the Masses of Minneapolis. He jumps into his subject, the Minneapolis and Toledo strikes. "A new upsurge", was his characterization, different from the one last year which was for the President's "New Deal". This one is against it. The workers are fighting now, they are trying to spread their strikes, to make general strikes of them. That was quite true. He proceeded then to give a detailed description of the West Coast longshoremen's strike, not after the fact but after the wish of Browder. He built up an idealized picture of how this strike was growing, against its leadership, with a rank-and-file strike committee, how the workers were carrying on and on to a "complete victory", (fulfillment of all their demands). He was building up his case against the Minneapolis "sell-out". A word on Toledo. A statement from the local F. L. P. press on Olson's use of the troops in the strike.

Then . . . "The Dunne Brothers and their settlement of the drivers' strike,—they were the responsible

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strike-breakers, brazenly announces that he is now working for three or four big steel companies. His preparations include, according to his own statements, selection of 10,000 extra armed guards, purchase of arms and ammunition, erection of barriers, purchase of searchlights, erection of commissaries, buying of cots—all the preparations for regular warfare, at a cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

"As to those 10,000 armed guards", he declares, "most will be sworn in by local sheriffs. We have a tentative understanding with local sheriffs, as has any large agency like ours that knows its business." Yes, the steel trust has the force of the State at its command.

But this is only one aspect of the employers' strike preparations. For them works also the government, its NRA administration and their own agents within the union ranks. President Roosevelt and leaders of both branches of Congress have gotten their heads together and devised a new scheme. A substitute for the Wagner Bill, to be rushed through Congress immediately, it provides for arbitration in all disputes under the direct supervision of the President. Well, the President handled the automobile workers' situation and what came out of that the steel workers' rank and file spokesmen have already declared is what they do not want.

Reactionaries Prepare Treachery
Mike Tighe on the other hand, is moving all the forces at his feeble command to find some ways of a compromise which he hopes will save his face. At the sell-out game he is an old hand. He is working in two directions. One of his ways is to win the rank and file spokesmen to his ideas of what is acceptable—that is, a presidential settlement like the auto workers got. The other method is to denounce these rank and file spokesmen as irresponsible and representing nobody but themselves, so as to prepare the ground for treachery and to take matters entirely out of their hands. It is ominous that no word has been spoken in this greatest of impending conflicts for union recognition and living working conditions by the upper A. F. of L. hierarchy. The truth is that all of them fear a test of strength in the steel industry, as they fear any strike which brings forward the powerful latent forces of American labor.

That the American workers will fight has been shown in Minneapolis, in Toledo and in many other places. Their great reservoir of strength has not been tapped. It is hardly touched. The hundreds of thousands in the steel industry—not to speak of those other thousands who would possibly make common cause with them—form a mighty army whose challenge strikes fear into the hearts of exploiters and labor reactionaries alike. But it is necessary to say to this mighty army beware. There are many danger signals on the horizon. The cunning and conniving from the bigger and lesser Tighes in their ranks who represent the steel workers as divided in preparation for treachery.

Rely Only on Your Own Mass Power

Nothing would suit them better than to be able to make an about face and retreat like John L. Lewis did in 1919, when he declared that he could not fight the government. When pressed hard from their union membership they have often resorted to their favorite method of declaring strikes to be outlaw. That is one of the serious dangers facing the steel workers. But by now, even though their union is new and has not yet received its baptism of fire, they should have learned that in the final analysis there is nothing else they can rely upon but their own mass power. They constitute a mighty battalion of labor. Theirs is a key position in heavy industry. A retreat, or a surrender, would be a serious setback. The stabilization of a steel workers' union, its recognition as an actual fact and as the sole representative of all the workers in the industry, vigilant, determined and ready to secure their demands for living conditions would be an enormous gain for the whole of the American working class.

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MINNEAPOLIS STRIKE - AN ANSWER TO ITS DEFAMERS

By JAMES P. CANNON

Discussion of the Minneapolis strike is on the order of the day throughout the labor movement. And for good reason. Among all the attempts that have been made by unorganized workers, in the present strike wave as well as in the one which preceded it last year, to establish new unions, compel their recognition by the employers and protect their members against discrimination, the example of the Minneapolis truck drivers stands out preeminent.

In the brief space of a few months the Minneapolis truck drivers, the great majority of whom had never belonged to a labor organization before, were brought together into a union; they carried on a 10-day strike which electrified the workers everywhere by its militancy and efficiency of organization; they settled the strike at the peak of its strength and came out of the

struggle with a solid union of approximately 7,000 members, recognized in writing by the employers as the representative of the workers.

The story of how that organizing job was done must be a subject of absorbing interest to workers everywhere, especially to those who have yet to establish unions firmly and enforce their recognition—and that is the overwhelming majority of those who have attempted to organize since the inception of the NRA, to say nothing of the millions who still remain entirely unorganized.

It is no more than natural, also, that the Stalipist quack doctors of trade unionism whose "patients" always die should manifest an agitation bordering on the St. Vitus dance over General Drivers' Union No. 574. Here's a strike that wasn't wrecked, here's a new union that is still alive and going strong after the strike. "Something must be

wrong!" shouts the chorus of revolutionary chiropractors. "It never happened this way with us. We always break the backbone of every strike or union we get our hands on."

And, since things turned out differently in Minneapolis the people who never conducted a strike to a successful conclusion anywhere, who do not today exert a leading influence in a solidly established union anywhere—these people want to discuss the "shortcomings" of the Minneapolis strike, to draw the "lessons" and avoid similar "deviations" in the future. Very well, gentlemen. In the course of a general exposition for the benefit of those who seek to build the labor movement, a comparison of the Minneapolis methods and results with methods and results which you recommend, will be especially illuminating.

First, let us get a general picture

of the situation—as it was and as it is today. The long depression in the labor movement had been felt in Minneapolis with exceptional force. Organization was narrowly restricted to certain skilled crafts. Morale was low. Reaction and pessimism were dominant. The truck drivers and associated workers, who occupy a position of special importance in this center of distribution for the Northwest, were without benefit of organization. Barring the ice wagon, milk and brewery drivers nothing existed for years except a skeleton organization. Today Minneapolis is a union town, as far as the trucking industry is concerned. Drivers appear everywhere with their union buttons proudly displayed. The spirit of the workers has been revived and the entire labor movement has been strengthened by the example of the drivers. The conditions have been created for a general organization

drive which ought to sweep thousands of workers into the unions. This remarkable transformation appears as a miracle of organization. From outward manifestations, it was all accomplished in two swift strokes—the coal drivers' strike in February and the general drivers' strike in May. But such is not really the case. Behind the coal strike there was a long and patient campaign of organization conducted according to a systematic and far-seeing plan. This February strike was conceived as the strategic link in a bigger chain of organization.

The coal strike was well prepared, carefully planned in every detail. It struck the town like a tornado and swept to victory in three days. Thus the foundation was laid for the May strike.

As the deadline set for this action approached, the bosses, remember-

The Great Minneapolis Strike Sunday, June 17th, - at 8 P. M. Two Lectures By James P. Cannon IRVING PLAZA HALL 15th Street and Irving Place The Socialist Party Convention Thursday, June 21st, - at 8 P. M.