

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
THE MILITANTPublished weekly by the Workers Party of the U. S.
2 West 15th Street, New York City
Phone: ALgonquin 4-9068Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office
at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON, Editor

HARRY A. HOWE, Associate Editor
HAWTHORNE WINNER, Business Manager

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

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

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1935 No. 8

Roosevelt Program

If the workers needed any further evidence that the Roosevelt program is for the bosses and against the workers, the Social Security bill now before Congress promises such evidence in overwhelming abundance. Four billion dollars is to be appropriated for public works to be carried out under the President's personal and exclusive direction. Thus three and a half billion are to be taken off the relief rolls and put to work. We submit the following damning indictment of this program:

1. It makes scabs of those who take jobs under it. The President talks openly of paying \$50 per month, about \$11 per week, on these jobs. As a matter of fact, not enough money is being appropriated to pay that much. In many cases, therefore, especially outside the biggest cities, men and women will get as little as \$5 per week. That constitutes scabbing on the standard of the entire American working class.

2. By the same token, the program means the pauperization of the entire working class, while profits pile up in the hands of a few who are enabled by the grace of Roosevelt to luxuriate in Florida again as they did in the good old days of the Coolidge-Hoover boom.

3. Roosevelt is made a dictator over the lives of millions and enabled to proceed with building a mighty political machine.

4. Since no specific provision is made as to what the money is to be spent for, it will enable Roosevelt (i.e., the American imperialists) to go ahead with a big naval and military program.

Let the unemployed organize to fight the Roosevelt scabbery Pauperization Program. Let them demand the 30-hour week and \$50 weekly wage on all jobs. Let the employed workers, the unions, the farmers, the masses everywhere support the unemployed in

this fight!
Abject poverty, utter slavery, will be the lot of all unless the Roosevelt program is killed!

Hearst and the Bosses

WILLIAM Randolph Hearst is crusading against the "Reds" for the protection of his interests, his newspaper monopolies, his California barony and the honor of his movie queen.

The steel companies are fighting the "Reds" for the protection of their interests, their company unions, their untrammelled freedom to exploit labor and their right of making as much profit as possible with as little return as possible.

Michael Tighe, in common with all of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, is fighting the "Reds" in the steel unions for the protection of his interests, his right of controlling the union as he sees fit, his determination to avoid any kind of militancy even if it means the destruction of the union.

The "Reds" are the common denominator, the universal bogey for all these interests. Here is the proof.

The Duquesne Times, organ of the Carnegie Steel Company of Duquesne, Pa., reprints a Red-baiting editorial from the Hearst Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph with this note:

"The following article should be published in every loyal newspaper in the United States. And if results are not favorable communities should adopt the same method that for a time was in vogue in the early history of California. There are plenty of vacant trees, and hemp these days can readily be produced." (Duquesne Times, Friday, Jan. 4, 1935.)

The Journal of the Amalgamated Steel Workers in its last issue publishes an editorial aimed against the "Progressive" movement in the union. It charges the movement with being a communist affair and calls on all workers to "stamp out the reds in your locals" . . .

In the one case the steel bosses are fighting the steel workers, calling them "Reds", trying to create a lynch psychology against them. In the case of Tighe, he is fighting the more militant steel workers, trying to create a lynch psychology against them by calling them "Reds".

In both cases, William Randolph Hearst supplies the philosophy and the ammunition.

That is how "Red" becomes the name of every worker who fights exploitation and labor-fakers. As one of the Jones and Laughlin Mill steel workers expressed it:

"When they call us 'Reds' it only means that we are not dummies. When the steel bosses yell 'Red' it means that we are asking for union recognition. When Tighe yells 'Red' it means that we are fighting for union democracy. So why should we kick? That's what we are doing, isn't it? And the more they yell, the more we're going to do it!"

THE PARTY AT WORK

THE TOLEDO BRANCH

The Toledo branch is carrying out a program of action of its own.

This program was not formulated in exact terms on paper, but in real life every action undertaken brings the branch forward ever more as a distinctly leading political force in the class struggle.

In many respects it constitutes a model of an active party branch.

In all important labor events our comrades are in the forefront, not merely in the sense of a unit taking its post collectively. And the important thing is that results are obtained.

Take, for example, the recent relief actions of the Wood County Workers and Farmers.

Strenuous efforts were made by the authorities to isolate our comrades who were in the leadership, and to single them out for special punishment. They did not succeed, because our comrades had made themselves a completely integral part of the movement and the determined reply: "If one goes to jail, we all go to jail," won the day. Not only did the attempt to single out for special punishment fail, but the demonstration settled some of the grievances that were pending.

After the demonstration the branch members took an inventory. How was the trial conducted by the defendants? Had they been sufficiently effective in their testimony? Was the demonstration sufficiently well organized to bring out the collective will of the participants and the full force of their unity of action? These subjects were analyzed. Lessons were drawn that will serve for action in the future.

The Toledo branch is prompt in reporting every event, the trade union progress in the city, the strikes and the position taken by the branch. With these comrades, the latter is not merely a theoretical question. What the Toledo branch says and does has important bearing on the course of the general movement there. Branch members continue to be the leading militants in practically all union actions.

The Auto-Lite union is gaining strength and has adopted a distinctly progressive course. Long ago the reactionaries, Ramsey and Bosler, were eliminated from office. Toledo is now the best organized automobile center and our comrades have played no small part in this achievement. The struggle with the Auto-Lite Company is not yet settled. But when the Meyers Regulator Company refused the other day to recognize the union committee or to have any dealings with it, the union was made ready for strike instantly. It became practically 100 complete strike. The company begged for negotiations and accepted a settlement satisfactory to the workers. The union showed it could act. The Toledo branch put its forces officially, publicly and actively behind the strike. The Unemployed League did the same.

To understand what this means, it is necessary only to refer back to the Auto-Lite strike of last summer.

The Toledo branch can deal in this way with the unions, act officially in its own name and make its actions felt because it has established a record by deeds.

It enjoys prestige in the general movement because the workers know that when it promises support in a struggle it also carries it out with telling effect. Our comrades have proven themselves to the unions as a political force, capable of charting a correct course and winning victories.

By committing themselves to this point of view on Section 7a, the labor boards sealed their own doom. They would have to be scrapped. For the time being, it would now appear, the strike wave has exhausted itself (although forces are still at work in iron and steel, automobile manufacturing and cotton textile which may soon lead to new blowups). In the belief that the strike movement will continue on the decline, the Administration is preparing to get rid of the boards, a useless luxury, which at the same time, spoil the works. The President's Jennings ruling is the first step in that direction.

NEW STRIKE-BREAKING LEGISLATION

Suppose, however, that the drive for labor self-organization breaks through the straitjacket of the National Run Around. What then? The most likely move is that an effort will be made to replace Section 7a by new legislation calling for the compulsory arbitration of strikes. The mask of voluntary partnership between labor, management and government will be dropped, the brutal truth of capitalist coercion will reveal itself full-face. The labor boards will be divorced from their powers (on paper) of telling anti-union employers how to behave, and will be restricted in function to one task alone: suppressing direct working class action. The necessary laws are already being formulated by draftsmen official and unofficial. They will be launched as soon as expedient, under the smoke-screen, no doubt, of amending and perpetuating Section 7a.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

A Bold Policy for Progressives in Steel

Retreat Before Tighe Would be Fatal - Militants Must Organize Their Forces to Unionize Industry

THE call for a conference, issued by the progressive district leaders of the steel workers' union, to be held in Pittsburgh Feb. 3, is an act of significance. Much depends upon what this conference decides to do. No doubt it represents a culmination of resentment produced by a whole series of grievances that found no satisfactory solution, neither through the appeals made to the National Steel Labor Relations Board nor from any action of the official union leadership of Mike Tighe and Co. The necessity for this conference therefore grows out of the situation under which the steel workers live and work.

The rank and file steel workers demand action. They want a union that can serve as an effective weapon of battle against the powerful and rapacious steel trust. A serious responsibility rests on the progressives who have taken the leadership in organizing this conference.

This leadership has acquired many excellent attributes, but it suffers from weaknesses and shortcomings. Now it is called upon to propose a solution of the grievances of the rank and file and to blaze the trail for a union that can speak in the terms of power—the only terms understood and recognized by the steel barons.

We feel that this progressive leadership will welcome suggestions merited by the experiences of the class struggle. Therefore, we venture these suggestions.

Organize Progressive Forces

Up to this moment the progressive forces have fought for their ideas and conducted their activities entirely through the officially recognized union machinery, proceeding in the main from their entrenched positions in the districts. This has served as a source of strength and enabled them to enlist widespread support from the union membership.

But it has also led to certain weaknesses, owing to the fact that they lack cohesion, the discipline and above all the organization of a separate and distinct course.

Mike Tighe and his reactionary administration is in control of the central union apparatus. He has turned thumbs down on the conference. He will certainly attempt to strike a deadly blow at the progressives. Would it not be reasonable to assume that in a choice between this administration and the progressives the whole of the A. F. of L. officialdom, when called upon, will support Tighe against the latter, and reinforce the weight of the blow? Certainly, that can be expected, and it can be met effectively only through the power of organization.

We suggest, therefore, that the very first duty that the progressives owe to the union and to the steel workers is to organize themselves as a separate and distinct force within the union and each member of this movement accept the discipline imposed by majority decisions.

This organization should extend throughout the local lodges with a progressive group organized in every lodge. Naturally this would require that the progressive movement establish a medium of publicity and propaganda, to win the union and build it up to embrace all workers in every steel mill in the country.

A Bold Policy

To build the union as a fighting weapon it is necessary to have a bold policy and carry it out courageously. Bean-shooters are of no avail. No reliance can be placed on the National Steel Labor Relations Board. Clarence Irwin, pres-

ident of District No. 6 of the Amalgamated Association, pointed this out in a recent issue of the Progressive Steel Worker. He said that any program for organizing the steel workers which is less than an industry-wide movement is worse than futile.

An aggressive national campaign of organization is long overdue. The favorable moment may disappear. The A. F. of L. should be called upon to make good its promise and support a campaign of organization financially. But to leave the direction of this campaign to Green and his lieutenants would be no better than to leave it to Grandmother Tighe.

Financial support from the A. F. of L. should be conditioned upon the districts of the Amalgamated Association selecting its own organizers, the activities of organizers to be supervised by the districts. The Tighe administration has proven itself unfit for this. Needless to say, adjustments should be made in initiation fees, etc., to make it possible for all workers to join the union.

A National Strike

A campaign of organization inevitably brings forward the question of a nation-wide strike to win union recognition. Piece meal efforts will not do. But a nation-wide strike in the steel industry is a gigantic task. It cannot be posed lightly-mindedly or faced without the most serious preparation and leadership. Nor will it do to back down in the manner that happened last summer. Another such back-down would stop the union progress and growth for a long time to come.

Leadership in organization and preparation for a nation-wide strike can come only from the progressives. It requires instant attention. The steel trust will not grant union recognition willingly and it will not be granted by mere appeals based upon the NRA. Organization and preparation for a strike must be approached in terms of power—the power the workers have when they are united to wield it.

Powerful Allies

Organization of the steel industry is a key question for the whole American trade union movement. The steel workers have powerful, potential allies. A serious struggle in steel would have widespread repercussions in many unions and would secure untold support.

The coal miners union is directly affected by the present open-shop move that the steel trust is attempting to enforce in the captive mines. The progressive steel workers should pursue a policy looking toward the establishment of a firm alliance with the coal miners. In our opinion an appeal should go out from the headquarters of the Amalgamated Association calling upon the coal miners' union to make common cause with the steel workers in a nation-wide strike for recognition of the steel union and for the granting of its demands, together with recognition of the miners' union in the captive mines.

This appeal should also go out from the districts of the A. A. to the districts of the miners union and it should be followed up by an intense agitation among the rank and file coal miners. From the miners an effective response is certain when they are properly approached.

Unemployed Allies

Among the potential allies of the steel workers, count also the unemployed organizations. The jobless workers realize that they must make common cause with the unions in their struggles. Look at the effective manner the unemployed workers have helped on the picket line in recent strikes. A call from the A. A. to the unemployed organizations in the steel territories to help prevent scabbing, and to assist on the picket lines, would produce results. We have no doubt that the unemployed organizations themselves would lose no time, as soon as prospects of a strike appeared, in preparing their own members to lend all possible cooperation.

Retreat is Fatal

Above all, however, it is necessary to recognize now, in the problems that the steel workers' union now faces, that any retreat would be fatal. No further vacillations should be tolerated.

It is time to have done with the treacherous, bureaucratic schemes of the Tighe administration. It is necessary to recognize that none of the demands of the steel workers, and that the actual building of the union, cannot be accomplished without direct, persistent struggle against the Tighe administration as well as against the steel trust.

The Tighe administration has thrown down the gauntlet to the progressives. It is up to them to pick it up and to make it a fight to the finish, to clean this whole administration out of office. This is an absolute prerequisite of a powerful steel workers' union.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

TITLE CONTEST

A number of readers have entered the contest for a new title for this column. The contest ends Feb. 15. We print below a few of the titles received, and then turn the column over to Bill Reich of Allentown, with the suggestion that if he continues contributions of this standard, the column shall have not only a new title but an additional conductor.

Suggested Titles

First a letter from M.B.: "Comrade Sherman: As to your headless column: Mopping Up, Mopping Up on the News, If You Ask Me, So They Say. Or, in the European revolutionary-literary tradition: Banging on the Teapot. Or, Coffee-Clutch. Or, What the Hell. Yours, M.B."

Other titles received: Punch Lines, Bull's Eye, PlainSpeakin', In the Light, Have You Heard? What Next?, Clouds and Reality, Dismantling the News, Debunking the News, Seven Days, Exposures, and many others. Please rush your suggestions.

NATIONAL JIG SAW

Dr. S. A. Stauffer of the University of Wisconsin in a recent investigation found that 15 percent more babies are born to families on relief than to those not on relief.

In the U.S. the annual bill for contraceptives exceeds \$25,000,000. . . . The Cotton Garment Code sets a minimum wage of \$13 per week. . . . The Pennsylvania Bureau of Women and Children finds the average wage in that industry to be \$10.25 per week with 15 percent of the workers receiving less than \$5 per week. . . . Code administrators in New Jersey receive as high as \$12,000 annually. . . . The Pecan Shelling Code, which affects 15,000 workers, sets a minimum of \$6 for a 40 hour week. . . . Forty six men had incomes in excess of \$1,000,000 in 1933. . . .

Sixty bishops sign a petition opposing the payment of the soldiers' bonus. . . . Crippled soldier jailed for yelling "Give us the bonus" as President Roosevelt's heavily guarded car sped by. . . . Medieval whipping post installed in Wilmington, Delaware. . . . No prison walls are needed for 12,000 prisoners at Magnitogorsk, Soviet steel town. . . .

Henry Ford says: "Those homeless boys riding around in box cars. Why is the best education in the world for those boys, that traveling around. They get more experience in a few months than they would in years in school." . . . Young boy with torn rectum taken to hospital from Allentown Transient Shelter after being attacked by pervers. . . . Transients in Minot, N. D. are forced to work improving the Country Club golf course at \$1 per week. . . .

"Labor Shortage Bared by NRA" headlines the New York World Telegram. . . . American Federation of Labor estimates the jobless at 14,525,000. . . . Child Welfare League of America recommends 27 cents per child per day as a minimum food allowance for orphans in institutions. . . . Duke Endowment finds an average of 10 cents per day food allowance for the children in Negro orphanages. . . . Dukhobai girls imprisoned for going nude have been reformed by giving them movie magazines, says prison matron. . . . A nudist colony is the most popular spot in Hollywood, according to press report. . . . Winthrop Aldrich, millionaire director of Chase National Bank, urges the elimination of work relief in favor of direct relief. . . . Direct relief in Oklahoma averages \$8.53 per family per month. . . .

William Randolph Hearst's pet elephants, camels, kangaroos, etc. in his private zoo at San Simeon cost over \$100,000 per year to maintain. . . . Jobs on relief are urged by authorities to get rid of the pets that consume part of the family food allowance. . . . The election in the Saar plebiscite cost in excess of \$3 per vote. . . . Referring to those who voted against Hitlerizing the Saar, Herman Roehling, Nazi industrialist remarks, "We have promised not to do them harm, but we have not promised to do them any good!" . . . Secretary Ickes, Department of the Interior, upon numerous occasions has said, "There will be no graft in the administration of funds under my control." . . . House Democrats move to insert a provision barring Secretary Ickes from administering President Roosevelt's 4 billion dollar relief fund. "Secretary Ickes has not been courteous to congressmen," says one. . . . "The unemployed, by and large, are getting enough," says Harry Hopkins, administrator of relief. . . . The Journal of Commerce estimates dividend payments for 1934 at \$6,340,000,000. . . .

Father Coughlin says: "Labor should have a voice in the management and in the social conditions of the factory. I say you should have a voice, perhaps not the loudest voice. You shouldn't demand wages that are too high but a voice in the management that will enable more profits to be made." . . .

Across Country with Cannon, 'A'

(Continued from Page 1)

force. It looks like the next big achievement for Minneapolis.

A regular and a special meeting of the party branch, a party mass meeting well attended in spite of 30 below zero weather, a rousing banquet at which sympathizers contributed a substantial sum to the Party Foundation Fund, a meeting of several hundred students and faculty members of the University of Minnesota, a forum in St. Paul and another in Minneapolis, a meeting of the Northwest Unity Conference, the organization of militant unionists in these parts—these items contributed a part of the speaking schedule here! But as suggested above, the weather was cold and bracing, so we have survived.

In fact—we had better make it public lest the comrades conclude that Comrade Cannon and I have gone plutocratic or that the party has come into a fortune—we look like new men. Some of the trade unionists here clubbed together and fitted the two of us out with brand new suits, union label and all!

At the Branch E.C. meeting Sunday morning twelve new members were enrolled. It is expected that a party office will be opened soon. Our stay here ended as might have been expected in this region where one strike follows on the heels of another. Eight or ten of the comrades were in my room at midnight for a last chat. The telephone rang. Miles Dunne was

wanted. Fargo, N. D. was calling. Miles has organized the drivers there. They are on-strike for union recognition. The call was from a newspaper man in Fargo and conveyed the news that a few hours before the police force, which has sworn in 300 special deputies in that town of about 25,000 inhabitants, had appeared at union headquarters with warrants for Miles Dunne and two local leaders. The union men refused to open the doors and give up their leaders. So the police shot tear gas bombs through the windows, rounded up 94 strikers and threw them into jail. They did not arrest any of the women and children of whom a considerable number were in the hall. The warrants against Miles Dunne and the other leaders charge rioting and inciting to riot. Thus our gathering was transformed into a council of war. Strike and defense plans were mapped out.

The Workers Party, Local 574 and the other unions in Minneapolis, the organized farmers around Fargo, will get those drivers out of jail and call the bluff of the Fargo reactionaries who think that terrorism can stop the militant labor movement of the northwest. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense may be called upon to help.

CP Jeopardizes Liberty of 18

(Continued from Page 1)

honestly this conference can succeed only in accomplishing a further split. This separate conference is to be held Feb. 10.

Already several A. F. of L. progressives who were ready to respond to an honest call have indicated that they will attend no conference on Feb. 10. The general disgust which will result from the Stalinists' behavior will undoubtedly weaken the whole defense movement. The N.P.L.D., however, is carrying on, and will build a united front of all honest militant elements.

Thus far the N.P.L.D. has succeeded in taking two I.L.D. prisoners out of jail, in bringing into the case Albert Goldman whose legal capacity and excellent courtroom judgment is proving invaluable in this difficult case, in popularizing the case as a whole, and in forcing the I.L.D. into the open on its various sabotaging and disruptive policies. If other organizations continue to back up this fight, the defendants may yet see a mass movement behind them and not be left to the tender mercies of their capitalist enemies or their Stalinist "friends".

At this moment the N.P.L.D. is badly in need of funds to pay the expenses of Attorney Goldman and other bills incurred in the Sacramento work. Answer the disruption of the Stalinists with a contribution to the N.P.L.D.'s Sacramento defense funds. Despite and against Stalinism, throw your weight behind an honest, fighting defense movement.

Comrade Winner deserves your fullest cooperation in the task of building the party press. Such cooperation and renewed enthusiasm for the big job ahead is urged from all former supporters of Labor Action and the old Militant. Meanwhile I shall be out sending in snubs towards that 10,000 circulation! Everybody on the job!

Fraternally,
CARA COOK,

MASS MEETING

A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary, Workers Party of the U.S.

WILL SPEAK ON

Coming Gigantic Strike Struggles In Steel -- Auto -- Rubber

Comrade Muste who is at present touring the mid-West, has studied the situation at first hand. He has met and conferred with the leaders of last year's great labor struggles in these regions.

GREAT STRUGGLES IMPEND
Hear the Message of the Workers Party

Sunday, February 10th 3 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA HALL

15th St. and Irving Place

QUESTIONS

Admission 15c

DISCUSSION

Auspices: Workers Party of the U. S., N. Y. District