

NEW MILITANT

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Socialist Party Adventurism

In two most important fields the Socialist Party of the United States now seems bent on demonstrating that when it comes to betrayal of the united front, "mechanical domination by paper organizations" and all the rest of it, they are not to be outdone by the Stalinists.

In March it is proposed by S. P. elements to hold in Washington a "convention" to form a "non-partisan national unemployed organization". Each state organization of unemployed is to have fifteen votes in this "convention", regardless of its membership. Even at that the fifteen need not be present; one "delegate" can cast the entire fifteen votes on behalf of the unemployed of his state! The unemployed have never even acted on this proposal, either in local meetings or in state conventions. The National Unemployed League has repeatedly challenged the S. P. leaders who are trying to pull off this raw maneuver, which has not been and cannot be the means of building a really solid unemployed organization.

"Let us bring the bona fide unemployed organizations of the country together in a convention of delegates from the local leagues on the basis of proportional representation, and thus form a national organization. The N.U.L. will not stand on ceremony in such case. Its forces will merge in such a body."

The S. P. elements in the unemployed field will not accept that simple and straightforward proposal. Instead, in the most approved Stalinist manner, they seek to gather a few top officials, many representing only paper organizations, and so to erect a dual organization. Why?

As indicated elsewhere in this issue of the New Militant, the S. P. seems about to set up its "own" so-called "Labor and Socialist Defense Organization" in much the same arbitrary fashion, after the N.E.C. and the Labor Committee of the party had formally gone on record for a sound non-partisan defense proposal and had for months been negotiating with the Non-Partisan Labor Defense Committee, the W. P. and other organizations on that basis.

What becomes, in view of such outrageous actions, of the stock S. P. charge that a united front is impossible because the Communist Party "always wants

to dominate and capture, brings in paper organizations, breaks agreements, in short, cannot be depended upon for honest united action?"

Revolutionary Marxists have never been duped into believing that Socialist right wingers, "labor lawyers", trade union bureaucrats, would participate loyally in united mass struggle actions, in the course of which their own impotence and traitorous character would inevitably be exposed.

But it is the Militants and left-wingers in the S.P. who must give an account of themselves now. They claim to be Marxists and revolutionists. Do they line up with the S. P. right wing in these matters? Are they going to play a typically capitalist confusionist role which is in effect more harmful than that of open and avowed reactionaries? Or are they going to fight uncompromisingly for a principled united front for struggle?

At all events, once again the crying need for the leadership of a sound revolutionary Marxist party is demonstrated. Without it, there will be no clear and vigorous united action in the many fields which need it today.

Bootlickers

A MEEK and humble "worm", according to a well-known rhyme, finally turned upon his tormentor and said: "It was all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me down-stairs?"

The A. F. of L. Executive Council seems incapable of showing even that much self-respect and healthy resentment in its dealings with President Roosevelt. Roosevelt, as was pointed out in the New Militant last week, rebuffed and insulted the A. F. of L. by renewing the automobile code without including any of labor's amendments and then rubbed it in by making a public statement charging, on the basis of elections conducted by the anti-union Auto Labor Board, that the A. F. of L. had no members in Detroit. John L. Lewis, Bill Green et al. howled with rage, talked about the NRA "betraying" the workers, etc.—as indeed it has done in every one of the basic industries.

Within one week the whole Executive Council marches to the White House in its best bib and tucker and "organized labor and the Roosevelt administration reestablished an entente cordiale". Roosevelt in honeyed phrases said he recognized the A. F. of L. as "one of the great and outstanding institutions of the country". Green in equally honeyed language said the A. F. of L.'s criticism was not against the NRA but against "those clothed with administrative authority in the NRA".

What results Roosevelt and his business get out of this love-feasting between the capitalist government and the trade union bureaucrats was shown a couple of days later when the A. F. of L. gave up its fight for the prevailing rate of wages under the new public works bill, accepting a typical Rooseveltian compromise.

Union officials who expel militants who try to organize and lick the boots of a capitalist politician even when the latter has openly sabotaged efforts of the workers to organize, and who then turn round and agree to a new cut in the wage standard by this same capitalist henchman, are the most dangerous and shameful traitors of the masses.

Let the honest and militant forces in the unions organize to smash the power of this piteous and traitorous officialdom!

CAPITOL NEWS LETTER

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be (got) ready for the afternoon". Quite in the same spirit, "the line is run past the noon hour and also past the quitting time". We find, to add the final touch, "the practice of requiring men to report for work every day and sometimes waiting around for hours before being told that there was no work for them". Unless the worker "shows up" when there is no work to be done, he will find it difficult to get a job when work does come along.

BOSS DIPS IN PAY ENVELOPE

No sooner does the worker earn his wage, however, than the boss begins to dip into the pay envelope, extracting little deductions here and there, for the support of "group insurance" and "group welfare" plans. These plans, the report informs us, "are in effect compulsory even though theoretically voluntary". As for the workers, "they have nothing to say about the conduct of the plans and of their management. They do not know what happens to their money. They consider (these plans) a publicity device which the employer pays for".

Not only do the employers fail to recognize seniority rights—the one sure safeguard against discrimination—but deliberately pursue the policy of scrapping workers over 40 years of age and replacing them with fresh recruits imported from the South and elsewhere. The situation of the older workers, the report tells us, "is terrible. They are doomed to idleness. These men have 15 or 20 years of life ahead of them. They are not really old—they are from 40 to 50 years of age. Their savings may last a couple of years. Some of them may be fortunate and have grown children who can take care of them. The others must fall back on public relief and, after a time, to the poorhouse".

Safety and health do not concern the employers. "Men on the line cannot leave their jobs to get medical treatment for hours after an injury occurs." In many plants, "the machines have not been kept in good repair and as a result accidents are more prone to occur". Many workers are "subjected to occupational diseases because of the failure of the management to furnish modern devices for drawing off fumes of various sorts, particularly in the paint shops where the lead hazard is great". As for the ventilating systems, they are often broken-down, decrepit, repaired at long intervals.

CODE IS VIOLATED

Violations of the code labor provisions (innocuous though the provisions be) are by no means infrequent. Production workers are required to labor more than 48 hours per week (the code limit) and when they complain, are informed "an exemption" by the NRA. Highly skilled employees have been placed "on a salary basis in order to get complete exemption from hourly provisions for them". Piece rate earnings have been "averaged over an entire pay period", although on quite a number of days "the earnings may have been less than the code minimums".

As for the code provision which permits the averaging of hours, it has "denied unemployment to many who have been without work for months and given greater force to threats of summary dismissal directed at those who might express an unfavorable remark about the speeding up of production. It tends to maintain the length of the waiting line of job seekers", which is one of the principal devices by which the bosses smother grievances and complaints. The tool, die, jig and fixture workers, and all the maintenance employees—whose maximum hours in any one week the code fails to limit—are worst off of all. "Everywhere we are told that during the busy season they worked 70, 80, perhaps 90 hours a week. And always they contend, and are willing to prove, men who had worked in their departments were idle".

EXPERTS SPEAK OF RATIONAL WORKERS

But what do the experts who gathered all these data recommend as a practical solution? The simplicity of their scheme staggers the understanding. Instead of having one single prolonged seasonal peak in automobile production, the annual show of new models should be advanced to the autumn, thus making for two shorter seasonal peaks! But what more should we expect from a group of experts who on the face of their own findings, can blandly remark: "The impression we gathered from the attitude of the rational (!!) workers was that they were more hopeful for what the future of the code might bring them than satisfied with any salutary effects on their interests up to the present."

BRONX OPEN FORUM "Two Years of Nazi Rule" Speaker: LUDWIG LORE (Noted Columnist) FRIDAY, FEB 22, 8 P.M. Hollywood Gardens 163rd St. and Prospect Ave

United Opposition Needed against Tighe

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pending before the National Steel Labor Board.

In the next few days Irwin and Morris got the axe, and instructions were sent to all lodges that attendants at the conference should be immediately expelled. Failure to do so meant the withdrawal of the charter. Indications are that some 78 lodges are affected.

A committee led by Spang which attempted to see the International officials was met at the door of the union building by a squad of police and detectives, and was refused admittance. A statement by secretary Louis Leonard declared that the A. A. is through with the progressives.

Attempts of the progressives to gain a hearing before the executive council of the A. F. of L. have not yet been successful, although it is reported that President Green has met with the committee. It is obvious that the A. F. of L. big shots will not give the progressives any measure of genuine support. However, it may be that this august body will attempt to string them along with half-promises and much delay.

Job Before Progressives

It is obvious that the progressives can only build a union in steel if they completely wipe out the entire Tighe official family. Organization will never be established in the steel industry except by a determined and courageous battle. Mike Tighe cannot and will not fight such a battle. Neither will Bill Green. The progressives can do it only if they constitute an independent, organized force in the union, functioning on the basis of a clear program.

A successful fight against the steel barons depends, furthermore, upon a united progressive movement of militant labor in all industries.

The progressives must realize now that they had not done the necessary spadework in the local lodges. The militants had not formed an organization of their own and were not solidly organized into a disciplined force. They had depended almost exclusively on informal conferences of leaders of local lodges or districts. But, as was so tragically demonstrated in the re-convened convention last June, this constitutes an inadequate and hopelessly undependable base. There must be organization at the bottom.

The Tighe machine and influence can be destroyed only by developing a powerful, coordinated machine in opposition. Failure to do this has not forestalled a wholesale expulsion policy by the Tighe ma-

chine, nor has it secured effective aid for organizing work from the A. F. of L. The miners who attended the joint conference were also placed in a hazardous position. They had even less of an organized progressive movement with which to combat the wrath of the much more powerful Lewis-Fagan gang.

No Compromise With Fakers

On the other hand, there was evident in the Pittsburgh conference at times a "rightist" attempt to conciliate and white-wash the A. F. of L. bureaucracy which can only confuse the workers and cannot advance the cause of a militant organizing campaign. The A. F. of L. leadership must be challenged to get to work, to furnish support to the progressives; not tending to in hypocritical fashion. The Communist party is now doing this sort of thing as part of its latest unprincipled zig-zag to the right. Their example should not be copied by honest trade union militants.

Similarly, the red hysteria must be fought not as was done in the Pittsburgh conference by crying "Do we look like Communists?", but by insisting on the principle that a union man is judged by his union activity and by showing that Tighe and Company raise the red scare only to cover up their own inaction and treason.

The real revolutionist has and can have no other program than the building of a powerful fighting industrial union in steel and a strike against the steel corporations to compel them to deal with their workers. The Workers Party stands for this program. The C. P., which has pursued an adventurist and disruptive role in steel for years, with its S.M.W.I.U., is incapable, in the absence of a revolutionary policy, of anything but the same adventurism and disruption now.

What's the job for the progressives? First and foremost is the task of building a strong, disciplined and united movement in opposition to the Tighe machine. Expulsions must be fought to the last ditch. Every attempt at red-baiting by that machine must be exposed and vigorously fought.

A vigorous campaign for reinstatement of expelled lodges and members must be organized. The lodges in "good standing" must be won to support this campaign.

The fight to force the A. F. of L. to undertake a national organizing campaign in steel must be pushed to the limit. This must lead to general strike action against the steel trust for only in this manner can a strong union be built.

Action Training School Opens

"Send us a comrade who can help in the Unemployed Leagues." "We need someone to conduct elementary education in our progressive group." "All our comrades are busy in the trade unions, can you send a comrade or two to act as organizer of the Workers Party branch." "Excellent possibilities for growth of the Workers Party. Need trained forces to take advantage of the situation."

These are typical requests which come in regularly to the national office of the Workers Party. With the growth of the party and the increased preparations for strike action in many industries skilled militants will be in ever greater demand throughout the country. Intelligent preliminary training in the class room is invaluable for effective leadership in the class struggle. New York will be called upon to supply a major part of the forces.

With this in mind, the first semester of the International Workers School in New York includes such courses as American Labor History, instructor A. J. Muste, Trade Union Strategy and Tactics, instructor Arne Swaback; Organization Principles, instructor Martin Aborn; Workers Party Fundamentals, instructor Ben Borokson. Other courses include Marxian Economics, American History, Elementary English, History of the Three Internationals, Philosophy of Marxism, History of the Youth Movement, A B C of Marxism, and History of the Russian Revolution.

ON TOUR

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to the N.U.L. convention at Columbus last summer supposedly as the representative of numerous unemployed bodies in several states of the Pacific Northwest. He has found it possible to leave the unemployed in that great area to their fate these many months and to busy himself in a vain effort to disrupt Unemployed Leagues in Ohio and turn them into Councils. He was given the floor and indicated that he was going to demolish "Trotskyism". After one sentence he was off on a typical demagogic appeal for "united front in the struggle for bread" which netted him exactly nothing except applause from half a dozen "stooges" he has brought with him. And even these all gathered after the meeting around Sam Pollock of Toledo who happened to be present and listened for nearly an hour to his exposition of what a "united front" is and is not!

The mass meeting was followed by a three hour meeting of the Branch devoted to a serious discussion of how a revolutionary party functions in mass organizations.

An Old American Custom CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Here the revolutionary party holds its meeting in the Court of Common Pleas of Kanawha County! This is because the Unemployed Leagues

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHEERMAN

TITLE CONTEST ENDS

With titles still rolling in, the contest approaches its conclusion. Feb. 15 is the last day. At sun-up, or thereabouts, on Feb. 17, the court of editors will meet in solemn session to judge all titles. It will be a strenuous job but the editors are sworn to arrive at a final decision before midnight. What will the new title be? Today none but the gods know. In a week from today it will be the property of the entire world, for the column will appear with its new masthead. We want to thank all readers who sent in titles and we hope that they and many others will continue their interest by contributing items that will help make the column worthy of its new title and also representative of the entire country.

A Voice from Philly

"Dear Bill: It is very simple to get an interesting title for your column. Merely reverse the words and presto—the title appears like a C. P. Labor Party decision from this air—"Renewing Your Views". —M. P."

Other Titles

Left Jabs, Red America, In the Red, Journal-Analysis, Butting In, Looking 'Em Over, I Read It Myself, Billionaire (and that from an S.Y.L. female), Check and Double-check, Between the Lines, Perpetual Commotion, Political Pi, What's What and What's Not, Column Left, and a host of others.

OBITUARY NOTE

The Daily Worker announces that the T.U.U.L. is now going to be dissolved. The obsequies will be held at those funeral parlors at which numerous other corpses have recently been embalmed, namely, the Red Peasants International, the National Miners Union, the Dry Pretzel Polishers International Industrial Union, and others. We are reliably informed that a typographical error in the Daily Worker omitted the important initials: S.A. E.T.B.S.N.F. (Shed a furtive tear but send no flowers). The rank and file Rabbi, Goldstein, and the rank and file God, Divine, will officiate at the ceremonies, assisted by Sexton Stachel.

Investigating a Company Union

The Consolidated Gas Company of New York decided to give their employees a union. Being a very "generous" company they decided to write a constitution, publish membership books and to make things still easier, run the union for the employees. Some of the men applying to the Consolidated the old adage "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts", decided to investigate the company's "wooden horse". A committee was duly elected by the Chemical Dept. They took an office in the company building, printed stationery and set out on their investigation. It wasn't the kind of work the company expected from the nice spick and span new union which they had set up. The committee wanted to know who authorized the expenditures. They wanted to know how decisions were arrived at. They quizzed the members of the "General Council". They mimeographed detailed reports to their investigation and passed them around. They found the only gains to the employees from the Employees Representation Plan were: "Six thousand little yellow company union books". In their final summing up the committee denounced the "union" as a tool of the company and called on the workers to set up a real union free from company control.

Labor Proves Gratitude

That was the headline in a New York paper over the story of the gift of ten thousand dollars by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, through its president, Dan Tobin to Postmaster General Farley to help pay off the Democratic Party deficit. It might be well to recall that when Local Union 574 of that International was struggling against the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, backed by all kinds of Democratic agents, the only help they received from Tobin was a stab in the back.

A Warm "Fascist" Smile

From the Daily Worker, which for five years denounced Bill Green as an "outright Fascist", we clip the following: "Despite Tighe's telegraphed insistence that the committee be denied recognition, Green again received the committee (Steel Workers Rank and File Committee) today. Green implied that they would be included in the Executive Council's Organization Plan. Green smiled warmly. . . . Is that the way to speak of an "outright Fascist"? Or does a change in the "general Stalinist line" also change "Fascists" into "warm smiling" friends? According to the same issue of the Daily Worker, "Browder spoke with warm brillance". . . . "Green smiled warmly" Come, come, this is too much.

Greetings from the New Manager

The confusion caused, of necessity, by the combination of merging and moving is beginning to subside; that is to say, system is being restored and the new business manager is able to take time out occasionally to breathe, eat an occasional meal, and, incidentally, to write this brief greeting to all friends of the New Militant.

During the past several weeks Cara Cook and myself worked hours and hours so that things should be in good order when the fatal day arrived upon which she would no longer be able to postpone her departure. In her "last will and tes-

S.P. Violates Defense Pact

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to propose for the organization". This plan was twice endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party. It was incorporated into the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of last September and published in the Socialist party press. The Labor Committee of the Socialist party was instructed to proceed with the work of the Conference Committee. For six months on one pretext after another the Socialist party, through its negotiators, delayed action. Now it is proceeding with the policy announced in the New Leader. Although the S. P. has been formally committed to the plan of the Provisional Committee, it announced its new policy without previous notice or discussion with the organizations which had endorsed the plan.

Does this change of policy signify only a change in the method of launching a permanent labor defense organization? Not at all. The real significance lies deeper. The plan of the Provisional Committee provides that "the organization's chief activities for the defense of class-war prisoners . . . shall consist of . . . (3) organization of pressure campaigns enlisting broad masses of worker and sympathizers in meetings and public demonstrations. . . . To make this possible the plan provided for a structure which included in addition to affiliation of trade unions, local branches on a national scale, along the lines of the I.L.D. in its good days.

Will this be the policy adopted by the conference launched and controlled by the S. P.? What reason is there to think so? All the indications point in the opposite direction. To begin with, the old policy was agreed to by the Militants when they were in control and riding high. The new policy is announced by August Claessens

Decry Attack Against Mini

"In issue number 8 she forgot to mention that she bequeathed to me a set of records in excellent condition and well-arranged for efficient working. To tell the truth I do not believe she forgot; I think she was just too modest to say so.

However, I wish to express appreciation on this score and to say that if all you friends out in the field will cooperate to the same extent, especially in seeing to it that bundle payments are kept right up-to-date, bundle orders increased as rapidly as possible, and as many new subscriptions sent in during the drive and thereafter as it is possible to get, we will soon have an even better paper than we have now; and I think that is saying something.

On with the drive!

Fraternally, HAWTHORNE WINNER

as secretary of the New York Labor Committee, subsequent to the capture of that committee by the right wing and the ousting of the Militants from it. Moreover, this policy is announced at a time when the right wing in the party is advancing and the Militants are in retreat. (Claessens himself defines the function of "a powerful and effective Labor and Socialist National (Defense) organization" as immediate action in response to "calls for strike relief, emergencies (?), arrests and preparation for trials and for appeals in cases of conviction". In short, the Labor Defense policy of the right wing is an efficient organization on a legalistic basis plus the present strike relief activities which the S. P. is conducting. It is reformist through and through. That will be, as the thing stands now, the policy of any defense organization controlled by the S. P. especially today.

The Socialist party appears to be heading in the direction of launching a sectarian defense organization. The March 15 conference is being organized on that basis and to accomplish that end. The Socialist party is violating its agreements with other working class organizations. It is still further dividing the labor and defense movements. It is sabotaging an opportunity to take a significant step forward in the direction of unity.

That is a responsibility which we do not care to share. As before, the Workers Party stands for a broad, inclusive, representative, non-partisan labor defense organization. It is ready to enter into united action to build such a movement. Is the Socialist Party now going to read itself out of such a movement? Above all, what are the Militants going to say and do about the proposed betrayal of the policy to which they have for months stood committed?

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week a statement made in August to the district attorney by Norman Mini. In this statement Mini openly declared himself a member of the Communist party and a believer in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The existence of the statement has been known ever since the Sacramento papers headlined it in August. Mini was a member of the C. P. as late as December when he left it to join the Workers Party.

Prosecutor McAllister offered Mini's statement as a "confession". Attorney Goldman immediately objected, pointing out that the defendant is ready to stipulate that he belonged to the C. P. and believed in what he understood to be its doctrines, but that he could not "confess" these things since they are not crimes. The judge blandly admitted the statement as a "confession".

The Communists, who are well aware that Mini has repeatedly refused offers of immunity (as reported several weeks ago by the N.P.L.D.) has joined the prosecution in characterizing Mini's statement as a "confession", adding that Mini is a "stool-pigeon".

But immediately after the statement was read to the jury, many of the defendants, led by Caroline Becker, Pat Chambers and Nora Conklin, rushed up to Mini to inform him that the statement was "flop" as far as damaging the case was concerned. All expressed readiness to sign a statement expressing solidarity with Mini and denouncing the prosecution for calling this document a confession.

At this point however, Sam Darcy, district organizer of the C. P. appeared and ordered everybody to withhold their signatures. Despite this, Jack Warnick has issued a statement over his own signature defending Mini and denouncing the slander campaign against him.

Unable to divert attention from their disruption of the united front several weeks ago, the C. P. is now trying to center attention on a crusade against Norman Mini. A similar attack is planned against Jack Warnick. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense is active, although laboring under great disadvantages due to the slander campaign of the Hearst press on the one hand and the Communist party press on the other against Mini. The Socialist party state secretary has sent out a statement accusing the C. P. of disrupting the united front, and appealing to all branches to contribute to the N.P.L.D. Sacramento fund. A resolution on behalf of the defendants has been received from Local 574, famous truckdrivers union of Minneapolis.