

NEW MILITANT

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Progressives Organize!

An individual cannot successfully cope with a machine. Even a group of individuals getting together in a crisis and agreeing on a program are in the end no match for an old well-oiled machine.

That is the lesson which was hammered into the progressive unionists in Toledo, Cleveland, Norwood and other General Motors centers by the betrayal of Dillon a couple of weeks ago. Already they are taking steps to build the militants in the auto industry into an organized force.

The moment progressives undertake such a move they are met with the objection: "But this means having an organization within an organization. This means that a certain group is going to try to dominate the union. Then another group will start up—The union will be divided."

It is curious to have this cry raised so constantly in a country which works under a party system, where it is an accepted thing that the parties, Democratic, Republican, etc. organize to advance their respective programs. What should be more natural in a democratic organization such as the trade union movement purports to be, than that groups should organize about a program, bring it to the attention of the membership, etc.?

As a matter of fact, in some of our most respectable and conservative unions such as the typographical, two or more parties have operated openly, put up slates in elections, etc. for years. There are hundreds of unions throughout the country in which groups with different programs have functioned year after year, and this has not meant the collapse of the union.

Honest workers must not be led astray by the crimes and mistakes which have been committed by the Communist Party in the trade unions. It is true that the groups they organized and influenced set out to "capture" unions, often by allying themselves with reactionary and gangster elements in order to get votes. It is also true that the C. P. pursued a disruptive policy in the unions. Today, in a feverish attempt to win back the confidence of the trade unionists which they lost by these insane methods, they actually play the game of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats as they did in Akron.

Progressive unionists, whether they be also members of the Workers Party or not, will seek to influence the unions by working out sound policies for the unions, advocating them openly, doing everything in their power to educate the membership, make them acquainted with the policies they are advocating. If they are defeated they will take the licking and get right to work again in order that the policies they advocate may eventually win the day. They will gain the confidence of the membership by their willingness to work harder for the union, fight more valiantly on the picket line, etc. But they will not be deferred from organizing and fighting with all their might for the policies in which they believe.

What is the alternative if the militants do not organize? That there are then no groups, no "machine" in the union at all? Not at all. The officialdom in the trade unions is organized, openly or secretly. They have their machine, their cliques, through whom by strong-arm methods, by job control, deceitful propaganda, they control the membership, often without the membership being aware of it.

It is these bureaucrats, these Tammany politicians, in the trade union movement who raise the cry, "We must not have an organization within an organization." They do it in order to defend their jobs, to maintain their own policy of collaboration with the bosses. They know only too well that once the militants cease acting as individuals, cease depending on an occasional joint action in a crisis, but make themselves into a permanent, independent, fighting force, the day of the bureaucrats is done.

Progressives, militants, organize! You have a right to organize! You must organize if trade union democracy is to be maintained! You must organize to save the unions from reactionaries, racketeers, and betrayers, to make the unions into mighty weapons of defense and offense for the workers!

Auto International

One of the problems which the militants of the Federal Automobile locals will have to give careful attention in the immediate future is the setting up of an international union with a charter from the American Federation of Labor. At the close of the recent meeting of the A. F. of L. executive council, when the General Motors strike was on, William Green announced that the charter for an international union which had been promised to the automobile workers a long time ago, was to be issued "as soon as things quieted down." Well, thanks to Francis Dillon's strenuous efforts on behalf of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the General Motors strike had been "settled" and except for a flurry here and there in the automobile centers, "things have quieted down."

The first move of the progressive automobile workers should be to demand an end to delays, to call for the international charter immediately. The Federal locals cannot act together quickly and effectively so long as they are loosely tied together in a council which has no real power. Furthermore, an international union and its locals have, under the A. F. of L. set-up, much more control over their own affairs than the Federal locals which are merely puppets in the hands of the bureaucrats. One of the ways, therefore to make Dillon betrayals more difficult is for the automobile workers to get their own international charter immediately.

In the second place, much may depend upon the way in which the new international is set up. Doubtless the Green-Dillon proposition will be that for a year at least the present council which is dominated by them or some group they appoint, shall serve as the provisional executive board of the new international. Then when this outfit is fairly secure in the saddle it will call a convention and by the methods so well known to the labor politicians, will see to it that "safe and sane," that is, machine, delegates are elected, so that the convention may put the politicians into permanent control of the union.

Doubtless the Green-Dillon outfit has already sent reassuring word to General Motors and the rest of the automobile corporations: "We will take care of everything and see to it that no hot-heads, no wild young men, no reds, have anything to say about the new union. Trust us and you will be safe. See what we were able to do even in Toledo!"

Progressives must insist on a convention of delegates elected by the rank and file of the local unions. The situation in the automobile industry is such that a convention, in which the workers can compare notes and make plans for a national organization and a national strike when conditions are ripe, is urgently needed. At such a convention the new international must be drafted and officers elected.

One other basic consideration must receive careful attention at once. As things stand the A. F. of L. proposes to assign a considerable percentage of the workers in the automobile industry to the machinists and other craft unions. The auto workers have been led to believe that the Federal locals were a stepping stone to industrial unionism. It is reported that when in a recent interview Green was asked whether the new union in automobiles could be described as "industrial" he answered that he could not be sure! In other words, the auto workers can be sure that the new international will not be an industrial union if the genuine sense in the A. F. of L. leaders have their way.

With a dozen or twenty unions in the industry there will be continual bickering and strife between the job-holders in the unions. The employers will assiduously play off the one against the other. In strikes they will be scabbing on each other as has happened so often under the craft union set-up. The workers will be the victims of these conditions. The new international will be seriously handicapped if not crippled from the outset unless it is in the full sense of the term industrial, embracing all the workers in and about the automobile and auto parts plants.

Let the slogan of genuine industrial unionism be raised immediately. Let an educational campaign be set under way among the auto workers, both in and out of the Federal locals. Let the question be raised in the central labor bodies and in all local unions that can be reached. The soil is ready for such a campaign. Let all the militant and progressive forces get behind it, and it will sweep the country.

Mass Meeting The United States and the European Powers Are Preparing for War! HOW ARE THE WORKERS PREPARED TO MEET THE NEXT WAR? Speakers: A. J. Muste National Secretary of the Workers Party Manny Garrett Editor of Young Spartacus FRIDAY, MAY 31st, 8 P.M. Germania Hall, Third Ave. and 16th St. Auspices: N. Y. District Workers Party of U. S.

\$4.75 A Week - The Roosevelt Standard

Union Wages To Go Down

(Continued from page 1) over 100,000 (22 cents in rural districts). For the South then, city relief wages drop from 40 to 19 cents and from \$1.00 to 42 cents per hour. The first step into the promised land of Roosevelt security.

Under P.W.A. Rates In the North P.W.A. wages were 50 cents an hour for unskilled and \$1.20 for skilled labor. Under the new scheme they will be 34 cents and 53 cents in the cities (25 and 34 cents in rural areas).

This is the way President Roosevelt goes about "lifting up the underprivileged."

The lack of any provision for prevailing rates in the new bill is of paramount importance. It means, in effect, that skilled workers will no longer work for union scales, as they did under the P.W.A. Whereas they now work five or six days per month at union rates to earn their fifty or sixty dollars, under the new plan they will work the 40-hour week, four weeks a month, to gain the same sum. On the new scale will be played the funeral march of union wages.

Not Isolated—Competing Many liberal papers deplore the new program as "creating a caste of the unemployed, as isolating a large body of the American people and condemning them to semi-slavery."

But the unemployed will not be "isolated in a semi-slave caste," not at all. On the contrary the unemployed, far from being isolated, will be in direct contact with the employed, and will tend to pull down the wages of all labor to the minimum level of the program.

Workers on "government" projects (frequently let out to private contractors) will work at program wages side by side with "privately" employed workers. It is evident that the interaction of the two wage scales together with employers' greed and government connivance will drive all wages down to the security level.

Instead of creating an "isolated caste of semi-slaves" consisting of the unemployed, the new program will make the whole working class, in time, a caste of semi-slaves. Under the modern wage system there is no such thing as an isolated "caste," for wages of one section of the working class inevitably react on the wages of every other. It is not from empty idealism that labor organizations proclaim that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

Green's Nightmares There can be little surprise that even the doddering A. F. of L. officialdom was stirred out of its rosy dreams of peaceful and endless collaboration by the announcement of the new program. William Green is reported to say: "I am fearful

(!) of protest strikes among the unemployed, and I am also fearful that private industry will use these rates to reduce the wages they are now paying."

We are accustomed to the sight of William Green trembling with fright at the mention of direct action, of strikes. But here his whole philosophy is summed up; he is fearful of lower wages, but he is equally fearful of raising them by strikes.

Bills, Not Action

At present Green and the rest of the A. F. of L. skates are putting their faith in the Wagner Bill. This bill, which would relieve Bill Green of his "fearful" strikes, may pass. Roosevelt having taken two important steps to the right, the work relief program and the bonus, must now cover up with a gesture to the left. The Wagner Bill furnishes him with just the proper cover, nothing more than an empty gesture, it has, nevertheless, the endorsement of the A. F. of L. In practice it will have no more effect than the now half-dead National Labor Board—i. e. it will serve to "arbitrate" workers out of the gains they might make by strike action.

William Green feels the sand running out from under his feet. But it is not from William Green and his fears that workers can expect any aid.

The new program contains a clause which permits the Works Progress Division "to upset the entire scale by exempting projects where necessary in accordance with local wage conditions." This simple clause really invalidates the whole published scale, and leads us to suspect that the scale is nothing more than a "feeler" to see how the people will react. In practice the scale will be even lower if the administration can get away with it.

It Depends on Labor

At the same time workers can force the scale up—anything that can go down, can, in this case, go up—if workers force it up.

The new program provides minimum wages at best 19 dollars a month, and maximum at best \$94 a month. It provides that only one member of each family may work for that sum. All food, clothing, rent, furniture, amusement, medical care, etc. for the whole family, no matter what size, must be found in that sum.

The wages are not steady. The work is irregular, depending on the projects in hand. The worker is docked for illness. He is liable to permanent dismissal. The Works division (appropriately named) can cut his wage, paid, as an added insult only monthly, at whim.

The worker is at the mercy of the government for which he toils at slave wages.

There is but one recourse: not votes, not bills, not laws, not labor boards, not William Greens, but direct action, organization and strike action.

Gould Speaks In Kansas City

By JEFF RALL

Kansas City, Mo., May 18.—"The Future of American Youth" was the topic of Nathan Gould's address, delivered to an attentive and enthusiastic audience gathered at the Workers' Modern Library to hear the message of the Spartacus Youth League presented by its national secretary.

"He who has the youth has the army," stated Comrade Gould, quoted from Karl Liebknecht. The imperative need of rescuing the working class youth from the dangers of fascist demagoguery and mobilizing them behind the revolutionary party was convincingly set forth. Both the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Communist League have conclusively demonstrated their inability to rally the youth for revolutionary action, he said, and the responsibility thus rests with the Spartacus Youth League to fulfill this duty imposed upon them by history.

The belief that the American working class is inhibited with conservatism and a tendency to balk at revolutionary solutions was emphatically repudiated by Comrade Gould, as he pointed to the magnificent examples of heroism and the capacity for self-sacrifice displayed by the workers in recent strike battles. These militant actions prove that the American workers will not accept fascism and the continued assaults of capitalism upon their living standards with folded arms and passive acquiescence. With a vanguard worthy of their allegiance they can and will be led to a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' State. Further, such a vanguard has been created, asserted Comrade Gould—the Workers Party of the U. S. and the Spartacus Youth League.

Youth Sways Mpls. Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

to summarize the discussion in a "safe and sane" manner.

The most progressive report was made to the conference by the employment discussion group. It included resolutions indorsing the Lunden bill, favoring government operation of idle factories as a temporary measure, calling for equal wages under the NRA for black and white, favoring the right of youth to organize, strike and picket, urging the expenditure of war funds on education, and opposing the militarization of C.C.C. and transient camps. The last of the series of ten resolutions which were passed by a majority of the delegates from all over Minnesota read: "We realize that most present measures for relieving unemployment are palliatives only, we believe that the ultimate solution of the depression and unemployment lies in a socialized planned economy."

Leo Tuuri, communist candidate for alderman, rose on this resolution to say, "Although I am a Young Communist, I do not favor the passage of this motion. We desire unity, and unity can only be obtained on the basis of a minimum program."

Replying to Tuuri, a member of Spartacus countered, "Zero is the minimum program conceivable. Logically you ought to favor nothing, and you would have unity with everyone." A young Farmer-Laborite remarked that "The demand for socialism, after five years of depression, is certainly the most minimum of minimum demands that could be included in a 'minimum' program."

The resolution carried by an overwhelming majority, the Young Communists abstaining to the surprise of all. One youth remarked: "I always thought that the Communists were revolutionaries."

S. Y. L. Fights for a United Protest on Memorial Day

On May 30, the bosses and profiteers will hold their Memorial Day services and parades, calculated to whip up the jingoistic and patriotic spirit of the American working class youth. The desires of the class conscious youth to show their determined opposition to the whole spirit and meaning of Memorial Day and to the profit system that gives rise to it, has been repeatedly manifested by the powerful pressure towards broad youth demonstrations and rallies.

Last year the Young Communist League, by its maneuvers to foist its own name and leadership over the united front, and its arbitrary attempts to dominate the demonstration, forced a rupture of the united front and resulted in two separate demonstrations.

S.Y.L. Efforts for Unity

This year again, a genuine united front for May 30 has not been achieved, partly because of the injurious activities of the Stalinist Youth organization. The Spartacus Youth League proposed from the very beginning to both the American Youth Congress continuations committee which was arranging the united front, to the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Y.C.L. respectively, that a broad united front arrangements committee be set up to include the major political tendencies and city wide organizations. This united front committee would include the members and organizations in the continuations committee.

But the Y.P.S.L., capitulating to the pressure of the "Old Guard" and "Militants" in the S. P., decided to withdraw from the demonstration on the pretext that it "could not participate in a united front with the dual unions of the T.U.U.L., which split the labor movement."

The Spartacus Youth League, in a letter to the City Executive Committee of the Y.P.S.L. made it clear that such a stand cannot possibly be condoned by a revolutionary youth organization. The letter reads in part:

Letter to Young Socialists

"The argument that the Y.P.S.L. cannot march with the T.U.U.L. union seems to us a spurious and a specious one, directed against the whole conception of the united front. In the first place, it is rather late in the day to raise this particular issue—where are the T.U.U.L. unions that the Y.P.S.L. objects to? But even granting that they may exist, then in what manner can the Y.P.S.L. reconcile its marching with the I.W.W. unions on May Day and rejecting the Stalinist paper unions on May 30? Moreover, it is inconsistent with your past policy: for some six months T.U.U.L. unions have been affiliated to the American Youth Congress, why only now, when the T.U.U.L. is being liquidated overnight, does the Y.P.S.L. suddenly become conscience-stricken?"

"We are not the apologists for the Stalinists nor for their dual

unions. But we stand for a broad and representative united front. There would be no question if the Y.P.S.L. were being asked to work together with the T.U.U.L. to win the working youth into the trade unions, but here it is simply a matter of expressing in a united front action a joint opposition to militarism, to the war program of the imperialists, to fascism. The Y.P.S.L. will be taking upon itself the full responsibility for splitting the demonstration unless it reverses its position of last week."

Opposes Stalinist Disruption

The Spartacus Youth League dissociates itself completely from the position of the Y.P.S.L. But how do things stand with the Y.C.L.?

The sectarian and bureaucratic policies of Stalinism are now rearing their full fury. The dual paper unions of the T.U.U.L., the ultimistic attempts at domination, the tactics of wrecking what they could not control—all those policies that have so discredited Stalinism in the eyes of the labor movement, and have made it possible for the trade union bureaucracy and the Old Guard leadership of the S. P. to reject and refuse the formation of a real united front stand out today as solid barriers in the way of every move towards a united front.

Although it has superficially changed some of its old policies and methods, the Y.C.L. still persists in many of them: in packing the united front conference of May 11, publishing dishonest articles in the Daily Worker calculated to lump the S.Y.L. together with the Y.P.S.L. (May 14), attempting to dominate the demonstration, etc. The S.Y.L. was and is anxious to see as broad and genuine a united front as possible on May 30. But the Y.C.L. is determined to exclude the "counter-revolutionary enemies of the working class."

Refused Speaker

The Y.C.L.-controlled continuations committee refuses the S.Y.L. not only a speaker but even representation on the arrangements committee! We requested this as a guarantee that the Y.C.L. would actually stand by their word for a genuine united front. The refusal of these elements conditions makes it impossible for the S.Y.L. to participate. We do not intend to fall along in a Stalinist demonstration, without representation and without voice, giving their farcical "united front" the cover of our banner and our name.

For these reasons the S.Y.L. has decided not to take part in either the Y.C.L. or the Y.P.S.L. demonstration or mass meeting. Instead it will call its own mass meeting on the meaning and significance of May 30 and explain our stand to the working class youth. The meeting will take place next Friday, May 31, at Irving Plaza. We call on all our readers and sympathizers to demonstrate with us their understanding and determination to fight consistently for a genuine united front of the working class.

French Situation Is Feature of May "New International"

More brilliant, more interesting, and as fundamental as previous issues, is the comment already made of the May issue of the New International, now off the press. It is a special issue, the main body of its contents dealing with the present situation in France and the problems of the French labor and revolutionary movement. "Where is France Going?" is the title of this exhaustive and extremely timely Marxian analysis of French politics. Is it going toward murderous Fascism—or the workers' revolution?

Nineteen solid pages of material make up this article fully on the height with fundamental analyses carried in our press for example during the months and weeks preceding the Hitler seizure of power in Germany. An estimate is given of the existing class forces in France today and the way out, the only way out, for the working class is shown in unmistakable fashion. It is impossible for the thinking worker to understand the present day situation in France without reading this article.

One of our European correspondents contributes an article on the problem of Abyssinia—"A New Nerve Center of Imperialist Lust." For the first time in an English publication its readers may learn about this African native state not yet conquered by the imperialist robber bandits. They may learn about the reasons for the feverish mobilization by Mussolini in what very clearly appears as a planned attempt to make an end to the independence of this native state and

to finally and fully subject it to imperialist plunder clothed in the black shirts of Mussolini's hordes.

Comrade Muste contributes an article in this issue: "Labor in 1935—Panorama and Prognosis." In his usual direct and forceful style Comrade Muste deals in this article essentially with the forces within the labor movement—reactionaries and progressives, and forecasting the prospects of the latter, he concludes: "Then Lewis, Hillman and Green will not be the only ones claiming to represent the workers in Washington, and in any case the decisive events will not then occur in the White House with the smiling Roosevelt presiding as the cigars are passed, but on the picket lines in the steel, coal and automobile towns, as the gas bombs and the bullets fly about."

The May issue of the New International contains also an article beautiful in style and forceful in its analysis dealing with the native question in South Africa, written by R. Lee of Johannesburg. It contains a further installment by R. Gotesky on the discussion of "Marxism: Science or Method?" and other valuable material.

Readers of the New Militant and their friends cannot afford to miss this issue and we shall be glad to accept your order either for single copies, bundles or subscriptions. We take this occasion also to mention in reply to inquiries that we have a very small number still left of the first issue of the New International. The price per single copy is 25 cents.

ART PREIS Editor of the suppressed strike bulletin, "Strike Truth" JAMES P. CANNON Editor of the "New Militant"

Inside Story Of The Toledo Strike

Sunday, May 26th, 8 p. m. Irving Plaza, 15th st. & Irving Pl.