

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

Published weekly by the New Militant Publishing Co., 65 East 11th Street, New York City

Entered 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

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

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

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1935 No. 37

Roosevelt's Protest to the S.U.

There is something of a mystery in the recent sharp protests of the United States to the Soviet Government against the activities of the Comintern. On the surface, at least, this move conflicts with the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism.

The protest letters must, therefore, be understood almost entirely in terms of the internal situation in this country. And within the country, not on the international field, lie the possibly dangerous consequences that must be guarded against.

During the closing months of the 74th Congress, Roosevelt completed the political strategy which has guided his course during the past year. After successfully blocking all significant social reform measures during the opening months of the session, he reconsolidated his position as a liberal reformer by championing the Wagner Bill, the Guffey Bill, the Utilities Bill, and the "Tax the Rich" program.

However, during this period the attack from the right redoubled in bitterness and extent. Indeed, by now probably the majority of the bourgeois press is lined up against Roosevelt. In its attack, the old charges of "Soviet Washington," "Roosevelt regimentation," "Communist attacks on the Supreme Court and the Constitution" are being featured.

effect on the confused and frightened middle class.

To this factor must be added the requirements of Roosevelt's ally, the bureaucracy of the A. F. of L., which, to maintain its position against the discontent in the trade union ranks, is anxious to start a real drive on "communists"—that is, is anxious to smother the upsurge of any militant left wing.

Consequently, with Congress adjourned and not in a position to raise complications, with Japan temporarily quiet, and with Soviet trade below expectations, Roosevelt was in an easy position to dissociate himself publicly from the taint of Communism.

This is the real explanation of the protest letters. By their means, Roosevelt said to the middle class: "Of course I am a reformer and a liberal and against the Tories. But I am a safe and sane reformer, and I will never do anything to upset the established order. Don't let the wicked bankers scare you with their talk about Soviets and Communism. Just look what I do to Communists, and the way in which I tell their fatherland where to get off."

Unfortunately the matter cannot stop at that, at the level of a cheap political trick no doubt thought up by Roosevelt's strategist, Postmaster Farley. The effect of the letters is to strengthen the attempts to get a real Red Drive under way. The vigilantes of California, the Citizens' Alliances and Chambers of Commerce, will interpret the letters as tacit permission to go ahead on full steam.

This is the danger of the letters; and it must be blocked at the start. The Red Drive means, as it has always meant, a drive against every progressive and militant fighter in the labor movement and its allied forces. And the only way to meet it is to fight back, and fight hard.

"LA VERITE"

Organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group in French S.P. (formerly Communist League of France)

Single copies, 5c each Subscriptions \$2.00 per year plus 2c postage.

Order from PIONEER BOOKSHOP 96 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.

Trends in Wages

(Continued from Page 3)

company paid an average of \$30 a week and certainly not over \$30. Fifty-four companies paid wages between twenty and thirty dollars a week, these being divided equally between those paying twenty-five to thirty dollars a week and those paying twenty to twenty-five dollars a week.

The figures reveal that the Cluett-Peabody Company paid an average wage of \$12 a week, the Bechnut Packing Company \$13, Pet Milk Company \$13, Phillips-Jones Corp. \$12, U. S. Tobacco, \$14, etc.

One thing is positively clear: The owners of industry received either slight losses in comparison to the pre-crisis period, equal salaries or in many instances greater salaries. But not for any period did their salaries cease. The workers, for the most part, suffered losses. In considering these wages it must be borne in mind that the great unemployment periods during a single year would depress these averages sharply, bringing them to even lower levels than the now already low figures when related to the minimum needs of workers' families, even according to the U. S. Department of Labor standards.

Marxist Conception Confirmed The collapse of the NRA will serve only to further reduce wages of workers. Almost immediately upon the announcement of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court a few weeks ago, wages took a sharp drop, hours of work increased, and than the one presented in the New

Republic would only bear out the trend indicated in its report. But the report is sufficient in itself to demonstrate the complete validity of the Marxist conceptions.

The increasing differentiations between the classes pushes for a greater class consciousness on the part of the American working class and their increasing will to struggle. This has already been present in the wave of strike struggles occurring in the last two years. They are bound to become more intense in the immediate future. The heavy reduction of the standard of living of the American workers will only help to drive them further on the road to class consciousness.

Militancy High In NY Shipping Clerks Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

It is undoubtedly true that union dressmakers are giving much greater support to the strike than any other section of the industry. Sympathetic strikes or stoppages of one, two and three days duration were called unofficially by dressmakers wherever scabs or thugs appeared. In some cases all shops in entire buildings were out 100 percent. These unofficial stoppages led by militant union members and the assistance given on the picket line added to the magnificent militancy of the shipping clerks themselves, are the brightest spots in the strike. Individual settlements are being

made by many shops, the officials of the I.L.G.W.U. aiding in such settlements. At the same time conferences with the Manufacturers Association are continuing.

Despite the assistance given by the dressmakers it is clear that such spontaneous actions "from below" is no adequate substitute for a general strike called officially by the union. The unsympathetic—not to say strikebreaking—attitude and actions of the reactionary leaders of the Truck Drivers and other local unions, has done much to nullify the unofficial support given by some locals, particularly by Local 22.

Lessons of the Strike

The first lesson hammered home by the strike is the imperative need of making the I.L.G.W.U. a completely industrial union including all auxiliary trades, striking as one, fighting as one and under a unified leadership.

Despite all difficulties the strike has every chance of succeeding. Continued and increased financial and picket support to the strikers, coupled with continuous mass picketing and solidarity by the striking clerks themselves will result in the establishment of a strong shipping clerks union and a considerable improvement in wages and conditions.

Press Rages at Mini

(Continued from Page 1)

fense organization known as the National Sacramento Appeal Committee has been organized in New York.

The Bee, which did a good deal of poisonous buzzing at the time of the Mini Appeal Dinner of the N.P.L.D. in New York, not long ago carried a column of squawks because the New York Nation told a few unpleasant truths about its yellow role in the criminal syndicalism frame-up.

Raymond W. Henderson, noted Bakersfield defense attorney, has begun work on preparation of the appeal brief for Norman Mini, Prisoner 57096 in San Quentin. It is expected that in another week the court stenographer will turn over the transcript of the proceedings of the 74-day trial and that the appeal hearing will take place before the end of October.

The Crime of the Auto International

Writer Discusses Significance of Green's High-Handed Domination of the Detroit Convention and the Tasks of Progressives

By BURKE COCHRAN

TOLEDO, Ohio.—As a culmination of a year's hard work, during which time their forces were tested in a dozen different battles, the automobile workers sent delegates to Detroit to set up an International Union in the automobile industry with full autonomy within the statutes of the American Federation of Labor.

The cruel blow that struck the automobile workers was deliberately aimed and it has weakened their organization as effectively as a successful onslaught of an open shop campaign. But that roar of mighty protest which rose from the floor at the Tuesday session of the convention, when the delegates rejected with indignation and scorn the proposal to appoint Dillon, is a sign of that inexhaustible vitality which has carried the automobile workers forward despite the sabotage and betrayals of the corrupt bureaucracy.

Although most of the union delegates are comparatively new to unionism, the majority of them expected some railroad and were doing all they could to prepare themselves for it; but such open, cynical perfidy, such an arrogant disregard of even the formalities of democratic procedure; such flagrant violations of their expressed wishes—that came as a surprise to even many a die-hard.

The Work of the Bureaucrats

The executive council of the A. F. of L. deliberately pushed the young automobile unions into the labyrinth of craft unionism; it artificially created craft divisions which do not exist in the industry and cynically imposed upon the automobile workers a leadership which they do not want and for whom they have no respect.

harnessed the automobile workers to an incompetent and corrupt bureaucracy which has taken over the powers of the organization with a heavy dictatorial hand, although it heard expressed on the floor of the convention the contempt and hate for it, on the part of the overwhelming majority of the delegates.

Ostensibly, Green and Dillon routed the progressives at the convention. The charter of the International limits its jurisdiction to production workers; Dillon and his machine hold the entire national apparatus in their hands. Actually, Green and the executive council suffered one of the most serious setbacks in recent years. The heavy, cumbersome machinery of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, which appears cunning and well oiled only when serious opposition is lacking, was forced to reveal itself in all its nakedness. No camouflage, no subtle maneuvers were possible here.

Strength of Progressives

The progressives, who have organized themselves in a very serious manner since the Chevrolet strike, in their determination to oppose the Dillon machine, have now the duty of reconsidering the scope of their work, in the light of what happened at the automobile convention.

At the Detroit convention, the progressives commanded more strength than they themselves expected. Almost every delegation representing the real unions: Toledo, Cleveland, Norwood, South Bend, Kenosha—voted with the progressives. The only real large local supporting Dillon was the Seaman B. dy local 19069 of Milwaukee. Otherwise the Dillon machine received most of its strength directly from the small locals of a membership of twenty to perhaps a hundred and some who probably came representing not so much membership as their good intentions; locals such as the ones in Detroit, Flint, Lansing, small locals in Wisconsin, etc., etc.

some 38 votes, were actually the opponents of the progressives in their own local, and were not elected by their local membership, but handpicked by the local executive committee. The pressure of the progressives in Toledo was great and was keenly felt; the fact that the other side had no other program of their own, plus the combined pressure of the progressives from the other cities at the convention pushed the entire Toledo delegation to support the progressive bloc at the Detroit convention.

The progressives, although they had come to the convention partially prepared to do battle were not anywhere near organized to the extent of the reactionary machine. The progressives had no slate, and no possibility of agreeing on one at the convention. Had the question of candidates come up for a vote, the delegations would have split wide open.

The Enemy to Overcome

The progressives made a splendid showing at this first convention, but even the short experience has made it obvious that a real progressive group that is to challenge the "leadership" of Dillon, cannot be made up of scraps and patches. It must be systematically built up around a broad program which can command the interest of the great majority of the automobile workers.

Long ago the progressive movement of the A. F. of L. in this country came to the conclusion that the fight for a progressive program in the trade unions involves simultaneously a struggle of ruthless extermination with the present "leadership" of the A. F. of L. which is the most venal and stupid of the whole world.

They will have to be swept aside, before the automobile unions can develop to their fullest potentialities. It seems, from observing recent trends in the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement in general in this country that many of the new unions in the mass

production industries are beginning to occupy a more conspicuous place in the A. F. of L. and are beginning to displace in importance, to a degree, the older building trades unions.

The automobile industry is led by the most self-confident and aggressive combination of industrial magnates and financiers. It is one of the few remaining branches of industry which is still able to create its own "prosperity" without benefit of the federal government. This business combination is least inclined to "sentimentality" in relations with its employees. They will not yield an inch of ground until they are forced to do so by the combined strength of the automobile workers. That, it is obvious, can only be accomplished on the picket line; but that is precisely the place where Dillon is least interested in going.

The reaction, on the part of the progressives to the treachery of the Green-Dillon machine was very healthy. They did not allow themselves to be provoked, or fall into the trap of quitting the unions, and leaving, at this time, the bulk of the inexperienced workers to the tender mercies of Dillon. They are preparing to appeal the decision of the executive council to the A. F. of L. convention in October; meanwhile they are going back to their locals to strengthen their numbers and to prevent all attempts at splitting them up.

They are beginning to realize that to challenge the leadership of the bureaucracy means the beginning of a battle of ruthless extermination; and that the battle once undertaken, cannot be stopped halfway. Dillon will spare no effort in building up his machine. He will spare neither effort nor cost to destroy the insurgent movement of the progressives. For that he has the support of the whole A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Despite the heavy task and all of the obstacles involved, the progressives can come out of this battle victorious. If they succeed in arousing the still untouched thousands of automobile workers in the industry, whose interests they represent, if they push their progressive program and win ever wider support; if in addition, they rely upon the progressive groups of all the other unions, especially in rubber and steel, they will have created a movement which will prove itself invincible in battle against any and every foe.

Discontent Grips St. Louis

First Successful WPA Strike Prelude to Other Actions

By St. Louis Correspondent

ST. LOUIS.—A strike of WPA workers employed on a St. Louis County highway came to a successful conclusion when 800 men came out, formed a picket line and stayed there until their demands were granted.

The men had been cut from 65 cents an hour to 45 cents an hour. They demanded the return of the former scale. In the original contract the government had stipulated that the rate of 65 cents be paid. When the cut came the Federal Authorities said nothing, pretending to know nothing about it.

The different A. F. of L. crafts employed there, particularly those crafts affiliated with the Building Trades Unions of St. Louis County were the leaders and initiators. It was the first strike in which the Building Trades have taken an active and official part in any of the relief projects in this part of the country. But if present indications mean anything it will not be the last.

That the laborer skates, with an eye to the favors which will come their way in supporting generally all "elvic improvements," should also support the program of the bankers and the real estate companies in the present issue was a foregone conclusion. But the Building Trades are beginning to ask questions. And so persistent is the pressure of the workers that the leader of these organizations are lining up and the ground is being laid for a nice battle in the very

near future. In spite of the fact that they are assured by the fakers that the prevailing hourly rate (meaning the union scale, we suppose) will be paid they are not satisfied. They have their eye firmly fixed on the \$19-\$94 monthly standard set by the Administration as a "security" wage and rumblings of revolt are plainly to be heard.

Prelude to Wage Slashing

With some 30,000 workers in St. Louis "living" on the "security" wage of \$10.80 a week, what will happen to the wages of the "fortunate" ones who are receiving \$15 to \$18 a week? Or as to the wages of the building workers who receive such fabulous sums as \$35 or \$45 a week—for a month or two out of the year? The establishment of the \$10 weekly scale for relief workers is but the prelude to a gigantic wage slashing attack against the workers in private industry as it was of course intended to be. And that is the answer which the building trade workers are arriving at.

One of the biggest jobs in this project will be the wrecking of the old buildings. On all previous jobs the wages for this work, which is both hard and dangerous, has been 10 to 15 cents an hour. There is nothing to indicate that it will be different on this one. The workers employed to do this work are unorganized and are hired through some wrecking company to whom the contract is let. They are mostly Negro workers.

On the one or two Park projects which are going on in the city there have as yet been no strikes, but discontent is rife. Only a few dozen men are employed at present. But if 30,000 are given jobs by November 1 as the Administration plans at wages of \$10 a week which will force down the living standards to below that of even direct relief for many, it is safe to predict that St. Louis will become a hotbed of strikes. The Building Trades who are almost the last among the organized workers to withstand an attack on their wage structure, will not give up so easily. And in their struggle they will sweep along thousands of others who want more than fine phrases and empty promises.

RALLY SUPPORT FOR THE EIGHT PAGE NEW MILITANT!

Internat'l Youth Day

(Continued from Page 1)

tionists do? The program was not complete; the necessary sections were to be supplied later, and the words were to be written in the fire and steel of the October revolution.

But the fact is, the conference did call for international demonstrations against the war-mongers. How the hearts of the revolutionary youth, bitter from a year of betrayal and from the waste and horror of organized mass murder, must have swelled passionately at the call! IYD revitalized the depressed youth fighters, and for once, it even set in motion whole masses of adult workers who had needed just this spark.

Our national Spartacan organization finds similar task today. As they in the midst of the war raised a clarion call for mass action, so we in the midst of reaction issue a call for revolutionary struggle against war.

Spartacus Alone Shows The Way

Just as the Berne conference found itself the vanguard youth group of the day, alone on the international field in its opposition to the war, today the SYL in America is the only voice among young people telling the truth about a system rotten with greed and privilege, and alone among youth groups stands for the Leninist slogan:

"Turn imperialist war into civil war!"

The young Socialist hears his leader tell him: there are several ways of stopping war, and if necessary we will go the limit (perhaps). But pledge ourselves to the revolutionary, the Bolshevik way out?—never. The young Socialist will yet see a good section of his party leadership consorting with the war-mongers (as some of them are already doing abroad) and urging him, as Dannenberg did before them, to join up with the colors.

The young Stalinist, militant and eager to follow in the steps of Lenin, is already learning that Stalin supports the war plans of the French bourgeoisie; that the Seventh Congress of the C.I. favors coalition (unity with capitalists) governments; that the 5 point program of the C.P. on war is completely reactionary and pacifist; that the Stalinist leadership has gone back to Kautsky, social-patriot and renegade, for its reasons to support the wars of "peaceful" capitalist governments ("if" against warlike ones).

And so we find ourselves in close alliance with the anti-war pioneers of Berne. Across the years we extend a comradely hand. We say: what you dared and tried to do, we know can and try. We too know how it feels to see the world saturated with the poison of imperialist brewed hatred, to see the world rush careening toward another tide of blood, to hear the voices of betrayers in workers' ranks cover with high sounding phrases the poisoned bait: "Join the next war to save democracy!" We will pound away all obstacles. We will build. We will fight. We will conquer.

MASS MEETING

HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA! Protest Mussolini's War on Ethiopia

Speakers:

A. J. MUSTE

National Secretary of the W.P.

MARTIN ABERN

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, at 8:00 P.M.

Irving Plaza Hall, Irving Place & 15th St.

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

The Best Answer to Slander!

"I have just finished Olzin's booklet on Trotskyism," writes M. G. of Massachusetts, "which I am answering by enclosing a \$10.00 check for the 8-page NEW MILITANT." An answer worthy of a revolutionist.

The Los Angeles branch sent in a contribution of \$20.00 this week, and the New Haven branch sent in a contribution of \$13.00. Together with other contributions received, this week's total in the campaign for the 8-page weekly has been brought up to \$69.70. This represents a welcome check. The previous week brought a total of only \$36.15, and the week before that, ending August 24, recorded the lowest point of only \$32.00.

The campaign is thus taking on new life and bringing better results. It should be a spur to the many Party branches, readers and sympathizers from whom we have not yet heard. All shoulders to the wheel and we shall soon reach our goal—the 8-page weekly.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.