

# Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL REICH  
PEACE ON EARTH . . .

In recent army maneuvers officers were given red and white flags to wave over soldiers who were supposed to be "dead" . . . The press agreed that "serious and startling deficiencies have been revealed by the maneuvers. The army is badly equipped and poorly trained. Bigger appropriations are necessary for an efficient fighting force" . . . The 1935 Army and Navy appropriation in Chicago high schools will be doubled. Uniforms and rifles have been purchased by business men. James McCahey, school board member, in advocating the increase said, "We have less difficulty with communistic and subversive influences in schools with R.O.T.C. groups" . . . Paris modistes have designed gas masks to match the latest gowns. . . London school children are provided gas masks and practice "air attack" drills. . . When Italy showed a momentary conciliatory attitude toward Ethiopia, munitions shares dropped 10 percent. . . Thirty thousand British troops marched north from Peshawar on the Afghan border to "punish" a Moslem tribe. . . Britain warned Italy to respect the League of Nations' covenant. Upon hearing the news Haile Selassie exclaimed, "God, Justice, and the Great Powers seem to be on our side."

## RELIEF . . .

A crushing, fainting mob of 1,000 aged persons stormed the Kansas City courthouse on the opening day for applications for old age pensions. The maximum payment is \$30 a month. . . Nebraska's four million dollar relief and old age pension law was declared unconstitutional by the state supreme court. . . State WPA administrators receive almost twice as much per week as WPA laborers receive per month. . . WPA money has been allotted to teach children of the unemployed to play the piano. . . Palermo, N.D., desired WPA funds to rebuild a burned schoolhouse. It received WPA funds for a golf course and bird sanctuary. . . Following a drowning during a river baptism, members of the Second Colored Baptist Church of New Haven requested President Roosevelt to allot WPA funds for life preservers for future converts. . . 4470 students in Illinois will receive \$6 monthly from the National Youth Administration. . . Failure to spend relief money caused the government deficit for July and August to be one third less than estimated. . .

## DIETETICS . . .

A world wide "Eat More Food" campaign was urged upon the League of Nations by Lord de la Warr, British Secretary of Agriculture, as a means of solving the world's economic problems. . . A government public health survey showed that children of the unemployed averaged six pounds lighter than children of employed workers. . . A Cornell University experiment proved that rats kept on a starvation diet lived longer than well fed ones. The underfed animals matured more slowly, were smaller and had less hair. . . Columbia University professors found that rats with an improved diet lived longer than hungry ones. . . The U.S. Department of Agriculture announces that turnip juice is rich in vitamins. Parents on relief and with small incomes are advised to substitute juice from crushed turnips for the more expensive orange juice in the diet for babies. . .

## EQUALITY . . .

"America should have a nobility built upon intelligence, morality, altruism, kindness, greatness and noble feelings," says Jean Pierre Reinach who sells titles for the following prices: Duke, \$1,900,000; Marquis, \$700,000; Count, \$500,000; Baron, \$200,000. "Only men who are energetic and courageous enough to at once dispose of a million, \$700,000, \$500,000 or \$200,000 will be worthy to enter this new nobility which is destined to a great future" . . . W. B. Hearst proclaims: "There is no proletariat in America. There are no 'lower orders of society' without property and privilege in America. In America all men are equal in rights, in opportunities and in political privileges. In America there are working men and working women, and that term applies to every man and woman who works and is paid for his labor, from window cleaner to the president of the most powerful industrial organization." . . . One block of tenements in New York City houses 3,871 persons. . . Hearst's San Simeon estate is larger than the entire metropolitan area of New York City. . . The officers of nine important industries receive a larger weekly pay than the yearly average of wage earners in the same industries. For example, in the Tobacco industry, officers average

# THE A. F. OF L. AND THE TEACHERS UNION

By A. J. MUSTE

The rejection by the recent Cleveland convention of the American Federation of Teachers of William Green's demand that Local 5, New York, be "reorganized" in order to make it possible for the Linville-Lefkowitz faction in the Local to get rid of the opposition, must be considered as a part of the larger movement of insurgency within the A. F. of L. Recently there have been numerous and weighty instances of the insurgent spirit. In Minneapolis Local 574 of the Teamsters has had its charter lifted by the A. F. of L. In the case of the Teamsters' International, and one of the dominant figures in the A. F. of L. machine, and has to battle in addition a combination of local trade union bureaucrats, Farmer-Labor politicians and Chamber of Commerce. Nevertheless Local 574 has not only been able to stand up under this attack but has organized new groups of transportation employees, has been the leading factor in a series of militant strikes and the manning of a widespread progressive movement in Minnesota and adjoining states.

**Forcing Dillon on Auto Workers**  
A few weeks ago the federal automobile locals met in convention in Detroit for the purpose of establishing an international union under an A. F. of L. charter. At the beginning of the convention Green in person laid down an ultimatum to the effect that the delegates must accept Francis J. Dillon, who as head of the A. F. of L. work in automobiles had consistently sabotaged an effective organization campaign and betrayed the General Motors strike last May, as the president of the organization at least for the first year. They were also informed that the jurisdiction of their international would not cover the skilled craftsmen in the industry; in other words, that their demand for a genuine industrial union could not be granted.

Although in the main the delegates to this convention had not come from the progressive states in the federal unions, they promptly rejected by a decisive majority the demand that they accept Dillon as the first president of their union. Notably, the Toledo delegates, who had been elected as conservatives in their local union, voted unanimously against Dillon. Despite this clear and to nearly everybody unexpected expression of rank and file revolt, Green felt strong enough in this case to impose Dillon in the teeth of the rejection of the delegates. Nevertheless, the action was a real blow to his prestige and a clear indication that among the members is profound distrust of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, a spirit of independence and a strong demand for trade union democracy.

**Teacher's Convention**  
Somewhat later in the same week the struggle in the American Federation of Teachers convention came to a head. Doubtful of being able to put over their reorganization of Local 1 proposal on the delegates, Linville, Lefkowitz Borchard and other reactionaries appealed to Green. Having the habit of issuing decrees and on every occasion whacking "Communists" over the head, Green sent a strong message to the Teachers. They must get rid of "Communist" influence, and to reorganize Local 5 and kick out the opposition was the one way to make their union safe for Americanism and "true trade union principles."

There has been a reluctance, natural enough in a way, in the A. F. of L. as a small international, depending largely upon A. F. of L. support in state legislatures for advancing the interests of the teachers, to alienate the A. F. of L. leadership. But we are living in a new economic era and Bill Green is not Sam Gompers. The teachers by a decisive majority rejected Green's demand. Whereupon the reactionary minority walked out of the convention, clearly revealing themselves and all such bureaucrats as Green as splitters of the labor movement. There is this difference between the case of the Auto Workers and that of the Teachers, that so far, at any rate, Green has not been able to impose his will upon the latter. Local 5 has not been reorganized.

**Green at Akron**  
During the past week the Rubber Workers have been in convention in Akron, the demand on the part of the federal locals in that industry for an international union also having become so insistent that the A. F. of L. had to yield. In Akron Green was present in person as he had been in Detroit. Once again he undertook to lay down an ultimatum. The Rubber Workers must accept Coleman Claberty, the Francis Dillon of the industry, as their president for the first year. Again a howl of protest arose. A pungent two hour debate started in the course of which, according to a

\$1,067 a week, workers \$583 a year. . . Wage earners today are receiving 52 percent of their 1920 income, property owners 61 percent and business men 65 percent. . . "Americanism has unquestionably survived the New Deal," says Pat Hurley. . .

press report, "the A. F. of L. officialdom was criticized strongly." When on the following morning the vote of 44 to 9 for rejecting the proposed appointment of Claberty was announced, Green, perhaps "softened up" by the blows received at the Automobile Workers' and the Teachers' conventions, capitulated completely and announced to the delegates: "I accept your judgment in the matter as final."

All this has an important bearing on the question of what is likely to happen in the case of the A. F. of L. at the approaching A. F. of L. convention and what should be the course of the progressive elements in Local 5 and in the Teachers Union throughout the country. It seems to me most unlikely that an attempt to take away the charter of the entire Teachers Union or to "reorganize" the Federation will be made. Such an action is without precedent in the A. F. of L. It is true that the A. F. of L. frequently steps in to support of the machine of an international union, in reorganizing a local, or an entire group of locals. In this case, however, the recognized international officials are opposing the reorganization of the local. It is true also that where two distinct organizations emerge as a result of an intra-union conflict, the A. F. of L. determines which has "jurisdiction," and, of course, almost invariably "recognizes" the conservative group. At yet, however, the locals which walked out of the A. F. of L. convention have not dared to organize a separate national union and to apply for an A. F. of L. charter which would invalidate the charter of the present A. F. of L. Even in normal times the A. F. of L. Executive Council tends to proceed slowly in such matters, since, after all, per-capita tax income is one of its first considerations. That the drastic action of outlawing the A. F. of L. at this convention will be taken seems most unlikely because these are far from normal times in the Federation.

## Struggle for Leadership

There is, in the first place, a struggle for leadership in process and in consequence a division within the official family itself. It is not yet clear whether John L. Lewis will openly contest the presidency with Green in Atlantic City. The mere fact, however, that the contest is possible will tend to prevent extreme and precipitate action in the Teachers' case. Each side will be looking for votes and anxious to maintain the present organization intact though, of course, Lewis, no more than Green, entertains any affection for the progressives and militants, not to speak of the revolutionists, in the Teachers' union.

In the second place, with such evidences of insurgency in the

ranks of the workers as I have already noted (and these instances could easily be multiplied) the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, no matter how much it may irritate them, will have to think twice before they run the risk of adding fuel to the flames of revolt by pulling off so raw a deal as would be involved in the reorganization of the entire Teachers' International or the setting up of a dual organization which certainly at the outset would represent a decidedly small minority of the organized teachers.

## Conditions Favor Progressives

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the progressives throughout the union face on the whole, therefore, at this moment a favorable situation. There is no doubt that they can, for the present at any rate, have the upper hand, counting upon the general spirit of insurgency among the workers and in the A. F. of L. unions, provided that they stand their ground firmly and carefully avoid giving the bureaucrats any impression of fear or weakness—an attitude of which the bureaucrats know only too well from long experience how to take advantage. The proposition, for example, which the Stalinists made in Local 5 to conciliate Linville and Lefkowitz by dissolving all groups in the union is, even from the lowest tactical point of view, unsound. To run after a retreating enemy, so to speak, urging him to stop in order that you may give him concessions, in fact, turn over your sword to him, is more than a little ridiculous.

This is, however, not to say that the progressives in the A. F. of L. do not have a stiff fight now and will not have a stiffer one in the future. The reactionaries, both in the A. F. of L. and in the A. F. of L. generally, will fight back. The Teachers must utilize the present opportunity precisely in order to consolidate their positions, strengthen their forces, organize the progressive elements locally and nationally and equip themselves for effective resistance against counter-attack and for future advances and victories for progressive, militant unionism.

## Groups in Unions

In this connection, insistence upon the right of groups to function in a responsible fashion within the union is of the greatest significance. Having such groups is not by any means without precedent in the American Federation of Labor. In the Typographical Union, for example, there have for years been two or more openly recognized "parties" putting forward their programs, putting up slates in the local and national elections, etc. The Printers find it as logical to have parties functioning in the trade union democracy as that there should be parties, for example, in

# The Party at Work

## NEW YORK BANQUET

You can't afford to miss the banquet to greet the Third Plenary Session of the National Committee of the Workers Party. It will be held Thursday, October 3, 7:30 P.M. at Irving Plaza. Vincent Dunne will tell of the recent magnificent battles in Minneapolis. Arnold Johnson, secretary of the National Unemployed League, the largest and most stable organization of the unemployed in the country, will briefly review the recent struggles of that organization. Germain Allard—"Gerry" to thousands of miners who have fought side by side with him against coal barons and reactionary labor officials—will talk on the situation in Illinois.

Maurice Spector, chairman of the Workers Party of Canada and one of the best speakers that the Canadian revolutionary movement has produced, will trace recent political developments—"Social Credit," "COFC," and the coming elections in Canada.

In addition to the above, A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon will deal with the perspectives of the W. P. and the Fourth International. Max Shachtman will preside.

Good food and a short but excellent musical program will be provided. The limited capacity of the hall and the rush for tickets is a warning to the tardy. Get your tickets now!

The time: 7:30 P.M., Thursday, Oct. 3. The place: Irving Plaza, 15th St. and Irving Place. Tickets: 50 cents (can be secured at Party headquarters, 55 East 11th St.)

## CALIFORNIA—

The San Francisco branch of the W. P. will conduct a write-in campaign in the forthcoming elections in San Francisco. An educational leaflet for use in the campaign is being drafted by the Pacific Coast District.

The Educational Committee of the West Coast District is calling upon all the branches to carry on an intensive campaign of meetings, leaflet distribution, etc. during the next few weeks on the war danger.

A list of pamphlets to be issued as the basis for educating the membership and the workers generally has been issued and an outline for speakers is being prepared. The communication of the District Educational Director states that "the District Committee of the West Coast places as the highest task before the branches the holding of public meetings, or open branch meetings on the War Danger, protest against Italian imperialism, against capitalist war and for the revolutionary solution of the oncoming capitalist war. Above all we must clearly demarcate our position as internationalists from the patriotism of the Socialists and Stalinists."

## TOLEDO—

The social-patriotic betrayals of the Comintern and the Second International were socked right between the teeth at the first open forum of the Toledo branch at the Toledo Workers School Hall on the evening of September 20. Comrades Sam Pollock and Burke Cochran, speaking on "Europe in Flames," laid bare the true nature of the imperialist designs on Ethiopia, the genuinely revolutionary internationalist program of the W. P. and the Fourth International, and the scabrous capitulation of the Stalinists to the "peaceful" imperialist scavengers.

Every seat in the hall was taken by intelligent and enthusiastic workers who received the W. P. message with whole-hearted favor. Three C. P. "observers" attended, who remained silent in the face of the scathing condemnation of the Comintern although the chairman, comrade Art Preis, openly invited them to defend the C. P. "line" and answer the charges. The success of this first forum will make it a regular feature in Toledo.

Progress is being shown in party organization. Another branch has been set up in East Toledo, with an excellent membership of revolutionary workers experienced in Unemployed League and trade union battles.

## JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY

a political democracy. A similar situation has existed, though perhaps not so continuous or on so large a scale, in many other A. F. of L. unions.

There are bound to be varying points of view in any living organization. It is far better that they should function openly than that they should operate in an underground fashion. Why is it that the reactionaries in a union always fight against the existence of "groups," insist that this means splitting up the union, etc.? Does this mean that there are then no groups in the union? Not at all. What it means is that there is only one group, and that is the group which is dominated by the union machine. It is perfectly well known that in the unions those bossed there are always organizations, frequently known as "clubs," which constitute in effect the caucuses of the trade union machine. The cry of "no groups" means "no groups except our own" representing the union bureaucracy.

## Bureaucracy is Organized

The bureaucracy always functions in an organized fashion and never relaxes its vigilance. Consequently, even if an occasional revolt breaks out, the machine presently rides roughshod again, because the opposition does not maintain a continuous organization. The Teachers must not only give up the right of groups to function but must steadily and rapidly extend the organization of the progressives.

Nor must the teachers permit themselves to be intimidated by the cry of those elements as Linville and Lefkowitz, that these groups are "dominated by political parties and do not have the genuine interest of the union and of the Teachers at heart." To say that the politically most developed members of a union must not function as factions in an organized way is to say that precisely those elements which should know most about the problem and be most devoted to the cause of the working class must not make their maximum contribution to the solution of the union's problems.

To try to forbid members of a revolutionary party to function as factions in the union and in progressive groups does not mean to remove political influence. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the union movement in this country knows that in proportion as the influence of working class parties is weak, the capitalist parties (Tammany Hall in the New York building trades and printing trades unions, etc.) dominate the union. Trade unions cannot possibly function in a non-political world, least of all unions of teachers.

## "Politics" in the Union

The Stalinists have, of course, by the irresponsible and disruptionist fashion in which they have functioned or tried to function in the mass movement, put a weapon in the hands of the trade union bureaucrats and have alienated many honest but uninformed workers. But this does not mean that "politics" must be kept out of the union.

Political organizations, the same as progressive groups in the unions generally, must be tested first by the program for the union which they advance, and secondly by the way in which they seek to advance that program. The Workers Party stands for a progressive, militant Teachers Union in which trade union democracy obtains and believes that its membership should seek to advance what they regard as the sound program for the union openly, by educating the membership, trying to win them to this program, at no time seeking mechanical domination or resorting to cheap politics, alliances with reactionaries, etc. in order to advance their views. The members of the Workers Party, bound to act under the discipline of their party in the union, will, precisely because they are under that discipline, work harder for the union, fight more vigorously in all its battles, display a deeper and more consistent loyalty to the union.

## Revolutionists Play Their Part

It is not an accident that in each of the situations mentioned earlier in the article the Workers Party and its members have played a part—in some instances as in Minneapolis and among the automobile workers in Toledo a leading and conspicuous one; in others as among the teachers and rubber workers a lesser role. We are not by any means seeking to make revolutionary political parties out of the unions. But even now, only with a core of revolutionists equipped with Marxist methods of analysis and disciplined and hardened for struggle, can progressive groups be built in the unions which can successfully challenge the entrenched and hardened bureaucracies; and in the end it is only under the leadership of the revolutionary party that the workers will be able really to solve the problems which the present age creates and to free themselves from poverty and insecurity and the frustration of spirit to which the masses under capitalism today are subjected.

# Manager's Corner

Responses to the financial needs of the NEW MILITANT have continued in a very excellent fashion during the last few weeks. Many party branches have sent in special contributions, not listed under the campaign for the eight-page weekly. Accounts for bundles received are being paid up and subscription renewals are taken care of more promptly than before. Due to this fact we have been able to pay up a number of bills and make a beginning toward putting the printshop in a better shape.

We are building up a solid economic foundation for our press. This is an essential prerequisite for the launching of the eight-page weekly. Now we are making real progress in this respect and, naturally, we can only urge the branches and the sympathizers to continue the good work.

Our proposal is to begin now a very active concentration to obtain new subscribers. It is the most effective and substantial way of extending the NEW MILITANT circulation and, of course, it brings in additional funds. Enlargement of its size would not have any real value unless also accompanied by a corresponding increase in circulation. This is the main aim. We ask the comrades in every city to get busy in a systematic manner, to get subscriptions from all contacts. Periodic distribution of free copies at certain selected neighborhoods, factories or workers' organizations will be a help when followed up thoroughly to obtain subs. But the important question is to make sure that all contacts established be asked to become regular readers of our press.

This is the kind of work in which all comrades and all sympathizers can participate. It does not hold out any special reward except the fulfillment of a very important task—to build up the revolutionary press. In this we feel sure, however, that all our supporters will

join wholeheartedly. But there are also some direct inducements. We need only remind you of the prizes for the best sub-getters that have already been announced. One comrade has almost reached the point of making prize number one, and as soon as he completes his record the prize is his.

Again we also remind you of the simple and effective method of securing four three-month club subscription cards at the price of \$1.50.

It is necessary to get to work with speed and dispatch. When subs come rolling in we gain new readers for our press, we help to build it up and we help to build the revolutionary movement. When subs come rolling in we will soon make the eight-page weekly a reality.

During the past few weeks the comrades of the Los Angeles branch have rolled up quite a record. They have made special contributions not listed here; they pay all their bundle accounts in advance, they send in regular subscriptions and additional funds for the eight-page weekly campaign.

Since our last report on this account we have received the following amounts:

Contributions	
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	\$ 1.75
New Haven branch	2.00
Los Angeles branch	4.50
West Side branch, N.Y.C.	3.00
Center branch, N.Y.C.	11.25
San Francisco branch	6.00
Boro Park branch, N.Y.C.	5.50
Brownville branch, N.Y.C.	.50
East Side branch, N.Y.C.	1.05
Harlem branch, N.Y.C.	1.00
Advance Subscriptions	
Los Angeles branch	1.00
Club Cards	
Chicago branch	2.00
Greetings	
Allentown branch	2.00
Previously Reported	\$61.56
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>\$703.11</b>

# The U. S. in the Philippines

By LO SEN

The Philippines have acquired Manuel Quezon for a president and General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Army as a "special military adviser." Thus auspiciously opens the 10-year period of the Philippines "Commonwealth" which is to culminate in the complete "independence" of the islands. The appointment of MacArthur "to supervise the organization of the national defense forces of the new commonwealth government" (New York Times) underlines the one fact about this Filipino independence affair of which little mention is made. American imperialism retains full control over the military and naval bases in the islands and full control over the future foreign policy of the islands. The change in the form of American control—and it is only a change—is designed primarily to assure the support of the Filipino bourgeoisie for America's war plans in the Pacific.

## "Democracy" in the Philippines

"Enlightened" American imperialism has long known how to give its regime in the Philippines the semblance of "democracy" which assures to it the support of large native capitalist and landowning classes in the Filipino population. That these classes have been well tutored in the machinery of "democracy" is demonstrated by the presidential vote which tallied something in the neighborhood of 700,000—out of a population of nearly twelve millions! The semi-autonomous Filipino regime which had existed in the islands under the provision of the Jones Act of 1916 and the control of which has been concentrated for years in the hands of small political cliques headed by Quezon and the new vice-president, Sergio Osmena, has been corrupt and oppressive enough to measure up to the standards of our best democracies here in the West.

Under its rule vast holdings in land and other properties have been concentrated in the hands of a few families stemming from the old mestizo (mixed-blood) aristocracy and the millions of toilers have been reduced to conditions of helotry equalled only by those which exist in nearby China. Under this regime the revolutionary movement and the trade unions have been greeted by a policy of implacable terror. The Philippines Constabulary has been called into action almost exclusively to smash peasant revolts, such as the recent Sakdalista uprising in Northern Luzon, and to keep in subjection the Moros and other minority tribes in the South and in other parts of the islands. The new "commonwealth" under Quezon-Osmena-McArthur guarantees the continuity of these conditions.

## Illusions of "Independence"

This arrangement is better suited to the war plans of American imperialism in the Pacific because it enables the Filipino bourgeoisie to develop the more easily illusions of "independence" under American protection in contrast to the prospect of subjugation by colony-greedy Japan. The "commonwealth" is to last

for ten years. Those ten years are likely to see a solution to the basic imperialist antagonism in the Pacific—the Japanese-American fight for hegemony. Only the development of the revolutionary movement of the Filipino workers and peasants, along with the movement in China, Indochina, Japan, India and the United States will determine whether the Philippines will in reality decide and govern their own destiny or whether they will remain a pawn on the imperialist chessboard of the Pacific.

# New Bolivian Party Formed

A new party of the Fourth International has been formed in Bolivia, called the Revolutionary Workers Party (P.O.R.). It was born in the midst of the greatest difficulties—difficulties engendered by years of strife between that country and Paraguay.

It cannot be said that the coming to "Trotskyism" of our Bolivian comrades was accomplished precipitately; nor that the organization lacks a real base. It has considerable influence among the masses. It is necessary to point out that the "Grupo Tupac Amaru" (Bolivian revolutionary refugees in Argentina) which with the "Bolivian Left" formed the P.O.R., carried on an effective struggle in making contacts with the army. The international outlook of the forces that formed the new Bolivian party brought them to the camp of Bolshevik-Leninism and was crystallized at the congress of Cordoba, Argentina, in June, 1935 where they declared their adherence to the International Communist League.

The groups that make up the P.O.R. gained the right to be considered the only revolutionary working class organization by working valiantly in the struggle against the war. The nucleus that today makes up the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia made contact with the soldiers at the front and had considerable success in the organization of Military Committees and in the distribution of its literature to the worker and peasant soldiers. One hundred of the prisoners in Asuncion (Paraguay) are militants of the party. In the rearward, where work was most difficult, its influence, established sporadically, is starting to be transformed into organized activity.

In Bolivia there never was much of a section of the Communist party. Despite objective conditions for revolutionary struggle and with the feudal bourgeoisie very weak, Stalinism was, however, unable to form any cadres before the war. The Workers Party of the United States sends its heartfelt revolutionary greetings to the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia, born in the fires of war, and pledges loyal and fraternal collaboration in the solution of its tasks which in essence are our tasks also.