

NEW MILITANT

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GENEVA GAMBLES WITH WAR

Green-Legion Join at AFL Conclave Against Militants

Rank and File Presses Bureaucracy Toward Showdown on Critical Problems of Labor Movement

The opening days of the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor reveal a tightening of the lines and a sharpening of the struggle between the bureaucrats and the various more or less progressive elements in the trade unions.

On the one hand, the forecast of the NEW MILITANT that a growth of progressive and militant sentiment would be shown is being borne out. The proponents of resolutions for industrial unionism claim support of powerful unions such as the U.M.W. of A. and the garment unions and assert, with a little too much optimism probably, that a clear-cut resolution on industrial unionism lacks only a few votes to carry. Gorman, the actual leader of the United Textile Workers, and other important figures are sponsoring Labor Party resolutions with considerable show of determination.

But it is in the aggressive mood of the conservatives that the clearest indication of the sharpening of the struggle within the Federation under the impact of the crisis is given. Last year the craft unionists were to some extent caught unawares by the onrush of the new Federal unions in the basic industries demanding international charters with industry-wide jurisdiction. As a result provision for granting charters for the production workers in automobiles, etc., though not on a complete industrial basis, was made. During the year the new unions constituted under this provision have proved somewhat contemptuous of the A. F. of L. potentates and have voiced vigorous dissatisfaction with their limited charters. The craft unionists are genuinely alarmed and have taken the offensive against the industrialists. Under the lead of John P. Frey and the entire Metal Trades Department, they not only refuse to amalgamate or give up any of their members, but demand that many members in the new unions be turned over to the craft groups.

The "Anti-Red" Resolution

In addition to this offensive on an issue of the structure of unionism, an even more vigorous offensive has been launched of the basic issue of the philosophy of the A. F. of L. The most serious and far-reaching proposal for driving "communists" out of the unions that has ever been made is now being advanced. If those who are back of this move triumph there will be a fight upon all insurgent elements which will be far more vicious than that of the war or post-war period.

It is proposed to amend the constitution of the A. F. of L. to provide that "No organization officered or controlled by Communism or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, and no organization or person that has succeeded from or has been suspended or expelled by the A. F. of L. or by any national or international organization connected with the federation shall, under such relationship or under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this federation, or in any central body, State Federation of Labor, national or international union connected with the A. F. of L., under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section."

Thus the basis is laid not only for hounding a progressive out of any given union but barring him also from activity in any other.

William Green openly proclaimed that the A. F. of L. was prepared to make an alliance with the American Legion in this campaign against all forms of "un-American" radicalism, the Legion in turn pledging that it would not engage in any "anti-union" activity. Such an alliance, giving a reactionary trade unionism the quasi-military backing of the Legion in the struggle against any progressive and militant unionism, has obviously the most sinister possibilities.

It is too early to predict the specific decisions that will be taken by this convention. The decisive showdown between the contending forces

(Continued on Page 2)

Shachtman on National Tour

Comrade Max Shachtman, editor of The New Internationalist, begins a coast to coast tour on October 15, which will last until December 13 and cover almost every branch city in the country. He will speak on various current topics, the Seventh Congress of the C. I., the War Danger, the Road to the Fourth International, etc., etc. With him will go Comrade Wasserman of the Pioneer Press, who will aid in drawing up plans for literature work in the various branches along the route. This tour will help pull together and advance the party work for the new season now opening.

The following is the schedule of the tour:

Schedule of Tour
Philadelphia—Tuesday, October 15.
Pittsburgh—Wednesday, October 16.
New Castle—Thursday, October 17.
Youngstown—Friday, October 18.
Cleveland—Saturday, October 19. "The New World War." 3529 East 143rd Street.
Toledo—Sunday, October 20.
Detroit—Monday, October 21.
Chicago—Tuesday to Sunday, Oct. 22-27.
Davenport—Monday, October 28.
Albion—Tuesday, October 29.
Ann Arbor—Wednesday, October 30.
Minneapolis—Thursday to Saturday, Oct. 31-Nov. 2.
Fargo—Sunday, November 3.
Williston—Tuesday, November 5.
Plentywood—Wednesday, Nov. 6.
Salt Lake City—Saturday, Nov. 9.
San Francisco—Monday to Wednesday, Nov. 11-13.
Los Angeles—Friday to Monday, Nov. 15-18.
Kansas City—Tuesday, December 3.
St. Louis—Wednesday, December 4.
Springfield—Thursday, December 5.

ISAACS SPEAKS FOR N.P.L.D.

Harold R. Isaacs, newspaper correspondent in China for the last five years, editor of "China Forum," and leader of many struggles for the defense of Chinese political prisoners, will be the speaker at the open membership meeting of the New York branch of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Wednesday, October 16, 8 P.M., at the headquarters of 404 St. L.L.G.W.U., 231 East 44th St.

Isaacs will speak on "Political Prisoners in China." All interested workers are invited to attend.

15 Unions For Recharter of Drivers' 574

Conference in Minneapolis Sends Resolution to Green, Tobin, CLU

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—A conference of 60 delegates representing 15 local unions on Monday night voted to send a resolution to Daniel Tobin, William Green, the State Federation of Labor and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union demanding the reinstatement of Local 574 in the Drivers International and the A. F. of L.

The participating unions were the Machinists, City and Sanitary Drivers, Public Building Service Employees, Ornamental Metal Workers, Stationary Engineers, Building Laborers No. 563, Carpenters, Upholsters, Painters, Bakers, Miscellaneous Restaurant Employees, Lathers, Laundry Workers, Gas Station Attendants and the General Drivers.

The conference criticized sharply the policy of the conservative bureaucracy in discriminating against individuals in the movement because of their political views.

Calling attention to the splendid support which the unemployed have given to striking unions, a resolution demanded that the Central Labor Union sent that it take the lead in helping the relief workers to organize and fight for the relief in.

(Continued on Page 3)

Rubber Co's Prepare For Price War

Cost Will Fall on Workers Unions Face Battle For Life

By JACK WILSON
AKRON, Ohio, Oct. 8.—A titanic struggle by Wall Street interests for monopoly control of the rubber industry began openly this week, thus confronting the newly-formed United Rubber Workers of America with the severest challenge to protect the workers that the unions ever faced.

For the price of this war between the capitalists will be thrown on the workers through wage cuts unless the unions can muster sufficient strength to stop this move.

The battle which will take the main form of ruthless tire price slashes to drive other competitors into bankruptcy already began with a huge reduction by Goodyear in various sections of the country.

Rockefeller and General Motors interests have virtual control of Firestone (the Firestone family is no longer boss of its factories) through a huge loan they gave recently to the company and they intend to gain complete control of the industry, it was learned authoritatively.

Goodrich has been in the hands of J. P. Morgan subsidiaries for quite some time while Goodyear, closely connected with Sears and Roebuck, belongs to Dillon and Reed, New York financiers.

No sooner did reports of General Motors entry into Firestone reach Akron than Goodyear, foreseeing the plan behind that move, slashed prices to attempt to drive Firestone from business.

Wage Cuts Threatened
Firestone tried a wage cut in an important department but threat of a spontaneous strike stopped this quickly. The company was laying the foundation for tire price reductions in that move.

So the grim shadow of long hours of work, poorer wages, and lay-offs hangs over the workers as it did in the late '20's when the companies fought their first big battle.

These revelations explain the questions many workers have been asking themselves as they saw wage reductions, the return of the 8-hour day, and lay-offs creep silently into the factories. The companies were simply laying the ground-work for their fight!

How can the unions meet this challenge? What must be done to bring the thousands of exploited back into the unions so that they can successfully defeat these companies? (Continued on Page 2)

VOTE ON SANCTIONS LINES UP LEAGUE NATIONS TO DEFEND BRITISH COLONIAL THIEVERY

TREACHERY CASTS A SHADOW BEFORE

By DAN EASTMAN
Turn the imperialist war into civil war! That was the slogan of Lenin. Turn the Italo-Ethiopian war into a general imperialist war! That is the slogan of Stalin.

Consider the Daily Worker for the seven crucial days of the outbreak of the Ethiopian war:

On October 1, T. Repard writes an article on "Social Democratic Befuddlement on the Sanctions Question," from which we quote:

"Reformist theory never flounders about so helplessly as when it is confronted with a genuinely pressing immediate issue. Yesterday it was the Franco-Soviet pact. Today it is the question of sanctions against Mussolini."

South Africa 4th Int'n lists Back Ethiopia

Police Reply with Arrests and Repressions of Workers

Cape Town, August 2, 1935
To Editor of NEW MILITANT:
Dear Comrade,

I am sending you a special report this week because the situation in South Africa is changing rapidly. A wave of reaction is sweeping over the country. The Fusion Government, agents of British imperialism and the Chamber of Mines, is determined to crush the left-wing movement.

A few weeks ago, comrades Roux and Ngedlane of the Communist Party were arrested and sentenced to four months imprisonment in connection with a leaflet they issued on the occasion of the royal jubilee of King George V. The charge was "lese majeste." Last week, two more members of the Communist Party, comrades Gomas and Mima Gool, were arrested on the same charge. Their case will come up on September 3, and there is no doubt that a salutary sentence will be imposed.

Now, the iron heel of the capitalist state is descending on the Fourth Internationalists. On Sunday, August 19, three members of the Communist League of S. A., comrades G. H. Gool, J. Pick, and C. van Gelderen addressed a meeting of over two hundred workers at the Langa Native Location on the proposed Native Bills. They were accompanied by comrades J. Gool and L. Solomon, who distributed literature to the audience. At the back of the hall sat six plain clothes detectives, two police sergeants and two native policemen. The forces of reaction were quite evidently prepared for any emergency.

The three speakers dealt at length with the Native Bills. They pointed out that it was a deliberate attempt to deprive the Cape Native of his long cherished franchise, and urged the strongest resistance against the bills. All three speakers stressed that the fight should not only be against the present bills, but that it should go further and press for the extension of the franchise to all sections of the people. Comrade van Gelderen also dealt with the pending Italian attack on Abyssinia, and urged working class action to prevent the despatch of goods from South African ports to Italian troops.

Two resolutions were submitted to the meeting:

1. That this mass meeting of Langa workers unanimously rejects the proposed Native Bills, which aim to deprive the Cape natives of their franchise, almost the only privilege left to them, and further pledges itself by every means in its power to struggle for the extension of the franchise to the Northern Prov-

(Continued on Page 4)

Fate Of Ethiopia To Be Decided in European Arena

There have been no large battles in Ethiopia to date. The Africans are following a policy of watching and waiting, retiring before the Italians, to draw them on from Adowa into the more dangerous mountain country, and to postpone any decisive battles until the outcome of the international maneuvers centering around the war are known. It is in the latter sphere, the international, that the real battles are now being fought.

The League vote last week for sanctions against Mussolini was a great victory for England. Reluctant as some of the fifty odd nations may have been, nevertheless they were all driven into line, including the other great League power, France, which is torn between a desire to please England as an ally against Hitler and a desire not to outrage Mussolini who, more than an ally, is a market, especially for war supplies.

It is significant that the only three nations who did not support the League sanctions were Austria, Hungary and Albania, all more or less under Italian influence, the latter no longer than a vassal state of Mussolini.

The New York Times has to say of sanctions: "With 'Proposal No. 1' the League of Nations began this afternoon applying sanctions against the Italian government. This sanction, number one in history, applies to Italy alone, precisely the same arms embargo the U. S. proclaimed against both Italy and Ethiopia..."

The full meaning of the whole "sanctions" game is revealed in the phrase "number one in history." Sanctions are merely war preparations disguised under a fancy name. Why should an embargo be called "number one in history?" Didn't the same British government declare an embargo against the U. S. in 1812? Didn't the Northern government declare an embargo (sanctions) against the South during the Civil War? Didn't the Germans try to "sanction" the British Isles with submarines during the World War?

Sanctions will not necessarily lead directly to war—no more than any preparations necessarily lead directly to war. There are sanctions and sanctions. While the Czechoslovakian Stalinists openly call for military sanctions, the League, under French influence, seems at present inclined to go easy on Mussolini, confining itself to less provocative measures.

Meanwhile in all the countries concerned, especially in Britain, politicians are hastening to unify the country for war around the "peaceful" sanctions question. In Britain the parliament has been called early "in compliance with the request of the Labor opposition... in view of British participation in sanctions against Italy..."

"Inasmuch as sanctions have already been endorsed by the Labor Party and have the backing of the Conservatives and the public as represented by 11,000,000 voters in a popular referendum (!!) there is no possibility of any material opposition."

As the last war was fought to make the world safe for democracy, this will be fought to make it safe for sanctions. Sanctions, which are really no more than war preparations. Diplomatic, economic, then military sanctions. And when the first shot is fired and the first soldier killed the war of sanctions becomes a war in fact. Another imperialist holocaust brought on, as was the last, by imperialist powers protecting their interest in peace right up to the last moment.

There is only one way to defend Ethiopia, and that way leads not through imperialist sanctions that lead ever nearer war, but through sanctions of the international working class: demonstrations, boycotts and embargoes.

(Continued on Page 4)

On S.P. 'Militants' Trade Union Stand

(By the Editorial Board)

Let every serious worker in the "Militant" Socialist ranks read his group's program on trade unionism (which is here printed in full). Then let these workers ask themselves the question: Is there anything in this so-called program which the worst of the "Socialist" bureaucrats—Dubinsky, Zaritsky, Zausner, Schlossberg, Abe Miller, Felstone, Joe Tuvin and the whole caboodle of labor fakers and outright racketeers—would not sign? There is perhaps one point which some of them might not agree to, on discrimination for political beliefs. Otherwise, every one of these labor fakers would sign with both hands this "Militant" program!

Yet this fact is only surprising in the sense that we might have expected the "Militants" to distinguish themselves from the bureaucrats in a theoretical document. We have seen, with growing disgust, how the "Socialist Call" has gone on month after month without beginning even the semblance of a struggle against the A. F. of L. bureaucrats. One can count on the fingers of one hand the exceptions to the "Call" rule that no bureaucrat must be colluded with. And all the exceptions were cases on which Hillman, John L. Lewis, Dubinsky or Gorman also frowned. For it is precisely to these bureaucrats, the leaders of the anti-Green bloc, that the "Socialist Call" looks for A. F. of L. leadership today!

One point must be clarified immediately: we are scarcely unaware of the necessity of compromises in the trade union movement. It is seldom, indeed, that a revolutionist can bring forward his whole program openly within the trade unions. But the "Militants" can

make such compromises on one condition only: that their political press, the Socialist Call, should tell the whole truth: teach every worker that (regardless of any temporary differences between Dubinsky and the Old Guard) Dubinsky remains the bureaucrat who smashed the left wing ten years ago and to this day roots out by the most mechanical means all incipient opposition; that John L. Lewis is a racketeer who destroyed the U.M.W.A. once in order to control it and will do so again, and who on the day he introduces the industrial union resolution rules all but two of his union's districts under personal dictatorships; that Hillman, Lewis, Gorman et al cannot possibly be the leaders of a progressive A. F. of L., for it is precisely these false leaders who have cooperated most with the government in tying the unions to the government apparatus.

That is what the Socialist Call would say—if it were a revolution-

ary paper. Instead, it is silent. Many of the "Militant" leaders are minor functionaries in the trade unions; within them they keep quiet, they do not fight the bureaucrats; outside their press is as silent as they are inside; wherein, then, do they differ from the labor fakers? Do the intentions of some of them may be of the very best. But at what point will their intentions become discernible to any beside those to whom they speak when the door is locked and the shades drawn down.

We content ourselves in this article with merely listing the basic questions "omitted" from the "Militant" program:

1. The Role of the Party in the Trade Unions.

When a resolution on trade unionism was introduced at the Detroit convention, Jasper McLevy, in a burst of righteous indignation declared: "What right have you to interfere in the trade unions? Stick to your own business in the political sphere!" This is an exact reflection of the theory of reformism, which considers its party as one of the political parties competing for "control" of government; it differs from the Republican or Democratic parties in relation to trade unions, only in being friendly to the unions, supporting the unions' demands, etc.

A revolutionary party, on the other hand, is not a political party, but a party of the working class. It is not a party of the government apparatus, but a party of the workers. It is not a party of the government apparatus, but a party of the workers. It is not a party of the government apparatus, but a party of the workers.

(Continued on Page 2)