

Comments On Life, Liberty and Pursuit of Happiness

By BILL KRICH

Prosperity . . .

Without choking on his false teeth (as he once did while waxing oratorical in Little Rock) Senator Robinson proclaims: "Our president has been charged with everything from communism to despotism, and yet you cannot pick up a daily paper that does not reflect a rise in the stock market, an increase in profits, a resumption of dividends; in fact, every manifestation that tells of a country bound back to prosperity." . . . Says Business Outlook: "Downward movements have been in progress since March." . . . Says The Annalist: "Present business level is below the worst levels seen up to the middle of 1931." . . . Says Construction Industry: "Building construction as a whole is about 75 per cent of the first six months of last year." . . . Says Barons Weekly: "Prices of many agricultural products have risen to levels where consumption is being seriously curtailed." . . . Says Food Industry: "Bread consumption for the first quarter of the year was between five and ten per cent below the corresponding period of 1933." Philadelphia papers carry the story of eight evicted families living on the street for three days. . . In corroboration of his prediction last February that prosperity would be in full swing by "next May or June," Charles (Hell and Maria) Dawes cites increases in the production of razor blades and chewing gum. . .

Equality . . .

In delightful non sequitur Al Smith orates: "It is a mistake to say that we have a property or privileged class in this country. Lincoln said property is only the fruit of labor." . . . As a reward for virtue and fruitfulness, Chicago utilities have restored Samuel Insull's \$21,000 annual pension (\$57.33 a day for life) together with back payments of \$33,250. . . For fruitful labor the duPont family recently received \$15,000,000 from General Motors dividends. . . Seventy per cent of the 58 million dollar incomes in the U.S. in 1932 were accounted for by fourteen families. . . According to figures issued by the Brookings Institution, 6,000,000 families in the U.S. live below subsistence level while 600,000 families or less than 2.3 per cent have incomes in excess of \$10,000. . .

Washington Side Show

Pat Hurley received \$100,000 from the Utility Lobby for handling the Republicans in Congress. Joe Tunuly received \$107,000 for lining up the Democrats. . . Marvin McIntyre, Roosevelt's secretary, believes that presidents come and go but the power trust goes on forever. Caught with Amos Carter, Dallas publisher, in utility pirate R.B. (Cocktail Lobby) Robinson's room, he intimidated Associated Press in suppressing the news. Other reporters told. . . H.C. Hopson suggested to utilities that they increase their advertising in the Hearst papers which are opposing the administration and the "reds." . . . According to the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee, only one in 5000 of the telegrams opposing the Wheeler-Rayburn bill were genuine.

Society Notes . . .

Herbert Hoover of Palo Alto, Cal., has applied for membership in the American Philatelic Society. The most prominent member is F. D. Roosevelt. . . John Jacob Astor recently purchased a \$200,000 yacht to commute to and from his \$25 a week job. . . Edward Schulte, 17 year old Chicago boy, was fatally shot when he attempted to steal a bottle of milk for his crying baby nephew. The mother of the child said it had been crying from hunger for two days. For ten weeks she had applied for relief but was refused. . . From his estate in Scotland, J. P. Morgan reports an abundance of grouse for the hunting season. . . Followers of Father Devine will be registered under such names as Wonderful Wisdom, Pearly Rest and Truth Delight if they win a legal battle with the Board of Elections which has refused to accept the names. . . Hereafter, Michigan will charge its 10,000 prison inmates 70 cents a day for food. . . Debate topic in a Washington, D. C. transient shelter: "Resolved, a transient is a pioneer and not a vagrant." . . Elated at the increased interest in religion, the Gideon Society reports 46,175 bibles stolen from hotel rooms in 1934.

Albert Goldman, the noted labor lawyer who defended Norman Mini in the Sacramento courtroom, will be the speaker at the monthly membership meeting of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Wednesday, Sept. 11, 8 P.M. at the headquarters of Local 48, I. L. G. W. U., 231 East 14th Street, New York.

Fink AFL Leadership Sabotages Then Betrays KC Battery Strike

By STAN DOLSEN

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 17.—The National Battery strike was settled by a committee of strikers this morning. Called originally for recognition of the union and the reinstatement of five men discharged for union activity, the strike was mishandled from the start by the A. F. of L. leadership in charge. The men, all new to the labor movement, are members of the United Auto Workers, Local 19720, this local also including the organized workers in the Chevrolet and Fisher Body plants of this city. "Boasting" a membership of 250 out of the total working force of 2,500 auto workers, with only 10 to 20 percent of these attending regular union meetings, the National Battery strike presented a splendid opportunity for the reestablishment of the prestige of the union in the eyes of the auto workers and recruitment of the mass of disgruntled workers who had dropped out since the strike of last year.

The National Battery Company, largest producer of batteries in America, has seven production plants throughout the country, three of these, the St. Paul, Chicago and Kansas City plants servicing the Midwestern and southern states. St. Paul and Chicago, organized during the early NRA days, still retained skeleton organizations despite the mishandling and defeat of their strikes by the Dillon-dominated United Auto Workers Union. Victory for the Kansas City strikers would have brought about immediate repercussions in those plants and revival of the fight for the 100 percent unionization.

Situation Favorable

Odds were overwhelmingly favorable for an early and complete victory for the strikers. The busy season—June to December—was commencing. Fully fifty percent of the men struck immediately (on an overnight decision of the union and those entering the plant were favorable to the union and practically all others promising to come out if the A. F. of L. would furnish the additional pickets so glibly promised by President Homer Martens of the Auto Workers and Polley of the Teamsters. Instead of the 500 pickets promised—a dozen Teamsters and quarrymen were supplied. No effort worthy of the name was made to prevent men from entering the plant. The strikers all green men, had confidence in President Martens, who assured them the strike was being handled in "Washington" and that they must by all means "conduct themselves like gentlemen" in order to impress the public and the company with "our absolute fairness in this matter." After four days of peaceful picketing, an anti-picketing injunction was obtained by the company on the flimsy frame-up charge of "dynamite threats." Martens and Polley immediately withdrew all pickets including the four allowed under Missouri state laws, and the company immediately filled up with scabs and additional forces to take care of the seasonal increase in production.

Four days later four pickets were placed back on the line, Martens maintaining that "the strike strategy and tactics" laid down by Missouri State Law (a picket's enough to win any strike) was an age-old axiom of Sam Gompers and must be strictly lived up to by "his" union. So the battle of labor was transferred from the picket line to the cozy little court house, the balance of the men being held off the line for two weeks while the injunction hearing was repeatedly set back by the judge.

Progressive Plans

When the injunction was first issued, Martens was immediately called upon by an experienced West Coast progressive, who presented a definite program of action. Pressure was likewise brought to bear by the Chevrolet Shop Stewards Committee. Martens thereupon agreed to put the following proposals into immediate effect:

1. Reestablish and reinforce the picket line and stop scabs.
2. Broaden the strike committee through the election of three additional battery workers, and delegates from the Chevrolet Shop Stewards and Auto Workers.
3. Secure the cooperation of the American Workers Union (unemployed) for picketing.
4. Mobilize Chevrolet and Fisher Body workers and all other union men possible at a public mass meeting to get pickets and finances necessary to conduct the strike.
5. Issue 30,000 boycott notices to the public and picket Montgomery-Ward, Western Auto, and other distributors, definitely naming trade marks.
6. Issue publicity to the men in the plant.
7. Immediately raise demands for sharp increase in pay, overtime rates, etc. as an effective aid in pulling men in the plant, as well as maintaining the morale of the men on strike. . . .
8. Contact St. Paul and Chicago plants in an endeavor to spread the strike.

As is always the case with Martens' promises—they were either not carried out or so emasculated as to be entirely useless. The men, totally inexperienced, and kept completely in the dark as to the actual situation, led to repeatedly by this preacher-labor faker, did not awaken to a realization of the situation until the lifting of the injunction and their return to the picket lines. Martens, Polley and Dyer, President of the C.L.U., laid the blame on the heads of the strikers themselves, with Martens telling them openly that it was up to them to get back into the plant as best they could.

Martens Instigates Relief

The men now thoroughly aroused, raised the demands previously outlined; the strike committee was doubled. Arrangements were made with the American Workers Union to supply pickets. Immediately after the Strike Committee left Martens went over their heads, cancelling the agreement with the A.W.U. and in the morning when the A.W.U. workers, unaware of the cancellation notice, arrived on the picket line they were told to withdraw by Martens, Polley and Bledsoe who threatened to withdraw their pickets and all A. F. of L. support if they did not do so.

In spite of this, the new strike committee, now completely awake, succeeded in pulling eleven key men out of the plant and with three-fourths of the men in the plant newly-hired scabs and green, production was thrown clear out of gear. The establishment of a mass picket line at this time would have brought about complete victory.

But Martens did nothing to mo-

Faker Undermines K.C. Auto Union

By STAN DOLSEN

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 17.—Since the settlement of the 1934 Chevrolet and Fisher Body strike 54 cases of union workers dismissed on the usual flimsy excuses of the company have all been decided against the union.

Insistence on the part of the militants that all cases be decided by the union directly were pushed to one side—the President's auto board situated 800 miles from the plant at Detroit (just a nice little walk for the men) being much more suitable for the carrying out of the purpose both Martens and the company officials had decided upon. . . . Whether decided behind the office doors or just a happy, spontaneous thought on the part of both, one may judge for oneself. However, for months Martens withheld all results of the Detroit Appeal Board from the membership!

Democracy in Union a Farce

Not a semblance of democracy exists in the union meetings, Martens refusing to entertain motions whenever they in any way contain a germ of genuine unionism. Progressives seldom get the floor. The greater part of the time is allotted to "stooges," "innocents" and the "harmless." Even this concession is limited—Martens is very careful to hog the floor himself. Once in a while the "innocents" show signs of dissatisfaction and a growing lack of appreciation of the great man—a tendency that can best be curbed by withdrawing even this limited amount of democracy! In the National Battery strike, not a striker, not even a member of the strike committee was given an opportunity to report or to express his views or to bring forward any proposals before the enlarged body.

On the other hand, a special speaker, the Rev. Myers of the Consumers Cooperative Association was brought in to speak to the assembled Chevrolet-Fisher Body and striking battery workers. This gentleman's organization purchased scab National Batteries in bulk for its members during the entire strike!

Though only an organized progressive group can break this down, no such group is even in a formative stage. There are individual progressives, but they have not yet come to realize the pressing need of an organized group if the union

blize either the members of the auto union or assist in any way. Instead a series of arrests of strikers, some at his instigation, occurred. In spite of this the workers tried to extend the strike to Chicago and St. Paul, sending the new chairman of the strike committee there. At this time the company offered a settlement. But Martens and Polley stalled the matter off—then after a number of days announced that they could do nothing more for "you boys." On Saturday four members of the strike committee designated by the men made the following settlement:

Settlement Agreed to

1. Reinstatement of all strikers without discrimination, including the five originally discharged.
2. A shop grievance committee of 6, 3 strikers and 3 scabs.
3. Payment at rate of time-and-a-half for all overtime above 48 hour week. Sunday work to be paid for at rate of time-and-a-half.
4. Recognition of departmental seniority rights.
5. Recognition of the union refused, but right of men to belong to union without discrimination and to wear their buttons in the plant conceded.

The previous settlement offered provided for elections to be held with only those working in the plant prior to the strike voting. This would have given the strikers control. Three former employees who refused to scab and arrested in picketing were refused any guarantee of employment though the committee put up a fight. However with the danger of a break in the strikers' ranks evident after ten weeks of this "Dillon man" leadership the settlement was agreed to. And another example of what the Kansas City auto workers have in store for them under the Dillon-Martens leadership in the none too distant future was enacted before their eyes.

is to be saved.

Martens utilizes his previous training as a sky pilot with considerable skill. Recognizing clearly the implications of Section 7a and the opportunities existent for a gentleman of his ilk, he became an ardent exponent of labor. Leaving the regular church, he launched a Labor Church. As this project also had its limitations he secured work at Chevrolet and shortly after blossomed forth as president of the union. Polley, fake progressive business agent of the Teamsters whose remark, "that he made Martens' possibly gives the clue for Martens' immediate employment by a company which is so careful about hiring "labor agitators."

Present Course Leading to Disaster

If the present condition of the auto union continues, the loss of the great majority of the Chevrolet workers, of the 100 splendid women members, their demoralization and disillusionment in this kind of unionism; the hiding from the union membership of the decision of the Detroit Auto Labor Board on the cases of the dismissed employees; Martens' craven attitude towards the company on the one hand and his deception, evasion and failure to rally the slightest support for the fighting Toledo auto workers on the other, and his treacherous conduct in the battery workers' strike—if all of this does not drive home to the workers the necessity for a complete check on Martens' present power and a sharp turn from the course the union is now pursuing—then nothing less than disaster, a complete miserable collapse faces the union during the coming year.

Only the organization of a progressive wing and the publication of a progressive auto workers' bulletin can change the present disastrous course of the union. It is possible through the bulletin to bring the real issues before the auto workers whether within or without the union, to bring about a restoration of democratic rights, to break the stifling grip of this budding labor faker and propagate the principles and ideals of militant unionism. This course, and only this course, can bring about a sharp change in the internal life of the union. Furthermore it is the only line of action that can restore the confidence of the auto workers in unionism and achieve complete organization and unity of the auto workers in one militant, progressive union.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Do you know how the police, prosecutor, judge, the Hearst press, American Legion, preachers, bankers, boss politicians help send our comrade, Norman Mini, to the San Quentin jute mill? Read:

UNION-SMASHING IN SACRAMENTO

The Truth About the Criminal Syndicalism Trial

by Herbert Solow

This pamphlet, published by the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, should be in your hands. You can help the struggle to defeat the frame-up Sacramento verdicts by selling it to your friends and fellow-workers. Five cents retail; reductions for bundle orders. Send your orders to

National Sacramento Appeal Committee
Room 707, 41 Union Sq., N. Y. C.

(Space donated by NEW MILITANT to the N.S.A.C.)

The Manager's Corner

As announced elsewhere in this issue, the week's receipts on the 8-page weekly campaign shows a welcome improvement over the last two weeks. But we still have reached a total of only \$968.81. Still to go is \$1,404.19.

The problem now is to keep a steady improvement a steady rise week by week, increasing the speed so that the time of the conclusion of the campaign will not be far off.

This week's remittances in the campaign were as follows:

Contributions	
Newark Branch	5.00
J. B. Washington	3.00
Los Angeles Branch	20.00
New Haven Branch	13.00
Flatbush branch, N.Y.C.	2.25
East Side Branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
Harlem Branch, N.Y.C.	4.40
Brownsville Branch, N.Y.C.	2.00
Davenport Branch	2.00
H. Goldenberg, Montreal	5.00
M. G., Massachusetts	10.00
Total	64.15

Advance Subscriptions

L. Goodman, Philadelphia . . . 3.00

Subscriptions (Club Plan)

Bronx Branch, N. Y. C. 80

Greetings

Center Branch, N.Y.C. 1.75

Previously recorded . . . \$526.11

Grand Total \$595.81

The New York branches have not yet gone very far in the realization of their extensive plans for the campaign, but they are on the way. None of them has as yet reached their quota. The Harlem branch is coming nearer and is still well in the lead. The comparative standing of the New York branches is as follows:

Branch	Contribution	Quota
Harlem	\$61.78	\$ 96.00
West Side	47.90	105.00
Center	41.50	130.00
Flatbush	26.25	30.00
Bronx	22.80	150.00
Newark	21.50	54.00
Boro Park	15.00	48.00
East Side	11.75	99.00
Astoria	9.38	30.00
Brownsville	5.50	63.00
Paterson	2.00	15.00

The Los Angeles branch has advanced from its previously recorded \$10.00 to a total of \$30.00 contributed, and the New Haven branch from its previously recorded \$4.50 to \$17.50.

SETTLE BUNDLE ACCOUNTS

This month the Philadelphia Kensington branch has set an excellent example in cleaning up entirely its account with the NEW MILITANT which on August 1 had fallen to the extent of \$23.60. Comrade R. Lee contributed \$10.00 toward making this settlement. Now, the Philadelphia branch is on an equal

footing with the Minneapolis and Boston branches which previously settled their accounts in full.

For the Chicago branches (three branches) Comrade John Ritz made a donation of \$5.00 toward the payment of their account with the NEW MILITANT. But the total amount due for bundles received, instead of decreasing, has further increased. On August 1 there was a total amount due from the Chicago branches of \$45.93, on September 1, it rose to \$48.53. However, the Allentown branch has moved forward to the dubious honor of being the worst delinquent insofar as any one single branch is concerned. On August 1 it owed a total on the NEW MILITANT bundle account of \$27.50. On September 1 this amount had increased to a total of \$37.50. The branch has failed to make any settlements since May 2.

The branches in the Bay Region, California, San Francisco, Oakland and Berkeley, show an almost equally bad record. Between them they owed on August 1 \$19.00. By Sept. 1 the amount had increased to \$28. No payments have been made by these branches since July. The Pittsburgh branch owed on August 1 \$25.00. On September 1 the amount was \$26.54. The Detroit branch owed on August 1 \$17.20. By September 1 it had increased to \$19.20. The Columbus branch owed on August 1 \$14.40. By September 1 it had increased to \$15.30. The Center branch in New York owed on August 1 \$9.40. By September 1 it had increased to \$14.25. The Bronx branch in New York has a similar record. On August 1 it owed \$9.40; by September 1 the amount had increased to \$15.30. The New Castle branch owed on August 1 the amount of \$11.20. On September 1 this had increased to \$12.20. Finally, the Toledo branch has a bad record of \$8.00 due on August 1, and \$11.50 by September 1.

It is needless to mention the fact that most of these branches are in equally bad standing insofar as their accounts with the NEW INTERNATIONAL is concerned. And it is necessary to add, we may ask, that this intolerable negligence in making settlements for accounts imposes a severe strain on the office of the Party publications. To the same extent it becomes a strain on the Party and a factor hampering its work. There is only one conclusion to draw from this situation: namely, that their duty to the Party and its press is to take steps immediately to make substantial payments on their accounts and to shoulder their responsibility in this matter as units of a revolutionary party should do.

Green Extols Capitalism on Labor Day

(Continued from Page 1)

principle on WPA work, no criticism of the anti-worker, capitalist controlled Washington administration was made!

Green again offered as his solution for the inherent contradictions of capitalism with its devastating toll of unemployment, misery and slavery of the working class, the 30-hour week.

But it wasn't what Green said alone which showed so clearly his poverty as a labor leader and the sources of ideas for betraying the fundamental interests of the working class.

It was in what he didn't say that he was so clearly exposed!

Amnesia Grips Bill

With world imperialism about to send millions of workers to horrible death in war which will inevitably draw America in, Green made no mention of the Italian Fascist aggression in Ethiopia!

With the federal government drastically reducing relief to unemployed, bringing untold misery, not one word was said in condemnation of these criminal policies!

With the shy father Coughlin attempting to build an independent company-dominated auto workers union right on the heels of the bonafide auto workers convention, Green fears to think even of the consequences let alone exposing of

Coughlin!

With all the black, infamous record of Roosevelt and his administration with its serious consequences to the welfare of the working class—the effects of the NRA, the spending of hundreds of millions for war preparations but not much for relief; the role of the government, as strike-breaker in every strike; and so on—with all this record, Green ignores the administration, in fact, he praises it for bringing "economic recovery" to the capitalists!

Thus, in every serious problem facing the working class, we get from Green exactly what one would expect from a labor faker. . . . The working class gets nothing!

P.S. The Minneapolis truck drivers will be interested in knowing who the clergyman was that sat with Green enjoying a fine, fat meal. None other than Rev. Francis J. Haas! He's still up to his old tricks, trying to fool labor. But thanks to the Minneapolis drivers, we have the Indian sign on him.

Brownsville Mass Meeting "THE RAID ON ETHIOPIA!"

Speaker:
A. J. MUSTE
National Secretary, W. P.
Wednesday, Sept. 11, at 8:30 P.M.
1776 Pitkin Avenue
Aus: Brownsville Branch, W. P.

DANIEL LUTTINGER, M.D.

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and Holidays.

MASS MEETING

International Youth Day

Anti-War Rally

Speakers:
BILL STREETER DAVE ATKINS SAM GORDON
JANE OGDEN, Chairman

Sunday, Sept. 8th., 1935 - at 8 P.M.
Irving Plaza Hall - Irving Place & 15 St.

Admission 15 cents

Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, N. Y. District

dere emily

mpis
tuesday,

dere emily,

well kid, i hope yure avin a good time in new york, which you sure deserv after workin without no vakastun for 18 years dont fall for none a those union square peasants an be sure an get those books i asked ya to. stuff is happin hear thich & fast. a iron workers strike, a strike at Strutwear, a lathers strike an a fur workers strike. they all cum to us at 674 an ask for help an we giv it to em. from the way the bosses is threaten to pick up an moov outa town, you wud think all the factories in minneapolis wuz on roller skates or sompun.

by-the-by, emily, dont forget you an me has got a sub contest on fer the NEW MILITANT. this is the weigh i feel about a workers paper, kid. you remember when we joined the Party after the strike las summer, we both sed we wuz in this thing to win if it took all r life an then sum. we seen then that the job cant be dun in 1 city or 1 state or 1 county even but must be dun in all the countries. all rite. if that is r job, less get to work. the 1 thing we got to do is to blid the Party in America. the weigh to blid the Party is to get members. the weigh to get members is to let the workers no what we're doin an what we think about things. the weigh to let the workers no is by reachin em with our literachor an espeshully the NEW MILITANT.

from the weigh r farmer-labor mayor is usin the cops to eskort the finks past the picket lines, its hi time we got goin on this. from the weigh the stalinists is tellin us whut nice peepul the top hats at the League of Nations is, an that there is good bosses and bad bosses, its hi time we got goin on this. hell, emily, a geez cud read the daily worker from now to then an never no whut the score wuz. an the socialists is just as bad, emily, a socialist is just a farmer-labor geez with a black ribbon on his i-glasses anyhow.

it is only ourselves, emily, the Workers Party which has got the rite line an nos how to deliver the goods an win for the workers. i goss we seen that in minneapolis, eh, emily?

so you see what the 1 job is—on the "must" list, as the pres. & i sez. its to get readers for r paper and to raise enuf dough so that the paper can be bigger an offener. so far i got 6 subs for the NEW MILITANT, an i razed 4 bucks for the paper from buys which is freely to us an likes the way we get things dun, and i kicked in with a days wages for the paper.

most of us here in town did the same thing, but r expensis is purty high an we cudnt send all the dough to the paper but had to spend sum of it here on the head-¼s. so now we are goin to kick in another days wages for this month to the paper, an then we'll hev paid r share to the new 8-pager.

god nos, kid, the bosses papers is gettin wurse an wurse, what with that fink, daddy warbucks, an ol man hearst's ads an the crappy handlin a strike news. if we're ever goin to get anyplace—as we r—we gotta hav a big paper of r own, a daily paper which will go to 1,000's of workers. the 1 step to this is the 8-pager, an i dont begrudge anny wurk or donashons on my part to make it click. rite now r speshul task is to get subs an dough for the paper. i no you an yure ma giv more'n yure share to the fund, but try an get all the subs ya kin from yure frans in new york. remember, kid, whichever 1 a us has the least subs by sept. 15 treats me to a dinner at red goldens. by that time you'll be back here, an we'll see whoze who.

sochully, things has bin rite pleasant. las saturday i went to the Spartacus affair given at the Party head-¼s, an nites i usually hang around the 574 hall, which they got all fixed up on the 2 floor with tables on a bar, very pleasant like. guys cum up there with their wives and girls an sit aroun an hav a glass a beer or so, an there is a gettar an a mandoleon playin, an evry once in a while a guy will get up an dance a jig, or another guy will sing rocked in the cradle a the deep an evryone aplauds an has a swell time. las nite i got up an resited the mask of anarchy by Shelley which you taut me, an ended up with ye are many, they are few, join the Workers Party. it got over big. get those subs. an hurry home.

yours,
Mike.

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A Letter from M. Pivert

To the Comrades Expelled by the National Congress of the Socialist Youth of France at Lille; July 30, 1935

Through "Populaire" (Organ of the S.P. of France—Ed.) I learned of the decision on your expulsion and the circumstances preceding it. I regret not being able to return to Paris to aid you in securing reparation of this injustice. I am in solidarity because this is the first time in the party that they have expelled comrades only for serving socialist ideals, with faults to be sure, but also with tangible results: the development of their organization. I am in solidarity because I believe there is revealed in this procedure an extremely serious political significance which must bring to your side all those who sincerely and not in phrases stand for revolutionary unity.

Revolutionary unity without comrades like Fred Zeller or Makarovsky (leaders of the Seine District of the Socialist Youth—Ed.), members of my group is a fraud. The splitting action perpetrated by comrades who have been artificially lined up against you and who do not understand its import (or who have utilized your errors) may have disastrous repercussions not only for the Party but for the entire labor movement.

The first thing I request of you is to do nothing to aggravate matters: to demand of your comrades remaining in the organization that despite what has happened they devote themselves to the development of the Youth (organization—Ed.). You have the right to defend those conceptions which you hold dear. For that, the doors of the Party are immediately open to you. Do not be discouraged, you will not be alone in defending the right of minorities to live in a democratic Party like ours. Issue an appeal to the Party at once—this ought to bring the Party to revoke an impermissible decision if it is true to its structure. This appeal must be tentative and must allow you to continue your practical work without interruption inside the Seine Federation, if at the same time, and I strongly hope so, the majority which you have won remains loyal to you.

It is in order to aid you, if you believe it useful in your defense, whether by utilizing these lines or by using them in helping you address your appeal to the Federal Bureau and the Bureau of the Party that I occupy myself in discussing the grievances concerning you which you have written me.

The Problem of Factions

Lagorgette (Right wing leader of the Socialist Youth—Ed.) condemned factions and proposed to dissolve them. There is nothing new in that. At a certain Federal Congress at Montrouge the adults launched an extremely heavy and vicious attack on us because of our faction, the "Bataille Socialiste."

Does that mean that they did not belong to any faction in the Party? I do not want here either to examine or analyze such a position. I say merely that it is the undeniable right for comrades of the Party and the Youth who think in this or that way to meet together, to act in concert for the development of the propaganda of their tendency, to visit groups, to seek votes on the eve of a Congress, to designate their representatives for Party functions. You have the right to demand this option, and no more: it is impossible to go any further, that is to say, up to official exteriorization (although in fact it is difficult to conceal ones group preferences in public action). But that, that is what we have always done in the whole life of the Party. That is what we have always done in cases of decisive battles against ministerialism and we have practiced it with Paul Faure, with Zyromsky, with Louis Levy, with Severas, without ever thinking that one day that would be a motive for expulsion . . . against another faction than ours.

I also read with regret the demand of Mireille Osman: "Renounce factional activity," and that individually. What is the meaning of this? As for myself I would never sign it. More precisely I say: in the hour when complete unification approaches, the right of minorities becomes most precious with the single condition that the factions do not hinder the regular work of the Party. I have always seen confused comrades—who have no strong principled position and are often embarrassed by the choice which the existence of factions imposes on them—struggle against tendencies and factions.

You have therefore the right to justify your appeal to the Party by referring to the constant practise of the internal life of the Party. From this point of view the "dissolution of the Bolshevik-Leninists" has no meaning, if they do not at the same time dissolve the other official and secret factions . . . but then it is impossible to apply such a decision.

As to the especial quality of the Bolshevik-Leninists, and here I will say quite clearly that a psy-

chological error has been committed by those among you who assume this name. Incontestably there is confusion here, and those who expelled you have utilized the weapon which has been given them; if you are loyal to original Bolshevism, you do not accept the democratic structure of the Party, equality for all tendencies and for all members. They therefore impute to you the intention, which has long been that of the Communist Party, "to bore from within," to demolish the socialist organization, in order to win the leadership, but with another structure. All the confusion exploited against you arises from that. . . . And it is necessary to dispel this notion (as the adult Bolshevik-Leninists must also do) under pain of driving the present conflict into a blind alley. The Socialist Party has, in fact, victoriously struggled against all attempts of the C.P. to bore from within. It is instinctively levelled against all attempts at renewing such methods. But I never understood your return to the Party as a method of this kind. You would certainly have avoided the exploitation of your label against yourselves, if you had proclaimed your will to submit to the rules of internal propaganda in the same degree and with the same rights as the other ideological currents in the Party. This is one of the points you must insist upon. And even if, in the aim of obtaining satisfaction, the label Bolshevik-Leninist or Trotskyist has to disappear from circulation, I am certain that you would not hesitate to change it. . . . The essential thing is not to wear the label of an enchanting name but to apply oneself in following the teachings it implies.

But all this does not apply to comrades like Zeller (Ed.) who are not in the Bolshevik-Leninist group, at least to my knowledge! For the latter the measure is even more unreal and takes on such significance that all minorities threatened by the same token must band together in solidarity!

On the "Illegal" Nature of the Expulsions

I maintain now that the expulsions decided on by the National Conference of the Youth are incompatible with the statutes of the Party. It is not within the province of a congress to transform itself into a High Court and to condemn (since they have neither instruction nor defense, and the delegates to a congress are not judges). From top to bottom in the Party there are control commissions which judge. That is the juridical argument which has always been made against our demands to expel the traitors from the Party. That is why the Federal Bureau of the

The Moral Guardian of Capitalist Exploitation

The Church, Fascism and War

By RICHARD ZOITZMAN

Born in an era of chattel slavery, flowering in the epoch of feudal serfdom, declining with and as a loyal servant of capitalist imperialism, the Catholic Church has uninterruptedly condoned and glorified the exploitation of man by man. As a beneficiary from the system of organized robbery the Church fears any slight change, any piece of enlightenment which might threaten the status quo and therefore its own income.

At one time the Church was able to organize its own force to combat progressive movements of a past century. The Jesuits were such a spearhead against the democratic bourgeoisie. Developments today however have put the Church in the position of having to depend on finance capital and its gangster formations for the preservation of the present system. It hails and helps every reactionary measure, every downward step which capitalism must take in its efforts at self-maintenance, asking in return only that its "Peter's Pence" be not interfered with. When this latter happens then indeed does Rome thunder against the "excesses of Fascism," as in Germany today, only then do its dupes picket German consulates, declaring "the Church is anti-fascist." Since when?

Unqualifiedly blessed is the venomous arch reactionary Gil Robles, head of the Spanish fascist Catholic Action. With what rage and bitterness do workers recall how, during the February 1934 uprising in Austria, the priesthood went from house to house, appealing to the sons of the wealthy to join with the Heimwehr butchers in putting down the starving proletarians. Today, labor's standard of living having been reduced forty percent, with all unions and workers' organizations under government ban, Austria stands a Rome anointed Papi State.

Seine, which demanded the expulsion of Poggioli . . . but which permitted him to remain at the head of socialist municipalities despite serious breaches of discipline in electoral action, against which I revolted in advance, cannot impartially apply an inadmissible decision in your case. After a control commission hands down its verdict there is still the possibility to appeal to a higher body. Such an appeal was made in the case of a notoriously disqualified gentleman, like Duchanel, who still has his party card. Therefore one cannot consider your expulsion as final for it is impossible to imagine different disciplinary rules for the Youth and the Party. Then the latter is particularly lenient with renegades and traitors. Marquet was not expelled, nor was Bouissou, nor was Comper-Morel (he is even going to enter. I hope in this connection, that Lagorgette will press the demand of expulsion against this gentleman which he accepted with Perigaud and myself).

For comrades careful in keeping the Youth in their place, I think that the action perpetrated lacks deliberation. It would have been necessary to begin by declaring the motion of expulsion unacceptable for one never knows where that will lead to. If in a group, if in a Federation, a Bolshevik-Leninist majority declared, as a reprisal, the expulsion of this or that minority as counter-revolutionists and disloyal to the real fundamental bases of socialist action, where would we be then? In the same way I set myself against this sectarian conception and I rise with indignation against the sectarianism of the majority of the Conference: this or that opponent is in the way? I disdain to answer this (it is too easy!) I believe that many of the young comrades who voted for your expulsion (or whose mandates were utilized in this aim) will regret the deplorable action which has just been perpetrated. As to the editor of "Populaire," Daniel Mayer, I consider his contemptuous comments as an infamy. No! This is not the way we treat young comrades like those whom I know well and whom I have seen at work in direct action and this is not the way to answer them. It is a bad internal regime which we will surely be in, I am certain, if everyone does as he wishes.

The Motives for the Expulsion

In the motion of expulsion there are certain unacceptable considerations and others which might be justifiable but I persist in believing are unacceptable in your case.

To come out in favor of the 4th International? It is the right of the Youth and the Party to appreciate the present situation of the world, the Christero Guerrillas snipe at workers parades from churches as a Christian protest against "Socialist Education" in the schools, and the curtailment of Catholicism's power and income. At the moment that the Coughlins, Bishop McConnells, and other Christy demagogues beat the tin pan of pseudo radicalism for "social justice," and a "more equitable distribution of wealth" etc., Rome throws its moral and material weight behind capitalism's murder gangs whose sole purpose is to reduce the workers to abject pauperized slaves.

Even programmatically the Papacy upholds Fascism. In his Quadregesimo Anno encyclical of May 24, 1931, Pope Pius states that "Corporations will be appointed as the supreme authority over capitalism. As true and genuine organs and instruments of the state they co-ordinate and direct the activities of the unions in all matters of common interest. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden. If the contending parties cannot come to an agreement, public authority intervenes."

Like the Church of Stalin, the Church of Rome finds certain capitalist wars to have progressive features. In two pronouncements on the subject of Mussolini's preparation for war against Ethiopia, His Holiness piously remarks that the dead would be compensated for by the conversion of the survivors to the Faith. This three crowned vampire proceeds in his second message to describe with what "horror" he regards a war of conquest, concluding however that a struggle for "expansion is something different, and entirely justifiable.

The international workers' revolution alone can remove this parasitic organism. Only socialism can render such a growth impossible.

Editor's Note

Because of their extraordinary importance for the revolutionary movement of France as well as their educational value everywhere we publish herewith the letter of Marceau Pivert to the expelled Socialist Youth of the Seine District of France and a reply to some of his comments by comrade Leon Trotsky. Comrade Pivert is the leader of an influential left wing group called "Bataille Socialiste" in the Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.). As previously reported in the NEW MILITANT the ousted revolutionary youth leaders are gaining support everywhere. In a recent issue of "La Verite," organ of the Bolshevik-Leninist group in the S.F.I.O., just arrived from Paris, there appears a whole series of protests against the expulsions and greetings of solidarity with the expelled.

two Internationals and to hope for a better one, with or without changing the number. Did not the Spanish Young Socialists consider leaving the Second International? Does anyone believe that formal discipline and expulsions can add luster to the prestige of the Second International? Or does it prevent the workers from wanting complete unity? I myself am also a member of the Second International on paper, but no one will prevent me from believing that it no longer has any real existence. . . . and from saying it. I am not the only one who thinks this way. Are they going to expel me?

Systematic denigration, that is, criticism of the point of view of those who think that everything is going well. The right of internal criticism. The right of free choice of the best solutions to the problems posed by events and which the Congresses of the Party have not foreseen, much less resolved. You must proudly demand all of this in your own field, in our activity in the Youth with the care of winning the young generation for socialism. What you must add, is that you have never had the intention of having any other policy than the Party's on essential questions; that is not possible (even though the Belgian Young Socialist Guards have obtained a hundred times more freedom than you on this subject). But certain questions are still being debated in the Party . . . and it is delaying in taking a position, the question of the struggle against war, for example. We demand the right to examine them as "practises," one might say, and to make our position known. If this is the main grievance they have against you, then I reproach the framers of the motion of expulsion for lack of courage. Would they be expelled if the Youth defended to the letter the position of Blum or Zyromsky on the problem of national defense, that is to say, "in case of aggression by Hitler we will shoulder arms"? No, they would not! Now, I declare that this position does not conform to the regular decisions of the Tours Congress with which I am well acquainted and which Lagorgette has undoubtedly not forgotten. No, under no pretext, consequently, even the pretext of aggression, must the Party lend itself to the propagation of the acceptance of war. If that is the real motive for your expulsion, then it should be said frankly, openly. We will draw from that— we adults who have maintained an attitude of courtesy, even of comradeship which we do not regret, in our discussions—the inevitable consequences. We understand that it would be necessary to struggle by other means than silken words against the opponents of factions who want to expel us from the socialist community, before perhaps dragging the proletariat into a new 1914. . . . And if this is not the question, then what is at the bottom of your expulsion? And if it is not the problem, then all the rest has only a mediocre importance and provided you emphasize your will to serve the Party, with your methods and your doctrinal preferences, developing them as you have done in the Seine, certainly your reinstatement must be speedy.

Finally I do not believe that they can seriously prove that your position or your action is "anti-unity" or responsible for "intolerable confusionism" in the ranks of the organization. But in any case, there is no impartial arbiter who can judge that this or that responsible comrade must be expelled. And if it is a question of a political line, then all those who have voted for you should be expelled (and are we to suppose that these people really believe that your followers would desert you!). If it is a question of precise facts, of propaganda contrary to the interests of the party, then a control commission must study the documents and decide. In summary, nothing justifies a measure so fraught with dangers. In the degree that you are able to follow my suggestions, appeal, remain solidly organized, expelled or not. The Party must be consulted. In the last analysis it is it which must straighten matters out or aggravate them. Give it confidence!

Fraternally yours,

MARCEAU PIVERT.

"Labels" and "Numbers"

On the Subject of the Letter from Marceau Pivert to the Expelled Comrades of Socialist Youth of France

By LEON TROTSKY

The letter of Marceau Pivert on the expulsions of the leaders of the revolutionary youth of the Seine, despite its laudable aim, reveals some incorrect ideas, which, in their development, can lead to serious errors. The true task of a Marxist is to warn the young comrades against these errors.

Pivert himself accuses our comrades of committing a great "psychological error" by assuming the name Bolshevik-Leninist. Since "original Bolshevism," according to Pivert, denies the democratic structure of the party, equality (?) for all tendencies, etc., by their very name the Bolshevik-Leninists give the bureaucracy of the Party a weapon against themselves. In other words: the "psychological error" consists in an inadequate adaptation to the psychology of . . . the bureaucracy of the Party.

This opinion of Pivert represents a very serious "political error," and even a series of errors. It is not true that "original Bolshevism" denies the democratic structure of the party. I advance the absolutely contrary affirmation: there was not and there is not a more democratic party than that of Lenin. It depended only on the advanced workers. It did not know the hidden, masked dictatorship, and the no less fatal one, the bourgeois "friends" of the proletariat, the drawing room journalists, the whole parasitic coterie, which perverts the ranks of the party to speak "freely," democratically, but tenaciously holds on to the apparatus and in the final analysis, does anything it pleases. This kind of "democracy" in the party is nothing else than a replica of the bourgeois democratic state, which also allows the people to speak "freely" but leaves the real power to a handful of capitalists. Pivert commits a very great political error by idealizing and embellishing the hypocritical and fraudulent "democracy" of the S.F.I.O. (S. P. of France—Ed.), which curbs and paralyzes the revolutionary education of the workers, drowning out their voice by the chorus of municipal councilors, parliamentarians, etc., who are imbued to the marrow with their bones with egoistic petty bourgeois interests and reactionary prejudices. The task of the revolutionist, even if the march of devel-

opments obliges him to work in the same organization with the reformists, these political exploiters of the proletariat, consists not in taking the attitude of a disciple and of maintaining a lying friendship towards the agents of the bourgeoisie, but of opposing as clearly, as harshly and as unremittingly as possible, the opportunists, the patriots, the absolutely bourgeois "socialists" before the reformist masses. In the final analysis those who will choose and decide will not be the Blums and the Zyromskys but the masses, the millions of exploited. The party must be built on and for them.

The Name and the Masses The misfortune of Pivert is that up till now he has not broken the umbilical cord which binds him to the small world of the Blums and the Zyromskys. On every new occasion he looks at his "friends" and feels their pulse with anxiety. It is this policy—false, illusory, unrealistic—which he offers to the Bolshevik-Leninists. They must, you see, renounce their own name. Why? Does the name frighten the workers? On the contrary. If the so-called "Communists," despite all the betrayals and all the crimes which they have perpetrated, retain an important section of the proletariat under their banner, it is only because they present themselves to the masses as the bearers of the traditions of the October revolution. The workers do not fear either Bolshevism or Leninism. They demand only (and they are right): are these the real or the false Bolsheviks? The task of consistent proletarian revolutionists is not to renounce the name Bolshevik, but to show their Bolshevism in action to the masses, that is, the spirit of absolute devotion to the cause of the oppressed.

The Meaning of Bolshevik-Leninist But why then—insists Pivert—cling to a label (?) instead of "following the teachings which it implies"? Now does not Pivert himself wear the "label" socialist? In the field of politics as in all other fields of human activity it is impossible to proceed without "labels," that is, without denominations and appellations as precise as possible. The name "socialist" is not only inadequate but absolutely deceptive, for everyone in France who has a mind to, calls himself "socialist." By their name the Bolshevik-Leninists say to each and all that their theory is "Marx-

ism"; that it is not the denatured and prostituted "Marxism" of the reformists (like Paul Faure, J. Longuet, Severas, etc.) but the true Marxism restored by Lenin and applied by him to the fundamental questions of the epoch of imperialism; that they base themselves on the experiences of October, developed in the decisions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International; that they are in solidarity with the theoretical and practical work accomplished by the "Left Opposition" of the Communist International (1923-1932); finally that they stand under the banner of the Fourth International. In politics, the "name" is the "banner." Those who renounce today a revolutionary name for the good of Blum and Co. will tomorrow just as easily renounce the red flag for the tricolor flag.

Pivert proclaims the right of every socialist to hope for a better international—"with or without changing the number." This irony, a little misplaced on the "number" (entirely—alas—in the spirit of the philistines of the S.A.P.) represents a political error of the same gender as the irony on the "label." Politically the question is posed as follows: Can the world proletariat struggle successfully against war, fascism, capitalism under the leadership of the reformists or of the Stalinists (that is to say, Soviet diplomacy)? We reply: it cannot. The Second and the Third International are outlived and have become obstacles on the revolutionary road. It is impossible to "reform" them, because the whole composition of their leadership is radically hostile to the tasks and the methods of the proletarian revolution. Those who up till now have not understood the collapse of the two Internationals cannot raise the banner of the new International. "With or without changing the number?" This phrase is devoid of meaning. It is not by accident that the three old Internationals were thus numbered. Every "number" signified a distinct epoch, a program and methods of action. The new International must not be the sum of the two corpses, as the old social-patriot Zyromsky dreams, surprised in his unexpected recognition of the "defense of the U.S.S.R.," but the living "negation" of these corpses and at the same time the "continuation" of the historic work accomplished by the preceding Internationals. In other words: it is a question of the Fourth International. The "number" here signifies a perspective and a distinct program, that is a "banner." Let the philistines wax ironical on the above. We must not imitate them.

The Crime of Hiding the Banner

The aversion for "labels" and numbers in politics is as dangerous as the aversion for precise definitions in science. In one case as in the other we have before us the infallible symptom of lack of clarity in ideas themselves. To invoke the "masses" serves in this case only to cover his own hesitations. The worker who believes in Vandervelde or Stalin, will, undoubtedly be an opponent of the Fourth International. The worker who has understood that the Second and Third Internationals are dead for the cause of the revolution will immediately place himself under our banner. That is precisely why it is criminal to hide this banner under the table.

Pivert is deceiving himself when he thinks that Bolshevism is incompatible with the existence of factions. The principle of Bolshevism organization is "democratic centralism" assured by complete freedom of criticism and by groupings together with a discipline of steel in action. The history of the party is at the same time the history of the internal struggle of ideas, of groupings, of factions. Certainly, in the Spring of 1920, in time of terrible crisis, of famine, of cold, the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, which at that time counted 17 years of existence, suppressed factions, but this measure was considered exceptional, temporary and was applied by the Central Committee with the greatest degree of prudence and elasticity. The real annihilation of factions began only with the victory of the bureaucracy over the proletarian vanguard and rapidly led to the virtual death of the party. The Fourth International will not suffer in its ranks from mechanical "monolithism." On the contrary one of its most important tasks is to regenerate on a new, higher historical plane the "revolutionary democracy of the proletarian vanguard." The Bolshevik-Leninists consider themselves as a faction of the International which is being built. They are completely ready to work hand in hand with other truly revolutionary factions. But they categorically refuse to adapt their policy to the psychology of opportunist cliques and to renounce their own banner.

Trends in Wage Levels

By ALBERT GLOTZER

Some weeks ago the New Republic printed a chart indicating trends in salaries and wages that is highly interesting and instructive, showing how in the most recent years of the crisis, particularly from 1933 to 1934, salaries increased and wages held their own, after a heavy decline in previous years, despite the supposed aid to wages in the form of the NRA. The figures according to the New Republic are taken from two sources, the Securities Exchange Commission for salaries and the U. S. Department of Labor for wages.

The report on salaries are for the leading officials of the outstanding companies in this country and for wages, the average of the workers in the corresponding industries. Weaknesses in the report are many. It does not contrast the salaries and wages for the years 1933-34 to the years preceding the crisis. It does not show the salaries for subordinated officials whose incomes are not far below the highest paid officials of any company. Likewise the report, being purely factual lacking any kind of analysis, does not show that for the officials, salaries did not stop with the opening of the crisis nor during its entire existence.

Important Facts Omitted

On the side of wages the report does not indicate whether these wages include also foremen, salesmen, office workers, etc., which in most cases would raise the average. As in the above, it does not compare wages for the years 1933-34 with those preceding the crisis. Being factual it does not mention the fact that wages in this period were raised on an average because of forced employment through the NRA and indirectly through government projects. That too, would raise the average wage. Such a fact as the years of unemployment and the loss of income for the mass of workers is not mentioned. Thus no average wage over a period of five to ten years is presented. Such a figure would again depress the average to a far greater level than is presented in the report.

Granting all the weaknesses indicated in the above it is nevertheless possible to gather the trends in the report. The report concerns itself with 107 leading companies including such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company,

Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Diamond Match Co., International Business Machines Corp., Montgomery Ward and Co., Pullman Inc., Standard Oil Co., Westinghouse Electric, U. S. Rubber, Goodrich Rubber, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., etc., etc. While the automobile industry and most of the tobacco companies do not appear in the report, steel, textile, coal, transportation and the like are reported on.

Taking the 107 companies the average salary paid to the leading official is somewhat over \$61,000 a year, for the year 1934. Ten officials out of this total received between \$100,000 and \$360,000 (the top salary). Forty officials received a salary ranging between fifty and a hundred thousand dollars while a like number received between twenty-five and fifty thousand dollars. The remaining salaries ranged between ten and twenty-five thousand dollars a year. The inclusion of automobile and tobacco would find additional numbers in the upper brackets, these industries paying enormous salaries to its officials.

Average Wage—\$21 In the column of wages the year 1934 reveals an average wage of somewhat over \$21.00. Not one. (Continued on Page 4)

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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.

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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. D. local 19059 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.

some 35 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. All unreliable elements, all local union "politicians" who sprout up around election time, must be ruthlessly eliminated.

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. To these leaders, the needs and desires of the rank and file workers are as foreign as the customs of the Zulu tribes. They dread the very thought of struggle and fear the development and growth of young progressive movements, as they fear the plague itself. When they find their positions and salaries endangered, they are ready to collaborate with the police, the bosses, with anybody to smash the insurgent movement, even though they may wreck a whole movement in the process. The present fossilized leadership of the A. F. of L. stands today as one of the greatest obstacles in the path of the automobile workers. 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 automobile industry is super-centralized and integrated. The automobile workers, split up into a dozen different craft unions, are least capable of fighting the confident and ruthless barons of the automobile industry. Again, the present leadership and its policies block the road!

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.

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. Thirty companies paid an average of between fifteen and twenty dollars a week, the remaining 23 companies averaged between ten and fifteen dollars a week for the same month.

The figures reveal that the Cluett-Peabody Company paid an average wage of \$12 a week, the Beechnut Packing Company \$13, Pet Milk Company \$13, Phillips-Jones Corp. \$12, U. S. Tobacco, \$14, etc. All the above figures represent the average for the month of Dec. 1934. While they may not be entirely accurate for a complete survey for all industry over an entire year they do represent the trends in the leading industries.

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

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. The general standard of working conditions worsened. The collapse of the NRA, the long periods of unemployment, the increase in the cost of living, the spread of wages to include more than one family, but taking in relatives, etc., all further depress the real average of workers' wages. The polarization between the owners of industry, the capitalists, and the workers, are presented very sharply in the report. A more absolute analysis

Militancy High In NY Shipping Clerks Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

walk through the market. 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 united leadership.

The second lesson—and the realization of the first—depends on it—is the necessity of unifying the ranks of militant progressives in all local unions coupled with an energetic campaign to place progressives in the leadership of the unions.

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 National Sacramento Appeal Committee is in need of funds for the appeal, and has called on all opponents of the criminal syndicalism law to contribute.

READ THE NEW MILITANT.

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. However, the "reminder" of 800 strikers on a picket line and fighting mad brought them around and they ordered the workers' demand be granted. This strike was not led or initiated by any unemployed organization or relief workers association although such organizations participated.

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 labor skates, with an eye to the favors which will come their way in supporting generally all "civic 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-\$34 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 unemployed 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-makers. 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 The Berner 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 nec-

essary 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-makers (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 (!!) against warlike ones.

And so we find ourselves in close alliance with the anti-war pioneers of Berner. Across the years we extend a comradely hand. We say: what you dared and tried to do, we also can and are trying. 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 Olgin'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 change. 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.