

FOR THE  
WORKERS  
PARTY OF  
THE U. S.

# THE MILITANT

FOR THE NEW,  
FOURTH,  
INTERNATIONAL

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## LAUNCH WORKERS PARTY OF U.S.

### Third Convention of League Draws Balance Sheet of Six Years

Bringing the Third National Convention to an end, the delegates of branches of the Communist League of America from coast to coast, and a packed visitors gallery of members of the New York branch, sang with a solemnity arising out of deep conviction the classic chorus:

**"The International Soviet shall be the human race."**

Comrade Max Shachtman announced the adjournment of the Third and last national convention of the C.L.A. There penetrated everyone present a profound realization that a period had ended and a new one begun. The Convention had unanimously voted to disband the C.L.A. by merging it with the American Workers Party in the Workers Party of the United States.

Six years of successful activity as a propagandist group came to an end. The balance sheet was written:

The ideas of Marx and Lenin, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the theory of the permanent revolution, had been kept alive and vital in the U. S. by the League. Cadres had been built, armed with the intellectual weapons that alone, when combined with organized proletarian masses, can bring capitalism to an end and introduce the communist order of society. The groundwork had been laid for the country's sole revolutionary proletarian party—the Workers Party of the United States, a current in the international movement sweeping toward the foundation of a new, the Fourth International.

The Third Convention reported substantial gains over the Second League Convention held in October 1931 in New York City. Three years ago the Communist League (Opposition) was a skeleton organization with branches in only a few major cities. The report of the national secretary, Arne Swaback revealed that the membership had been doubled and that there existed 21 branches in the major industrial centers from the Atlantic to the Pacific. These branches were represented by forty-three delegates. Four delegates from four mid-western cities were unable to be present because of financial difficulties. Six fraternal delegates came from the Workers Party of Canada.

A large proportion of the delegates had been in the C.L.A. since its inception, others had been in the Communist Party many years before they joined the League. Still others had come from various sections and tendencies of the labor movement. The composition of the delegates was overwhelmingly proletarian, many being deeply rooted in the trade union movement.

Second of the achievements recorded at the convention was the maintenance of the *Militant* as a weekly paper. In six years the *Militant* had gained the respect of the entire revolutionary movement of the world for its honesty, its clean methods and above all for the clarity and correctness of its policies.

The *New Internationalist* is the third stone in this mosaic of accomplishments. Although still very young, it has already made a name for itself as the outstanding theoretical review in the revolutionary labor movement.

The Minneapolis strike, symbolizing the truth that sound theory merged with sound practice can bring victory to the working class, stood out among the achievements of the League.

The League convention was no solid monolith artificially held together by a bureaucratic whip, but a genuine Communist gathering. It had been preceded by three months of free, untrammeled discussion in branch meetings and internal bulletins. Minorities were accorded every democratic right provided in the constitution and given proportional representation at the convention. The debates and discussions at the conference, often sharp but always comradely, were many-sided and thorough.

The convention was absorbed with two major questions. The discussions centered on the report by comrade James P. Cannon on the international question, primarily the recent Plenum of the International Communist League to which he was a delegate and the so-called "French question". The other report was by comrade Max Shachtman on the question of fusion with the American Workers Party. International and American, two sides of our struggle, these questions were indissolubly connected.

Comrade Cannon reported on the events in the revolutionary movement since the triumph of Hitler; the declaration for the Fourth International, the Pact of Four, the

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### Spartacus Youth Meets

The National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League is now in session at Stuyvesant Casino, New York City. Discussions have revealed unanimous sentiment for the constitution of the Spartacus League as the adult revolutionary party.

A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the W.P., addressed the convention Tuesday on behalf of the National Committee. Max Shachtman, a pioneer leader of the Young Workers League which first established the Communist youth movement in America, addressed the convention on behalf of the outgoing National Committee of the C.L.A. Next week's issue will contain a full report of the convention.

### Workers Of N.Y. Rally To Support Party

The first mass meeting held by the Workers Party drew twelve hundred workers as, winding up a week of conventions, the Party made its first public appearance at Germania Hall Sunday night.

Addressing the largest group of workers brought together by a political program in recent years outside the reformist and Stalinist ranks, representative leaders reflected in their appearance and addresses a cross section of the proletarian foundations of the Workers Party.

Insurgent leader of the coal miners for two decades, founder of the West Virginia Mine Workers Union, leader of the famed Logan County march of twenty thousand armed miners across three counties in 1921, which was stopped only by the Federal troops, Brant Scott plazed away at the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and declared that only the Workers Party could smash the John Lewises and build the fortresses of the working class.

### Trade Unionists Speak

Vincent R. Dunne, one of the three brothers all of whom were leaders of the Minneapolis drivers in their victorious strikes earlier this year, told of the rising progressive movement in the labor unions throughout the Minnesota district, and the role the Workers Party must play to bring together the shattered left wing in the American Federation of Labor as an essential step in preparing the overthrow of capitalism.

The Toledo auto workers' strike of last summer was represented by Ted Selander and Sam Pollack. Leaders of the Lucas County Unemployed League, they smashed the injunction against picketing, organized and led the mass picket lines in a series of bloody battles against the National Guard, and so aroused the labor movement that, faced by threats of a general strike, the bosses surrendered.

The need to include in the ranks of the revolutionary working class movement the decisive sections of the twelve million Negro masses was brought to the fore by three leading Negro delegates. They were Ernest Rice McKinney, member of the National Committee of the Workers Party, national vice-president of the Unemployed League, and spokesman of the Negro workers of Pittsburgh; James Watson, head of the International Labor Defense in Philadelphia until his recent break with Stalinism; and Simon Williamson, delegate from Kansas City.

Unemployed Leaders Speak  
The transformation of the unemployed from potential scabs into the

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### Workers Party Facts

Temporary National Headquarters of the Workers Party of the United States: 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C. Phone AL-gonquin 4-9058.

National Secretary: A. J. Muste.

Official Organs: The *New Militant* (weekly) 144 Second Avenue, N. Y. C., Phone Gramercy 5-9524; The *New Internationalist* (monthly), P. O. Box 119, Station D, N. Y. C. These addresses hold until further notice.

The full text of the declaration of principles and the constitution of the Workers Party of the United States appear on pages two and three of this issue. They will be available in pamphlet form at low cost within a few days.

### C.L.A. and A.W.P. In Fusion Convention of U.S. Revolutionaries

The Workers Party of the United States has been formed! Amidst scenes of wildest enthusiasm, the unity convention of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America completed its historic task Sunday afternoon in Stuyvesant Casino, New York City. Out of its labors and deliberations has arisen the only revolutionary party in the country.

On the ratification by unanimous vote of the fusion agreement, comrades James P. Cannon of the C.L.A. and A. J. Muste of the A.W.P. announced for the two organizations that henceforth they owed allegiance to the Workers Party of the U. S. and to no other organization. The entire audience was on its feet and the strains of the International shook the rafters. The historic work was completed!

Minneapolis and Toledo, exemplifying the new militancy of the American working class, were the stars that presided over its birth.

Under the most favorable auspices, the new party launches into its tremendous undertaking: the overthrow of capitalist rule in America, and the creation of a workers' state.

A. J. Muste will be the national secretary of the new party. J. P. Cannon will be editor of the official weekly, the *New Militant*, with Harry Howe as associate editor. The theoretical organ, the *New Internationalist*, will be under the editorship of Max Shachtman and an ex-A.W.P. member. Eleven comrades of the A.W.P. and eleven from the C.L.A. will comprise the national executive, from which will be chosen the political bureau of 10 members. Louis Budenz and Arne Swaback will be the national organizers.

These, and other important organizational agreements were reached in the opening session, which moved with Bolshevik efficiency and dispatch. Sleepless delegates, without rest from the all-night sessions of their respective organizations, shook off their weariness to speed the foundations for the new party.

The speeches were short and to the point.

"We are not repudiating our past, rather we are looking towards the future," A. J. Muste said in opening the session.

An ovation greeted Vincent Dunne, one of the leaders of the strike of the Minneapolis truck-drivers, and chairman of the opening session.

"In view of the immediate work that lies before us, and the heavy responsibility we have assumed: namely, the organizing of the working class on a militant basis, for the overthrow of capitalist rule," Dunne said, "we may dispense with speechmaking."

### Fusion Endorsed

With this as the keynote, the session moved swiftly. In a short space of time, and despite the utmost liberty allowed in discussion of all matters not previously settled by the separate conventions, the convention heard and approved the appointments of committees, elected the important organization, trade union and unemployment committees, and passed upon the organizational agreement reached between the executive committees of the A.W.P. and the Communist League.

At the second session, Sam Pollack, active in the unemployed movement in Ohio and Illinois, and one of the leaders in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, presided. He, too, was warmly received by the delegates.

The second session passed upon the constitution of the new party as proposed by the joint negotiating committee, with a few amendments from the floor. It also sanctioned the party-building report brought in by Max Shachtman, the trade union report read by Arne Swaback, and the report on work in the field of the unemployed, presented by Anthony Ramuglia, national president of the National Unemployed Leagues.

Resolutions were passed in support of Tom Mooney, and on behalf of Happy Holstein, whom the hangers-on of the Citizens Alliance in Minneapolis are trying to frame on a murder charge. A resolution also endorsed the proposal of the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, for the creation of a permanent labor defense organization. The text of the reports and resolutions will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Here ended the main business of the convention. Fraternal greetings were extended to the convention by Maurice Spector and Jack Macdonald, representing the Workers Party of Canada.

The meeting closed with the singing of the International.

### Party Maps Canada W.P. Greet New Party's Birth

The Workers Party of Canada, formed about a year ago by the Canadian section of the International Communist League, is a vigorous and healthy youngster, according to the report given by comrade MacDonald, fraternal delegate of the Workers Party to the Communist League convention. Comrade MacDonald, as well as comrade Spector, another Canadian delegate, is a veteran in the radical labor movement. Both were foundation members of the Communist Party of Canada and delegates to the 4th and 6th World Congresses of the Comintern.

In an interview with the *Militant*, comrade MacDonald reported that the membership of the Workers Party of Canada is now 250. The principal branches are located in the large cities, Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Toronto, the capital of Canada, is also the center of the new party and the seat of its national executive. The branch in Toronto has about 90 members.

Most of the members of the new party have come out of the Communist Party of Canada and the Y.C.L. The W. P. is steadily growing in size, in the scope of its activities, and in its influence among the class-conscious workers throughout the provinces.

The *Militant*, comrade MacDonald stated, performed an indispensable service in rallying and educating the initial cadres of the new party in its earlier days. The Workers Party today, however, has two papers of its own, the *Vanguard*, published monthly, and the *Workers' Voice*, a foreign language paper of the Ukrainian workers. The circulation of the *Vanguard* is about 1,200, that of the Ukrainian paper 500 copies. The Ukrainian workers have also published a number of pamphlets, among them several by Trotsky.

The *New Internationalist* has already made a remarkably favorable impression. Not on the Canadian authorities, however, who have banned the magazine along with other revolutionary literature.

The organized workers of Canada are divided among A. F. of L. craft unions, Canadian national unions (French-speaking population in Quebec), and the Stalinist "Workers Unity League". The A. F. of L. has approximately 100,000 members, the national unions 40,000, the Catholic unions about 25,000, and the Stalinist unions 15,000. The chief influence of the Stalinists is among the lumber workers, the dressmakers in Toronto (about 2,000), the miners in Alberta, and the shoe workers in Ontario.

Inasmuch as they dominate the trades they have organized it is very doubtful that the Stalinists will liquidate their unions in Canada as they recently did in several notable instances in the U. S.

The Stalinist party is still illegal in Canada and its chief leader, Tim Buck, has just been released after having been three years in jail on charges of criminal conspiracy against the Canadian government. The Stalinist party has been virtually outlawed under Section 98 of the Dominion's Criminal Code, a Canadian version of the Criminal Syndicalism laws. At the time the government proceeded against the C. P., the Bolshevik-Leninists had not yet organized a political party. Unless Section 98 is repealed as a

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### Old Guard Threatens S.P. With Split

Boston, Mass.—At the very moment when American workers feel the inspiring effects of the merger of the A.W.P. and C.L.A. to establish the new revolutionary Workers Party of the U. S., the Socialist Party enters a new stage in the development of the crisis which has been threatening it for several years.

Hard on the heels of the hailing by the Gitlow group of the S. P. as "the party of revolutionary unity" comes the announcement that the meeting held here this week by the national executive of the S. P., the right-wingers ("Old Guard") offered the "Militant" majority now in control the alternatives of swinging back to pure reformism from their newly adopted centrist platform, or a split in the party.

One of the main points on the agenda of the present meeting of the S. P. leaders was the question of a united front with the C. P. A C. P. delegation led by Hathaway, Ford and other Stalinist bureaucrats appeared to beg for a chance to sit down around a table with those whom they yesterday called the working class's worst enemies. The S. P. militant majority, toying with the idea of a united front based on a non-aggression pact and a program of passivity and noise, did not dare to receive the Stalinist delegation because of the objections of the Old Guard.

### Old Guard Delivers Ultimatum

The Old Guard prefers its noise and passivity in close relations with the top bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and feels that it may not be able to do this if the C.P.-S.P. united front is consummated.

### Minneapolis Bosses Plot Frame-Up of 574 Leaders

Minneapolis, Minn.—Seventy trade unions have united in a defense committee to give organized labor's militant answer to a frame-up campaign launched by the Citizens Alliance through its class instrument, the municipal police headed by Bloody Johannes. The frame-up campaign, directed primarily against the leaders of General Drivers Local 574, has as its object the terrorization of the whole local trade union movement.

Several weeks ago an attempt to frame Harry Hussman, organizer of the Machinists Union, and to deport him, was smashed. Now, however, the Citizens Alliance is trying a bolder step. They are at the heart of a plot to hang on leaders of Local 574 responsibility for the death during the May drivers strike of Arthur Lyman, a capitalist who played at being a strike-breaking deputy sheriff.

Happy Holstein, Chippewa Indian and truck driver who was a leading figure in the Strike Committee of 100 both in May and July, is now out on bail after being arrested for the murder of Lyman. In addition, a stool-pigeon has been found who is trying to involve unnamed leaders of 574.

The latest and third victim in the hands of the police is a 19 year old boy, Phillip Scott, who was picked up through a "very clever police trap", according to the Min-

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### This Issue is Last of "The Militant"

This is the last issue of the *Militant* which, for six years as the weekly organ of the Communist League of America, kept alive in the haze of confusion brought upon the vanguard of the American working class by Stalinism, the clear flame of Marxist and Leninist ideas.

With the founding of the Workers Party of the United States, the *Militant* gives way to the *New Internationalist*, the official organ of the country's only revolutionary party. All readers of the *Militant* will continue to receive the new paper.

Workers, read the *New Militant!*

## Party to Act On Defense

The founding convention of the Workers Party unanimously adopted three resolutions on defense questions, including one endorsing the idea of setting up a broad, militant labor defense organization. It is interesting to note a leading comrade of the W. P., James P. Cannon, was secretary of the International Labor Defense from the time of its founding until the Stalinist regime transformed it from a class instrument into a puppet of the Communist Party. Other W. P. leaders have been active in defense work.

The resolutions adopted at the convention are the following:

### RESOLUTION ON MOONEY

In the history of the American class struggle there has been no more striking illustration of capitalist oppression and class justice than the case of Tom Mooney now completing the eighteenth year of his martyrdom in San Quentin Prison in the State of California. Imprisoned there at the behest of the capitalist class of California, after his life had been saved through the intercession of the organized revolutionary workers of Russia who demanded his freedom, he has steadfastly refused to concede to the proposal that he obtain liberty at the cost of whitewashing the criminal conspirators of the judiciary who placed him in jail.

Tom Mooney's freedom will be realized solely through the organized expression of that profound indignation felt by all workers that one who should be at liberty and leading in the struggles of the day, is kept in confinement year after year. The organization of a great campaign for the liberation of our class brother is a solemn duty and a vital need of the whole class. The Workers Party of the U. S., at its founding convention, pledges its unremitting efforts in a struggle for the liberation of Tom Mooney.

To Tom Mooney himself this convention sends its warmest comradely greeting and a solemn pledge of solidarity.

### RESOLUTION ON HOLSTEIN

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. has been informed of the plot instigated by the capitalist class of Minneapolis acting through the labor-hating Citizens Alliance and Police Chief Bloody Mike Johannes, to railroad militant trade unionists to their death in order to deal a blow to the trade union movement of Minneapolis and especially to General Drivers Local 574.

To Emanuel Holstein, falsely charged with murder, and whose only crime has been that shoulder-to-shoulder with thousands of his trade union brothers he has gone forward on the picket line to defend the rights of labor and to gain for himself, his family and his class brothers a standard of living above the starvation level, we send greetings and a pledge of solidarity.

To the Trade Union Defense League of Minneapolis, organized to defend Happy Holstein, we pledge our untiring support.

This Convention gives to the N. C. of the Workers Party of the U. S. the mandate to communicate immediately with the Trade Union Defense League and with Happy Holstein and to arrange measures whereby we can assist in his defense.

### RESOLUTION ON LABOR DEFENSE

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. takes note of the fact that the rising tide of labor struggles is logically accompanied by a wave of persecution of labor militants and revolutionaries throughout this country. Hundreds of workers are today in prison or jail, or so threatened, solely because of their political or economic views or activities in the labor or revolutionary movements. It is only a few weeks since a close friend of our movement, Antonio Bellussi, was deported from this country by the "liberal" Roosevelt regime because he is a confirmed fighter against Italian Fascism and its offshoots in this country. Today members of our party active in trade union struggles in Minneapolis are in danger of arrest on a frame-up charge of murder inspired by the labor-hating Citizens Alliance of that city. Not long ago comrades A. J. Muste, James Cross and H. Mayer were indicted in Belleville, Ill. and Comrade Louis Budenz and others in Toledo, Ohio, for the crime of assisting workers in a strike struggle. Comrades Cannon and Shachtman were jailed in Minneapolis. Delegates to this convention have failed to reach their destination because the police of various cities have arrested and detained them.

While the heaviest blows of the capitalist oppressors naturally fall upon the most revolutionary elements of the class and particularly members of the revolutionary party, these blows are also directed against all militant and class-conscious workers and in times of great crisis against all elements of the population who dare to express opinions or engage in actions inimical to the interests and plans of the capitalist exploiters and their executive committee, the government of the U. S. and its subdivisions.

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# Workers Party of the U.S.-- Declaration of Principles

The American Workers Party and the Communist League of America have united on the basis of the following Declaration of Principles to form the Workers Party of the U.S.A.

### THE DECLINE OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism in the stage of decline and decay as a world system, subjects the masses everywhere to insecurity, misery, Fascist terrorism and war. The present world crisis marks much more than a depression or dip in the business cycle. Under the capitalist system of social and political relations the productive machine can no longer function effectively. Its operations are directed not to fulfillment of human needs but to the making of profits for private individuals and corporations. It cannot expand the productive forces further—it contracts them. It cannot feed the masses—in the very midst of plenty it starves them.

### IMPERIALISM AND WAR

Seeking new outlets for uninvested capital and new possibilities for capital accumulation, as well as cheap raw materials and profitable markets for the goods which their own population could not purchase, the capitalist nations entered the imperialist stage of their development. Having divided the world among themselves the struggle for new capitalist outlets, for raw materials and markets now becomes daily more intense. Driven by the lash of the crisis the capitalist nations are plunged into economic, tariff and exchange struggles and armament competition among themselves. The capitalists strive to shift the burdens of the crisis and the decline to other classes, especially the working class and the colonial peoples. The period of the decline of capitalism is accordingly marked by a series of the mightiest struggles in history, imperialist wars, wars of liberation of the colonial peoples, and the revolutionary struggle of the working class for its own emancipation.

### FASCISM

In its early progressive period capitalism fought against feudal and clerical reaction, and relied for its victory upon the support of the workers and farmers. In the period of capitalist decline the owning class cannot maintain a measure of profits and its position of privilege save by constantly reducing the standards of the dispossessed majority and presently plunging them into war. When the social crisis thus generated approaches a climax, and the working class, as the result of the lack of a strong revolutionary party, fails to act decisively for a revolutionary solution, it suffers internal demoralization and loses the confidence of the middle class masses ruined by the crisis. Under the domination of finance capital, fascism then succeeds in mobilizing the desperate middle class elements and even certain demoralized sections of the working class on a reactionary basis. "Stabilization" is thus temporarily achieved by the destruction of the workers' organizations, the wholesale murder of working class militants and the suppression of all forms of independent class expression.

Under Fascism democratic rights are suppressed, all the forms of democracy are abandoned. The trade unions and all other independent organizations of workers and farmers are smashed or compelled to become a passive part of the state machinery. The right to strike is abrogated. The standard of living of the masses is steadily driven downward. Open terror is exercised not only against avowed revolutionaries but against any workers engaged in a militant struggle for their own defense. Fascism sows division among the people by appeals to the basest racial prejudices and nationalistic passion. Thus capitalism allies itself in its period of decline with everything that is archaic and reactionary and threatens to drive whole nations back into barbarism and savagery.

### AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

With the war, the United States rose to the position of the leading imperialist power in the world. It assumed this leading role at a time when capitalism everywhere was in decline and conflicts between the great Powers were therefore intensified. American imperialism cannot expand further, or even maintain its existing world position, without cutting deeply into the share of world power now in the hands of the other imperialist nations, as well as into the living standards of the millions in the U. S., Latin America, Europe and Asia whom it exploits directly or from whom it exacts tribute. In extending its power throughout the world, U. S. capitalism thereby introduces the instability of the capitalist world system into its own foundations. The economy and politics of the United States depend more and more upon crises, wars and revolutions in all parts of the world. These circumstances profoundly shake all the classes in the country, change the relations between them, sharpen and accelerate political differentiations, and open the way for a stormy revolutionary development of the working class. In the very nature of the power of U. S. imperialism, lie those irrepressible conflicts that herald its collapse.

### THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

The Roosevelt program is essentially that of monopoly capitalism, concentrating power and wealth in the hands of a decreasing few financiers and industrialists. It fosters an open alliance between industry and finance and the government. It strengthens monopolistic tendencies in the form of codes and cultivates the view of the state as umpire in conflicts between capital and labor. It seeks to tie the trade union movement to the capitalist state machinery, breaks strikes under the pretext of impartial composition of differences by government boards, and attacks militant workers and their organizations. Its vast military program is designed both as an instrument against dissatisfied sections of the populations at home and as an agency of American imperialism interests against those of other nations in the wars which are inevitable so long as capitalism endures.

### THE ONLY WAY OUT

There is only one alternative to capitalism—to crises of cumulative intensity, growing unemployment and impoverishment, Fascism, war and chaos, ending not only in final collapse of the capitalist system but in a relapse into barbarism. That alternative is to wipe out the central contradiction of capitalism, to take the ownership and control of the natural resources, the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and communication, out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs and not for private profit, to build a socialist society. Thus and only thus can the masses in the modern world achieve plenty, security, peace and freedom.

### THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS ALLIES

The central position among the social forces which must be depended upon to destroy the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state and effect the transition to a scientific socialist economy, belongs to the working class. It will, however, need the support of other sections of society who are also exploited or oppressed. Sections of the middle class, the debt-ridden farmers, the Negroes as a persecuted

race, the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the American Empire—these are the allies of the American workers fighting a common foe. It is only in the social revolution that all groups of workers and producers, all the oppressed sections of the population, can find deliverance from insecurity, want and tyranny.

### THE CAPITALIST STATE AND DEMOCRACY

This deliverance can come only as the result of victory in a revolutionary struggle. The belief that we live in a free, democratic society in which important economic changes can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and parliamentary methods, is an illusion. Such a belief must be an illusion in every capitalist society, and, in fact, in any society which is divided into socio-economic classes. Freedom can be realized only in a society based upon the economic and social equality of all individuals composing it, and no social and economic equality can obtain so long as the means of production and distribution, by which members of society live, are outside the control of society as a whole. Capitalist society, in which a small minority owns and controls the means of production, means and must mean capitalist dictatorship. The political forms of capitalist society (monarchy, democracy, military dictatorship, fascism) are only the means by which the actual dictatorship of the controlling minority expresses itself. The state or government is thus the political instrument through which the owning class exercises and maintains its power and suppresses the working class. As the necessary political phase, therefore, of the change of ownership and control of industry, the workers in the cities and on the land must take control of state power by revolutionary means.

### CONQUEST OF POWER—THE WORKERS' STATE

The opportunity for the workers to take power will come in the course of the disintegration of material life and of culture under capitalist dictatorship. The masses will find themselves faced with growing hunger, impoverishment, curtailment of social services, and the threat or actuality of fascism and war. Taking advantage of the growing discontent generated by the crisis of capitalism, led by the revolutionary party and supported by ever larger and more significant sections of the population, the workers will take power and put an end to the destructive course of capitalist dictatorship.

The fundamental mass instrument of this struggle for power, forged in the course of united actions of the workers, will be the Workers' Councils (Soviets). The Workers' Councils, representing the interests of the majority of the socially productive elements of the population, are the organs which mobilize the workers for the revolutionary assault as well as the organization form of state power after the victory. It is through them, not through the existing governmental apparatus, which represents the interests only of the capitalist minority, that the workers will overthrow the capitalist class and take power. The workers will abolish the whole machinery of the capitalist state in order to render it incapable of counter-revolutionary activity and because it cannot serve as the instrumentality for establishing a workers' social order. Its place will be taken by the workers' state, based on the Workers' Councils. The workers' state, while assuring and continually extending far more genuine and substantial democratic rights to the masses than ever accorded to them under capitalism, will function as a dictatorship of the working class against its enemies.

### ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

For the victory of the workers a revolutionary political party is all-important and indispensable. The class war is fought by class armies. The working class as a whole—to say nothing of its necessary allies in other sections of the population—is not characterized by firm homogeneity. It is divided by conflicting philosophies, by separatist interests of caste, religion, nationality, race, sex, age. Without the revolutionary party its most valiant struggles fail to achieve lasting results. The working class as a class, as a whole, cannot directly plan and guide its battles. For that a staff, a vanguard is necessary—not imposed from above, without the possibility of control and verification from the ranks, but rising from the ranks by tested ability and common approval. This is the revolutionary political party. It embraces the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted workers, unites them firmly on the basis of tested principles, and welds them together in rigorous discipline.

The revolutionary struggle of the workers can be victorious only on the condition that the Marxist party has gained the confidence and support of the majority of the working class and leads it in the attack. The united front of different parties and organizations of the workers, welded together in the Workers' Councils, can mobilize the workers and conduct partial actions even when the revolutionary party is yet supported only by the minority. Its leadership in the Councils, however, are a prerequisite for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist regime and the consolidation of the workers' rule.

The revolutionary party likewise of necessity leads the working class in the consolidation of its power after the victory, in the organization of socialist economy, in the suppression of internal counter-revolutionary enemies, and in wars of the workers' states against capitalist states. The role of the party as the leader of the class continues until all forms of class organization, including the state and the party, are finally dissolved in the classless society.

### THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

The Workers Party of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian Revolution of 1917 (the "October Revolution"). The Workers Party conceives as its duty the realistic application of these principles to the present historical situation. Since its primary task is the defeat of the enemy at home—the overthrow of the capitalist government of the United States—the Workers Party will seek, first and foremost, to demonstrate to the working class of the U. S. and its allies that the application of the principles of revolutionary Marxism is the sole means for the fulfillment of their historical needs and interests. Proceeding from these principles, the Workers Party of the U. S. will use the revolutionary potentialities of American tradition and history, and adapt its tactics to the concrete situation and the relation of class forces in the United States.

The Workers Party is a voluntary organization of the class conscious vanguard whose members are united by a system of ideas set forth in this Declaration. Its organization principles are: democracy, centralization and discipline. Freedom of discussion of party problems and freedom of criticism, including the criticism of the leadership and its policy, is the inalienable right of every party member. The leadership, from the lowest unit up to the National Committee, is freely elected by the membership and subject to its control and removal.

The party Convention is the highest authority of

the party; its decisions are binding on all members. Every member is obligated to observe discipline in action. The administration of the party is centralized. Lower units are subordinate to the higher units. The National Committee as the representative of the entire organization, elected at the Convention, has full authority to act for the party and to enforce discipline of subordinate units. Party members working in non-party organizations are subject to the control and direction of the respective party bodies.

At all times and under all conditions the Workers Party maintains its organizational and political independence. In relations with other political organizations, in united front actions or other forms of cooperation, the party, while obligating itself to discipline in common action, reserves its right of criticism and rejects in principle all "pacts of non-aggression".

### FOUNDATIONS OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The most important of the economic measures to be taken by the revolutionary government in its initial period is the appropriation and socialization, without compensation, of all monopolies in industry and all mines, factories and shipping; all public utilities, railroads and other organized means of communication; all banks, credit agencies, gold stores; and all other supplies and services that the revolutionary government finds it necessary to take over in order to lay the foundations of a socialist society. This socialization of the means of production and exchange injures only the small handful of financiers, landlords and industrialists whose private control of the resources of the country is the source of hunger, unemployment and insecurity for the great bulk of the people. The policy of socialization pursued by the Workers' State will make possible the guarantee to every willing worker of a well-paid job, security against unemployment, and insurance against industrial risks, old age, and sickness. There will be no need for the Workers' State to impose arbitrary and oppressive measures upon small individual proprietors and farmers. The example of the social and personal advantages of the socialist organization of production, and assistance from the workers' government, can be trusted to lead them to voluntary collectivization. Socialism will release the productive forces to serve the needs of men, and will enable production to be planned rationally in terms of actual social requirements. It will allow the utilization of every technical improvement. The leisure and educational opportunities which will accompany these material advantages, together with removal of the dead-weight of the perverted capitalist culture, will offer every individual possibilities for the fullest creative development.

### THE GOAL OF A CLASSLESS SOCIETY

The elimination of all socially useless and parasitic classes and groups will proceed simultaneously with these material and cultural changes. The entire population will be transformed into a community of free producers owning the total productive wealth and resources of society. The need of coercion and repression of socially alien classes will disappear with the disappearance of these classes. With it will vanish the need for a state machinery—even the workers' state. The noblest objective of the human race, the classless communist society which inaugurates a new era for all mankind, will be realized.

The working class can build a complete socialist society only on the basis of world division of labor and world cooperation. The Workers Party aims not merely to lead the working class of the U. S. in revolution but to unite with the workers of all other countries in the international revolution and the establishment of world-socialism. Modern forces of production have compelled capitalism itself to transcend national boundaries. Imperialism, itself a predatory force, cannot, however, achieve a harmonious society. World-socialism is the only solution for the conflicts and disorders in the modern world, as well as for the major contradictions within a single nation. A socialist society will utilize rationally the natural resources and productive machinery of the earth in the interests of the people of the earth, and solve the conflict between the efficient development of productive forces and the artificial restrictions of national boundaries. It will grant the rights of free cultural self-determination and self-development to all nations and all individuals. World-socialism will remove the causes of international wars that under capitalism now seriously threaten to send mankind into barbarism or complete destruction.

### CRITICISM OF EXISTING PARTIES

The founding of the New Party on the basis of the present Declaration is the one possible step toward revolutionary unity. A mere attempt to fuse the programs and tactics of existing parties would lead nowhere since careful analysis reveals their falsity and inadequacy.

#### a. Socialist Party

The Socialist Party is not a party of revolution but of reform and pacifism. The fundamental error of all wings of the party is their false conception of the nature of the state and of the colonial question. From this flow its parliamentary illusions, its notion that the workers can achieve power within the framework of existing state forms, its fetishism of capitalist democracy, its policies of class collaboration, and betrayal of colonial revolts and revolutions. It is affiliated and gives allegiance to the bankrupt Second International, which bears the responsibility for supporting the last imperialist war, and whose leading section, the German Social-Democracy, openly aided the capitalists to suppress revolutionary uprisings of the workers and made possible the triumph of Fascism in Germany. The Socialist Party conducts no struggle against the reactionaries in the trade union movement and important sections of the Party are directly associated with these elements. Though now as at other periods in its history the Party contains many militant and leftward moving workers, the powerful right wing elements in the Party openly spurn and combat all revolutionary tendencies. The radical phrases of the centrist wing represented by the "Militant" leaders serve as a cover for an essentially reformist attitude and a policy of capitulation to the right wing. The Party and the Second International with which it is affiliated therefore serve the purpose of hindering the consistent development of the workers to a revolutionary position. The genuinely revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party can carry out the implications of their position only when they break with the reformists and social patriots and unite with the Workers Party and the New International.

#### b. The Communist Party

The adoption of a nationalist, and therefore non-revolutionary theory and practice, associated with the abandonment of the principle of workers' democracy in the Third International and its sections, constitutes the root cause of their decline and degeneration. Having left the firm ground of revolution-bankrupt. The problem of international organization

ary principle, the Stalinist bureaucracy of the C.P. S.U. which mechanically dominates the Third International and its sections, has everywhere followed a centrist zigzag policy, which in the U. S., for example, has ranged from opportunistic efforts to cooperate in the formation of the LaFollette "Third Party" of middle-class radicalism to partisan exclusiveness and ultra-leftism.

No semblance of party democracy obtains in the International or its sections. They have sponsored divisive tactics in the trade unions and other mass organizations, the policy of building dual sectarian unions, the theory of social fascism and the tactic one day of the united front from below, and the next day of purely formal united fronts "only from above" in which "non-aggression pacts" with reformist parties are concluded. They have resorted to low, vicious tactics in the labor movement, time and again ordering their members to break up meetings called by other labor organizations, and to beat up spokesmen of other viewpoints. In their own ranks, dissident opinion is stifled and bureaucratism reigns supreme.

The C. I. and its sections are completely and mechanically dominated by the bureaucracy of the C.P. S.U. As the revolutionary tide temporarily subsided in other countries, the Russian workers were obviously confronted with the need of concentrating upon the tremendous task of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the Soviet Union, in expectation of decisive aid from the workers in other lands when the next revolutionary wave raised them to power. At this juncture the leaders of the C.P.S.U., however, instead of pursuing the work of laying the foundations of a socialist economy in the U. S. as one significant part of the movement for world revolution, adopted the position that a socialist society could be built in the Soviet Union alone (the theory of "socialism in one country") even though revolutions did not take place in other countries and that the building and defense of "socialism in the Soviet Union" is the first and well-nigh exclusive task of the entire world revolutionary movement. In the process of mechanically imposing this position upon the Communist parties of other countries all semblance of party democracy was wiped out. These parties, instead of concentrating their attention and energies primarily upon advancing the revolutionary movement and seeking the overthrow of the capitalist state in these countries, became little more than agitational groups dedicated to so-called "defense of the S. U.", pacifist agitation "against war and Fascism", etc.

This degeneration of the Communist parties everywhere and their diversion from the task of achieving the revolution in the capitalist countries, weakened the real defense of the Soviet Union and contributed to the defeat of the workers in other lands, as was so tragically demonstrated by the collapse of the C. P. in Germany when Hitler came to power. The effective defense of the Soviet Union today and the support of those revolutionists in the S. U. who fight for the reform of the Soviet State and the revival of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin's time based on the principles of revolutionary internationalism and workers' democracy depend therefore upon the building of new revolutionary parties in the capitalist countries and a new revolutionary international. To accomplish all these objectives we devote ourselves with all our energies to the building of the new revolutionary party in the United States.

#### c. Centrist Political Groupings

The Workers Party of the U. S. firmly opposes centrist organizations and tendencies on the national and international fields, which try to reconcile or to find a middle-of-the-road position between revolutionary Marxism and reformism. While ready to cooperate with organizations and groups evolving from reformism or centrism to revolutionary Marxism the Workers Party will not tolerate any conciliation with reformist or centrist policies.

#### d. Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties

At present the Farmer-Labor party movement in this country is weak and inconsequential. It is, however, possible that there will rise into being a fairly "radical" farmer-labor movement, or some combination of farmer, labor and middle class movements, which will seek to reform capitalism.

The workers' revolutionary movement faces a complicated problem in dealing with such developments. It is the task of the revolutionists to build their own party, not to engage in building up any party of reform. In the period of capitalist decline, so-called reformist parties cannot pretend to the progressive role they have played decades ago. Political and economic concessions can now be wrested from the capitalist class only by means of the most resolute and militant class struggle. Besides, any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct its appeal "to all classes", is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists in every decisive test. We do not believe that the American working class must inevitably pass through a protracted experience with reformist parties. It is entirely possible that it will either skip this stage, or else concentrate it within a brief period. Another dangerous aspect of middle class reform movements, in the present period, is the fact that they easily fall prey to those demagogic appeals, chauvinistic slogans and reactionary ideas of class harmony which are the hallmark of the fascist movement. However, the membership of these groups represent real blocs of social unrest and of potential antagonism to the existing order. The Workers Party will work out its tactics toward these groups and movements in the light of its basic principles. The masses in the movements must be won to support the revolutionary movement. The revolutionary party will show them by theory and historical example, and above all by its own activities that the actual consequences of the policies of reform movements, here as in all other countries, are directly opposed to their avowed aims, that they act to preserve capitalism, and hence are inimical to the interest of the workers. In order that it may effectively perform this task the revolutionary party must at all times maintain its own political and organizational integrity and independence.

#### THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

The workers' revolution by its very nature is international in character. Beginning in one or more countries it must be extended progressively to others until it embraces the entire world and establishes socialism as a world system. The revolutionary party must therefore be an international party with sections in every country. We are therefore committed to the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world and their union in a New International. The needs of the working class movement in earlier periods of capitalist development led to the formation of the First and later the Second International, and demanded the establishment of the Third International when the Second betrayed the working class in the war and post-war crisis. Today the existing Second and Third Internationals are

## Workers Party Declaration of Principles

cannot be met by an amalgamation of the Second and Third Internationals or by an International based on a mixture of the bankrupt policies of the two. A new, i. e., a Fourth, International, based on the theoretic and strategic principles laid down by Marx and Lenin, representing the historic continuity of the international revolutionary movement, and applying these basic principles to the historical realities of the present stage of capitalist decline, must be built. The W. P. is prepared to establish fraternal relations with all groups, organizations and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own and to cooperate with them in the elaboration of a complete world program and the speediest possible establishment of the New International.

### STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Workers Party is pledged to a revolutionary struggle against war, which can be eliminated only by the overthrow of the society which breeds it. It will strive by every means in its power to prevent the outbreak of another imperialist war. It will combat the idea that it is to the interest of the fatherland to support defense of the (capitalist) "fatherland", based as this idea is on the conception of a community of interest between classes which capitalism by its very nature makes impossible.

Under no circumstances will the W.P. give any support, directly or indirectly, to any war conducted by the capitalist government of the U. S. On the contrary, it will actively fight such a war and work not for the "victory" of the capitalist government but its defeat. The Workers Party rejects the utopian and illusory ideas of pacifism. We support the wars of the oppressed against the oppressor, of workers' states against capitalist states, of the enslaved peoples against their imperialist exploiters, of the colonies against those who keep them in servitude, of the nationalities, races and minorities who suffer under the yoke of a ruling caste. The policy of folded arms, passive resistance, "conscientious objection", etc. is completely futile as a means of struggle against imperialist war, regardless of the sincerity and courage of those who resort to it. The answer to imperialist war is the workers' revolution.

This policy holds good also in the event of a military alliance between the U. S. and the Soviet Union (an alliance which under certain circumstances the U. S. might be unable to avoid). In such a case the W. P., unreservedly supporting the Soviet Workers State, would expose the treacherous aims of the government of U. S. imperialism in the alliance, call for its overthrow and its replacement by a revolutionary workers' government which alone would be capable of making a loyal alliance with the S. U. and giving it unqualified support in the war.

### THE DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union is a workers' state, product of the Russian revolution and beacon light of inspiration to the workers of the entire world. Despite all the difficulties imposed upon it by its isolation within a ring of capitalist enemies the Russian workers have already accomplished marvels, and have demonstrated beyond doubt that planned socialist production is manifestly superior to capitalist production even in its best period. The unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against capitalist attack is an elementary duty of every worker. Any attempt by the imperialists of any land to attack or undermine the Soviet Union will find the revolutionists of the Workers Party ready to defend it to the utmost. Fundamentally this real defense of the Soviet Union depends not upon the League of Nations, non-aggression pacts, or any such measures, but upon successful workers' revolutions in other countries.

### THE MAIN TASK

The main and immediate task of the W. P. is the mobilization of the American masses for the struggle against capitalism and the preparation for its revolutionary overthrow. To this end the Party will work within the mass organizations of workers and farmers and will support and seek to give leadership to all their immediate practical struggles, strikes, demonstrations, mass action for relief and social insurance, fights against lynching, evictions, foreclosures, etc. The W. P. will participate with its own candidates and program in election campaigns, without, however, sowing the fatal illusion that the workers can accomplish their emancipation by means of the ballot box. Election campaigns will serve primarily as a means of revolutionary propaganda. Our candidates elected to Congress or other governmental bodies will utilize their positions for the purpose of exposing the sham of capitalist "democracy" and promoting the development of the mass movement of the workers. It will carry on constant propaganda to educate the vanguard workers in the principles of revolutionary Marxism. Everywhere, it will seek to demonstrate in action the applicability of its principles and tactics and the competence of its leadership in the mass movements of the workers.

### THE TRADE UNIONS

The trade unions are the elementary and basic organs of working-class defense against capitalist aggression, and of all trade unions the most important are those of the workers in the large shops, mills, factories and mines of the basic industries.

With these as its base, the Party will penetrate similarly the unions and federations of all groups of workers, activating and politicizing their struggles. The main aim of the W. P. in the trade unions is to infuse them with the spirit and policy of class struggle and to aid in developing a militant leadership in accord therewith. To this end it will wage an irreconcilable struggle against the reactionary officialdom of the trade union movement. We shall encourage and inspire workers in the unions to fight against autocracy, corruption and gangsterism and against the class collaboration tendency so prevalent in the trade union movement, wherever these appear. The W. P. stands for rank and file control and trade union democracy. It will take the initiative in organizing the left and the progressive forces to fight for a militant, class-struggle policy and leadership in the trade union movement.

The W. P. stands for trade union unity, a divided trade union movement facilitates the progress of reaction and Fascism. The Workers Party is opposed to the Communist Party policy of building paper unions, mechanically controlled by the party, which are in no sense genuine mass organizations. The W. P. favors the organization of workers into unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. wherever possible, since the A. F. of L. represents the main mass of organized labor and the trend of workers now moving for organization is in the same direction.

The Workers Party does not believe, however, that the American Federation of Labor has any right to claim a monopoly in the field of labor organization. Too often the Federation officialdom has repelled workers in the basic industries by an insistence on craft union forms. In numerous cases, important groups have been forced out of its ranks by outright betrayal of strikes, by bureaucracy, racketeering and

other evils. Where the masses are forced to form independent unions as a result of such intolerable situations the W. P. will support them in their efforts and struggles. We are firmly opposed to the present maneuvers of the Communist Party for the arbitrary and mechanical liquidation of independent unions, regardless of the circumstances that called them into existence, their mass base, or the will of the membership. Where the A. F. of L. is unable or unwilling to organize the unorganized workers, especially in the basic industries, the W. P. will assist them to form independent unions on an industrial basis. It will, however, continue to work for a united, industrially constructed and militant trade union movement.

The Workers Party stands for industrial unionism, and will press forward the issue of amalgamation in every field in which such action is necessary.

We warn the organized workers against the tendency, particularly noticeable since the NRA, to tie the trade union movement up with the capitalist government. This policy, nourished and supported by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor, must inevitably result, if it is allowed to prevail, in emasculating the unions, in restricting the right to strike, to picket and carry on any normal activity, and undermining the workers' power of resistance.

### AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FARMERS

The section of the agricultural population on which the Workers Party bases itself directly consists of the agricultural laborers whose standard of living is even lower than that of the industrial workers and whose efforts to organize in order to improve their conditions are met by the most brutal repression. The organization of these workers into militant unions is an essential part of the development of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The Workers Party will give special attention to this task, and pledges its fullest support to all the struggles of the oppressed agricultural workers.

Millions of share-croppers and tenant farmers in various sections of the United States have been reduced to virtual servitude and a peasant basis of existence. Even those farmers who nominally own the land they occupy, are loaded with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and under capitalism are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. This situation has driven them to openly violent "Holiday" movements, milk strikes, anti-foreclosure and anti-eviction demonstrations, etc. These struggles, however, can have a consistently progressive character and can achieve lasting results only if they are directed against the capitalist system itself. For the farmers, as well as for all oppressed groups, emancipation and security can come only by allying themselves with the working class in the struggle for a socialist society.

### NEGROES AND OTHER OPPRESSED RACIAL GROUPS

The Negroes compose the most exploited and persecuted section of the population of this country. Racial differences are used by the capitalist dictatorship to drive down the standard of living of all workers and to keep them from uniting against their oppressors and thus achieving complete emancipation. The Workers Party will labor unceasingly to convince the white workers on the one hand, and the workers of the Negro and other oppressed racial groups, such as the Japanese, Mexicans and Filipinos, on the other hand, that their interests are the same. The elementary and basic task is to unite the workers regardless of race in economic and political organizations for a common struggle. The W. P. stands for the complete equality of the Negroes and all other races and will fight against every form of race discrimination—economic, political, social, against wage differentials, lynching, Jim Crowism, the barring of Negroes and other groups from the trade unions, and all other forms of racial and national chauvinism. At the same time, we point out that the Negro urban and rural masses cannot achieve deliverance by reliance upon Negro capitalists and middle class elements or a so-called "Negro capitalism". Only by the complete abolition of capitalism will they gain freedom from discrimination, exploitation and tyranny.

### COLONIAL PEOPLES

The workers in the United States and the peoples of Latin America, the Philippines, Hawaii and Liberia, have one enemy in common—American imperialism. The Workers Party pledges its unqualified and active support to these peoples in every progressive struggle they undertake to gain the unhampered right of self-determination, free from military, political or economic intervention or pressure by U. S. imperialism. Our Party stands for the unconditional and immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands and all other colonies and dependencies of the U. S., and for the withdrawal of all troops from any territory outside the boundaries of the U. S. The Workers Party is further pledged to active opposition to any endeavor by American imperialism, be it open or masked, to infringe upon the right of self-determination of any nation or people.

The revolutions in the colonies, semi-colonies, and "spheres of influence" of U. S. imperialism will play an important part in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the imperialist exploiters at home, and vice versa. A successful revolution in the United States would be decisive for the emancipation of the toiling masses throughout Latin America. On the other hand the revolution beginning in one of the Latin American countries, or in one of the colonies or semi-colonies of the United States, can spread throughout the continent and powerfully accelerate the development of the class struggle and the revolution in the United States. The struggle against U. S. imperialism at home and throughout its vast empire is thus indissolubly linked together. The Workers Party will actively support and endeavor to coordinate all the manifestations of this struggle.

### PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS

The professional and technical workers have a distinctive contribution to make both in the struggle to overthrow capitalism and in the building of a new social order. With these considerations in mind the W. P. will help to build up economic organizations of these workers and seek to penetrate existing organizations. It will seek to overcome the traditional hesitancy of American professional and technical workers to take part in social and political activity and to draw them along with all other exploited groups into the labor and revolutionary movement.

### THE UNEMPLOYED

The great and largely permanent army of the unemployed during the period of the rapid decline of capitalism is a vast depository of every kind of social discontent. In a position where the conduct of their lives has lost social meaning, the unemployed will join with the movement that convincingly promises them a new and integral place in the social order. Unless the working class movement by giving support to their struggles and by convincing presentation of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, draws in the unemployed, they will be a prey to chauvinistic and military propaganda, to fake social nostrums and to Fascist demagoguery. The Workers Party will resist all efforts to erect barriers between the employed and unemployed, will constantly stress the community of interest between them, and will show

## Constitution of the Workers Party

Resolved, That the following document be adopted as the CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, and be it further

Resolved, That all members of the American Workers Party and of the Communist League of America, as certified by the Secretaries of the respective organizations, shall become Charter Members of the Workers Party of the U. S. upon signing their desire to do so, and are eligible for election or appointment to all offices, and be it further

Resolved, That all persons applying for membership within sixty days after the first Convention, and whose applications are accepted, shall have the status of Charter Members, and be it further

Resolved, That the National Committee of the Workers Party of the U. S. in the period between the initial and the second National Conventions, is empowered to increase its membership up to and including thirty by two-thirds vote, and to elect additional members accordingly, likewise by two-thirds vote.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

#### ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of the organization shall be the WORKERS PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES (hereinafter referred to as "the Party").

#### ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

The purpose of the Party is set forth in its Declaration of Principles.

#### ARTICLE III: INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION

The Party, at its launching, is affiliated with no other group, party, or organization in the United States or elsewhere. Its National Committee is empowered to enter into fraternal relations with groups and parties in other countries, and, if they stand on the same fundamental program as its own, to cooperate with them in the elaboration of a complete world program and the speediest possible establishment of the new revolutionary International. Action on any organizational affiliation must be submitted to a National Convention of the Party.

#### ARTICLE IV: MEMBERS

Section 1. All those who accept the Declaration of Principles adopted at the First Convention, who agree to abide by the discipline of the Party, and to engage actively in its work, are eligible to membership.

Section 2. Every member must belong to a duly constituted branch of the Party in the locality where he resides, if such a branch exists. In localities where no branch exists, members shall be admitted as members-at-large.

Section 3. Applications for membership shall be acted upon by the local branch concerned, in accordance with the general regulations laid down by the National Committee, and subject to review by higher units of the Party. Applications for membership-at-large shall be acted upon by the National Committee, or by such committee as it shall designate.

Section 4. An official Membership Card shall be issued to each member.

Section 5. A member desiring to leave one locality for another must apply to his branch for permission, and receive a transfer card, which is to be deposited with the branch of the locality to which the member moves. If no branch exists in the new locality, the member shall remain a member-at-large.

Section 6. The National Committee is empowered to accept groups or organizations of individuals, eligible under Section 1 of this Article, as members en bloc, and to assign them to the proper branches.

#### ARTICLE V: ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The basic unit of the Party shall be the branch. A branch shall consist of not less than 5 nor more than 50 members. When a branch achieves a membership of 50, it shall be subdivided into two branches. Exceptions can be made only by permission of the National Committee.

Section 2. Wherever two or more branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be formed by delegates from the respective branches elected on the basis of proportional representation.

Section 3. In such cases as may be decided by the National Committee, District Executive Committees, comprising delegates from a given group of local branches, shall be formed.

#### ARTICLE VI: ADMINISTRATION

Section 1. The highest governing body of the Party is the National Convention. Its decisions shall be binding upon the entire membership.

Section 2. Between National Conventions, the authority of the Convention, subject to the decisions of

in action how the fight of employed and unemployed against their common oppressor can be united. It supports and helps organize the struggles of the unemployed masses for relief, against evictions, for social insurance, etc.

#### THE YOUNG WORKERS

The capitalist system has throughout its existence been marked by the most hideous exploitation of children and youth. Capitalist society today cannot offer jobs even at starvation wages to millions of its youth, but only frustration or actual destruction under Fascist reaction or war. The working and student youth will find in the Workers Party which aims at the establishment of a socialist society the constant champion of their interests. The Party will undertake as one of its most urgent and important tasks the building of a youth organization embracing young workers, young farmers and young students based on the party's principles of revolutionary Marxism.

#### THE UNITED FRONT

In spite of organizational and political differences, the workers, to defend their rights and advance their interests, must achieve united action. If they do not, wage and relief cuts, increasing abrogation of political and civil liberties and finally war and the victory of fascism are assured. This does not mean the false and in practice disruptive united front such as was proposed by the Communist Party in the "united-front-from-below." Likewise the W. P. rejects arbitrary arrangements between bureaucratic officials imposed upon the masses, and so-called "non-aggression pacts" which in practice mean capitulation to reformist tendencies since they obscure differences of principle between reformists and the revolutionary party. The Workers Party stands for an honest, straightforward, carefully defined united front of organizations on specific and immediate issues facing the workers. Such united front actions in which the participating organizations retain complete political and organizational independence develop the mass power of the workers, teach the workers the need and value of unity, expose the weakness or treachery of reactionary and reformist leaders, and give the revolutionary party the opportunity to show in action the correctness of its principles and tactics. Thus, united front actions are indispensable preparations for the revolutionary unity which, in the revolutionary crisis, will enable the workers to take power.

the Convention, is vested in the National Committee elected by the Convention.

Section 3. The National Committee shall be comprised as follows:

Par. 1. There shall be twenty-two members.

Par. 2. The National Convention shall elect also six alternates, to fill vacancies in the National Committee in the order decided upon by the Convention.

Par. 3. Members of the National Committee may be dropped from the Committee and/or from the Party only by vote of the National Convention. Members of the National Committee may, however, be suspended from membership and be barred from all rights as members, pending final decision of the Party Convention, by vote of two-thirds of the membership of the National Committee.

Section 4. The National Committee directs all the work of the Party, decides all questions of policy in accord with the decisions of the Convention, appoints subordinate officers and sub-committees, including the Political Committee, and, in general, constitutes between Conventions the functioning authority of the Party.

Section 5. The local governing body of the Party shall be the Local Executive Committee, or, where only one branch exists, the Branch Executive Committee. Where District Executive Committees shall be constituted, the National Committee shall decide their relation to the Local and Branch Executive Committees.

Section 6. The Branch Executive Committee shall be elected by the membership of the branch, and is subordinate to the branch membership. Its duties are to direct the activities of the branch, and to act with full powers for the branch between branch meetings. This section applies likewise to Local Executive Committees.

#### ARTICLE VI: INITIATION FEES AND DUES

Section 1. Each applicant for membership (other than Charter Members) shall pay an initiation fee of twenty-five cents, which shall be received for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Office. The entire initiation fee shall be paid to the National Office.

Section 2. Each member shall pay monthly dues of fifty cents which shall be received for by dues stamp furnished by the National Office through the Branch Treasurer, and affixed to the membership card of each member. In addition, all members are expected to make regular voluntary contributions according to their means. In special cases, the National Committee may authorize a reduction in the amount of monthly dues, not more than fifty per cent, upon application by the party unit affected.

Section 3. Where branches are joined in Local or District Committees, one half of all dues payments shall go to the National Office; where Local or District Committees do not exist, two-thirds of all dues payments shall go to the National Office. In the case of members-at-large, the entire amount of dues payment shall go to the National Office.

Section 4. No members are exempted from the payment of at least the minimum dues. In special cases, however, local branches are at liberty to provide payment for individual unemployed branch members from the branch treasury, upon vote of the branch. The National Committee is, however, empowered to exempt a branch, and its members, from this requirement, and to issue special unemployed stamps.

Section 5. Housewives, not employed, who are members of the party, may, on request, be granted unemployed exempt stamps.

Section 6. Dues paying members of the youth organization who are simultaneously party members shall, on request, be exempted from the payments of dues in the party branch.

Section 7. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing, and shall be so notified by the Branch Executive. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls of the Party.

#### ARTICLE VII: DISCIPLINE

Section 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party are binding upon the members and subordinate units of the Party.

Section 2. Any member or unit violating the decisions of a higher unit of the Party shall be subject to disciplinary actions up to expulsion by the body having jurisdiction.

Section 3. Charges against any member shall be made in writing and the accused member shall be furnished with a copy. Charges filed before branches shall be considered by the Branch Executive Committee at a meeting to which the accused member is invited. The Branch Executive Committee shall submit a recommendation to be acted upon by the membership of the Branch. Charges considered by higher units of the Party shall, however, be acted upon by the said units.

Section 4. Disciplinary action by a higher unit of the Party shall be initiated in the local branch. Failure of the branch to act, or branch action deemed improper by the higher unit, may be followed by direct disciplinary action by the higher unit.

Section 5. Any member subjected to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher unit, up to and including the National Convention. Pending action on the appeal, the decision of the Party body having jurisdiction remains in full force and effect.

#### ARTICLE VIII: QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTION

Section 1. Except in the case of newly organized branches, members of Local and Branch Executive Committees must have been members of the Party for at least three months.

Section 2. Members of the National Committee must have been members of the Party for at least one year.

#### ARTICLE VIII: NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

Section 1. The National Convention of the Party shall be held once a year. Special Conventions shall be called by the National Committee upon the demand of branches or Local Executive Committees representing one-half of the membership.

Section 2. The Call for the Convention, together with an agenda and the proposals of the National Committee shall be issued at least sixty days before the date of the Convention for discussion in the local organizations and in the official publications.

Section 3. Representation at the Convention shall be proportionally based upon the membership in good standing at the time of the Convention Call.

#### ARTICLE IX: FRACTIONS

Members of the Party in trade unions and other mass organizations shall organize themselves into fractions for common work within such organizations. The work of a fraction within a given mass organization shall be under the direction and control of the Party unit having jurisdiction over the Party members constituting the fraction. The members of a fraction, must work as a unit under all circumstances. Violations of fraction discipline shall be reported to the proper organization of the Party for action.

#### ARTICLE X: AMENDMENTS

Amendments shall be made to this Constitution by majority vote of the National Convention.

## Minneapolis Frame-Up Attacked by Dunne

(Continued on Page 1)

immediately called for his re-arrest on the trumped-up charge of having murdered Lyman.

The following day at a meeting of 70 representatives and officials of the trade union movement of the city, which had been called to plan to fight the Citizens Alliance for control of the city government, resolutions were introduced by the leaders of local 574 which resulted in the meeting being converted immediately into a defense rally for Happy Holstein.

The Minneapolis Labor Review of Friday, Nov. 23, devotes its front page entirely to a discussion of that meeting—characterizing it as "the greatest outpouring of business representatives and officials of unions that has occurred in several years."

The next day the Trade Union Defense Committee brought Happy Holstein out of jail on \$10,000 bail, procured by placing the property of the Milk Drivers Union at 340 Fifth Street, N.E., under bond.

The Labor Review says: "Organized labor is in an ugly mood at the attempted framing of Happy Holstein."

"Trade unionists have not forgotten how Henry Ness and John Belor, valiant members of Drivers 574, were slaughtered and more than 40 others shot in the back. That there has been no effort to apprehend or indict those big shot higher-ups responsible for giving the order for their slaying while Happy Holstein, a humble worker, is being attempted to be framed is convincing the workers more than ever that the so-called machinery of justice is the machinery of class justice and not of even handed justice."

### V. R. Dunne Promises Fight

Commenting on the attempted frame-up of union leaders, Vincent R. Dunne, leader of General Drivers Local Union 574 of Minneapolis, now in New York City to attend the founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S., made the following statement to the Militant:

"We have heard of such confessions before in the history of frame-ups against members of trade unions who dared to behave like honest union men. We are not frightened by this one."

"If the Citizens Alliance wants a fight, they will get it. Seventy Minneapolis unions, all of the American Federation of Labor, have leagued together to fight these frame-ups and their instigators. I am confident that the Workers Party will make one of its first activities the rallying of its members throughout the country to organize a nation-wide defense movement."

"Before we get through with the Citizens Alliance similar plunder organizations in other cities will think twice before they try to railroad an honest trade union militant to his death."

## Party to Act on Defense

(Continued from Page 2)

In the struggle against reaction, against Fascist and semi-Fascist trends, against the suppression of civil liberties and the rights of labor to organize, strike, picket and otherwise defend its interests, against deportations, against the oppression of aliens, Negroes and other minority elements of the population, the entire working class has a common interest. It is the task of the revolutionary party to make clear to the class this common interest and to bring about united action on behalf of this interest. In such action on an honest, fighting, united front basis, labor will advance step by step against its class enemy and out of the fires of the struggle will come new revolutionary elements and an ever-larger militant movement.

The founding convention of the Workers Party of the U. S. notes with regret that there exists no organization capable of giving continuous and organized expression to this common interest. A broad, class-conscious militant defense organization does not exist today. Its creation is a crying need. To it should rally all class-conscious elements, regardless of political differences. It should be partisan only of the class as a whole, including all militant workers and fighting on behalf of all working class victims of capitalist oppression regardless of their political beliefs or affiliations. It should combine with skillful legal work, the organization of mass campaigns so that the capitalist courts and administrative agencies will learn to fear the anger of the class and be compelled to abandon their plots against the workers.

The founding convention notes with approbation the proposals made some months ago by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense and discussed on several occasions with representatives of the American Workers Party, the C.I.A., the Socialist Party and other elements of the labor movement. The convention authorizes the N. C. to carry these discussions further and to hasten the establishment of a militant, class-conscious, non-partisan defense organization as a primary need of the working class in a period of intense struggle and bitter reaction.

# N. U. L. Led Thousands On Nov. 24

National Unemployed Day, Nov. 24, is an established historical date in the labor movement of the country.

A complete account of the demonstrations in all localities is here impossible. It would read like a city and town directory of the nation. But reports still coming to the national office of the National Unemployed League, which initiated the movement, are indicative of ferment in the working class everywhere.

**Were More than Parades**  
The demonstration of 1,000 white and black workers, unemployed, marching in the city of Gulfport, Miss., was classified by the press as tantamount to insurrection. They marched to the relief headquarters demanding a solution of the unemployment evil—not alms. That, in the deep south, is more than just a parade. The same is true of Ashland, Ky., where two thousand workers, white and black, marched to present demands to the authorities. In High Point, North Carolina, the authorities were "scandalized" by an unprecedented outpouring of the unemployed.

From Dallas, Texas, Carl Branin reports that more than 2,000 marched to the city hall, demanding that the city manager endorse the National Unemployed Day demands, and that he write President Roosevelt to that effect. A banner in the march called for the abolition of capitalism, bag and baggage. In Texas a "scandalous" performance.

In Ohio, particularly in the interior, the day was a holiday of protest. Newark, Ohio, saw a super-demonstration. Twenty thousand poured through the streets. The sheriff and the business men decided it was "Red Saturday". The chief of police came to the Newark League the day before, apologizing for an American Legion "incident" some two months previously, assuring the League members that there would be no interference with the demonstration. And most assuredly there was none.

**Authorities Stand By**  
In West Virginia, Kanawha, Wayne, Boone and Putnam counties, miners and their wives, National Unemployed League members, marched, while the authorities were content to stand by, watching for undue bulging of clothing indicative of fire arms. There was no trouble.

In Butte, Montana, 1,200 jobs marched, demanding relief from the misery of unemployment.

In Milwaukee, Des Moines, Tampa, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Allentown, New York City, in all the battle scarred centers of labor, there were great demonstrations.

**Delegation Visits Washington**  
On November 26, a committee of 16 representing the organized unemployed demonstrators, the National Unemployed League and other organizations cooperating on November 24, journeyed to Washington and met with the Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins and Federal Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

Ed McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor and A. F. of L. big-shot, was there to receive us. Smiling and jovial, he shook us all by hand, was glad to see us—he said—and told us he too had known lean days at one time, etc., etc. Good soft-soaper, Mr. McGrady.

He assured us that the government in Washington was "really ours as well as other people's."

Madame Perkins listened impatiently to the demands of the unemployed. She injected many remarks, just to explain things, but on the matter of cash relief and higher rates she stated she was not qualified to declare for or against that demand!

**Perkins Doesn't Know**  
On the chief question, that of the government providing work through an extensive works program—well she was not competent, she said, to pass judgment as to whether that was the manner to deal with the unemployment problem or not.

On the demand that war funds be turned over for unemployment for relief—well, that was a matter for the House Ways and Means Committee to determine.

Just at this juncture, the time was up, and the delegation left Madame Perkins for the office of Mr. Hopkins.

We told Hopkins we were fed up with evasiveness. Mr. Hopkins didn't mind that, it seemed, as he proceeded to give us some more.

On demand number one—work instead of relief for the unemployed—Mr. Hopkins agreed, but not on the 80-hour week and \$30-week minimum. On the point there was a sneering, hard-bolled and categorical No. Asked for his reasons, Mr. Hopkins declared he did not believe in an "economy of scarcity".

## Tony Bellussi Quits U.S.

Antonio Bellussi, militant anti-Fascist sentenced by the U. S. government to deportation to Italy because he refused to compromise his views, has left for South America. An announcement by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which was in charge of Bellussi's case during recent months, states that he has obtained a visa after a long fight.

The N.P.L.D. took over the Bellussi case after the I.L.D. had botched it. Bellussi repudiated the I.L.D. when the Stalinist bureaucrats running that organization tried to make him disavow his friendship to the C.L.A. The N.P.L.D. had the cooperation of the American Civil Liberties Union in the efforts to save Bellussi from Mussolini's dungeons.

After a protracted struggle the N.P.L.D. was able to arrange Bellussi's departure to South America. The State Department and Mussolini were thus cheated of another victim. A full report of the Bellussi case, including financial aspects, is promised for the near future.

## S.P. Old Guard Talks Split

(Continued from Page 1)  
It has other grievances—a whole series of them. Led by Louis Waldman, patriotic N. Y. lawyer, and other right-wingers from a dozen eastern states, the Old Guard appeared before the national executive and put the knife to its throat. Waldman presented a list of ten demands backed by the N. Y. state S. P.

One of these demands was that "The National Executive Committee shall announce in clear and unequivocal language that it will neither consider nor discuss any proposals that may come from Communists for a united front, for any purpose, nor will it consider embarking upon any negotiations for such a united front, and will also advise State organizations to so instruct their locals."

Another demand was that the declaration of principles recently adopted by the Socialist party, and opposed by the right wing, be binding only upon those States whose membership approved the declaration in the recent party referendum. New York State rejected the declaration as in contradiction with Socialist principles.

The memorandum demanded also the reorganization of the national office of the party in Chicago, the removal of Clarence Senior as national secretary and his replacement by "someone who has the confidence of both party factions".

The memorandum demanded the addition of four members of the right wing to the N.E.C., and the dissolution of all factional groups now functioning within the party such as the "Militants" and the Revolutionary Policy Committee. The Old Guard, however, would maintain its faction!

"We do not desire to minimize the crisis within the party. Worse than a split is the great danger of the party's disintegration. Here is a bold threat of split!

**"Militants" Have Cold Feet**  
The famous "Militants" led by Thomas, Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee and Leo Kryski of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, find themselves on the spot. Consequently, the "Militants" on the national executive refused to receive the Stalinist supplicants. They did, however, give a hearing to Jay Lovestone, famous attorney for the Stalinists, who desires a return to the policies of the Anglo-Russian Committee, that is, a non-aggression pact of passivity.

The truth is that the militants are scared to death. They don't want to see the Old Guard take away from them the Rand School, the Forwards, the New Leader and other party properties. They don't want to see the exodus from the party of the gang of clever lawyers and influential A. F. of L. bureaucrats.

Asked where the economy of scarcity came in on the 30-hour, \$30-week, Mr. Hopkins said he would not go into that.

On cash relief, well, there are some sound arguments for that, Hopkins agreed—but—there were arguments against it too, said Hopkins, pulling his chin, and he agreed with the latter.

In plain language—No cash relief. A flat No. On the point of raising the relief standard—again No.

**Unemployed Getting Enough**  
The writer asked Mr. Hopkins if it would be misquoting him to say that he held that the unemployed were getting enough relief.

Pulling his chin, Mr. Hopkins said yes, we could quote him as saying: "The unemployed by and large are getting enough."

On the question of the organized unemployed committees being recognized by local relief agencies as spokesmen for the unemployed, Mr. Hopkins declared that his office had sent letters to relief agencies instructing them not to refuse to meet committees of the unemployed.

The conference came to an end. The committee fled out.

—ANTHONY RAMUGLIA.

# IN THE TRADE UNIONS

## Independent Unionist Resigns From C.P.

(Ed. Note.—We print below the resignation from the Communist Party of Robert Strong, General Secretary of the Independent Building Trades Council of New York with a chartered membership which has been reported by the Stalinist publications as more than 20,000 in and around New York. Strong has the solid support of the Council and its affiliates in his standpoint, with the exception of a part of the alteration painters.)

New York, Nov. 26, 1934  
To the Central Committee of the Communist Party:

After having been a member of the C. P. since 1925, helped to build it up and active for years especially in its trade union work, and after mature consideration of what the party has become since Lenin's death, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot remain in the party and remain a Communist.

I therefore hereby declare my withdrawal from the C.P.U.S.A.

I am particularly in disagreement with your present trade union policy which, in my opinion, represents a clear departure from revolutionary principles, and which is being put into effect in complete disregard of inner democracy, both of the party and the trade unions, and behind the backs of the membership.

The disagreements I have on this question, however, might not have led to my withdrawal were it not for the fact that in the course of the controversy I had to realize that the Leninist principle of inner democracy had been done away with in the Communist parties for a long time.

### Party Democracy Dead

Under the regime now prevailing in the C.P., there is no way of voicing one's views without being slandered, pounced upon, removed, etc. The rights of the membership under the principle of democratic centralism have been abolished in practice. It is futile, therefore, to attempt to influence or bring about a correction of the party line from within.

Basic policies are changed overnight, and unless one discards his

former opinions when ordered to do so and becomes a mere automaton he cannot remain and live in the party. No person who is a real Communist and not a rag can go along with a system of this kind. To give an example: In the case of the trade union policy, the C.P., after following an ultra-left course for years (1920-1933) of creating paper unions in almost all industries, has now switched completely over to the ultra right, seeking to liquidate overnight not only the paper unions which never should have been created in the first place, but also those independent unions which have a mass base and which have come into existence through mass revolts against the reactionary bureaucrats.

It does not matter to the party leaders that the independent union movement in the country has grown enormously in these years and is now bigger than at any time in the history of the American labor movement. The party leaders, being afraid to face the opposition of the membership on this question, and swelled up with usurped authority, are attempting to put their essentially reactionary policy across from on top, without discussion, by back door methods, piece meal, first the weaker unions then the stronger ones. Individual party members who might oppose it or at least demand a discussion of the question, are done away with silently by the dirty guillotine. The slogan of "unity" is used to sugar coat the process of delivering these workers over to the corrupt A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

**A. F. of L. Fetishism**  
The party leaders conveniently repudiate their past policy and put it aside as if it never existed. After making a principle of dual unionism for years they now brazenly claim that they never advocated it (Stachel's article in the November "Communist" which calls for the liquidation of the independent building trades unions which the C. P., as in the case of other such unions, sponsored in the first place). Right now the party leaders are joining hands with William Green and others of this stripe in outlawing the right of workers to organize independently of the A. F. of L. under the slogan of "no dual unionism". Foster's letter to the A. F. of L. Convention, printed in the October issue of "Labor Unity" re-

resents a complete right-about-face from what he had been telling us for years and destroys the moral basis for unions outside the A. F. of L., setting up a platform to run these unions back into the A. F. of L. which he and all the rest of you told us for years was a "company union" outfit.  
Stachel's article in the November "Communist" goes even further. It lays down the perspective of pell-mell liquidation of the weaker independent unions and the return of the stronger ones to the A. F. of L. regardless of circumstances which have called them into existence. With the liquidation policy already well under way (Mining, Textile, Auto, Steel, Needle Trades, etc.), the Pol-Buro, not without equivocation and "diplomacy" even now, finally come out openly for the "new" way back to the A. F. of L. The fact that all this is being done without the say-so of the membership shows that the rank and file of the party has lost control over the party leadership. The membership of the party is reacting instinctively, many of them consciously, against these methods by dropping out of the party en masse—"voting with their feet" against the party bureaucrats.

**Members Quitting**  
Discipline without inner democracy is nothing but bureaucratism and has nothing in common with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. It cannot serve revolutionary purposes. The attempt to sneakily abolish the independent unions without the consent of the members under cover of "discipline" is reactionary. So is discipline without inner democracy. It is a method, a regime, alien to Lenin's concept of the party of the working class and is bound to result in the degeneration of the movement. Such discipline, therefore, has no meaning for me. The international party that Lenin created, and on the basis of whose principles I joined, has nothing in common with what prevails now.

The C. P. is no longer the party of the Communist workers but a private apparatus of corrupted bureaucrats. I therefore sever my relations with this organization, deeply convinced that it cannot serve the interests of the working class. There is no other way now for an honest revolutionist who has come to realize the actual state of affairs. —ROBERT STRONG.

## C.L.A. Endorses Fusion Program

(Continued from Page 1)

changes and the crises in the parties of the Second International since the Austrian events, the imminence of Fascism in France and the deep ferment in the S.F.I.O., the entry of our French comrades into the S.F.I.O., and the road to the Fourth International.

This, he pointed out, could not be stereotyped or blue-printed. Different roads would be taken according to conditions in each country. In the United States and Holland by the independent road—the merging of revolutionary groups into new parties. In France, on the other hand the road to the new Communist Party leads through the Socialist Party. Intransigence of principle and flexibility of organization policy was the keynote of comrade Cannon's speech in pointing the road to the new revolutionary international.

Serious disagreement arose on this question. A minority of comrades maintained that it was neither necessary nor correct to enter the French Socialist Party, that this road was full of pitfalls and would lead to international disaster for the organization. The discussion on this question lasted two full days and concluded with an overwhelming majority of the delegates voting for the policy endorsed by the international plenum.

Following this was the report by comrade Shachtman on the policy in America for the new party. Beginning with its declaration of a year ago for the new party, in which the C.L.A. set as its goal the founding of this revolutionary instrument by fusion on a revolutionary basis with other groups independent of the Second and Third Internationals.

The bulk of his speech dealt with the negotiations with the American Workers Party and the joint draft Declaration of Principles. Barring minor differences on past methods and tactics and secondary corrections on the Declaration of Principles, the convention was unanimously for merger with the A.W.P.

The Third and last convention of the Communist League, marks the end of its struggle for Marxism, not the revision of its ideas, but the shifting of its field of activity from that of a propaganda group to mass work, to transformation into a political party based on the tried and tested ideas of Marx and Lenin. The convention came to an end, after an all-night session, with ringing cheers from the delegates:

**Long live the Workers Party of the United States!**

**Long live the Fourth International!**

—HARRY STRANG.

## Canada Hails W. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

workers' movement of Canada, the W. P. also faces the danger of police suppression. The influence of the Stalinists is beginning to wane while that of the Workers Party is on the up-grade. The W. P. has already established firm connections in most of the organized trades, including the building, clothing, shoe, and metal workers unions. A few of the members are in leading positions in these unions.

The prestige and power of the Stalinists is ebbing fast. Following their new policy upon the international field, they have consummated the most unprincipled alliances with all kinds of petty bourgeois and pacifist liberal elements, which has succeeded only in discrediting them further among the class-conscious workers.

The Stalinists took the lead in organizing the unemployed in Canada in the first year of the crisis. Their unemployed organization, however, has now almost completely disintegrated. The W. P. is gaining a greater foothold among the unemployed groups, controlling a considerable part of the leadership in Winnipeg and having complete control of a newly formed mass organization in Toronto.

The major part of Stalinist activity today revolves around the Canadian branch of the League Against War and Fascism, largely petty-bourgeois in composition as in the U. S. A large number of local meetings have been held along the lines laid down by the Amsterdam Congress, culminating in a National Anti-Fascist and Anti-War Congress held at Toronto a few months ago. The representatives of the W. P. participated in and presented their program to the local meetings, and later attempted to present a resolution embodying their viewpoint to the Congress itself.

The steering committee of the Stalinists, composed of members of the Stalinist Polcom and clergymen, repelled their attempt and after a bitter struggle refused to put it before the Congress.

**Build New Party**  
There is no well-organized Socialist Party in Canada. Although there are several small local groups which adhere to the ideas of the Socialists, they have no political significance. The road to the formation of the new party in Canada was a comparatively easy question to decide and course to embark upon.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.), organized about two years ago, is the biggest "left" party in Canada. Its base is the farmers of Western Canada, particularly in Alberta, and it embraces various labor and lower middle class groups throughout the Dominion. At the time of its inception, labor organizations were to

be taken into the Federation as a whole. This policy was reversed when it was seen that the working class units were putting forward too radical demands for the majority to accept and all organizational connections with the trade unions were broken. Today workers can join only as individuals. Several of the Western labor members of the C.C.F. are in the Federal Parliament.

—X.

## Franz Bobzien Murdered

Franz Bobzien is dead—foully murdered in a Hamburg prison by Hitler's gunmen.

This revolutionary young worker was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist League in Germany.

In February 1934, he was deported to Germany from Holland where he was attending an international conference of revolutionary youth organizations, together with four comrades.

Delivered into the hands of the Nazis by the Dutch police, he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for "high treason", and then murdered in jail.

Refusing for purely factional reasons to participate in the international movement of protest, the Stalinists share in the guilt of his execution.

We swear to carry on until his executioners will feel the heavy hand of proletarian retribution!

## Weisbord Group Breaking Up

On Sunday, December 2, a general membership meeting of the Weisbord group was held for the purpose of a final vote on a thesis prepared by the "National Committee" (Weisbord), on many events of importance to the revolutionary movement. It was known from preliminary discussion that six out of a total membership of fifteen were in opposition to the above mentioned thesis.

In the well-known Stalinist method, in the interval between the preliminary discussion and the final vote, one comrade was expelled, and others suspended, so as to allow Weisbord a free hand at the meeting of December 2. Knowing that some comrades would attend the meeting to present a minority statement, Weisbord placed a guard to keep the door closed from the inside, and obtained the assistance of the building owner to keep out those who insisted on participating in this meeting.

Unable to get the slightest hearing on the discussion of the thesis in such a hooligan atmosphere, the comrades were forced to leave the building. Undoubtedly the "thesis" was thereafter "unanimously" accepted.

A further statement concerning developments in the Weisbord group will appear in the Militant in the near future.

—X.

be taken into the Federation as a whole. This policy was reversed when it was seen that the working class units were putting forward too radical demands for the majority to accept and all organizational connections with the trade unions were broken. Today workers can join only as individuals. Several of the Western labor members of the C.C.F. are in the Federal Parliament.

Comrade MacDonald concluded his summary of conditions in Canada by stating that the fusion between the Communist League and the American Workers Party into the Workers Party of America should give a tremendous impetus to the Workers Party of Canada. "Workers in both countries," he said, "are in the closest connection with each other. Political as well as economic conditions in the United States exert an immediate and powerful influence upon its neighbor. The two new Workers Parties with the same name and a common revolutionary Marxist program are bound to be of great aid to each other and a potent force in the coming struggles of the American and Canadian working class."

## N. Y. Workers Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

most important ally of union labor was the thrilling story told by Arnold Johnson and Anthony Ramaglia, the national leaders of the National Unemployed League. The responsibility of the Workers Party in revolutionizing the unemployed, for whom above all there is nothing left under capitalism, was one of the most important messages brought to the mass meeting.

Bringing the greetings of the national convention of the Spartacus Youth League on the eve of its convention, Joseph Carter declared that in its three day session the League would lay the foundations for a powerful mass youth organization, organizationally independent but owing political allegiance to the Workers Party.

A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon's speeches together gave a picture of the ten month's collaboration which led to the fusion and founding of the Workers Party. After ten years of splits and disintegration, they both pointed out, the Workers Party begins the counter-process of re-unifying the revolutionary movement. "Many in the fusion convention were at the founding of the Communist movement in 1917", declared Cannon. "Then and now they follow the red guiding star of the Russian Revolution. We have nothing but contempt for those who usurp Lenin's name and falsify his doctrines. Our six year's struggle in the movement symbolized by Leon Trotsky brings forth now its first

fruits."

—LOUIS BREIER.

# A.W.P. Votes Fusion Plan As Drafted

Fulfilling the mandate given it by the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago, the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party laid before the delegates to the A.W.P. convention held November 28 to 30 detailed proposals for immediate merger with the Communist League of America as the first step toward the building of a new and effective revolutionary party in the United States and a revolutionary international.

They were adopted substantially without change after the fullest discussion. The A.W.P. vote for merger came late in a session that lasted for a score of hours into the early morning and was unanimous. The Provisional Organizing Committee was instructed to call a unity convention of the two groups on the next day for the final ratification of the proposals and the formal creation of the new Workers Party of the U. S.

### Historic Occasion

This was the last and most important act in the career of an organization that within the few years of its existence initiated and led some of the most significant and militant struggles of the American proletariat, blazed the trail in the trade unions of honest, militant, left-wing leadership, built the greatest of existing unemployed organizations and won for itself an impressive niche in the history of the working-class march to power in America.

"This convention is an historic occasion," A. J. Muste said in the opening address. Muste reported for the P.O.C. to the convention, tracing the party's history and growth from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago.

"We have a great many times described ourselves as not slaves to tradition. We have often spoken of a new or American approach, and we have insisted that we be realistic and experimental."

The report to the convention gave the history of the Communist League of America and the negotiations leading to the merger.

Much of the discussion at the convention centered on the Declaration of Principles prepared by the joint Negotiating Committee of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A., the theoretic foundation of the new party. Section by section and paragraph by paragraph the Declaration received the most careful and detailed discussion by the 50 delegates from all parts of the country. Every theoretic proposition was immediately matched by the practical experience of the delegates, all active leaders of trade union and unemployed movements.

When the discussion ended it was felt that the Declaration represented a body of clear revolutionary principles. Minor changes adopted by the convention were referred to the joint negotiating committee for an early formulation.

### Adopt Organization Proposals

Concrete proposals for the organization of the new party were adopted without change. The most important of the proposals included the Constitution of the new party which was accepted on principal and referred for final action to the unity convention; the officership of the new party on a 50-50 party with suggested names on the part of the joint negotiating committee and the set-up of the National Committee of 22 with 6 alternates on the same party.

The convention voted unanimously to accept the names of A. J. Muste as National Secretary of the Workers Party and of J. P. Cannon, editor of the new party paper. Because the A.W.P. had no youth organization, it was decided that while youth members of the party were to be placed on the executive committee of the Spartacus Youth League (to become subsequently the youth organization of the new party) it would not be carried out on the 50-50 basis.

—LOUIS BREIER.

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