

NEW MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Workers Party of the U. S.

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Workers Party Opens Action Campaign

Government Preparing For War

WASHINGTON.—In the political melee following Roosevelt's demagogic move "to take the profit out of war" and Senator Nye's flat statement that the President wants to stop the Senate munitions inquiry, pertinent facts have been suppressed. The daily press has left them out. They are:

1. The reason behind the munitions inquiry and the President's move is that the United States Government is definitely preparing for war.

Bending Every Nerve
This may be difficult for the ordinary man to see, but to those on the inside it is obvious. World war looms. The rulers of all the big nations are bending every nerve in that direction.

2. President Roosevelt is a big navy-and-army-man, believing in the "glory of our fighting forces" and the necessity for war. He has done more in his short time in office to militarize the country than any other president since the war. (As this is being written the Government lets two more contracts to the war manufacturers, one for 50 bombing planes, another for 150.) Much of the Public Works money allotted under Roosevelt has been diverted to the munitions makers.

Talk Is Demagoguery
3. Since the Government is preparing for war, and since the motive of war is profits, the President's talk is rank demagoguery.

Senator Nye in his attack on Roosevelt pointed out that the commission appointed by the President to draft the anti-profit laws revealed his insincerity.

War Men Head Commission
Members in charge of the commission are Bernard M. Baruch, Will Street millionaire and during the World War chairman of the War Policies Board; General Hugh S. Johnson, the man who worked out the draft plan used by the Government during the war; and General Douglas MacArthur, chief of the Army staff.

"When I view in part the personnel of the President's commission," said Senator Nye, "I cannot but think how unfortunate it is that Dillinger is dead. He was the logical man to write the anti-crisis laws."

Senator Nye is a liberal who despite the "shocking revelations" brought to light by the munitions inquiry still thinks that "something can be done" to curb war.

Government Co-Operated
The investigation has disclosed that the Government co-operated with the munitions makers over a number of years, the War Department going so far as to lend them aid in selling guns and military supplies to the governmental rulers of Japan, Germany and other nations able to buy.

Testimony in the record shows General MacArthur making sales talks in Europe for the DuPonts and other U. S. arms manufacturers. Documents introduced from the files of the manufacturers proved that industrial and political rulers of the United States are one and the same, working hand-in-glove. Besides co-operation on the part of governmental departments, both Presidents Hoover and Coolidge were linked by the evidence with the war makers.

Would Avoid Confusion
President Roosevelt's own explanation of his hasty appointment of Baruch, Johnson and MacArthur was that the commission would draft a body of laws that would be necessary to avoid confusion which accompanies hasty preparations for war already declared.

PRISON FIGURES REVEAL NAZI TERROR

COLOGNE (T.I.S.).—The average daily number of prisoners in the jails and penitentiaries of Prussia has jumped from 32,525 in 1931 to 87,962 in 1932 and 36,928 in 1933. The latter figure proves the extent of the Nazi terror. A single ill-advised word is sufficient to bring about imprisonment in a concentration camp and jail. At the same time, food expenditures for the individual prisoner have decreased approximately 40 percent despite the universal rise in prices.

Muste and Cannon Start National Tour, Jan 13

Following is the schedule of the appearances of A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon, who on January 13 will open the first national speaking tour of the Workers Party, to extend to February 9, and covering 21 cities and industrial centers.

Buffalo, N. Y.—Sunday, January 13—Muste, Cannon.
Youngstown, Ohio.—Tuesday, January 15—Cannon.
Newcastle, Pa.—Tuesday, January 15—Muste.
Cleveland, Ohio.—Wednesday, January 16—Muste, Cannon.
Toledo, Ohio.—Thursday, January 17—Muste, Cannon.
Detroit, Mich.—Friday, January 18—Muste, Cannon.
Chicago, Ill.—Sat., Sun., Mon., January 19-20-21—Muste, Cannon.
Waukegan, Ill.—Tuesday, January 22—Cannon.
Madison, Wis.—Tuesday, January 22—Muste.
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.—Wed., Thurs., Fri., Sat., Sun. January 23-24-25-26-27—Muste, Cannon.

Kansas City, Mo.—Sun., Mon., Tues., Wed., Jan. 27-28-29-30—Cannon
Des Moines, Ia.—Monday, January 28—Muste.
Davenport, Ia.—Tuesday, January 29—Muste.
St. Louis, Mo.—Wed., Thurs., January 30-31—Muste, Cannon.

Illinois Mine Fields, Staunton, Gillespie, Springfield, etc.—Friday, Saturday, Sunday, February 1-2-3—Muste, Cannon.

Columbus, Ohio.—Monday, Tuesday, February 4-5—Muste, Cannon.
Charleston, W. Va.—Wednesday, February 6—Muste, Cannon.
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Thursday, Friday, February 7-8—Muste, Cannon.
New York City.—Sunday, February 10—Muste, Cannon.

All comrades and sympathizers are urged to get busy at once arranging meetings, conferences, etc. on the dates indicated and to keep the National Secretary informed of the progress of the arrangements.

A. J. MUSTE,
National Secretary

Robins, Gras Win New Trial; Framed in N. Y. Hotel Strike

Non-Partisan Labor Defense Sees Victory for Labor

Harold Robins and Andre Gras, railroaded to prison last April for their militant activity in the New York hotel strike, were granted a new trial by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on Friday, December 7.

This victory for workers' rights came after Robins and Gras had served eight months of their sentences. The unanimous decision of the five appeal justices criticized the trial judge, Joseph E. Corrigan for "sarcastic characterization of the defendants," the suspicions he cast on the defendants' alibis, his failure to discuss discrepancies in the testimony of hostile witnesses, and the "plain import" of Judge Corrigan's attempt "to indicate to the jury the court's opinion that Robins had been employed as a strong arm by the union."

Victory for Labor
"This is a victory for the organized labor movement of New York, which backed these victimized workers," declared Felix Morrow, secretary of the Robins-Gras Defense Committee. "Many

progressive trade unions allied themselves to the cause and gave funds for the fight. The furor aroused against Supreme Court Justice Valente last August, when he refused to grant Robins and Gras a certificate of reasonable doubt admitting them to bail, and thus forced them to stay in jail nearly five months more until their appeal came up, has now had its effect. We will redouble our efforts to see to it that the new trial ends in a further victory for the trade union movement."

American Approach

"When we speak of the American approach, we mean not only dramatic reference to the past revolutionary traditions of this country, on the basis of other class planes, we mean looking into the mind of the American worker, which gives us an appreciation of his pragmatic philosophy. This calls for a positive presentation of our aims, not a negative one. It demands the painting of a picture under which the present revolutionary movement is a natural development of all that went before in the making of America. The wide and favorable reception of the technocratic message, despite its political middle-headedness, gives us the cue.

Language of the Machine
"The Russian worker must be made machine-conscious. The American worker has gone through all of that. We must cooperate in making him class-conscious. To do that, we must talk in the language of the machine, of further achievements, and of the American tradition."

The Workers Party must evolve a crystal-clear message and give it to the masses, Budenz said—a message that will show itself in action, beginning with the fight for plenty and ending in the conquest of power.

HEALTH AND LOW WAGES

The average wage in Ontario is 55 percent below the minimum health budget requirement, according to a recent official survey quoted by Federated Press.

"Four out of 10 children have physical defects; six out of 10 have dental defects; five out of eight who are ill and need trained care do not get it," the report declared.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—The "forgotten man" is becoming more militant in West Virginia. Challenging President Roosevelt's statement that no one shall starve, thousands strong he marched on the state capitol and on relief agencies throughout the state on National Unemployed Day, Nov. 24.

Daily Worker Attacks Committee

A vicious attack on the Robins-Gras Defense Committee which appeared in the Daily Worker during September, in the form of a statement by the leaders of the Hotel & Restaurant Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, to which Robins and Gras belonged, received a crushing answer a week later, when the Executive Board of that union, over the bitter protests of the Communist Party members, voted to liquidate their so-called "Robins-Gras committee" and to affiliate with the committee organized by the N.P.L.D.

Budenz Hails Party From Sickbed

"Objective conditions in the American scene call for the Workers Party of the U.S.A. and give to that party a great opportunity for revolutionary action and a great responsibility." Such was the statement of Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the C.P.L.A. and of the A.W.P. up to the time of its merger into the Workers Party.

Comrade Budenz was unable to participate in the recent conventions that achieved merger, due to the operations which resulted from his prolonged illness. He will be unable to function actively for at least six more months, his physicians say.

At his small apartment on 29th street, where he is convalescing while receiving further treatments for chronic sinusitis, Budenz was optimistic about the new party and sorry not to be able to get into the field at once.

"The New Deal has promised the masses figs and has given them thistles," he said. "Additional million-dollar incomes, reduced standards for the majority, curtailment of relief for the unemployed—that fact is sinking home."

Need Mass Action

"A clear-thinking force, able to voice the revolt and hopes of the workers in terms they will understand, is the need of the hour. The Workers Party will meet that need if it proceeds to build the party through mass action and the American approach.

"That group will give leadership in a revolutionary way which can demonstrate its fitness for leadership before and with the workers in their immediate struggles for bread and security," Budenz continued. "There is no other road to such attainment. Such intelligent audacity as brought about in Minneapolis and Toledo will also win the sympathy of the farmers and the other elements whose aid we need, if we proceed in the course of the fight to carry our message to the whole community involved."

Workers Party Must Evolve

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Party Fund Drive Opened By National Committee

Assigns Tasks to Members in \$5,000 Campaign

The Six Months Program of Action adopted by the founding convention of the Party must be put into effect.

To that end the first essential is to get together as promptly as possible the Five Thousand Dollar Party Foundation Fund. Without this fund all our work will be seriously handicapped—the national office, the organizers, the party organs, the trade union and unemployed fractions. With this fund we can make only a beginning, it is true, but a beginning which will give us an impetus that will carry us steadily and rapidly forward.

The organization of the campaign for the Party Foundation Fund has begun. Comrade Muste has been appointed chairman of the Campaign Committee and Comrade Rose Karaner executive secretary. The National Committee calls upon all members and friends to give immediately their fullest support to the Campaign Committee and its officers.

Each member of the Party is called upon to give two days pay or ten per cent of one month's pay

If employed and five cents per week for five weeks if unemployed. Payments are to be made through the branches and forwarded weekly to the National Office by the branch secretary. Members at large remit direct to the National Office. Further instructions and directions will be issued by the Campaign Committee.

Begin to send your contributions to the Party Foundation Fund NOW. Who will be the first?

We must, we can carry this campaign to victory. From this minute on let us put our shoulders to the wheel and keep at it until the last penny is raised!

Spread the revolutionary message!

Revolutionize the trade union movement!
Carry the spirit of Toledo and Minneapolis throughout the land!
Build the foundations of the Workers Party.

National Committee,
Workers Party of U. S.
112 E. 19th Street,
New York City.

Eleven Point Program Is Mapped

NEW YORK.—With unconquerable enthusiasm, branches, members, functionaries and friends of the Workers Party of the U. S. are going to work to carry out the six months program of action adopted at the unity convention.

There is reason for the enthusiasm. The new party, for which many have been waiting, has been formally launched. An example of unity has been set after more than a decade of splits and disintegration in the revolutionary movement.

Sets Eleven Tasks
The Program of Action includes eleven points as follows:

1. Double the Party membership in six months.
2. Raise a \$5,000 Party Foundation Fund—in sixty days.
3. Build the paid circulation of the New Militant, official weekly organ, to 10,000.
4. Build the circulation of the New International, monthly theoretical organ to 6,000.
5. Organize two coast to coast tours and two as far west as a line drawn through Minneapolis and Kansas City.
6. Establish Party concentration districts with district organizers in at least five centers in addition to New York—Chicago for the Illinois-St. Louis territory; Pittsburgh for Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio; Detroit, Toledo or Cleveland for Western and Northern Ohio, Lower Michigan and Eastern Indiana; the Anthracite and textile area of New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania; the South.
7. Organize national Party educational system—including the first semester of a resident school in New York.
8. Publication of at least one popular agitator pamphlet per month—elaborating some point in the Declaration of Principles or dealing with some urgent political question of the day.
9. Build and consolidate a National Youth Organization.
10. Help to launch an organization of the Left-progressive wing in the trade unions.
11. Extend and strengthen the National Unemployed League—and work toward united action by the unemployed and final unification in one solid organization.

Party Machinery in Motion
The party machinery itself in the national office and the local and district units must be set up and put in motion as the first essential for carrying out the Program of Action. That is already being done. Directives to the branches of the former C.L.A. and A.W.P. instructing them to fuse where branches of both organizations existed and to get the branch of the new party organized and functioning were sent out three days after the close of the convention. The new membership books are being printed and will be in the mails in a few days.

Enrolling Charter Members
Steps are being taken to enroll immediately the many workers who have been waiting for the fusion. Those who apply for membership before February 1 and who are accepted become, with the members of the former C.L.A. and A.W.P., charter members of the Workers Party.

Despite technical problems in the print shop and the mailing department the party literature is going out to the masses.

Today the first issue of the New Militant, official organ of the W. P., makes its appearance. Pioneer Publishers will have an attractive pamphlet containing the Declaration of Principles and the Constitution ready before another week. Shortly thereafter a pamphlet describing in popular language the program, structure and activities of the party will be published.

Launch Speaking Tour
Party speakers are supplementing the printed word and spreading the message of revolutionary unity through the W. P. Comrade Oehler has addressed a meeting in Baltimore. Comrades Cannon and Muste will appear at mass meetings in

(Continued on Page 4)

Altum Press Out on Strike

NEW YORK.—The workers of the Altum Press, 165 William Street expressed their sentiments against violation of the Graphic Arts Code by walking out to a man on Tuesday last, at 12 noon.

The walkout was ordered by the Independent Printing Employees, an organization acting for workers unable at the present time to gain admittance to the regular printing trades unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Three weeks ago, the boss of Altum Press demanded of a compositor, Sol Eckstadt, that he sign a release for back pay according to the Code scale, which the NRA had decided was legally his, after he was found "competent" by them. Eckstadt refused and was thereupon fired. The workers, aroused by this act of impudence, called upon the I.P.E. to take action.

The response of the men has been splendid. Despite the zero weather, picketing has been going on with rare regularity. The strike is beyond all doubt a test case for the whole industry and its outcome is bound to affect printers in every shop.

The United Printers Association—the bosses' organization—knows its class duty, it backs the Altum bosses. The men on strike need the backing of their class brothers.

MASS MEETING

Sunday, December 23rd. 9.00 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Pl. & 15th St.

SPEAKERS:
J. P. CANNON A. J. MUSTE

FROM THE FIRING LINE

We Ride The Rods To The Merger Convention

From Kansas City To New York

We were off the evening of Nov. 20, amid falling snow and sleet, on a Washab oil car. I had \$3 in my pocket—all the available cash of our Kansas City branch of the Communist League of America. My companions were three C.L.A. comrades who had travelled from California and who, like me, were bound for New York and the national C.L.A. convention and merger convention.

There was no place to sit, so we had to hold onto the iron rod that ran around the car. Oh boy, what a hold-on! My feet ached until they lost all feeling; I knew I had to hold on for 72 miles, so I did.

At Carrollton, Ill., we spent the night in the railroad station. When we asked the station agent to let us stay, he said curtly, "That colored feller, does he get cold?" I replied emphatically, "Most assuredly, very much so." He let us remain, but looked at me suspiciously until I obeyed his dictate in the middle of the night and brought in a bucket of coal.

Next morning we decided to travel in pairs, so that in case of arrest at least one pair would reach New York. Ray and I took another oiler. But the next 90 miles convinced us that to ride on oilers was unprofitable. Open box cars, flat cars, on top and in coal cars, but no more oilers.

From then on it was a nightmare of cold cars and long walks from one railroad yard to another and efforts to get food and a place to sleep. In Moberly, Mo., we tried to panhandle for food and coffee, because we knew my \$3 wouldn't last the whole 1,600 miles of our trip. All the restaurants lived up to the true American tradition of segregation. Finally we went into one to buy two cups of coffee. The corpulent blond at the counter informed me she was "so sorry" but I would have to go in the kitchen; but she became apologetic when Al went with me.

In Springfield we searched for hours and walked miles to find Joe Angelo, one of our League comrades. When we found him, he was

camp had gone on a holiday and the Salvation Army refused to feed us, although the table was elegantly set for the officials, on the pretense that we were too late.

At Susquehanna, Pa., we were pulled off the train and threatened with 30 days in jail. After some explanation the railroad bull directed us to the transient camp and advised us to take a day's rest and dry our clothes. We took his advice. I was forced to sleep on the floor because the transient authorities have not discovered that Negroes sleep in beds.

We left our last transient camp, in Port Jervis, with a group of hobo geniuses. From Jersey City we caught a bus to New York, took a subway to the office of the Militant, went home with a comrade to wash the dust from our faces and attended the celebration meeting of the joint convention that night.

The conventions of the League and the merger were over. The song was over, but the melody of enthusiasm lingers on.

—SIMON WILLIAMSON.

Defeating the Militants in Illinois - The Real Story

Allard's Account Reprinted from Labor Action

By GERRY ALLARD

Ralph Shaw, southern Illinois organizer of the Communist Party, writes another story of the Illinois coal miners in the Nov. 24 issue of the Daily Worker. Shaw writes of the struggle to place militant candidates on the ballot for the elections in the Progressive Miners union, Dec. 4.

He charges that the Left Wing miners, an amalgam of A.W.P.s, Socialists, Syndicalists, and independent radicals, refused to join with the Communist Party in fighting for a radical slate in the P.M. of A. elections. If Shaw means that we turned him down in a united front proposal he doesn't know what he is talking about as no such offer was made on this specific situation. The Left Wing group has turned Shaw down on a number of occasions when he approached us on united front proposals on the "basis of supporting" the Unemployed Councils, the International Labor Defense, etc.

The Left Wing faction of the P. M. of A. has time after time made unity with Communist miners, over the heads of Ralph Shaw and B. K. Gebert. We have no reason to alter our policy in this connection. We are dealing with a coal miners' situation; therefore, when we speak of united fronts in the Progressive Miners union we deal with members of that organization, and not with people who have opposed and scabbed on the Progressive Miners of America.

The struggle in the P. M. of A. to nominate a Left Wing slate was conducted without ballyhoo, a la Communist Party. The line of the Left Wing faction was one of concentrating on local union elections.

Shaw states that the refusal of the Left Wing to unite with the Communist Party enabled William Keck, reactionary incumbent secretary-treasurer, to secure the nomination for president without opposition. In another paragraph he hastens to assure the readers of the Daily Worker that the Communist Party will support Joe Burrell, Left Wing candidate for secretary-treasurer. Shaw does not explain just how the refusal of the Left Wing to join in a united front with the C. P. resulted in electing Keck president of the union by acclamation.

The Real Story

Here is the real story: During the nominations for union offices in Amalgamated local union Number 1, at Gillespie, Ill., with a membership of some 2,400 members, Claude E. Peary, incumbent president, was nominated by his faction for the position of secretary-treasurer. Joe Burrell, Left Wing candidate, was nominated by our faction. As predicted, the vote proved to be very close. In order to make it easier for the reactionaries to win the nomination the Communist Party miners, not of their own free will, but because of faction discipline, nominated Laverne Pruetz, who everyone agreed had very little chance to receive the nomination. The result of the vote on the nominees resulted in Peary receiving 118 votes; Burrell 115; and Pruetz 4. Burrell was snubbed out by a nose, thanks to the treachery of the Communist Party.

Indignation swept through the rank and file miners of this territory. The repercussions penetrated deeply within the ranks of the Communist Party, and rumors are circulating to the effect that Adam Chura, leading rank and file Communist, has resigned from the C.P. Shaw and the professional ballyhoos began to justify the course by stating that the C.P. did not believe in the theory of the "lesser evil". This is horse rubbish, and the miners who know Burrell, and the miners who accepted the Shaw version of the C.P. position as an insult.

Shaw switches from his lamentable "theory of the lesser evil" to a blanket endorsement of Burrell. He does this not because of the interest of the rank and file, but in order to check the revolt within the C.P. coal miners.

C. P. Tactics

The treachery of the C. P., under caucus instructions by Shaw, was duplicated in scores of local unions where Left Wing candidates were nominated. In local union after local union, the reactionaries are plurality candidates not majority candidates, thanks again to the Communist Party leaders' tactics.

The Left Wing miners succeeded in placing in nomination candidates for every desired office with the exception of the presidency. What the result of the election will be is a foregone conclusion. The right wing have a machine, funds, political connections with the Repocrats, etc., which will enable them to land the major offices. If the Left Wing fails to elect its slate, it will not be because of the workers; it will be because the Communist Party is

Mooney May Be Pardoned

SAN FRANCISCO.—While the working class anxiously awaits the results of Tom Mooney's recent appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court (an appeal which would have more assurance of success if there were an organized and militant movement fighting for Mooney), rumors are afloat in California to the effect that the newly re-elected Governor, Frank F. Merriam of strike-breaking fame, is contemplating the pardon of Mooney.

Mooney has for years refused a conditional parole or pardon. Steadfastly maintaining his innocence of the crime he was charged with, he has conducted a bold battle for unconditional release from San Quentin prison where he was incarcerated 18 years ago at the behest of the organized bosses of California. Merriam, who was elected by the skin of his teeth, is thinking of releasing Mooney in order to gain a little popularity among the California workers who hate his very bones. The reasons for the change are described as follows by George F. West, New York Times correspondent in San Francisco:

"A strong conservative minority embracing some of the most influential business men in San Francisco have long been saying privately that the Mooney agitation should be ended by executive action, preferably a commutation of sentence that would release Mooney with no opportunity to accept or reject; a choice that would be his should the method of release take the form of a parole, for which Mooney has repeatedly said he would never ask."

(Continued on Page 3)

Men Who Get \$3,000 a Day Doubled by Nira, Roosevelt

Incomes Under \$25,000 Shrink, Tax Returns Show

President Roosevelt once remarked, echoing Adolf Hitler, that his New Deal would redistribute wealth. There is hardly a person left outside of Germany who still believes that Hitler is redistributing wealth; but a good many Americans who took Roosevelt seriously were unpleasantly surprised by the report, on Monday, of the U. S. Income Tax Bureau.

In the calendar year 1933 there was a rise of 20 in the number of people reporting a million dollar a year income. Mind, a million dollar income, not a million dollar capital, but a million dollar profit in one year, or about \$3,000 per day. There were twenty million-dollar boys in 1932; in 1933, even though the first two months of that year saw the very lowest depression calamity in the bank crash, the New Deal in the remaining nine months succeeded in creating 26 new financial monsters, bringing the total up to 46.

"Redistributing" Wealth That isn't all. Income tax returns are tabulated according to classes. There is the million dollar class, the five-hundred thousand dollar class and so on down to the thousand dollar class. (Incidentally one unnamed man, in a class by himself, reported an income of five million, \$15,000 per day!)

Both the number of incomes and the amount of the incomes above \$25,000 per year increased, while both the number and the total amount in the classes below \$25,000 decreased. Guess which way wealth is being distributed by the New Deal!

Where did the money come from? Wages and salaries reported to the bureau totaled 7.7 billion dollars in

Wealthy Americans

Twelve billion or one-third of the \$36,000,000,000 now on deposit in the banks of the country is owned by 49,000,000 small depositors, according to figures released recently by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. This figures out at an average deposit of \$240.

Twenty-four billion or two-thirds is owned by 800,000 other depositors. They average \$30,000 each.

Nothing is said about the financial status of the other 70 million who make up the population.

We know, however, that 18,000,000 of them are being "kept alive" by relief.

Merry Christmas--! F. D.'s Little Gift To the Jobless

FERA 30 cent Minimum Wage is Abandoned

Just a year ago President Roosevelt handed the unemployed a Christmas gift in the form of CWA. Men who had been out of work for several years gratefully accepted wages of \$12 a week—and sometimes more—for "real work". The President was going to abolish the dole—and Christmas was a joyous time for those who had been put on CWA, and a time of happy anticipation for those who were still getting relief but hoped for CWA jobs soon.

Another Christmas will be here in a few days. President Roosevelt has a new gift for the unemployed. FERA, which succeeded CWA last spring, has abandoned its 30-cent-an-hour minimum wage rate. Instead, rates are to be set by local relief boards (which means by employers of labor) in accordance with local wage standards.

A Merry Christmas

It's a merry Christmas for the bosses, who have been begging for this ever since CWA was started. Reports from the south tell of new minimum rates of 5 cents an hour and maximum of 15 cents in some districts.

Removing the restrictions on FERA wages has had the result the employers hoped for; it has affected wages for employed men. The south, where lack of organization by labor always gives employers the jump when restrictions are removed, again reports farmers paying laborers as little as 50 cents a day; and, since employers, farm and industrial, usually run the relief boards, threats of withdrawal of relief can be used to force the workers to accept.

Relief Administrator Harry Hopkins, whose good but futile intentions promise to pave hell for the unemployed, fought long against lowering the minimum wage standard. But President Roosevelt, under pressure from employers, forced acceptance.

Unemployed Are Fearful

The unemployed are fearful that the relief administration's acceptance of the bosses' wishes in this instance presages further trouble for them. Pressure is being brought to reduce the already inadequate relief standards. While the Scripps-Howard newspapers publish a survey in 24 areas in the country, showing 18,000,000 men, women and children are receiving public relief and pointing out that "the present outlay is inadequate", business men are asking for investigations and insisting that relief be reduced.

Voice of Wall Street

Speaking in San Francisco, Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank of New York, pleaded for a return to direct home relief and abandonment of work relief projects. Concerned about the increased tax burden—and evidently not at all about the effect on the unemployed—Mr. Aldrich talked about business and taxes and budgets (government budgets, of course, not more adequate budgets for the unemployed). He wants the cost of relief borne by local communities; but did not suggest how local communities which are now defaulting their bonds could meet these costs.

Clearly, what the bosses want is a return of relief to local communities over which they have more control, so that they can reduce standards and, by making voluntary contributions, or setting taxes through local politicians, can reduce at the same time their responsibilities.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Community Chest campaigns—for private agencies—this year have been more successful than for several years past, and in many cities exceeded their quotas. For every business man who contributed more generously through a greater sense of responsibility—or sense of guilt?—there must have been others who want to see relief back in their own hands.

Using Sales Taxes

The growing custom of using sales taxes for relief is another symptom of the trend for industry to play the tune in relief. New York City has just put a tax of 1 and 2 per cent on all articles costing more than 12 cents, exempting foods. Mayor LaGuardia, who made speeches in Congress against sales taxes a couple of years ago, suggested an income tax, but the bankers have a way of persuading the liberal mayor what is best for the city—and the bankers.

And So—Merry Xmas!

October, balmy month that it was, added 37,000 families to the relief rolls, according to preliminary figures by the Relief Administration in Washington. This brought the total to 4,082,000, as compared with 3,010,516 in October of 1933.

Another report from Washington showed that while incomes under \$25,000 during 1933 had decreased, those above this figure had increased.

Merry Christmas!

Red Sees the New Militant Coming From the Press

Finds the Shop Coffee Good - And Black

By RED

First thing you see is a big coffee pot. In fact there are two coffee pots and a dozen cups. Half the cups are clean and half the cups are not clean. The biggest big coffee pot sits on top of a little heater which is sometimes hot and sometimes not so hot.

You go through a dark hallway on the first floor, and at the back a door opens into the print shop of the Pioneer Publishers of the Workers Party. You can't see the print shop for the clutter of things. The one peaceful spot is on top of the stove, and the coffee pot has a monopoly on that.

Clutter of Things

Tables, shelves, piles of paper, buckets of lead, fonts of type, a linotype machine moving its one long arm up and down, rattling out labor news and editorials for the New Militant, a Whitlock press in the hands of Joe Hirsh (who does everything) whipping off 1,200 copies of the paper an hour, a job press turning out red membership cards of the Workers Party of the United States, and three or four people going from tables to type and type to tables and back again so fast you get confused and imagine there must be at least a dozen of them.

theoretically supposed to be a part of the left wing labor movement. Until the Left Wing miners can definitely clarify the relations of the bankrupt Communist Party to the Left Wing, as that of being fundamentally dissimilar, the right wing will continue to be plurality candidates.

"We're Kept Busy"

"Yes," said D. Marcus, who takes care of the financial end of the shop, whichever end that happens to be, "we're kept busy. We're getting out 8,000 copies of this issue. The type is set for the first pamphlet of the Workers Party—the Declaration of Principles. The first printing will be 10,000. A new pamphlet will be issued each month. We're printing thousands of the membership cards. And in addition to the New Militant, we get out the Young International and the Young Spartacus.

On Its Way

The rumbling in the shop continued. The linotype key-board under the hands of Walter Turshmann continued rattling off news from the labor front. Ann Cohen who looks 18 but declares she is older busted herself setting up new headlines. Joe Hirsh was busy at the press, feeding papers into the machine, printing the first forms. The 8,000 sheets would have to be fed through once more and then the mailing department could get busy.

The New Militant would be on its way to you—in the mails!

P.S. Your correspondent had a cup of coffee from the big pot on the little stove and though it was black it was pretty good if you like black coffee.

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IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Building Trades War

"When thieves fall out, honest men get their due," says the old proverb. And while it may not apply entirely in the case of the officials of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, this rift in the ranks of the old guard labor leadership merits the most careful attention by those who are out to revive the fighting spirit of the trade union movement.

There has always been trouble between the big unions of the Building Trades—electricians, carpenters, bricklayers and their supporters—and the smaller unions of the Department. For many years the Big Three were unaffiliated with the Building Trades Department of the Federation. Last spring, however, they joined again and the unity of the building trades was hailed with much jubilee and shouting.

It Didn't Last

A short six months and the war was on again. At the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. the ranks were again divided when the smaller unions in control of the Department refused to seat their opponents at the B.T.D. conference. It was a serious split and the Federation convention was unable to settle it. All efforts since have been fruitless. A convention of the Department called by William Green was attended only by the Big Three and their supporters. The Department was reorganized and in consequence we now have two departments, each claiming to represent the building trades unions of the A. F. of L.

Jurisdiction Claims

Behind the whole fight is the bitter jurisdictional squabble which has always cursed the unions of this industry. Who, for example, hangs metal doors? Sheet metal workers, iron workers and carpenters have claimed the work. What union takes care of moving metal

furniture? The list is endless and the jurisdictional fights and strikes that they have caused has ripped labor solidarity in the building trades to pieces. With the coming of the NRA and the inauguration of the tremendous government building program, the issue has become even sharper.

The control of the Building Trades Department has become an important weapon in the jurisdictional war, since Department officials are the ones who confer with government agencies in charge of building projects. They have a great deal of influence in determining what kind of jobs should be done and what arrangements made to carry them out. Building Trades bureaucrats are afraid of the thousands of unemployed in their membership. If the per capita is to continue rolling in and their power to continue unchallenged, work must be found for as many as possible. The control of the Building Trades Department is a matter of vital concern to the union moguls. On it may depend, in large measure, their very existence.

Does It Mean Split?

The smaller unions know that the Big Three intended to take the reins into their own hands. They are determined to keep control themselves.

As yet, no solution has been found. The A. F. of L. itself must support the Big Three. But it must also find some solution soon if one group or the other is not to pull out of the Federation ranks entirely. The situation is already giving plenty of headaches to the executive council of the Federation. They know that unless some compromise can be patched up and patched up soon, a jurisdictional war is likely to ensue which will make all those who have gone before look like sham battles. Such a conflict, in fact, may go so far and be so vicious that unionism may be practically wiped out in the industry. The building trades organizations, furthermore, have always been the financial and political backbone of the Federation old guard. Unshakably conservative in their policies, they have constituted a Rock of Gibraltar against progressive ideas.

For their own self preservation, some sort of settlement will have to be worked out. Indications are that some sort of compromise will be concluded in time to prevent all around throat-cutting from killing organizations in the industry.

Basically, however, the conflict will continue until the reign of bureaucracy, gangsterism and corruption is wiped out, and until steps toward industrial unionism are taken. That is the job of the progressives.

Department Stores

There are few cases on record of strikes of department store employees. The labor turnover is great, the percentage of skilled workers small. Employees generally consider their jobs as temporary and are unwilling to organize on that basis. In Milwaukee, however, 1,500 employees of the Boston store have gone out in a strike which presents a number of interesting angles. The workers are organized into a number of craft unions of which three—clerks, janitors and truck drivers—have struck. Four other groups—the electricians, painters, carpenters and linoleum layers—have remained on the job because of contracts and are working side by side with scabs.

Mail Orders Specialty of Pioneer Shop

The Pioneer Bookshop—Jack Wasserman, manager—at 102 East 11th Street, just off Fourth Avenue, is the New York book shop of the new party.

The shop specializes in filling mail orders to out of town customers and in carrying the literature of all political tendencies in the working class movement.

"We can secure any book not in stock within 12 hours," says a sign. The walls are lined with books. The tables are stacked with pamphlets. In the racks are current periodicals and newspapers from many countries.

"One of the tasks before the Workers Party," Wasserman explained, "is to get out a popular series of books and pamphlets."

Wasserman is also manager of the Pioneer Publishers who will issue six new Workers Party pamphlets during the next six months. A pamphlet each month. Subscriptions to the pamphlets, which will be printed to sell for ten cents, are being taken by the bookshop at 50 cents for the six. Within the next six months the Pioneer Bookshop hopes to have a mailing list covering the 48 states, Wasserman said.

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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The Chaotic Balkans

Once more the Balkan cauldron threatens to boil over. In retaliation for the assassination of the dictator Alexander by Croat terrorists, the Yugoslavs, accusing the Hungarians of complicity, are resorting to wholesale deportation of Hungarians. Official figures issued by the Yugoslavian authorities place the number of those driven out in the most ruthless fashion at three thousand. Yet Belgrade denies that this is a "mass" deportation; it is merely getting rid of undesirable individuals. The Hungarians, whose irredentist struggle to regain territory lost in the War is one of the factors in present Balkan intrigues, have not been behindhand in the expulsion of Yugoslavs. The tension existing at the borders of these two countries is only one added strain among the many tending to tear asunder European civilization and to bring about the second World War.

Insofar as the Balkans were concerned the first World War represented in actuality only a third unfinished Balkan war. It solved nothing but the temporary question of greater military strength. The present economic chaos in Europe is the outcome of the arrested development of the proletarian revolution after the World War. That tremendous upheaval signified the revolt of the productive forces of world economy against the outworn system of national capitalist states. By the failure of the proletarian revolution to spread, the bourgeoisie was permitted to remain in control of the national states and thereby to set in motion once again all the reactionary forces of capitalist imperialism. Thus the Balkans become anew the pawns of the Great Powers in their intrigues for world domination. Today, as at the end of the War, there can be only one real solution for the insoluble contradictions of capitalism that will inevitably make a bloody shambles of the Balkans: the creation under the hegemony of the proletariat of the Soviet Federation of the Balkans as part of the Soviet United States of Europe.

Italian Foreign Exchange Monopoly

The intense economic warfare of the capitalist nations for the capture of foreign markets during the world crisis unfolds itself in one aspect through the war of currency depreciation. The manipulation of currencies to make goods cheaper on the world market so as to regain a vanishing export trade, was accompanied in all the countries resorting to this weapon by a drive on the living standards of the masses, by a lowering of wages as the other method of producing goods more cheaply. The currency difficulties are far from over and continue to disrupt world economy as one country after the other finds itself in a condition bordering on bankruptcy.

Now it is the turn of Italy to resort to desperate measures to stave off a complete breakdown. Fascist Italy made drastic cuts in wages and salaries by decree in the vain attempt to meet cutthroat competition. Despite all efforts of the Italian capitalists to unload all their difficulties on the backs of the workers and peasants, the fascists now find their gold reserves down close to the minimum permitted by law. The lira is at its lowest value since May 1931. Hence Mussolini has decreed a government monopoly of foreign exchange through the National Exchange Institute.

All private citizens and corporations are required to make available to this Institute all their foreign credits and holdings. Even foreign securities will be registered in case they must be used to prevent Italy from going off the gold standard and from losing her last gold reserves. A similar situation drove Hitler to attempt the complete withdrawal of German economy from world economy, through the reactionary ideas of autarchy. Mussolini may be forced to take similar measures to protect the Italian bourgeoisie from the onslaught of world forces of capitalism.

Scrapping the NRA

As the legal end of the NRA approaches, the reactionary forces of American capitalism wish to make sure that there will be no continuation of government interference or control of business in any form whatsoever. Hence there is a concerted effort on the part of big business to apply the utmost pressure to all government agencies to carry out its reactionary program. An address by Jordan of the National Industrial Conference Board delivered at the Philadelphia meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, sets forth all the planks desired by the big finance capitalists. He calls for the reduction of the heavy surtaxes on individual and corporate income, the relaxation of the Security Act, the lifting of restrictions regarding minimum wages, maximum hours and the collective bargaining provisions of the NRA (scrapping of the 7-a clause), the cessation of the expenditure of Federal funds for relief, the extension of the CCC and of the subsistence homestead idea, the deportation of alien unemployed, forced labor for other unemployed,

SOCIALIST PARTY TURNS TO THE RIGHT

The American Socialist Party turned sharply to the right at last week's three-day session of the National Executive Committee in Boston.

Six months of persistent pounding by the right wing extremists finally produced results. Of the ten N.E.C. members elected on the Militant slate in the heterogeneous amalgamation which rallied around the centrist Declaration of Principles at the June convention, seven definitely lined up with the right wing, while the remaining three retreated before the right wing attack on every issue.

The reorganized right wing of the N.E.C. immediately showed its colors, by accepting in essence the position of the reactionary New York State-Pennsylvania combination of Waldman-Solomon-Limbach, etc. on the three most important issues.

Thumbs Down on United Front Consideration of united front negotiations was repudiated by the N.E.C. The avowed spokesman for the New York-Pennsylvania reactionaries, James Oneal, was joined by four elected on the Militant slate (James D. Graham of Montana, Mayor Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, Albert Sprague Coolidge of Massachusetts and Darlington Hoopes of Pennsylvania) in a motion categorically and unequivocally rejected the united front with the Communist party or "splinter parties" under any circumstances until the 1936 party convention. There was a tie vote for this motion. Whereupon Maynard Krueger, Chicago Militant leader, prepared jointly with Hoopes a face-saving compromise which affirmed the united front "in principle"—but put it off, in exact accordance with the right wing demand, until the 1936 convention! Local united fronts are permitted in organized states upon specific permission from the State Committee and from the N.E.C. in unorganized states. Oneal from the right and Haggood and Daniel from the left voted against this resolution.

Since Thomas and Krueger voted for it, the Militants have been privately palming off this retreat as a clever maneuver which would actually allow them to have united fronts in unorganized states, in Illinois, and among the youth, etc. But Thomas destroyed this pretense by some frank talk in the New Leader of Dec. 8: "So far as the action of the N.E.C. is a victory for one group or another, I should say that it was clearly a victory for that group in the party which I am convinced is a majority, which de-

Million Dollar Incomes Rise

(Continued from Page 2)

Now we can see where the big shots over \$25,000 per year got their money. While wages and salaries as a total decreased, the big shots took a much larger proportion. While dividends as a total decreased, the big shots were able to capitalize on their stocks by speculation.

It should be noted that income tax returns are filed by only about eight per cent of the total number of gainfully employed in the United States. The lowest class is the thousand dollar a year class, and the members of this category are subject to many exemptions, such as dependents, wives or children. Hence the number of actual working class people represented in the returns is comparatively small. What the decrease in the incomes under \$25,000 as compared to an increase in incomes over that figure represent is the entrenchment of big capitalists at the expense of and to the ruin of the small business men and high waged working class people.

What the Figures Show The New York Times, in commenting on these figures, remarks that the decrease in the lower groups cannot be taken to indicate a decrease in working class wages generally. This is quite true, for as shown the figures include only the labor aristocracy. In any case the Times is up a tree, for as a matter of fact, the A. F. of L. reported that working class wages generally did not rise noticeably during 1933. The figures for 16 chief industries rose from an average weekly wage of \$20.53 at the beginning of the year, to \$20.56 at the end of the year. A gain of 3c per week. And that gain of 15 per cent in wages was overwhelmed by a rise of 7 per cent in food prices and 21 per cent in clothing and furnishings! No matter how you look at it the result is the same. The working class is worse off than ever, the labor aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie are being ruined, and large scale capital continues to grow larger.

sires no negotiations on the united front."

The Position of Thomas In the same column, Thomas admits that the only differences among the right wing majority was concerning the phrasing of this position. When the intransigent Waldman-Solomon group after the meeting continued to criticize the N.E.C. repudiation of united front negotiations as insufficient, Thomas a letter to the N. Y. Times of Dec. 8 and Mayor Hoan in a statement to the press (N. Y. Post, Dec. 9), accused Waldman's group of misrepresenting the N.E.C., and proceeded to compete with Waldman in denouncing any united front with Communists. Since, in line with the non-aggression pact affirmed in France, the Stalinist order here is actually a capitulation to the Social Democratic idea of a united front as a "non-aggression pact", the N.E.C. repudiation of a united front reveals starkly the cowardice of the Militants (Krueger) and the ultra-reformism of Thomas, Krzycki & Co.

In a score of public statements the New York and Pennsylvania State Committees, controlled by the reactionaries, have openly refused to be bound by the majority decision of the referendum on the Declaration of Principles. This outright breach of party discipline was not only tacitly condoned by the N.E.C. majority, but the "true blue" leftists, Krueger, Haggood, Daniel, did not even introduce a motion to censure this violation of party democracy.

Instead the Declaration of Principles was morally buried and the

sod piled on it to the height of six feet, by the passage of a resolution designating a committee to receive proposals for restating the Declaration which won a referendum only a month ago!

Move to Expel Left Wing

The N.E.C. majority's rapprochement with the reactionaries was accompanied by an attack on the revolutionary elements who still find themselves in the Socialist Party. A resolution was passed practically reading the Revolutionary Policy Committee out of the Party. The R.P.C. is but a small segment of the left wing, and is unpopular even among revolutionaries in the Party because of its erratic career and its Lovestonist complexion. But the resolution against it, introduced by the reactionary Oneal, makes obvious that the attack is really directed against all revolutionaries, for after mentioning the R.P.C., it says: "The acceptance by a group of party members of doctrines which include the theory that armed insurrection is a proper Socialist method of achieving Socialist aims is viewed by the National Executive Committee as a dangerous departure from Socialist principles and tactics. It leads the workers into unnecessary dangers, exposes the Socialist movement to the intrigues of agents provocateurs, diverts the workers from the work of organization and education as the basic means of attaining power, and commits the Socialist Party to the use of methods that will delay, instead of hasten, the triumph of Socialist ideals. We hold that such doctrines are not only in conflict

with the position of the Socialist Party, but are subversive of its aims and purposes."

"Shocked Beyond Words"

One is not surprised to find that not only did Thomas vote for this reactionary resolution, but orally added that he was "shocked beyond words" by the R.P.C.'s stand. But it is surprising to observe how precipitately the N.E.C.'s "left wing" of Krueger, Daniel and Haggood retreated. They must know what the relation is between armed insurrection and the dictatorship of the proletariat which they have on previous occasions avowed. They could have pointed out, as against Thomas' accusation against the R.P.C. that "these people have arrogated to themselves the right to commit the party to a program that will endanger their own members", that the fundamental issue at stake was the essential implications of the theory of revolution. To those who have taken seriously their previous avowals, Krueger, Daniel and Haggood owed it as a duty to openly affirm a revolutionary position, if they held it. Here, for the first time in a period of internal party confusion, the issue of reform versus revolution was sharply thrust forward. Here was the opportunity to draw the line between revolutionists and reformists. But for such a task the so-called lefts proved incompetent. They contented themselves with defending the R.P.C. on the grounds of the right of freedom of opinion within the party. This formless, liberal position without content, might be justified under other conditions, but certainly not at a time when the

burning question to be settled in the Socialist Party is, according to the "lefts" own claims, "Who shall prevail, reformist or revolutionist?"

Right Wing Presses Forward

With this mandate from the "leftist" N.E.C. at last Sunday's meeting, the New York State Committee moved to expel all members of the R.P.C. With a similar mandate from the N.E.C. calling upon all organized factions to dissolve, the N. Y. Committee made its first move, not only against revolutionaries, but to break up the Militant caucus. Undoubtedly the first use of this prohibition will be made in a right wing move to prevent the Militants from gaining further votes in the New York City central committee elections. Already the right wing is preventing the seating of newly-elected Militant delegates on various pretexts. Now they have a real excuse. One may predict that in the next few weeks delegates will be refused seats on the grounds that they were elected by illegal caucuses.

As a further gesture of good will toward the right wing extremists the N.E.C. set up a committee to move for a farmer-labor party and gave a majority on it to the die-hard right wingers. This means that the Julius Gerbers, Sarah Limbachs and James D. Grahams will dominate all the future negotiations for united political action.

Aim to "Cleanse" the Party

Pressing their advantage, the right wing extremists continue to express themselves as dissatisfied with the concessions made to them. The right wingers want an end to all ambiguities: they want the S.P. unequivocally committed to classical reformism on the model of the German Social Democracy or, better still, the British Labor Party. And now, after the Boston meeting of the N.E.C., they feel confident they can get what they want. If they have pushed the Militants and the Thomas group so far, they can now unite with Thomas, Hoan & Co. against the Militants and those to the left of the Militants. To "cleanse" the S.P. of all revolutionary elements, to break up the centrist current—these are the immediate steps which the right wing proposes, and the Boston meeting shows that most of the N.E.C. will aid them in this reactionary task, while the present leadership of the Militant group is incapable of fighting back.

What perspective does this situation leave for those ex-communists who recently flopped into the S. P. on the theory that it was becoming "the party of revolutionary unity"?

Mooney May Be Pardoned

(Continued from Page 2)

"Some such action by Mr. Merriam as a commutation thus would not be so surprising as it might appear on first thought, and it would be hailed by shrewd conservatives as a wise and clever move. It would scotch the Mooney agitation, obviously one of the greatest assets of the communists and other radicals, and it would be just the gesture for which Mr. Merriam is looking to which the bad feeling left over from the Sinclair campaign and to back up his own liberal professions.

There is no question that Mr. Merriam keenly resents the assumption widely prevalent during the campaign that he is a pliable agent of reactionary interests and that he would welcome an opportunity to show that he is capable of acting decisively on his own responsibility."

Here is a remarkable tribute, in a capitalist paper, to the validity of mass pressure as a working class political instrument. True, the Stalinists by their fake 1932 Mooney Congress in Chicago (since denounced by Mooney himself), managed to dissipate a great opportunity to build a real militant mass campaign. But despite the lack of organization and leadership, pro-Mooney sentiment has never died out and the working class, not only of the west coast but of the whole country, has never ceased to be intensely interested in the fate of Tom Mooney.

It is because of this attitude of the masses, and a desire to take on a liberal and reformist coat in a period when the workers are being more and more disillusioned about capitalist politicians, that Merriam is now contemplating the release of Mooney. Should he take the step, he will be owed no gratitude by the workers.

Nor will we alter our ideas of capitalist "justice". Those liberal and reformist fakers who will "feel" a "new confidence" in the working of the American boss-class system of justice, are ornery swindlers. An innocent man has been jailed for almost two decades while everybody has known that he has been innocent. To release him now, when the workers are in so angry a mood on this and a thousand other questions, is a mere maneuver. Mooney will walk out of San Quentin, if ever, as the result of the powerful effect of mass pressure, not because of "justice". At this time more than ever, agitation must be carried on for the release of Mooney.

WORLD IN REVIEW

Lerroux-Gil Robles on Tightrope

All is not well with the Lerroux-Gil Robles regime in Spain. With the solution of a partial cabinet crisis last month when several ministers resigned, the government still finds it necessary to maintain a traddling position between the aggressive Monarchist-Rightist bloc and the masses who are already preparing to avenge the October defeat.

Although thousands have been arrested only two persons have been actually executed for activity during the uprising.

Another indication of the manner in which the government is forced to offer concessions to the masses was to be seen in a conference held by the Minister of Agriculture (the Popular Actionist-Jelenez-Fernandez) in Badajoz last week-end.

This Catholic-Fascist minister, meeting with representatives of peasant and agricultural workers organizations and representatives of the landowners, proposed to the latter that they voluntarily commence a division of the land among landless families. He went on to threaten that if the landlords did not do this he would then propose a law in the Cortes for the Government to divide the estates "at once", arranging later for indemnization.

On the other hand, the forty-eight (48) hour week in the metal-mining and smelting industries has been reestablished by decree, replacing the forty-four (44) hour week won as a result of the last summer's strike. The Asturias coal mines have at last been reopened, it being required that every miner carry an identification card issued by the authorities in return for his finger prints and one rifle. Until the Asturias mines are again functioning normally the coal companies are being allowed to use duty free British coal to fill pressing orders.

The newly constituted bloc of Monarchist and Rightist parties threatens to overshadow all of the other reactionary forces of the country. It is proposed to fuse the church and state into a single monolithic whole with the whole reorganization of the government along corporative lines. If the new bloc is successful in its purposes the stars of both Lerroux and Gil Robles will be considerably dimmed if not entirely blotted out. Every effort is being made by the present regime to check the advance of this formidable foe on the right. The censorship has prevented the publication of the first programmatic manifesto of the new combination.

Bolivia Makes Last Stand

The new regime established in Bolivia following the overthrow of the Saavedra government is making a last desperate attempt to stem the victorious advance of the British-supported Paraguayan army. Wall Street's puppets could not agree on how to run the war so Saavedra was arrested in the customary, persuasive Latin-American fashion.

Were it not for the continual injection of new blood from Chile into the veins of Bolivia's economic structure, it would have been impossible for that country to have held out as long as it has done. The last available resources of the country both in war material and man-power are now being massed for one final effort.

Unless the Chaco War spreads to other South American countries, it is very likely that the North American munitions manufacturers will be obliged to look for another arms embargo to break.

PRICES RISE IN GERMANY

HAMBURG (T.I.S.)—Prices are sky-rocketing in the New Germany. This is best shown by a comparison of wholesale prices as officially quoted on January 25, 1933 (a few days before Hitler came into power), and the end of October, 1934. Taking the average price level as 100, prices were as follows:

	1933	1934
Vegetables and other agricultural products	95.8	112.2
Meat products	57.2	79.8
Dairy products	88.0	113.3
Coal	116.0	115.1
Iron	101.8	102.6
Other Metals	40.9	44.5
Textiles	60.3	80.6
Skins and Leathers	106.7	101.8
Chemicals	103.3	101.2
Paper	83.5	101.7
Building Materials	103.3	111.0

GERMAN ARYANS RUNNING AMUCK

BERLIN (T.I.S.)—An all-time height of Aryan legislation has been reached by a decision of the Reich's chamber of lawyers, concerning the officially requested dissolution of a prominent German law firm. The partners in this firm are father and son, and the dissolution was ordered on the ground that the father is a non-Aryan (he has a Jewish grandmother) while his son is an Aryan, "since the Aryan rule applies only to the last three generations". It would be unthinkable to concede a partnership between the two under such circumstances, aside from the fact that such partnership between an Aryan and non-Aryan is expressly forbidden by law.

The National Unemployed League

History and Methods

(Ed. Note.—This is the first of a series of articles on the history and methods of the National Unemployed Leagues, the strongest and most substantial organizations in the unemployment field.)

By LOUIS BREIER

A brief history of the National Unemployed League necessarily involves a history of the unemployed movement as a whole. As it stands today, the N.U.L. represents the highest point in a long process of development and transition from the first, uncertain attempts of the "technically" unemployed to organize on a "Self-Help" or "Chiselling" basis in 1929 to class-conscious and militant organizations with policies of cooperation in struggles of the employed workers (and leadership, as in the case of the famous Toledo Auto-parts strike) and a trend to political consciousness.

The earliest history of the unemployed movement must be classified according to the methods used. Roughly, therefore, we may divide it as follows: a) Self-Help, b) Mass-Pressure, c) United action with the employed workers and a growing political consciousness. None of these stages should be taken as utterly distinct. They are progressive stages and the political stage, of course, combines with the Mass-Pressure stage. There are, however, Mass-Pressure groups that have failed as yet to derive political clarity from their activities. And though Self-Help organizations have largely ceased to exist, the remaining examples manage to eke out a precarious life by virtue of adding a measure of Mass-Pressure tactics to their "Barter" or "Chiselling" policies.

Furthermore it should be noted that many of the thriving organizations never went through the first or "Chiselling" stage, but were organized directly as Mass-Pressure groups. Such, for example, was the case with many of the leagues affiliated with the National Unemployed League, which were organized by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. But on the whole, the characteristic history of an unemployed organization is its formation on a Self-Help basis, its development into a Mass-Pressure organization through realization of the futility of self-help tactics and its transition to a stage combining militant tactics with a progressive political understanding.

"Self-Help" and Barter Schemes

Three years ago, then, the greater portion of the unemployed movement was comprised of Self-Help organizations. The philosophy that called these organizations into being (and received the full support of President Hoover, the Chamber of Commerce and all the local organizations of conspicuous mercy) can be condensed as "Planned Economy in Garbage-picking." Unemployment was a temporary aberration on the part of capitalism, man's noblest institution, and the one purpose of these groups was to tide the unemployed over from the Crash to the Prosperity that was just around the corner. To that end they were put to work chiseling scraps of meat, bread, odd clothing remnants etc. from the merchants; offering their services to farmers during harvest time in return for a share of the crop; clearing forest tracts for the privilege of burning brushwood and scrub. Later, when the patience of merchants began to wear thin and

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the federal government peeked at the unemployment problem and decided to handle it, as the Agricultural Department handles insect pests, by charts and advice, the Barter system began to supplement Self-Help.

At this stage it was no longer supposed that Prosperity was hiding behind a curtain like an old maid stretching out the anticipation of a kiss as long as possible. Instead it was thought that Capitalism was a trifle "tired" and needed only to be primed by an artificial resumption of services and the distribution of commodities (a nice homespun metaphysical sine adopted by the NKA). The Barter system was guaranteed to do this, by what devious economic law does not concern us here, and elaborate systems were set-up in various parts of the country, reaching its highest stage of development in Seattle, where the Unemployed Citizens League was able to put its members to work in abandoned factories, canneries, fisheries, etc. The strong family resemblance of this scheme to Sinclair's "Epic Plan" and the government's "Ohio Plan" should be noted. Distribution of the products ranged from the simple "share and share alike" method to the use of scrip.

From "Self-Help" to Mass Pressure

The publicity given to the Self-Help and Barter movement was copious and generally friendly and called many such organizations into existence. A few of the localities and organizations involved were: Seattle, Tacoma and other parts of Washington; the California Cooperative Relief Association concentrated in the southern part of the state; the Natural Development Association of Utah which later spread into Idaho and Colorado. There were local Self-Help organizations in Philadelphia, Allentown, Dayton and a number of other cities. The Mutual Exchange with headquarters in New York was an effort to coordinate the Self-Help movement on a national scale.

While most of these groups rapidly disintegrated under the impact of objective realities or were snuffed up by enterprising old-line snappers (as was the case with the Seattle organization) others provided the base for the development of Mass-Pressure groups, going through the transition already described. Examples are Allentown and Belmont County, Ohio. In Allentown efforts were made from the very inception of the organization to substitute Mass-Pressure for Self-Help but the membership blithely continued to pick peaches on neighboring farms until by the sheer pressure of circumstance and peace juice these tactics were suddenly dropped and attention was turned to the business of stopping evictions by mass-demonstrations, buying sherried farms for a nickel, boosting relief schedules by invading relief offices, etc. Trucks, buildings and other paraphernalia cheerfully contributed to the Allentown league by the city government and the local civic leaders as a reward for chasing its own tail, are now used to transport pickets and demonstrators; the buildings harbor every manner of "dangerous doctrine."

C.P.L.A. Enters Field

When the Conference for Progressive Labor Action entered the unemployed field, it advocated pressure on the state and Federal governments and public officials for direct and substantial relief and

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the unity of the unemployed and employed on the industrial front. At the same time the Communist Party, in the field since 1929, had demonstrated its inability to organize their Unemployed Councils outside of the large, industrial cities, especially in the smaller cities and towns and in rural areas. Where Unemployed Councils were successfully organized, they demonstrated a remarkably brief span of life, due undoubtedly to the familiar C. P. policies of mechanical control and wholesale indoctrination. The National Hunger Marches of 1930 and 1931 as well as several state marches and demonstrations in the larger cities afforded the general impression that the C.P. was leading an effective fight for the unemployed and achieving an inclusive organization.

The Socialist Party, after a long period during which it regarded the unemployed with mingled friendliness and indifference, made its bid for leadership by the organization of the Chicago Workers Committee and the publication of the "Unemployed", a magazine which gave out the news that the unemployed could vote themselves out of the bread lines and which terminated publication after three issues. However, any analysis of the unemployed situation revealed the fact, that in spite of claims to the contrary, the vast majority of the unemployed remained unorganized and were not following either C.P. or S.P. leadership, or were dedicated to the various Self-Help and Self-Flagellation schemes. There was no effective national organization.

Moves for National Organization

The S.P. recognized the need for a unifying national organization even as the C.P.L.A. did. But their solution to the problem was to set up a loose federation of unemployed groups through a conference of the top leadership—a device which the S.P. seems unable to abandon and which they are attempting to use at the present time. A preliminary conference to set up a National Federation to which unemployed leaders were invited was held in Chicago in November of 1932. The formal conference was not held until the May of 1933, following the Continental Congress white elephant in Washington.

In the meantime, the C.P.L.A. was placing most of its forces into the organization of the unemployed, especially concentrating on the building of the Ohio Unemployed League. A conference of local leagues was held in Niles, Ohio on October 4, 1932 which was followed by a convention on November 6, 1932 when a temporary state organization was established. This much accomplished, an intensive organization drive was instituted which culminated in the convention in Columbus on February 27-28, 1933 when the state league was finally instituted by delegates from leagues in most of the counties, cities, villages and hamlets in Ohio.

It was this convention that determined to call a National convention of the unemployed on July 3-5. To insure the widest possible rank and file representation and to avoid another still-born aggregation of scattered groupings, the call to the national convention stipulated that 5 delegates were to be sent from each local league. The distribution of this call stimulated organization of leagues in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, West Virginia and other states. It was also sent to every established organization of the unemployed which the Ohio league could contact.

NEW MILITANT

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Vol. 1 SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1934 No. 1

The New Militant

THE New Militant makes its appearance as the official weekly organ of the Workers Party. As such, it will not be independent or neutral but will strive in all respects to represent the aims and ideals of the party as laid down in the Declaration of Principles and to reflect its revolutionary spirit.

The vanguard political party is the highest expression of working class organization and a party organ, consequently, is the highest type of paper. Our aim, however, is not to publish a "house organ" for restricted party circles, but a political organ for the masses. We hope to popularize the New Militant without diluting its political and party character.

The main line of the New Militant will be the attack against capitalism, the exposure of its frauds and infamies, and the advocacy of the socialist order of society. As we see the situation, the chief recruiting ground of the new party, even in the early stages of its struggle, is among the politically unorganized but grievously oppressed and bitterly discontented masses of American workers.

They are the forces for the new party. They are the troops of the American revolution. They have long remained indifferent to working class politics of any kind. The political labor movement, reformist as well as revolutionary, has been a comparatively small and isolated circle. But the conditions have matured for a great and rapid transformation.

The American workers are moving now in true American style—rapidly and with militant disregard for any kind of obstructions. The New Militant will march with them, talk to them in their own language, and aid them in their struggle. To awaken the discontented workers to class consciousness and draw them toward the party in the course of their experiences in the class struggle—this will be the chief endeavor of the New Militant.

The road to the masses is through the vanguard. Our paper can become a power among the masses only if it organizes and educates the advanced workers as it goes along. The fundamental nucleus of revolutionary militants which has been assembled at the founding of the Workers Party is only a beginning. Thousands of others, scattered and disorganized by the long period of disintegration in the movement, belong with the party right now. The New Militant will help them to find their place in the party ranks. In this field quality is what counts.

We must make our revolution in America, not in some other country and not on the moon. That means, if we are to go at our work seriously, that our paper must concern itself primarily with the actualities of American life and talk to the workers in their own language. It is necessary to show that we understand them in order to make them understand us. The American people have not inherited conservatism nor the tendency to balk at revolutionary solutions. They overthrew the rule of a king and broke the institutions of chattel slavery by means that were far from polite. The history of the labor movement

of the country, on the whole, is a magnificent history of militant struggle. Our paper can and should appeal to these traditions in its agitation among the masses. It can and should be distinctively American in its methods of approach and its realistic concentration on the concrete tasks at hand.

But the world we live in is a unit and the liberating workers' revolution, as our Declaration of Principles truly says, is by its very nature international in character. One cannot even begin to think straight about a national revolution unless he proceeds from this point of view. We don't believe in the dogma of "socialism in one country", for the United States or for Russia. We see our American revolution as one link in the chain of revolutions which will emancipate the world from capitalism and establish world socialism. This conception stands in the center of the system of ideas which binds us together and animates all our work on national grounds. The New Militant, in all its departments, will reflect this revolutionary internationalist point of view.

Non-Partisan Defense

THE Workers Party founding convention won on record for the idea of a militant defense organization embracing workers and sympathetic elements of diverse political views, for a united class fight for mutual defense interests. Earlier, the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. had vigorously supported this idea when it was broached by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The N.P.L.D., while limited in forces, has won a good name in struggle. When the I.L.D. refused to raise a finger for four young German workers deported from Holland to Fascist Germany, the N.P.L.D. organized the protest movement in this country. The N.P.L.D. played an important part in the fight against New York police brutality which led to the resignation of Commissioner O'Ryan. It was to the fore in local protest movements against government strike-breaking moves on the Gulf Coast, in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco.

Last week the N.P.L.D. was able to announce that it had saved Antonio Bellussi, militant anti-Fascist, from danger of deportation to Fascist Italy. Now comes news that a committee set up on the initiative of and led by members of the N.P.L.D., has won a signal victory in obtaining the release from Sing-Sing of Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, strikers framed on a charge of beating scabs in the New York hotel strike. The two workers may have to undergo a new trial, but in any case their first conviction is reversed through the legal fight of the N.P.L.D.

The superior court admitted that Robins and Gras were convicted due to the prejudiced conduct of the notorious anti-labor trial judge, Corrigan.

Revolutionary workers now in the W. P. played an important part in the united front for Robins and Gras. The N.P.L.D. was also able to draw into active work the Socialist Lawyers Association one of whose members was Robins' counsel in the appeal.

The W. P. is ready to go further in support of the N.P.L.D.'s plans. Even since June, when the N.E.C. of the S.P. gave favorable, though formal, recognition to the idea, we have urged conclusive action. Almost three months ago a draft plan was approved by representatives of the C.L.A., the A.W.P. and the S.P. Since then the S.P. representatives have taken no action. That some elements in the S.P. are opposed in principle to collaboration with revolutionaries even against the worst reactionaries, everybody knows. What rank-and-file Socialists should ask, however, is why the "militants", who claim to have a majority in the N.E.C., constantly avoid a final decision on the pressing question of setting up a broad, militant defense organization.

The history of the I.L.D. in the Dutch case; in the Bellussi case, where it sabotaged the defense because the defendant was suspected of "Trotskyism"; in the Robins-Gras case, where it refused all collaboration and constantly maneuvered to sabotage the united front committee; in Scottsboro, where its policies have jeopardized the whole cause and where it is now begging the reactionary Samuel S. Leibowitz for a united front—all these facts and many more make clear that the I.L.D. is not to be thought of as a defense instrument of the workers.

A militant, non-partisan defense organization is a crying class need today. The Workers Party has put the building of such an organization on its program. It is ready and willing to cooperate with other organizations to build it. The Socialist Party ought to give some definite answer to the N.P.L.D., or to make clear that it is unable or unwilling to carry out in action its verbal commitment of last June. The N.P.L.D., far from having confirmed the diagnosis made last April by the I.L.D.—that it "died aborning"—has grown constantly stronger. Its further work should not be jeopardized by anybody's passivity. The W. P. calls for action on this matter.

Anti-Crime War Aimed at Lone Killers - while Bankers and War Makers Get Protection

WASHINGTON.—While the Senate committee investigating the munitions industry continued to unearth graft and corruption involving some of the biggest names in the country, righteous speeches were being made at the Attorney General's four-day conference on crime.

In none of these speeches, however, was reference made to the DuPonts, the Morgans or the Rockefellers. Neither was anything said about the bankers who steal their depositors' money, nor about the Wall Street manipulators who rob small investors of billions of dollars, nor about the industrial barons—the Weirtons, the Mellons, the Fords—who employ armies of gunmen to shoot and terrorize their workers.

Of a Lower Order

The crime the Attorney General's conference dealt with was of a lower order. It was concerned with kidnapings, blackmail, banditry, burglaries, etc. And it was against the Dillingers, the Hauptmanns, the Baby-faced Nelsons and their kind that the speeches and the indignation were directed. It appears that criminals of this type are increasing with great rapidity, and are becoming exceedingly bold and arrogant.

"It is amazing that such a situation as now exists is possible at this stage of our civilization," declared Attorney General Cummings. "When officers of the law are forced to engage in drawn battles on public highways, in railroad stations and elsewhere, armed with the desperate implements of modern warfare, we realize the danger which is involved and the menacing character of those who thus boldly defy the powers of our government."

No Reference to Causes Although the increase in the number of criminals and their boldness was referred to by nearly all speakers very little was said about the causes underlying this increase—with the exception of blaming it on the newspapers, the radio and the "attitude of the public".

President Roosevelt, in his speech at the opening session, did say that "crime is a symptom of social disorder" but his remedy for this disorder was a vague reference to "marshalling the assets of home, school, church, community and other social agencies to work in common purpose with our law enforcement agencies". What this purpose is, aside from more efficient shooting and capturing the pickpockets, the gunmen and other such criminals he did not say.

J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation, described what in his opinion was the reason more of these small criminals are not put in the morgue. "Until political pressure is doomed," said Hoover, "we must regard the eradication of gangs like that of Dillinger, Floyd, Bailey and others as transitory phases of a condition which can change overnight."

Mr. Hoover did not define the nature of this "political pressure" but what he apparently meant is that these lesser criminals are only the agents of higher-ups who by their respectable position in society are able to give them protection.

Had Mr. Hoover gone a step further he would have pointed out that one of the reasons for the growing boldness of the gangster is the open flaunting of the law by the big capitalists. The examples of the bankers and industrialists and their politicians are not exactly conducive to teaching respect for the government.

However, it was not the purpose of the Attorney General's conference on crime to discuss how to deal with the big criminals. As a matter of fact, it was observed by some who attended, the real purpose of the conference seemed to be to discover how best to protect the big criminals against their hirelings and agents. Since the burglars, the kidnapers and the blackmailers do not menace, excepting in a very slight degree, the welfare of the poor people—about 90 percent of the population—it

seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that it must be the wealthy people who are so excited about the "crime wave"

An Important Question

But when millions of children are undernourished and more than a fourth of the population of the country on the verge of starvation, while the rich continue to pile up millions in profit, why should the dispossessed get excited about killing the Dillingers, the Hauptmanns, the Baileys and their kind?

This question was not asked at the Attorney General's conference on crime. But undoubtedly the growing resentment of the poverty stricken masses was in the back of the minds of those who called the conference. And it is this resentment that they really fear. It is this resentment that the bosses are attempting to label as criminal.

FASCISM AT WORK

Mr. Hjalmar Schacht, who was a big capitalist banker before Hitler took power and who remains today a big capitalist banker, is more and more consolidating his strength in Germany. Today he is the dictator behind the scenes . . . and not so far behind. Hitler jumps when he cracks the whip.

The discharge of Gottfried Feder from his official post in the Nazi government is Schacht's latest victory. Feder was Under-Secretary for Economics when Hitler first became Chancellor. He has been cut down a few inches each six months or so, and now his official head is off altogether.

How important this is can be appreciated when one realizes that Feder was the author of the 25 so-called "unalterable theses" of the Nazi party on economic questions. Adopted by the Nazi founding fathers more than a decade ago, they were full of confused pseudo-socialist terminology. They raved on about abolition of "slavery of interest", proposed to nationalize all banks, and promised to put a flock of chickens in every German worker's pot.

Capitalism, the Volkischer Beobachter (chief Hitler organ) announces, is getting another chance to prove itself. Here is a quite candid confession that Hitler Fascism is nothing but capitalism in a new and more ruthless guise. The firing of Feder, author of the demagogic slogans which the Nazis used to recruit their army of dupes and desperados, is a symbol of the end of bluff about "national socialism".

What this Hitler capitalism means to the workers of Germany is revealed anew by every report about economic conditions which comes out of Germany. A report from Thuringia in the Deutsche, Hitler newspaper, reveals the workers of that province of Germany to be in profound misery. At Tausche a glass-blower, with the help of his wife and six children working 10 hours daily at

home, earns \$8 weekly. The only food of thousands of families is potatoes and salt. At Steinheid, 225 out of 250 inhabitants live on relief alone . . . and very badly. Sooneberg district reports 33,000 unemployed out of 80,000 inhabitants.

A Hamburg official reports that the "steadily employed workers" get only \$5 a week for the two or three days weekly work they get. He calls this a wage "which is neither sufficient to live nor to die". Prices are constantly rising while wages drop. For example, agricultural products in 1934 cost 112.2 as compared to 95.8 in 1933; meats are up from an average of 57.2 to 79.8; dairy products are up from 88 to 111.3; textiles are up from 60.3 to 80.6.

The Berlin government reports a total paid-wage increase of only 1 percent for 1934 over 1933. This reveals a terrific real decrease in the workers' earning power, since more than 2,500,000 workers unemployed in 1933 now share the work (and wages) of those who were employed before. The standard of living of all has been lowered.

Recent news from Austria indicates that the Heimwehr variety of Fascism is just as "beneficial" to the workers as the Nazi variety. During the first half of 1933 total wages paid out in Vienna were 536,000,000; during the same period this year, the total was only 515,000,000. The income of the Vienna proletariat has fallen by 24 percent. These trends have been duplicated for years in Fascist Italy. Mussolini, Hitler, Stahremberg . . . all birds of the same feather. What they bring about is summed up by the exploiting class as "the restoring and evening on Nazi ideals". Further, the trains run on time! The workers' organizations have been smashed, their resistance lowered, wages are cut, profits are maintained, the sun shines! That a whole generation of workers starves does not matter to the ruling class.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL

To the Workers Party of the U. S. To the New Militant and its 10,000 readers—Greetings!

Spartacus

"For Spartacus means fire and spirit. For Spartacus means soul and heart." These words of the immortal Liebknecht best describe the first National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League held in New York, Dec. 3, 4, 5. You can take it from me that the delegations of Spartacus Youth—who by freight train, hitch-hike and auto came from California and all points east—not forgetting the fraternal delegates from Canada—have "fire and spirit" and are "soul and heart" in the revolutionary movement.

There was no sign of Stalinist "made to order" thinking in the S.Y.L. convention. An old timer of 31 summers and 30 winters, who was one of the founders of the original Young Workers League and who sat with me in the visitors gallery, remarked that he had never seen anything to match the independence of thought and intelligent discussion of youth problems of the S.Y.L. convention. Profiting by the experiences of the past—intelligent, vigorous, confident, eye-front—the Spartacus Youth League marches forward.

At Last the Forgotten Man

"Driving money-changers from the temple," "For more equitable distribution of our national income"—Just call to mind a few of the New Deal slogans and then read the income figures of 1933. You'll find the "forgotten man" brought back in all his glory. Here are the headlines in the New York Times: "1,000,000 incomes rose by 26 in 1933 . . . Individual net off . . . One of 46 in higher brackets reported \$5,000,000 or more against none in 1933. (That's him. That's the forgotten man.)" "Corporation profits up . . . Increased 35.35 in first New Deal year . . . Total fell mainly in lower scale."

Time-Clocks vs. Military Muster According to a press report the Nazis have issued a decree, "Time-clocks must go and be replaced by a military muster." "Whoever heard of a regimental commander installing a time-clock at the entrance to his barracks?" asks Doctor Ley, Nazi chief. May we add that we never saw a time-clock at the entrance of a prison either. In addition to the military muster every factory manager is to "give his staff a little speech each morning and evening on Nazi ideals". And to show that the Nazi butchers are not without a satanic sense of humor the manager is to end his speech with: "Any complaints?"

Bankers and Lawyers Gyp Crippled Veterans "Many instances" where lawyers and bankers "bilked the veterans of large sums of money" were reported by Rep. Patman, Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Comm. "A hopelessly crippled veteran in New York drawing \$30.00 a month was charged \$100.00 lawyer fee for a signature"—"Bank and trust companies acting as guardians for veterans unloaded worthless securities on them." Rep. Patman's statement told of case after case, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars lost by veterans through the activities of patriotic bankers and lawyers.

Free Workers Alfred P. Sloan Jr., President of General Motors Corp., declared that the "spell" of regimentation and planned economy had been broken and America now had a future of tremendous opportunities under a system of free enterprise. "I believe workers should be free. Their right to work should not depend upon their membership in a labor union." Anyone who has stepped into an auto factory in Detroit and watched human robots at work will understand just what Mr. Sloan means by "free workers" and a "system of free enterprise".

Woodism and the Quintuplets Doctor Defoe who gained notoriety by being present when Mrs. Dionne gave birth to quintuplets in New York. In a speech before a large audience Dr. Defoe reported that, after the birth of the children Mrs. Dionne seemed to be in a dying condition but instead of remaining with the apparently dying woman to give what aid he could, he, Dr. Defoe, who was brought up and trained in the Woodism of the Catholic Church, travelled a distance of two and a half miles to get a priest, leaving Mrs. Dionne to the care of a backwoods midwife. In a same society a man guilty of such an act would be punished, not praised.

Launch Six Month Program

(Continued from Page 1) Philadelphia, Boston and New Haven this month. The New York district is organizing a great mass meeting. The first national tour which will take Comrades Muste and Cannon to the high spots in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, West Virginia and Pennsylvania has already been projected. Details will be found on another page in this issue.

Hold Unemployment Conference A Provisional organization of the Trade Union Department of the party under National Organizer Arne Swabeck has been set up. Conferences on the unemployed work have taken place and decisions arrived at are being carried out by Arnold Johnson in Ohio and Anthony Ramuglia in the anthracite district.

By the first of January party organizers will be at work in Illinois and Ohio. The Political Committee has appointed an Educational Committee under the chairmanship of Hugo Oehler which will map out plans for carrying out section 7 of the Program of Action.

Must Raise \$5,000 While the general program of action covers the six months period, the Party Foundation Fund of \$5,000 must be raised by March 1. Consequently special attention is given to this matter elsewhere in this issue. This sum can constitute only a beginning if we are really to measure up to the job which we have undertaken. However, if we can put over the Party Foundation Campaign in the next 60 days, it will give us an impetus that will carry us forward with leaps and bounds.

Wide Interest in Party In the meantime every day brings evidence that the merger of two

important groups and the launching of the new party have aroused widespread interest among the workers and are having tremendous repercussions in other political groups, especially the C.P. and S.P. where confusion, uncertainty and disintegration prevail. All the signs indicate that the party was launched at a most opportune time. Advantage must be taken of the opportunity that has been placed within our grasp. We do not have unlimited time at our disposal to do the job. We must work—every last member of the party—work hard, resolutely, untiringly for the 100 percent realization of the six months Program of Action of the Workers Party.

NOTICE

Beginning this issue, THE MILITANT becomes THE NEW MILITANT and the official weekly of the new party. The serial number begins over again with Vol. 1, No. 1. The number on your wrapper will therefore be changed, beginning issue of December 22. All subscribers will be given the full amount of issues due them.

The last whole number of THE MILITANT was 252. If the expiration number on your wrapper is say 260, it means that you are entitled to 8 more issues. Your new number will therefore be No. 8 beginning issue of Dec. 22. Please watch the expiration number on your wrapper, and send your renewal promptly. It will avoid skipping issues and you will save us much time, labor and expense.

—BUSINESS MANAGER.

Spartacus Youth Adopts Program

(Continued from Page 1) reports and the proposed resolutions were accepted unanimously.

Speech of Shachtman

Max Shachtman, of the former Communist League of America, then addressed the convention. He brought greetings from the comrades whose organization had sponsored and helped build the Spartacus Youth League. Pointing to the degeneration of the old guard generation, with few exceptions, he reiterated the need for the development of new leading forces for the revolutionary movement and urged that this is the most important task of the Spartacus Youth League. This is to be accomplished, he further stated, by building the S.Y.L. as a mass youth organization, politically subordinate to the Workers Party while organizationally autonomous.

The report of comrade Shachtman was greeted by the adoption of a resolution extending thanks to the comrades of the former Communist League for their aid in building the S.Y.L.

Student Problem

The next report covered the problem of the students. The discussion revolved around the question as to whether there is a need for a national student organization. The overwhelming majority of the delegates opposed such an independent

organization and decided to work through the existing student clubs and organizations and Spartacus Youth fractions for winning the students to the Spartacus Youth "activist group" (cultural, committee or fraction); to stabilize Young Spartacus and begin a fund for a semi-monthly; to prepare material for a youth handbook. The program was accepted and the incoming national committee was given the task of working out the details.

Name "Spartacus" to Stand

The debate over the name of the youth organization was very spirited. After a good deal of consideration, informally and formally, the delegates decided to continue the name "Spartacus Youth". The alternative proposal was "Young Workers League". Those supporting the majority viewpoint contended that the name "Spartacus", bearing the revolutionary traditions of the leader of the ancient slave rebellion and the heroic struggles of the German group of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had more color and meaning than the suggested alternative.

The opposition held that the name "Young Workers League" was more popular. That the content would be given by the future activities of the organization. "Spartacus" carried the day.

The program of action was then considered. This consists of a three

months plan, to begin Jan 1, 1935 for the strengthening of the national center, the building of new branches, and the reorganization of the existing branches. It includes a plan to double the membership by April 1; to build a youth branch wherever a Workers Party branch exists.

New National Committee

A new national committee was elected consisting of Nathan Gould, Reva Craine, Manny Garrett, Bill Streeter, Jane Ogden, Irving Bern (Chicago), M. Slavin (Youngstown), Murray Weiss (San Francisco), Ray Sparrow (Los Angeles), James Cross (Gillespie), Francis Drake, Frank Visconti and S. Yayer were elected as alternates. As the convention concluded with the singing of the "International", the delegates were more confident than ever in the bright future for the Spartacus Youth as the mass organization of the young workers and students.

Workers Party Lecture BROWNSVILLE BRANCH

"Is the Socialist Party Splitting?" Speaker: MAX SHACHTMAN Friday, Dec. 21, 8:30 P.M. 1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn (Near Stone St.)

PAMPHLET PUBLICATION PROGRAM

One of the main points in the six months concentration drive of the Party is the publication of a series of popular pamphlets on the important issues confronting the American working class.

It is planned to issue one new pamphlet monthly during this period, to sell at not more than 10c. In order to finance this work, subscriptions are being accepted for the first six pamphlets which will be mailed directly to the subscriber as soon as they are off the press. The price for the series is 50c. Every member and sympathizer of the new Party should aid in the publication of these important pamphlets by subscribing immediately and getting their friends to do likewise. Subscriptions should be sent to the PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 102 East 11th Street, New York City.

Those able to make a contribution for this purpose should specify that the money is to be applied to the Publication Fund.

Subscription PIONEER PUBLISHERS

I wish to subscribe for the series of six pamphlets to be issued by the WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S. in the first half of 1935 and enclose 50c for this purpose. (If you wish to send the series to any friends, just write their name on a piece of paper and enclose.) Name: Address: Here is my bit toward the PUBLICATION FUND \$

V.R. Dunne of Minneapolis Ted Selanber of Toledo John Edwards Al. Glotzer Norman Seter

CHICAGO MASS MEETING

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23rd 3.00

REDIFER HALL 30 NORTH WELLS STREET

Admission 15 Cents Unemployed Free