

NEW MILITANT

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Prepare for a Year of Determined Struggle!

New Year's Manifesto of the Workers Party

To the American Working Class:

The resources of this continent on which we live are almost boundless. The productive machinery built up by the workers, farmers and technicians of this country can turn out goods in unsurpassed abundance. The working class is trained and equipped to operate and perfect this machinery. Under these circumstances every family, every person in the land, might today have food and clothing in abundance, a comfortable home, adequate medical care, abundant opportunity for education and recreation, security against accident, sickness, unemployment and old age, and the assurance of rapid and speedy improvement in the standard of living.

This we might have.

What we actually do have is far different. Seventeen million men, women and children are living off relief. Many million more are forced to live below what even conservative government departments call a decent standard of living. Fifteen million are unemployed. The threat of losing his job hangs like a sword over every worker, technician and professional. Homes acquired with hard-earned savings are sold over their owners' heads. Families are evicted from their houses and thrown on the streets. Poor farmers are put off the land and thrown on the labor market to compete with the workers. Farmers who still nominally own their own land are loaded down with a growing burden of mortgages and debts and are less and less able to make a living from the sale of their produce. Millions of young men and women are unable to obtain jobs even at starvation wages. The aged are thrown on the scrap-heap without assurance of so much as a bare subsistence. This is the real picture of America as it faces the new year.

CONDITIONS GET WORSE, NOT BETTER

The economic system under which we live—capitalism—is responsible for these conditions. Under this system, the resources of the nation, the factories, mines, railroads, are owned and controlled by private individuals or corporations. The capitalists use these resources and operate this machinery not for fulfilling the needs of the masses but in order to make profits for themselves. The masses are left without the means to purchase the goods which they have themselves produced. Under this system, which is now everywhere in decline and decay, the workers cannot find deliverance. Even for individuals the possibility of personal improvement every day becomes narrower. For the masses, so long as capitalism endures, conditions will grow fundamentally and rapidly worse.

This has been proved before our own eyes by recent developments in Germany and elsewhere in Europe.

In this period of the decline of capitalism, the industrialists and financiers cannot maintain their profits without pushing the standards of the people lower and lower. Resistance to this process they crush by any and every means. Where the workers themselves do not act in time an open, brutal Fascist dictatorship is set up. All democratic rights are suppressed, all the forms of democracy are abandoned. The trade unions, the cooperatives, all the independent organizations of the workers and farmers are smashed. The right to strike is abrogated. Open terror is exercised against any one who dares to raise his voice against this capitalist dictatorship. Women are driven back into medieval subjection. The intellectuals are persecuted. The basest racial and national prejudices are called into play. At the behest of the same capitalist interests struggling for markets, raw materials, outlets for investment, the nations pile up armaments. Inevitably war results. The masses who, under capitalism, are machine-fodder in time of peace, become cannon-fodder to be slaughtered by millions in time of war. Humanity sinks back into the Dark Ages. Fascism and War—that is the only "way out" capitalism can offer. Trying to "save capitalism" can have no other result, whether in the U. S. or elsewhere.

THE "NEW DEAL" SWINDLE

Yet it is now as plain as day that this is just what Roosevelt is trying to do—"save capitalism".

The New Deal is the same old Raw Deal for the masses. The unemployed have not been put back to work. Relief standards are being beaten down and capitalists again talk openly of throwing the jobless back on the mercies of private charity. The minimum wage set in NRA codes have become the maximum. On the other hand, the number of millionaires has increased under Roosevelt, and corporation profits have gone up. The employers have been encouraged by the government to organize one hundred per cent. Monopoly capitalists, the "big fellows" as against the "little fellows", have been strengthened. The right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively, supposedly guaranteed in section 7a of the NRA, has not, however, been enforced. On the contrary, company unions have been encouraged. Roosevelt himself wrote the infamous "proportional representation" clause into the automobile code. Strikes have been sabotaged. The use of militia against striking workers has gone unrestrained. "Liberal" members of the Roosevelt administration helped to whip up the "red-scare" against the striking marine workers of the Pacific

coast. The same administration acts openly in Cuba and elsewhere as the direct agent of American imperialists and is carrying out the greatest naval building program in all the peace time history of this nation. The warning is clear: here in the U. S. also, no matter how "liberal" may be the pretensions or even the motives of individuals, the attempt to "save capitalism" can end only in the horrors of Fascism and War.

THE ONLY WAY OUT

There is only one way for the masses to avoid this catastrophe and to achieve for themselves and their children plenty, security, freedom and peace. That is to abolish the present economic system—to take the productive plant and the agencies of distribution and ownership and control of the natural resources, the communication out of the hands of private individuals and corporations, to use and operate them for the fulfillment of human needs and not for private profit, to build a socialist society.

This can be accomplished only by the revolutionary action of the working class. The poor farmers, the doubly exploited and persecuted Negro people, and the impoverished middle class can find no salvation except by supporting the workers' revolution. The capitalists will resort to any means in order to retain their power and their profits. The government serves as their agent. Unless, therefore, the masses are to yield supinely to their enemies and be plunged into the horrors of Fascism and War, they must take control of their own destiny. Having "grown weary of existing government" they must exercise "their revolutionary right to overthrow it".

CAPITALISM CANNOT BE "REFORMED"

Reforms and half-measures offer no way out of the misery, insecurity and chaos of capitalism. Advocates of such solutions only confuse and mislead the workers. The New Dealers, the Huey Longs, the Bilbos, the Father Coughlins, and the various cheap American imitations of European Fascists—they all fawn upon the "under-dog" and the "little man" and profess to "have the interest of the workers at heart", but they sabotage strikes, oppose militant unionism and bitterly attack the revolutionary movement through which alone the masses can gain their freedom. Whatever their demagogic protestations or their motives, therefore, they serve the capitalists and prepare the way for Fascism. The Upton Sinclairs, the Social Democrats and the Farmer-Laborites tell the masses that "civilized", "peaceful", "democratic", "gradual" meth-

ods, by "voting for the right party", they can use the apparatus of capitalist government to bring in Utopia for the workers. Here also experience sounds a warning. These methods used by the Social Democrats of Europe have led only to Fascism, to the open, brutal, war-like dictatorship of finance capitalists who have abolished all the forms of "democracy" and plunged whole nations into barbarism.

To the professional, technical, and agricultural workers—to the farmers—to the Negro people and all oppressed races—to the small shopkeepers—to all exploited groups, we say: Only by the complete abolition of capitalism can you gain freedom from insecurity, discrimination, exploitation and tyranny. The solution of the industrial workers, a socialist society, is the only solution for your problems also. The one road to the socialist society is the road of the revolutionary seizure of power by the working class and its allies. Refuse, therefore, to heed those who seek to discredit or to attack the workers' revolutionary movement and to organize you in or around any other social movement. Under whatever guise they may appear, they are the agents of capitalism and they prepare the way for Fascism.

THE NEED OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

In order that the daily struggle against the lowering of the standard of living may be carried on effectively and in order that as speedily as possible the workers may take power in order to establish plenty and security, it is necessary that the advanced workers be organized in a revolutionary political party. Not "just another political party" seeking to elect somebody to office under the capitalist system, but the vanguard section of the working class itself, organized for leadership in revolutionary action.

Both the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the Second International and the Third International, have in recent years demonstrated that they are utterly incapable, whether in the United States or in other countries, of organizing the workers for effective defense against the offensive of capital, much less of leading them to victory and the new social order.

WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

For this a new party was needed. The Workers Party of the U. S. was established on December 1, 1934 by the merger of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America. Workers who had played a leading part in the great strike struggles in Toledo, Minneapolis and other places, founders of the Unemployed League movement, together with founders and former leading members of the Commu-

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18 Sacramento Workers on Trial--Face Long Sentences

Big Meeting Hears Muste And Cannon on WP Program

Adopts Resolution on Situation in Soviet Union

Irving Plaza was jammed to standing room when A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon addressed a meeting last Sunday night on the Workers Party and its Program. The entire audience, with the exception of seven members of the Communist Party greeted the speakers with enthusiasm. In the course of their speeches they referred to the present economic and political situation in Russia. A resolution, appended below, was introduced at the conclusion, and passed by a standing vote, censuring the secret nature of the trials, and demanding that the persecution of party opponents, old Bolsheviks, such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Yevdokimov cease. The vote on the resolution was everybody for, seven against.

The Resolution

The resolution, to be presented to the Soviet consulate, follows: "We, the workers of New York, in mass meeting assembled under the auspices of the Workers Party of the U. S. on this 23rd day of December, 1934, declare our unswerving allegiance to the Soviet Union, the workers' state, which is and has been since 1917 the star of hope and inspiration to the revolutionary workers of the entire world.

"We condemn terroristic actions, such as the assassination of Kirov, and pledge ourselves anew to the defense of the Soviet Union against external or internal enemies. We shall raise no objection to drastic measures against any who conspire to overthrow the workers' state. The right and the duty of the proletarian state to adopt the sternest methods of repression against its class enemies is indisputable for the revolutionary workers. We condemn the hypocritical outcries of anti-Soviet elements, whether they be social democrats or capitalist editors, who now come forward to renew their agitation for bogus bourgeois "democracy" and seek to identify the workers' dictatorship with Fascist dictatorship. We who have witnessed from afar the mass murder of the victims of Fascism and reaction in Germany, Austria, Spain, and have seen with our own eyes the murder of strikers

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OUR DATES

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.—January 13-14.
Youngstown, Ohio.—January 15.
Newcastle, Pa.—January 15.
Cleveland, Ohio.—January 16.
Toledo, Ohio.—January 17.
Detroit, Mich.—January 18.
Chicago, Ill.—January 19-20-21.
Waukegan, Ill.—January 22.
Madison, Wis.—January 22.
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.—Jan. 23-24-25-26-27.
Kansas City—Jan. 27-28-29-30.
Des Moines, Ia.—January 28.
Davenport, Ia.—January 29.
St. Louis, Mo.—January 30-31.
Illinois Mine Fields, Staunton, Gillespie, Springfield, —Feb. 1-2-3.
Columbus, Ohio.—February 4-5.
Charleston, W. Va.—February 6.
Pittsburgh, Pa.—February 7-8.
New York City—February 10.

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

INEQUALITIES SHOWN BY A. F. OF L. SURVEY

On the basis of Labor Department reports and federal income tax figures, the monthly survey of business of the American Federation of Labor has compiled a table showing the inequalities which have contributed to present conditions. It summarizes this table as follows:

"In 1933 corporations increased their total income by \$654,000,000, made excess profits (over 12%) of \$125,000,000 and decreased their deficit by \$1,900,000,000. Incomes of persons receiving over \$25,000 a year increased by \$128,000,000. Workers' incomes on the other hand decreased by nearly \$500,000,000 (in reporting industries alone). Our total national income was 42% below 1929, workers' income was 49% lower."

Prospects of improvement in employment are pretty slim, according to the A. F. of L. survey.

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

One Year Ago in Labor

(Dec. 28, 1933-Jan. 3, 1934)

WASHINGTON.—Its ends accomplished, the Roosevelt "revolution" is over, the president told Congress in his message to that body. The evils which brought about the smashup of the capitalist machine in the past four years have been abolished, he stated. Among evils ended is the "ruthless exploitation of all labor". How this had been accomplished was not specified.

NEW YORK.—"Our army happens to be the only branch of the government which is already organized and available not only to defend our territory but also to cope with social and economic problems in an emergency." Asst. Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring wrote in an article in Liberty magazine. The C.C.C. camps were "the first real test of the army's

Norris, S. P. Leader Joins Workers Party

The campaign of the Workers Party to unite the revolutionary workers under its banner gets a big push forward this week by the statement of W. W. Norris in which he announces his withdrawal from the Socialist Party and entrance into the W. P. The application of Comrade Norris has been accepted by the National Committee on the recommendation of the Minneapolis Branch with which he is in direct contact.

Was Minnesota Secretary W. W. Norris was the state secretary of the Socialist Party in Minnesota and was a delegate from that state to the Detroit convention of the S. P. He was connected with the Revolutionary Policy Committee and was elected to the National Executive Committee of this group at the Detroit conference

of the Revolutionary Policy Committee. The action of Comrade Norris is the first positive answer of the revolutionary wing of the party to the arrogant attacks of the right wing since the Detroit convention and the capitulatory attitude of the "Militants" and the R.P.C. The Workers Party expects in the near future to announce the applications of other revolutionary Socialists who are coming to the same conclusions as those of Comrade Norris. His statement follows:

Statement of W. W. Norris

Minneapolis, Minn.
To the National Committee Workers Party of U. S. Comrades:

After full deliberation I have definitely and finally come to the conclusion that the Socialist Party has no revolutionary future and that the place for every revolutionary socialist is in the ranks of the Workers Party. Accordingly, I have withdrawn from the S. P. and present herewith my application for membership in the W. P.

Like every other revolutionary socialist I have been in conflict with the principles and policies of the Socialist party for some time. But up till recently I had the hope that it might be revolutionized from within. As a delegate to the Detroit convention and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Policy Committee, I looked forward to the transformation of the S. P. into a revolutionary party. Developments since the Detroit convention have caused me to change my mind about the prospects of the S. P. and to join the W. P.

Contrary to the hopes of many members, the leftward drift of the S. P. has been sharply arrested.

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Red Frame-Up Is Mask For Drive against Unions

Victims Were Leaders of Agricultural Laborers

One of the most vicious anti-labor trials in years is now in full swing in Sacramento, California. The District Attorney, on behalf of the Industrial Association, is trying to send 18 militant workers to the State Penitentiary at San Quentin for the "crime" of organizing to get higher wages, an activity described by the capitalist legal system of California as "Criminal Syndicalism". The defendants were the leaders and active militants of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers' Union. Masked as an "anti-red" crusade, the trial is aimed primarily at this organization, the most active and effective of any of the unions under C. P. leadership in California.

MUSTE DINNER

On Wednesday, January 9, a testimonial dinner will be given for A. J. Muste, National Secretary of the Workers Party, at Irving Plaza, New York City. The dinner is to commemorate his fiftieth birthday, and the fifteenth year of his invaluable service in the revolutionary labor movement.

Comrade Muste was one time executive secretary of the American Federation of Textile Operatives, a New England textile union; served, at one time, as vice president of the American Federation of Teachers; was the founder of Brookwood Labor College; and one of the founders of the American Workers Party.

Among the many sponsors of the dinner are Roger Baldwin, Ernest Sutherland Bates, James P. Cannon, Stuart Chase, George S. Counts, Margaret De Silver, Max Eastman, Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, Sydney Hook, Freda Kirchwey, Ludwig Lore, Robert Morse Lovett, Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Paddock, James Borly, George Soule, Carlo Tresca, Stephen Wise, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

The dinner will be served at the Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street at 7 o'clock. All friends and sympathizers are invited to attend.

At this writing, the jury is being picked which will be asked to convict these workers, some of them members of the Communist Party, and others without political affiliation.

The prisoners were arrested in connection with a raid on the Workers School of Sacramento during the anti-Red drive growing out of the collapse of the San Francisco general strike. In this "anti-Red" setting a blow is being aimed at militant unionism.

It has for years been a systematic practice of the bosses' police to arrest known militants among the agricultural and cannery workers of Sacramento Valley in the late summer. They are thrown in jail on vagrancy charges, held with or without trial for some weeks, and turned loose after the harvest is in. The purpose is to smash or prevent possible strikes at harvest time so that there need be no raise in the slave-wages paid to the workers of the Valley.

Penalty Is 84 Years This year the anti-Red drive gave the authorities an opportunity to strike at the union and to prosecute the leaders on the more serious charge of criminal syndicalism. If convicted on all counts, each of the accused can get as much as 84 years in San Quentin. The defendants were arrested during the week of July 18 and tried for vagrancy, nine being convicted. These cases are being appealed. During the vagrancy trials

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JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Three Leagues Built in Week

LEHIGH COUNTY ADDS 600

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Three new branches, Coplay, Ormrod and South Whitehall, totalling more than 600 members, have been added to the Lehigh County Unemployed League during the past week. Two of the Leagues, Coplay and Ormrod, grew out of the demand of unemployed youths for work on relief projects.

Many cement workers in this region work only two days per week earning \$7.50. Relief officials have consistently refused to place on relief projects adult members of the families of these workers.

Draw Up Plans

The Coplay League has drawn up plans for a municipal swimming pool and town hall which it will push through in order to provide work for the unemployed of the town. The Ormrod League hopes to force the authorities to approve a project for a community center. The League at South Whitehall was formed when workers realized their unified power through a spontaneous strike called to reinstate a worker who had been arbitrarily fired by the boss. The workers on the project are organized practically 100% and have elected committees to carry on collective bargaining with the bosses and relief officials.

Organize in Palmerton

A new League has also been formed in Palmerton, in Carbon County, a company town of the New Jersey Zinc Company. Weston Kelsey, administrator of relief for this area was formerly manager of this company and draws a huge pension from it.

Conditions in Palmerton are unbelievably bad. One family with nine children was found sleeping on the floor, with no mattresses and few covers. Children were found who had no clothing but underwear, many others who had underwear but no clothing but no underwear. Company houses have been neglected for so long that it is almost impossible to heat them. Plaster has almost entirely disappeared from many. A weather vane placed on the table in one of the "homes" indicated the direction of the wind!

Some months ago when a League was formed in Palmerton the leading members were evicted from company property for their activity. The new League is so strong, however, that the Zinc Co. officials dare not interfere. Already it has forced the relief administration to set up an office in Palmerton. Formerly the unemployed had to walk 8 miles to the nearest relief station.

Mayor McNair Has a Flair

FOR SINGLE TAX AND SCABS

PITTSBURGH.—William N. McNair, Pittsburgh's Single Tax mayor, continues to play the role of Allegheny County's leading strike-breaker. Recently in the strike of the A. & P. haulers, McNair rode a truck beside the police and a scab driver to assure the safe delivery of supplies to A. & P. stores. When the strikers persisted in following the truck McNair got off and lead the police in an attack on the strikers and ordered their arrest.

McNair first became infamous as a potential strike-breaker when he announced last June that he would support the employers if there was a steel strike.

After being on the losing end for twenty-five years McNair became mayor last fall in a New Deal landslide. His hobbies are apple eating and "ground rent". He vetoed an ordinance of the city council which provided \$500,000 out of a bond issue for unemployed relief. When a delegation from the Pittsburgh Unemployed League visited the mayor to protest against the veto, he told the committee that they should get behind the bill

which he had in council which provided for taking the ground rent that was now going to Europeans owning land in Pittsburgh. He also told the delegation that "every mayor should take up boxing". He then invited the committee outside to have their pictures taken with him in front of some advertising benches which a furniture company had sent for the unemployed to sit on while they were waiting for food orders. The committee declined to accept the honor.

The mayor is such good copy for the local Hearst paper that an officer of the Workers Party was told by this paper that if the party wanted publicity for any of its meetings they should get the mayor to speak.

Holstein Freed In Minneapolis

ONE FRAME-UP REMAINS

MINNEAPOLIS.—The Hennepin County Grand Jury has voted a no-bill in the case of Emanuel Holstein, leading militant of Drivers Local 574, whom the Citizens Alliance and Police Chief Bloody Mike Johannes have been attempting to frame for the murder of a millionaire special deputy who died during the May strike. The clearing of Happy Holstein is a direct result of the fight staged by the Minneapolis trade union movement led by the militant fighters of Local 574. Minneapolis unionists are wild with enthusiasm at this new blow to the Citizens Alliance, which had hoped to terrorize labor by railroad-ing Holstein to death. A few weeks ago the attempt to frame the Machinists Brotherhood business agent was also smashed by mass pressure.

One more Citizens Alliance

frame-up remains to be defeated: the charge against Philip Scott for the same murder which the labor-haters failed to pin on Holstein. The County Attorney has been moving heaven and earth to get Scott before a jury as quickly as possible, hoping to railroad him before the defense could get organized.

The defense movement got going faster than the prosecutor, however, and now the latter has begun to stall. He claims to have discovered a new material witness, and wants to postpone the trial. Meantime, the defense campaign goes forward with great speed. The Auditorium has been hired for New Year's Eve and the labor movement will stage a big party for the benefit of the Scott Defense.

Local 574 has requested Herbert Solow, formerly Managing Editor of its daily strike bulletin, to solicit funds in the east for the support of the defense movement. Other Minnesota unions are also being asked to back the fight. The prospects are promising and it looks as though the Citizens Alliance is due for another trimming.

Relief Wood Strike Looms

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 19.—

Intensifying their fight against relief officials because of their notorious system of distributing wood while thousands of miners of this city are idle, the Illinois Workers Alliance is preparing for a strike at all wood yards of this territory. A strike committee, with Joe Angelo, Workers Party member, as secretary was elected at the last meeting of the alliance. Workers Party and Socialist workers are leading the fight which is quickly spreading in all circles of the local labor movement.

Facts Are Facts For Coal Miners

ILLINOIS "EXPOSURE" EXPOSED

Allard Cites P.M. of A. Records Against Article by Ralph Shaw In Labor Unity

By GERRY ALLARD

In the October issue of Labor Unity, Ralph Shaw, it is announced, begins a series of articles in which he hopes to "expose" the Musteltes-Trotskyite elements in the coal fields of southern Illinois. Now it is common knowledge in the radical movement that truth and accuracy are held as "bourgeois prejudices" by the Stalinists. Shaw's mixture of indictments, charges and insinuations are written in characteristic "Labor Unity" prose: he quotes people, but consistently fails to tell the reader where the quotations can be found.

Taken as a whole his article simmers down to precisely one thing: a clear example and admittance that the Communist party is no longer an important force in the Illinois coal fields.

Shaw's article is long and cumbersome. It is not necessary to answer his allegations in detail, save from one paragraph. I quote from Shaw, page 18, Labor Unity, Oct. 1934:

"Facts Are Facts"

"The Musteltes and S. P. elements helped put over the infamous Lewis has with Peabody." Here is how it was done: The Independent Operators' Ass'n. was willing to give \$5.70 to settle the strike (a reduction of 40 cents from the original contract). Peary and Keck did not accept or reject this but came to the Convention declaring 'we want the same scale as Peabody has, no more, no less.' (Peabody scale was lower with U.M.W.A.) The Musteltes now try to disclaim responsibility for this act of betrayal but facts are facts and undeniable."

We admit that facts are facts and they are not deniable. We will therefore let the facts speak. I quote from the proceedings of the first constitutional convention of the Progressive Miners of America held at Gillespie, Ill., October 3 through October 8, 1932. On page 1 of the proceedings, Wed., Oct. 5, 1932, night session beginning at 7 P.M.:

From the Record

"Scale Committee's report given: 'Peary: The operators said that they had to have a scale that was competitive. We had a group of mechanized operators represented and out of that group one representative of the Southern Coal Co. They stated that they couldn't pay the \$6.10 scale and compete with other operators in southern Illinois. They brought in a proposal. They wanted us to allow their mines to operate next morning on this proposal until this convention gave their approval or rejected the scale. We said that if the mines went to work in the morning they would have to pay the \$6.10 temporary agreement. This group only represents a small group of operators. The largest operators say that if we would take this scale not only them but other large operators would sign it. 'Keck: ... The question is what are going to be our demands from now on. The mechanized operators told us very frankly that it would not be possible for them to pay any

more than \$7.00 scale. . . as I view it we must make a wage scale that will catch most of the operators at this time in that part of the country where we hold most of our membership. The operators say they can't pay a higher wage scale than Franklin county and compete with them.

"Douglas: I think this convention should work out a differential. I think that in placing a 12c differential as you go on north you can render the situation satisfactory.

Allard Opposes Retreat

"Allard: I realize that in the first place I speak under a handicap at this convention because I am from Franklin county and my mine is working under the \$5.00 scale. There are one of two courses to pursue. One course is to retreat and the other is to spread the strike movement. Here is where we incur lots of difficulties. The retreat proposed by the scale committee I don't believe is very well timed. There is not a section of the state that has expressed a desire to retreat. The spirit of the membership is still on the upward."

After considerable discussion a motion was then made to accept the scale committee's recommendation, which was to stand pat on the \$6.10 temporary agreement. McGill, Springfield board member and right wing adherent moved an amendment as follows:

"McGill: Amendment that they be instructed to return back and make an agreement identical in wages to this agreement in effect in southern Illinois."

50 Opposition Votes

The amendment was carried by a vote of 112 to 60. After Allard had led the opposition against the cut the fifty opposition votes consisted of the solid left wing vote in the convention which included Corbridge, Steed, Fraser, Allard, Burrell, Battuello, Ansbury, Tracy, Bernard, Leveque, Scremin, etc.

In a last desperate effort to out-manuever the right wing Allard moved the following according to the proceedings:

"Allard: Motion made that a referendum be held within two weeks."

"Motion to table. Carried 90 to 46."

From the above one can see that the debate and opposition of the left wing was vigorous. Heated discussion took place as the lefts and rights crossed swords. The left wing fought to the end trying to refer the matter for a referendum vote of the rank and file. Three Stalinists, all speakers, did not voice a single word during the debate according to the official record.

Shaw's Nightmare

Now let us compare the above facts with the nightmare in Shaw's article.

1. Shaw states, "the Musteltes and S. P. elements helped to put over the infamous slogan 'we must accept as Lewis has with Peabody'." The convention proceedings (as Shaw says, "facts are facts") disprove this in no uncertain terms.

2. Shaw states, "the Independent Operators' Ass'n. was willing to give \$5.70 to settle the strike (a reduction of 40 cents from the original contract)." The truth is that the original wage scale for this classification of labor, conveyors, was \$8.04, a reduction of \$1.34. Facts are facts, but Shaw is not sufficiently conversant with details to know what he is talking about.

3. Shaw states, "Peary and Keck did not accept or reject this but came to the convention declaring we want the same scale as Peabody has, no more no less."

The facts are that Peary, Keck and Lieutenants fought and voted to have the wage cut ratified. They will not deny this, claiming that this policy put the P.M. of A. over. Now, Shaw here is trying to cover up the treachery of Peary and Keck. He does this unconsciously, of course, but no shrewd Stalinist gymnast would care to be quoted on such a careless faux pas.

4. Shaw states, "the Musteltes now try to disclaim the responsibility for this act of betrayal but facts are facts and undeniable."

The Musteltes and the Left wing have never gone out of their way to deny any misleading charges made by Stalinists on the matter of the wage cut in the Illinois coal fields. The records speak for themselves.

Made Supreme Sacrifice

Moreover, in freshly dug graves repose the prematurely dead bodies of miners, some of them Left wing members who made the supreme sacrifice against the wage cut and for a union of the rank and file. Let it never be said by a responsible person that the remaining Left wingers abrogated the principles of the fighting Illinois miners. It simply can't be proven even by fantastic minds of unscrupulous jackals of the Stalinist camp.

Independent Printing Employees Win 5 Day Altum Press Strike

A. F. of L. Printing Unions Urged to Help Organize Industry

A striking success has come out of the first strike conducted by the Independent Printing Employees of New York. Despite an empty treasury, sabotage by government officials supposed by law to be impartial and the organized resistance of the boss printers, the workers in Altum Press, 105 William St., after a five-day struggle are back on the job under conditions that set a high mark for shops not organized by the A. F. of L.

Last week's strike was the culmination of a ten-months struggle led by the Altum workers under the I.P.E.'s leadership. Altum Press brazenly ignored the Graphic Arts Code, which is supposed to guarantee the workers certain conditions. The I.P.E. fought before the NRA boards so ably and vigorously that the boards could not evade giving a decision in favor of the workers.

The NRA, as usual, did nothing to enforce its own "decisions", and finally the workers struck. The boss printers tried to make this a test case. The workers held out on the picket-line, however, aided by volunteer pickets from the Workers Party. On request of the I.P.E., the A. F. of L. Printing Pressmen's Union 51 notified all its chapels not to scab. Finally the boss had to back down.

Altum Press negotiated with a committee headed by Sam Gordon, president of the I.P.E. Matthew Levy, member of the Socialist Lawyers Association, advised the I.P.E. committee on legal aspects of the final settlement, which has been signed by the boss and all the workers of the shop. This settlement included:

- 1. Rehiring all strikers and firing of the one scab.
- 2. An immediate wage raise of \$5 pending revision upward by further negotiations.

W.P. to Open Training School; In Fight Against Capitalism

The International Workers School, to show workers how capitalism exploits and keeps the masses in poverty, but better still, what to do about it, will open a district school in New York within the next two weeks, to be followed by the opening of other schools in keeping with the growth and expansion of the Workers Party, Hugo Oehler, National Educational Director of the Party, announced for the National Educational Committee of the W.P. In addition to the International Workers School, the plans of the committee include a National Training School to train Party members. The training school will be in New York.

Party to Train Workers

"The Party through its branches and districts will select comrades throughout the country who will be sent to the National Training School for a period of training," Oehler said.

They will be trained to organize Unemployed Leagues and fight for

Form Research Department

Plans are being worked out for Circuit Schools and Summer Schools in different parts of the country. A Research Department, consisting of a staff of capable research workers, is being formed in conjunction with the school program.

The National Educational Committee consists of A. J. Muste, J. Borkeston, Oliver Carlson, Jack Weber and Hugo Oehler. Comrade Oehler was elected National Direc-

IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

The Labor Racket

Chicago's unions still fight the labor racketeer. The cancer which made its way into the labor movement of that city has not yet been eradicated. The agents of Murray Humphries and of the late George (Red) Barker still have influence in the workers' organizations.

The Federation News, organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor reports the efforts of the Joint Council of the International Teamsters Union to oust "Lefty" Lynch, secretary treasurer and business agent of Local 704—the coal teamsters organization. The local was originally known as the Chicago Coal Teamsters Union and was one of the locals of an independent organization, racketeer controlled. In February 1934 it affiliated to the teamsters union of the A. F. of L. and in the elections Lefty, a former officer of the old organization, was placed in the saddle again.

"It turned out," says the Federation News, "that Lynch could not forget the tactics employed by the Chicago Teamsters and it was not long before he thought that he was a new Mussolini. . . . One of his first actions after taking office was to get out a book for which he solicited advertisement from coal merchants and others costing from \$25 to \$100."

He transferred the union headquarters to his own home, miles away from the center of town where it was impossible for the membership to attend meetings or to take any active part in union affairs. Special assessments were levied against the membership at meetings with only a handful of the 3,000 members present. No accounting was made on the union books of his disbursement of organization money and the President and vice president of the union were summarily expelled when they opposed him.

Union Receivership

Charges were preferred against Lynch in the Joint Council and that worthy was expelled. The local itself has been placed in the control of a receiver by the International, elections have been held and it is hoped that another step has been taken in blasting the racketeer out of the labor movement.

It is unfortunate, however, that labor organizations generally seem to believe that the cure for one dictator is another dictator. The practice of putting the affairs of local unions under the full control of receivers has been a curse in many national unions. The racketeers had the doors opened to them in the first case by the trade union bureaucracy. The denial of the fullest trade union democracy is bound to breed the rats who fatten on the organized workers.

The classic example of this fact is, of course, the case of the New York electrical workers. H. H. Broach was sent in by the International to clean out a nest of corruption in Local No. 3. He did so and then set up a dictatorial regime of his own to "keep out the gangsters". Under the era of "enlightened dictatorship" that Broach inaugurated the same mess came into being all over again. The only guarantee of clean unionism is full democracy in the organizations of labor.

Unions and Government

Radicals and progressives have always warned against the tendency on the part of many union leaders to involve the trade union movement closely with the machinery of government. There can be

no doubt that the relations of the two have been increasingly intertwined and that the whole tendency of the NRA labor machinery has been to tie labor's hands more and more in the exercise of its elementary rights. It is almost inevitable that this should happen.

A recent decision of the National Labor Relations Board illustrates how the process works and how—almost by accident—the precedents are established by which later labor's rights may be curtailed. Four workers brought a complaint against the Bennett Shoe Company of Marlboro, Mass. The company had entered into a closed shop agreement with the independent United Shoe and Leather Workers Union of which the complainants had been members. Sometime later these complainants were expelled from the union because they violated a provision of its constitution that no member could belong to any other organization in the trade (the Shoe Workers Protective Union in this case). The union demanded that the employer discharge the four, which he did in accordance with provisions of the union contract. The fired workers appealed to the N.L.R.B.

Dangerous Precedents

The Labor Board upheld the right of the boss to discharge workers under these conditions. It ruled that "by joining the United the complainants ratified . . . the closed shop agreement. . . . By requesting and accepting membership in the United at a time when that union had already adopted the constitution they assented to it and it must therefore . . . be assumed to be . . . binding on them."

If we take such a ruling away from its setting in this particular case, it may easily be seen what a tremendous repressive effect it can have on minority groups in unions, or on insurgent groups which revolt against their leadership and strike out on an independent organizational path. In substance it makes it possible for national union officials to get together with manufacturers, to impose anything on a local union and to make them like it. A local in this situation could not revolt, would find it impossible to withdraw from under its national leadership and would have to accept its command unquestioningly.

Books

The growth of company unions in the past year is reflected in a recent report of the National Industrial Conference Board, employers' statistical organization which shows that of the companies studied 126 have company affairs while only 17 have agreements with unions. Under the New Deal 42 new company unions have been started with twelve more in process of formation. Only nine more companies signed union agreements however. . . . Another survey of 697 public utility companies shows that of the 580,000 employees covered in the survey, only twelve per cent dealt with their companies through organized labor unions. In the railroad industry the figure is radically different, 75% of the 760,000 workers covered dealing through regular unions. . . . Be happy Tom Mooney. The workers of the San Francisco Market Street Railway Company—the outfit which framed you when you tried to organize their employees—has had to come to terms with the labor unions. Shorter hours, higher wages and union recognition were awarded following the general strike. . . .

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The Party at Work

PITTSBURGH.—The branches of the Communist League of America and the American Workers Party have come together and formed the Pittsburgh Branch of the Workers Party of the U. S. The merger meeting was held December 14. John Sullivan was elected chairman; Solow, vice chairman; Irvin Oklin, secretary; Mary Belton, treasurer; Hopton Howell, education; James Sifakis, trade union fraction; Ben Cooper, P.U.L. fraction. These officers make up the branch executive committee.

The branch is preparing to hold a social affair for January 11 to which it is planned to invite sympathizers and other interested persons when the program of the new party will be discussed. The branch has also selected a committee to work up a mass meet-

ing and conferences for comrades Muste and Cannon when they come to Pittsburgh February 7-8.

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History in the Making

THAT the revolutionary party is to play one of the most important roles in American labor history is no longer a question of doubt.

The class conscious workers are giving concrete manifestations of their willingness and readiness to struggle.

The united forces of the two organizations which merged to form the new party contain sufficient material with which to carry out this obligation.

THE URGENT NEED

The first need of the new Party, weak as yet compared to the great tasks ahead, is a fund to enable us to carry out the plans of the Program of Action.

First and foremost we must rush capable organizers into the field, build and maintain Party districts in the industrial concentration areas, and organize the coast to coast tours.

RALLY TO THE SUPPORT OF THE FOUNDATION FUND CAMPAIGN. DON'T DELAY. EVERY SYMPATHIZER, EVERY FRIEND—AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT.

RECEIPTS TO DATE

Table listing receipts to date for the Party Foundation Fund, categorized by branches and individuals. Includes names like Wasserman, Mann, J. Weber, Miller, D. Eastman, Gilman, S. Weber, Green, West, Graham, Furshman, Brooks, Beecher, Barry, Pons, Colay, Chertoff, Copeland, Black, Stavlin, Greenberg, Miller, Brandmark, Roth, Duncan, Ferber, J. Gordon, Levine, Eldenson, Grassin, Isenman, S. Gordon, Goodman, Kent, Klein, Lewis, Lorenz, McCabe, Morrow, Ray, Satin, Schaap, Udell, Levine, L. Lore, K. Lore, Bauman, Brodwin, Leeser, Vix, Jujac, A Sympathizer, and various names under Branches 1-7.

U.S. Role In Making Bosses' War Shown

WORKERS DIED FOR MORGAN LOANS

Six years before the outbreak of the World War—wherein millions of workers dressed in uniforms were torn to bits—the Colt Patent Firearms Company, the duPont Nemours & Company and the "Government" of the United States knew that it was going to happen.

Nothing could give one a better insight into the nature of the American capitalist government—government by the capitalists—than this: The illusion that the "Government belongs to everybody" is swept away.

Woodrow Wilson and Congress declared war on Germany immediately thereafter; and not only did the banks collect their loans, but the "Government" footed the bill—and while the doughboys were being sent over and slaughtered to the tune of \$1 a day, more than 500 American capitalists were drawing down a minimum of \$1,000,000 a year each, and some were "getting" as high as \$15,000 per day throughout the war.

Why America Entered War The facts unearthed by the Senate Committee investigating the munitions industry show up clearly the interlocking alliance between the financial and political "rulers" of the United States, between the capitalists and the Government.

On March 5, 1917, Woodrow Wilson, who had just been returned to the White House by an overwhelming majority "because he kept us out of war", received a cable from Walter Hines Page, then U. S. Ambassador in London.

The cable, made public by the Nye Committee, said in part: "The pressure of this approaching crisis, I am certain, has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial interests. . . . It is not improbable that the only way of

maintaining our present pre-eminent trade position and averting a panic is by declaring war on Germany."

At that moment, according to the Committee's experts, the British government was being pressed by the Morgan bank and other American financial institutions to pay back \$400,000,000 which had been advanced in war credits.

The "Japs" Are Discovered When the war was over, a new enemy had to be found, and if not found, then made.

The Wall Street financiers, the munitions makers and the country's big corporations, including the U. S. War Department, got busy. And soon poor dumb guys at crossroads and on street corners across the country were talking about the "Japs" and the "Yellow Peril".

Plenty money was spent to get that result; newspapers were subsidized by the big interests—the "invisible government"—and Congress began appropriating millions

for "national defense" in the next war.

And at that moment in 1923 when the "Jap" scare was being whipped up in earnest, and loudly drummed into the people through the newspapers and into the children through school text-books, the U. S. War Department began helping the duPont Company of Wilmington, Delaware, sell munitions to Japan.

The American government agreed to turn over to the duPonts a part of the U. S. reserve supply of cartridges to be shipped to Japan. Since then both the War Department and the State Department have aided the American munition makers in arming Japan, Germany and other so-called "enemy" countries, at the same time preparing at home a psychology of fear and hatred, and building up a modern "war machine".

None of this is new, of course. Since the industrialists constitute the real government of the nation, nothing less could be expected. The game has been going along all the time. The Nye Committee has rendered a real service, however, by giving the public a peep behind the scenes.

The "Government" is like the infamous Bruce Barton. Mr. Barton wrote a book about Jesus and a book about the Bible, then he wrote a terrific article in the American Magazine against war, entitled "Let's Advertise this Hell", and he then donated several full-page ads against war in the popular magazines for World Peaceways. But all this while he was serving (at a big salary) as advertising agent for the Remington Arms Company, the Standard Oil Company, the Chase National Bank and the duPont Nemours & Company, equipping armies in Europe, Asia and South America.

In the same way, this capitalistic "Government" dupes the masses and serves the interests of the financiers and industrialists.

Saar Basin Is Pawn Of Imperialist Rivals

PLEBISCITE MASKS REAL AIMS

In the Saar today, there is involved much more than the fate of the Saar or even all Europe.

The tiny Saar district, packed with almost 900,000 people, the majority miners, has become a pawn in the hands of practically every great imperialist rival in the struggle for hegemony in Europe.

Is it possible for Germany and French imperialism, bound sooner or later to come to grips over the question of continental hegemony, to reach a temporary understanding which would break up the present alliance between France and Soviet Russia, thereby allowing British imperialism to weld all Europe for a short time into a powerful bloc directed against the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.?

At the moment of achieving such an agreement, a new world war would become an imminent danger in a far more immediate sense than hitherto.

Thus far the antagonism between French and German imperialism has been the main stumbling block to England's persistent attempts to realize its dream of an all-European anti-Soviet bloc with Hitler-Germany as its spear-head.

Such a bloc seems almost indispensable if British imperialism together with its Japanese ally is to fight with a chance of success against both the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. Every move on the part of the U. S. (itself anxious to prevent England from solidifying its European position

lest that ruin American plans for a bloody re-division of the world on its own terms), is designed to prevent it. Naturally, American diplomacy makes its constant moves against England under cover of a desire "to ensure European peace".

Today England seems closer to its goal than ever before. The "understanding" between German and French imperialism as to the future of the Saar mines is, in the main, England's work. Powerful capitalist groups in Germany and France which fear a premature showdown between the two, and which therefore favor an alliance under British overlordship against the Soviet Union (and the U.S.), seem to be gaining the upper hand. The German and French press have toned down mutual attacks, a fact gratifying to the petty-bourgeois "pacifist" who sees here a victory for the "cause of peace", but very alarming to the Marxist who understands that this agreement really smooths the way towards the outbreak of another world war.

The Saar has become the key to the war question, in the sense that the negotiations around the plebiscite are being utilized for the purpose of breaking up the present alliance between French imperialism and the Soviet Union.

For England the plan of an "Eastern Locarno" was, in the final analysis, but a threat whereby to pound Germany into line. The real settlement of the question of "European peace" under Britain's wing is to come out of the negotiations around the Saar. Once the ascendancy of groupings favoring a German-French understanding has been assured in England, France and Germany (and that day seems not far off), no more mention will be made of the "Eastern Locarno". Soviet Russia's isolation will be greater than it has been for a long time past. The French Russo-German alliance will be, at most, a scrap of paper. All the concessions made to French imperialism by the Soviet bureaucracy will have been in vain.

Thus far this stage has not been reached, but this has been the trend of developments. On all sides re-groupings and preparations for the new situation are taking place. Both in the German Reichswehr and in the Red Army, those groups advocating a renewal of the former Russo-German alliance as an alternative to both the present Franco-Russian alliance and the proposed Franco-German alliance, again raise their heads. It is conceivable that American imperialism, to counteract England's plans (of which a Franco-German understanding is the cornerstone), will use its still great influence in Germany and its growing influence in Soviet Russia in favor of a new Russo-German "understanding" as a temporary expedient. Actual events in the Soviet Union, aiming at eliminating certain groupings actually or supposedly involved in the Kirov assassination, may be related to this struggle between orientations on foreign policy and accompanying differences as to the inner Soviet regime. The new "purging" in Hitler Germany is undoubtedly aimed at preventing opposition Nazi groups from staging any provocative anti-French demonstrations which might interfere with plans of the Hitler clique to come to an understanding with France against Russia.

To the contending imperialist robbers the plebiscite itself is one of the least important aspects of the Saar question. What matters to them is the use of this issue to further larger ends, all leading up to a single one: the best possible line-up for the coming war.

But to the unfortunate people of the Saar the plebiscite has enormous importance. True, if the majority votes for the continuation of the status quo (under the League of Nations), the question will simply be laid over for a while, giving the workers of the world a chance to make of the Saar, instead of a source of triumph for Hitler and a step towards war, a stepping stone towards the proletarian reconquest of Germany and an ally of the fighting French proletariat. But if as a result of the Nazi terror, the bargain between French and German imperialism, and the lack of the active solidarity of workers of other countries, the Saar majority votes for return to Germany, then the plebiscite will hand over to the torture chambers and firing squads of the Nazis the flower of a proletariat whose militant traditions rank with those of our fighting miners of West Virginia, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

The workers of the Saar see to the east a country in which their brethren, having suffered a cruel defeat, are incapable of lending them any help. To the west they see a proletariat hardly able to hold its own in a deadly struggle with reaction and fascism. The workers of the Saar seem to have been left almost completely in the lurch, facing the most cruel and powerful enemies the working class has ever known.

THE METHODS OF STALINISM

By JOSEPH ZACK

(Ed. Note: This is the first of a series of articles by Joseph Zack, a former leader of the Communist Party who recently resigned and joined the Workers Party. In this article Comrade Zack paints an unforgettable picture of the methods of Stalinism as he saw them in Moscow. Next week he will describe the working of these methods in the American C.P.)

There is a crisis developing in the C. P. Only here and there are there external manifestations of it but its burrowings are deep.

This crisis manifests itself: 1) In the decline of the party's influence particularly in the trade union field, both in independent unions and in the A. F. of L., and in the decline of the unions controlled by the party itself; 2) The increased turnover of party membership. According to Browder's report (Nov. Communist) the C. P. membership declined from 24,000 at the time of the party convention (April 1934) to below 20,000, this in spite of a recruitment of 17,000 new members in that period. According to these figures more than 21,000 members dropped out of the party within six months since the Cleveland convention.

Outwardly, the crisis thus far manifests itself in the withdrawal of groups of independent unions (Building Trades) and A. F. of L. minority groups (Local 3 Electrical Workers) from the party's control, as well as the going over to the opposition or "expulsion" of groups of active party members who are joining the W. P.

Were such a thing as inner democracy in existence in the C. P. this crisis would of course take other forms than disintegration. The background to the present crisis is far more complex, however, than the average party member suspects. Essentially the crisis is due to the fact that while officially Lenin's teachings are supposed to be the official guide of the party, Leninism in fact has been abolished or substituted by the mediocrity of Stalinism. This double bookkeeping is at the root of the present situation in the C. P. and the whole Comintern.

However, in order not to anticipate too much and in order to relate things against the background of American events I will tell my own story, for this is the story of many others still in the party. My own experience brought me to the same conclusions as those stated in the Workers Party Declaration of Principles. I am deeply convinced that many others will take the same road.

Back Stage Methods

Even while Stalin was combined with the Right wing in Russia itself (Bucharin, Rykov and Co.) in order to fight the Left (Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc.) he at the same time was intriguing against his Russian allies (Bucharin was then in charge of the Comintern) in the foreign parties by encouraging the development of "Left" factions against Bucharin. That is, it appeared that way; in reality Stalin was not afraid of Bucharin at all. What he was aiming at was to isolate his main enemy, Trotsky, from the Left in the foreign parties.

This he did by diverting the fight away from Stalin, using Bucharin as the punching bag and bugaboo and thus annexing the Left element to himself, diverting it away from Trotsky.

Against the background of the then declining revolutionary wave in Europe and the tiredness of the Russian masses themselves this strategy worked wonderfully both outside and even to a large extent inside of Russia. This is how I, as well as many others of the Left in the C. P. got hooked to Stalin's kite. Thus the so-called "fight on two fronts—against Right and Left"—really was a fight mainly against the Left as subsequent events have proved amply.

Stalin, initiator or partner in all the policies he blamed Bucharin for, took for his main guiding line the question of possessing himself of the party apparatus in and outside of the Soviet Union. To achieve this end he played both ends against the middle. Thus he became the arbiter, the potentate, of the party apparatus, veering right and left against the background of the opportunist theory and practice of "socialism in one country".

The Game of Make-Believe

It took me a long time to find out the inside track of Stalin's politics in those days. His game of make-believe, of pretending to do one thing in order to do the exact opposite—a method used between enemies and developed into a fine art in the class struggle of the Orient—was now introduced into the Communist movement by Stalin.

I cannot pride myself on having understood it then. But I did smell a rat in 1929 when Stalin in the American Commission to Judge the Lovestonites spoke about principles, about the Tammany Hall methods of the Lovestonites. This speech was reprinted in pamphlet form in this country. Stalin pretended not to have favored any of the factions. I, knowing the details, knew he was lying unscrupulously and preparing to cover up his tracks at the same time. This was done by dispersing the leaders of the American Left, sending them to various countries. This was done to "prove" that Stalin did not favor the minority faction. Stalin, then in full power, was preparing to forbid all factions. Not only that, there was to be a "monolithic" party, a party of one thought, the thought of Stalin, and no controversial discussions. It would not do, therefore, to have proofs that Stalin had been organizing factions for years before. Differences were outlawed as "Left Social-Fascist" (Lovestone) or "counter-revolutionary" (Trotsky)

Explaining the Opposition

Trotsky's position, according to these "quotations" and commentaries which purported to "explain" the opposition's point of view, was as follows: 1) A split with the peasantry. 2) Preparation of a war against capitalist nations. 3) Loosening of the foreign trade monopoly. 4) Building up a war industry but neglect of the rest of economy. 5) Socialism cannot be built in a peasant country, hence the proletariat has to exploit the peasantry to prepare for the International Revolution, war, etc.

Such was the peppery dish prepared against the opposition. Needless to say we foreigners were thus finally convinced that Trotsky's position was all wrong, condemned it as "left" phrase-mongering, "objectively" leading to a counter-revolutionary position. Later this was further simplified to read: "The counter-revolutionary platform of Trotskyism," or "Trotskyism, the Vanguard of International Counter-Revolution."

Just about the time that we were pretty well convinced of the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism, occurred the Chinese debacle. Those who follow events in the movement will remember that, contrary to the fundamental teachings of Lenin, Stalin caused

few more such things and I could see Stalinism as it is. I never could admire Stalin or boost him with "quotations" and I was feeling less and less sure of myself when talking about Trotsky. Of course ever since I objected to the resolution I was on the blacklist. This I found out later.

The Moscow Rumor Factory

While in Moscow in 1927 many rumors kept on percolating through to us foreigners about the internal situation in the Russian party. One of them was about Lenin's testament. It was said that this testament was very bad for Stalin and good for Trotsky, but the informers would add: "Lenin in his last days was losing his senses, hence the Central Committee decided to disregard his testament".

Stalin's caucus in those days was a regular rumor factory. Anyone slated for disfavor or elimination would first be subjected to this form of blackmail. As to Trotsky, the rumors were: 1. That he was breaking discipline and organizing a new party. 2. That the Trotskyists were hooking up with counter-revolutionary elements (White Guards). 3. That they were organizing a separate demonstration for May Day and that Trotsky attempted individually to address the demonstration and incite the masses against the party.

When Trotsky was being exiled to Alma Ata it was said that he took along with him a dozen pedigree hunting dogs, hunting rifles, servants, lots of furniture, fine clothes and a whole library, all the comforts of a big bourgeois intellectual. The vilification of the opposition in the official Russian press must have been colossal, but we foreigners could not read it. We were supplied, however, with "quotations" from Trotsky's and Zinoviev's writings and plenty of analysis of these quotations, but we never saw an actual textual exposition of the opposition leaders' position written by themselves!

Explaining the Opposition Trotsky's position, according to these "quotations" and commentaries which purported to "explain" the opposition's point of view, was as follows: 1) A split with the peasantry. 2) Preparation of a war against capitalist nations. 3) Loosening of the foreign trade monopoly. 4) Building up a war industry but neglect of the rest of economy. 5) Socialism cannot be built in a peasant country, hence the proletariat has to exploit the peasantry to prepare for the International Revolution, war, etc.

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the affiliation of the Chinese C. P. to the Kuomintang, the Chinese bourgeois party of Chiang-Kai-Chek. The C. P. submitted to the discipline of the Kuomintang and did not even have its own press. In order to keep up this reactionary stew all kinds of fancy but completely deceitful and anti-Leninist theories were invented by Stalin and his clique. The peasant masses of China, who were already then in a rising mood, were not only not encouraged but restrained from revolutionary action by the C. P. in order, as the thesis read, to maintain the alliance with the Chinese national bourgeoisie against imperialism.

The Chinese Debacle

Then one nice day, like thunder from a clear sky, came the news—circulated by rumors—that Chiang-Kai-Chek, head of the Kuomintang and commander of the Nationalist armies, had ordered a pogrom on the Communists only a few days after Stalin had made a speech praising Chiang-Kai-Chek as a "loyal ally". Through a Chinese comrade, whom I happened to know personally, I found out the facts, and also that Trotsky was opposed to the whole line of Stalin in China. The apparatus control of the C.I. by Stalin, however, was so strong even then, that in spite of all these facts and the disastrous defeat of the proletariat in China resulting from Stalin's policies, the C.I. then assembled in a Plenum stated: "Events have verified the correctness of the line", etc., etc. This thing dumfounded me. Although unable to properly assemble all these things in my mind a sort of uncanny distrust took hold of me. Somehow Stalin appeared in my consciousness as a dark force and I could hardly get rid of that feeling ever after.

How the Lefts Were Fooled

The fact, however, that Stalin supported the Left in the American and other parties as against Brandler, Lovestone and Bucharin threw me off the track and prevented me from drawing any further conclusions then and thinking the matter over subsequently. The audacity of the slander against the Trotsky opposition as counter-revolutionary was another factor, for none of us could fathom that the responsible leaders of the Russian C. P. could have possibly sunk so low as to commit such a falsification. Hence I and many others did not bother to find out the actual facts even after we were out of Russia. We took it more or less for granted that Trotsky had become what the C. I. said.

The present new turn to the right, this time executed officially by Stalin himself, had to occur in order to stir up the memory of things of the past against the background of present events. Now I know, of course, that all and severally the alleged deeds and views of the opposition led by Trotsky, as stated by Stalin and his clique, are outright fabrications. I know now that the whole thing is a tissue of lies. The whole Stalinist system is an unscrupulous system of slander and blackmail that will condemn its authors forever.

In the next issue I will point out how things proceeded in the American C. P. on the basis of these methods and policies.

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NEW MILITANT

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The Real Issues in the Soviet Union

THESE are times which impose upon all revolutionary workers an attitude of the greatest responsibility and the most sober judgment in regard to the Soviet Union. Those who have seen the Russian revolution, and its product the Soviet State, as the star of hope and inspiration of the international working class must in no case allow their vision to be obscured by the happenings of the recent days. It is necessary now to hold fast to fundamental conceptions and to view all the happenings in their light. The greatest danger of all is that the sympathetic and partly sympathetic masses will be alienated from the Soviet Union itself by the things taking place now. It is the duty of the conscientious revolutionists to counteract this trend. The indignant protest against the Stalinist frame-up of Trotsky, Zinoviev and other working class revolutionists—has to be combined at all times with the defense of the Soviet State against its class enemies and an unqualified condemnation of all terrorist acts and tendencies which can only facilitate the eventual downfall of the Soviet State. The idea that the Soviet State is immune from this danger is a profound illusion. As long as the Soviet Union is surrounded by a capitalist world it is never free from the danger of a counter-revolutionary overthrow. Lenin and all the Bolsheviks who made the revolution always said this, and that is why they

looked for the final solution of the difficulties and contradictions of the Soviet Union on the arena of the international revolution. The theory and practice of "Socialism in the Soviet Union alone" could work only to isolate the Soviet Union from its chief and, in the final analysis, its only real source of reinforcement, the international working class movement. The "Opposition", treacherously described as "counter-revolutionary" and now even branded as "terrorist", was animated from the first by this internationalist and fundamentally revolutionary conception. The purpose was to save the Soviet Union by spreading the revolution to other countries.

The accusation that the oppositionist political groups which originated in the Communist Party are responsible for the assassination of Kirov, or any other acts of terrorism, is a monstrous and fantastic slander. Such accusations hurled at the Marxist opponents of Stalin are not believed anywhere, least of all in the circles of the advanced and class-conscious workers. The uncompromising hostility of the Marxists to the methods of terrorism is too well known. The chief result of this infamous attempt to foist the assassination of Kirov onto the oppositionists is to sow confusion and demoralization in the ranks of the working class supporters of the Soviet State and thereby to weaken its position internally and externally. By resorting to such methods the Stalin bureaucracy testifies to the weakness of its position and the fear of proletarian criticism. The suspicion inevitably grows that further steps to the right in the field of foreign policy are contemplated, and that the aim is to silence criticism and smash proletarian opposition in advance. The bureaucracy can derive political and factional profit from the use of such methods only at the expense of the Soviet Union itself. Therein lies their condemnation.

We know nothing of the details surrounding the latest incidents—and neither does anybody else except the official circle which keeps it secret. We do not know what the political position of Zinoviev, for example, is at the present time and consequently cannot take any responsibility for it. But we do know that the attempt to "connect" Trotsky and his adherents with White Guards and with the assassination of Kirov is a transparent frame-up. We know that secrecy serves such ends, not the exposure and defeat of class enemies. For these reasons we demand open trials and full information. Opposition to this demand in the present circumstances is a confession of guilt. The working class of the world must be armed with the truth for the effective defense of the Workers' State.

Sacramento Trials Aimed at Labor

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criminally syndicalism charges were entered.

All defendants are charged with "willfully, unlawfully and feloniously, by spoken and written words and personal conduct" advocating criminal syndicalism and "crime sabotage, violence and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership and control and effecting political change by advocating violence and picketing and by particularly advocating the overthrow of the government of the U. S. by . . . violence and force."

They are also charged with "justifying criminal syndicalism," and with printing, publishing, circulating, etc., matter advocating criminal syndicalism. Among the documents on which this charge is based are the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, Lenin's On the Road to October, the Program of the Communist International, and various publications of the Communist Party, the T.U.U.L., the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, and numerous speeches, theses, etc. of the Stalinist Party.

Finally, they are charged with "drilling as students and becoming members of a class of students and engaging in the act or acts of performing and executing military drills with intent . . . to effect a political change."

The prisoners are in the main leaders and members of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. Pat Chambers is its District Organizer, and was C. P. Senatorial candidate in the last election. Caroline Decker is District Secretary of the Union. Jack Warnick is the director of the Sacramento Workers School. Norman Mimi is an instructor in the school. Martin Wilson is section organizer of the I.L.D. Nora Concklin, a member of the Unemployed Council, is a direct descendant of one of the signers of the American Declaration of Independence. Albert Hougardy, C. P. Congressional candidate, is Sacramento organizer of the C.P. Jack Crane is a member of the Workers Ex-Service-

men's League. Lorine Norman is secretary of the Sacramento I.L.D. Donald Bigham is Y.C.L. organizer. The other defendants are Fred Kirkwood, Lee Hung (a Chinese worker), A. G. Ford, Luther Mincy, W. H. Huffine, Harry Collentz, Mike Plesch, and John Fisher.

Two Out on Bail In all these cases the bail under the criminal syndicalism charges is set at \$3,000 cash or \$6,000 bond. Those convicted of vagrancy or still under the charge would also have to provide bail on this charge, totalling \$1,000 each in cash or twice as much in bond. This includes Chambers, Wilson, Decker, Warnick, Norman, Kirkwood, Hung, Ford, Collentz and Bigham.

Of all these only two have been bailed out. One is Albert Hougardy, whose bail was provided by the I.L.D. and the Conference for Labor's Civil Rights, an organization of liberals headed by Bishop Francis J. McConnell. The other is Norman Mimi, bailed out by friends. Norman Mimi is being defended by Judge Charles O. Busick, a conservative Republican who, when a Judge several years ago issued the notorious "Busick injunction" against the I.W.W. movement in California. Busick is reported to have subsequently changed his views and is now a critic of the criminal syndicalism law. The remaining defendants are represented by Leo Gallagher, retained by the I.L.D.

The prisoners have been miserably treated in jail. Among other things, Sheriff Cox has refused to deliver to them literature and newspapers sent by friends although such censorship is illegal.

Prosecution is Crooked It has already been made clear that the prosecution will be run on Sacco-Vanzetti lines: an outright attempt to bulldoze and hoodwink the jury by playing upon its prejudices. District Attorney Neil McAllister has already begun his rough stuff. He got the wife of one juror, Mrs. R. B. Nix, to state that she had been threatened by Reds. An investigation disclosed that the claim was a fake.

On the other hand, it was re-

vealed that the Assistant D. A. is quite pally with one of the jurors, a Mrs. Rose. Mrs. Rose likes this district attorney well enough to present him with a brace of ducks . . . but she will give an impartial verdict, of course.

The Communist Party is legal in California and even appears on the ballot. These defendants, however, are charged with the "crime" of distributing Communist literature, published by a legal party! Even those who are not party members are being attacked for Communism, although the real objective is to smash the entire militant labor movement of Sacramento Valley and the state.

Prisoners are Fighting The prisoners are making a good fight themselves. Despite the misery of all these months in jail, they are on their toes in the court, putting questions to the jurors which anticipate the district attorney's plans to wave the American flag as his chief trial tactic. Caroline Decker makes a practice of asking prospective jurors the following question:

"Should the district attorney use such investives when referring to us as 'Reds', 'agents of Moscow', 'rats', 'alien agitators', 'seditious radicals', 'free lovers', or 'godless people', would that prejudice you against me, and make it impossible for you to decide my case entirely on the basis of the evidence presented?"

Jack Warnick asks this one:

"If you should conclude from the evidence that I believe that every young person should be given an opportunity to work at the task for which he is best fitted . . . and if you should conclude that I believe our present economic and social system does not afford such opportunity . . . and if you should conclude that I believe that such a system ought to be changed radically . . . would that prejudice you against me?"

Martin Wilson: "If you should conclude from the evidence that I believe that the essential meaning of democracy is majority rule, and that I believe

Issue New International, Party Organ

With the December issue, the New International appears for the last time as an unofficial organ.

The historic importance of this last issue is great. The articles by A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon on the Foundation of the Workers Party contain a survey of the past history of the revolutionary movement and perspectives for the future.

Sydney Hook, in his article on Marx and Hess presents a significant analysis of the evolution of Marxist thought. Ruben Gotesky starts the first round of a battle, in his article on Sydney Hook's book "Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx". His chief criticism is based on Hook's contention: 1) That Marxism is not a science, 2) That socialism is not inevitable. Hook will answer Gotesky in the next issue. Arne Swaback writes on a current problem—the significance of the November elections. Among the special features will be another "Archive of the Revolution" and several book reviews on religion, art, science, etc.

Beginning with January, the New International will embark on its new career. According to its editors:

"It will not only be the theoretic organ of the Workers Party dealing with socio-economic and historical problems but will also contain articles of a scientific and technical nature—articles on science, medicine, industrial technique, housing, literature and the arts. From time to time non-party writers will be asked to contribute on these technical subjects, or to engage in open polemics with party writers. The fullest freedom of discussion within the broad party lines will be encouraged between party members. Thus, qualitatively and quantitatively the New International will be the foremost theoretic revolutionary journal in the English-speaking world."

that when our economic system fails to satisfy the minimum needs of the majority, the little minority who profit from that unworkable system will attempt to maintain themselves in power against the will of the majority by force, and that I believe that the majority have a right to act in their own interest and to follow militant leadership in establishing a government which does represent the interests of the majority, who are workers and small farmers, and that I believe it would be my duty to that majority of which I am a part to help establish that government by force, would that prejudice you against me?"

Need of United Defense Movement

The Sacramento case has the utmost importance for the labor movement, especially for its progressive and radical section, on a national scale. It is obvious that the defendants are bearing the brunt of a reactionary attack aimed at the working class movement as a whole. Up till now the publicity given to the case has been entirely inadequate, in view of its importance, and the absence of a strong national defense movement greatly endangers the prisoners. The fact that only two of them have been taken out on bail is a striking illustration of the weakness of the defense movement.

The Sacramento case calls for the cooperation of all forces in the advanced labor movement as the first necessary step toward the organization of a broad movement in the trade unions.

Next week we hope to have a detailed news story from Sacramento by our own correspondent.

CLEVELAND. — The American Newspaper Guild made another advance toward organization of newspaper editorial writers with the signing of a 1-year contract by the Cleveland News. A minimum of \$40 a week is set for editorial workers with four years' experience. A 5-day, 40-hour week is established.

Glass Faces Ten Years On Syndicalist Charge

W. Va. Unemployed League Aid Defense

Stanley Glass, Socialist and active worker in the West Virginia Unemployed League, is facing a ten-year sentence for "conspiracy to overthrow the government" for daring to revive a strike against the Baldwin Shovel Plant, a subsidiary of the notorious Weirton Steel Co.

Last August at the request of the strikers Glass revived the strike at the Parkersburg plant after it seemed to have been broken; reorganized the picket lines; and held several successful meetings outside the plant. At one of these meetings on August 29 Glass was threatened by a scab armed with a pitchfork, who later appeared with a shotgun and fired ten times at the picket line, wounding five persons. Although brought to trial for this atrocity, the case against the scab was immediately dismissed.

At the instigation of the company, state troopers began a search for Glass with machine guns, and Mrs. Glass was told by troopers of their intention to murder Glass, whom they knew solely as a "red-headed agitator". Strikers concealed

ed Glass and he was not apprehended until October 25, on a warrant dated August 27—a day before the speech for which he was supposedly arrested.

Glass's room was searched and his wife's papers confiscated without a search warrant. He was secretly taken to Parkersburg, the scene of the strike, and brutally third-degreed for two days and nights by the police. Finally his friends learned of his whereabouts and secured his release on Nov. 3 in \$2,000 bail.

On January 4 the state will call for his indictment under the Redman Act, West Virginia's version of the criminal syndicalism law.

The West Virginia Unemployed League at its state convention held November 10-11 in Charleston adopted a resolution pledging solidarity to Glass. A local Glass Defense Committee has been organized at Charleston to take charge of the case. The Workers' Party calls upon its membership to support the activities of this committee. Contributions can be sent to J. Gordon, Chairman, 14 Capitol Street, Charleston, W. Va.

Hearst Red-Baiting in School System Vehemently Protested by Educators

That noted scholar, William Randolph Hearst, who failed to obtain his degree when he was a student at Harvard, has recently been conducting an anti-red campaign directed at American schools and colleges. Mr. Hearst's only educational qualification is an honorary LL.B. from Oglethorpe, a jerk-water college in the south, a degree which he received in 1927 some thirty years after his unsuccessful career at Harvard had been forgotten.

When Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College in New York, received a badly written letter last week asking for "The inside stuff on Socialism, Capitalism, and Communism," he was forearmed. The same crude provocateur's trick had been employed by the Hearst press at Syracuse University. The author of the letter, a Hearst reporter, came into Professor Counts' office on his red-baiting mission to find a stenographer, ready to register every word of the interview.

Cooking Up a Red Scare "Mr. Hearst," said the reporter after some prompting, "is at present engaged in conducting a 'red scare'. Personally I am not in sympathy with that sort of thing, in fact, quite the opposite. But Mr. Hearst wants material along this line."

Asked if he was ashamed of himself the reporter said, "Not of myself, but of the situation that makes it necessary for me to do this to keep alive."

A stenographic report of the whole interview was forwarded to the Dickstein Committee on Un-American activities, together with a petition signed by twenty two New York professors, members of the National Educational Association, that Mr. Hearst be investigated.

Said Professor Counts: "If W. R. Hearst succeeds in his efforts American schools and universities will be reduced to the ignominious condition of Ger-

man schools under Hitler."

It is just possible that the Dickstein Committee will accept the challenge. Nothing, of course, could be more appropriate than an investigation of Benito Hitler Hearst for Un-American Activities.

While the New York Post and the World Telegram both carried full column stories on the interview, the New York American (a Hearst paper) was strangely silent, not a peep about Professor Counts. So Radical . . .

The next day, however, the editor did rehash a story from last week on Professors Hook and Burnham. Under a glaring misquotation of Lenin the editor remarked that, "Last weeks press carried reports of the merger of two groups so radical that even the communists have refused to have anything to do with them."

The editor was referring to the fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P., and the conveniently vague, "last weeks press" refers to no other journal than the editor's, the same New York American.

"Professor James Burnham of the Faculty of N.Y.U. is reported to have been elected editor of the New International. . . . Dr. Sydney Hook, also of N. Y. U., is said to have been elected National Organizer."

This we are sure is as much news to Professors Hook and Burnham as it is to us and the readers of the New York American.

"The leaders of the new organization," the editor continues, "declare that they will be guided by the revolutionary theories of Trotsky as opposed to the Socialistic theories of Stalin."

The editor has really got hold of something here. It is indeed a strange day when the Hearst press is better able to appreciate the non-revolutionary character of the Stalinists than the Stalinists themselves. Let us hope that Mr. Hearst will continue to give us free publicity for what we are, the only revolutionary party in America.

Brownsville Mass Meeting The Message of the Workers Party and the Russian Events

SPEAKERS A.J. Muste J.P. Cannon PREMIER PALACE 505 SUTTER FRIDAY, JAN. 4 -- 8:30 P.M.

Resolution Adopted by N.Y. Meeting

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in the "democratic" United States, will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counter-revolutionists who would restore the capitalist order in the Soviet Union.

"Since the revolutionary workers of the world must know the facts about white guards and foreign agents who may threaten the Soviet state in order to be adequately prepared for its own defense, we protest against the secrecy and mystery in which the Soviet Government has shrouded recent happenings in the "democratic" United States, will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counter-revolutionists who would restore the capitalist order in the Soviet Union. Imperialists and their diplomats work in the dark. Not so the toiling masses; they need to see and know where they are going, especially in this crisis when the threat of war hangs like a sword over the workers of all lands.

"We earnestly protest, furthermore, against sowing confusion and division at this time in the minds of workers everywhere, as the Soviet Government does when it lumps together as counter-revolutionists, White Guards, Japanese imperialists, German Fascist butchers, and revolutionists who are party opponents of the officials of the Soviet Government. We declare that only distrust can arise from laying the charge of conspiring to assassinate Kirov against revolutionists who, as Marxists, have always bitterly opposed individual terrorism.

"We demand, therefore, that persecution of party opponents of the officials of the Soviet Government cease immediately; that the Soviet Government desist from attempts to link proletarian opponents of the present Soviet regime, who stand on the principle of the proletarian dictatorship, with White Guards or with the agents of capitalist governments; and that open trials be held for all charged with conspiracy against the Soviet Union and the widest publicity given to these trials in order that the advanced workers of the world may be armed with the truth about the dangers which threaten the Soviet Union and the machinations of capitalist governments."

W. Norris Joins Workers Party

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Opportunist reaction is now clearly on the offensive in the party, and gaining ground. The reactionary Right wing, led by the New York "Old Guard"—in reality a conservative gang which has nothing in common with the ideas and spirit of socialism—pushes forward. The weak-kneed and unprincipled "Militants" retreat before them all along the line.

As for the Revolutionary Policy Committee, it has forfeited the possibility of playing a serious role by allowing itself to be converted into an agency of the Lovestone faction and consequently, of degenerate and discredited Stalinism.

I know the history and background of the two organizations which came together to found the Workers Party of the U. S. I have read the Declaration of Principles very carefully and fully agree with it. I am convinced that the future belongs to this party. In my opinion, every sincere revolutionary socialist will have to make the same decision.

Fraternally yours, W. W. NORRIS.

Anti-Fascist United Front in Yorkville

FRIDAY, JAN. 4, 8 P.M. Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, Proletarische Gemeinschaft, Young People's Socialist League.

New Year's Manifesto of the Workers Party

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nist and Socialist Parties, are among its charter members. The Workers Party of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the workers in the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian revolution of 1917. Proceeding from these principles the Workers Party of the U. S. utilizes the revolutionary possibilities of American tradition and history, including the militant strike tradition of the American workers, and adapts its tactics to the concrete realities and needs of the American masses today.

The revolutionary movement is necessarily international in outlook and character. The establishment of the new revolutionary party in the U. S. therefore means for us that we stand ready to cooperate with all groups, organizations and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own for the speediest possible establishment of the new, Fourth, International.

The formation of the Workers Party is a great step forward. After more than a decade of splits and dis-

integration in the revolutionary labor movement, an example of unity has been given. A center has been built to which the now unattached working class fighters as well as the fighting elements in other parties and groups may rally. A party has been formed which is revolutionary, international, and at the same time rooted in the American working class and adapted to the conditions existing in the U. S. today!

THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE

The road ahead for the new year must be the road of determined and militant struggle. This is the New Year's message of the Workers Party. Though plenty is today within our reach, every struggle of the workers against wage cuts or reductions in relief is met with bitter resistance by employers and government. Every attempt of the workers to organize in order that they may have power to enforce their demands is likewise violently opposed. Why? Because in this period of the decline of capitalism every gain made by the workers and farmers is at the expense of capitalist profits. By the same token, the workers must fight against every cut in wages or relief, must fight daily for a higher standard with every means and weapon

at their disposal. To yield an inch now, to give up the fight for a single moment means to give the capitalists a chance to rally their forces for a new onslaught, to be pushed nearer to the starvation level, nearer to the smashing of all the workers' organizations, nearer to the horrors of Fascism and War.

For the workers of the U. S. in 1935, therefore, the slogans are— Organize— build the Unions and Unemployed Leagues!

Fight out the battle for union recognition in steel, automobiles, rubber, public utilities, all the basic industries. Fight it out on the picket line. Union recognition cannot be won in capitalist legislatures or courts. Strike! Strike militantly!

Organize the left-progressive wing, the honest fighting elements, in all the unions and on a national scale. Wrest the leadership of the unions from those who preach and practice cooperation with the bosses or the capitalist politicians. Put the leadership into the hands of those who preach and practice irreconcilable struggle against the bosses and their government.

Clean out the corruption, racketeering, gangsterism and autocracy which prevent the growth of militant unionism!

Demand insurance against unemployment, accident, sickness, old age—at the cost of capitalist profits.

Unite regardless of racial, religious, political or any other differences in order to resist all attacks upon the civil and political rights of workers and farmers. Oppose all preparations for capitalist wars!

Combat all capitalist attacks on the workers regime in the Soviet Union! Fight every form of discrimination against the Negroes.

Remember that today the struggle for bread, for security, for a free and decent life, is the struggle to overthrow capitalism, that the only "way out" for the workers is the revolutionary way.

Organize and prepare, therefore, to establish the rule of the workers!

Plenty, security, leisure, freedom, peace for ourselves and our children, are within our reach. A crumbling, insane, unjust economic order stands in the way. We will sweep it aside. Reactionary forces will try to oppose and divide us. We must tear them down.

American capitalists and profiteers would lead the world to degradation, war, chaos. American workers will join the workers of the world in the creation of a new society, a world federation of workers' republics. For Working Class Unity!

For A Workers World! NATIONAL COMMITTEE, WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.