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

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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 cism and War-that is the only "way out" capitalism 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, creased under Roosevelt, and corporation profits have 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. unions have been encouraged. Roosevelt himself wrote 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.

dustrialists 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 dictator how "liberal" may be the pretensions or even the moship 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 capitaist 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. Fascan 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 ingone 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 the infamous "proportional representation" clause into the automobile code. Strikes have been sabotaged. The use of militia against striking workers has gone unrebuked. "Liberal" members of the Roosevelt administration helped to whip up the "red- scare" against the striking marine workers of the Pacific

INEQUALITIES SHOWN

BY A. F. OF L. SURVEY

On the basis of Labor Department reports and federal income

tax figures, the monthly survey of

"In 1933 corporations increased

121%) of \$125,000,000 and de-

creased their deficit by \$1,900,-

000.000. Incomes of persons re-

ceiving over \$25,000 a year in-

incomes on the other hand de-

creased by nearly \$500,000,000

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

WASHINTON .-- Its ends accom-

plished, the Roosevelt "revolution"

is over, the president told Congress

in his message to that body. The

smashup of the capitalist machine

accomplished was not specified.

. . .

NEW YORK .-- "Our army hap-

In this period of the decline of capitalism, the in- coast. The same administration acts openly in Cuba and elsewhere as the direct agent of Amican 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 tives 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 Wai, 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 by "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.

PRICE 3 CENTS

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-(Continued on Page 4)



Irial--race Long Jentences Jacramento 0

s in direct contact.

One Year Ago in Labor

stated.'

National Executive Committee of

plans for war mobilization under

the National Defense Act," he

. . .

. . .

report to Gov. Pinchot.

Big Meeting Hears Muste And Cannon on WP Program

Adopts Resolution on Situation in Soviet Union business of the American Federation of Labor has compiled a table

showing the inequalities which Irving Plaza was jammed to standing room when A. J. Muste and have contributed to present condi-James P. Cannon addressed a meeting last Sunday night on the Workers tions. It summarizes this table as Party and its Program. The entire audience, with the exception of follows seven members of the Communist Party greeted the speakers with enthusiasm. In the course of their speeches they referred to the present their total income by \$654,000,-000, made excess profits (over

executions and arrests in Russia. A resolution, appended below, was introduced at the conclusion, and passed by a standing vote, consuring 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 everbody 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 un-swerving allegiance to the Soviet speaking tour of the Workers Union, the workers' state, which is and has been since 1917 the star covering 21 cities and industrial 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 afer the mass murder of the victims of Fascism and reaction in Germany,

creased by \$128,000,000. Workers' **TOUR DATES**

(in reporting industries alone). Our total national income was Following is the schedule of the 42% below 1929, workers' income appearances of A. J. Muste and was 49% lower." James P. Cannon, who on January Prospects of improvement in employment are pretty slim, accord-Party, to extend to February 9, and ing to the A. F. of L. survey. ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW. this group at the Detroit conference 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. evils which brought about the Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.-Jan. 23-24-25-26-27.

in the past four years have been Kansas City-Jan. 27-28-29-30. Des Moines, Ia.-January 28. ended is the "ruthless exploitation Davenport, Ia.-January 29. of all labor". How this had been St. Louis, Mo.-January 30-31. Illinois Mine Fields, Staunton Gillespie, Springfield, -Feb. 1-2-3. Columbus, Ohio.-February 4-5 pens to be the only branch of the Charleston, W. Va.-February 6. government which is already or-Pittsburgh, Pa.-February 7-8. ganized and available not only to New York City-February 10.

All comrades and sympathizers cope with social and economic are unked to get busy at once ar- problems in an emergency," Asst. Austria, Spain, and have seen with Banging meetings, conferences, etc. Secretary of War Harry H. Wood-

Austria, spain, and inversion while balling in the datas indicated and to keep ring wrote in an article in Liberty P. of L. lest fall. (Continued on Fage 4) For pregress of the arrangements. The first real test of the army's JOIN THE WORKHERS PARTY.

Norris, S.P. Leader Joins Workers Party

The campaign of the Workers of the Revolutionary Policy Com-Party to unite the revolutionary mittee.

workers under its banner gets a The action of Comrade Norris is big push forward this week by the the first positive answer of the statement of W. W. Norris in revolutionary wing of the party to which he announces his withdrawal the arrogant attacks of the right from the Socialist Party and en- wing since the Detroit convention trance into the W. P. The appli- and the capitulatory attitude of cation of Comrade Norris has been the "Militants" and the R.P.C. The accepted by the National Commit-I Workers Party expects in the near

tee on the recommendation of the future to announce the applications Minneapolis Branch with which he of other revolutionary Socialists who are coming to the same con-Was Minnesota Secretary clusions as those of Comrade Noris. His statement follows: W. W. Norris was the state sec-

retary of the Socialist Party in Statement of W. W. Norris Minnesota and was a delegate from that state to the Detroit conven-Minneapolis, Minn. To the National Committee tion of the S. P. He was connected with the Revolutionary Policy Workers Party of U.S. Committee and was elected to the Comrades:

> After full deliberation I have definitely and finally come to the conclusion that the Socialist Party has no revolutionary future and

Comrade Muste was one time exthat the place for every revolutionary socialist is in the ranks of the Workers Party. Accordingly, I have withdrawn from the S. P. New England textile union; served, summer. They are thrown in jail and present herewith my applica- at one time, as vice president of

Like every other revolutionary socialist I have been in conflict

HARRISBURG, Pa. - "Work-relief" is nothing more than forced Party. the Socialist party for some time.

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 tee of the Revolutionary Policy Eastman, Arthur Garfield Hays, to strike at the union and to pro-Committee, I looked forward to the John Haynes Holmes, Sydney Hook, secute the leaders on the more sered with the American Federation of transformation of the S. P. into a Freda Kirchwey, Ludwig Lore, Ro- ious charge of criminal syndicalism. Labor were called upon by Presi- revolutionary party. Developments bert Morss Lovett, Reinhold Nie- If convicted on all counts, each of since the Detroit convention have buhr, Robert Paddock, James Ror- the accused can get as much as steps as seem necessary to make caused me to change my mind about ty, George Soule, Carlo Tresca, the prospects of the S. P. and to Stephen Wise, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

> The dinner will be served at the members, the leftward drift of the Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th #. P. has been sharply arrested. Street at 7 o'clock. All friends and

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 militants 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 defendents 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.

At this writing, the jury is being picked which will be asked to convict these workers, some of

them members of the Communist MUSTE DINNER Party, and others without political affiliation.

The prisoners were arrested in On Wednesday, January 9, a tesconnection with a raid on the timonial dinner will be given for Workers School of Sacramento A. J. Muste, National Secretary of during the anti-Red drive growing the Workers' Party, at Irving Plaza, out of the collapse of the San New York City. The dinner is to Francisco general strike. In this commemorate his fiftieth birthday, "anti-Red" setting a blow is being and the fifteenth year of his invalaimed at militant unionism.

It has for years been a sytematic

practice of the bosses' police to arrest known militants among the ecutive secretary of the American agricultural and cannery workers Federation of Textile Operatives, a of Sacramento Valley in the late on vagrancy charges, held with or without trial for some weeks, and turned loose after the harvest is Labor College; and one of the 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 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 ap pealed. During the yagrancy trials

(Continued on Page 4)

uable service in the revolutionary labor movement.

the American Federation of Teachtion for membership in the W. P. ers; was the founder of Brookwood

founders of the American Workers

with the principles and policies of labor, Executive Director Eric Bid- But up till recently I had the hope dle of the Pennsylvania Emergency that it might be revolutionized abolished, he stated. Among evils Relief Board stated in his annual from within. As a delegate to the Detroit convention and a member of the National Executive Commit-

sympathisers are invited to attend.

(Continued on Page 4)

WASHINGTON .- Unions affiliatdent William Green to "take such

defend our territory but also to the boycott of German goods and

German services effective". The join the W. P. boycott had been ordered by the Contrary to the hopes of many Washington convention of the A.

NEW MILITANT

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1984

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Three Leagues Built in Week

PAGE 2

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.

to speak.

Holstein Freed

Johannes have been attempting to

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 County Grand Jury has voted a noa project for a community center. bill in the case of Emanuel Hol-The League at South Whitehall was formed when workers realized Local 574, whom the Citizens Allitheir unified power through a sponance and Police Chief Bloody Mike taneous strike called to reinstate a worker who had been arbitrarily frame for the murder of a millionfired by the boss. The workers on the project are organized practically 100% and have elected commitofficials.

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 un believably bad. One family with nine chi.dren 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 outer clothing but no underwear. Company houses have been neglected for so long that it is almost has almost entirely disappeared from many. A weather vane placed on the table in one of the "homes'

indicated the direction of the wind! was formed in Palmerton the leading members were evicted from officials supposed by law to be imcompany property for their activity. The new League is so strong, tance of the boss printers, the be arranged by agreement with however, that the Zinc Co. officials dare not interfere. Already it has liam St., after a five-day struggle forced the relief administration to are back on the job under condiset up an office in Palmerton. For- tions that set a high mark for merly the unemployed had to walk shops not organized by the A. F. 8 miles to the nearest relief station. of L.

which he had in council which pro- | frame-up remains to be defeated vided for taking the ground rent the charge against Philip Scott for that was now going to Europeans the same murder which the laborowning land in Pittsburgh. haters failed to pin on Holstein. The County Attorney has been He also told the delegation that

moving heaven and earth to get "every mayor should take up box-Scott before a jury as quickly as ing". He then invited the commitpossible, hoping to railroad him tee outside to have their pictures before the defense could get organtaken with him in front of some ized. advertizing benches which a furn-

The defense movement got going iture company had sent for the unfaster than the prosecutor, how employed to sit on while they were ever, and now the latter has begun waiting for food orders. The comto stall. He claims to have dismittee declined to accept the honor. covered a new material witness. the local Hearst paper that an of- and wants to postpone the trial. The mayor is such good copy for dcer of the Workers Party was told Meantime, the defense campaign goes forward with great speed. by this paper that if the party The Auditorium has been hired for wanted publicity for any of its New Year's Eve and the labor meetings they should get the mayor 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. In Minneapolis Other Minnesota unions are also being asked to back the fight. The prospects are promising and it ONE FRAME-UP REMAINS looks as though the Citizens Alliance is due for another trimming. MINNEAPOLIS .- The Hennepin

Relief Wood stein, leading militant of Drivers Strike Looms

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 19.aire special deputy who died during the May strike. The clearing of Intensifying their fight against re-Happy Holstein is a direct result lief officials because of their notees to carry on collective bar- of the fight staged by the Minnea- torious system of distributing wood gaining with the bosses and relief polis trade union movement led by while thousands of miners of this the militant fighters of Local 574. city are idle, the Illinois Workers

Minneapolis unionists are wild Alliance is preparing for a strike with enthusiasm at this new blow at all wood yards of this territory. to the Citizens Alliance, which had A strike committee, with Joe Anhoped to terrorize labor by railroad- gelo, Workers Party member, as ing Holstein to death. A few weeks secretary was elected at the last iginal contract). Pearcy and Keck ago the attempt to frame the meeting of the alliance. Workers Machinists Brotherhood business Party and Socialist workers are came to the Convention declaring agent was also smashed by mass leading the fight which is quickly spreading in all circles of the local pressure.

One more Citizens Alliance labor movement.



A striking success has come out 3. Recognition of a shop comof the first strike conducted by the mittee as the collective bargaining Independent Printing Employees agency of all the workers (of the P.M.: Some months ago when a League of New York. Despite an empty highest importance since all the

treasury, sabotage by government workers belong to the I.P.E.). 4. Amount of employment in partial and the organized resis- slow season and overtime rates to workers in Altum Press, 165 Wil- the shop committee.

5. Guarantee of one-year em ployment for all men. In a statement to the New Militant, a leading official of the I.P.E. yesterday said:

Last week's strike was the cul-"This victory will help us quickmination of a ten-months struggle |1y add many to our present mem- proposal. They wanted us to allow led by the Altum workers under bership list of 1,000. In the last their mines to operate next mornthe I.P.E.'s leadership. Altum two days the workers of two shops ing on this proposal until this conbrazenly ignored the Gra-

For Coal Miners ILLINOIS "EXPOSURE" EXPOSED Allard Cites P.M. of A. Records Against

By GERRY ALLARD

Unity, Ralph Shaw, it is announced, begins a series of articles in which this time in that part of the counhe hopes to "expose" the Musteite-Trotskyite elements in the coal fields of southern Illinois. Now it is common knowledge in the radiwith them. cal movement that truth and ac-

curacy 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 Allard Opposes Retreat

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 pursue. One course is to retreat a new Mussolini. . One of his first Illinois coal fields. Shaw's article is long and cum- strike movement. Here is where bersome. It is not necessary to

save from one paragraph. I quote from Shaw, page 18, Labor Unity, timed. There is not a section of Oct. 1934:

"Facts Are Facts"

"The Musteites and S. P. ele ments helped put over the infamous we must accept the same scale as Lewis has with Peabody.' Here is how it was done: The Independent which was to stand pat on the Operators' Ass'n. was willing to \$6.10 temporary agreement. Mcgive \$5.70 to settle the strike (a Gill, Springfield board member and reduction of 40 cents from the or- right wing adherent moved an did not accept or reject this but 'we want the same scale as Peabody has, no more, no less'." (Peabody scale was lower with U.M.W.A.) The Musteites now try to disclaim

al but facts are facts and undeniable."

and they are not deniable. We will therefore let the facts speak. I in the convention which included quote from the proceedings of the Corbridge, Steed, Fraser, Allard, first constitutional convention of Burrell, Battuello, Ansboury, Tracy, the Progressive Miners of America held at Gillespie, Ill., October 3 through October 8, 1932. On page 1 of the proceedings, Wed., Oct. 5, moved the following according to 1932, night session beginning at 7

From the Record

"Scale Committee's report given: "Pearcy: 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 with other operators in southern Illinois. Then they brought in a



Article by Ralph Shaw In Labor Unity

more than \$7.00 scale... as I view

In the October issue of Labor it we must make a wage scale that will catch most of the operators at try where we hold most of our membership. The operators say they can't pay a higher wage scale than Franklin county and compete "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: 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

and the other is to spread the we incur lots of difficulties. The answer his allegations in detail, retreat proposed by the scale com-

\$100." mittee I don't believe is very well He transferred the union head-

quarters to his own home, miles the state that has expressed a desire to retreat. The spirit of the away from the center of town membership is still on the upward." where it was impossible for the After considerable discussion a membership to attend meetings or motion was then made to accept the to take any active part in union affairs. Special assessments were scale committee's recommendation, 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 or-

amendent as follows: ganization money and the President "McGill: Amendment that they and vice president of the union be instructed to return back and were summarily expelled when they make an agreement indentical in wages to this agreement in effect

50 Opposition Votes

The amendment was carried by a vote of 112 to 50. After Allard had led the opposition against the sisted of the solid left wing vote Bernard, Leveque, Scremin, etc. In a last desperate effort to outmaneuver the right wing Allard

referendum be held within two weeks."

IN THE UNIONS

no doubt that the relations of the Chicago's unions still fight the two have been increasingly interlabor racketeer. The cancer which | twined and that the whole tendency made its way into the labor moveof the NRA labor machinery has ment of that city has not yet been been to tie labor's hands more and eradicated. The agents of Murray more in the exercise of its elemen-Humphries and of the late George | tary rights. It is almost inevitable (Red) Barker still have infleunce that this should happen. in the workers' organizations.

A recent decision of the National The Federation News, organ of Labor Relations Board illustrates the Chicago Federation of Labor how the process works and howalmost by accident-the precedents reports the efforts of the Joint Council of the International Team are established by which later lasters Union to oust "Lefty" Lynch. bor's rights may be curtailed. Four secretary treasurer and husiness workers brought a complaint agent of Local 704--the coal teamagainst the Bennett Shoe Company sters organization. The local was of Marlboro, Mass. The company originally known as the Chicago had entered into a closed shop Coal Teamsters Union and was one agreement with the independent of the locals of an independent United Shoe and Leather Workers organization, racketeer controlled. Union of which the complainants In February 1934 it affiliated to had been members. Sometime later the teamsters union of the A. F. these complainants were expelled of L. and in the elections Lefty, a from the union because they vioformer officer of the old organiza- lated a provision of its constitution tion, was placed in the saddle again. that no member could belong to any "It turned out", says the Federother organization in the trade (the Shoe Workers Protective Unation News, "that Lynch could not forget the tactics employed by the ion in this case). The union demanded that the employer discharge Chicago Teamsters and it was not long before he thought that he was the four, which he did in accordance with for provisions of the

get out a book for which he solicit- appealed to the N.L.R.B.

union contract. The fired workers

ants and others costing from \$25 to **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 nuion 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 to believe that the cure for one unquestioningly. . .

practice of putting the affairs of Briefs local unions under the full control

The growth of company unions of receivers has been a curse in in the past year is reflected in a eteers had the doors opened to them [recent report of the National Industrial Conference Board, emstatistical ployers organization which shows that, of the companies studied 126 have company affairs while only 17 have agreements with unions. Under the New Deal The classic example of this fact 42 new company unions have been is, of course, the case of the New started with twelve more in process dum vote of the rank and file. Three Stalinists, all speakers, did not voice a single word during the debate according to the official re-cord.

697 public utility companies shown

that of the 580,000 employees cov-

ered 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

opposed him. Union Receivership Charges were preferred against

cut the fifty opposition votes con-

the proceedings: "Allard: Motion made that a

"Motion to table. Carried 90 to 46."

Lynch in the Joint Council and that worthy was expelled. The local itself has been placed in the control of a receiver by the Inter national, elections have been held and it is hoped that another step

has been taken in blasting the rack eteer out of the labor movement. It is unfortunate, however, that labor organizations generally seem dictator is another dictator. The

many national unions. The rack-

From the above one can see that in the first case by the trade union the debate and opposition of the bureaucracy. The denial of the left wing was vigorous. Heated fullest trade union democracy is discussion took place as the lefts bound to breed the rats who fatter and rights crossed swords. The on the organized workers. left wing fought to the end trying to refer the matter for a referendum vote of the rank and file.

in southern Illinois."

responsibility for this act of betray-We admit that facts are facts

FOR SINGLE TAX AND SCABS

Mayor McNair

PITTSBURGH .-- William N. Mc Nair, Pittsburgh's Single Tax mayboards could not evade giving a or, continues to play the role of breaker. Recently in the strike of truck beside the police and a scab finally the workers struck. The the beginning of a long struggle driver to assure the safe delivery boss printers tried to make this a that will end in victory and imthe truck McNair got off and lead by volunteer pickets from the F. of L." the police in an attack on the strik- Workers Party. On request of the I.P.E., the A. F. of L. Printing ers and ordered their arrest.

McNair first became infamous as Pressmen's Union 51 notified all a potential strike-breaker when he its chapels not to scab. Finally announced last June that he would the boss had to back down. Altum Press negotiated with a support the employers if there was

committee headed by Sam Gordon, a steel strike. After being on the losing end for president of the I.P.E. Matthew

twenty-five years McNair became Levy, member of the Socialist mayor last fall in a New Deal Lawyers Association, advised the landslide. His hobbies are apple I.P.E. committee on legal aspects eating and "ground rent". He ve- of the final settlement, which has toed an ordinance of the city coun- been signed by the boss and all the cil which provided \$500,000 out of workers of the shop. This settlea bond issue for unemployed relief. ment included:

When a delegation from the Pitts- 1. Rehiring all strikers and fir burgh Unemployed League visited ing of the one scab.

the mayor to protest against the 2. An immediate wage raise veto, he told the committee that \$5 pending revision upward by they should get behind the bill further negotiations.



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-

called us in to organize them. vontion gave their approval or re have Has a Flair phic Arts Code, which is sup- The I.P.E. will continue to urge jected the scale. We said that if posed to guarantee the workers the Allied Printing Trades Council the mines went to work in the certain conditions. The I.P.E. to back a joint drive to organize morning they would have to pay facts with the nightmare in Shaw's fought before the NRA boards the industry 100% and to bring all the \$6.10 temporary agreement. so ably and vigorously that the printers in the city into the A. F. This group only represents a small of L. The perspectives for such a group of operators. The largest Allegheny County's leading strike-decision in favor of the workers. drive are excellent. The Altum operators say that if we would take The NRA, as usual, did nothing fight involved only a small shop this scale not only them but other the A. & P. haulers, McNair rode a to enforce its own "decisions", and but tested our mettle. It is merely large operators would sign it. "Keck: . . . The question is what are going to be our demands from of supplies to A. & P. stores. When test case. The workers held out proved conditions for all workers, now on. The mechanical operators the strikers persisted in following on the picket-line, however, aided including those already in the A. told us very frankly that it would not be possible for them to pay any

W.P. toOpen Training School; In Fight Against Capitalism

The International Workers School, | relief, to fight for progressive to show workers how capitalism ex- measures in trade unions, to recruit ploits and keeps the masses in pov- advanced workers into the Workers erty, but better still, what to do Party and to build the Party about it, will open a district school through mass action in the workin New York within the next two ing class struggle against capitalweeks, to be followed by the open- istic poverty and exploitation. The Peabody has, no more no less." ing of other schools in keeping with aim of the Party and its schools is the growth and expansion of the a workers' government with the ma-Workers Party, Hugo Oehler, Na- chinery of production in the hands to have the wage cut ratified. They tional Educational Director of the of those who work, producing will not deny this, claiming that Party, announced for the National things in abundance and making

Educational Committee of the W.P. | the masses politically and economi-In addition to the International cally free.

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 ment" and "Marxian Economics"

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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. Borkeson, Oliver Carlson, Jack the fighting Illinois miners. It Weber and Hugo Oehler. Comrade simply can't be proven even by fan-Ochler was elected National Direc-

Shaw's Nightmare

Now let us compare the above article. 1. Shaw states, "the Musteites

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 always warned against the tendengive \$5.70 to settle the strike (a cy on the part of many union lead- come to terms with the labor uners to involve the trade union reduction of 40 cents from the ori-

ginal 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, "Pearcy and Keck did not accept or reject this but came to the convention declaring we want the same scale as

The facts are that Pearcy, Keck and lieutenants fought and voted this policy put the P.M. of A. over. Now, Shaw here is trying to cover up the treachery of Pearcy and Keck. He does this unconsciously, of course, but no shrewd Stalinist Branch and district schools of the gymnast would care to be quoted

International Workers School will on such a careless faux pas. be opened as rapidly as possible 4. Shaw states, "the Musteites and outlines for classes will be now try to disclaim the responsibilready within a week, Ochler stated. Ity for this act of betrayal but The first outlines will deal with facts are facts and undeniable." "Workers Party Fundamentals", The Musteltes and the Left wing 'Organizational Principles", "ABC's have never gone out of their way of Marxism", "Trade Union Tactics to deny any misleading charges and Strategy", "History of the Am- made by Stalinists on the matter of

erican Labor Movement". "The the wage cut in the Illinois coal International Revolutionary Move 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 tastic minds of unscrupulous jack als of the Mtalinist eamp.

and then set up a dictatorial regime of his own to "keep out the gang sters". Under the era of "enlight ened 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. . . .

actions after taking office was to

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of the San Francisco Market Street Railway Company-the outfit which Radicals and progressives have framed you when you tried to organize their employees-has had to ions. Shorter hours, higher wages movement closely with the machin- and union recognition were award-

ery of government. There can be ed following the general strike. ...

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1984

NEW MILITANT

PAGE 3



HAT the revolutionary party is to play one of the most important roles in American labor history is no longer a question of doubt. At this critical moment, when the Socialist Party is moving faster and more determinedly to the right, and when the Communist Party is definitely failing the leftward moving workers, there remains only one force capable of giving correct leadership in the class struggle-the Workers Party of the U.S.

The class conscious workers are giving concrete manifestations of their willingness and readiness to struggle. Witness the general strike in California; the Toledo and Minneapolis historic battles; the textile workers and numerous other instances. What is lacking is a revolutionary mass party. To fill that need becomes the paramount duty of the Workers Party. This imposes enormous tasks upon us.

The united forces of the two organizations which merged to form the new party contain sufficient material with which to carry out this obligation. All that is necessary is a determined, obstinate struggle for its achievement. Every party member, every sympathizer, every friend must make a little sacrifice and success is assured.

THE URGENT NEED

The first need of the new Party, weak as yet compared to the great tasks aherd, 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. This will bring immediate results in membership increase; it will help double the circulation of our paper and lay the foundation for a national Left-progressive wing in the trade union movement.

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WORKERS DIED FOR MORGAN LOANS ing the dupont company of wilto Japan.

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 Ne-

nations for the conflict. erican capitalistic government - | pay the loans, and the loans were

government by the capitalists-than in danger. this. The illusion that the "Gov- Woodrow Wilson and Congress ernment belongs to everybody" is declared war on Germany immediswept away. The words of Karl ately thereafter; and not only did capitalists themselves, are brought sent over and slaughtered to the to mind.

Why America Entered War the interlocking alliance between out the war.

2.00 the financial and political "rulers" 3.00 of the United States, between the 10.00 capitalists and the Government. 1.00 On March 5, 1917, Woodrow Wil- found, then made. 1.00 son, who had just been returned 1.00 .25 1.00 10.00 5.005.00 Committee, said in part: 10.00 "The pressure of this approach-1.00 ing crisis, I am certain, has gone 1.00

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 mours & Company and the "Gov- Committee's experts, the British ernment" of the United States knew government was being pressed by that it was going to happen. And the Morgan bank and other Amerthey set about secretly arming the ican financial institutions to pay Nothing could give one albetter advanced in war credits. The Britinsight into the nature of the Am- ish government was unable to re- hatred, and building up a modern

tune of \$1 a day, more than 500 the scenes.

American capitalists were drawing The facts unearthed by the Sen- down a minimum of \$1,000,000 a ate Committee investigating the year each, and some were "getting" munitions industry show up clearly as high as \$15,000 per day through-

The "Japs" Are Discovered When the war was over, a new

to the White House by an over- munitions makers and the coun- all this while he was serving (at sistent attempts to realize its whelming majority "because he try's big corporations, including the a big salary) as advertising agent dream of an all-European antikept us out of war", received a U. S. War Department, got busy. for the Remington Arms Company, Soviet bloc with Hitler-Germany as cable from Walter Hines Page, And soon poor dumb guys at crossthen U. S. Ambassador in London. road stores and on street corners Chase National Bank and the du almost indispensable if British im-The cable, made public by the Nye 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

'rotsky.

war. And at that moment in 1923 when the "Jap" scare was being whipped up in earnest, and loudly drummed into the people through

for "national defense" in the next

the newspapers and into the chil dren through school text-books, the U. S. War Department began helping the duPont Company of Wil-

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 Janan, Germany and other so-called "enemy" counback \$400,000,000 which had been tries, at the same time preparing at home a psychology of fear and is this:

"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 Marx, who some 80 years ago wrote the banks collect their loans, but game has been going along all the that a capitalist government is just the "Government" footed the bill- time. The Nye Committee has the "executive committee" of the and while the doughboys were being rendered a real service, however, by giving the public a peep behind

> The "Government" is like the in famous Bruce Barton. Mr. Barton wrote a book about Jesus and a book about the Bible, then he wrote

"Let's Advertise this Hell", and he than hitherto. Thus far the anenemy had to be found, and if not then donated several full-page ads tagonism between French and Geragainst war in the popular maga- man imperialism has been the main The Wall Street financiers, the zines for World Peaceways. But stumbling block to England's perthe Standard Oil Company, the its spear-head. Such a bloc seems Pont Nemours & Company, equip- perialism together with its Japanping armies in Europe, Asia and ese ally is to fight with a chance South America.

In the same way, this capitalistic Union and the U.S.A. Every move "Government" dupes the masses on the part of the U.S. (itself an "invisible government"-and Con- and serves the interests of the fi- xious to prevent England from gress began appropriating millions nanciers and industrialists. solidifying its European position



In the Saar today, there is in-| lest that ruin American plans for volved much more than the fate of a bloody re-division of the world the Saar or even all Europe. on its own terms), is designed to The tiny Saar district, packed prevent it. Naturally, American with almost 900,000 people, the diplomacy makes its constant moves majority miners, has become a pawn in the hands of practically every great imperialist rival in the struggle for hegemony in Europe. The question to be decided now

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 a terrific article in the American would become an imminent danger Magazine against war, entitled in a far more immediate sense of success against both the Soviet

The Chinese Debacle

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 al-

arming 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 Russ'an allfance 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 regroupments 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 Then one nice day, like thunder that American imperialism, to counteract England's plans (of from a clear sky, came the newscirculated by rumors-that Chiang- which a Franco-German under-Kai-Chek, head of the Kuomintang standing is the cornerstone), will and commander of the Nationalist use its still great influence in Gerpraising Chiang-Kai Check as a a temporary expedient. Actual "loyal ally". Through a Chinese events in the Soviet Union, aiming comrade, whom I happened to know at eliminating certain groupings ground of the opportunist theory tionary elements (White Guards). Dersonally, I found out the facts, actually or supposedly involved in the Kirov assassination, may be related to this struggle between orientations on foreign policy and ac-It took me a long time to find individually to address the demon- by Stalin, however, was so strong companying differences as to the inner Soviet regime. The new facts and the disastrous defeat of | "purging" in Hitler Germany is undoubtedly aimed at preventing ing 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 How the Lefts Were Fooled to a single one: the best possible The fact, however, that Stalin line-up for the coming war. But to the unfortunate people of supported the Left in the American the Saar the plebiscite has enorand other parties as against Brandler, Lovestone and Bucharin threw mous importance. True, if the mame off the track and prevented me jority votes for the continuation of from drawing any further conclu- the status quo (under the League sions then and thinking the matter of Nations), the question will simout subsequently. The audacity of ply be laid over for a while, giving the slander against the Trotsky op- | the workers of the world a chance position as counter-revolutionary to make of the Saar, instead of a was another factor, for none of us source of triumph for Hitler and a could fathom that the responsible step towards war, a stepping stone leaders of the Russian C. P. could towards the proletarian reconquest have possibly sunk so low as to of Germany and an ally of the commit such a falsification. Hence fighting French proletariat. But if and many others did not bother as a result of the Nazi terror, the to find out the actual facts even bargain between French and Gerafter we were out of Russia. We man imperialists, and the lack of took it more or less for granted the active solidarity of workers of that Trotsky had become what the other countries, the Saar majority votes for return to Germany, then the plebiscite will hand over to the The present new turn to the right, this time executed officially by 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 that the whole thing is a tissue of them any help. To the west they workers of the Saar seem to have been left almost completely in the has ever known.



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.) 1.00

.25 There is a crisis developing in in the C. P. got hooked to Stalin's 2.00the C. P. Only here and there are .25 there external manifestations of it two fronts-against Right and Left .25 but its burrowings are deep. .50 5.00In the decline of the party's influ- proved aplenty. 1.00 .10 ence particularly in the trade union field, both in independent unions the policies he blamed Bucharin 1.00

This he did by diverting the fight few more such things and I could the affiliation of the Chinese C. P. away from Stalin, using Bucharin see Stalinism as it is. I never to the Kuomintang, the Chinese as the punching bag and bugaboo could admire Stalin or boost him bourgeois stry of Chiang-Kaiand thus annexing the Left element with "quotations" and I was feel- Chek. The C. P. submitted to the to himself, diverting it away from ing less and less sure of myself discipline of the Kuomintang and course ever since I objected to the In order to keep up this reaction-Against the background of the

hen 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

kite. Thus the so-called 'fight on -really was a fight mainly against This crisis manifests itself: 1) the Left as subsequent events have formers would add: "Lenin in his

Stalin, initiator or partner in all hence the Central Committee decided to disregard his testament" 2.40 and in the A. F. of L., and in the for, took for his main guiding line Stalin's caucus in those days was a regular rumor factory. Anyone the party itself; 2) The increased self of the party apparatus in and slated for disfavor or elimination

decline of the unions controlled by the question of possessing him-10.00 turnover of party membership. Ac- outside of the Soviet Union. To would first be subjected to this form armies, had ordered a pogrom on many and its growing influence in 2.00 cording to Browder's report (Nov. achieve this end he played both of blackmail. As to Trotsky, the the Communists only a few days Soviet Russia in favor of a new 1.00 Communist) the C. P. membership ends against the middle. Thus he rumors were: 1. That he was break-after Stalin had made a speech Russo-German "understanding" as

to various countries. This was done

when talking about Trotsky. Of did not even have its own press.

resolution I was on the blacklist. ary stew all kinds of fancy but completely deceitful and anti-Len This I found out later. inist theories were invented by The Moscow Rúmor Factory Stalin and his clique. The peasant While in Moscow in 1927 many masses of China, who were already

rumors kept on percolating through inside of Russia. This is how I, to us foreigners about the internal then in a rising mood, were not only not encouraged but restrained as well as many others of the Left situation in the Russian party. One of them was about Lenin's from revolutionary action by the testament. It was said that this C. P. in order, as the thesis read, testament was very bad for Stalin to maintain the alliance with the Chinese national bourgeoisie against and good for Trotsky, but the inimperialism.

last days was losing his senses

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declined from 24,000 at the time became the arbiter, the potentate, ing discipline and organizing a new 1.00 the party convention (April 1934) of the party apparatus, veering party. 2. That the Trotskyists were 1.00 to below 20,000, this in spite of a right and left against the back-.10 recruitment of 17,000 new members in that period. According to these

5.00 figures more than 21,000 members country". The Game of Make-Believe

dropped out of the party within 99.75 six months since the Cleveland 2.50 convention. out the inside track of Stalin's Outwardly, the crisis thus far politics in those days. His game 36.60 manifests itself in the withdrawal of make-believe, of pretending to of groups of independent unions 14.00 (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 stategroups of active party members Stalin. who are joining the W. P. U.T. Were such a thing as inner de-

mocracy in existence in the C. P. this crisis would of course take American Commission to judge the other forms than disintegration. Lovestoneites spoke about princi-The background to the present crispledness, about the Tammany Hall is is far more complex, however, methods of the Lovestoneites. This than the average party member speech was reprinted in pamphlet suspects. Essentially the crisis is form in this country. Stalin predue to the fact that while officially Lenin's teachings are supposed to the factions. I. knowing the debe the official guide of the party, tails, knew he was lying unscrupu-Leninism in fact has been abolished lously and preparing to cover up or substituted by the mediocrity of Stalinism. This double bookkeepwas done by dispersing the leaders

ing is at the root of the present situation in the C. P. and the whole Comintern. However, in order not to antici-

the minority faction. Stalin, then pate too much and in order to rein full power, was preparing to | ly. 4) Building up a war industry late things against the background forbid all factions. Not only that, of American events I will tell my there was to be a "monolithic" 5) Socialism cannot be built in a own story, for this is the story of party, a party of one thought, the peasant country, hence the prolemany others still in the party. My thought of Stalin, and no contro- tariat has to exploit the peasantry own experience brought me to the versial discussions. It would not to prepare for the International same conclusions as those stated in do, therefore, to have proofs that Revolution, war, etc. the Workers Party Declaration of Stalin had been organizing factions Principles. I am deeply convinced for years before. Differences were pared against the opposition. Needthat many others will take the outlawed as "Left Social-Fascist" same road.

Back Stage Methods tionary" (Trotsky)

We were then coming into the demned it as "left" phrase-monger-Even while Stalin was combined with the Right wing in Russia itself (Bucharin, Rykov and Co.) in Social-Fascism and the united counter-revolutionary position. Latorder to fight the Left (Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc.) he at the same time being prepared for events in the read: "The counter-revolutionary was intriguing against his Russian American party. In the spring of platform of Trotskyism," or "Trotallies (Bucharin was then in 1928 in Moscow I objected to a skyism, the Vanguard of Internacharge of the Comintern) in the resolution calling Trotsky a coun- tional Counter-Revolution." foreign parties by encouraging the tef-revolutionist, but in this case I Just about the time that we were lies. The whole Stalinist system is see a proletariat hardly able to development of "Left" factions was far from understanding the pretty well convinced of the an unscrupulous system of slander hold its own in a deadly struggle against Bucharin. That is, it ap- full implications of the thing. I counter-revolutionary nature of and blackmail that will condemn with reaction and fascism. The peared that way; in reality Stalin could even be talked out of my Trotskyism, occurred the Chinese its authors forever. was not afraid of Bucharin at all. impressions. But the "molecular" debacle. Those who follow events What he was aiming at was to iso- processes kept on working down in the movement will remember how things proceeded in the Amer- lurch, facing the most cruel and late his main enemy, Trousky, from doop in my sensedousness. Some that, contrary to the fundamental lian C. P. on the basis of these powerful enemies the working eless the Left in the forsign parties, thing pet me "at situation". A teachings of Lenin, Stalin caused methods and policies.

hooking up with counter-revoluand practice of "socialism in one 3. That they were organizing a and also that Trotsky was opposed separate demonstration for May to the whole line of Stalin in China. Day and that Trotsky attempted The apparatus control of the C.I.

stration and incite the masses even then, that in spite of all these against the party.

When Trotsky was being exiled the proletariat in China resulting do one thing in order to do the to Alma Ata it was said that he from Stalin's policies, the C.I. then opposition Nazi groups from stagassembled in a Plenum stated: exact opposite-a method used he- took along with him a dozen pedi-"Events have verified the correcttween enemies and developed into greed hunting dogs, hunting rifles, ness of the line", etc., etc. This a fine art in the class struggle of servants, lots of furniture, fine the Orient-was now introduced clothes and a whole library, all the thing dumbfounded me. Although unable to properly assemble all into the Communist movement by comforts of a big bourgeois intel-

lectual. The vilification of the opthese things in my mind a sort of I cannot pride myself on having position in the official Russian press uncanny distrust took hold of me. understood it then. But I did smell must have been colossal, but we Somehow Stalin appeared, in my a rat in 1929 when Stalin in the foreigners could not read it. We consciousness as a dark force and I could hardly get rid of that feelwere supplied, however, with "quotations" from Trotsky's and Zinoing ever after.

viev's writings and plenty of analy sis of these quotations, but we never saw an actual textual exposition of the opposition leaders' tended not to have favored any of position written by themselves!

"Explaining" the Opposition

Trotsky's position, according to these "quotations" and commentar his tracks at the same time. This | ies which purported to "explain" the opposition's point of view, was of the American Left, sending them as follows: 1) A split with the peasantry. 2) Preparation of a war to "prove" that Stalin did not favor against capitalist nations. 3) Loos-

ening of the foreign trade monopobut neglect of the rest of economy. C. I. said. Such was the peppery dish pre-

ness to say we foreigners were (Lovestone) or "counter revolu- thus finally convinced that Trot-Stalin himself, had to occur in order to stir up the memory of things sky's position was all wrong, con-

of the past against the background era of Stalin's fancy theories of ing, "objectively" leading to a of present events. Now I know, of course, that all and severally the front from below. The stage was er this was further simplified to alleged deeds and views of the opposition led by Trotsky, as stated by Stalin and his clique, are out-

right fabrications. I know now

In the next issue I will point out

NEW MELTANT

PAGE 4

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The Real Issues in the Soviet Union

T HESE are times which impose upon all revolu-tionary 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 critics-which is voiced instinctively by every honest revolutionist -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 reenforcement, 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 ment and perspectives for the fuslander. 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

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 moveture.

Sydney Hook, in his article on cant analysis of the evolution of after it seemed to have been brokstarts the first round of a battle. and held several successful meet- in \$2,000 bail. in his article on Sydney Hook's ings outside the plant. At one of of Karl Marx". His chief criticism

is based on Hook's contention 1) with a pitchfork, who later ap-That Marxism is not a science, 2) peared with a shotgun and fired That socialism is not inevitable. ten times at the picket line, woun Hook will answer Gotesky in the ding five persons. Although brought next issue. Arne Swabeck writes to trial for this atrocity, the case against the scab was immediately darity to Glass. A local Glass Deon a current problem-the significance of the November elections. dismissed. At the instigation of the com-Among the special features will be

Steel Co.

pany, state troopers began a search 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 Englishspeaking world."

that when our economic system

who profit from that unworkable

system will attempt to maintain

themselves in power against the

of the majority, who are workers

help establish that government by

force, would that prejudice you

Need of United Defense Movement

The Sacramento case has the ut-

most importance for the labor

movement, especially for its pro-

gressive and radical section, on a

against me?"

W. Va. Unemployed League Aid Defense

Stanley Glass, Socialist and ac- | ed Glass and he was not appreive worker in the West Virginia hended until October 25, on a war- will not shed tears over the fate of Unemployed League, is facing a rant dated August 27-a day before a few White Guards and counterten-year sentence for "conspiracy the speech for which he was supto overthrow the government" for posedly arrested.

Glass's room was searched and Union. daring to revive a strike against the Baldwin Shovel Plant, a subhis wife's papers confiscated without a search warrant. He was secsidiary of the notorious Weirton retly taken to Parkersburg, the scene of the strike, and brutally Last August at the request of

the strikers Glass revived the third-degreed for two days and state in order to be adequately pre-Marx and Hess presents a signifi- strike at the Parkersburg plant nights by the police. Finally his pared for its own defense, we profriends learned of his whereabouts Marxist thought. Ruben Gotesky en; reorganized the picket lines; and secured his release on Nov. 3

On January 4 the state will call book "Towards the Understanding these meetings on August 29 Glass for his indictment under the Redwas threatened by a scab armed man 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 soli-

fense Committee has been organized at Charleston to take charge of the case. The Workers' Party for Glass with machine guns, and calls upon its membership to sup-

Mrs. Glass was told by troopers of port the activities of this committheir intention to murder Glass, tee. Contributions can be sent to J. Gordon, Chairman, 14 Capitol whom they knew solely as a "redheaded agitator". Strikers conceal- Street, Charleston, W. Va.

Hearst Red-Baiting inSchool System Vehemently Protested by Educators

That noted scholar, William Ran- | man schools under Hitler." It is just possible that the Dick dolph Hearst, who failed to obtain stein Committee will accept the his degree when he was a student challenge. Nothing, of course, could at Harvard, has recently been conbe more appropriate than an inducting an anti-red campaign divestigation of Benito Hitler Hearst rected at American schools and for Un-American Activities.

colleges. Mr. Hearst's only educa-While the New York Post and tional qualification is an honorary the World Telegram both carried LL.B. from Oglethorope, a jerkwater college in the south, a degree full column stories on the interview, the New York American (a which he received in 1927 some Hearst paper) was strangely silent, thirty years after his unsuccessful not a peep about Professor Counts. career at Harvard had been for-So Radical . . . gotten.

whole interview was forwarded to the revolutionary theories of Trot-

the Dickstein Committee on Un-|sky as opposed to the Socialistic

The next day, however, the edi-When Professor George S. Counts tor did rehash a story from last of Teachers College in New York, week on Professors Hook and Burnreceived a badly written letter last ham. Under a glaring misquotation week asking for "The inside stuff of Lenin the editor remarked that, on Socialism, Capitalism, and Com-"Last weeks press carried reports munism," he was forearmed. The of the merger of two groups 'so same crude provocateur's trick had radical that even the communists been employed by th e Hearst press have refused to have anything to at Syracuse University. The audo with them.'" thor of the letter, a Hearst reporter,

The editor was referring to the came into Professor Counts' office fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P., on his red-baiting mission to find and the conveniently vague, "last a stenographer, ready to register week's press" refers to no other journal than the editor's, the same New York American.

"Mr. Hearst," said the re-"Professor James Burnham of porter after some prompting, "is the Faculty of N.Y.U. is reported at present engaged in conducting to have been elected editor of the a 'red scare'. Personally I am New International. . . . Dr. Sydney not in sympathy with that sort of thing, in fact, quite the oppo-

Hook, also of N. Y. U., is said to gaining ground. The reactionary have been elected National Organizer.' This we are sure is as much news

ization," the editor continues, "de-

strange day when the Hearst press

to Professors Hook and Burnham common with the ideas and spirit as it is to us and the readers of his chief trial tactic. Caroline the defendants are bearing the self, but of the situation that makes the New York American. "The leaders of the new organ-

Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

Opportunist reaction is now clearly on the offensive in the party, and Right wing, led by the New York 'Old Guard"-in reality a conservative gang which has nothing in of socialism-pushes forward. The weak-kneed and unprincipled "Militants" retreat before them all

Sacramento Trials Aimed at Labor

(Continued from Page 1) criminal syndicalism charges were secretary of the Sacramento I.L.D. quite pally with one of the jurors entered.

ously, by spoken and written words worker), A. G. Ford, Luther Mincy, and personal conduct" advocating W. H. Huffine, Harry Collentz, verdict, of course. criminal syndicalism and "crime Mike Plesch, and John Fisher. sabotage, violence and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in in- the criminal syndicalism charges is are charged with the "crime" of have a right to act in their own dustrial ownership and control and set at \$3,000 cash or \$6,000 bond. distributing Communist literature, interest and to follow militant leadeffecting political change by advo- Those convicted of vagrancy or published by a legal party! Even ership in establishing a government cating violence and picketing and still under the charge would also those who are not party members which does represent the interests by particularly advocating the have to provide bail on this charge, are being attacked for Communism, overthrow of the government of the totalling \$1,000 each in cash or although the real objective is to and small farmers, and that I be-U. S. by . . . violence and force." twice as much in bond. This in-They are also charged with "jus- cludes Chambers, Wilson, Decker, tifyng criminal syndicalism", and Warnick, Norman, Kirkwood, Hung,

with printing, publishing, circulat- Ford, Collentz and Bigham. ing, etc., matter advocating crim- Of all these only two have been inal syndicalism. Among the docu- bailed out. One is Albert Houments on which this charge is based. gardy, whose bail was provided by are the Communist Manifesto by the I.L.D. and the Conference for are on their toes in the court, put-Marx and Engels, Lenin's On the Labor's Civil Rights, an organiza-Road to October, the Program of tion of liberals headed by Bishop ting questions to the jurors which the Communist International, and Francis J. McConnell. The other is various publications of the Com- Norman Mini, bailed out by friends. munist Party, the T.U.U.L., the Norman Mini is being defended by Intends. his chief trial tactic. Caroline the defendants are bearing the self, but of the situation that makes Decker makes a practice of asking brunt of a reactionary attack aimed it necessary for me to do this to'

Donald Bigham is Y.C.L. organizer. a Mrs. Rose. Mrs. Rose likes this All defendants are charged with The other defendants are Fred district attorney well enough to fails to satisfy the minimum needs "wilfully, unlawfully and feloni- Kirkwood, Lee Hung (a Chinese present him with a brace of ducks of the majority, the little minority ... but she will give an impartial

The Communist Party is legal in Two Out on Bail California and even appears on the will of the majority by force, and In all these cases the bail under ballot. These defendants, however, that I believe that the majority

men's League. Lorine Norman is | vealed that the Assistant D. A. is

smash the entire militant labor lieve it would be my duty to that movement of Sacramento Valley majority of which I am a part to and the state.

Prisoners Are Fighting

The prisoners are making a good fight themselves. Despite the misery of all these months in jail, they anticipate the district attorney's plans to wave the American flag as national scale. It is obvious that self the reporter said, "Not of my-

prospective jurors the

ATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1934

Resolution Adopted by N.Y. Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

the "democratic" United States, revolutionists who would restore the capitalist order in the Soviet

"Since the revolutionary workers of the world must know the facts about white guards and foreign agents who may threaten the Soviet test against the secrecy and mystery in which the Soviet Government has shrouded recent happen. in the "democratic" United States. will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counterrevolutionists who would restore ings. 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 reolutionists who, as Marxists, have always bitterly opposed individual terrorism.

"We demand, therefore, that perecution 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



NEW MILITANT

ers Industrial Union, and numer- servative Republican who, when a ous speeches, theses, etc. of the Judge several years ago issued the Stalinist Party. notorious

Finally, they are charged with against the LW.W. movement in "drilling as students and becoming California. Busick is reported to members of a class of students and have subsequently changed his engaging in the act or acts of per- views and is now a critic of the forming and executing military criminal syndicalism law. The redrills with intent . . . to effect a maining defendants are represented political change."

The prisoners are in the main I.L.D.

leaders and members of the Canably treated in jail. Among other nery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. Pat Chambers is things, Sheriff Cox has refused to its District Organizer, and was C. deliver to them literature and P. Senatorial candidate in the last newspapers sent by friends alelection. Caroline Decker is Dis- though such censorship is illegal. trict Secretary of the Union. Jack **Prosecution Is Crooked** Warnick is the director of the Sac-It has already been made clear ramento Workers School. Norman that the prosecution will be run on Mini is an instructor in the school. Sacco-Vanzetti lines: an outright Martin Wilson is section organizer attempt to bulldoze and hoodwink of the I.L.D. Nora Concklin, a the jury by playing upon its premember of the Unemployed Coun- judices. District Attorney Neil cil, is a direct descendant of one McAllister has already begun his of the signers of the American De- rough stuff. He got the wife of one elaration of Independence. Albert juror, Mrs. R. B. Nix, to state that Hougardy, C. P. Congressional she had been threatened by Reds. candidate, is Sacramento organizer An investigation disclosed that the of the C.P. Jack Crane is a mem- claim was a fake.

question : "Should the district attorney "Busick injunction" use such invectives 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 deby Leo Gallagher, retained by the cide my case entirely on the basis of the evidence presented?" The prisoners have been miser 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:

following at the working class movement as keep alive.' a whole. Up till now the publicity A stenographic report of the clare that they will be guided by

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 New York professors, members of 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 detailed news story from Sacramen o by our own correspondent.

CLEVELAND. - The American Newspaper Guild made another advance toward organization of news paper editorial writers with the signing of a 1-year contract by the Cleveland News. A minimum of

"If you should conclude from the \$40 a week is set for editorial evidence that I believe that the es- workers with four years' experisential meaning of democracy is ence. A 5-day, 40-hour week is esmajority rule, and that I believe tablished.

tion, that Mr. Hearst be investiis better able to appreciate the nonrevolutionary character of the Stalgated. Said Professor Counts: inists than the Stalinists them-"If W. R. Hearst succeeds in selves. Let us hope that Mr. Hearst his efforts American schools and will continue to give us free pubuniversities will be reduced to licity for what we are, the only the ignominious condition of Ger- revolutionary party in America. **Brownsville Mass Meeting** The Message of the Workers Party same decision. and the Russian Events SPEAKERS A.J. Muste J.P. Cannon 505 SUTTER Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, FRIDAY, JAN.4 -- 8:30 P.M.

theories of Stalin."

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 The editor has really got hold of into an agency of the Lovestone something here. It is indeed a 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

> > Fraternally yours, W. W. NORRIS.

Anti-Fascist United Front In Yorkville FRIDAY, JAN. 4, 8 P.M. Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. Proletarische Gemeinschaft, Young People's Socialist League.

ber of the Workers Ex-Service- | On the other hand, it was re-

New Year's Manifesto of the Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

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 sickness, old age-at the cost of expitalist profits.

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.

every word of the interview.

Cooking Up a Red Scare

site. But Mr. Hearst wants ma-

Asked if he was ashamed of him-

American activities, together with

a petition signed by twenty two

the National Educational Associa-

terial along this line."

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,

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.