

NEW MILITANT

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ALARM Signals in the Soviet Union!

By A. J. Muste & James P. Cannon

RECENT events in the Soviet Union, commencing with the assassination of Kirov and followed by secret executions totalling 103 at the present writing, cause the deepest alarm to the thinking revolutionary workers of the entire world for whom the Soviet Union is and has been since 1917 the star of hope and inspiration.

The alarm that every revolutionary worker feels at any indication of danger to the Soviet Workers' State is increased and intensified enormously by the secrecy and mystery in which the present happenings have been shrouded. For days after Kirov's assassination there was complete lack of any explanation as to the identity of the assassin or the reason for his act. Then the Soviet authorities placed the blame upon White Guards, counter-revolutionists left from the old Czarist regime. Later it was hinted that representatives of some foreign capitalist power were engaged in dastardly counter-revolutionary activities in the Soviet Union.

If the Soviet Union is in danger the advanced workers throughout the world will rally to its defense as they have always done and they will not object to drastic measures against conspirators.

The right and the duty of the proletarian state to adopt the sternest methods of repression against its class enemies is indisputable for a revolutionary worker. Lenin and Trotsky taught it. And history will applaud them for it, for the young revolution fighting for its very existence, and learning from the terrible mistakes of the Paris Commune that leniency to the class enemy ends in the bloody massacre of the workers, had to crush the resistance of the overthrown class with swift and terrible blows. But, once the power of the revolution was consolidated, after the working class had triumphed in the civil war and the wars of intervention, the prosecution of counter-revolutionists was conducted in court. From the beginning, moreover, Lenin and Trotsky always proved the necessity of their actions; they explained everything clearly, fully and honestly to the international working class as well as to the workers in the Soviet Union and were supported by them.

Workers who see the operation of the white terror in a large part of the world, the mass murder of the victims of fascism and reaction in Germany, Austria, Spain and other countries—not to speak of the killing of strikers in the "democratic" United States—will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counter revolutionists who seek to restore the capitalist order in the Soviet Union. They need only to be convinced that the victims are really White Guards and that it is really necessary to resort to such drastic measures against them.

The revolutionary workers have nothing in common with the hypocritical outcries of anti-Soviet elements, whether they be Social Democrats or capitalist editors, who come forward now with increased aggressiveness to renew their agitation for bourgeois "democracy" as against workers' dictatorship. These critics were effectively silenced in the past, or at least deprived of all influence among the advanced workers. If methods are now employed which enable them to raise their heads again it is only another count in the indictment of those responsible for the methods.

In the summer of 1922, more than twelve years ago, the trial of the leaders of the Social-Revolutionary Party, charged with responsibility for an organized campaign of terrorism and sabotage, took place in Moscow. It was held in open court in the one-time "Hall of the Nobles", then and now the headquarters of the Moscow trade unions. The accused, at the request of the parties and organizations of the Second International, were allowed to have foreign counsel—ironically enough one of the attorneys for the accused S.R.'s was Vandervelde, Minister of the Belgian King during the war and the present head of the Second International to whom the Comintern recently offered a "non-aggression pact". The guilt of the accused was established at the public trial beyond any doubt, in part by their own confessions. They were convicted of responsibility for and the direct organization of the assassination of Volodarsky, the attempts on the lives of Lenin and other Soviet leaders, the dynamiting of bridges and other acts of terrorism and violence against the workers' state. As a result of this open trial, conducted before the eyes of the world, the revolutionary vigilance of the Soviet Government was approved and endorsed by the international working class; the moral position of the counter-revolutionists, including the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, was completely destroyed.

So strong was the position of the Soviet Government then, in 1922, when the country was still suffering from the devastation of civil war and famine, when industrial production was at its lowest point, far below pre-war standards, before anybody had even thought of "socialism in one country", not to speak of proclaiming its existence—so strong was the position of the victorious revolution that the Soviet Government, with the approval of the Communist International, found it possible to commute the death sentences passed on the terrorists by the proletarian court.

It was Trotsky who came before the Executive Committee of the (Continued on Page 4)

Muste Calls for Funds To Carry on Mass Work

The contents of this issue of the New Militant give the reason why the drive for the \$5,000 Party Foundation Fund must be put over, and furnish at the same time conclusive evidence that it will be. Consider the situation: One of the founders of the Communist Party in this country, prominent leader in its trade union work, has joined the W. P. In at least two basic industries this week, automobiles and steel, the workers have again been put off with empty promises and gestures by the capitalists and the Roosevelt administration.

In automobiles, for example, one of the million and one Roosevelt commissions is holding hearings on "stabilization of employment", but refuses to listen to the testimony of workers regarding the anti-unionism of the bosses which is the root of the turmoil in the industry. Discontent mounts among the workers. "Send an experienced organizer," cry our Toledo comrades, "to get busy on this situation."

Look abroad and we witness the swift, amazing developments which have followed the assassination of Kirov in the Soviet Union and which constitute the subject of an important statement in this issue. On every hand, on the economic

and the political field, in the unions and in other political parties and groups, at home in the United States and abroad, the evidence piles up that the new party was launched at the most opportune moment, that in the midst of confusion and disintegration everywhere else, our Declaration of Principles sets forth clearly and sharply the answer to the questions of the day in the revolutionary movement.

COMRADES, WE MUST NOT SHRINK OUR GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES NOW BY FAILING TO RALLY ALL OUR RESOURCES AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT TO GET OUR REVOLUTIONARY MESSAGE TO THE MASSES.

Now every branch, every member, every sympathizer, must get busy. Bring in every dollar, every penny that can be raised. Forward money to the national office as quickly as you get it. A dollar given early in the drive will do the work of two.

FOR THE WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.!

FOR WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY!

A. J. MUSTE,
National Secretary

Steel Truce In Deadlock At Capitol

Roosevelt's Plan is Balked By Failure to Agree on Company Unions

WASHINGTON.—A three-point "truce" program for the steel industry ended in a conference deadlock when labor leaders, mindful of pressure from below, refused to agree to "company unions" in the industry.

The plan was submitted by President Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Perkins as the first step in carrying out the President's personal desire, announced in October, to extend the "truce" between workers and employers throughout the industry. It was submitted by the President at a special White House conference of leading steel barons and A. F. of L. leaders.

Sanctions Company Unions

The three points in the President's plan, which would have bound the steel workers for a period of six months, were:

1. The employers would bargain with all groups of employees.

This proviso would have given Federal sanction to company unions in steel.

2. Both labor and employers would recognize the National Steel Relations Board as the arbitration agency of the industry.

The proviso was submitted despite the fact that the Steel Board has been unsatisfactory to labor. The Board was appointed by the President at the time of the threatened strike in steel last June and since that time has been swamped with complaints and petitions from union locals in the steel centers, but has held only one election, at a small concern, the West Virginia Rail Company, where the workers won over the company union.

3. Both sides would agree on a six months' "truce", during which no elections of representatives for collective bargaining purposes would be held.

Myron Taylor, chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation, had been campaigning for several months for both the "truce", as outlined by Roosevelt, and the proposal that the employers should have clear governmental sanction of company unions.

Asks More Conferences

When it became evident that the conference had reached a deadlock, President Roosevelt asked the Steel Board to continue its "good work" and to arrange further conferences. The deadlock over the question of "majority rule" was caused mainly by the fact that Green, Tighe and other A. F. of L. representatives in the conference were being subjected to pressure from the rank and file, which is fast becoming more progressive and militant than the old-line union leaders.

What the next steps of President Roosevelt and the Steel Board will be was not announced. Unrest pointing toward a general strike is reported in steel.

Hit Sabotage In C.P. Trial

BERKELEY, Calif.—Indignation of the rank and file members of the Communist Party at the incompetence, mismanagement and outright sabotage of the defense of the 18 comrades on trial in the Criminal Syndicalism case at Sacramento last week the general membership meeting of the C. P. at Berkeley adopted a resolution calling the district leadership to account in the most scathing terms and categorically demanding a radical change of policy and attitude toward the case and towards the defendants involved.

The leading defendants, among them Caroline Decker, are allowed to lie in jail for lack of bail while favorites of the C. P. clique are taken out. Nothing is done to promote a broad united front with other working class organizations in behalf of the prisoners, the case is deliberately played down in the party press and a venomous campaign of slanderous insinuation is conducted against the leading defendants in the case. The reason: they are "suspected" of deviations in the direction of the Workers Party!

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MERRY CHRISTMAS - WHERE?

By DAN EASTMAN

The fifth Christmas of the Depression and the third of the New Deal is a very merry one indeed—in some classes. Looking through the newspapers one finds nothing but optimism, bright hope, and reassurance. Steel is turning up, Henry Ford is reemploying, recovery is just around the corner, unprecedented Christmas boom, business and government cooperate for the common welfare, department stores show rise, and so on and so on.

Somewhat overwhelmed by all this good cheer, your reporter determined to carry the message of Christmas down to the people. In Madison Square Park he stopped to have his shoes shined, and engaged the bootblack in conversation.

His name, he said, was Bill Shields, sixty years old, born on a poor farm in upstate New York. A tall, gaunt yankee, with a white stubble on his jaws, he was wrapped in an old army coat, and wore a ragged cap over his eyes. He kept his shoe cream bottle in an inside pocket, near the warmth of his body, to prevent its freezing.

"I make three to five dollars a week," he said, "depending on the weather. Make less in winter, barely three last week. I'd rather bootblack than go on home relief. They ask you too damn many questions, and even then you have to wait around for months before they give you anything. Of course if my health falls me, I'll have to take a different point of view. 'It's pretty tough in winter.

I'm here at seven in the morning, to catch the people going to work in the insurance building there. If it snows or rains it's much harder; but hanging around in doorways I can pick up thirty or forty cents. 'I calculate if I can get through February I am all right. February is the month," he shivered. How does he live?

Eats at Horse Markets
"Well," he said, "I used to have a swell room over on Second Ave., but it cost me three dollars a week. I had to give it up. Right now I'm down at the Washington flop house, twenty-five cents a night. I eat in the horse markets, the old coffee-and-joints."

I asked about horse markets. "I don't know why they call them horse markets. I guess they used to serve horse meat." He thought for a moment, "I guess maybe they still do."

What about the New Deal, the Christmas upturn, the recovery just around the corner?

To Keep People Quiet
"That's a lot of newspaper talk," he said, "Just a lot of newspaper talk to keep the people quiet."

"There won't be much Christmas for you," I said.

"No, Christmas is just like any other day for me. I'll come out and try to pick up a few cents. 'Can't afford to let a day go by."

The Muni
I traveled on across town to the municipal free flop house.

The soup kitchen is on an old wharf at the blind end of East 25th. The street is bound by high brick factory walls, and runs like an alley to hell, down to the East River dock. The walls are lined with men, mostly older men, leaning up in the sun, settling the stew handed out they receive at the wharf. All day long a steady stream of unemployed flows down the alley. On one side of the street is a dark, dirty stone building, the headquarters and dormitory of the city charity.

There are a good many drunks, old beary-eyed hulks. It is hard to tell just which are drunks and which insane; for there is quite a

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Joseph Zack, C.P. Leader, Joins the Workers Party

The trend of the revolutionary workers toward the new Workers Party was illustrated in the most striking manner this week by the action of Joseph Zack, one of the most prominent veterans of the American Communist movement, in withdrawing from the Communist Party and simultaneously joining the W. P.

As will be seen from the statement of comrade Zack which appears in another column he came to this decision after a thorough study of the fundamental problems which have arisen in the last decade and, in doing so, arrived at the same conclusions on all the principle questions as those outlined in the party's Declaration of Principles. The action of comrade Zack produced a sensation in radical labor circles in New York where he is known to every militant who has taken active part in the movement during the past 20 years. The panic of the leaders of the C. P., signaled by his hasty announcement of his "expulsion" after his resignation from the party, is increased

by the knowledge that he does not stand alone. The C. P. will have plenty of "expulsions" to announce in the near future, and the names of some of the most active and militant workers in the trade union movement will appear on the lists.

Joseph Zack was a foundation member of the Communist Party. He was a member of the Central Committee in the underground days and afterward. For years he was the head of the party trade union work in the New York district and secretary of the T.U.U.L. Later he held the same office in the Cleveland district whence he was "expelled" for the capital offense of having opinions and talking about them. Commencing next week the New Militant will publish a series of articles by comrade Zack which will be of interest to every revolutionary worker.

COMRADE ZACK'S STATEMENT

New York City

December 20, 1934

To the National Committee

Workers Party of the U.S.A.

Comrades:

I hereby present my application to join the Workers Party, having resigned from the Communist Party.

I have been a member of the C.P. U.S.A. since its inception. Before that I was a member of the Left Wing of the S. P. My differences with the leadership of the C.P. originated on the Trade Union question more than two years ago, leading up to the 1934 Party Convention held in Cleveland. As a result of my brief talk as a delegate to that convention, organization measures were taken against me in plain and flagrant violation of inner party democracy. I was threatened with expulsion 24 hours after the convention if I did not retract the views I had expressed at the convention the day before. I was immediately removed from all party activity. As a result the whole question of the inner party regime

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Auto Hearing Farce With Ban on 7a

Uncle Franklin Roosevelt, sitting on his fence down in Washington, seems to have heard rumors that the boys in the automobile and auto parts factories are getting restless again. The automobile code, due to expire Sept. 4, had been extended and there was still no action toward changing.

Something had to be done. So Uncle Franklin told Leon Henderson, chief of the NRA Planning and Research Division to take Dr. Isidor Rubin, statistical director of the Labor Department, and Richard H. Lansburgh, Henderson's associate director, up to Detroit and Toledo and Flint and other auto centers and let the workers tell them their troubles. (The President evidently knows a bit about psychology and letting people talk to keep them from acting.)

Then, he said, they should go to the manufacturers. And they should figure out some way to stabilize employment in the automotive field.

This Was Important

But, he said—and this was very, very important—they must be careful not to let the boys talk about Section 7a or Dr. Leo Wolman's National Automobile Labor Board. That would be against the rules, and furthermore it might be embarrassing.

So Uncle Franklin's helpers went to Detroit. They did have some trouble about 7-a. Matthew Smith, general secretary of the Mechanics Educational Society of America, the strongest union in the field, and Maurice Sugar, the union's attorney, protested vigorously, and they made it clear they expected nothing from the hearing.

Committee Heard Plenty

Even without 7-a, the president's committee heard plenty, as witnesses for the M.E.S.A. and the A. F. of L. Federal Auto Union told what the conditions in the automobile industry really are.

They made proposals, too. The M.E.S.A. proposed that there should be an annual guaranteed wage of \$2,000 for semi-skilled and

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Super Lobby Seeks Wage Relief Slash

Capitalists in United Front Against Labor to Put Screws on Congress

WASHINGTON.—The "super-lobby" set up by the capitalists who met last week at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., will lay before President Roosevelt and Congress when it convenes plans to put the unemployed on doles and to perpetuate company unions.

The united front of industry against labor was formed with the aid of members of Roosevelt's Cabinet. Ninety leading industrialists and bankers of the nation attended the conference.

Will Ask for Dole

For the unemployed, the lobby will demand that Federal relief be reduced and gradually replaced by the dole, the funds to be provided by local charity and the state through "strongly centralized bureaus".

For the workers in industry business will ask that the Administration continue the NRA codes another year, with labor having the right, as at present, to bargain collectively with employers through organizations of their "choice", including company formed unions.

United Front

The lobby will speak for the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association, railroads, banks, utilities and the corporations which control the country's industries. Permanent headquarters have been set up in Washington. The Administration, it was said, "can no longer misinterpret the desires of industry and business."

"Let industry take the lead in recovery," was in effect the slogan adopted.

Screws on Congress

A simple analysis of the united front and preparations being made to put the screws on Congress to halt government spending and stop labor organization reveals that the capitalists have got together to slash wages and living standards all down the line. A "wild" Congress is coming in, a Congress under pressure from the "people back home" to appropriate more and more funds to relieve distress and furnish work for the millions and somehow make President Roosevelt's golden political phrases and promises come to life.

The danger, as seen by the super-business lobby, is not that this can be done while they hold the reigns of wealth and industry, but that the people might begin to believe it is possible and so expect "too much".

Pressure on the Administration recently forced Harry L. Hopkins, Relief Administrator, to cut relief wages below \$12 a week.

The Journal of Commerce, which interprets business and political trends for Wall Street, predicted in the early fall that the Administration would soon be "forced" to reduce relief wages to help industry stabilize industrial wages at a "reasonable level".

Cats Eat Relief Meat--Live

TOLEDO, Ohio.—Toledo relief authorities have found a new way to test the fitness of meat for the bellies of unemployed workers and their children.

When unemployed workers here brought tainted relief beef to the authorities the relief agents set out to demonstrate to the workers that the meat was edible. Mice were put in the cage with some of the suspect beef, but the mice, caged and cazy, turned up their soft pink noses at the meat. Determined to show that the meat could be eaten, some alley cats were captured and fed the meat.

The cats, noting the similarity to their regular fare of garbage, pronounced the meat good. The nameless tabby martyrs convinced the relief authorities that the o f is—(a) not good for mice, (b) edible by cats, (c) perfect for unemployed workers and their children.

FOLLOW THE NEWS IN THE NEW MILITANT.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

MASS MEETING

Sunday, December 23rd, 9.00 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Pl. & 15th St.

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

FROM THE FIRING LINE

Wild Cat Strike Looms at Mine

JOHN L. LEWIS HOLDS ON BY STRONG-ARM METHODS

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—When the miners of mine No. 4, Panther Creek Coal Co., here made demands that the haulage way be cleaned and the wash house enlarged, they got immediate results. They issued an ultimatum that if the coal dust wasn't cleaned out of the haulage way in three days they would call a strike. So two days later the company worked a night crew to do the job.

Instead of enlarging the wash house, which is what the miners demanded, the company merely made some repairs. The wash house is dirty, cold, unventilated and dangerously unsanitary. The miners called state mining inspectors to examine the wash house as the state law was being violated. The company promised to arrange suitable washing facilities for the men and the state inspectors said they would return in three days.

Left Wing Polls Heavy Vote in P. M. A. Election

GILLESPIE, Ill. Dec. 14.—Joseph Burrell, president of local union 34, Gillespie, and former chairman of the Progressive Miners State Relief and Educational Committee, polled a good vote in the state union elections recently held, according to incomplete reports gathered here this week. Burrell was the left wing candidate for the position of secretary-treasurer of the Progressive Miners of America.

Burrell defeated Claude Percy, incumbent president of the union, by a vote of 106 to 63 in local union No. 77, Springfield. Burrell also polled nearly 500 votes in the large amalgamated local union at Gillespie. Unofficial reports state that Burrell also defeated the union president at Auburn, Pana, "Little Dog" mine and Local Union 12, Springfield. S. L. Jones, Sherman Stiehl and Jess Anderson were also candidates for the position.

Percy's candidacy for the position is an outright swindle as the recent convention of the P.M.A. as well as the first convention of 1932, stated that "no officer could succeed himself in office nor run for a lower office until he had worked two years in the mine after his tenure of office." The union president's candidacy is obviously a conspiracy for the right wing clique to perpetuate themselves in office through machine rule. Much indignation was expressed by the rank and file at Springfield, where the Progressive Miners of America have 14 local unions, seven under job control.

The six amalgamated striking local unions and local union No. 77 at Springfield voted in membership meetings to condemn the bureaucratic procedure of the union officers. Local union No. 77 also filed charges against Joe P. Goett, erstwhile Lewis tool, and now editor of the "Progressive Miner" because he refused to publish a resolution adopted by the local scoring Claude Percy's candidacy.

Unconfirmed reports state that a run-off is to be held for the position of secretary-treasurer since no one candidate received a decisive majority of the votes cast throughout the state.

The Party at Work

MEMBERSHIP MEET RAISES \$500 ON BUILD PARTY FUND

The program of action for the building of the Workers Party was presented to the New York membership at a general membership meeting Friday, Dec. 14, at the Stuyvesant Casino. The reporter for the National Committee, Comrade A. J. Muste, the National Secretary of the party, outlined the various points of the program of action and spoke of the enthusiasm with which the launching of the W. P. was met throughout the country.

The report of Comrade Muste was followed by a report of the New York District Organizer, Comrade Lewis, who dwelt on the concrete tasks before the New York District.

The Workers Party in this city starts out with seven branches in the various sections. All of these branches will very shortly have to be subdivided, since some of them are too bulky even now and new applications are coming in very rapidly. Over 40 applicants for membership in the party were received right after the mass meeting that followed the fusion convention.

The general membership meeting

rife. A "wild cat" strike is liable to break out any time.

In Benton, Ill., on Dec. 11, the day for biennial elections of the United Mine Workers of America, local and national, the rank and file candidates places on the ballot. In the Springfield and Franklin county sub-districts of the U.M.W.A., only the perennial office-holders were allowed places on the ballot. Dictator John L., of course, took care that no one should compete for his job. He barred Bill Sloan, Westville, Ill., and other rank and file members from the offices of president, vice president and secretary-treasurer. Sloan and his group were permitted, however, to appear on the ballot as delegates to the A. F. of L. convention.

So the Lewis machine rolls on, in spite of its tremendous unpopularity among the rank and file. One day the miners, under real leadership and organization, will destroy this infamous machine.

In St. David, Ill., where the fight between the Progressive Miners of America and the U.M.W.A. has been bitter for two years, George Stouffer, for years a gun toter and agent of the notorious Lewis-Farrington machine, and one Murray, also a former crony of the machine, are dead, victims of a gun duel. Stouffer was former sub-district president of sub-district 2, district 12 of the U.M.W.A.

Stouffer, recently proprietor of a beer tavern, shot it out with Murray; both were killed outright. Two other persons, one a woman, were wounded.

For two years, in St. David and the surrounding territory, the battle between the Lewis gunmen and the P.M.A. has resulted in much fighting. The field is now closely divided between the two unions. Neither has absolute control.

Leibowitz Plans Anti-Labor Trial for Scottsboro Boys

By HARRY STRANG

The moment approaches when the United States Supreme Court clerk will call to the bar of the highest tribunal of capitalist justice, the contestants in the historic Scottsboro case. And although the defense counsel must soon make his argument, the working class public is bewildered as to who that counsel will be.

Many weeks ago Samuel S. Leibowitz, reactionary flag waver once employed by the I.L.D., announced his claim to represent the boys. Ever since he has been mum as a clam. The I.L.D., having denounced its former ally as a traitor (because he did just what revolutionaries predicted he would do when he was hired) continues to shout that it represents the boys. . . and to offer a united front to Leibowitz, correctly characterized by the I.L.D. as an ally of the Southern lynchers.

United Front With Leibowitz

Why does the I.L.D., which for years would make no united front with reformism represented by Norman Thomas, or with revolution represented by those now in the Workers Party, offer Leibowitz a united front? Can it be that the I.L.D., having lost the support of the defendants, hope by an unprincipled united front with the ally of the Southern lynchers, to get, if not a front seat, at least a back one when the case comes to court? Leibowitz is silent because he is

Steam Shovel Dynamited

MINERS Eeking OUT EXISTENCE IN CLASH WITH COAL CO.

SHAMOKEN, Pa.—A steam shovel costing \$6,000, brought here last week by the Stevens Coal Company, was blown to bits when someone planted dynamite beneath it.

Coal diggers who belong to the United Anthracite Producers, a "bootleg group" numbering 1,600 miners, would have been thrown out of work by the new machine. These miners dig coal in small quantities, by hand, a small group to each "bootleg hole", entire families, men, women and children joining in the risky work.

The Stevens Co. turned up last week with a brand new steam shovel, prepared to wipe out the miners' holdings with a stripping. The miners barricaded the road leading to the tract, and succeeded in "persuading" the truck driver, who was hauling the shovel, to turn back.

Later in the day George Jones, superintendent of the Stevens Co. turned up with the state police. The barricade was torn down, but the ill-fated shovel hadn't gone a hundred yards before it slipped on the muddy road and went into the ditch. Mr. Jones then asked for a conference with the miners.

He said that the fate of the Cameron Colliery of the Stevens Co. depended on the successful working of the Edgewood tract.

Lester Koble, replying for the miners, observed that they were completely indifferent to the success or failure of the Cameron Colliery, and were only concerned for their own means of support.

The conference was a deadlock. A few hours later someone deposited several sticks of dynamite under the shovel and blew it to pieces.

confident. Having been told by the I.L.D. that it deserved their trust because it had enlisted Leibowitz's services, the nine defendants came to lean solely upon Leibowitz.

Would it be surprising that when the I.L.D. lost its boasted asset, the boys were to leave the I.L.D.? Leibowitz's "defense" plans include a furious attack not only on the I.L.D. and the C. P., but on all progressive elements, on all militants and advocates of working class mass action. Although the I.L.D. has not used mass pressure (substituting the opportunistic alliance with Leibowitz while he let them, and covering up with provocative stunts), Leibowitz is in a good position, thanks to the previous boosting of the I.L.D., to give the idea of mass action a black eye.

Leibowitz plans to do more more than attack all shades of militancy and radicalism. He means to whitewash Alabama class justice and sing praises of the Bourbon ruling class of the south. He wants to "put the Negro in his place", and to beg mercy for the innocent victims of a vicious frame-up.

All the more reason why a mass pressure campaign is needed. Some liberal elements who regarded the I.L.D. as very clever when it hired Leibowitz (and who now naturally prefer Leibowitz to the I.L.D.), oppose further mass pressure. They say mass pressure was helpful in the past but would be harmful now. Aside from the fact that they opposed mass pressure in the period in which they now say it was useful, the fact is that mass pressure is more essential today than ever before.

Every new turn in the Scottsboro fight makes clearer the need for a militant defense organization with genuine principles and a broad enough base to include all honest working class and progressive elements. Members of all trade unions and workers' political organizations should consider and prepare to act on this question.

"Save the Workers From Revolution!"

U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUSY

Words of Abraham Lincoln on Rights of the People To Change or Overthrow the Existing Government

One of the primary purposes of the United States Chamber of Commerce is clearly revealed in the report on "Combating Subversive Activities in the United States" which was sent out to its members for special consideration on Nov. 27.

The 29 page report defines as "subversive" all "activities of political or other bodies in the United States, having as their objective the overthrow, by force and violence, of the Federal, State and Municipal governments, and of the existing social and economic order of the United States." Mentioning anarchism as the main danger in the past, the report goes on to indict "Soviet Communism" as the real danger of the present post-war period.

Hit Working Class Violence

The authors pretend that they are not opposed to the aim of the communist movement—that is, to the replacement of the capitalist system by a new worker-controlled economic, social and political order. All they dislike is the method of violence. But do they protest equally against the Fascist murderers, to the K.K.K. terrorism and lynchings, to the violence breaking-up of peaceful picket lines by boss thugs, corporation police and state militia? No! The Chamber of Commerce has not one single word to say about any of this, but it sets up a special committee, prints pamphlets, and urges its members to press Senators and Representatives for action against the "Communists" because they are the "leaders and agitators" of the working class.

Defending Capitalism

The truth is the C. of C. is solely interested in defending capitalism and the interests of Big Business. And it is exactly its members who are most willing to resort to the use of force and violence, to the most under-handed stool pigeon methods, in order to defend their "rights" when confronted by organized labor. In fact, it is reliably reported that the C. of C. promotes a labor espionage bureau for the use of its members involved with unions.

In contrast to the Chamber of Commerce contention that it is "American" to try to reform the present order by amending the present laws peacefully and that it is "Un-American" to try to overthrow the system by revolutionary means, it is well to recall the political philosophy of early America. Abraham Lincoln expressed it quite clearly in his First Inaugural Address as follows:

Right of Revolution
"This country, with its institutions, BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE WHO INHABIT IT. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, OR THEIR REVOLUTIONARY RIGHT TO DISMEMBER OR OVERTHROW IT." . . .

After maintaining that Communism is an alien movement backed and sponsored by the Soviet Gov-

ernment, the report goes on to list all the subversive activities of communism from 1932 on: working class discontent and rebellion in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala, Great Britain, Belgium, Netherlands, Finland, Spain, China, Japan, Germany, Cuba and finally from coast to coast in the United States.

(Poor capitalists! But for a few thousand "communist agitators" the workers would be satisfied with this lovely world and let the rich live in luxury and peace!)

All to "Save" the Workers!

The Chamber of Commerce is going to "save" the working class from such evil influences as "communism"; therefore it recommends the following government measures of force:

1. The amending of the present seditious conspiracy law so that it would be more like the "World War Sedition Act" or the Canadian Anti-Red Law, so that stern punishment could be meted out to anyone who even dared to think that a revolution might be necessary.
2. That the U. S. mails be denied to any person or group advocating revolutionary or subversive doctrines.
3. That immigrants only be admitted on condition that their native country agrees to take them back on request of the U. S.
4. That no person believing in revolution shall be naturalized.
5. That stern penalties be provided for those persons or groups which try to spread anti-war or revolutionary propaganda among the armed forces.
6. That the Department of Justice be given authority and funds to set up a special department to investigate the activities of all persons, groups and organizations suspected of "communism" or "subversive activities" and to bring before the courts for punishment all those persons suspected of violating any of the broad measures mentioned above.

Wants Stricter Dictatorship

It is not enough for us to point out that this action of the Chamber of Commerce indicates that Big Business in this country has come to the conclusion that some strong anti-labor measures are necessary for capitalism's good and welfare. Business would like to take away from labor its right to free speech and self-organization. It wants a stricter dictatorship against labor. Therefore, it first intends to isolate and jail the radicals, the revolutionists, the militants, the fighters; then, if it succeeds, it will take the same measures against the freedom and organizations of the working class as a whole.

The aim of the Chamber of Commerce must be defeated! The working class must be aroused to the danger that threatens it! An organized mass protest of the entire labor movement can resist the attack at this time.

—A WORKER.

Why Mooney Remains in Prison

SAN FRANCISCO. — "Governor Stephens, it is my life you are dealing with."

"I demand that you revoke your commutation of my death sentence to a living death."

"I prefer a glorious death at the hands of my traducers, you included, to a living grave."

"I am innocent."

"I demand a new and fair trial or my unconditional liberty through a pardon."

These are the words Tom Mooney

sent to Governor Stephens of California sixteen years ago when at the wired request of President Wilson who feared "if Mooney is executed international affairs will be greatly complicated", Stephens commuted Mooney's death sentence to life.

Tom Mooney is still in San Quentin. All the world knows that he is innocent, yet he remains in prison.

Why? The answer is plain. Tom Mooney is a fighter for the working class. That is why he is held in jail, and only that.

CAPITALIST SABOTAGE

PITTSBURGH.—Steel, industry's basic unit, continues to reflect accurately Wall Street's sabotage in production. Steel finishing mills have operated at only 40% of capacity during 1934, despite America's vast need for good housing, railroad

maintenance, schools and cheap automobiles. For example production of steel sheets, used for automobile bodies, was only 27.4% of capacity. Rail mills operated at only 16.7% of capacity and heavy structural output was but 20.1%.

Here are typical figures of steel production capacity in tons and 12 months' production ending September 30:

	Annual capacity	12 months' production.
Heavy structural shapes	5,390,000	933,000
Plates	6,124,000	1,016,000
Standard rails	4,750,000	873,000
Tool steel bars	107,000	19,000

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IN THE UNIONS

By KARL LORE

Rubber Organizes
Big Bill Haywood of the I.W.W. hit Akron, Ohio in 1913. He organized a union and led a strike of rubber workers in that year which was smashed beneath a torrent of riot sticks in the hands of police and company guards. After the war and during the boom years unionism was practically dead and the few small groups which maintained an under-cover existence were unable to challenge the rulers of the industry.

In July 1933 the workers in the Firestone plant organized a Federal union of the American Federation of Labor. Two weeks later the Goodrich Rubber employees got their charter from the Federation. A great wave of union sentiment hit the area and under the leadership of young and militant rank and file a great organizing job was begun.

Is Akron Next?

A year later it was estimated that almost 100,000 rubber workers in various parts of the country were organized. The India Tire and Rubber at Akron had recognized the union. In Los Angeles, Regional Labor Board elections went overwhelmingly in favor of the A. F. of L. A vigorous four weeks strike at the Akron plant of the General Tire and Rubber had forced the signing of a contract. In December 1933 an attempt to organize an international rubber workers union failed, but a parade of over 10,000 greeted a convention held in Akron the next June which organized the National United Rubber Council.

Six months more have passed and the rubber workers face their greatest test. Akron may furnish 1935's first major labor explosion.

Yellow Dog Unions

Nor were the employers asleep. Company unions were immediately installed at the large plants without letting the workers vote on the proposals. Employee representatives were bribed with extra salaries. All expenses were paid by the companies. The representation plans did not provide for general meetings of the workers nor even for regular meetings of the whole body of representatives. Elaborate machinery was set up to defeat any possibility of even these armour plated plans being used to advance labor's conditions.

Put Up or Shut Up

Now comes the showdown. The unions in the great plants of Goodrich and Firestone in Akron petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for supervised elections in order to establish their right to act as the representatives of the workers. The Board ordered such elections held. Immediately both companies started suit in Federal court to prevent the N.L.R.B. from proceeding with the vote, and the Labor Board has agreed to postpone action pending the outcome of the court proceedings. J. A. Thomas, Firestone president, issued a circular to his workers in which he declared his intention of fighting the legal battle all the way to the supreme court. Labor has answered with a special membership drive. The unions claim that over 13,500 of the 21,000 employees of the two companies are organized, and predict that 75 to 80 per cent of the workers will vote for the A. F. of

L. organization in any poll taken now.

Another Wherton???

Here we have all the makings of another Wherton case. Will the organized rubber workers allow their fate to be dragged through an endless procession of capitalist court rooms till the spirit of their organization is broken and the banner of unionism dragged in the mud? The steel barons have succeeded in playing that game all too well. Aided by a cowardly, chair-warming pack of national union officials they have stifled the fighting spirit of the steel mill men and have reestablished the company unionism that was once so thoroughly washed up. The same problem confronts the organized rubber workers. The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, for example, has maintained an employee representation plan for the past fifteen years which is strongly entrenched. Real action on the part of the United Rubber Workers Council will do much to break up Goodyear's phony union. Delay in taking real steps, weak kneed handling of the situation, will have exactly the opposite effect.

Where Are the Progressives?

The initial organization work in the rubber plants was carried on by militant rank and file members. Later an A. F. of L. organizer, well versed in all the tricks of trade union politics was sent in. The progressives followed faulty counsellors and—inexperienced as they were—made a number of bad mistakes. The Federation officialdom took over the situation.

In place of the original organization structure by which all workers in any one plant belonged to the same Federal union local, the A. F. of L. chiefs introduced a modified craft union apparatus. Craft workers joined their craft organizations which were then supposed to be united in each case by a plant council. The unskilled and production workers remained in the Federal unions which were shorn of most of their power although they represented the great majority of the employees.

Briefs

Over 1,000,000 workers have joined 1,400 local unions of the A. F. of L. in the South since NRA went into effect according to Federation Organizer George L. Googe.

G. E. Beers, chairman of the Southeast Portland Lumber Company local of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen—better known as the 4 L's—should have known better than to try to get wage raises from that company union. He was fired when he did.

In April 1920 several thousand members of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen went out on an unauthorized strike. Officials of the B.R.T. immediately revoked the charters of the locals affected and ordered cancellation of their insurance certificates. The ousted members have been trying to recover their insurance in the courts ever since. They met on the tenth of December to try to figure out what to do next. Forget it boys. . . .

About 57,000 new members have joined the International Association of Machinists and 240 new locals have been organized since July 1933 says President A. Wharton. About 150 strikes have been conducted by the I.A. of M. in the last 15 months.

Books by Trotsky

Only a Limited Supply Left

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 3 vols. (Reg. Price \$10.00)	\$8.50
MY LIFE (Reg. Price \$5.00)	2.50
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OF SPECIAL INTEREST

Ten Years—History and Principles of the Left Opposition —by Max Shachtman10
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MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

The Profit System and Capitalist Sabotage

No class-conscious worker will be fooled by the revelations of so-called "inefficiency" in the handling of food stuffs for relief purposes...

Profits and Housing

Capitalist society in the throes of crisis is faced continually with the problems of continued economy. But so long as private property and profits remain the backbone...

Housing and the Building Workers

This does not mean that the government will not concoct schemes for aiding the languishing heavy industries through some form of subsidized housing.

Robins-Gras Free on Bail

Harold Robins and Andre Gras, whose conviction for assaulting a scab during the hotel strike was reversed last week by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court...

Happy to be free and ready again to take their places in the labor movement, Robins and Gras were confident that a new trial would prove their innocence once for all.

The Robins-Gras Defense Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, will continue the fight for the freedom of Robins and Gras from the charges against them.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

W. P. AND TRADE UNIONS

By ARNE SWABECK Secretary of Trade Union Dept. of the Workers Party.

IN THE program of action adopted at the convention giving birth to the Workers Party the central point is its trade union activities.

Thoroughly realistic, this program of action sets out objectives that are within reach of a live active force. Following further in the same fashion the initial steps are now under way to organize the party itself, its members who belong to trade unions, and to cement a firm contact with the progressive elements who are eagerly awaiting a lead to chart a new course in union movement today.

A trade union department has been set up. The party trade union fractions are being organized and the first steps taken to contact the live wire progressives in the various localities.

Munitions Makers Put the Screws on Roosevelt

President Overplays His Hand In Profitless-War Plan

WASHINGTON. — Last week's take-the-profit-out-of-war campaign was a lesson in capitalist politics. War has always been one of the crucial questions for a capitalist regime, for it is in war that the bloody contradictions of the class state become most apparent.

There can be little doubt that Roosevelt recognizes the ultimate necessity of war if the capitalist regime in this country is to continue. One need only remark that while the government handed out one billion in relief under the New Deal, it spent two billion, exactly twice as much, on armaments.

The Nye committee on armaments has barely scratched the surface. If the investigators care to follow every lead, no matter how indirectly connected with munitions, they would finish by indicting the whole capitalist state as a monstrous device for oppression, graft, and murder.

On Wednesday the committee was blundered on to some rather startling revelations of the conduct of our super-patriot, millionaire, "dollar a year" men during the last war.

There can be no doubt that President Roosevelt was put under pressure by just those financial interests that found the Nye committee so dangerous. The President responded nobly. He responded too nobly, he overplayed his hand, and for twenty four hours it looked as if he had actually laid bare the real capitalist nature of "our democracy".

A brief glance at the President's end-profit-in-war pronouncement reveals its source and its intent. The New York Sun said, "In announcing the afternoon conference on war profit laws, President Roosevelt declared that he hoped war would never come again, and that he was taking up the question now because there was at this time no war cloud on the horizon."

Leaving aside the asinine plety of hoping war out of existence where did Mr. Roosevelt get the idea that there was no war cloud on the horizon? The President knows that war with Japan over the Chinese market is always imminent; that war with Great Britain over the colonial market, especially in South America, is ever possible; that the war between Germany and France, now brewing, would involve the United States, very rapidly; to mention a few war clouds. As for actual wars—the Chaco dispute is, as the State Department knows, a war not between Bolivia and Paraguay, but a war

the party's trade union policy, etc. These are, of course, only preliminary steps to get the machinery into motion in order to take up the bigger points on the order of the day.

Basic Tasks The program of action for the trade union work centered around two basic propositions. The first and foremost is the creation of a national progressive movement in the trade unions. The second presented the idea of selection of a couple of concentration points, the section of the textile industry in New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania and the automobile industry in and around Detroit, Toledo and Cleveland.

Insofar as the first proposition is concerned, the crying need for a national progressive movement does not have to be emphasized to militant workers. In fact it represents to them a long felt need; but the forces to actually tackle the problem were not at hand.

that make this the only possible interpretation. First: The President, who is supposed to be taking profit out of war, concerns himself, not with corporations, but ominously with the mobilization of human beings. Second: The anti-labor, militaristic, capitalist nature of the board makes its intent plain. Third: The overwhelming evidence of history and circumstance points toward the conclusion that equal mobilization means equally low wages for workers, and equally higher profits for capitalists.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

Harlan "Law" Still Active

HARLAN, Ky.—Carl Williams and two other union miners were attacked and beaten in the Louellen Hotel here by Ben Unthahn, Frank White and George Lee, three of the 75 gunmen on Sheriff Middleton's deputy sheriff force.

Concentration Points The idea of selecting a couple of concentration points for our trade union work has to do with our initial party stage when with limited forces it would not be advisable to attempt to spread over the whole field at once.

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY. SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT

WORLD IN REVIEW

FASCIST STATE IN PORTUGAL

The dictatorship of President Carmona has ridden rough-shod over the rights of the workers and peasants of that country for the last nine years. Labor organizations have been suppressed, their publications suspended and workers' leaders imprisoned.

CHACO WAR TOLL HEAVY

As the Paraguayan army prepares to drive the Bolivian troops from their last strongholds in the Gran Chaco, the government of that country has rejected the proposals for settlement offered by the League of Nations.

POWER BALANCE IN EUROPE The following significant item, reporting from Paris that French policy is turning in the direction of reaching an agreement with Germany, is taken from the British New Leader, organ of the Independent Labor Party:

KNIGHTS OF LABOR The National Labor Union finally gave way to the Knights of Labor, an organization of all races and creeds, that sought to serve the needs of all who toiled. Thousands of Negro proletarians entered the struggles led by the early knights of the American labor movement in various parts of the country.

THE YEARS 1881-86 Sylvius was partly right, but his dream is yet to be realized. He visualized an age not his own. However, thousands of Negro and white workers lined up behind the Knights of Labor between the years 1881 and 1886.

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY The technical development of the United States' industry, the shortsightedness of the white proletariat, the mistrust of the Negro worker, and the betrayal of the Negro middle class are responsible for the many setbacks of the black proletariat in the United States.

SECRET WAR PLANS WASHINGTON.—Despite reports that the War Department will not permit the Senate committee investigating the munitions industry to bare to the country the secret arrangements between the government and big business for the mobilization of 1,200 peace-time and munitions factories for the production of gases, guns and explosives in the next war, Senator Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota liberal, chairman of the committee, said that "plans" would be gone into.

TREND IN FRANCE DOWNWARD The general economic situation continues to go from bad to worse, according to a news dispatch from Paris in the Sunday, Dec. 15 issue of the New York Times. "Unemployment statistics just issued," says the dispatch, covering the ending last Saturday, "show a rise of 9,658 over the previous week and 115,223 over the corresponding week in 1933."

LABOR SEEKS UNITY WITH BLACK That was true then as now. To make secure its position it exonerated white bourgeois philanthropy and renounced all efforts of solidarity of white and black labor. They preferred and still prefer seeing black labor remain subservient to the opulent whites.

Negro Workers in the Early American Labor Movement

Fight for Social and Economic Equality Since 1869

(Ed. Note.—This is the first of a series of articles by comrade Williamson on the history and problems of Negro labor in the United States.)

By SIMON WILLIAMSON

Negro labor in America showed the tendency to unite with white labor as early as 1869. It was then that four delegates, representing the interest of the black proletariat, appeared before the national convention of the National Labor Union. This organization averred itself as a purely industrial union, having for its only objective the securing for the producer his full share of all that he produced.

Against Labor The Lever Act was employed, just as the present proposed laws will be employed, against labor. Striking unions were held for "conspiring to make unfair profit".

Equally How Wages On the matter of equal mobilization—Is there anyone who supposes the President advocated \$10 a day wages for soldiers? What the President advocates is equally low wages for all working people, whether employed in bloody slaughter, or in the manufacturing of the instruments of bloody slaughter.

Local Philadelphia has also taken action with about \$75 pledged. Other branches have not yet reported. Antoinette Konikow of Boston sent a check for \$25 toward this fund.

White Labor Monopoly White labor finally organized itself into the craft unions of the American Federation of, should we say white, labor. These newly organized craft unions in many cases barred Negro labor, to insure white craftsmen of steady employment.

Middle Class Negroes The Negro middle class, which we shall discuss later on in detail, always despised white labor. It had made a bid for power. It can only exist on the antagonism of labor which has resulted in separation.

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Foundation Fund Campaign

Fusion between the former American Workers Party and the Communist League of America, is consummated. The Workers Party of the U. S. is launched. The membership of the two organizations is now functioning in united branches and the enthusiasm engendered at the mass meeting which launched the party, is taking concrete form.

The eleven points outlined in the Program of Action, printed in the first issue of the New Militant are taking on life. Reports from the country show that new applications for membership are being received everywhere. The organization of the two coast to coast tours is under way with a short three week Cannon-Muste tour as a forerunner to begin January 13.

Local Philadelphia has also taken action with about \$75 pledged. Other branches have not yet reported. Antoinette Konikow of Boston sent a check for \$25 toward this fund. A close New York sympathizer writes that the news of the fusion and the launching of the new party thrilled her to such an extent that she stands ready to contribute to the Party Foundation Fund \$200 for every equal amount we raise from others, up to a total of \$1,000. We call upon all friends and sympathizers to rush their contributions so we can make up the first \$200 as fast as possible.

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RUSH FUNDS! PARTY FOUNDATION CERTIFICATES will be issued for every donation over \$1. If you can't make a contribution, send for a collection list and a certificate will be issued to you for the amount collected. DON'T DELAY! ACT TODAY.

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Alarm Signals in the Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist International, at the head of a delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to seek approval of this commutation. He explained: We must show that we do not disregard the wishes of the social democratic workers of Europe who have asked us to show leniency. We must convince them that we do not follow a policy of revenge. And, moreover, we must show the world that we are strong and can afford to moderate our penalties against those who are completely defeated.

If the Soviet Government could act so openly and yet so firmly, could display such strength and, at the same time, such moderation in 1922, how is the present procedure—the secrecy, the hysteria and the suppression of all real information—to be explained?

How does it happen that secret trials and secret executions are necessary in the 18th year of the revolution? The capitalist opposition was smashed to bits in the civil war, and the interventionist armies were routed in battle while Lenin was yet at the helm, while Trotsky led the Red Army and Zinoviev was chairman of the Comintern and the Petrograd Soviet. The great advances of Soviet economy in the past ten years, unparalleled in the history of the world, cut the ground from beneath the feet of capitalist restorationist elements and completely shattered their morale. How does it happen that they can now suddenly rise up again and begin an aggressive campaign of terror?

If it is maintained that precisely the growing strength and invincible position of the Soviet Union have inspired some foreign capitalist State or States to a desperate attack—if that is so, then it is necessary to mobilize the working class of the world against the foreign capitalist enemy, especially the workers in the country or countries involved. And for that, not secrecy and ambiguity are needed but the plain truth plainly told. The imperialists and their diplomats work very well in the dark; for them whispers and hints suffice. Not so the toiling masses; they move in the broad daylight; they need to see and to know where they are going. If some capitalist power is attacking or preparing to attack the Soviet Union at the present time it is necessary to let the workers know the name of the enemy. It is necessary to drag the conspirators out into the open and put their agents on trial before the eyes of the world in order to inform and mobilize the workers for the defense of the Soviet Union.

This, however, is not the course being followed by Stalin, the Soviet bureaucracy, the Communist International. The Daily Worker illustrates the method which is being followed—the method of sowing confusion and demoralization in the working class by hinting one day about unnamed capitalist powers and the next day about party-political opponents of the Soviet bureaucracy and the C. I., who, as every one knows, have nothing to do with capitalist governments. Instead of reporting facts and citing proofs and appealing for a common working class front for the defense of the Soviet Union, as would be done by serious people if there were a real danger and a serious desire to meet it, the Daily Worker occupies itself with bizarre descriptions of the "united front of counter-revolution stretching all the way from the Japanese imperialists to the German fascist butchers and on down to the Russian white guards, the Trotskyites with their unholy alliance of J. P. Cannon and A. J. Muste," and so on and so forth. (Dec. 19.)

The workers of the United States have seen the Daily Worker and the so-called Communist Party pursue this tactic of throwing mud at any and every one who ventures to criticize their insane policies. The workers of the U. S. see through this tactic. It is discredited. Nobody, not even the C. P. members will believe this latest slander. Only insane desperation could lead to the resort to it now. The inevitable effect is to deepen the distrust of the present bureaucracy of the C. I. and the Soviet Union.

We do not know the facts surrounding the assassination of Kirov. They are concealed from us as they are concealed from the whole international working class. We do not know whether he was killed by a white guard or by a worker whose antagonism to the bureaucracy led him to the anarchistic

act of individual terror. There is plenty of ground for the latter assumption, since the individual responsible is reported as a former member of the party. If that is really the case, and if similar attempts have been made or planned by others, the international working class is entitled to know all the facts and is also entitled to an explanation of why such incidents, which never occurred in Lenin's time, occur now in the 18th year of the revolution. Such a movement, taking the extreme form of individual terrorism, could only arise from profound social causes and would need the inspiration of an anarchistic or social-revolutionary philosophy. If such a movement, animated by such a philosophy, really exists today in the Soviet Union it is a fearful indictment of the Soviet bureaucracy.

In any event, whether the terroristic acts were committed by capitalist agents or by demoralized and disoriented workers, the attempt to attribute the responsibility for them to party-political opponents of Stalin is a fraud on its face, and every revolutionary worker knows it. Every one in the least familiar with the history and literature of the Marxist movement knows that the Marxists always based themselves on the mass movement of the workers and opposed individual terrorism as a political weapon on the ground that it operates against the organization of the mass movement and becomes a substitute for it. Marx and Engels opposed individual terrorism. Lenin, following them, did likewise in all the years of his revolutionary activity. So did Trotsky and Zinoviev and every one of the leaders of the Russian revolution. The Communists in every country have had to explain to reactionaries who accused them of terroristic actions. Is it necessary now to explain it to the Stalinists?

Evidently they do not dare to make the direct accusation that Zinoviev, the former chairman of the Comintern and the co-worker of Lenin, had anything to do with a terroristic group. But they have begun to whisper and insinuate it in order, at the next stage, to make a bolder and more direct accusation and then to "connect" Trotsky and his adherents and everyone else who raises a critical voice.

In the light of what has taken place in recent times, in the light, especially, of the turns in Soviet foreign policy—the recognition agreement with the United States, the entry into the League of Nations which Lenin called the "thieves kitchen of Geneva", the pacts with capitalist governments to defend the boundaries established by the Versailles Treaty—in the light of all this, the enlightened workers of all countries have the duty to probe deeply into the present situation in the Soviet Union and ask what is behind the official propaganda. Does Stalin contemplate a still further turn to the right in foreign policy and, fearing the rise of a new proletarian opposition, does he seek to silence it by a preventive terror? Is the talk about a capitalist attack a pretext to alarm the masses and enable Stalin to take bloody revenge on honest opponents in the revolutionary camp? Is the revolutionary opposition to the regime of Stalin growing inside the country as it is growing outside on the international arena?

We contend that the present methods of the Stalin leadership, which bears the responsibility for a chain of working class defeats throughout the world, is aiming a mortal blow at the Russian revolution itself. The Stalin group would lead the Soviet Union, as it led the German working class, blindfolded to catastrophe. The international working class is the one power in the world that can prevent this catastrophe. It must do so in its own interest, as well as in the interest of the Russian revolution, for the fate of one is bound up with the other.

The defense of the Soviet Union, its real defense by revolutionary workers, not the empty pretences of careerists, not the counterfeit defense of those who cover up and justify every crime of the bureaucracy and slander honest opponents for hire—the real defense of the Soviet Union requires a merciless criticism of the methods of the Stalin bureaucracy in the present situation, a demand for complete information produced at open trials and a mighty proletarian protest against the attempt to link the proletarian opponents of the Stalin regime with the agents of capitalist counter-revolution.

Today again, as in the first years of its existence when the imperialist bandits of the whole world surrounded it with a ring of steel, the fate of the Russian Revolution depends directly on the international working class. The task today is more complicated, but the responsibility is no less direct. The Soviet Union is the greatest conquest that has been gained by the working class in all its history. It embodies the inspiration, the hope and the example that will lead the workers to victory and emancipation throughout the world. The international working class must come to the aid of the Soviet Union now against the mortal dangers which menace it from within as, from the first, they have defended it against the external enemy.

The defense of the Soviet State requires now more than ever a merciless criticism and exposure of the ruling bureaucracy. It requires the building of a revolutionary proletarian force in the capitalist countries strong enough to put pressure on the bureaucracy and to give real aid to the working class of the Soviet Union. Above all, it requires a force that can challenge capitalism in its seats of power and overthrow it.

That means for us— Build the Workers Party of the United States! Build the New, Fourth International!

Joseph Zack Joins Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1)

in the C. I. and the C.P.U.S.A. arose in my mind as a major issue of even greater importance than the trade union question itself.

I thought: "If I, a party member of 15 years standing, can be deprived of my rights so easily, what chance has an ordinary party member to express his opinions on any basic question?"

I soon enough realized that in order to understand what had happened to the C. P. I had to unravel a whole chain of events and problems upon which thought in the party is forbidden. I found out that the abolition of inner democracy in the party and the Communist International had its origin with the expulsion of 14 members (co-workers of Lenin) from the Central Committee of the Russian Party, led by Trotsky, and suppression of their platform four weeks before the party convention in 1927. Following this event the same regime was established gradually in all parties of the Comintern.

Digging further I found out that the Stalin regime had revised the policy of Lenin on the colonial question and the independence of the proletarian party, affiliating the C. P. of China in 1924-27 to the Kuomintang (bourgeois party led by Chiang Kai Chek), thus becoming a partner to the betrayal of the Chinese revolution. At about the same time the C.P.U.S.A. was pursuing the policy of organizing the Farmer-Labor party and flirting with La Follette in the United States. All of this constituted a denial of the independent role and leadership of the proletariat and its party in the struggle of the masses in and outside of the colonies. The same thing was done in England through the alliance with the trade union bureaucrats that betrayed the British general strike in the top united front known as the Anglo-Russian Committee.

I had to realize that the theory of "social fascism" which then followed as the next "general line" and which represented the "left" zig-zag away from Leninism, with its exclusive policy of "united front from below", brought in its train the then "new" trade union policy of "red unions" and our isolation from the masses, working into the hands of the labor-fakers and social democracy, a line of policy which led to the defeat of the working class everywhere and capitulation to Hitlerism in Germany. The same pseudo-left line isolated the peasantry from the working class in China, resulting in an isolated peasant war and so-called soviets without the working class.

In each case the C. I. declared that its line has been proven correct by events, that the treacheries of social democracy are to blame for the defeats in spite of the correct line of the C. I. In Bulgaria, however, the C. P. had a majority of the working class and a decisive following among the peasantry. Still the bourgeoisie defeated the working class with the greatest of ease. The C. I. has never explained yet how the social democracy was able to keep a dominating hold over the masses if the policy of the C. I. was correct. They simply assume that the masses were incapable of responding to a correct policy. In each case C. I. representatives were on the ground and the policy was shaped by them personally and by directives from Moscow; hence, the failures and defeats cannot logically be blamed on the "inexpertness" of the local leaders.

I then had to look for the root of the problem, so to say, for it cannot be possible that all this train of major defeats of the working class since Lenin died, inside and outside of the U. S., can be ascribed to everybody else, with the C. P. being always correct. I found that at the bottom of it all is the nationalist theory of Stalin of "Socialism in One Country"—a complete departure from the proletarian internationalism of Lenin. This theory lies at the root not only of the disastrous policies of the C. I., led by Stalin, but also the present unproletarian foreign policy of the Soviet government. The work of all the parties of the C. I. is thus subordinated to the exclusive aim of "building socialism in one country", a policy which is not only non-Marxist but cannot be a base for the attraction of the international proletariat and the realization of its revolution. Such a policy is bound to lead to the weakening of the Soviet power itself, a distortion of its course and its disassociation from the international revolution and hence to the weakening and defeat of the entire working class in and outside the Soviet Union.

The latest zig-zag of the C. I. under Stalin is now to the right again, showing strong signs of degeneration into menshevism and social patriotism in the face of the imminent war danger. At a time when the social democratic leaders are about to repeat their patriotic role of 1914 the C. I. signs non-aggression pacts with them (united front from the top again) which include (France) clauses not to criticize the S. P. leaders even inside of the C. P. meetings. This in a country whose government is in alliance with the Soviet government and where the S. P. bureaucracy is preparing to play a patriotic role in case of war. The same

"non-aggression" pact" was offered to the Second International as a whole.

On the trade union question, in order to do away with this "irritant" to the united front with social democracy and the labor bureaucrats, particularly in countries of prospective war alliance, the new unions, regardless of their mass basis or the will of the membership are being driven and manipulated back into the reformist Federations on any terms. The ruinous policy of "red unions" is thus giving way to a fetishism of the A. F. of L. and a policy of capitulation covered with left phrases to the labor fakers.

Thinking over these questions I found that, all and severally, they were the problems raised by the Russian opposition led by Trotsky; that these were the reasons that this opposition, the true followers of Lenin, were expelled from the Russian party and from Stalin's Comintern.

I found that in order to isolate the Communist workers from the "contaminating" influence of Trotsky's Leninist position, the discussion of these major problems is forbidden. Inner democracy is throttled in all the parties. These sterling revolutionists, who more than anyone else are working against the stream, are branded as "counter-revolutionists", and pretense is made that their criticism of Stalin's bureaucratic regime is slander and opposition to the Soviet power.

Stalin and his bureaucratic clique of usurpers rose to power on the decline of the revolutionary wave and the tiredness of the Soviet masses after war, civil war and intervention. They suppressed Lenin's testament in which Lenin, in his last words to the party before

his death, demanded Stalin's removal as a menace to the party and the working class. They introduced a system of double-bookkeeping in the Communist movement. They did not dare to print the Bolshevik program of the Russian Opposition. The Stalin clique, when polemizing with opponents, introduces false quotations that have nothing in common with the actual point of view spoken or written by them. They imprison and exile proletarian critics of their disastrous adventurist and opportunist policy. They introduced the alien concept of Napoleonic "big shots" and papal infallibility into the proletarian movement. These, in brief, are the reasons why they cannot hold the adherence of serious, honest revolutionists. These are the reasons for the decay and decline of the C. P., its enormous turnover in membership, mass flight of the workers from it.

I therefore join with those international revolutionists in the Workers Party of the U. S. and work to represent in theory and practice the best traditions of Leninism and the international working class movement.

To those still remaining in the C. P. I say: Workers, remember Lenin's word that "anyone who does not acquaint himself truly with both sides of the controversy before deciding is an idiot".

I have been guilty of such idocy for a number of years, but no more.

Comradely, JOSEPH ZACK.

P.S. In a series of articles to follow, I will explain in a manner undeniable by any one the actual situation in the C.P.U.S.A., both as to the trade union question and inner regime J.Z.

Merry Christmas - For Whom?

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lot of mild insanity, induced by hardship and old age.

As I walked down the street one man accosted me.

Waiting

"I've been waiting for you," he said, "I've been waiting right here ever since Monday."

I told him he was mistaken. "Don't tell me, I know your tricks. Didn't you promise me you'd be coming down?"

I pointed out that we had never met.

"No," he mumbled, "We never met; but just the same you can't fool me, you said you were going to meet me here."

Further on I leaned up against the wall opposite the dirty grey lodging house. A continuous line on crutches issued from the door marked MEN. I guessed that those who were crippled were fed inside, instead of at the wharf.

An old six-footer with an expression of good humor started to swing across the street. One of his crutch points slipped into a crack in a manhole cover. The crutch shattered and he fell to the pavement.

He didn't want to be picked up, and managed to right himself with the remaining crutch. With some trouble he hobbled over and leaned against the wall near me.

He was embarrassed, although no one had paid any attention to his fall. He shouted and mumbled every time anyone passing saw the broken crutch lying in the street.

"It's a violation of the municipal ordinance," he yelled to no one in particular, "There is a state law against it, there ought to be a railing."

He was silent and then began to shout again. He liked to use long words and pretend he was making a serious political or religious oration.

I asked if I couldn't get him another crutch.

"Crutch, crutch?" he said, "Where are you going to get one. This is a fifty-six inch crutch; they don't make many that long."

I went across the street and interviewed one of the clerks.

Gala Christmas

"Yes," he said, "They get an extra dinner Christmas. Chicken, mashed turnips and potatoes; same as they had Thanksgiving. We'll have a tree for them. The police band comes up and the police glee club sings. Then they all get Tootsie Rolls to take home with them."

"We're getting more and more every day, feeding about twenty thousand at this station right now. More and more white collar people too. They hang on as long as they can; but finally get tired of living on relatives, and take it on the chin."

I went back and reassured the six-footer that some one would be over with a crutch.

On the way out I fell in step beside a well dressed young man. When I asked him for a story he was suspicious.

"You ain't a phony," he asked, "A detective or something?"

No I wasn't a detective. "What do you want my story for? It's just like all the rest. You can see what its all about, can't you?"

A Place to Stay

I insisted. "Well," suddenly, "I'll tell you, but I won't tell you my name. I don't want anybody to know I'm coming here."

"I'm an Irishman, born in the old country twenty-four years ago. I've been in America sixteen years. I've been a member of the union, local sixty, for seven years. A mechanic, a plasterer I am. I lost my last job about eight months ago. I haven't been able to get a scrap of work since. What the hell, a fella can't starve, so after three months I started coming down here. I gotta place to stay all right, but I gotta eat."

I said goodbye to the Irish plasterer, and went on down town to Corlears Hook on the East River. There, beside the river, fronting on a bare, municipal, waterfront park, is the empty Gold Dust factory building.

The Gold Dust Lodge The tugs chugging up and down

the East River whistle mournfully.

The Gold Dust factory has been lent to the Salvation Army. The machinery has been cleared out, and row upon row of dingy cots have taken its place. There is only one small entrance to the massive building, a door at the dark end of the loading platform.

Men kept coming out the door, turning up their collars, and drifting across the bare cement of the park. I discovered that the memorial Greek temple in the center of the park housed a public toilet in its base. The men drifted over to the temple, went in, reappeared and drifted back, hardly stopping, never looking around, never speaking, drifted back and disappeared into the tiny doorway of the factory.

I stopped one, a blond man dressed in a new pair of pants and a leather jacket.

"Story? You want a story?" He laughed apologetically and spoke with a thick accent. "There is no story. I am a chauffeur, a chauffeur for private cars; people don't keep chauffeurs any longer."

"I am Swedish; I have been back and forth many times. The last in 1930, now I wish I had not come."

Any family? "A wife and a child in Sweden. They are all right, I thank God for it; my wife is working."

I asked why he didn't get himself sent back.

"I can't do that," he said, "I must have money when I go back. If I do not buy my own ticket and have five or six hundred dollars when I arrive they will think I am a failure. In Sweden they think there is still prosperity in America. If I come back poor they will not give me work."

I asked how long he had been at the Gold Dust.

"Just two months this winter. I am always trying to get work. In summer I usually manage all right. Last summer I worked in a restaurant. They do not pay enough, only your meals; and I must make money to get back to Sweden. Maybe it will be better this summer. Who can tell?"

I asked what he thought of the New Deal.

"The New Deal? It is nothing new. What is the difference if you get all the unemployed together, like this, or leave them all alone; there is nothing new either way." "Christmas? I suppose we'll get the same thing we had Thanksgiving. Chicken or something. There's a Joker in that though. I missed Thanksgiving dinner, and all they had that night was fried potatoes and coffee."

Auto Hearing Farce With 7a Under Ban

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\$2,500 for skilled workers irrespective of the number of months employed; that the eight-hour day and 30-hour week replace the present 12-hour day and 84-hour week they said the code allows; that an unemployment insurance plan be put into effect, to begin as soon as a man becomes unemployed, continue during the entire period of unemployment, and be administered by the workers' organizations.

What They Told

They told of a speed-up system so great the men can't take time out for hygienic needs, so great that older men are forced out of employment.

They told of the Ford welfare plan, whereby employees may get, out of a \$4 wage, \$1 in cash and the rest in credit for relief supplies, so that most of them are unable to check on exactly what they are getting.

And they told of a spy system so effective that when Smith lost the minutes of a meeting of the M.E. S.A., he got a copy from the files of the Motor Products Co.

They described how Ford had movies taken of a mass demonstration, then fired all his employees who could be identified. He even fired men who tried to take up a collection for flowers for the four men killed last year in the demonstration at his River Rouge plant.

These and many other things, the workers told Roosevelt's deputies.

In Toledo the M.E.S.A. and the A. F. of L. union prepared to present further evidence to the board. The Toledo branch of the Workers Party, which has been active in the automobile field, planned to have a speaker to show the impossibility of stabilization in the automotive industry (or any other industry) under the profit system. Using a factual survey of the Toledo automotive industry, the plan is to expose the automobile labor board and the entire NRA machinery.

Theatre Benefit

A theatre benefit of "Sailors of Cattaro", the new play of the Theatre Union, will be given by the Workers Party Thursday, Feb. 7, at the Civic Repertory Theatre. The play, which follows "Stevenson" at the theatre, is the third presentation of the Theatre Union. It has been receiving very favorable criticisms.

Tickets for the benefit will be sold at the regular theatre prices, 30 cents to \$1.50. They may be obtained by members of the party from their branch secretaries, and by sympathizers at the party's national headquarters, Room 702, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.

Printers' O. K. Aids Striking Reporters

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operation between the editorial and the composing and printing rooms. Unfortunately, the printing group has not yet taken a firm stand. Privately the leaders are for the strike. But to come out publicly would put their membership on the spot when their contract expired. So they have hedged.

Newark Typographical Union 103, for example, after directing the president to appoint a committee to draw up a resolution endorsing the strike, but "in no way to interfere with our contractual relations with the Ledger", never received a report from the committee. Finally, after the Allied Council had passed its resolution of endorsement, the committee voted to ask the executive committee whether a separate resolution for the typographical local was still wanted. They are still afraid of offending the publisher.

No Arbitration

The Newark Newspaper Guild, on the other hand, has drawn a clear "no arbitration" policy and has made history by fighting a white collar strike on trade union lines. Within four hours after the strike was called, at 4 in the morning, 42 of the staff of 63 had worked out. The strike was an answer to Pub-

lisher Russell, who, when the guild repeatedly requested him to meet representatives to consider establishing contractual relations, fired eight guild members.

Scab-Law or No Law

The strike was well organized at once. A sound truck for the duration of the strike was donated by Motion Picture Operators' Union 306 of New York. The men on the truck were instructed not to use the word "scabs" which is considered libelous in New Jersey, and not to ask people not to buy the Ledger. That was boycotted and against the law. Today, with a new law making its operation illegal, the truck rides past the Ledger office, blaring the word "scabs".

The changing attitude of the strikers is illustrated by the story of one girl reporter. A month ago, when the strike was new, she volunteered to broadcast from a radio station. "I'd rather do anything than picket," she said.

The other day a mass picket squad came into the headquarters. As the others piled their picket signs on the table, one girl left hers on. "I think I'll go out for another hour or so in a few minutes," she said. "I think the scab who is working my job will be coming out."

It was the same girl who had not wanted to picket. Thus do workers—even white collar workers—learn how the bosses treat their loyal workers when they begin fighting for themselves and their rights.

Hits C. P. Sabotage In Trial of Cal. Militants

(Continued from Page 1)

The resolution of the Berkeley membership meeting does not merely words in its condemnation of this whole procedure. It says, "the conduct of the District Office in conjunction with that of the International Labor Defense in this case is one of sabotage". Publicity is described as "misérable" and the lack of a united front "criminal".

Protest is made at the failure to raise bail for the politically important comrades, especially Decker, and the demand is made that it be furnished at once in order that she may be used for propaganda purposes in the raising of bail for the others.

The demands presented in the membership resolution included: The formation of a united front defense movement to include all working class political parties and the trade unions on the basis of a fight for elementary working class rights; non-sectarian methods; a united campaign of mass meetings and demonstrations; real publicity for the case; a real campaign to raise funds on a broad basis for bail and trial and appeal expenses.

(Ed. Note.—Next week we hope to have a comprehensive news report about the extremely important Sacramento case.)

MASS MEETING Communist Party Swings to the Right

- 1. The liquidation of independent unions as a part of its new trade union policy. 2. The swing to the right in united front policy. 3. The bureaucratic inner regime in the C. P. and trade unions dominated by it. 4. The cause for the defeat of the proletariat in Germany, China, Spain, etc., and the disintegration of the Communist parties since Lenin died. 5. The nationalist, unproletarian foreign policy of the Soviet Government and its alliances and unity pacts with Fascist and bourgeois governments.

SPEAKER:

JOSEPH ZACK

Formerly member of the Central Executive Committee of the C. P. and secretary of the New York Trade Union Unity Council. Recently resigned from the C. P. in favor of the newly formed Workers Party of the U. S.

WHY I JOINED THE WORKERS PARTY

Will Be Explained by Comrade Zack and Others Recently Resigned from the C. P.

SUNDAY, DEC. 30th 1934 8 P. M.

IRVING PLAZA HALL, 15th Street and Irving Place Admission Free All Workers Invited