

NEW MILITANT

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

VOLUME I, NO. 3

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1934

PRICE 3 CENTS

Prepare for a Year of Determined Struggle!

To the American Working Class:

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

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

CONDITIONS GET WORSE, NOT BETTER

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

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

New Year's Manifesto of the Workers Party

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

THE "NEW DEAL" SWINDLE

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

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

THE ONLY WAY OUT

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

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

CAPITALISM CANNOT BE "REFORMED"

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

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)

18 Sacramento Workers on Trial--Face Long Sentences

Big Meeting Hears Muste And Cannon on WP Program

Adopts Resolution on Situation in Soviet Union

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

The Resolution

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

INEQUALITIES SHOWN BY A. F. OF L. SURVEY

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

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

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

ORDER W. P. PAMPHLETS NOW.

One Year Ago in Labor

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

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

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

Norris, S.P. Leader Joins Workers Party

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

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

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

Statement of W. W. Norris

Minneapolis, Minn.

To the National Committee, Workers Party of U. S.

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

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

Red Frame-Up Is Mask For Drive against Unions

Victims Were Leaders of Agricultural Laborers

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

MUSTE DINNER

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

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

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

The dinner will be served at the Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 16th Street at 7 o'clock. All friends and sympathizers are invited to attend.

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

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

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

Penalty Is 84 Years This year the anti-Red drive gave the authorities an opportunity to strike at the union and to prosecute the leaders on the more serious charge of criminal syndicalism. If convicted on all counts, each of the accused can get as much as 84 years in San Quentin.

The defendants were arrested during the week of July 18 and tried for vagrancy, nine being convicted. These cases are being appealed. During the vagrancy trials

(Continued on Page 4)

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

