

Should Revolutionists Build A Labor Party?

By HUGO OEHLER

Leftward-moving workers who have broken or are in the process of breaking with the past are looking for weapons of struggle to the left of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Reform and utopian movements and middle class movements as well as fascist movements are springing up and taking root in the minds of the disoriented masses who know by hard experience that something is wrong.

Every prolonged depression in the past increased the political activity of the working class. Reform and utopian movements spring up on the heels of economic and social dislocation. These movements were washed away with the first signs of the return to prosperity. But the present crisis continues. Government and private measures to stimulate business fail. The condition of the working class becomes worse and discontent increases. Hoover's promises could not be realized and Roosevelt's "plans" for the forgotten man are more and more seen as plans for the "forgotten" financiers and industrialists.

In this fermentation the slogan of the Labor Party is brought forward again. As yet it has not taken root in any substantial section of the working class nor has a crystallization taken place. However, the new opportunist right turn of the Communist International and its sections and the issuing of the instructions for a Labor Party campaign bring the subject to the fore for clarification.

Labor Parties and Reform
In the period of capitalist development the Labor Party took root in Europe as the handmaid of reforms, as the concession for class peace through the policy of class collaboration with the capitalist overlords. These reformist labor movements took on different forms in various nations all the way from Labor Parties based upon collective membership through trade unions and other workers' organizations to the Social Democratic movements of individual membership. In the pre-war period they constituted the progressive and liberal opposition parties championing the cause of labor, humanity and what not. In the post-war period these parties became the left covering of the capitalist governments for the reorganization of Europe and for the prevention of the extension of the October revolution. They were labor governments in name but

capitalist dictatorships in reality. Since the rise of Hitler and fascism in Europe this has become plain for everyone to see.

Capitalist Decay
But the post-war period revealed another striking fact in regard to the Labor parties and the parties of reform.

Developing capitalism could grant reforms, and such were granted to the degree of the pressure of the working class, and the labor leaders of the reactionary trade union movement and the labor party movement held them up as special concessions these "leaders" had obtained "for" the working class. But the post-war period marked a deepening of the decay and decline of capitalism. Many of the leading capitalist nations were in no position to grant further reforms. Instead the very life of the different capitalist nations after the war period demanded that they reduce and take away concessions from the workers, in order to compete with imperialist powers on the world market for capital investments, commodities and raw material.

Every concession wrung from the capitalists in this stage rests upon an entirely different basis than the previous reforms. The reforms in the period of capitalist growth were used to bribe a part of the working class to enable the capitalists to have a free hand against the majority of the working class and the colonial people. The most outstanding representative of reform during this period was the Second International.

Reform Base Disappearing
The economic base of reform parties has been wiped out by the conditions of capitalist decline. But it was not a uniform process which accomplished this condition. In America the whole process lagged behind European developments. The permanent miserable conditions confronting the American workers since the beginning of the present crisis were at far deeper levels in Europe even before the first world war.

The elimination of the economic base of reform parties did not mean the immediate liquidation of these parties. The parties had developed into complex systems and definite parts of the superstructure of capitalism whose organizational and ideological structure could not be killed so easily. Even after their economic base was lacking these reformist parties served as the instruments to save European capitalism from the proletarian revolution.

"New" reforms were the price to be paid by the capitalists as the "lesser evil" to maintain power. Developments have shown that such concessions, especially since Hitler seized power, can be wiped out with the stroke of a pen.

The sweep of developing American capitalism enabled her to build a whole network of special means of bribery without the aid of a large layer of labor agents within the workers' ranks. While a relatively small number of skilled workers was placed on a high level, the masses of American workers, the oppressed races and foreign born workers within the country, and the colonial people, paid the band of robbers super profits. This was not a difficult problem for the American capitalists due to the country's natural resources and high degree of exploitation of labor.

The millions of American workers were unorganized and labor's participation in politics was confined to the two old parties. While social-reformism flourished in Europe it was not even budding in America. It bloomed and withered in Europe before its American counterpart had a chance to walk upright.

The radical political movement of American origin was first a labor reform movement in the forties of the last century, next an agrarian movement of the eighties, to be followed by a more confused and heterogeneous agrarian movement in the first part of this century. The urban middle class that has been broken by monopoly capitalism joined forces with it and produced the various hybrid movements such as the Farmer-Labor parties and the La Follette movement.

(This article will be continued in the next issue of the New Militant.)

Credits for Russia-- A Slogan for U. S. Labor

By TESS HUFF

In a newspaper, among the letters to the editor, recently I ran across a letter something like this: "Dear Editor--Why doesn't the United States grant the Soviet Union long term credits, so she can buy American made machinery, which is needed in the Second Five Year Plan? The capital goods industries in the U. S. are at a low ebb and need work. The Soviets want credit. What is the trouble?"

In a newspaper, last week, was a letter from a business man. The business man complained that the U. S. was getting very little trade from Russia and ended by saying: "At the time diplomatic relations were established between our government and Russia, it was said that Russia would spend 10 billion dollars for American goods. This was absolutely untrue and our government should break off relations with Russia immediately."

A Bit Mixed Up
Well, it appears the matter is a bit mixed up, as you may see. Incidentally, the business man failed to mention credit, and no nation can carry on trade without credits! It is true that the Soviet Union needs machinery and wants credit. Likewise it is true that capital goods factories in this country need orders. It is also a fact that since the day of diplomatic recognition, in November 1933, trade with Russia has steadily declined.

The paradox becomes more and more glaring, the more you consider the case. The fact is that the United States not only needs Russia's business, but that it has credit powers it doesn't know what to do with. At the same time Russia, of all the major nations, is probably the only one which still has a clean credit slate. Since the proletariat took power in 1917, and started out on a grand scale to build up Russian economy, requiring big orders of machinery and goods from any and every corner of the world, every debt contracted has been paid when due. And at the present moment, despite the world depression, Soviet capacity for payment is greater than ever before.

Why the Deadlock?
Why then the deadlock? What has happened since the Roosevelt-Litvinoff talks in Washington, in 1933? Why did credit and trade, much talked of then and badly needed by both countries, not materialize?

The answer has to do of course with politics. The answer is that the Roosevelt-Litvinoff talks, which were apparently so amiable, turned out in a "misunderstanding", a misunderstanding on which both nations are standing pat. Roosevelt, and Wall Street, still insist upon the payment of debts owed by the Czarist and Kerensky regimes. This was the money, much of it, advanced by American capitalists, which was used to finance the various White armies in their unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the young proletarian government in 1919-21.

The Soviet insistence, however, is that the White House talks were of another tenor. Both debt claims, those of the U. S. against Russia, and those of Russia against the U. S. (claims which grew out of America's intervention in Russia in 1917, when the U. S. sent expeditionary forces on Russian soil and against the proletarian government) were to be mutually adjusted at a later date. Meanwhile normal trade relations were to go forward.

Since the day of recognition the American government has stood pat, making no attempts either to negotiate a settlement of the claims or to establish a basis for trade and long term credits with Russia. And Russia refuses of course to obligate herself for the payment of the

NOTICE
In last week's New Militant Comrade Louis Breier in the 4th installment of his History of the National Unemployed League dealt with the question of unity. Comrade Breier's article does not represent the position of the Workers Party. The Party's position on unity will be put forth in an article by Comrade Max Shachtman in a forthcoming issue of the New Militant.

Food Workers Bare Union's Alliance with Schultz Gang

An Example of the New Trade Union Policy of the Communist Party

(Introductory note by Joseph Zack)

The Food Workers Industrial Union (split off in 1929 by the Communist Party from the Amalgamated Food Workers) started as an "ideal" Red union. With less than 2,000 members it endorsed the Communist party and addressed demands to the bosses that could not possibly be obtained without the widest organization.

This policy brought the union close to liquidation. The food workers wanted a union; by tradition and as a result of their experience with the American Federation of Labor, they were inclined to join an independent union. The writer, then secretary of the 1931 Endeavor Unit Council, in 1931 endeavored to reorganize the union to suit the needs of the rank and file. Jack Rubin became secretary.

Today, with the C. P. swinging to the right, Rubin, along with Gold, Potash and others, wants to be in line with the party or perhaps a step or two ahead. In the name of flexibility and practicality, they are introducing class collaboration policies of a kind familiar in the A. F. of L.—a policy as sure to ruin the independent unions as the policy of Red unions did before.

It is very well to be practical and to take advantage of quarrels between bosses and labor fakers—but not at the expense of the workers and the prestige of the union. If the union is to live in the workers' interests, the Stalinist bureaucracy must be halted.

By a Group of Progressive Food Workers

Mystery, telephone conversations in Rubin's office, conferences, maneuvers—only the top fraction of the Communist Party is in on the secrets, and not all of it. Some of these "insiders" think Rubin is clever—delicate politics must be played in secret. Others are dissatisfied. The active rank and file is suspicious—a suspicion that may flare into a hurricane.

On the other side of the alliance, Coulcher and Co. do quite a bit of talking which percolates down to the masses as rumor. To calm the class-conscious element, the mysteries are finally theorized into a "united front" and since there are still some doubts, Stachel, of the C. P. Political Bureau, is brought to the Central Opera House meeting (Dec. 17, 1934) to declare it "kosher".

What is this United Front?

The "united front" that Stachel boasts about is a "gentlemen's understanding" behind closed doors, between Rubin, Stachel, Coulcher, Pincus Goldstein and Co., officials of A. F. of L. Locals 302 and 16 and the Industrial Union. The rank and file know very little about it.

Why? Because it is a shady, unprincipled alliance between the leaders of the Food Workers Industrial Union and one of the racketeering gangs in the food industry in control of Locals 16 and 302, hand in hand with the new Metropolitan bosses' association in the cafeteria and restaurant trade.

This racket into which the Industrial Union got hooked through Rubin and Stachel could not stand daylight because it is not in the interests of the workers.

C. P. "Unity" in 1935
Let us examine a bit the united front allies of Rubin and Stachel. Radek and Coulcher, A. F. of L. leaders of Local number 16, during the general hotel strike in 1933 took out an injunction against the Amalgamated Food Workers. It is naive to suppose that suddenly they have turned honest labor leaders, working for unity!

We also know that J. J. Williams and Pincus H. Goldstein, officials of the Industrial Union, after getting what they wanted three months ago forced their members back to work under old conditions in spite of the fact that the bosses had conceded the majority of the strikers' demands.

Only a year ago these officials expelled 12 opposition members who carried out inside the A. F. of L. the major part of the Industrial Union's program. In short, begin-

ning with 1929 and continuing to a few months ago, Williams and Goldstein acted as open strike breakers for the bosses' association in the cafeteria industry.

Jules Martin who acts as a politician behind the scenes for the new Metropolitan bosses' association, and is the real theoretician and inspirer of this united front, is one of the big capitalists in the trade. Dave Krumboltz, organizer for the Metropolitan, is his lieutenant.

These, then, are Rubin's allies. Every progressive worker in the food industry knows that the organizers of Locals 16 and 302 are connected with the Dutch Schultz mob.

It is also an established fact that in April, 1933, the books of Local 302 showed that \$2,500 was turned over to Jules Martin, who worked hand in hand with Dutch Schultz, after a conference between the gang and Local 302 officials in a midtown hotel. To this day special monthly taxes are collected in Local 302 which go directly to the gang.

The new Metropolitan Cafeteria and Restaurant Association is the offspring of this alliance between A. F. of L. officials and gangsters. It was the old United bosses' association which inspired the creation of Local 302 in 1929 in order to break the cafeteria strike led by the Amalgamated Food Workers. The unions created by the old association are now used by the Dutch Schultz crowd to terrorize the bosses into joining the new Metropolitan association, with an initiation fee of \$500 up. Into this unholy alliance, the leaders of the Industrial Union have entered.

How the "Unity" Works in Practice
The "old United bosses' association, which was working with the officials of the International Union of H.R.B.D.A. is being broken up by the manipulations of the Dutch Schultz gang and Jules Martin, who want to get the real gravy for themselves and keep the International union out. By getting control of labor, and through it, of the bosses' association, they expect to work the racket both ways, at the expense chiefly of the workers.

What can you workers think of the united front policy of the C. P. if it can so easily become a cover for these maneuvers? Some will say, Beal among them, what do we care as long as we get something out of it? Now Beal, a leader of the top fraction, darling of the mobsters who was repeatedly brought up on charges of corrupt practices, and whitewashed—Beal gets something out of it. But how about the workers?

Some Pertinent Questions
Is it not a fact that in the Sherman Cafeteria settlement, the exact terms of which are not known to the rank and file, the following conditions exist:

1. The wages of the workers earning \$14 to \$16 per week have not been increased in spite of the fact that they are far below standard.
2. Those who worked during the strike and were accepted into the union afterward are keeping their jobs while the militants among the strikers are being weeded out one by one? Thus far the union has done nothing about it.
3. The company hires and fires

practically at will, and gradually all companies "protected" by the Metropolitan association are being allowed this privilege?

4. As soon as the Sherman Cafeteria broke with the old United association and joined the Metropolitan, the strike was called off by the union with a 90-day period for negotiations?

Considering the past of Coulcher and Co., would it not be fair to allow the rank and file to decide whether it wants this kind of a united front?

What about the recent Silver Cafeteria settlement, whereby the shops are being divided 50-50 between the Industrial Union and its allies? Is this a policy of uniting the workers into one union, or is it a process of systematic division into two unions with the bosses playing one against the other and the bureaucrats maneuvering the workers, each group blaming its sins on the other?

If these are the methods, have we not a right to suspect the purpose for which the special monthly taxes are being collected in the Industrial Union? Is it not for the same purpose for which the A. F. of L. Local 302 collected a \$2 monthly work tax? Why don't we get a regular and aboveboard accounting?

The strangling of inner democracy goes hand in hand with such politics. Food workers, be on guard!

WHAT TO ATTEND

- Philadelphia**
Feb. 10, Sunday, 8 P.M., Grand Fraternity Building—Open Forum: "Will Fascism come to the U. S.?" Speaker: Sol Feinstein.
Feb. 23, Saturday, 8 P.M.—Card Party, Audispes Workers Party, At 9th Ward Unemployed League Hall, 14 No. 4th Street.
New York City
Feb. 9, Saturday, 8 P.M.—Housewarming Party, Harlem branch, 29 West 120th St., cor. Lenox Ave.
Feb. 10, Sunday, 3 P.M.—"Coming Struggles in Steel, Auto and Rubber." Speaker: A. J. Muste, recently returned from a national tour.
Feb. 15, Friday evening, Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2nd Avenue. Forum, Ansispes, Branch No. 1.
Feb. 15, Friday, 8 P.M.—John S. Wright Co. "Do the Workers Need a Labor Party?" Brook Park Bldg., 1281 49th Street, Brooklyn.
Feb. 16, Saturday night, Germania Hall, Red Cabaret and Dance. An interesting program has been arranged. Get your tickets in advance and save 25 cents. See ad in this issue.
Feb. 17, Sunday, 2:30 P.M., Irving Plaza—Debate on "Which Program for American Labor?" Speakers: A. J. Muste and Jay Lovestone.

PHILADELPHIA WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND, Inc.

GRAND BALL and Entertainment

Nature Friends - Puljer's Orchestra United Workmen's Singing Societies
Saturday Feb. 16th
KENSINGTON LABOR LYCEUM
2915-24 North Second St.
Continuous Dancing - 2 Orchestras
Program begins at 7:30 P.M.
Admission 25c, including Wardrobe

St. Louis Socialist Finds Workers Party Is Realistic

SP is Hopeless, He Says--In N. Y., E. Martin Leaves Weisbord Group To Join W. P.

"I am resigning from the Socialist Party and joining the Workers Party of the U. S., the only party which at the present time offers the working class effective and realistic leadership on the basis of a correct program," writes John Burfeindt of St. Louis.

Another comrade, E. Martin, formerly of the Weisbord group, joins the Workers Party because it is the only party working effectively for a new international of labor.

Their letters follow in full:
St. Louis, Mo.,
January 29, 1935

Comrades:
The experience of the world labor movement since the war convinced me that social-democracy and reformism can only lead the workers to defeat and fascism. My experience in the Socialist Party has convinced me that the S. P. has not abandoned reformism; that, both locally and nationally, it compromises continually with reformists and reactionaries on the political and trade union fields and in its own ranks; and that it is hopeless as an instrument of revolution, due to its unbroken tradition of compromise and the weak-kneed character of its so-called left wing.

I am therefore resigning from the Socialist Party and joining the Workers Party of the U. S., the only party which at the present time offers the working class effective and realistic leadership on the basis of a correct program.

—JOHN BURFEINDT
January 5, 1935

Comrades:
As a member of the Communist League of the U. S., I worked towards the creation of a new revolutionary party and a new (4th) International.

Weisbord is incorrect in saying that the fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P. is similar to the entry of the Communist League of France into the S.F.I.O. In the United States a Fourth International party has been founded by the merger of two independent groups on a Marxist basis.

The "leadership" of the C.L.S. with its sectarian attitude and bureaucratic domination, tried to squelch criticism of Weisbord's interpretation of many principle questions, by saying that at this

time the C.L.S. could not tolerate any "negations" concerning them. In other words if you didn't agree with the leader your criticism was negative.

Having abandoned the position that the C.L.S. was the "one and only truly, Trotskyist" group and that "Trotskyism is the Leninism of today" (see pamphlet "What is Trotskyism", by V. Bush) Weisbord now counterposes Trotskyism to Leninism, in the same way that the Stalinists do.

Only a few months ago Weisbord ran to the conference called by Gitlow for the formation of a new party. Today Gitlow is in the Socialist Party and the C.L.S. having split, Weisbord remains with his family of nine, the fruit of three and a half years of independent "mass work".

Although many comrades were in favor of sending a delegation to the Unity Convention, no discussion was held on this subject and not even an observer was sent.

These are my reasons for leaving the C.L.S.

I accept the Declaration of Principles adopted by the new party convention, and apply for membership in the Workers Party. Whatever shortcomings exist in the new party can be ironed out within the bounds of party democracy. Everyone claiming to work towards the creation of the Fourth International must realize that only by joining the Workers Party and becoming active in it can they contribute towards this goal.

—E. MARTIN

WORKERS SECURITY?

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 5.—Anthony Ramuglia, president of the National Unemployed League, in a talk on "The Roosevelt Security Program" Sunday evening, pointed out the effects of the "Program" on the unemployed and employed workers of the country. He showed how in each instance every step in the program meant another lowering of the American standard of living.

Ramuglia explained that where the National Unemployed League was strongest as in Ohio and Pennsylvania, the relief authorities found it impossible to put over their schemes for pauperizing the workers.

International Workers School Term Near

REGISTRATION
Registrations for the classes of the International Workers School are rolling in. From present signs the maximum quotas for some of the classes may be filled before the school officially opens, on February 18. Register immediately. Send for the school bulletin.

CLASSES

The variety of classes makes it possible for all to take one or more courses. Elementary classes include Workers Party Fundamentals, A B C of Marxism and Marxian Economics, American history, American labor history. The course in Trade Union Strategy and Tactics is intended for active trade unionists. The courses in History of the Three Internationals, Philosophy of Marxism and the History of the Russian Revolution are for more advanced comrades.

Invaluable for members of the Workers Party and Spartacus Youth League is the class in Organization Principles to be given by Martin Abern. Note that the time of this class has been changed to Monday evening, 7 to 8:30 P.M. For members of the Spartacus Youth League and Workers Party representatives to youth committees, the course on History and Problems of the Youth Movement should be very valuable.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Several scholarships are being offered to trade union locals, unemployed groups and branches of the Spartacus Youth League. To defray the expense we call upon our friends to contribute generously.

International Workers School, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

- First Year—Winter 1935. Beginning Feb. 13, 1935
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Workers Party Fundamentals—B. Borkeston
MONDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Organizational Principles—M. Abern.
MONDAY, 8:40-10:00 P.M.—Elementary English—F. Becker
MONDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—American History—Felix Morrow.
WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Marxian Economics (vol. 1)—H. Oehler
WEDNESDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—American Labor History—A. J. Muste.
WEDNESDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Three Internationals—M. Shachtman.
THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Trade Union Strategy and Tactics—A. Swabeck.
THURSDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—Philosophy of Marxism—Grote.
FRIDAY, 7-8:30 P.M.—History and Problems of the Youth Movement—N. Gond.
FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—A B C of Marxism—Jack Weber.
FRIDAY, 8:40-10:10 P.M.—History of the Russian Revolution—Wm. Duncan.
Fees \$2.00 per course, payable in three installments: \$1 at time of registration, and two 50c installments within 3 weeks.
The International Workers School is ready to give any additional classes if a minimum of fifteen workers request it. For further information regarding the school, get in touch with Joseph Carter, School Administrator, at 2 West 15th Street, New York City.

GAMES DRINKS SUPPER
'RED' CABARET & DANCE
Dance Numbers, Singing and other Entertainment
MAX SHACHTMAN, Master of Ceremonies
Saturday, February 16th 9 p.m.
GERMANIA HALL
144 East 16th St., near 3rd Ave.
In advance 49c At the door 75c
Tickets at International Workers School, 2 West 15th St., N. Y. C.

The PIONEER PUBLISHERS
announces the publication of two new pamphlets
"THE KIROV ASSASSINATION"
By LEON TROTSKY
(The first time in English)
SOME RECENT BOOKS
Correspondence of Marx and Engels\$2.75
Marx, Engels and Marxism, by Lenin 1.25
Feuerbach (new, revised edition)75
BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY
History of the Russian Revolution (Reg. \$10.00).....\$8.50
My Life (Reg. \$5.00) 2.50
Lenin 1.00
Whither England? 1.00
Whither Russia? (Towards Socialism or Capitalism)..... 1.00
Problems of the Chinese Revolution 1.00
What Next for Germany? Paper 25c; cloth .65
The Only Road for Germany Paper 35c; cloth .65
Communism and Syndicalism15
Soviet Economy in Danger10
In Defense of the Russian Revolution05
The Spanish Revolution in Danger15
96 FIFTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

Late Episodes in Kirov Assassination Analyzed by Trotsky

A TRIAL BALANCE OF THE STALIN AMALGAM

By LEON TROTSKY

Candidates now permit us to elucidate briefly the latest episodes of the investigation relating to the assassination of Kirov as well as the amalgams (or more exactly, series of amalgams) interwoven with this affair.

1. The mysterious consul has now turned out to be a Latvian consul: our supposition that a petty consul of a tiny nation would be chosen for the amalgam has been fully confirmed. However, it became necessary to name the consul—obviously because of diplomatic pressure—and this necessity threatened to blast the amalgam: for, who would believe that a consul of Latvia is the organizer of world

intervention against the U.S.S.R. A new version had to be found: the Latvian consul was, as a matter of fact, the agent of Hitler. Quite possible. But how then to connect Trotsky with Hitler? Stalin did not even attempt to provide an explanation. He left his hirelings abroad to extricate themselves as best they could. But the hirelings are incapable of giving more than nature has endowed them with.

WHY WAS ZINOVIEV ARRESTED?

2. The Zinoviev group was arrested in connection with the Kirov assassination. Yet the indictment does not so much as let out a peep concerning a single one of the Zinovievists arrested in Moscow. But

why then are they arrested? The foreign lackeys now besmirch Zinoviev with mud as shamelessly as in 1923-25 they crawled on their bellies before him.

3. What charge, politically, may be brought against Zinoviev, Kamenev and their friends? Their capitulation. By this act of political cowardice, they drove the revolutionary youth into a blind alley. The youth has been left without perspectives. At the same time, under the ponderous lid of bureaucratism the youth is not permitted to think, live, or breathe. Under precisely such conditions are terrorist moods bred. Only the growth of genuine Bolshevism, on a world scale, can instill new hopes into the Soviet revolutionary youth and safeguard it from taking the road of despair and adventurism.

1926 PLATFORM OF RUSSIAN OPPOSITION CITED

4. The gap between the terrorist group and Zinoviev and his friends was to be bridged by the "platform of the Left Opposition" of the year 1926. Citing one of the accused, who obviously mouths the formula of the G.P.U. examining magistrate, the indictment proclaims the "ideological" succession from the "new opposition" of 1926 (the Zinoviev faction) to the Nicolaiev group. But how to link this up with the consul, intervention and the terrorist act?

The "platform" of 1926 has been published in every language. The attitude towards the U.S.S.R. was there set forth with exhaustive clarity. The lackeys, it is true, do not have to bother pondering over this. But class conscious workers, even at this date, can profit much by acquainting themselves with the 1926 document. Upon acquainting themselves with it, they will draw the specific conclusion that while the bureaucracy did appropriate the most progressive measures from the program it had vilified, the Leninist group could never derive from this Marxist document any justification for senseless adventurism.

5. There is a specific historical touch to this attempt at connecting the Left Opposition with the idea of intervention. In 1917, Milukov, Kerensky and Co. accused Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolsheviks of being agents of the German General Staff, and serving the interventionist plans of the Hohenzollern. In its time, this moronic calumny made a tour of the entire world. Stalin has been unable to think up a single new word. He slavishly repeats the hoary calumny about the leaders of Bolshevism. He is only the pupil of Milukov and Kerensky.

6. When, in March 1917, I was arrested by the British naval authorities and incarcerated in a concentration camp in Canada, Lenin wrote in Pravda (No. 34, April 1917):

"Can one for a moment believe in the veracity of the dispatch which the British government has received, and which purports that TROTSKY, the former chairman of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in 1905, a revolutionist, who has unselfishly devoted himself for decades to the service of the revolution—that this man is involved in a plan subsidized by the German government? This is indeed a deliberate, and unheard-of, and unconscionable vilification of a revolutionist!"

These words were written before I joined with Lenin, prior to my election as chairman of the Bolshevik Soviet in 1917, prior to the October revolution, the civil war, the creation of the Third International, and the founding of the Soviet state. Today, after a lapse of eighteen years no agents of British counter-espionage, but Stalinists are repeating this very same "deliberate, and unheard-of, and unconscionable vilification of a revolutionist!" This simple juxtaposition reveals best of all the poison of lies, vilification and fraud which the Stalinist bureaucracy is pouring into the world working class movement!

"WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE INDICTMENT"

7. The fourteen who were accused in connection with the Kirov assassination were all shot. Did they all participate in the terrorist act? The indictment answers this question in the affirmative, but does not adduce even the semblance of proof. We do not believe the indictment. We have seen with what brazen and cowardly tendentiousness it has injected the name of Trotsky into its text; and how deliberately it passes in silence over what happened to the consul's provocation regarding the "letter".

It is much easier to implicate in the affair a dozen or so ineffectual Y.C.L.ers than to implicate Trotsky. Who are these Y.C.L.ers? We do not know. There is not much difficulty in executing unknown Y.C.L.ers. Among the number there must have also been G.P.U. agents: the very ones who had arranged to "bring Nicolaiev together with the 'consul' and who had prepared the amalgam, but who, at the last moment, proved negligent, and allowed Nicolaiev to fire the fatal shot. The physical elimination of these agents became necessary in order to remove embarrassing participants in, and witnesses of the amalgam. But, among those shot there may also

have been Y.C.L.ers who were simply critically minded. The task of the amalgam was: to terrorize completely the youth, which was thirsting for independence, by showing it that the slightest doubt about the divine blessings which flow from Stalin, or about the immaculate conception of Kaganovich would meet, hereafter, with the same penalty as terrorist acts.

8. The foreign agents of the G.P.U., who often pass themselves off for friends of the U.S.S.R., and who compromise the real friends of the U.S.S.R., accuse everyone of being in sympathy with (!) the terrorists, who has a critical attitude towards the repressions which have taken place. A revolutionist can feel nothing but contempt for these fooling methods. It is indubitable that the enemies and stealthy opponents of the October revolution utilize, to the utmost, for their own aims, the confused and contradictory statements, as well as the summary measures of repression. But this circumstance should not at all impel us to blind ourselves to the dual role of the Soviet bureaucracy, which, on the one hand, guards (in its own fashion) the conquests of the October revolution against the class enemies; and which, on the other hand, tigershly defends its own economic and political privileges against criticisms and protests by the advanced workers.

G.P.U. IS TOOL OF BUREAUCRACY

As a tool of the bureaucracy, the G.P.U. directs the weapon of terror both against the counter-revolutionists, who threaten the workers' state, and against the Y.C.L.ers who are dissatisfied with the absolutism of the uncontrolled bureaucracy. Identifying itself with the workers' state—in accordance with the ancient formula, "I am the state!"—the bureaucratic upper crust portrays the terror against the party and the Y.C.L. as terror against the counter-revolution. This is the very goal that the venomous amalgams are intended to achieve.

9. What is here involved is not so much the struggle of the Soviet bureaucracy against Trotsky and the "Trotskyists"; but the question of the moral atmosphere of the world working class movement. The vile amalgam constructed around the "consul" who, apparently, was in the simultaneous employ of three governments, stands today as one of a number of ordinary and normal measures utilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the struggle for its caste positions. In 1921, warning his most intimate comrades against electing Stalin as general secretary, Lenin said, "This cook will prepare only peppery dishes." At that time there could, of course, be no reference as yet to the poisoned nerves of the amalgams. To whom are they being offered today? To the workers. The Stalinists are systematically poisoning the lives of proletarian vanguard with the lie, that the interests of the workers' state possibly demand this? Never! But this is demanded by the rapacious interests of the uncontrolled bureaucracy, which seeks to guard at all costs its prestige, its power, and its privileges, by means of terror against everyone in the ranks of the proletariat who thinks and criticizes.

REAL DEVOTION TO SOVIET UNION MEANS STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

10. However passionate may be one's devotion to the Soviet Union, it must not be blind; or else it is worthless. The development of the workers' state proceeds through contradictions, internal and external. The forms and the methods of the workers' state have already changed several times, and they will continue to change in the future. The bureaucratic stage, for which there were objective causes, is exhausted.

The absolutism of the bureaucracy has become the greatest brake upon the further cultural and economic growth of the Soviets. The lackeys of the bureaucracy who defy its regime play a reactionary role. The Marxists—revolutionists set as their task to free the world

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

THE PLUNDERING OF CHINA GERMANY—REARMED

The Plundering of China

The sequence of events in the East makes perfectly clear that the denunciation of the Washington naval treaty by Japan was merely a way of serving notice to the imperialists that the militarists of Japan intended to go forward more rapidly in their plundering of China. The attack on Chahar is a further step in the encirclement of China and advances the Japanese army closer to Inner Mongolia and the caravan route along which China might secure help from the Soviet Union. Following the brazen assault on Chahar, there came the "conversations" in Nanking between Japanese Minister Ariyoshi and Chiang Kai-Shek. The demands made on the Chinese hangman of the proletariat are exact repetitions of some of the notorious twenty-one demands made in 1915 with the status of a Japanese colony. China must withdraw from the League of Nations (so that it cannot appeal for help to the other powers), she must substitute Japanese advisers in place of the American and European military, economic and engineering advisers, the Chinese army must be "remodeled" and all military equipment bought from Japan, Manchukuo must be recognized, and the Chinese must accept a new railroad loan from Japan. These are the demands made public.

In addition it is required that

proletarian vanguard from the fatal influence of the uncontrolled bureaucratic clique, in order subsequently to aid the workers in the U.S.S.R. to regenerate the party and the Soviets, not by means of terrorist adventures which are doomed beforehand, but by means of the class conscious mass movement against bureaucratic absolutism.

January 12, 1935.

China see "eye to eye" with the Japanese militarists in regard to the international situation in the Far East. The coming war against the Soviet Union is too close at hand for the Nippon generals not to seek in advance to guarantee themselves against attack from the rear. Every move made in China thus takes on the character of preparation for the war against the workers' state.

A Victory for Hitler

It was a foregone conclusion that with the coming to power of Hitler in Germany, the fascists would commence a program of rearmament in violation of the Versailles Treaty. For fascism, the outright and most violent form of the dictatorship of finance capital, can only retain power nationally by waging war internationally and thereby preserve the decaying national capitalism.

The victory of the powers victorious in the last war fell on deaf ears while Hitler proceeded with the program of militarism in Germany. At first quite hidden, the war preparations became more and more an open diplomatic "secret" that created confusion in the chancelleries of France and Britain. The meeting in London between the premiers of these two countries has resulted in a substantial victory for Hitler. Finland has agreed with the British to abrogate the arms clauses of the Versailles Treaty, except that which calls for the demilitarization of the left bank of the Rhine. Germany will have to rejoin the League for this forced concession, a meaningless gesture which Hitler will not find difficult to make. Hitler can now devote his sole attention to the preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union.

What effect all this will have on the relations between Soviet Russia and imperialist France remains to be seen. All the great diplomatic victories of Hitler—at the expense of the world proletariat—may soon crumble to ashes.

Open Letter

To All Members, Friends and Sympathizers:

Two months ago the Workers Party of the U. S. was launched through a merger of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America. This launching was greeted with great enthusiasm in New York by a mass meeting of more than one thousand. Subsequently the same expression of enthusiasm was reported at the Muste-Cannon meetings throughout the country.

Unfortunately however, this enthusiasm has not as yet expressed itself concretely in material assistance. At its first meeting after the merger, the National Committee outlined a Program of Action consisting of 11 points, some of which have been partially executed as follows:

PROGRAM OF ACTION

Tasks:

1. Double the Party membership in six months.

Achievements:

Gains made in New York City, Minneapolis and Boston almost doubled. Philadelphia increased by ten; also Chicago and Los Angeles. Reports from other branches not in yet.

2. Raise \$5,000 in sixty days.

- 3 and 4. Build the circulation of the New Militant and the New Internationalist.

A six-months campaign for each of the publications is now in progress. Lack of funds greatly hampering the promotion work.

5. Organize two coast to coast tours and two west as Minneapolis and Kansas City.

Muste and Cannon just completed a short tour. Response very good but financial returns only sufficient to cover their expenses. As soon as sufficient funds are on hand, another national tour will be organized.

6. Establish Party concentration district organizers in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, the Southraite and textile area of New Jersey and Eastern Pa. and the South.

Two organizers were sent to Detroit and have been maintained on a minimum basis until they could get work in automobile shops so as to become roofed in the industry and therefore more effective in their work. One organizer is being maintained in the silk area of N. J. and Eastern Pa. Chicago is getting a full time organizer and one is maintained in the steel section.

7. Organize a national Party educational system—including the first semester of a resident school in New York.

The New York resident school begins February 18, with twelve courses scheduled. Plans for a national training school for workers to begin May 1 if the funds permit, have been completed. The term is to be eight weeks with scholarships to 20 different units of the Party. Maintenance per student will cost about \$5 a week. Anyone particularly interested in this phase of our work, can contribute for it and the funds will be kept for that specific purpose.

8. Publication of at least one popular agitational pamphlet per month, elaborating some point in the Declaration of Principles or dealing with some urgent political question of the day.

The first of this series in preparation is a pamphlet by Leon Trotsky, on the Kirov assassination. Lack of funds has made it impossible to get out others dealing with American problems, such as the trade union and the unemployed questions. Send your contribution for this fund, and the Party promises at least three pamphlets to follow in quick succession.

9. Build and consolidate a National Youth Organization.

The Party has appropriated a subsidy for this work and the Youth reports progress—slow but sure.

10. Help to launch an organization of the Left-progressive wing in the trade unions.

Progress made, but public information cannot be given at this time. In Minneapolis however, definite steps have been taken for the constitution of a "national organization of militant and progressive union forces", as indicated in the resolution adopted at a conference of the 10,000 workers. The conference met at the headquarters of Drivers Local 574. There are other possibilities for this work in other parts of the country. But without the necessary funds, even this part of our Program will remain on paper only.

11. Extend and strengthen the National Unemployed League—and work toward united action by the unemployed and final unification in one solid organization.

On this, the final point of our Program we can report that the NUL has decided to issue a weekly paper which will probably be called FREEDOM'S CALL within two weeks. A number of our comrades are the leading force in this organization, and are giving good account of their activities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, the south-western states from Kansas to Texas and in the deep South. Imagine what could be done with a few more dollars!

Every Party member who is employed is pledged to pay two days' pay toward the Party Foundation Fund and every unemployed member a minimum of twenty-five cents.

How much can we expect from every sympathizer?

The Program of Action, good as it is, will remain on paper only, unless we raise the full \$5,000.

If you have not yet made your contribution, or if you can make an additional one, won't you do it TODAY? Help realize the program in full. You may make your contribution for any special point and the funds will be used according to your wishes.

OUR NEEDS—CONCRETELY

We need at least \$500 in the treasury before we can begin to organize a coast to coast tour; \$40 per student before we can offer any five field organizers for the next two months; and a few hundred dollars to execute the other points in the Program. We will however feel content if our sympathizers contribute these immediate sums. The rest of the money will come from our own members.

We plead with you—help us NOW. Don't delay. Fill in blank below. (Space does not permit a report of the receipts this week. A full report will appear next week.)

Workers Party of the U. S.
2 West 15th Street
New York City
Enclosed find \$..... to help fulfill the Program of Action, especially point No.....
Name.....
Address.....
City.....

EVERY FRIEND,
EVERY SYMPATHIZER
AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT
That Is Our Aim.

The League Against War and Fascism

By JOHN WEST

(Ed. Note: This is the third in Comrade West's series of four articles on war. The last, "The United Front and War", will appear in the next issue of the New Militant.)

During the past year and a half, the American League Against War and Fascism (which is the counterpart of Leagues organized in many other countries) has been presented to the American public as the means for fighting against and preventing war and fascism. Its success in enlisting popular support has not been conspicuous. Nevertheless, in a number of cities the League has made progress. After a temporary lapse in its activities, it has re-opened a vigorous campaign. What attitude are Marxists to take toward the League? It is essential to be clear on this. It is merely so far as the League itself is concerned, but with further reference to any organization of this type.

There are two different kinds of argument advanced in support of the League. The first, which is the position of the League itself and of its sponsor, the Communist Party, is that the League actually constitutes the most effective means for fighting war (in these articles I am not concerned with the fight against fascism). The second argument is put forward by those who maintain that the League, while not in the final analysis an effective means for fighting war, should be supported because through it an approach to the middle classes is possible. On the anti-war issue, it is maintained, revolutionists can unite with members of the middle class and, through this means of approach, gradually win them to alliance with the revolutionary movement.

Both of these arguments are profoundly and disastrously mistaken. The argument usually heard against the League is that the League is dominated in a mechanical and sectarian manner by the Communist Party. Though this argument has some force, it is far from the root of the matter. Even if mechanically dominated by the Communist Party, Marxists would have to support and build the League if it actually were an effective instrument against war. We must analyze further.

THE FALLACIES OF THE LEAGUE

To begin with, certain organizational features of the League must be kept in mind: (1) It is a permanent organization; (2) It permits and encourages individual membership; (3) It not merely advocates certain actions to be taken against war, but puts forward a program against war; (4) This program is in part political—e.g. it advocates, in a confused way, the abolition of "the profit system".

A book would be needed to make clear all of the errors in the conception of the League. However, with these organizational features

in mind, I shall outline certain of the chief fallacies.

1. The League, in spite of the pretentious language of its publications, is a pacifist organization.

Its fundamentally pacifist character can be seen at once in the fact that the League attempts to isolate the struggle against war, to treat it as a "special" or "independent" struggle, apart from the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' state. While it is true that in certain circumstances, united actions against war, involving various social groups, are possible, it is not and cannot be true that Marxists can under any circumstances unite in program against war with any other groups or individuals. We have already seen that there is only one program for the struggle against war—the revolutionary program for the overthrow of capitalism; and to this program only Marxists can subscribe.

In addition to theory, the agitation and activities of the League make perfectly clear its pacifist nature. We find the same old pacifist hokum—loud yelps for "disarmament", support of the "munitions inquiries", "anti-war pledges", calls for "congressional investigations", and the rest. Broken down ministers and fake liberals find themselves immediately at home in the League, and are pushed as its most prominent members and speakers. Fight, the magazine of the League, publishes just the kind of pictures and articles that get across with the Women's Club Peace Societies.

And like all pacifist organizations, the League is actually aiding the development toward war. It obscures the analysis of the causes of war, diverts the real struggle against war into harmless channels, provides a salve for middle class consciences troubled by the horrors of war, and prepares to leave the working class helpless—both ideologically and organizationally—when a war situation arises.

At that time, the League, built upon the sands of vague pacifist sentiment instead of class organization, will be blown away by one puff from the capitalist state. Its preachers and liberals will take the stump for the government, recruiting the masses to the new war "to end all wars" or "defend the shores of our sacred land" or whatever it may be.

2. The League is a horrible parody of the united front as Marxists understand the united front.

The united front, properly understood, is a tactic whereby working class and at times certain middle class organizations, differing in program, nevertheless unite on certain specific actions upon which all are agreed, while retaining their full organizational and programmatic independence. There is no such thing as a permanent united front, nor a "united front in program". How could there be? There is nothing in common between the Marxists program against war and the any other important issue, or the

program of any other group or individual. The one possibility of "union" is on specific actions. Nor can a Marxist party join in a permanent united front, which would necessarily mean giving up organizational independence.

3. The League involves a complete misunderstanding of the relation of the working class to the middle class.

It does not represent a united front with middle class groups and individuals, but a capitulation to the middle class. The program, activities, and agitation of the League are precisely the program, activities, and agitation of middle class pacifism, and at a vast political distance from Marxism. In any correct united front with middle class individuals and groups, the working class goes ahead on the basis of specific actions immediately acceptable to both, but keeping its program intact, and demanding through the united front—not that an amalgamation, i.e. a compromise, can be reached between a middle class and a working class program, but that only the working class program, the revolutionary program, is able to solve also the middle class problems. In the League, the working class program against war surrenders to the middle class program. And, in addition, working class members are subordinated to middle class members.

4. The League, because of the kind of activities it engages in, and because of the political implications of its program, becomes a substitute for the revolutionary political party.

The political jargon of its program is the usual reformist twaddle, exactly in line with paragraphs from the platforms of Progressive Parties, Utopian Societies, Labor Parties, etc. Becoming an individual member of the League and building it is just like building any kind of reformist political organization.

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IS FIRST TASK

War will be defeated only by the revolutionary struggle of the workers; and this struggle will succeed only under the leadership of the revolutionary political party. The business of a Marxist is certainly not to build up a reformist group—whose historical role, we ought to know by now, is to make smooth the road to war and reaction—but to build the revolutionary party. This is the only political organization a Marxist has any right to join or support. And to build the revolutionary party is his first and greatest task.

5. The League encourages a crowning confusion by linking automatically together "war and fascism".

While it is true in a sense that "fascism means war", it is a complete illusion to suppose that fascism is the cause of war. By emphasizing the relation between fascism and war, as the League does, it suggests that the war danger from non-fascist nations is remote. But it is capitalism that causes war. Fascism means war only in the sense that the triumph of fas-

cism marks a deepening of capitalist contradictions which likewise indicates the nearer approach of war as an attempted solution. By linking fascism and war, the League plays into the hands of the bourgeois propaganda that declares Hitler and Mussolini to be the war-makers, and "democratic" England, France, and the United States the defenders of peace. Thus is prepared the self-outlet of the workers of England, France and the United States to the next war of their peaceful democratic governments.

Furthermore, this association of fascism and war fails to distinguish the great differences between the tactics of the struggle against war and the struggle against fascism. This it is not the business of these articles to elaborate, but it is sufficiently indicated by the fact that fascism is incompatible with and involves the destruction of not only the revolutionary party but of all reformist parties, all independent trade unions, etc.; whereas war, as the last war proved conclusively is entirely compatible with the continued existence of reformist parties and the trade unions.

Much more could be said about the confusions, errors, and deceptions of the League. There is space now only to ask and briefly answer one final question: Where and why did an organization of this kind arise?

THE POLICY OF STALINISM

The answer is not a matter of conjecture. We know the record. The Leagues (here and in other countries) are the conception of the foreign office of the Soviet Union. The American League was first proposed in this country by the representative of the Communist International, to a group of non-party individuals—even before it had been presented to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. Broder himself, when he was first told about it, before he had had a little chat with the C. I. representative, rejected it as "pacifist". The League follows directly from the whole policy of Stalinism. The building of socialism in one country demands peace; peace will be secured by treaties and deals with capitalist governments, by joining the League of Nations, and, quite naturally, by pacifist propaganda.

Squarely opposed is the Marxist conception: The Workers' State will be defended by the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries. This will prevent intervention in the Soviet Union, because the capitalist states will not be able to risk intervention if a strong revolutionary movement can, with the aid of the Red Army, turn the war of intervention into a class war for the overthrow of the capitalist state. And, when the revolutionary movement is sufficiently developed, it will take the offensive.

The Soviet Union is finally defended by attacking the real building of socialism will be accomplished in the only way it can be accomplished—by the extension of the revolution. This is the only mode of "defense". In any other direction lies disaster, and the world-wide triumph of reaction.

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Danger in Sacramento

DANGERS threaten the Sacramento defense. We must be on guard.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, since its entry into the case, in support of all the defendants has pursued a clear, principled and straight-forward policy. This policy has been based on the following platform:

- 1. Win acquittal for the defendants. 2. Fight out the case on its real issue—the right of labor to organize—and prevent the State from hiding the real issue by turning the trial into a Red hunt. 3. Thereby draw in the support of the trade unions and the working class generally. 4. Maintain a solid working class front before the capitalist court.

As a result of the vigorous efforts of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the case was raised from the dump where the International Labor Defense had left it, bail was secured for defendants who had been lying in jail for six months, and the case itself was brought publicly before the working class. A united front agreement, embodying the N.P.L.D. position, with the Workers Party, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party all participating, was formally entered into, and had an excellent prospect of broadening rapidly.

In the midst of the trial, the Stalinists broke the united front agreement, and are now carrying on a slanderous and vicious attack against the N.P.L.D. and the Workers Party. Nevertheless, the N.P.L.D. refused to allow the solidarity of the defense to be broken.

In this trial, all the machinery of the capitalist class—from the glare of Hearst's publicity to intimidation of the jury to organization of vigilantes to testimony of the most contemptible stool pigeons—is being used to convict the defendants. The provocation is extreme, and it takes firm political judgment to stand up against it. The provocation of the State, in and out of court, must be met by a principled working class defense. If the defense attorneys allow themselves to play into the hands of the State in their conduct of the trial, they will jeopardize the fate of the defendants, prevent the real issues from being made clear, and antagonize mass support on the Pacific Coast.

Let the I.L.D. and the Communist Party, take warning. We will fight with all our strength to preserve the unity of the Sacramento defense. But we are not going to stand idly by while Stalinism leads the working class to another in the long series of Stalinist-led defeats.

For the acquittal of the Sacramento defendants! For labor's right to organize! For a united defense!

"Planned Economy" in the U.S.

SOON we will enter the third year of the New Deal policies pompously heralded again and again as a method of planned economy. With every step taken in this whole scheme one note is repeatedly din into our ears: Business is on the road to recovery. What do actual facts reveal?

Following upon the heels of the N.R.A. came the A.A.A., the P.W.A., the C.C.C. and all the lesser ventures. In the main they were all part of a general scheme designed to strengthen monopoly capital at the expense of the working class.

It is true there have been certain signs of what is called an upward trend in business. Most impressive is the record of net profit gains made by the monopoly corporations. The Analyst of January 11 informs us that for 190 companies representing the basic and key industries in the country, the net profits were \$320,635,000 for the first nine months of 1934. This compares with \$182,096,000 for the same period in 1933 for the same companies. Profits were almost doubled in 1934.

But what happened to the unemployed? The statistics of the A. F. of L. which cannot at all be said to exaggerate, presents the following picture, according to its own finally revised figures: It gives a total number of unemployed in November 1934 of 11,469,000 which is 429,000 higher than its figures given for the same month in 1933. Net profits are rising and unemployment is increasing. Such are the results of the business recovery under the New Deal.

Of course, this has nothing in common with planned economy. It is capitalist production for profit wrung out of the surplus value produced by the workers—those who are employed. Any expansion that takes place is on the basis only of capital investments where the rate of profit is the biggest regardless of

the need of employment and regardless of the need of food, clothing and shelter for the masses.

Planned economy means the exact opposite. It means first of all the total elimination of unemployment. But that is possible only under Socialism, only after capitalism is overthrown and the working class has taken power. That is our goal.

A Watchdog of Capitalism

JOHN L. Lewis barks again. This time he barks for William Randolph Hearst. Hearst wants to head up the reactionary forces in the country and hog-tie labor.

Mr. Lewis' yappings in behalf of the Hearst campaign appeared in Hearst's New York American, on February 9.

Nothing could reveal more clearly the true nature and worth of the President of the United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Lewis fears the rank and file coal diggers. They are becoming more militant, and they are apt to get him in bad with the big business boys—the coal operators. They might even dump him overboard, should the opportunity arise! This explains why the "great leader" accepts money from Hearst and lets loose a broadside in the Hearst campaign—against militant coal miners, whom he labels agitators and Reds.

In some coalfields, particularly in West Virginia and Kentucky, sheriffs and company gunmen make a practice of hustling agitators out of the county and giving them "grim warnings" . . . Lewis recounts this with satisfaction. But to suit Hearst, Lewis lies. He tells the Hearst readers that the coal miners, not the company gunmen, are responsible for this! Less than two months ago deputy sheriffs in Harlan, Kentucky, entered a hotel and beat up two U.M.W.A. organizers who were holding a conference.

In identifying himself with the Hearst campaign John L. Lewis reveals himself again as an enemy of labor. He is, indeed, one of the well-paid watchdogs of capitalism.

On the Flying Trapeze

THE resolution adopted at the Central Committee meeting of the Communist party held Jan. 15 to 18 is an interesting, yes amazing document. It deals with three points—the trade union question, the united front and the labor party. On each of them the C. P. is executing a right about face. The "man on the flying trapeze" has nothing on the Stalinists when it comes to flying "through the air with the greatest of ease".

For years the C.P. has asserted that the A. F. of L. unions are company unions, that they must be smashed and that independent "revolutionary" unions must be built all along the line. Anybody who objected was a counter-revolutionist, social fascist, etc. Now everybody must go into the A. F. of L. and the "revolutionary" unions must be liquidated.

For years "the united front from below" was the C. P. policy and with it went the great "theory of social-fascism". But in the latest pronouncement there is not a word about this dominant tactic and leading theory of the last decade. Tossed overboard! In dealing with the Social Democrats, the comrades are now instructed to avoid "the replacement of argument by abuse".

Just last year an Independent Federation of Labor had to be built in the U. S. Anyone opposed was an enemy of the Soviet Union and conspiring to assassinate Stalin. Now "it is inadvisable to put the question of forming an Independent Federation of Labor"—delicately put at that!

For years anyone who talked of a Labor Party was a counter-revolutionist, etc. He was preventing the workers from rushing into the C. P. Now the C.P. proposes to take the initiative in forming a Labor Party, though it is hard to tell through the fog of words they use just what the concrete program is to be.

Does this amazing resolution of the C. P. in which every single one of the leading policies of the party in recent years is thrown overboard, in which, therefore, the utter failure of the party is implied, does it contain any straightforward Leninist admission of this failure? Does it have anything to say about the havoc wrought in the American labor movement, in one union after another, in the unemployed work, in the defense work, by the insane disruptionist and adventurist tactics of the C. P.?

On the contrary. On the basis of the repudiation of its entire past program, the C. P. comes forward claiming to be the revolutionary vanguard and leader of the American working class! "Everything we have done is wrong; the American workers have repudiated it, even we have to toss it all overboard now; therefore we are the only safe guides, the only revolutionary party. And anyone who now dares to stand for what we stood for yesterday is a counter-revolutionary assassin of Kirov!" That is the C. P. argument today.

In thinking that the American masses will "fall" for such an amazing performance, they once again insult those masses. The workers will not forget what destruction has been wrought these many years by the so-called Communist party. They recognize the leopard despite the tawdry power he has sprinkled on his spots. Everywhere they are flocking to the banner of those who long since pointed out the destructive and ruinous role played by the C. P. They are flocking to the banner of the Workers Party of the U. S., the revolutionary vanguard of the American masses.

to city for a number of years he was appointed, in 1926, to the position which he still holds, by Bishop Gallagher of the Detroit Diocese.

Father Coughlin Re-echoes Popes

(Continued from Page 1) ing to their own good pleasure. . . . "The Socialists wrongly assume the right of property to be of mere human invention (!) repugnant to the natural equality between men; and, preaching the community of goods, declare no one should endure poverty meekly, and that all may with impunity seize upon the possessions and usurp the rights of the wealthy.

It's More Profitable "More wisely and more profitably (!) the church recognizes the existence of inequality amongst men, who are by nature unlike in mental endowment and strength of body, and even in amount of fortune (even!) and she enjoins that the right of property and of its disposal, derived from nature, should in the case of every individual remain intact and inviolate." "Therein," says E. Mugglesbee, another syndicalist biographer of the Radio Descon, referring spe-

cially to the above "liberal" encyclical, "therein Father Coughlin found the nucleus for his sermons on social evils." Father Coughlin was born Charles Edward Coughlin, of Irish parents, at Hamilton, Ontario, in 1891. He was educated in parochial schools, and later under the Basilian order of monks. During the course of his education he showed great interest in social and political problems, and doubtless regaled his mind with the above and other even more entertaining papal dictums. It might be noted that while Father Coughlin never ceases to inveigh against "international socialism", "internationalism" and on this very date (Jan. 21) against entrance into the world court as an instrument of "international bankers", he is not himself an American citizen by birth, nor, so far as I can find by naturalization. He was born in Canada and remains a Canadian. Father Coughlin's career begins properly with his installment as pastor of the parish of Royal Oak, a little town some twenty miles outside the industrial city of Detroit. After wandering from city

Hearst Calls the Tune . . .



NPLD Statement on Sacramento Case

The following statement on the part it has played in the defense of the 17 workers being tried in Sacramento under the criminal syndicalism laws of California has been issued by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense—Ed. Note.

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, hitherto active in the New York labor movement, was called into the Sacramento case by Norman Mini, one of the defendants now facing a long term in San Quentin, who was not in accord with the policies and practices of the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense.

We responded by bringing from Chicago the experienced labor attorney, Albert Goldman, to defend Mini and to cooperate in the defense as a whole. We raised \$6,200 and liberated Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker after they had spent six months in the wretched Sacramento jail. We began a press campaign which has brought the Sacramento trial to public attention in other states and stimulated trade unions and other organizations to voice opposition to the persecution of workers "guilty" of organizing a union. We have arranged a mass meeting in New York at which prominent union leaders, writers and

educators will speak. In many other ways we have aided the general defense cause.

On the suggestion of American Civil Liberties Union officials, conferences began several weeks ago in San Francisco, resulting in the setting up of united defense machinery, including our organization, the I.L.D., several labor unions, the Socialist Party, the Workers Party of the U. S. (to which Mini belongs), and the Communist Party. An agreement was reached covering plans for a mass meeting, a publicity campaign, fund-raising, the barring from court of factional issues, the calling of a broad supporting conference, etc.

The defendants were gratified to learn that they were to have the support not merely of the usual C. P.-ruled set-up of "innocent clubs" and paper organizations, but of a genuine and broad united defense which might appeal for aid to the whole labor movement and all progressive elements. Our organization carried out its obligations to this united defense in every respect.

The Communist Party-controlled delegates, however, after repeated breaches of faith, and despite many concessions made by other groups for the sake of unity, deliberately smashed the united defense. At a committee meeting on January 26, acting apparently on orders from New York, they violated every agreement previously made with the other delegates. This they did despite the united appeals of Dr. George P. Hedley of the Civil Liberties Union and two of the I.L.D.'s defendants who were present. A policy frankly designed to bar the cooperation of any delegate unwilling to accept Communist Party orders, was laid down as an ultimatum. Thereupon C.P.-controlled delegates called for a united front under the leadership of the C.P. and I.L.D. They thus drove all non-C.P. delegates out, including the Socialist Party, Workers Party, Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and A. F. of L. union observers present and prepared to participate in a genuine united front defense.

The Communist Party and the Western Worker, seeking to shift responsibility for this unfortunate break-up, have completely misrepresented what happened on January 26. The real truth can be testified to, not only by delegates present and free of Communist Party control, but also by three members of the Civil Liberties Union and Mr. Clark of the Oakland Labor Council, all of whom were present as observers.

ZACK TOUR

Comrade Joseph Zack, who was expelled recently from the Communist Party and joined the Workers Party is about to start a national tour. The schedule of his visits is as follows:

- Thurs. Fri., Feb. 7-8—Buffalo, N.Y. Sat., Sun., Mon., Feb. 9-10-11—Detroit, Mich. Tues., Wed., Thurs., Feb. 12-13-14—Chicago, Ill. Fri., Sat., Feb. 15-16—Toledo, O. Sun. Monday, Tues., Feb. 17-18-19—Cleveland, Ohio Wednesday, Feb. 20—Akron, Ohio Thurs., Feb. 21—Columbus, Ohio Fri., Sat., Feb. 22-23—Youngstown, Ohio Sun., Mon., Feb. 24-25—Pittsburg, Pa.

N.Y. MEMBERSHIP MEETING

TUESDAY, FEB. 12th AT 8 P.M. A joint membership meeting of all the New York branches of the W. P. will take place this Tuesday evening, 8 P.M., Feb. 12 at Irving Plaza Hall. The National Secretary, A. J. Muste will give an intimate report on his recent national tour. Admission to this meeting will be by membership book only.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL SHERMAN

A New Militant Sub for the Best Title

Feb. 15 is the deadline for titles: "Lead 'em and Weep" and "The Weekly Weep". Among others, Ratcliffe for Brisbane, By the Way, Now that You Mention It, High Spots and Otherwise, Side-lights on the Class Struggle, Covered Wagon, False Alarms, Low-down on Highspots, Lie Detector, Unexpurgated, and the following letter:

"Dear Comrade Sherman: A hot vapor of unreality has always hung over America. Added to this obnoxious condition was the practically free distribution of 'American Balance'—the daily news. Today American workmen are becoming fed up with it; and the vapor is fast condensing to cold water. The atmosphere is really stimulating. Your column, a catalyst to the vapor, must have a fitting name. So I take the liberty to suggest a few names; here goes: 1. Real World. 2. World as Is. 3. America the Real. 4. True News. That's all, Comrade. N. Bronx S.Y.L."

Tommy Maloy, Labor Leader

It was the largest banquet ever held in the Stevens Hotel, Chicago. Judges, police captains, and a representative of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, a representative of Tammany Hall, politicians, labor fakers, business men, gangsters, all were well represented. Tom Maloy, head of the Chicago Moving Picture Operators Union, was leaving to attend the 1930 British Trades Union Congress as representative of the A. F. of L. and his "friends and admirers" had gathered to say bon voyage and also to present him with \$26,000 for his expenses. A judge hailed Tommy Maloy as "an ambassador from the best citizens of America to the people of Europe". A special song, "Bon Voyage Tommy Maloy" was written and sung for this occasion. The Chicago FEDERATIONIST grew lyrical in describing the event. Tommy went to Europe, came back to denounce "reds" and to face an indictment for "conspiracy to murder."

He could always beat the "legal rap" but two of his erstwhile gangster "friends and admirers" presented him yesterday with slugs from a sawed-off shot gun, and Tommy Maloy is dead. He was one of the "same" labor leaders, a typical representative of the gangster racketeer that dominated the A. F. of L. and still dominates a large section of it. So, Bon voyage, Tommy Maloy. May your fellow parasitical labor fakers soon join you.

Well! Well! "We know that the A. F. of L. is a workers' union and not the bosses' union" writes a steel worker in the Daily Worker. Evidently this worker doesn't believe what he reads in the Daily Worker, which for five years has repeated over and over again the "A. F. of L. is a bosses' organization with Fascist leadership and not a workers' union."

NATIONAL JIG SAW

BABIES: Christopher Reynolds, three year old son of Libby Holman and suicide Smith Reynolds, tobacco heir, was granted \$6,000,000 or an income of \$360,000 annually by court decree. . . . IT'S BABIES: "I'll send you the Labor Department's booklet on child care," was the answer of Edward McGrady, Asst. Secretary of Labor, to the plea of a West Virginia miner's wife who described the appalling conditions of hunger, starvation and death in the feudal company towns of that state.

FASHION NOTES: "I don't spend more than \$20,000 a year on clothes," said Mrs. Harrison Williams, recently voted America's best dressed woman. . . . Sears Roebuck advertises discarded fur sacks, excellent for making underwear, children's shirts, etc. . . . Arkansas children wear shoes made of discarded auto tires.

TOY WORKERS STRIKE IN SECOND WEEK; GAINS WON

NEW YORK, Feb. 8. The wolfed-up workers have now entered the second week of their strike. The picket line is still unbroken and the flying squads are functioning with the same effectiveness as at the beginning of the strike. Two of the largest shops, in the union before the strike, have returned to work with all their demands granted. The rest of the workers are still out, demanding: union recognition, increase in wages and a forty hour week.

The bosses' association has at last come out into the open and agreed to deal with the union. "The Association has been meeting continuously for the past few days. A few of the shops have already signed up with the union. The bosses are beginning to crack. All that is needed now is one last concerted effort to smash the bosses and make them recognize the union's demands."

JOIN THE WORKERS PARTY.

Debate on WHICH PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR Jay Lovestone A.J. Muste For Communist Party (Opposition) For Workers Party of U.S. HEYWOOD BROWN, Chairman SUNDAY, FEB. 17th, 1935, 2:30 p.m. IRVING PLAZA AUDITORIUM, 15th St. & Irving Place Tickets can be purchased in advance of this date at: WORKERS PARTY OF THE U.S., 2 West 15th St., New York City Admission 35 Cents