

N. U. L. Led Thousands On Nov. 24

National Unemployed Day, November 24, is an established historical date in the labor movement of the country.

A complete account of the demonstrations in all localities is here impossible. It would read like a city and town directory of the nation. But reports still coming to the national office of the National Unemployed League, which initiated the movement, are indicative of ferment in the working class everywhere.

Were More than Parades

The demonstration of 1,000 white and black workers, unemployed, marching in the city of Gulfport, Miss., was classified by the press as tantamount to insurrection. They marched to the relief headquarters demanding a solution of the unemployment evil—not alms. That, in the deep south, is more than just a parade. The same is true of Ashland, Ky., where two thousand workers, white and black, marched to present demands to the authorities. In High Point, North Carolina, the authorities were "scandalized" by an unprecedented outpouring of the unemployed.

From Dallas, Texas, Carl Brannin reports that more than 2,000 marched to the city hall, demanding that the city manager endorse the National Unemployed Day demands, and that he write President Roosevelt to that effect. A banner in the march called for the abolition of capitalism, bag and baggage. In Texas a "scandalous" performance.

In Ohio, particularly in the interior, the day was a holiday of protest. Newark, Ohio, saw a super-demonstration. Twenty thousand poured through the streets. The sheriff and the business men decided it was "Red Saturday." The chief of police came to the Newark League the day before, apologizing for an American Legion "incident" some two months previously, assuring the League members that there would be no interference with the demonstration. And most assuredly there was none.

Authorities Stand By

In West Virginia, Kanawha, Wayne, Boone and Putnam counties, miners and their wives, National Unemployed League members, marched, while the authorities were content to stand by, watching for undue bulging of clothing indicative of fire arms. There was no trouble.

In Butte, Montana, 1,200 jobless marched, demanding relief from the misery of unemployment.

In Milwaukee, Des Moines, Tampa, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Allentown, New York City, in all the battle scarred centers of labor, there were great demonstrations.

Delegation Visits Washington

On November 26, a committee of 16 representing the organized unemployed demonstrators, the National Unemployed League and other organizations cooperating on November 24, journeyed to Washington and met with the Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins and Federal Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

Ed McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor and A. F. of L. big-shot, was there to receive us. Smiling and jovial, he shook us all by hand, was glad to see us—he said—and told us he too had known lean days at one time, etc., etc. Good soft-soaper, Mr. McGrady.

He assured us that the government in Washington was "really ours as well as other people's."

Madame Perkins listened impatiently to the demands of the unemployed. She injected many remarks, just to explain things, but on the matter of cash relief and higher rates she stated she was not qualified to declare for or against that demand!

Perkins Doesn't Know

On the chief question, that of the government providing work through an extensive works program—well she was not competent, she said, to pass judgment as to whether that was the manner to deal with the unemployment problem or not.

On the demand that war funds be turned over for unemployment for relief—well, that was a matter for the House Ways and Means Committee to determine.

Just at this juncture, the time was up, and the delegation left Madame Perkins for the office of Mr. Hopkins.

We told Hopkins we were fed up with evasion. Mr. Hopkins didn't mind that, it seemed, as he proceeded to give us some more.

On demand number one—work instead of relief for the unemployed—Mr. Hopkins agreed, but not on the 30-hour week and \$30-week minimum. On the point there was a sneering, hard boiled and categorical No. Asked for his reasons, Mr. Hopkins declared he did not believe in an "economy of scarcity."

DANCE

Music : : Entertainment
Saturday, Dec. 15, 9 P.M.
IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place and 15th St.
Tickets 20c 40c at door
Admission: Workers Party of U. S.

Tony Bellussi Quits U.S.

Antonio Bellussi, militant anti-Fascist sentenced by the U. S. government to deportation to Italy because he refused to compromise his views, has left for South America. An announcement by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense, which was in charge of Bellussi's case during recent months, states that he has obtained a visa after a long fight.

The N.P.L.D. took over the Bellussi case after the I.L.D. had botched it. Bellussi repudiated the I.L.D. when the Stalinist bureaucrats running that organization tried to make him disavow his friendliness to the C.I.A. The N.P.L.D. had the cooperation of the American Civil Liberties Union in the efforts to save Bellussi from Mussolini's dungeons.

After a protracted struggle the N.P.L.D. was able to arrange Bellussi's departure to South America. The State Department and Mussolini were thus cheated of another victim. A full report of the Bellussi case, including financial aspects, is promised for the near future.

S.P. Old Guard Talks Split

(Continued from Page 1)

It has other grievances—a whole series of them. Led by Louis Waldman, patriotic N. Y. lawyer, and other right-wingers from a dozen eastern states, the Old Guard appeared before the national executive and put the knife to its throat. Waldman presented a list of ten demands backed by the N. Y. state S. P.

One of these demands was that "the National Executive Committee shall announce in clear and unequivocal language that it will neither consider nor discuss any proposals that may come from Communists for a united front, for any purpose, nor will it consider embarking upon any negotiations for such a united front, and will also advise State organizations to so instruct their locals."

Another demand was that the declaration of principles recently adopted by the Socialist party, and opposed by the right wing, be binding only upon those States whose membership approved the declaration in the recent party referendum. New York State rejected the declaration as in contradiction with Socialist principles.

The memorandum demanded also the reorganization of the national office of the party in Chicago, the removal of Clarence Senior as national secretary and his replacement by "someone who has the confidence of both party factions." The memorandum demanded the addition of four members of the right wing to the N.E.C., and the dissolution of all factional groups now functioning within the party such as the "Militants" and the Revolutionary Policy Committee. The Old Guard, however, would maintain its faction!

"We do not desire to minimize the crisis within the party. Worse than a split is the great danger of the party's disintegration. Here is a bold threat of split!

"Militants" Have Cold Feet

The famous "Militants," led by Thomas, Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee and Leo Kryszek of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, find themselves on the spot. Consequently, the "Militants" on the national executive refused to receive the Stalinist suppliants. They did, however, give a hearing to Jay Byestone, famous attorney for the Stalinists, who desires a return to the policies of the Anglo-Russian Committee, that is, a non-aggression pact of passivity.

The truth is that the militants are scared to death. They don't want to see the Old Guard take away from them the Rand School, the Forwards, the New Leader and other party properties. They don't want to see the exodus from the party of the gang of clever lawyers and influential A. F. of L. bureaucrats (not only Dubinsky, Rieve and such types will quit if Waldman and Co. quit, but the "Militants" are none too sure even of Kryszek and such elements in the event of a right-wing split) and "practical politicians" such as Jasper McLevy, Mayor of Bridgeport, Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, and Charlie Solomon of New York.

Stated even more pitifully, the "Militants" don't feel they have the "right" to take over the leadership of the S. P. They feel in their bones that "after all" the S. P. is identified with these old timers and belongs to them. "Who are we," they ask themselves, "to throw them out and take over the party? What can we do?" They have no confidence; their bones are stuffed with marrow but like those of all centrists and Mensheviks with vacillation and self-distrust.

"The Militants" have had a long respite since the left-wing drift began within the S. P. They have had to worry only about the Old Guard. No Socialist worker considered the Stalinist party as an alternative, even when he began to abandon the influence of reformism and centrism. Now, however, every leftward moving S. P. member fixes a hopeful eye on the Workers Party. The "Militants" are at length being forced to a choice:

Either they must capitulate to the Old Guard, in which case a whole mass of S. P. workers will start moving toward the W. P., or, without taking a revolutionary position, they will try to swing the S. P. a few degrees further in its left-centrist course in order to stem the tide of revolutionary thought and sentiment.

The W. P. must not be passive in this situation. A genuine opportunity exists. It is our duty and opportunity to lend every possible aid and comfort to the genuinely revolutionary elements within the S. P., to push the S. P. as a whole into actions in which the inner conflict will be sharpened and a solution forced that will throw all the healthy elements of the S. P. into the camp of revolution, into our camp. For this, comradeship, criticism, endless patient explanation, an insistence on militant united action on immediate issues of concern to the members both of the S. P. and the W. P., a campaign to expose the centrist leaders at the top, are essential.

The party of Hillquit can never become the party of Marx and Lenin. But thousands of members of the party of Hillquit can and will in the near future become members of the Workers Party, the revolutionary instrument of the American working class. The developments of the week at the Boston meeting of S. P. leaders opens the door to our members to begin an intensive campaign of agitation in Socialist circles. Let us seize the opportunity and build the W. P.!

—HARRY STRANG.

Unemployed Getting Enough
The writer asked Mr. Hopkins if it would be misquoting him to say that he held that the unemployed were getting enough relief.

Pulling his chin, Mr. Hopkins said yes, we could quote him as saying: "The unemployed by and large are getting enough."

On the question of the organized unemployed committees being recognized by local relief agencies as spokesmen for the unemployed, Mr. Hopkins declared that his office had sent letters to relief agencies instructing them not to refuse to meet committees of the unemployed.

The conference came to an end. The committee filed out.

—ANTHONY RAMUGLIA.

Independent Unionist Resigns From C.P.

(Ed. Note.—We print below the resignation from the Communist Party of Robert Strong, General Secretary of the Independent Building Trades Council of New York which has been reported by the Stalinist publications as more than 20,000 in and around New York. Strong has the solid support of the Council and its affiliates in his standpoint, with the exception of a part of the alteration painters.)

New York, Nov. 26, 1934
To the Central Committee of the Communist Party:

After having been a member of the C. P. since 1925, helped to build it up and active for years especially in its trade union work, and after mature consideration of what the party has become since Lenin's death, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot remain in the party and remain a Communist.

I therefore hereby declare my withdrawal from the C.P.U.S.A.

I am particularly in disagreement with your present trade union policy which, in my opinion, represents a clear departure from revolutionary principles, and which is being put into effect in complete disregard of inner democracy, both of the party and the trade unions, and behind the backs of the membership.

The disagreements I have on this question, however, might not have led to my withdrawal were it not for the fact that in the course of the controversy I had to realize that the Leninist principle of inner democracy had been done away with in the Communist parties for a long time.

Party Democracy Dead

Under the regime now prevailing in the C. P., there is no way of voicing one's views without being slandered, pounced upon, removed, etc. The rights of the membership under the principle of democratic centralism have been abolished in practice. It is futile, therefore, to attempt to influence or bring about a correction of the party line from within.

Basic policies are changed overnight, and unless one discards his

crats (not only Dubinsky, Rieve and such types will quit if Waldman and Co. quit, but the "Militants" are none too sure even of Kryszek and such elements in the event of a right-wing split) and "practical politicians" such as Jasper McLevy, Mayor of Bridgeport, Dan Hoan of Milwaukee, and Charlie Solomon of New York.

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IN THE TRADE UNIONS

former opinions when ordered to do so and becomes a mere automaton he cannot remain and live in the party. No person who is a real Communist and not a rag can go along with a system of this kind. To give an example: In the case of the trade union policy, the C. P., after following an ultra-left course for years (1929-1933) of creating paper unions in almost all industries, has now switched completely over to the ultra right, seeking to liquidate overnight not only the paper unions which never should have been created in the first place, but also those independent unions which have a mass base and which have come into existence through mass revolts against the reactionary bureaucrats.

It does not matter to the party leaders that the independent union movement in the country has grown enormously in these years and is now bigger than at any time in the history of the American labor movement. The party leaders, being afraid to face the opposition of the membership on this question, and swelled up with usurped authority, are attempting to put their essentially reactionary policy across from on top, without discussion, by back door methods, piece meal, first the weaker unions then the stronger ones. Individual party members who might oppose it or at least demand a discussion of the question, are done away with silently by the dry guillotine. The slogan of "unity" is used to sugar coat the process of delivering these workers over to the corrupt A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

A. F. of L. Fetishism

The party leaders conveniently repudiate their past policy and put it aside as if it never existed. After making a principle of dual unionism for years they now brazenly claim that they never advocated it (Stachel's article in the November "Communist" which calls for the liquidation of the independent building trades unions which the C. P., as in the case of other such unions, sponsored in the first place). Right now the party leaders are joining hands with William Green and others of this stripe in outlawing the right of workers to organize independently of the A. F. of L. under the slogan of "no dual unionism." Foster's letter to the A. F. of L. Convention, printed in the October issue of "Labor Unity" represents a complete right-about-face from what he had been telling us for years and destroys the moral basis for unions outside the A. F. of L., setting up a platform to run these unions back into the A. F. of L. which he and all the rest of you told us for years was a "company union" outfit.

Stachel's article in the November "Communist" goes even further. It lays down the perspective of pell-mell liquidation of the weaker independent unions and the return of the stronger ones to the A. F. of L. regardless of circumstances which have called them into existence. With the liquidation policy already well under way (Mining, Textile, Auto, Steel, Needle Trades, etc.), the Pol-Buro, not without equivocation and "diplomacy" even now, finally come out openly for the "new" way back to the A. F. of L. The fact that all this is being done without the say-so of the membership shows that the rank and file of the party has lost control over the party leadership. The membership of the party is reacting instinctively, many of them consciously, against these methods by dropping out of the party en masse—"voting with their feet" against the party bureaucrats.

Members Quitting

Discipline without inner democracy is nothing but bureaucraticism and has nothing in common with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. It cannot serve revolutionary purposes. The attempt to sneakily abolish the independent unions without the consent of the members under cover of "discipline" is reactionary. So is discipline without inner democracy. It is a method, a regime, alien to Lenin's concept of the party of the working class and is bound to result in the degeneration of the movement. Such discipline, therefore, has no meaning for me. The international party that Lenin created, and on the basis of whose principles I joined, has nothing in common with what prevails now.

The C. P. is no longer the party of the Communist workers but a private apparatus of corrupted bureaucrats. I therefore sever my relations with this organization, deeply convinced that it cannot serve the interests of the working class. There is no other way now for an honest revolutionist who has come to realize the actual state of affairs.

—ROBERT STRONG.

C.L.A. Endorses Fusion Program

(Continued from Page 1)

changes and the crises in the parties of the Second International since the Austrian events, the imminence of Fascism in France and the deep ferment in the S.F.I.O., the entry of our French comrades into the S.F.I.O., and the road to the Fourth International.

This, he pointed out, could not be stereotyped or blue-printed. Different roads would be taken according to conditions in each country. In the United States and Holland by the independent road—the merging of revolutionary groups into new parties. In France, on the other hand the road to the new Communist Party leads through the Socialist Party. Intransigence of principle and flexibility of organization policy was the keynote of comrade Cannon's speech in pointing the road to the new revolutionary international.

Serious disagreement arose on this question. A minority of comrades maintained that it was neither necessary nor correct to enter the French Socialist Party, that this road was full of pitfalls and would lead to international disaster for the organization. The discussion on this question lasted two full days and concluded with an overwhelming majority of the delegates voting for the policy endorsed by the international plenum.

Following this was the report by comrade Shachtman on the policy in America for the new party. Beginning with its declaration of a year ago for the new party, in which the C.L.A. set as its goal the founding of this revolutionary instrument by fusion on a revolutionary basis with other groups independent of the Second and Third Internationals.

The bulk of his speech dealt with the negotiations with the American Workers Party and the joint draft Declaration of Principles. Barring minor differences on past methods and tactics and secondary corrections on the Declaration of Principles, the convention was unanimously for merger with the A.W.P.

The Third and last convention of the Communist League, marks the end of its struggle for Marxism, not the revision of its ideas, but the shifting of its field of activity from that of a propaganda group to mass work, to transformation into a political party based on the tried and tested ideas of Marx and Lenin. The convention came to an end, after an all-night session, with ringing cheers from the delegates:

Long live the Workers Party of the United States!

Long live the Fourth International!

—GEORGE CLARKE.

Canada Hails W. P.

(Continued from Page 1)

workers' movement of Canada, the W. P. also faces the danger of police suppression.

The influence of the Stalinists is beginning to wane while that of the Workers Party is on the upgrade. The W. P. has already established firm connections in most of the organized trades, including the building, clothing, shoe, and metal workers unions. A few of the members are in leading positions in these unions.

The prestige and power of the Stalinists is ebbing fast. Following their new policy upon the international field, they have consummated the most unprincipled alliances with all kinds of petty bourgeois and pacifist liberal elements, which has succeeded only in discrediting them further among the class-conscious workers.

The Stalinists took the lead in organizing the unemployed in Canada in the first year of the crisis. Their unemployed organization, however, has now almost completely disintegrated. The W. P. is gaining a greater foothold among the unemployed groups, controlling a considerable part of the leadership in Winnipeg and having complete control of a newly formed mass organization in Toronto.

The major part of Stalinist activity today revolves around the Canadian branch of the League Against War and Fascism, largely petty-bourgeois in composition as in the U. S. A large number of local meetings have been held along the lines laid down by the Amsterdam Congress, culminating in a National Anti-Fascist and Anti-War Congress held at Toronto a few months ago. The representatives of the W. P. participated in and presented their program to the local meetings, and later attempted to present a resolution embodying their viewpoint to the Congress itself.

The steering committee of the Stalinists, composed of members of the Stalinist Polcom and clergymen, repelled their attempt and after a bitter struggle refused to put it before the Congress.

Build New Party

There is no well-organized Socialist Party in Canada. Although there are several small local groups which adhere to the ideas of the Socialists, they have no political significance. The road to the formation of the new party in Canada was a comparatively easy question to decide and course to embark upon.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.): organized about two years ago, is the biggest "left" party in Canada. Its base is the farmers of Western Canada, particularly in Alberta, and it embraces various labor and lower middle class groups throughout the Dominion. At the time of its inception, labor organizations were to

Franz Bobzien Murdered

Franz Bobzien is dead—foully murdered in a Hamburg prison by Hitler's gunmen.

This revolutionary young worker was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist League in Germany.

In February 1934, he was deported to Germany from Holland where he was attending an international conference of revolutionary youth organizations, together with four comrades.

Delivered into the hands of the Nazis by the Dutch police, he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for "high-treason," and then murdered in jail.

Refusing for purely fictional reasons to participate in the international movement of protest, the Stalinists share in the guilt of his execution.

We swear to carry on until his executioners will feel the heavy hand of proletarian retribution!

Weisbord Group Breaking Up

On Sunday, December 2, a general membership meeting of the Weisbord group was held for the purpose of a final vote on a thesis prepared by the "National Committee" (Weisbord), on many events of importance to the revolutionary movement. It was known from preliminary discussion that six out of a total membership of fifteen were in opposition to the above mentioned thesis.

In the well-known Stalinist method, in the interval between the preliminary discussion and the final vote, one comrade was expelled, and others suspended, so as to allow Weisbord a free hand at the meeting of December 2. Knowing that some comrades would attend the meeting to present a minority statement, Weisbord placed a guard to keep the door closed from the inside, and obtained the assistance of the building owner to keep out those who insisted on participating in this meeting.

Unable to get the slightest hearing on the discussion of the thesis in such a boogian atmosphere, the comrades were forced to leave the building. Undoubtedly the "thesis" was thereafter "unanimously" accepted.

A further statement concerning developments in the Weisbord group will appear in the Militant in the near future.

—X.

be taken into the Federation as a whole. This policy was reversed when it was seen that the working class units were putting forward too radical demands for the majority to accept and all organizational connections with the trade unions were broken. Today workers can join only as individuals. Several of the Western labor members of the C.C.F. are in the Federal Parliament.

Comrade MacDonald concluded his summary of conditions in Canada by stating that the fusion between the Communist League and the American Workers Party into the Workers Party of America should give a tremendous impetus to the Workers Party of Canada. "Workers in both countries," he said, "are in the closest connection with each other. Political as well as economic conditions in the United States exert an immediate and powerful influence upon its neighbor. The two new Workers Parties with the same name and a common revolutionary Marxist program are bound to be of great aid to each other and a potent force in the coming struggles of the American and Canadian working class."

N. Y. Workers Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

most important ally of union labor was the thrilling story told by Arnold Johnson and Anthony Ramuglia, the national leaders of the National Unemployed League. The responsibility of the Workers Party in revolutionizing the unemployed, for whom above all there is nothing left under capitalism, was one of the most important messages brought to the mass meeting.

Bringing the greetings of the national convention of the Spartacus Youth League on the eve of its convention, Joseph Carter declared that in its three day session the League would lay the foundations for a powerful mass youth organization, organizationally independent but owing political allegiance to the Workers Party.

A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon's speeches together gave a picture of the ten month's collaboration which led to the fusion and founding of the Workers Party. After ten years of splits and disintegration, they both pointed out, the Workers Party begins the counter-process of re-unifying the revolutionary movement. "Many in the fusion convention were at the founding of the Communist movement in 1917," declared Cannon. "Then and now they follow the red guiding star of the Russian Revolution. We have nothing but contempt for those who usurp Lenin's name and falsify his doctrines. Our six year's struggle in the movement symbolized by Leon Trotsky brings forth now its first

AWP Votes Fusion Plan As Drafted

Fulfilling the mandate given it by the Pittsburgh convention of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago, the Provisional Organizing Committee of the American Workers Party laid before the delegates to the A.W.P. convention held November 28 to 30 detailed proposals for immediate merger with the Communist League of America as the first step toward the building of a new and effective revolutionary party in the United States and a revolutionary international.

They were adopted substantially without change after the fullest discussion. The A.W.P. vote for merger came late in a session that lasted for a score of hours into the early morning and was unanimous. The Provisional Organizing Committee was instructed to call a unity convention of the two groups on the next day for the final ratification of the proposals and the formal creation of the new Workers Party of the U. S.

Historic Occasion

This was the last and most important act in the career of an organization that within the few years of its existence initiated and led some of the most significant and militant struggles of the American proletariat, blazed the trail in the trade unions of honest, militant, left-wing leadership, built the greatest of existing unemployed organizations and won for itself an impressive niche in the history of the working-class march to power in America.

"This convention is an historic occasion," A. J. Muste said in the opening address. Muste reported for the P.O.C. to the convention, tracing the party's history and growth from the Conference for Progressive Labor Action a year ago.

"We have a great many times described ourselves as not slaves to tradition. We have often spoken of a new or American approach, and we have insisted that we be realistic and experimental."

The report to the convention gave the history of the Communist League of America and the negotiations leading to the merger.

Much of the discussion at the convention centered on the Declaration of Principles prepared by the joint Negotiating Committee of the A.W.P. and the C.L.A., the theoretic foundation of the new party. Section by section and paragraph by paragraph the Declaration received the most careful and detailed discussion by the 50 delegates from all parts of the country. Every theoretic proposition was immediately matched by the practical experience of the delegates, all active leaders of trade union and unemployed movements.

When the discussion ended it was felt that the Declaration represented a body of clear revolutionary principles. Minor changes adopted by the convention were referred to the joint negotiating committee for an early formulation.

Adopt Organization Proposals

Concrete proposals for the organization of the new party were adopted without change. The most important of the proposals included the Constitution of the new party which was accepted on principal and referred for final action to the unity convention; the officership of the new party on a 50-50 parity with suggested names on the part of the joint negotiating committee and the set-up of the National Committee of 22 with 6 alternates on the same parity.

The convention voted unanimously to accept the names of A. J. Muste as National Secretary of the Workers Party and of J. P. Cannon, editor of the new party paper.

Because the A.W.P. had no youth organization, it was decided that while youth members of the party were to be placed on the executive committee of the Spartacus Youth League (to become subsequently the youth organization of the new party) it would not be carried out on the 50-50 basis.

—LOUIS BREIER.

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