

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged
THE MILITANT
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The New Militant

THE New Militant makes its appearance as the official weekly organ of the Workers Party. As such, it will not be independent or neutral but will strive in all respects to represent the aims and ideals of the party as laid down in the Declaration of Principles and to reflect its revolutionary spirit.

The vanguard political party is the highest expression of working class organization and a party organ, consequently, is the highest type of paper. Our aim, however, is not to publish a "house organ" for restricted party circles, but a political organ for the masses. We hope to popularize the New Militant without diluting its political and party character. Such a combination is what is needed to serve the aims we have in mind. If we succeed in this endeavor the New Militant will soon make a place all its own in the field of labor journalism.

The main line of the New Militant will be the attack against capitalism, the exposure of its frauds and infamies, and the advocacy of the socialist order of society. As we see the situation, the chief recruiting ground of the new party, even in the early stages of its struggle, is among the politically unorganized but grievously oppressed and bitterly discontented masses of American workers. The main appeal of the New Militant will be directed to them.

They are the forces for the new party. They are the troops of the American revolution. They have long remained indifferent to working class politics of any kind. The political labor movement, reformist as well as revolutionary, has been a comparatively small and isolated circle. But the conditions have matured for a great and rapid transformation. The two gigantic strike waves we have seen were heralds of a mass participation in the political movement as well.

The American workers are moving now in true American style—rapidly and with militant disregard for any kind of obstructions. The New Militant will march with them, talk to them in their own language, and aid them in their struggle. To awaken the discontented workers to class consciousness and draw them toward the party in the course of their experiences in the class struggle—this will be the chief endeavor of the New Militant.

The road to the masses is through the vanguard. Our paper can become a power among the masses only if it organizes and educates the advanced workers as it goes along. The fundamental nucleus of revolutionary militants which has been assembled at the founding of the Workers Party is only a beginning. Thousands of others, scattered and disorganized by the long period of disintegration in the movement, belong with the party right now. The New Militant will help them to find their place in the party ranks. In this field quality is what counts. Every class conscious worker is important. Every honest rebel against capitalism is dear to us and we hope to make our paper their paper. To that end the New Militant will provide them with accurate information about all phases of the movement, about the activities of other labor organizations at home and abroad, and strive to illuminate all the important questions of the day with the light of Marxist principle.

We must make our revolution in America, not in some other country and not on the moon. That means, if we are to go to work seriously, that our paper must concern itself primarily with the actualities of American life and talk to the workers in their own language. It is necessary to show that we understand them in order to make them understand us. The American people have not inherited conservatism nor the tendency to balk at revolutionary solutions. They overthrow the rule of a king and broke the institutions of chattel slavery by means that were far from polite. The history of the labor movement

of the country, on the whole, is a magnificent history of militant struggle. Our paper can and should appeal to these traditions in its agitation among the masses. It can and should be distinctively American in its methods of approach and its realistic concentration on the concrete tasks at hand.

But the world we live in is a unit and the liberating workers' revolution, as our Declaration of Principles truly says, is by its very nature international in character. One cannot even begin to think straight about a national revolution unless he proceeds from this point of view. We don't believe in the dogma of "socialism in one country", for the United States or for Russia. We see our American revolution as one link in the chain of revolutions which will emancipate the world from capitalism and establish world socialism. This conception stands in the center of the system of ideas which binds us together and animates all our work on national grounds. The New Militant, in all its departments, will reflect this revolutionary internationalist point of view.

Non-Partisan Defense

THE Workers Party founding convention went on record for the idea of a militant defense organization embracing workers and sympathetic elements of diverse political views, for a united class fight for mutual defense interests. Earlier, the A.W.P. and the C.L.A. had vigorously supported this idea when it was broached by the Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

The N.P.L.D., while limited in forces, has won a good name in struggle. When the I.L.D. refused to raise a finger for four young German workers deported from Holland to Fascist Germany, the N.P.L.D. organized the protest movement in this country. The N.P.L.D. played an important part in the fight against New York police brutality which led to the resignation of Commissioner O'Ryan. It was to the fore in local protest movements against government strike-breaking moves on the Gulf Coast, in Toledo, Minneapolis and San Francisco.

Last week the N.P.L.D. was able to announce that it had saved Antonio Bellusi, militant anti-Fascist, from danger of deportation to Fascist Italy. Now comes news that a committee set up on the initiative of and led by members of the N.P.L.D., has won a signal victory in obtaining the release from Sing Sing of Harold Robins and Andrea Gras, strikers framed on a charge of beating scabs in the New York hotel strike. The two workers may have to undergo a new trial, but in any case their first conviction is reversed through the legal fight of the N.P.L.D. The superior court admitted that Robins and Gras were convicted due to the prejudiced conduct of the notorious anti-labor trial judge, Corrigan.

Revolutionary workers now in the W. P. played an important part in the united front for Robins and Gras. The N.P.L.D. was also able to draw into active work the Socialist Lawyers Association one of whose members was Robins' counsel in the appeal.

The W. P. is ready to go further in support of the N.P.L.D.'s plans. Even since June, when the N.E.C. of the S.P. gave favorable, though formal, recognition to the idea, we have urged conclusive action. Almost three months ago a draft plan was approved by representatives of the C.L.A., the A.W.P. and the S.P. Since then the S.P. representatives have taken no action. That some elements in the S.P. are opposed in principle to collaboration with revolutionaries even against the worst reactionaries, everybody knows. What rank-and-file Socialists should ask, however, is why the "militants", who claim to have a majority in the N.E.C., constantly avoid a final decision on the pressing question of setting up a broad, militant defense organization.

The history of the I.L.D. in the Dutch case; in the Bellusi case, where it sabotaged the defense because the defendant was suspected of "Trotskyism"; in the Robins-Gras case, where it refused all collaboration and constantly maneuvered to sabotage the united front committee; in Scottsboro, where its policies have jeopardized the whole cause and where it is now begging the reactionary Samuel S. Leibowitz for a united front—all these facts and many more make clear that the I.L.D. is not to be thought of as a defense instrument of the workers.

A militant, non-partisan defense organization is a crying class need today. The Workers Party has put the building of such an organization on its program. It is ready and willing to cooperate with other organizations to build it. The Socialist Party ought to give some definite answer to the N.P.L.D., or to make clear that it is unable or unwilling to carry out in action its verbal commitment of last June. The N.P.L.D., far from having confirmed the diagnosis made last April by the I.L.D.—that it "died aborning"—has grown constantly stronger. Its further work should not be jeopardized by anybody's passivity. The W. P. calls for action on this matter.

Anti-Crime War Aimed at Lone Killers - while Bankers and War Makers Get Protection

WASHINGTON.—While the Senate committee investigating the munitions industry continued to unearth graft and corruption involving some of the biggest names in the country, righteous speeches were being made at the Attorney General's four-day conference on crime.

In none of these speeches, however, was reference made to the DuPonts, the Morgans or the Rockefellers. Neither was anything said about the bankers who steal their depositors' money, nor about the Wall Street manipulators who rob small investors of billions of dollars, nor about the industrial barons—the Weirtons, the Mellons, the Fords—who employ armies of gunmen to shoot and terrorize their workers.

Of a Lower Order

The crime the Attorney General's conference dealt with was of a lower order. It was concerned with kidnappings, blackmail, banditry, burglaries, etc. And it was against the Dillingers, the Hauptmanns, the Baby-faced Nelsons and their kind that the speeches and the indignation were directed. It appears that criminals of this type are increasing with great rapidity, and are becoming exceedingly bold and arrogant.

"It is amazing that such a situation as now exists is possible at this stage of our civilization," declared Attorney General Cummings. "When officers of the law are forced to engage in drawn battles on public highways, in railroad stations and elsewhere, armed with the desperate implements of modern warfare, we realize the danger which is involved and the menacing character of those who thus boldly defy the powers of our government."

No Reference to Causes

Although the increase in the number of criminals and their boldness was referred to by nearly all speakers very little was said about the causes underlying this increase—with the exception of blaming it on the newspapers, the radio and the "attitude of the public".

President Roosevelt, in his speech at the opening session, did say that "crime is a symptom of social disorder" but his remedy for this disorder was a vague reference to "marshalling the assets of home, school, church, community and other social agencies to work in common purpose with our law enforcement agencies". What this purpose is, aside from more efficiently shooting and capturing the pickpockets, the gunmen and other such criminals he did not say.

J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation, described what in his opinion was the reason more of these small criminals are not put in the morgue. "Until political pressure is removed," said Hoover, "we must regard the eradication of gangs like that of Dillinger, Floyd, Bailey and others as transitory phases of a condition which can change overnight."

"Political Pressure"

Mr. Hoover did not define the nature of this "political pressure" but what he apparently meant is that these lesser criminals are only the agents of higher-ups who by their respectable position in society are able to give them protection.

PAMPHLET PUBLICATION PROGRAM

One of the main points in the six months concentration drive of the Party is the publication of a series of popular pamphlets on the important issues confronting the American working class.

It is planned to issue one new pamphlet monthly during this period, to sell at not more than 10c. In order to finance this work, subscriptions are being accepted for the first six pamphlets which will be mailed directly to the subscriber as soon as they are off the press. The price for the series is 50c.

Every member and sympathizer of the new Party should aid in the publication of these important pamphlets by subscribing immediately and getting their friends to do likewise. Subscriptions should be sent to the PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 102 East 11th Street, New York City.

Those able to make a contribution for this purpose should specify that the money is to be applied to the Publication Fund.

Subscription

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
102 East 11th Street,
New York, N. Y.

I wish to subscribe for the series of six pamphlets to be issued by the WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S. in the first half of 1935 and enclose 50c for this purpose.

(If you wish to send the series to any friends, just write their name on a piece of paper and enclose.)

Name
Address
Here is my bit toward the PUBLICATION FUND \$.....

Had Mr. Hoover gone a step further he would have pointed out that one of the reasons for the growing boldness of the law by the big capitalists. The examples of the bankers and industrialists and their politicians are not exactly conducive to teaching respect for the government.

However, it was not the purpose of the Attorney General's conference on crime to discuss how to deal with the big criminals. As a matter of fact, it was observed by some who attended, the real purpose of the conference seemed to be to discover how best to protect the big criminals against their hirelings and agents. Since the burglars, the kidnapers and the blackmailers do not menace, excepting in a very slight degree, the welfare of the poor people—about 90 percent of the population—it

seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that it must be the wealthy people who are so excited about the "crime wave"

An Important Question

But when millions of children are undernourished and more than a fourth of the population of the country on the verge of starvation, while the rich continue to pile up millions in profit, why should the dispossessed get excited about killing the Dillingers, the Hauptmanns, the Baileys and their kind?

This question was not asked at the Attorney General's conference on crime. But undoubtedly the growing resentment of the poverty stricken masses was in the back of the minds of those who called the conference. And it is this resentment that they really fear. It is this resentment that the bosses are attempting to label as criminal.

FASCISM AT WORK

Mr. Hjalmar Schacht, who was a big capitalist banker before Hitler took power and who remains today a big capitalist banker, is more and more consolidating his strength in Germany. Today he is the dictator behind the scenes . . . and not so far behind. Hitler jumps when he cracks the whip.

The discharge of Gottfried Feder from his official post in the Nazi government is Schacht's latest victory. Feder was Under-Secretary for Economics when Hitler first became Chancellor. He has been cut down a few inches each six months or so, and now his official head is off altogether.

How important this is can be appreciated when one realizes that Feder was the author of the 25 so-called "unalterable theses" of the Nazi party on economic questions. Adopted by the Nazi founding fathers more than a decade ago, they were full of confused pseudo-socialist terminology. They raved on about abolition of "slavery of interest", proposed to nationalize all banks, and promised to put a flock of chickens in every German worker's pot.

Capitalism, the Voelkischer Beobachter (chief Hitler organ) announces, is getting another chance to prove itself. Here is a quite candid confession that Hitler Fascism is nothing but capitalism in a new and more ruthless guise. The firing of Feder, author of the demagogic slogans which the Nazis used to recruit their army of dupes and desperados, is a symbol of the end of bluff about "national socialism".

What this Hitler capitalism means to the workers of Germany is revealed anew by every report about economic conditions which comes out of Germany.

A report from Thuringia in the Deutsche, Hitler newspaper, reveals the workers of that province of Germany to be in profound misery. At Tausche a glass-blower, with the help of his wife and six children working 10 hours daily at

home, earns \$8 weekly. The only food of thousands of families is potatoes and salt. At Steinheld, 225 out of 250 inhabitants live on relief alone . . . and very badly. Sconeberg district reports 33,000 unemployed out of 80,000 inhabitants.

A Hamburg official reports that the "steadily employed workers" get only \$5 a week for the two or three days weekly work they get. He calls this a wage "which is neither sufficient to live nor to die". Prices are constantly rising while wages drop. For example, agricultural products in 1934 cost 112.2 as compared to 95.8 in 1933; meats are up from an average of 67.2 to 79.8; dairy products are up from 88 to 111.3; textiles are up from 60.3 to 80.6.

The Berlin government reports a total paid-wage increase of only 1 percent for 1934 over 1933. This reveals a terrific real decrease in the workers' earning power, since more than 2,500,000 workers unemployed in 1933 now share the work (and wages) of those who were employed before. The standard of living of all has been lowered.

Recent news from Austria indicates that the Helmswehr variety of Fascism is just as "beneficial" to the workers as the Nazi variety. During the first half of 1933 total wages paid out in Vienna were 556,000,000; during the same period this year, the total was only 515,000,000. The income of the Vienna proletariat has fallen by 24 percent.

These trends have been duplicated for years in Fascist Italy. Mussolini, Hitler, Stahremberg . . . all birds of the same feather. What they bring about is summed up by the exploiting class as "the restoration of national unity". Furthermore, "the trains run on time". The workers' organizations have been smashed, their resistance lowered, wages are cut, profits are maintained, the sun shines! That a whole generation of workers starves does not matter to the ruling class.

Launch Six Month Program

(Continued from Page 1)

Philadelphia, Boston and New Haven this month. The New York district is organizing a great mass meeting. The first national tour which will take Comrades Muste and Cannon to the high spots in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, West Virginia and Pennsylvania has already been projected. Details will be found on another page in this issue.

Hold Unemployment Conference

A Provisional organization of the Trade Union Department of the party under National Organizer Arne Swaback has been set up. Conferences on the unemployed work have taken place and decisions arrived at are being carried out by Arnold Johnson in Ohio and Anthony Ramuglia in the anthracite district.

By the first of January party organizers will be at work in Illinois and Ohio.

The Political Committee has appointed an Educational Committee under the chairmanship of Hugo Oehler which will map out plans for carrying out section 7 of the Program of Action.

Must Raise \$5,000

While the general program of action covers the six months period, the Party Foundation Fund of \$5,000 must be raised by March 1. Consequently special attention is given to this matter elsewhere in this issue. This sum can constitute only a beginning if we are really to measure up to the job which we have undertaken. However, if we can put over the Party Foundation Campaign in the next 60 days, it will give us an impetus that will carry us forward with leaps and bounds.

Wide Interest in Party

In the meantime every day brings evidence that the merger of two

important groups and the launching of the new party have aroused widespread interest among the workers and are having tremendous repercussions in other political groups, especially the C.P. and S.P. where confusion, uncertainty and disintegration prevail. All the signs indicate that the party was launched at a most opportune time. Advantage must be taken of the opportunity that has been placed within our grasp. We do not have unlimited time at our disposal to do the job. We must work—every last member of the party—work hard, resolutely, untiringly for the 100 percent realization of the six months Program of Action of the Workers Party.

NOTICE

Beginning this issue, THE MILITANT becomes THE NEW MILITANT and the official weekly of the new party. The serial number begins over again with Vol. 1, No. 1. The number on your wrapper will therefore be changed, beginning issue of December 22. All subscribers will be given the full amount of issues due them.

The last whole number of THE MILITANT was 252. If the expiration number on your wrapper is say 260, it means that you are entitled to 8 more issues. Your new number will therefore be No. 8 beginning issue of Dec. 22. Please watch the expiration number on your wrapper, and send your renewal promptly. It will avoid skipping issues and you will save us much time, labor and expense.

—BUSINESS MANAGER.

REVIEWING THE NEWS

By BILL

To the Workers Party of the U. S. To the New Militant and its 10,000 readers—Greetings!

Spartacus

"For Spartacus means fire and spirit. For Spartacus means soul and heart." These words of the immortal Liebknecht best describe the first National Convention of the Spartacus Youth League held in New York, Dec. 3, 4, 5. You can take it from me that the delegations of Spartacus Youth—who by freight train, hitch-hike and auto came from California and all points east—not forgetting the fraternal delegates from Canada—have "fire and spirit" and are "soul and heart" in the revolutionary movement. There was no sign of Stalinist "made to order" thinking in the S.Y.L. convention. An old timer of 81 summers and 30 winters, who was one of the founders of the original Young Workers League and who sat with me in the visitors gallery, remarked that he had never seen anything to match the independence of thought and intelligent discussion of youth problems of the S.Y.L. convention. Profiting by the experiences of the past—intelligent, vigorous, confident, eyes front—the Spartacus Youth League marches forward.

At Last the Forgotten Man

"Driving money-changers from the temple", "For more equitable distribution of our national income"—Just call to mind a few of the New Deal slogans and then read the income figures of 1933. You'll find the "forgotten man" brought back in all his glory. Here are the headlines in the New York Times: "1,000,000 incomes rose by 26 in 1933 . . . Individual net off . . . One of 46 in higher brackets reported \$5,000,000 or more against none in 1933. (That's him. That's the forgotten man.)" "Corporation profits up . . . Increased 35.35 in first New Deal year . . . Total fell mainly in lower scale."

Time-Clocks vs. Military Muster

According to a press report the Nazis have issued a decree, "Time-clocks must go and be replaced by a military muster." "Whoever heard of a regimental commander installing a time-clock at the entrance to his barracks?" asks Doctor Ley, Nazi chief. May we add that we never saw a time-clock at the entrance of a prison either. In addition to the military muster every factory manager is to "give his staff a little speech each morning and evening on Nazi ideals". And to show that the Nazi butchers are not without a satanic sense of humor the manager is to end his speech with: "Any complaints?"

Bankers and Lawyers Gyp Crippled Veterans

"Many instances" where lawyers and bankers "bilked the veterans of large sums of money" were reported by Rep. Patman, Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Comm. "A hopelessly crippled veteran in New York drawing \$30.00 a month was charged \$100.00 lawyer fee for a signature"—"Bank and trust companies acting as guardians for veterans unloaded worthless securities on them." Rep. Patman's statement told of case after case, amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars lost by veterans through the activities of patriotic bankers and lawyers.

Free Workers

Alfred P. Sloan Jr., President of General Motors Corp., declared that the "spell" of regimentation and planned economy had been broken and America now had a future of tremendous opportunities under a system of free enterprise. "I believe workers should be free. Their right to work should not depend upon their membership in a labor union." Anyone who has stepped into an auto factory in Detroit and watched human robots at work will understand just what Mr. Sloan means by "free workers" and a "system of free enterprise".

Voodism and the Quintuplets

Doctor Defoe who gained notoriety by being present when Mrs. Dionne gave birth to quintuplets in New York. In a speech before a large audience Dr. Defoe reported that, after the birth of the children Mrs. Dionne seemed to be in a dying condition but instead of remaining with the apparently dying woman to give what aid he could, he, Dr. Defoe, who was brought up and trained in the Voodism of the Catholic Church, travelled a distance of two and a half miles to get a priest, leaving Mrs. Dionne to the care of a backwoods midwife. In a sane society a man guilty of such an act would be punished, not praised.

Spartacus Youth Adopts Program

(Continued from Page 1)

reports and the proposed resolutions were accepted unanimously.

Speech of Schachtman

Max Schachtman, of the former Communist League of America, then addressed the convention. He brought greetings from the comrades whose organization had sponsored and helped build the Spartacus Youth League. Pointing to the degeneration of the old guard generation, with few exceptions, he reiterated the need for the development of new leading forces for the revolutionary movement and urged that this is the most important task of the Spartacus Youth League. This is to be accomplished, he further stated, by building the S.Y.L. as a mass youth organization, politically subordinate to the Workers Party while organizationally autonomous.

The report of comrade Schachtman was greeted by the adoption of a resolution extending thanks to the comrades of the former Communist League for their aid in building the S.Y.L.

Student Problem

The next report covered the problem of the students. The discussion revolved around the question as to whether there is a need for a national student organization. The overwhelming majority of the delegates opposed such an independent

organization and decided to work through the existing student clubs and organizations and Spartacus Youth fractions for winning the students to the Spartacus Youth "activist group" (cultural, committee or fraction); to stabilize Young Spartacans and begin a fund for a semi-monthly; to prepare material for a youth handbook. The program was accepted and the incoming national committee was given the task of working out the details.

Name "Spartacus" to Stand

The debate over the name of the youth organization was very spirited. After a good deal of consideration, informally and formally, the delegates decided to continue the name "Spartacus Youth". The alternative proposal was "Young Workers League". Those supporting the majority viewpoint contended that the name "Spartacus", bearing the revolutionary traditions of the leader of the ancient slave rebellion and the heroic struggles of the German group of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had more color and meaning than the suggested alternative.

The opposition held that the name "Young Workers League" was more popular. That the content would be given by the future activities of the organization. "Spartacus" carried the day.

The program of action was then considered. This consists of a three

months plan, to begin Jan 1, 1935 for the strengthening of the national center, the building of new branches, and the reorganization of the existing branches. It includes a plan to double the membership by April 1; to build a youth branch wherever a Workers Party branch exists.

New National Committee

A new national committee was elected consisting of Nathan Gould, Reva Craine, Manny Garrett, Bill Streeter, Jane Ogden, Irving Bern (Chicago), M. Slavin (Youngstown), Murray Weiss (San Francisco), Ray Sparrow (Los Angeles), James Cross (Gillespie), Francis Drake, Frank Visconti and S. Yayer were elected as alternates.

As the convention concluded with the singing of the "International", the delegates were more confident than ever in the bright future for the Spartacus Youth as the mass organization of the young workers and students.

Workers Party Lecture
BROOKLYN BRANCH
"Is the Socialist Party Splitting?"

Speaker:

MAX SHACHTMAN

Friday, Dec. 21, 8:30 P.M.

1776 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn

(Near Stone St.)

SPEAKERS:

V.R. Dunne of Minneapolis Ted Selanber of Toledo
John Edwards Al. Glotzer Norman Sater

CHICAGO MASS MEETING

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23rd 3.00

REDIFER HALL

30 NORTH WELLS STREET

Admission 15 Cents
Unemployed Free