

**NEW MILITANT**

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**Alarm Signals in the Soviet Union**

(Continued from Page 1)  
Communist International, at the head of a delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to seek approval of this commutation. He explained: We must show that we do not disregard the wishes of the social democratic workers of Europe who have asked us to show leniency. We must convince them that we do not follow a policy of revenge. And, moreover, we must show the world that we are strong and can afford to moderate our penalties against those who are completely defeated.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Joseph Zack Joins Workers Party**

(Continued from Page 1)  
in the C.I. and the C.P.U.S.A. arose in my mind as a major issue of even greater importance than the trade union question itself. I thought: "If I, a party member of 15 years standing, can be deprived of my rights so easily, what chance has an ordinary party member to express his opinions on any basic question?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

**the East River whistles mournfully.**

The Gold Dust factory has been lent to the Salvation Army. The machinery has been cleared out, and row upon row of dingy cots have taken its place. There is only one small entrance to the massive building, a door at the dark end of the loading platform.  
Men kept coming out the door, turning up their collars, and drifting across the bare cement of the park. I discovered that the memorial Greek temple in the center of the park housed a public toilet in its base. The men drifted over to the temple, went in, reappeared and drifted back, hardly stopping, never looking around, never speaking, drifted back and disappeared into the tiny doorway of the factory.

I stopped one, a blond man dressed in a new pair of pants and a leather jacket.  
"Story? You want a story?" He laughed apologetically and spoke with a thick accent. "There is no story. I am a chauffeur, a chauffeur for private cars; people don't keep chauffeurs any longer."

"I am Swedish; I have been back and forth many times. The last in 1930, now I wish I had not come." Any family?  
"A wife and a child in Sweden. They are all right, I thank God for it; my wife is working."

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

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

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

**Auto Hearing Farce With 7a Under Ban**

(Continued from Page 1)  
\$2,500 for skilled workers irrespective of the number of months employed; that the eight-hour day and 30-hour week replace the present 12-hour day and 84-hour week they said the code allows; that an unemployment insurance plan be put into effect, to begin as soon as a man becomes unemployed, continue during the entire period of unemployment, and be administered by the workers' organizations.  
What They Told  
They told of a speed-up system so great the men can't take time out for hygiene needs, so great that older men are forced out of employment.  
They told of the Ford welfare plan, whereby employees may get out of a \$4 wage, \$1 in cash and the rest in credit for relief supplies, so that most of them are unable to check on exactly what they are getting.  
And they told of a spy system so effective that when Smith lost the minutes of a meeting of the M.E. S.A., he got a copy from the files of the Motor Products Co.  
They described how Ford had movies taken of a mass demonstration, then fired all his employees who could be identified. He even fired men who tried to take up a collection for flowers for four men killed last year in the demonstration at his River Rouge plant.  
These and many other things, the workers told Roosevelt's deputies. In Toledo the M.E.S.A. and the A. F. of L. union prepared to present further evidence to the board. The Toledo branch of the Workers Party, which has been active in the automobile field, planned to have a speaker to show the impossibility of stabilization in the automotive industry (or any other industry) under the profit system. Using a factual survey of the Toledo automotive industry, the plan is to expose the automobile labor board and the entire NRA machinery.

I went back and reassured the six-footer that some one would be over with a crutch.  
On the way out I fell in step behind a well dressed young man. When I asked him for a story he was suspicious.  
"You ain't a phony," he asked, "A detective or something?"  
No I wasn't a detective.  
"What do you want my story for? It's just like all the rest. You can see what its all about, can't you?"  
A Place to Stay  
I insisted.  
"Well," suddenly, "I'll tell you, but I won't tell you my name. I don't want anybody to know I'm coming here."  
"I'm an Irishman, born in the old country twenty-four years ago. I've been in America sixteen years. I've been a member of the union, local sixty, for seven years. A mechanic, a plasterer I am. I lost my last job about eight months ago. I haven't been able to get a scrap of work since. What the hell, a fella can't starve, so after three months I started coming down here. I gotta place to stay all right, but I gotta eat."  
I said goodbye to the Irish plasterer, and went on down town to Corlears Hook on the East River. There, beside the river, fronting on a bare, municipal, waterfront park, is the empty Gold Dust factory building.  
The Gold Dust Lodge  
The tugs chugging up and down

**Merry Christmas - For Whom?**

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load of mild insanity, induced by hardship and old age.  
As I walked down the street one man accosted me.  
Waiting  
"I've been waiting for you," he said, "I've been waiting right here ever since Monday."  
I told him he was mistaken.  
"Don't tell me, I know your tricks. Didn't you promise me you'd be coming down?"  
I pointed out that we had never met.  
"No," he mumbled, "We never met; but just the same you can't fool me, you said you were going to meet me here."  
Further on I leaned up against the wall opposite the dirty grey lodging house. A continuous line on crutches issued from the door marked MEN. I guessed that those who were crippled were fed inside, instead of at the wharf.  
An old six-footer with an expression of good humor started to swing across the street. One of his crutch points slipped into a crack in a manhole cover. The crutch shattered and he fell to the pavement. He didn't want to be picked up, and managed to right himself with the remaining crutch. With some trouble he hobbled over and leaned against the wall near me.  
He was embarrassed, although no one had paid any attention to his fall. He shouted and mumbled every time anyone passing saw the broken crutch lying in the street.  
"It's a violation of the municipal ordinance," he yelled to no one in particular, "There is a state law against it, there ought to be a railing."

"Crutch, crutch?" he said, "Where are you going to get one. This is a fifty-six inch crutch; they don't make many that long."  
I went across the street and interviewed one of the clerks.  
Gala Christmas  
"Yes," he said, "They get an extra dinner Christmas. Chicken, mashed turnips and potatoes; same as they had Thanksgiving. We'll have a tree for them. The police band comes up and the police glee club sings. Then they all get Tootsie Rolls to take home with them."  
"We're getting more and more every day, feeding about twenty thousand at this station right now. More and more white collar people too. They hang on as long as they can; but finally get tired of living on relatives, and take it on the chin."  
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**Mass Meeting Communist Party Swings to the Right**

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

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

**WHY I JOINED THE WORKERS PARTY**  
Will Be Explained by Comrade Zack and Others Recently Resigned from the C. P.  
**SUNDAY, DEC. 30th 1934 8 P. M.**  
IRVING PLAZA HALL, 15th Street and Irving Place  
Admission Free All Workers Invited

**Printers' O. K. Aids Striking Reporters**

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

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

**No Arbitration**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Theatre Benefit**

A theatre benefit of "Sailors of Cattaro", the new play of the Theatre Union, will be given by the Workers Party Thursday, Feb. 7, at the Civic Repertory Theatre. The play, which follows "Stevodore" at the theatre, is the third presentation of the Theatre Union. It has been receiving very favorable criticism.  
Tickets for the benefit will be sold at the regular theatre prices, 30 cents to \$1.50. They may be obtained by members of the party from their branch secretaries, and by sympathizers at the party's national headquarters, Room 702, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.