#### NEW MILITANT

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1934 No. 3

### The Real Issues in the Soviet Union

HESE are times which impose upon all revolu-It tionary workers an attitude of the greatest responsibility and the most sober judgment in regard to the Soviet Union. Those who have seen the Russian revolution, and its product the Soviet State, as the star of hope and inspiration of the international working class must in no case allow their vision to be obscured by the happenings of the recent days. It is necessary now to hold fast to fundamental conceptions and to view all the happenings in their light. The greatest danger of all is that the sympathetic and partly sympathetic masses will be alienated from the Soviet Union itself by the things taking place now. It is the duty of the conscientious revolutionists to counteract this trend. The indignant protest against the Stalinist frame-up of Trotsky, Zinoviev and other working class critics-which is voiced instinctively by every honest revolutionist -has to be combined at all times with the defense of the Soviet State against its class enemies and an unqualified condemnation of all terrorist acts and tendencies which can only facilitate the eventual downfall of the Soviet State.

The idea that the Soviet State is immune from this danger is a profound illusion. As long as the Soviet Union is surrounded by a capitalist world it is never free from the danger of a counter-revolutionary overthrow. Lenin and all the Bolsheviks who made the revolution always said this, and that is why they

looked for the final solution of the difficulties and contradictions of the Soviet Union on the arena of the international revolution. The theory and practice of "Socialism in the Soviet Union alone" could work only to isolate the Soviet Union from its chief and, in the final analysis, its only real source of reenforcement, the international working class movement. The "Opposition", treacherously described as "counter-revolutionary" and now even branded as "terrorist", was animated from the first by this internationalist and fundamentally revolutionary conception. The purpose was to save the Soviet Union by spreading the revolution to other

The accusation that the oppositionist political groups which originated in the Communist Party are responsible for the assassination of Kirov, or any other acts of terrorism, is a monstrous and fantastic slander. Such accusations hurled at the Merxist opponents of Stalin are not believed anywhere, least of all in the circles of the advanced and class conscious workers. The uncompromising hostility of the Marxists to the methods of terrorism is too well known. The chief result of this infamous attempt to foist the assassination of Kirov onto the oppositionists is to sow confusion and demoralization in the ranks of the working class supporters of the Soviet State and thereby to weaken its position internally and externally. By resorting to such methods the Stalin bureaucracy testifies to the weakness of its position and the fear of proletarian criticism. The suspicion inevitably grows that further steps to the right in the field of foreign policy are contemplated, and that the aim is to silence criticism and smash proletarian opposition in advance. The bureaucracy can derive political and factional profit from the use of such methods only at the expense of the Soviet Union itself. Therein lies their condemna-

We know nothing of the details surrounding the latest incidents-and neither does anybody else ex- new career. According to its edicept the official circle which keeps it secret. We do not know what the political position of Zinoviev, for example, is at the present time and consequently cannot take any responsibility for it. But we do know that the attempt to "connect" Trotsky and his adherents with White Guards and with the assassination of Kirov is a transparent frame-up. We know that secrecy serves such ends, not the exposure and defeat of class enemies. For these reasons we demend open trials and full information. Opposition to this demand in the present circumstances is a confession of guilt. The working class of the world must be armed with the truth for the effective defense of the Workers' State.

## Sacramento Trials Aimed at Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

"wilfully, unlawfully and feloni- Kirkwood, Lee Hung (a Chinese present him with a brace of ducks of the majority, the little minority ously, by spoken and written words worker), A. G. Ford, Luther Mincy, and personal conduct" advocating W. H. Huffine, Harry Collentz, verdict, of course. criminal syndicalism and "crime Mike Plesch, and John Fisher. sabotage, violence and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means

with printing, publishing, circulat- Ford, Collentz and Bigham. ing, etc., matter advocating crimmunist Party, the T.U.U.L., the ]

Stalinist Party. "drilling as students and becoming California. Busick is reported to members of a class of students and have subsequently changed his engaging in the act or acts of per- views and is now a critic of the forming and executing military criminal syndicalism law. The redrills with intent . . . to effect a maining defendants are represented

political change." The prisoners are in the main I.L.D. leaders and members of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers In- ably treated in jail. Among other dustrial Union. Pat Chambers is things, Sheriff Cox has refused to its District Organizer, and was C. deliver to them literature and P. Senatorial candidate in the last newspapers sent by friends alelection. Caroline Decker is Dis- though such censorship is illegal. trict Secretary of the Union. Jack Warnick is the director of the Sacramento Workers School. Norman Mini is an instructor in the school. Martin Wilson is section organizer of the I.L.D. Nora Concklin, a the jury by playing upon its premember of the Unemployed Coun-} judices. District Attorney Neil cil, is a direct descendent of one McAllister has already begun his of the signers of the American De- rough stuff. He got the wife of one claration of Independence. Albert juror, Mrs. R. B. Nix, to state that Hougardy, C. P. Congressional she had been threatened by Reds. candidate, is Sacramento organizer An investigation disclosed that the of the C.P. Jack Crane is a mem- claim was a fake. ber of the Workers Ex-Service- On the other hand, it was re- majority rule, and that I believe tablished.

men's League. Lorine Norman is vealed that the Assistant D. A. is criminal syndicalism charges were secretary of the Sacramento I.L.D. quite pally with one of the jurors, Donald Bigham is Y.C.L. organizer, a Mrs. Rose. Mrs. Rose likes this that when our economic system All defendants are charged with The other defendants are Fred district attorney well enough to fails to satisfy the minimum needs

Two Out on Bail

effecting political change by advo- Those convicted of vagrancy or They are also charged with "jus- cludes Chambers, Wilson, Decker, movement of Sacramento Valley majority of which I am a part to tifyng criminal syndicalism", and Warnick, Norman, Kirkwood, Hung, and the state.

Of all these only two have been inal syndicalism. Among the docu- bailed out. One is Albert Houments on which this charge is based. gardy, whose bail was provided by are the Communist Manifesto by the I.L.D. and the Conference for Marx and Engels, Lenin's On the Labor's Civil Rights, an organiza-Road to October, the Program of tion of liberals headed by Bishop the Communist International, and Francis J. McConnell. The other is various publications of the Com- Norman Mini, bailed out by friends. Norman Mini is being defended

Cannery and Agricultural Work- by Judge Charles O. Busick, a coners Industrial Union, and numer- servative Republican who, when a ous speeches, theses, etc. of the Judge several years ago issued the notorious "Busick injunction" Finally, they are charged with against the L.W.W. movement in by Leo Gallagher, retained by the

The prisoners have been miser-

Prosecution Is Crooked It has already been made clear that the prosecution will be run on Sacco-Vanzetti lines: an outright attempt to bulldoze and boodwink

In all these cases the ball under ballot. These defendants, however, that I believe that the majority been employed by the Hearst press of accomplishing a change in in- the criminal syndicalism charges is are charged with the "crime" of have a right to act in their own at Syracuse University. The audustrial ownership and control and set at \$3,000 cash or \$6,000 bond. distributing Communist literature, interest and to follow militant lead- there of the letter, a Hearst reporter, do with them." cating violence and picketing and still under the charge would also those who are not party members which does represent the interests on his red-baiting mission to find particularly advocating the have to provide bail on this charge, are being attacked for Communism, of the majority, who are workers a stenographer, ready to register overthrow of the government of the totalling \$1,000 each in cash or although the real objective is to and small farmers, and that I be- every word of the interview. U. S. by . . . violence and force." twice as much in bond. This in- smash the entire militant labor lieve it would be my duty to that

Prisoners Are Fighting

. . . but she will give an impartial

The prisoners are making a good fight themselves. Despite the misery of all these months in jail, they are on their toes in the court, putting questions to the jurors which anticipate the district attorney's plans to wave the American flag as his chief trial tactic. Caroline Decker makes a practice of asking prospective jurors the following

"Should the district attorney use such invectives when referring to us as 'Reds', 'agents of Moscow', 'rats', alien agitators', 'seditious radicals', 'free lovers', or 'godless people', would that prejudice you against me, and make it impossible for you to decide my case entirely on the basis of the evidence presented?"

Jack Warnick asks this one: "If you should conclude from the evidence that I believe that every young person should be given an opportunity to work at the task for which he is best fitted . . . and if you should conclude that I believe our present economic and social system does not afford such opportunity . . . and if you should conclude that I believe that such a system ought to be changed radically . . . would that prejudice you against me?" Martin Wilson:

## Issue New International, Party Organ

With the December issue, the New International appears for the last time as an unofficial organ.

The historic importance of this last issue is great. The articles by A. J. Muste and James P. Cannon on the Foundation of the Workers Party contain a survey of the past history of the revolutionary movement and perspectives for the fu-

in his article on Sydney Hook's book "Towards the Understanding next issue. Arne Swabeck writes on a current problem-the significance of the November elections, dismissed. Among the special features will be another "Archive of the Revolution" and several book reviews on religion, art, science, etc.

Beginning with January, the New International will embark on its tors:

"It will not only be the theoretic with socio-economic and historical problems but will also contain articles of a scientific and technical nature-articles, on science, medicine, industrial technique, housing, literature and the arts. From time to time non-party writers will be asked to contribute on these technical subjects, or to engage in open polemics with party writers. The fullest freedom of discussion within the broad party lines will be encouraged between party members. Thus, qualitatively and quantitatively the New International will be the foremost theoretic revolutionary journal in the Englishspeaking world."

who profit from that unworkable system will attempt to maintain The Communist Party is legal in themselves in power against the munism," be was forearmed. The California and even appears on the will of the majority by force, and same crude provocateur's trick had published by a legal party! Even ership in establishing a government help establish that government by force, would that prejudice you against me?"

Need of United Defense Movement

The Sacramento case has the utmost importance for the labor movement, especially for its progressive and radical section, on a national scale. It is obvious that the defendants are bearing the at the working class movement as whole. Up till now the publicity given to the case has been entirely inadequate, in view of its impor-

tance, and the absence of a strong national defense movement greatly endangers the prisoners. The fact that only two of them have been taken out on bail is a striking illustration of the weakness of the The Sacramento case calls for

the cooperation of all forces in the advanced labor movement as the first necessary step toward the organization of a broad movement in he trade unions.

Next week we hope to have a detailed news story from Sacramento by our own correspondent.

CLEVELAND. — The American Newspaper Guild made another advance toward organization of newspaper editorial writers with the signing of a 1-year contract by the Cleveland News. A minimum of "If you should conclude from the \$40 a week is set for editorial evidence that I believe that the es- workers with four years' experisential meaning of democracy is ence. A 5-day, 40-hour week is es-

# Glass Faces Ten Years On Syndicalist Charge W. Va. Unemployed League Aid Defense

Stanley Glass, Socialist and ac- | ed Glass and he was not appretive worker in the West Virginia hended until October 25, on a warten-year sentence for "conspiracy the speech for which he was supto overthrow the government" for posedly arrested. daring to revive a strike against the Baldwin Shovel Plant, a subsidiary of the notorious Weirton out a search warrant. He was sec-Steel Co.

Sydney Hook, in his article on the strikers Glass revived the third-degreed for two days and Marx and Hess presents a signifi- strike at the Parkersburg plant nights by the police. Finally his cant analysis of the evolution of after it seemed to have been brok-Marxist thought. Ruben Gotesky en; reorganized the picket lines; starts the first round of a battle, and held several successful meetings outside the plant. At one of of Karl Marx". His chief criticism was threatened by a scab armed man Act, West Virginia's version 's based on Hook's contention 1) with a pitchfork, who later ap- of the criminal syndicalism law. That Marxism is not a science, 2) peared with a shotgun and fired That socialism is not inevitable, ten times at the picket line, wour Hook will enswer Gotesky in the ding five persons. Although brought November 10-11 in Charleston adto trial for this atrocity, the case opted a resolution pledging soliagainst the scab was immediately darity to Glass. A local Glass De-

At the instigation of the company, state troopers began a search headed agitator". Strikers conceal- Street, Charleston, W. Va.

Glass's room was searched and his wife's papers confiscated withretly taken to Parkersburg, the Last August at the request of scene of the strike, and brutally friends learned of his whereabouts in \$2,000 bail.

for Glass with machine guns, and calls upon its membership to sup-Mrs. Glass was told by troopers of port the activities of this committheir intention to murder Glass, tee. Contributions can be sent to of workers everywhere, as the whom they knew solely as a "red- J. Gordon, Chairman, 14 Capitol Soviet Government does when it

## organ of the Workers Party dealing Hearst Red-Baiting in School System Vehemently Protested by Educators clare that only distrust can arise

That noted scholar, William Ran- | man schools under Hitler." dolph Hearst, who failed to obtain his degree when he was a student stein Committee will accept the at Harvard, has recently been con- challenge. Nothing, of course, could ducting an anti-red campaign di- be more appropriate than an inrected at American schools and vestigation of Benito Hitler Hearst colleges. Mr. Hearst's only educa- for Un-American Activities. tional qualification is an honorary LL.B. from Oglethorope, a jerkwhich he received in 1927 some view, the New York American (a thirty years after his unsuccessful Hearst paper) was strangely silent, career at Harvard had been for not a peep about Professor Counts. gotten.

When Professor George S. Counts of Teachers College in New York, received a badly written letter last week asking for "The inside stuff on Socialism, Capitalism, and Com-

Cooking Up a Red Scare "Mr. Hearst," said the reporter after some prompting, "is at present engaged in conducting a 'red scare'. Personally I am not in sympathy with that sort of thing, in fact, quite the opposite. But Mr. Hearst wants material along this line."

Asked if he was ashamed of himself the reporter said, "Not of myself, but of the situation that makes brunt of a reactionary attack aimed it necessary for me to do this to

A stenographic report of the whole interview was forwarded to the Dickstein Committee on Un-American activities, together with petition signed by twenty two New York professors, members of the National Educational Associa- strange day when the Hearst press tion, that Mr. Hearst be investi- is better able to appreciate the non-

Said Professor Counts: "If W. R. Hearst succeeds in his efforts American schools and universities will be reduced to

It is just possible that the Dick-While the New York Post and

The next day, however, the editor did rehash a story from last

The editor was referring to the fusion of the C.L.A. and the A.W.P., and the conveniently vague, "last week's press" refers to no other journal than the editor's, the same New York American. "Professor James Burnham of

the Faculty of N.Y.U. is reported

This we are sure is as much news to Professors Hook and Burnham common with the ideas and spirit as it is to us and the readers of the New York American.

ization," the editor continues, "declare that they will be guided by the revolutionary theories of Trotsky as opposed to the Socialistic theories of Stalin."

The editor has really got hold of Brownsville Mass Meeting

**505 SUTTER** 

the World Telegram both carried So Radical . . .

of Lenin the editor remarked that "Last weeks press carried reports of the merger of two groups 'so radical that even the communists;

to have been elected editor of the New International. . . . Dr. Sydney

"The leaders of the new organ-

something here. It is indeed a revolutionary character of the Stalinists than the Stalinists themselves. Let us hope that Mr. Hearst will continue to give us free publicity for what we are, the only

#### the ignominious condition of Ger. | revolutionary party in America.

## The Message of the Workers Party and the Russian Events

SPEAKERS

A.J. Muste

J.P. Cannon FRIDAY, JAN.4 -- 8:30 P.M.

On January 4 the state will call

The West Virginia Unemployed fense Committee has been organized at Charleston to take charge of the case. The Workers' Party

## Resolution Adopted by N.Y. Meeting

(Continued from Page 1) in the "democratic" United States, will not shed tears over the fate of Unemployed League, is facing a rant dated August 27-a day before a few White Guards and counterrevolutionists who would restore the capitalist order in the Soviet Union.

"Since the revolutionary workers of the world must know the facts about white guards and foreign agents who may threaten the Soviet state in order to be adequately prepared for its own defense, we protest against the secrecy and mysand secured his release on Nov. 3 tery in which the Soviet Government has shrouded recent happenin the 'democratic' United States, these meetings on August 29 Glass for his indictment under the Red- will not shed tears over the fate of a few White Guards and counterrevolutionists who would restore ings. Imperialists and their diplo-League at its state convention held mats work in the dark. Not so the toiling masses; they need to see and know where they are going, especially in this crisis when the threat of war hangs like a sword over the workers of all lands.

> "We earnestly protest, furthermore, against sowing confusion and division at this time in the minds lumps together as counter-revolutionists, White Guards, Japanese imperialists, German Fascist butchers, and revolutionists who are party opponents of the officials of the Soviet Government. We defrom laying the charge of conspiring to assassinate Kirov against reolutionists who, as Marxists, have always bitterly opposed individual terrorism.

"We demand, therefore, that persecution of party opponents of the officials of the Soviet Government cease immediately; that the Soviet Government desist from attempts water college in the south, a degree full column stories on the inter- to link proletarian opponents of the present Soviet regime, who stand on the principle of the proletarian dictatorship, with White Guards or with the agents of capitalist governments; and that open trials be held for all charged with conspirweek on Professors Hook and Burn- acy against the Soviet Union and ham. Under a glaring misquotation | the widest publicity given to these trials in order that the advanced workers of the world may be armed with the truth about the dangers which threaten the Soviet Union have refused to have anything to and the machinations of capitalist governments."

## W. Norris Joins Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1) Opportunist reaction is now clearly

on the offensive in the party, and Hook, also of N. Y. U., is said to gaining ground. The reactionary have been elected National Organ- Right wing, led by the New York "Old Guard"-in reality a conservative gang which has nothing in of socialism-pushes forward. The weak-kneed and unprincipled "Militants" retreat before them all along the line.

As for the Revolutionary Policy Committee, it has forfeited the possibility of playing a serious role by allowing itself to be converted into an agency of the Lovestone faction and consequently, of degenerate and discredited Stalinism.

I know the history and background of the two organizations which came together to found the Workers Party of the U.S. I have read the Declaration of Principles very carefully and fully agree with it. I am convinced that the future belongs to this party. In my opinion, every sincere revolutionary socialist will have to make the same decision. Fraternally yours,

W. W. NORRIS.

Anti-Fascist United Front In Yorkville FRIDAY, JAN. 4, 8 P.M. Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, Proletarische Gemeinschaft, Young

People's Socialist League.

## New Year's Manifesto of the Workers Party

(Continued from Page 1) nist and Socialist Parties, are among its charter members. The Workers Party of the U. S. is founded on the great principles of revolutionary theory and practice stated by Marx and Lenin and tested by the experience of the workers in the class struggle on an international scale, above all in the Russian revolution of 1917. Proceeding-from these principles the Workers Party of the U. S. utilizes the revolutionary possibilities of American tradition and history, including the militant strike tradition of the American workers, and adapts its tactics to the concrete realities and

needs of the American masses today. The revolutionary movement is necessarily international in outlook and character. The establishment of the new revolutionary party in the U. S. therefore means for us that we stand ready to cooperate with all groups, organizations and parties in other countries which stand on the same fundamental program as our own for the speediest possible establishment of the new, Fourth, International.

The formation of the Workers Party is a great step

integration in the revolutionary labor movement, an example of unity has been given. A center has been built to which the now unattached working class fighters as well as the fighting elements in other parties and groups may rally. A party has been formed which is revolutionary, international, and at the same time rooted in the American working class and adapted to the conditions existing in the U. S. today!

### THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE

The road ahead for the new year must be the road of determined and militant struggle. This is the New Year's message of the Workers Party. Though plenty is today within our reach, every struggle of the workers against wage cuts or reductions in relief is met with bitter resistance by employers and government. Every attempt of the workers to organize in order that they may have power to enforce their demands is likewise violently opposed. Why? Because in this period of the decline of capitalism every gain made by the workers and farmers is at the expense of capitalist profits. By the same token, the workers must fight against every cut in wages or relief, must fight daily

at their disposal. To yield an inch now, to give up the fight for a single moment means to give the capitalists a chance to rally their forces for a new onslaught, to be pushed nearer to the starvation level, nearer to the smashing of all the workers' organizations, nearer to the horrors of Fascism and War.

For the workers of the U.S. in 1935, therefore, the slogans are—

Organize — build the Unions and Unemployed

Fight out the battle for union recognition in steel, automobiles, rubber, public utilities, all the basic industries. Fight it out on the picket line. Union recognition cannot be won in capitalist legislatures or courts. Strike! Strike militantly!

Organize the left-progressive wing, the honest fighting elements, in all the unions and on a national scale. Wrest the leadership of the unions from those who preach and practice cooperation with the bosses or the capitalist politicians. Put the leadership into the hands of those who preach and practice irreconcilable struggle against the bosses and their government.

Clean out the corruption, racketeering, gangsterism and autocracy which prevent the growth of mili-

Demand insurance against unemployment, accident, forward. After more than a decade of splits and dis- for a higher standard with every means and weapon sickness, old age at the cost of expitallet profits.

Unite regardless of racial, religious, political or any other differences in order to resist all attacks upon the civil and political rights of workers and farmers. Oppose all preparations for capitalist wars!

Combat all capitalist attacks on the workers regime in the Soviet Union!

Fight every form of discrimination against the

Remember that today the struggle for bread, for security, for a free and decent life, is the struggle to overthrow capitalism, that the only "way out" for

the workers is the revolutionary way. Organize and prepare, therefore, to establish the rule of the workers!

Plenty, security, leisure, freedom, peace for ourselves and our children, are within our reach. A crumbling, insane, unjust economic order stands in the way. We will sweep it aside. Reactionary forces will try

to oppose and divide us. We must tear them down. American capitalists and profiteers would lead the world to degradation, war, chaos. American workers will join the workers of the world in the creation of a new society, a world federation of workers' republics.

For Working Class Unity! For A Workers World!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE. WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.