

NEW MILITANT

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The Hokey Long Way

HOKEY LONG says to the press, "Organize a Share-the-Wealth Club and elect me President. Then you can have a house, auto, radio plus \$2,500 a year." Everybody will admit that the masses in this land could have plenty and security. The big question is: Is Hokey Long's way the way to get them?

Hoover said, "Elect me President and you will have a chicken in every pot and two automobiles in every garage." Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "Hoover is a wash-out. Elect me President and you will get a New Deal."

Hokey Long says, "Roosevelt is a flop. Elect me President and you will have a house, car, radio, etc." What guarantee can Hokey Long give to the masses that if they elect a clown like himself instead of an oyster like Hoover or a perpetual smiler like Roosevelt, he can end the woes under the capitalist system? The answer is, None.

Long plays the capitalists' game. Long also prepares the way for Fascism, for the ruin of the masses, because he distracts attention from the one way in which they can get freedom and plenty.

Forget the Hokey Long palaver! Do not expect him to give you the factories, the mines, the houses that you have built! Prepare to take them!

Ask Long why he helped to smash the longshoremen's strike! Why he keeps the workers in the Lane Cotton Mills in penance!

Build the unions! Build the Unemployed Leagues! Build the revolutionary party! That is the Only Way Out!

A Bloc with Reformists?

IS the Communist Party preparing to make a bloc with "liberal" politicians to form a Labor Party? To make not only a zig-zag to the right but a leap out into empty space?

In New York it is participating in a "united front" anti-Hoover meeting with representatives of the Republican and the Democratic parties! Presumably this will help the workers to know their true friends.

In the Sacramento criminal syndicalism trial, Darcy, C. P. district leader, testifies that "a group of left congressmen" might set up the "new" government to deliver the masses.

An editorial in the Daily Worker for March 11 comments on the organization of a bloc of "liberal" congressmen in Washington. The "test" which, according to this mouthpiece of the infallible revolutionary (?) leader of the masses, the workers must use on these "liberals" is whether they fight against Roosevelt's war appropriations, for the prevailing wage on public works, for H. R. 2827, for civil rights. If no, this is only "a new trick to gain the support of labor with false promises."

If yes—and a "liberal" might easily vote thus—are the workers then to accept these "liberals" on the recommendation of the C.P. as making trustworthy and not false promises to labor? Are these "liberals" then to be included in the mass-class-federated-class struggle—not reformist—not revolutionary—highest form of united front—"Labor Party" which the C. P. is advocating?

The C. P., with all its prestige and apparatus, after six years of crisis knows the masses have no confidence in it, will not respond to its call. Therefore this "Labor Party" cry must be raised. Some typical C. P. "boring-from-within" other organizations, especially unions, is to be pulled off.

The workers, if this trickery succeeds, will be led

straight into a swamp of confusion, into an alliance with "liberal" politicians, into a by-path which can end only in zero results, as did the Federated Farmer Labor Party-LaFollette adventure of the C. P. in 1924. Meantime, precious time and energy which should go into building up a genuinely effective revolutionary party in this period of insurgency among the masses, is lost.

Our answer to these proposals of "unity" with anybody and anything is: Unity of the revolutionary forces! Build the Workers Party!

The Socialist Party

RECONCILIATION will be the major note at the National Committee meeting of the Socialist Party to be held in Buffalo on March 16 and 17. The New York "Militants" and the Old Guard will both go there with the aim of winning to their respective support the reformist groups of McLevy, Maurer and Hoan.

Aggressive moves are avoided by both the "Militants" and the Old Guard precisely out of fear of alienating the McLevys, Maurers and Hoans. That is why the Old Guard at the eleventh hour seated the delegates from the branches it had suspended at the recent New York Central Committee meeting—after the delegates in question had gone home!

However, the nine suspended branches have not been reinstated. The "Militants" have called a meeting to protest the high handed action of the Old Guard.

The appeal for the meeting is addressed: "To All Comrades—Left, Right or Center." It is accompanied by Norman Thomas' open letter to the members of the N. Y. Socialist Party which endorses the "Militants" protest and meeting.

Thomas concludes his appeal: "I ask your support in order to save our party. This he it remembered, is an issue independent of, and infinitely more important than any opinion you may have on the Declaration of Principles, or the United Front."

Unity above principles! Thomas repeats his old slogan; this time with the aim of making the most of the rift between Oneal and Waldman within the Old Guard to win over sections of the Right. Waldman may yet become the "common enemy". Be that as it may.

There is as yet no clear Left wing group inside the "Militants". As matters stand now the elements in control are not adverse to compromise. The Socialist Call is intended not as the organ of the centrist "Militants" alone, but a rallying center of all "Socialists", that is, reformists, centrists and revolutionaries.

The probable compromise at Buffalo will settle nothing. For it can take place only on an unprincipled basis. Discontent among militant and revolutionary Socialists is certain to arise.

The need of the moment in the Socialist Party is a clear cut Left wing grouping which will conduct a principled struggle against the Old Guard and reformists and those who conciliate with them. For this is required a revolutionary Marxist program on the basic questions of the revolution and on the immediate problems confronting the American working class.

QUESTION BOX

S. B., BRONX—

Question: Where can I find formulated the idea of the increasing misery of the masses under capitalism?

Answer: Marx summarizes his demonstration of the laws of motion of capitalist society as follows ("Capital", vol. I.): "The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the extent and energy of its growth, and, therefore, also the absolute mass of the proletariat and the productiveness of its labor, the greater is the industrial reserve army. The same causes which develop the expansive power of capital, develop also the labor-power at its disposal. The relative mass of the industrial reserve army increases therefore with the potential energy of wealth. But the greater this reserve-army in proportion to the active labor-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus-population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to its torment of labor. The more extensive, finally, the Lazarus-layers of the working class, and the industrial reserve-army, the greater is the official pauperism. THIS IS THE ABSOLUTE GENERAL LAW OF CAPITALIST ACCUMULATION. Like all other laws it is modified in its workings by many circumstances. . . ." (Emphasis in original.)

S. P. Begins Writing Letters

The Socialist Party is starting a campaign of letters to its members, from at least four places, trying to get them to organize into the Indiana Unemployed Union, which has its base in the small town of Montezuma. Most of the unemployed never heard of the place. The letters come from Lasser, Porter, Rasmussen and other leaders.

The basis for this organization is a factional fight. The Socialist Party of Indiana has withdrawn from the Socialist Party, and in return has been suspended by the National Executive Committee. The fight resulted in rump conventions, a referendum, then another referendum on the first, threats and squabbles of all sorts.

"The Socialists can't organize themselves," a former militant S. P. leader remarked, "so now they are sending us letters from all directions on how to organize the unemployed. I think this Indiana Unemployed Union is just a way for one gang of the S. P. in this state to try to get another gang out."

Hearing of the victories of the N.U.U., Indiana's unemployed welcome the news of the plan to organize the Indiana Unemployed League.

Birchman is staying on the job, with others from the state, while Johnson has gone to Kentucky for the first convention of the Kentucky Unemployed League.

PITY THE POOR OWNERS

"We have before us the instance of a father, with a wife and seven children, working in an apartment . . . over four years, receiving \$65 a month for 70 hours a week, and compelled to live in part on charity from several directions. They are proof of the increasing distress of building owners."—From the report of the New York real estate arbitration committee.

Darcy Takes The Stand In Sacramento

(Continued from Page 1)

ism in Russia in 1917 and even went so far as to assign the setting up of the "new" government to "a group of left Congressmen"! Where Mini said that "the workers would have to take hold of the capitalist state and destroy it", Darcy made absolutely no mention of the class nature of the state!

How the C. P. Uses the Courts

Not satisfied with opportunist betrayals of Marxism, the Communist Party is further aggravating the trial by using the capitalist court as a rostrum to denounce its political opponents. No opportunity has been let slip for introducing into the proceedings the maximum amount of Stalinist "argument" against the Socialist Party, the Workers Party and Lovestone.

In this barrage the capitalists as real people and not abstractions—Call. Packing Corporation, Associated Farmers, Bank of America—have been completely forgotten since the first of the week. The prosecution and the court have contented themselves with playing the merely passive role of ruling out of evidence almost anything that would go to show what the actual policy of the Communist Party (last year's policy!) is.

Outside the courtroom, however,

Will They Make Them?



The Paris Commune

By JOSEPH CARTER

"When the Commune was set up in Paris after the war of 1870, we know what bloody work had to be done by French soldiers to rescue the capital and the country from the deadly menace." (New York Times, February 8, 1934.)

In these words the spokesmen of the American master class rightfully consider themselves the heirs of the butchers of the heroic Paris Commune of three score and four years ago. And four days after this editorial the bloody work against the Communards was repeated in the civilized Europe of today, by the reactionary, Fascist soldiers of Dollfuss against the Austrian workers.

Violence against the oppressed, against the masses, that is patriotism and justice; but violence of the masses against the handful of exploiters for the purpose of building a free and human society, that is treason, a "deadly menace" against which all means are justified.

"All this calumny, which the party of order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims," wrote the founder of the modern militant workers' movement after the suppression of

the Paris Commune, "only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebian while in the hands of the plebian a weapon of any kind constituted in itself a crime."

How true this is to this day! The march of Fascism in Europe, the growth of the vigilante groups in the United States, the terrorism against the trade unions, the Hearst red-baiting campaign, these are the acts of an outlived, but desperate parasitic class which glories in its Paris Commune traditions.

Deadly Menace to Whom?

"The Commune was a deadly menace to the old world, founded on slavery and exploitation," wrote the incomparable leader of the international and Russian working class, Lenin. Provoked by the reactionary national government, the workers, supported by the small shopkeepers of Paris, established their own government on March 18, 1871.

In the seventy days of workers' rule, the church was separated from the state, education was taken out of the hands of the priests, the sys-

tem of fines for workers was abolished, night work for bakers was prohibited, plans made for the taking over by workers' associations of factories and shops abandoned by the former owners.

The standing army, which stood apart from the people as a power for its oppression was replaced by the armed people. The Commune abolished the old apparatus of government and replaced it by an administration in which the officials received the equivalent of the average wages of the Parisian workers. In a word, they rid themselves of the reactionary government and put in its place "a truly democratic proletarian government."

This was too much for the parasites who were accustomed to live by the labor of the masses! The national government of France could not suppress the rebellious workers by itself. The French "national patriots" did not hesitate to call upon their yesterday's enemy-in-war, the Germany of Bismarck, to supply hordes to suppress the Paris Commune, murder French workers, destroy Paris. And Bismarck willingly supplied the aid. Once again showing the internationalist character of the class struggle, which knows no national borders! An excellent lesson for the workers!

Toll of the Bloody Work

The bloody work was successful. 30,000 Parisians were brutally murdered, about 45,000 were arrested, some executed, thousands were exiled or imprisoned. 100,000 victims was the toll paid by the heroic Paris Communards. In this way, the narrow-minded and short sighted reactionaries thought that they would once and for all do away with the threats of workers' revolution!

What an illusion! For the development of capitalism itself, bringing workers together in large factories, mines and mills, creates the conditions for renewed workers' struggles, for trade union and political organization, for revolutionary action. From the defeat of the Paris Commune the workers learn the lessons of their future conflicts.

The Communards had no strong trade unions or clear headed, trained workers' party. The Parisian workers of 1871 were in the main artisans or workers in small factories. The development of capitalism had not yet reached that stage where the working class could be sufficiently developed to unequivocally go forward to socialism. They had little experience of past workers' battles to go by.

That is why the Communards did not understand the need of concentrating the political power in the hands of the Central Committee of the National Guard, starting an immediate offensive against the national government at Versailles, taking over the national bank, before proceeding with the elections for the Commune.

Russian Workers Learn Lessons of Commune

Drowned in blood, the Commune has remained an inspiration for the producing masses the world over. As the first example of a workers' government it served as the guide to the victorious Russian working class.

They built their revolutionary leadership, the Bolshevik Party, with a clear understanding of the tasks of the revolution.

The Bolshevik Party understood that the old state apparatus, whether its form be that of a monarchy or of a democratic republic, had to be smashed and replaced by workers' institutions. Out of the Russian class struggle arose the Soviets, the councils of workers from the factories, soldiers from the barracks and forts, peasants from the fields. Later the Soviet form arose also in Western Europe, showing that it is not a purely Russian phenomenon.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian workers and peasants, organized in Soviets, overthrew Russian capitalism and established their workers' government as the first stage of the world revolution to usher in international

LEFT . . . JABS

By BILL SHERMAN

Oh, Death, Death!

The "Pacific Weekly", sole offspring of Sam Darcy, Communist Party organizer in California, and Ella Winters, reporting Stratchey's San Francisco address, gurgles—"He spoke of the class struggle in new and delightful ways".

Race Prejudice

In reporting the gangster attack of Ben Gold's (Fur Workers Industrial Union) thugs on members of the Joint Council of Furriers, A. F. of L., the Workers Age (Lovestone) says: "B. Collenberg was attacked by an Italian thug, not a furrier, on the payroll of Ben Gold. This same Italian thug was involved in the crippling of Joe Ferber some months ago." Appeals to race prejudice so strongly and correctly condemned by Lovestone when made by Stalinists in Local 22, I.L.G.W. U., are apparently O.K. in the fur market.

Reviewing the Crisis

IOU—SOS—FDR—NRA—AAA—PDQ—SOL—M.L.

Building the A. F. of L.

From the Swan Song of the T.U. U.L. Daily Worker, March 11, we quote:

"It is no accident that where the T.U.U.L. unions were most active (coal, garment, textile and marine) the workers were most able to build mass unions in the A. F. of L."

It is a fact known to all that the T.U.U.L.—(C. P.)—denounced the A. F. of L. union in each of these industries as "tools of Wall Street", "Fascists", "stoop pigeon agencies", "White Guards", etc. etc. Under this barrage "the workers were most able to build mass unions in the A. F. of L." If there fore appears that the Stalinist turn is not a change in policy but in tactics. Finding that the more they attacked the A. F. of L. the more the workers supported it, they have decided to support the A. F. of L. in the hope that this will drive the workers away from it.

From the New York Herald Tribune, March 9, we quote: "The move to glorify Stalin was begun by his colleagues in the Polburo and spread rapidly down through the Communist Party ranks until today it behooves every speaker at a political meeting at Moscow or the provinces to pay glowing tribute to the dictator before taking his seat." A picked group of peasant delegates to the recent collective-farm congress fell into line easily. Here are a few phrases selected from their speeches. Delegate Sid-orov—"Our dear, our warmly beloved Stalin," and "our beloved friend and comrade, our chief, our Stalin." Delegate Philipenko—"Long live our dear leader, our darling Stalin." Delegate Masonova—"Our shock worker, our best of best, our Stalin."

On this showing it must be admitted that the peasant delegates are one up on the American Stalinists in this international servility competition. However, knowing the flexibility of back-bones and knees plus the readiness of tongue of such "leaders" as Olgin, Browder, Mike Gold, etc., we are sure that they can catch up and surpass any and all contenders before many moons have passed.

Olgin, God, and Father Divine

The New York press reports that M. J. Olgin, editor of The Freiheit, Communist Party Jewish daily, writes in Pravda: "Two hundred and fifty thousand ignorant, disease ridden, poverty stricken Negroes live in Harlem. Thousands consider Father Divine their God, and James W. Ford their political leader."

Hailed before Judge Fanken on some charge, Father Divine was asked—"Are you God?" Divine had to answer, "No, but thousands of people believe I am and I like them to think so."

If James Ford were to answer truthfully the question—"Are you the political leader of Harlem's Negroes?" he would have to answer—"No but some people like to be fooled until Olgin is the boy to fool them."

socialism. On the basis of the experiences of the Commune they succeeded in warding off internal counter-revolution and imperialist intervention. That is how the present workers' state, the Soviet Union, was established.

Commemorate the Commune—Build Workers Party

The lessons of the Commune and of the Russian revolution must become part of the living movement of the American workers. In the present period, the need of a revolutionary organization which unites the most intelligent, courageous and experienced workers on the basis of these lessons which form an integral part of Marxism, and puts these lessons into daily practice, is greater than ever. The true commemoration of the Paris Commune is the building of the Workers' Party of the United States as a section of the coming Fourth International of revolutionary labor.