

NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT Published weekly by the Workers Party of the U.S. 2 West 15th Street, New York City Phone: ALgonquin 4-9068

Entered as second class mail matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES P. CANNON .....Editor HARRY A. HOWE .....Associate Editor HAWTHORNE WINNER .....Business Manager

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

In the United States \$1.00 per year; 65c six months. Canada and Foreign: \$2.50 per year; \$1.00 six months. Single Issues: Two cents per copy.

Vol. 1 SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1935 No. 15

W. P. on the Firing Line

THE pages of this issue of the New Militant are alive with direct reports of labor action on many fronts. Everywhere the American workers are stirring. The third great strike wave under the New Deal is in the making. From all indications, the strikes breaking out in various parts of the country are simply preliminary skirmishes which presage the deeper and more widespread labor rebellion to come in the next few months.

In the strikes at Los Angeles, Fargo and Toledo—three of the hot spots at the moment—party members are in the forefront, playing an active and, to a certain extent, a leading part. Our comrades are on the job at Akron where a great rubber strike impends. At St. Louis they are busy in the preparations for a strike of gas workers. In cooperation with other progressive and militant forces they are leading the turbulent left wing movement in the Illinois coal fields. Party members are the mainspring of the Unemployed Leagues, the most imposing movement of the unemployed in the entire country which only recently held a state convention in Ohio with 400 bona fide delegates.

This remarkable activity in the class struggle on so many fronts is a heartening sign of the times and a magnificent prospect for the future. The party of revolutionary theory is revealing itself, from the start, as the party of action. That road will lead unflinchingly to a rapidly increasing strength and expanding influence of our party. Clarity of principle and resolute, energetic action—this combination is the formula for victory. Our activity under this sign during the first period of the party's existence has already brought gratifying results and has started the party on the right road. Nothing can stop us if we stick to this line.

The Socialist Party Crisis

IF THE Socialist Party is turning revolutionary, as some conscientious people believe and some conscious deceivers maintain, nothing happened at the Buffalo meeting of the National Executive Committee to support the contention. On the contrary, the leading body of the party demonstrated once again at Buffalo that it has sufficient political affinity with the reactionary Old Guard to overlook its splitting provocations and allow six weeks longer for a reconciliation. At the same time the N.E.C. showed no less hostility to revolutionary ideas than that which animates the Old Guard itself.

And what else was to be expected from this body? The motion declaring the advocacy of the overthrow of capitalism by revolutionary means to be "incompatible with membership in the party" was not a reversal of position or a betrayal of principles previously held by the N.E.C. majority. The party leaders were simply reaffirming the Detroit Declaration as they understand it, and not as pseudo-lefts and apologetic ex-communists explain it. Louis Waldman, spokesman of the Old Guard and champion of bourgeois democratic "socialism" without one percent discount, branded the action of the N.E.C. as a "capitulation" to the Old Guard. That, however, is an unjust accusation. The left reformists in control of the National Committee only remained true to their own color by their motion to purge the party of the troublesome "reds". Red is not their color.

What are they fighting about?—the perplexed and disappointed radical workers in the Socialist Party may well ask themselves. Not over principles, but rather over methods of coping with the radical sentiments of the socialist workers which have been given a powerful impetus by the debacle of social reformism in Europe and the sharpening class struggle in the United States. Not over roads to power in the struggle against capitalism—the N.E.C. majority is no less devoted to "democratic" methods than the Old Guard—but over power in the party. That is why the struggle against the Old Guard centers around organization questions and such abstractions

as "unity"; the real political blows are directed against left wing tendencies in the party.

What is the political tendency of the dominant leaders of the party which is so extravagantly—and so falsely—advertised as the "party of revolutionary unity"? They have made it clear long ago for those who judge actions politically and report them honestly. It was written in deeds once again at Buffalo. The Oklahoma Guardian, that priceless representative of Detroit Declaration socialism, gives over its columns to a campaign for a third party to include Huey Long and the LaFollettes and carries articles from the facile pen of the democrat, Upton Sinclair. That is O.K. with the N.E.C. of the revolutionized party; there is no censure for Ameringer. The New Leader dares—at this day, after Germany and Austria!—to present the Scandinavian socialists in the governments of capitalist States as comrades in arms. There is not even a suggestion of criticism from the party leadership. But the five Buffalo party members, appealing to the N.E.C. against their expulsion, are cynically referred back to the State Executive Committee—the very body which instigated their expulsion! And mention the appalling fact that there are people of "Trotskyist", that is, revolutionary Marxist tendencies in the party—as Oneal did accusingly at the meeting—and Norman Thomas promptly retorts: "Point them out to us and we will kick them out." In these acts of omission and commission the political tendency of the leaders of the "party of revolutionary unity" is revealed.

All this is not to deny that there are profound political causes for the internal struggle in the Socialist Party. At the bottom of the whole conflict is the impulse of the proletarian and youth sections of the movement for a revolutionary policy. But these elements have not yet clearly formulated their program or found leaders worthy of their cause. That is why their sentiments can be exploited so shamelessly; that is why they are made into pawns of an unprincipled struggle for place and position.

The Buffalo comedy warns the revolutionary elements again to formulate their own program and begin a real fight on principled lines. Such a fight will necessarily be directed against the present pseudo-left majority of the N.E.C. as well as against their reformist kin of the Old Guard. It will reject out of hand the treacherous formula of "unity" with scoundrels, reformists and labor fakery masquerading as socialists. The first plank in such a revolutionary program of the socialist workers will be: Revolutionary unity!—Break with reformism and reformists and unite with the revolutionary forces of the Workers Party!

The Paradox of New York

NEW YORK CITY contains one of the greatest anachronisms of modern times. It is at once the richest and poorest city in the land.

Here is concentrated the greatest wealth in all the universe.

Here are amassed the croesus treasures of Rockefeller, Vanderbilt and Astor.

Here the "400" form an aristocracy as would make the kings and nobility of old green with envy.

Here lies the center of the Morgan empire whose money power holds the million masses of the world in its grip.

The capital of the United States is in truth in Wall Street and its symbol is the almighty dollar.

New York as is commonly known has the largest population of any metropolis in the world and the plutocratic "400" form but an infinitesimal portion of it.

A report by the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, of how the "other half", the 5,999,600, live tells a ghastly tale of rich and poor, of have and have-not. A sane observer from Mars would rub his eyes with incredulity over this striking comparison. Here they are summarized:

One million wage workers are unemployed. One out of every three workers employed in New York in 1930 is unemployed.

With their wives, children and other dependents the grand total of those affected by unemployment is 37 percent of the entire population of New York City.

Of the 666,000 unemployed families only 245,000 are on home relief.

Another 325,000 stricken families haven't applied or can't get near the government dole.

Those on relief don't live a kingly existence either—EIGHT (8) cents is the allowance per person per meal.

It is therefore not unnatural that 18.1 percent of New York's school children are suffering from malnutrition. That is, one out of every five border on starvation.

And piling suffering on misery, the allowance for rent is so meager that 17 percent of the families on relief were using food money to keep from being evicted.

New York is indeed the capital of the world—in poverty as in wealth. This it is because it most graphically epitomizes capitalism itself.

Our news story on the Mayor's report refers to a large section of the jobless as a reservoir of misery— Let us add, a combustible reservoir of revolt.

Akron Labor Set for Siege

(Continued from Page 1) aid in crystallizing resentment against the companies. The memories of Toledo, not over 100 miles away, are still fresh in Akron workers' minds.

A rapid increase in membership has heartened the unions and given them much additional strength. While they are still far short of the number they had last year (over 70 percent of the workers were in the A. F. of L. then), the long-promised action is finding a warm welcome among the workers. One local alone reported 625 new members in the last two weeks.

Support of the organized auto workers has been pledged and union leaders declare that the A. F. of L. unions in Detroit will walk out at the same time. Along with this, the rubberworkers will need the backing of all organized labor throughout the country in the forthcoming struggle. A victory at Akron would greatly strengthen unionism throughout the country.

It is the duty of class-conscious workers everywhere to do their utmost to help win this strike. Our party at Akron has been prepared for the strike and will be in the forefront of the struggle.

Toledo in Grip of Strikes

(Continued from Page 1) solidarity of the strikers will reach a new high when the organized working class comes out into the street to roar its defiance of the open shop bosses.

The sympathetic strike movement is in the air. Several unions are standing by, waiting for the call to action. The Central Labor Union has met to consider a general strike. All of Toledo is tense with expectation and only the most stubborn resistance of the conservative leaders of the central bodies can stem the tide—and then with the greatest difficulty.

Toledo can touch off the powder keg that has been gathering with resentment over the results of the New Deal since the last strike wave. Word has come that the Ohio Unemployed League plans to extend the PERA strike on a statewide scale. Bill Truax, President of the O.U.L., has addressed a letter to the State Federation of Labor asking that a joint action committee be set up to initiate a statewide strike on PERA projects. The demands of the O.U.L. in this proposed strike action adopted at its March 10 conference are: \$1.00 per hour; the thirty-hour week for common labor and the highest prevailing rate for skilled labor, and others which cover conditions of work.

As has been indicated above, the W.P. members are carrying on the tradition they established in the great Auto-Lite strike. They are in the forefront of all activities, in the thick of the battle with scabs and gunmen and in leading posts in the action committees. They are giving the party a reputation that it well can be proud of.

C. P. Members on Stand in C. S. Trial

(Continued from Page 1) of the proletariat, a soviet government, but only an abstract "Workers and Farmers Government".

The honor of Communism was partially saved by the testimony of Jack Warnick and Caroline Decker. Warnick took a bold and uncompromising stand. He said that he had been among the instigators of the Workers' School, that the workers must be organized and given a communist education in preparation for the proletarian revolution. He stated that the workers would have to get this education in their own schools because, being a university graduate himself, he knew they could never be anything but miseducated in the capitalist controlled schools.

Decker took up a position much to the left of the others and even had the courage to mention that at a certain stage of the struggle soviets might be set up.

What is the cause of this miserable showing on the part of the defendants? It lies partly in the cowardly testimony of Sam Darcy, district organizer of the C. P., who testified as an "expert" on Communism and laid down the line for the others. It also lies in the confusion in the minds of these members of the Communist Party as to what Communism really is. They were committed by the old party program to the policy of "revolutionary unions", of united fronts from below, of social fascism, of unemployed councils, and a central slogan of soviet power. But all of them know that there are no more revolutionary unions, no social fas-

Starvation Faces Millions Of New York's Unemployed

(Continued from Page 1) year for a family of five. . . . During the year 1934 the average Home Relief Bureau allowance for clothing was \$16.20.

Clothing Inadequate "Month after month appropriations originally intended for clothing were subsequently assigned to meet the additional food and rent requirements of new families added to the rolls. . . . Occasional and inadequate allowances for clothing work a particular hardship in families where there are small children who need clothing in order to attend school. . . .

"A survey of every Home Relief precinct in the city resulted in additional evidence that the Bureau has never been able to allow sufficient funds to cover even the barest necessities in clothing for either adults or children. The failure to provide clothing has been a vital factor in the breakdown of the morale of the unemployed. No man or woman can expect to remain employable or seek work if he is not decently clothed."

The report goes on. In summer the little food spoils for lack of ice. In winter the relief bureau fails to maintain a proper supply of coal. The misery and oppression rises in an overwhelming mountain. There are 245,000 families on relief now. There are at least 325,000 more who will be forced on relief as the months pass. This in New York City alone.

Only a Spark Is Needed

(Continued from Page 1) adherence to revolutionary Marxist principle reveals its patently enormous superiority over phrase-mongering, lack of principle and playing with principle. It is in the struggle against imperialist war that the "big" parties and the "big" institutions, built up on a weak or rotten foundation, crumple like a house of cards.

What can be expected of the Socialist Party in the form of leadership in the struggle against war? Worse than nothing! Right at this moment, when the sound of war drums become ominously louder, the parties of the Second International are preparing to play the same despicable part that made them so hated by class conscious workers during the war of 1914-1918. In the Scandinavian countries, the social democracy is in the government, taking over in advance the job of mobilizing the working class for the capitalist powers—that be and restraining them from revolutionary action. In France, as in other so-called non-Fascist lands, the social democracy is preparing to head the war recruiting drives under the slogan of "Defend democracy against Hitler Fascism!"—as the Allied social patriots of 1914 defended France and Russia from German Kaiserism and their Entente brothers under the skin defended Germany and Austria from Russian Czarism and Japanese autocracy.

Blind also would be the worker who trusted to the Stalinist party to conduct an effective struggle against imperialist war. The crew which has lost one battle after another, which has destroyed the revolutionary and labor movements in one country after another, which has made an art of capitulation, is hardly the one to lead a fight under the conditions of war. The party which retired from the field without the firing of a shot when Hitler took over power, and which made such an ignominious showing in the battle of the Saar, will not prove to be a bit abler in a sterner test. The party which cannot think or act for itself, which is a mere puppet of the Soviet foreign Office will not be able either to combat imperialist war or fulfill the elementary obligation of a class conscious proletarian: effectively defend the Soviet Union. The party which has already committed itself in part to the piratical League of Nations, and in whole to the misleading pacifist nonsense about "disarmament" as a preventive of war, will wilt and collapse at the first serious moment.

Now more than ever, therefore, must the basic principles of Marx and Lenin in the anti-war struggle be emphasized. The imperialist war can be conducted only on the basis of revolutionary principle, of the consistently pursued class struggle. All talk of fighting imperialist war which does not proceed from the need of utilizing the crisis of the ruling class for the purpose of carrying the class war into its camp and ending the war by overthrowing the imperialist war-mongers—is so much wind. All talk of class war against imperialist war is so much more wind unless it is based upon a correct revolutionary policy of mobilizing the workers NOW, TODAY, in their every-day battles, in their unions, in their strikes, for a growing movement against the capitalist enemy.

The struggle against capitalist war is an extension and enhancement of the struggle against capitalism—not something apart from it. They will not fight capitalist wars who do not NOW fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants at every step in the road—and that means the Socialist Party. They will not be able to fight capitalist wars who are not NOW able to fight capitalism and its labor lieutenants, who by their stupid and opportunist policies actually aid the latter to consolidate themselves—and that means the Communist Party.

If the fight against war demands a fight in the class war today, then the latter demands a militant working class party capable of organizing, coordinating, planning and carrying out this class war. The fight against imperialist war, which now clouds the whole world horizon, boils down basically to the work of redoubling and multiplying tenfold all energies to build up the revolutionary party of the working class, the party of consistent Marxism, the Workers Party of the United States, and the Fourth International which it heralds.

They all realize that the policy of the Communist Party in California is now a labor party based on Sinclair's EPIC, on the Utopians, on the Townsend Pension groups. Faced with an abrupt change of front like this the defendants only carried out "discipline" and went along with the new line.

LEFT . . . JABS

British Bourgeois Hypocrisy "It is our difficult privilege to be the torch bearers of ordered freedom in Europe"—said Stanley Baldwin, actual leader of the British government. Why so modest? Why only Europe? How about India? And Africa? And why forget the war to bring "ordered freedom" to the peddlers of opium and religion in China? Uriah Heap should have entered politics. He'd have been a great statesman, almost the equal of McDonald or Baldwin.

Britain, Hitler and Peace The London Times, commenting on the recent moves of Hitler, says: "Though Hitler's action in introducing conscription was most provocative, the deed has been accompanied by words strongly expressive of peace. Whatever happens the statesmen of Europe are now at work in a new spirit." That should be consoling to the cannon fodder! Again the Times says: "Germany is peace-minded in this sense, that she would rather get her way peacefully than by violence." In this sense a rattle snake is a veritable pacifist.

The "Great Engineer" Tries a Comeback "Ex-President Hoover breaks self-imposed silence to defend fundamental American principles"—News items. This is the same guy who said in 1928 that if he was elected President "with the help of God we will be in sight of the day when poverty will be abolished in these United States". God must have sabotaged him. And lest we forget—in March 1930 this self-same American fundamentalist said "within 60 days everyone will be back to work." He continued to feed the starving American workers with similar statements until he found himself flat on his "American fundamental principle" at the foot of the White House steps. His recent statement was read before the California Republican Assembly and enthusiastically cheered.

"Hoover never had a chance when he was president," sobbed the Republican chairman. Neither did the starving bonus marchers who were gassed and bayoneted at Washington. Today with the Roosevelt smile changing to a paralytic grimace, even Hoover hopes for a comeback.

Justice in Harlem An 18 year old Negro girl screamed when she saw a boy being beaten in Kress 5 & 10c store. She was arrested and taken before Magistrate Rinaud. This "most learned and upright judge" said he "did not think she screamed with malicious intent" but fined her \$10 or three days.

Harmless Substitutes All Yerba Mate is a harmless substitute for coffee and tea. . . . With each package of Mate we will send you a copy of Goldman's booklet "From Communism to Socialism."—Advertisement in the Socialist Call. The Socialist Call itself substitutes "turning the other cheek" where real blows are required. It is the organ of the Militants in the S.P. and is as pacifist in its attitude to the hard boiled Old Guard as the New Leader, organ of the Old Guard, is militant in its attack on the Militants. A "harmless substitute" sums up the entire policy of the Militants and the Socialist Call, to say nothing of Goldman's pamphlet.

Thomas Offers Olive Branch

(Continued from Page 1) membership in the party; called upon the New York State Committee to accept the Declaration of Principles; reiterated the clause of the constitution permitting Yipeles 18 years or over to join the party; called for the reinstatement of the suspended Yipeel organization on the basis of party discipline without obliging them to support any particular party paper; called upon the New Leader to pledge its allegiance to the Socialist Party of the U. S. and, if this is complied with, the N. C. will advise the suspension of the Socialist Call. The Old Guard was given six weeks in which to act on this decision.

Among other matters dealt with at the meeting was an endorsement of the reorganization of the Indiana state organization. The unterfired radicals of the N.E.C. based this action on the precedent set by the Hillquit machine in expelling the Left in 1919! A decision was made to propagate for a Farmer Labor Party though not taking immediate steps in its organization. The five Buffalo party members who appealed to the N.E.C. against their expulsion were referred to the State Committee—that is, to the body which directed their expulsion in the first place.

SPEAKER:

Max Shachtman

THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Saturday, March 30, 8 p.m. Labor Temple 14th St. & 2nd Ave.