

Joseph Zack, C.P. Leader, Joins the Workers Party

The trend of the revolutionary workers toward the new Workers Party was illustrated in the most striking manner this week by the action of Joseph Zack, one of the most prominent veterans of the American Communist movement, in withdrawing from the Communist Party and simultaneously joining the W. P.

As will be seen from the statement of comrade Zack which appears in another column he came to this decision after a thorough study of the fundamental problems which have arisen in the last decade and, in doing so, arrived at the same conclusions on all the principle questions as those outlined in the party's Declaration of Principles. The action of comrade Zack produced a sensation in radical labor circles in New York where he is known to every militant who has taken active part in the movement during the past 20 years. The panic of the leaders of the C. P., signalized by their hasty announcement of his "expulsion" after his resignation from the party, is increased

Auto Hearing Farce With Ban on 7a

Uncle Franklin Roosevelt, sitting on his fence down in Washington, seems to have heard rumors that the boys in the automobile and auto parts factories are getting restless again. The automobile code, due to expire Sept. 4, had been extended and there was still no action toward changing.

Something had to be done. So Uncle Franklin told Leon Henderson, chief of the NRA Planning and Research Division to take Dr. Isidor Lubin, statistical director of the Labor Department, and Richard H. Lansburgh, Henderson's associate director, up to Detroit and Toledo and Flint and other auto

by the knowledge that he does not stand alone. The C. P. will have plenty of "expulsions" to announce in the near future, and the names of some of the most active and militant workers in the trade union movement will appear on the lists.

Joseph Zack was a foundation member of the Communist Party. He was a member of the Central Committee in the underground days and afterward. For years he was the head of the party trade union work in the New York district and secretary of the T.U.U.L. Later he held the same office in the Cleveland district whence he was "exiled" for the capital offense of having opinions and talking about them. Commencing next week the New Militant will publish a series of articles by comrade Zack which will be of interest to every revolutionary worker.

COMRADE ZACK'S STATEMENT

New York City

December 20, 1934

To the National Committee
Workers Party of the U.S.A.

Comrades:

I hereby present my application to join the Workers Party, having resigned from the Communist Party.

I have been a member of the C.P. U.S.A. since its inception. Before that I was a member of the Left Wing of the S. P. My differences with the leadership of the C.P. originated on the Trade Union question more than two years ago, leading up to the 1934 Party Convention held in Cleveland. As a result of my brief talk as a delegate to that convention, organization measures were taken against me in plain and flagrant violation of inner party democracy. I was threatened with expulsion 24 hours after the convention if I did not retract the views I had expressed at the convention the day before. I was immediately removed from all party activity. As a result the whole question of the inner party regime

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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" 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 all 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-Marxian 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 patriotizing 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 in 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

"non-aggression" pact" was offered to the Second International as a whole.

On the trade union question, in order to do away with this "irritant" to the united front with social democracy and the labor bureaucrats, particularly in countries of prospective war alliance, the new unions, regardless of their mass basis or the will of the membership are being driven and manipulated back into the reformist Federations on any terms. The ruinous policy of "red unions" is thus giving way to a fetishism of the A. F. of L. and a policy of capitulation covered with left phrases to the labor fakers.

Thinking over these questions I found that, all and severally, they were the problems raised by the Russian opposition led by Trotsky; that these were the reasons that this opposition, the true followers of Lenin, were expelled from the Russian party and from Stalin's Comintern.

I found that in order to isolate the Communist workers from the "contaminating" influence of Trotsky's Leninist position, the discussion of these major problems is forbidden. Inner democracy is throttled in all the parties. These sterling revolutionists, who more than anyone else are working against the stream, are branded as "counter-revolutionists", and pretense is made that their criticism of Stalin's bureaucratic regime is slander and opposition to the Soviet power.

Stalin and his bureaucratic clique of usurpers rose to power on the decline of the revolutionary wave and the tiredness of the Soviet masses after war, civil war and intervention. They suppressed Lenin's testament in which Lenin, in his last words to the party before

his death, demanded Stalin's removal as a menace to the party and the working class. They introduced a system of double-bookkeeping in the Communist movement. They did not dare to print the Bolshevik program of the Russian Opposition. The Stalin clique, when polemizing with opponents, introduces false quotations that have nothing in common with the actual point of view spoken or written by them. They imprison and exile proletarian critics of their disastrous adventurist and opportunist policy. They introduced the alien concept of Napoleonic "big shots" and papal infallibility into the proletarian movement. These, in brief, are the reasons why they cannot hold the adherence of serious, honest revolutionists. These are the reasons for the decay and decline of the C. P., its enormous turnover in membership, mass flight of the workers from it.

I therefore join with those international revolutionists in the Workers Party of the U. S. and throughout the world who continue to represent in theory and practice the best traditions of Leninism and the international working class movement.

To those still remaining in the C. P. I say: Workers, remember Lenin's word that "anyone who does not acquaint himself truly with both sides of the controversy before deciding is an idiot."

I have been guilty of such idiocy for a number of years, but no more.

Comradely,

JOSEPH ZACK.

P.S. In a series of articles to follow, I will explain in a manner undeniable by any one the actual situation in the C.P.U.S.A., both as to the trade union question and inner regime

J.Z.

Merry Christmas - For Whom?

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lot 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 picket 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."

He was silent and then began to shout again. He liked to use long words and pretend he was making a serious political or religious oration.

I asked if I couldn't get him another crutch.

"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."

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 beside 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 it's 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

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