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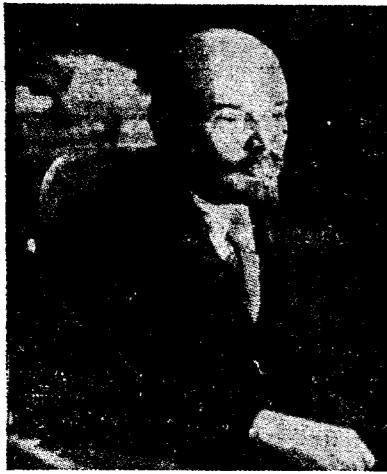
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Under the Banner Of Lenin

By JAMES P. CANNON

OUR Lenin, who died eleven years ago this month, gave us the fundamental analysis of the social conditions of our time from which all revolutionary thought and action proceed. Our epoch, he said, is the epoch of wars and revolutions. In his own struggle and victory he demonstrated the correct-



ness of this formula and the underlying unity of these two forms of social upheaval. Lenin and a numerically insignificant group of internationalists—a "sect" in the terminology of the opportunist wise-ones—raised the banner of revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war and made it, within three years, the banner of the first victorious workers' revolution. Lenin's banner was the banner of internationalism. His struggle against the war was a struggle for the Third International. None but internationalists

honor the memory of the real Lenin today.

In the blackest days of the war when the united parties of the Second International became the direct instruments of the imperialist war makers, when the faithless leaders of the social democracy invoked the name of Marx to bless the imperialist slaughter—as the traitors of today invoke the name of Lenin—he called for a revival of unfalsified Marxism, the doctrine of proletarian internationalism. So we today, on the eve of another world war for which the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals have already offered their services as lackeys of the imperialist masters, must fight for a revival of true Leninism, study his teachings and example, and fight under his banner. That means to counterpose the workers' revolution to the capitalist war and to work unceasingly and under all conditions for the realization of an international organization of the Leninists. That is the only way to fight war, because the only answer to war is revolution.

Lenin fought the betrayers who lured the socialist masses to the slaughter with the treacherous slogan of national defense. He proclaimed irreconcilable war against the social-patriots of all hues, the agents of imperialism in the labor movement. Against them he called for the regrouping of the proletarian vanguard and its unification in a new international organization on the program of revolutionary internationalism. It is well to remember that Lenin fought for this idea without compromise even when he stood in a very small minority. He taught that the split with the social-patriots was the prerequisite for the revolutionary unity of the workers. The development of events brilliantly vindicated his thesis. The Russian Revolution confirmed it in practice. On the foundation of the theory and the practice—the word and the deed—the Comintern arose as a great world movement, heralding the proletarian revolution in all countries.

All that Lenin taught us about the reformist social-democracy and the Second International remains true and applies with double force today. Only one amendment is needed to his analysis of the international movement: The Third International stands in the same dock with the Second, indicted for the same crimes. The frightful defeats suffered by the proletariat in Germany and Austria testify to the unregenerate treachery of the social democracy and the complicity of Stalinism. At this moment the two traitor internationals stand at the service of the capitalist League of Nations, backing "sanctions" and paralyzing the resistance of the workers to the impending war. Corrupt and treacherous to the core, the Second and Third Internationals are today the main bulwarks of the capitalist world system.

Reacting against the policies which led to disaster in Germany and Austria, an increasing number of the advanced

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California Parole Board to Meet on Mini Case

Only Pressure of Workers' Organizations Can Prevent Unfavorable Action by Reactionary Forces

While Raymond W. Henderson, attorney for the National Sacramento Appeal Committee, continues his legal battle to break the appeal log-jam caused by the state's refusal to provide Norman Mini, prisoner 57006 in San Quentin, with a copy of the record of the trial proceedings, the State Parole Board is preparing to consider the question of setting sentences for Mini and the other Sacramento prisoners.

Having been denied the right to a copy of the trial record by the District Court in Sacramento, Henderson has sought a writ of habeas corpus in Marin County Court, on the grounds that Mini is being denied his constitutional right of appeal, since no brief can be drawn up without the trial proceedings. The I.L.D. attorney, Leo Gallagher, who represents some of the other Sacramento prisoners, has also gone into action, following Henderson's move against the State. He is likewise seeking habeas corpus writs.

It is unlikely that these writs will be granted by the county

courts, and the fight for them will be carried further by Henderson, possibly to the Federal courts, and even to the U. S. Supreme Court. Until the question of the right of the prisoners to get copies of the trial record is settled, the appeal trial is tied up by the State.

Board Decision Important

Hence the State Parole Board, which is to meet early in February, becomes a doubly important factor in determining the fate of the prisoners as they cannot hope to get out through an appeal for some time at best.

Counting off good time, the minimum sentence of all the prisoners will be up on February 27. Their maximum sentence would be 14 years less several years for good time. The Parole Board has not yet sent any definite sentence; it has the power to do so at its meeting in February, and if it chose to, it could release all the Sacramento prisoners at the end of next month.

The fact that the Associated Farmers, Inc. and the Chamber of Commerce of California are contin-

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Conflict Looms on West Coast

Ohio Drivers Local Flourishes Under Rabid Boss Attacks

Youngstown Local 377 in Union Drive

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio.—A little over two years ago the truck drivers here organized local union No. 377. For several months the local union made very little headway. About one year ago the local really started to grow as a force in the labor movement by the militant tactics it pursued. From about fifty members when it first started, it grew to over one thousand. In the very beginning few people ever paid any attention to the drivers' local union, taking into consideration the fact that many times efforts have been made to organize the drivers but they were not successful.

The drivers in the meantime learned quite a bit. They have taken a lesson from the workers in Cleveland, Toledo, Minneapolis and other cities throughout the country, and they were an inspiration to other crafts and local unions, such as the butchers, bakers and auto mechanics in the city of Youngstown.

Reviving the Labor Movement

They really helped to revive the United Labor Congress of Youngstown by bringing a new spirit of unionism into the stagnant reactionary swamp that has failed to learn anything in its over fifty years of existence in the city of Youngstown.

The labor movement here consists of about 19,000 organized workers. The basic industries of the city are unorganized, but with the efforts of the truck drivers, interest in unionism became general among the workers. The bosses, in their efforts to stop the awakening spirit of trade-unionism among the workers, figured that this was a time to smash the spearhead of trade-unionism in Youngstown, that is the local union of drivers 377.

Several weeks ago the bosses organized what is known as the Citizen's Association, in order to prepare public opinion for a drive

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Packing House Workers Plan Union Merger

MASON CITY, Iowa, Jan. 11.—Deciding that definite steps should be taken to organize an industrial union for all packing house workers throughout the packing industry, delegates from plants in Cedar Rapids, Austin, Albert Lea, South St. Paul, Faribault and Mason City met in a two day session over the week-end here. This conference was called by the Independent Union of All Workers of Austin, Minn., and the Midwest Union of Packing House Workers of Cedar Rapids, Ia. A committee of ten was set up and given full power to take steps towards the ultimate goal of one union for the packing house workers.

The conference cited the division that has been created in the ranks of the packing workers by craft unions and the further prejudice under the guise of racial prejudice. The conference repudiated this as the program of the bosses. The conference stands for one industrial union, regardless of color or creed. One Negro delegate to the conference told of cases when workers of his race had been used to break strikes, placing further emphasis on the need for one solid union.

Defense Plans New Federal Appeal in Scottsboro Case

A defense motion to transfer the Scottsboro cases to the Federal courts was denied by Judge W. W. Callahan in Decatur, Ala., on Jan. 8. At the same time the trial dates for Haywood Patterson and Clarence Norris were set for Jan. 20 and 23 respectively. A jury panel, reported to include 20 Negroes, was immediately drawn. It has been pointed out, however, that any or all of the Negroes summoned may be stricken by the prosecution before actual jury service.

After Judge Callahan overruled the motion to have the case trans-

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Tampa Aid Group Balks Whitewash

Florida Victims to Hold N.Y. Mass Meeting January 22.

J. C. Poulnot and S. J. Rogers, workers of Tampa, Florida, who were kidnapped, tarred, feathered and beaten by the same gang of police and Klansmen who murdered Joseph Shoemaker several weeks ago, will be the featured speakers at a mass meeting to be held in New York City January 22 under the auspices of the Committee to Aid the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa.

Poulnot and Rogers escaped with their lives, but Shoemaker paid the penalty of death assigned by the Tampa bosses and the corrupt city administration to all who try to organize workers to fight for their economic needs or who oppose the corrupt political ring in the courthouse. The two workers are members of the Modern Democrats, an insurgent Tampa political group with a liberal program. They have also done organizing for the Workers Alliance.

Speakers at Protest Meeting

Among the other speakers at the mass meeting, which will be held at the Hotel Delano, 43rd Street, near Sixth Avenue, at 8 P.M., will be Norman Thomas of the P.L.D., David Lasser of the Workers Alliance, Herbert Solow of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, and Sam Wiener of the General Defense Committee. Julius Hochman of the Joint Board of Dressmakers will preside. Admission will be 25 cents. Unemployed admitted free.

As a result of the campaign of protest organized by the Committee, of which the N.P.L.D. is a constituent, the Tampa authorities have felt compelled to go through the motions of a prosecution. Six Klansmen and three police have been arrested, charged with kidnapping and with second-degree murder. The county prosecutor is stalling because the defense is backed by the wealthy cigar manufacturers who support the Klan terror against all workers. The joint committee is conducting an independent investigation of the crime in order to compel the prosecution to abandon its whitewash plans.

Threat to Remove A.F.L. Convention Efforts will be made to get the

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Maritime Federation Is Threatened with General Lockout

Strike Ties Up West Coast Shipbuilding

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 13.—The Industrial Union of Shipyard Workers (Independent) of San Francisco and Oakland walked out on strike over a week ago. The San Pedro (Los Angeles) local of the same union walked out this morning, making the strike general on the west coast, excepting Seattle. Over a thousand men are out under the leadership of the Industrial Union in the Bay Area of San Francisco and Oakland.

The entire shipbuilding industry of these three points is paralyzed as the workers, practically to a man, refuse to go back to their jobs unless their demands are granted. The demands are for the Seattle scale of wages, which would amount to an hour of between 15c and 35c an hour, and for recognition of their union and hiring through the union hall.

Acting in Solidarity

The Industrial Union controls all sections of the workers who construct or repair ships, excepting the machinists who belong to the Machinists Union of the American Federation of Labor. Generally friendly relations hold sway between the rank and file of the machinists and the Industrial Union, however.

The strike began on January 2 when the Machinists presented demands to the employers. The Industrial Union joined their walk-out, at first as an act of solidarity, and later on presenting their demands to the companies, too. The Machinists and Industrial Union have pledged each other solidarity, and have given assurances that one will not go back to work unless the employers settle with the others.

An international official of the Machinists attempted to instruct the machinists of San Francisco to have nothing to do with the Industrial Union. The machinist rank and file quickly and emphatically informed this international official first, that they, the rank and file, were running the strike, and second, that they were not going to walk

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New Struggle Finds Workers Prepared

By C. CURTISS
SAN FRANCISCO.—The year 1936 is ushered in with the west coast waterfront daily becoming more tense. A storm is brewing that will, when it breaks, make the strike of 1934 seem like a gentle breeze.

A few of the salient facts: Fifty-nine steam schooners are tied up, as the men refuse to work more than six hours per day. The bosses have retaliated with a lock-out. These ships ply coastwise between the northern lumber regions and San Francisco. The Seamen's Union of San Francisco, differently than the so-called "left" as well as conservative labor leaders, is supporting the seamen of these steam schooners.

The Pennsylvania, a superluxurious liner, was tied up for several days as the east coast seamen refused to man her, unless they received the same rate of pay as is drawn by the sailors signing out of west coast ports. The Panama Pacific Line which owns the Pennsylvania, has signed an agreement with the Sailors Union of the Atlantic, which has a lower wage rate than the Pacific. Of course, this agreement was signed without the men being consulted.

Furnishing Seaboard Union Cards After being tied up for quite a number of days, a skeleton crew of unlicensed scabs was secured. It is said that the local appointee of Furesuth, the Grand Old Man of the Shipowners who is president of the International Seamen's Union, gave these scabs union cards. It is said to say, but the fact must be told: union men worked alongside of these scabs.

Four Luckenbach freighters which had been tied up by job-action of the seamen, sailed on Saturday, Jan. 11, after the men had accepted the company offer of an increased basic rate, equalling the west coast scale.

Urges East Coast Action The Sailor's Union of San Francisco, at its last meeting went on

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PLOWING UNDER THE AAA

By GEORGE MARSHALL

One by one the measures of the New Deal go to the guillotine. First the NRA; then the Railroad Retirement Act; and now the AAA have been beheaded by the Lord High Executioner of American capital, the Supreme Court.

What does the massacre mean? It means that "The Roosevelt Revolution" is dead and needs only to be buried. The real purpose of the New Deal—to revive American capitalism and restore its profit-making basis—has been accomplished. American capitalism, as administration spokesmen so proudly proclaim, has recovered from the crisis. The steady rise in production indices, the ten-month old stock market boom, the doubling and tripling of corporate profits testify that Dr. Roosevelt has succeeded in nursing his patient back to health. American capital feels the strength of yore returning to its fever-ridden frame.

Upon this rising tide of economic recovery a wave of reaction in the upper circles of monopoly capital has set in. The emergency measures of the New Deal were rungs in the ladder by which finance capital emerged from the pit of the depression. Today they have no further use for such measures. They simply encumber their free activity and need to be discarded and destroyed.

"The Roosevelt Revolution" is therefore giving way to a period of counter-reforms. American finance capital is not yet ready to submit to the confining embraces of state capitalism, which had its first flowering under Roosevelt and which can find its finished expression in the national economic strait-jacket

of Fascism. They want to get rid of the New Deal and all it represents in the way of state capitalism and revert to the good old days of the Coolidge-Hoover regime, when the government rarely interfered with their business, and then only at their own behest.

Above all, the bankers and industrialists, encouraged by every ray in the stock-market, emboldened by each new victory, and feeling solid

Who Benefited and Who Suffered from the AAA?

What was the AAA? The AAA was designed to raise the prices of farm commodities on the domestic market by restricting production on the one hand and taxing the consumer on the other way. Capitalism knows no other way of emerging from the crisis caused by the colossal forces of production at its command than by destroying and restricting these productive forces and shifting the cost of this enforced scarcity onto the masses.

The AAA was a classic example of this procedure. On the producing end, it limited acreage; plowed under every third row of cotton; wantonly and wastefully slaughtered millions of pigs and cattle; stored away wheat and cotton bought at prices above the world market in government bins and warehouses. With the unexpected aid of such uncontrollable natural forces of destruction as drought and dust-storms, the government has achieved its purpose of raising the prices of the basic farm commodities.

Who benefited from this deliber-

ate destruction and these higher prices? First, the top layers of the farmers, who received cash allotments from the government for restricting their acreage, and higher prices for the crops they raised. Second, the landlords, the banks and the insurance companies who are again receiving interest and payments on the farm mortgages they hold. Third, the packing, tobacco, food, and mail order corporations, who could pocket a percentage of the higher prices as profits, including the processing taxes now declared to have been illegally collected.

Who paid for the AAA? The consuming masses of the country. Over a billion dollars were collected in processing taxes. The bulk of this came out of the salaries of the working masses. Thanks to the AAA, they paid extra pennies for every suit of underwear, loaf of bread, pound of meat, and pint of milk they bought. The AAA is principally responsible for the tremendous rise in the cost of living since 1933, which still continues to

skyrocket, and which has provoked meat strikes from desperate housewives in city after city.

But the consuming masses were not the only ones who suffered from the AAA. The crop restriction program ground the faces of the southern share-croppers and tenant farmers even deeper into the dust; transformed them into wage-laborers, earning even less for their labor than before; and drove hundreds of thousands off the land. The plantation-owners, the cotton corporations, and the banks alone prospered under the AAA. The agricultural workers got no more from the AAA than their industrial brothers got from the NRA. The Ohio union-workers, the New Jersey fruit-pickers improved their conditions of labor only when they fought their bosses by organizing and striking.

All the operations of the AAA were carried out at the expense of exploited agricultural workers, share-croppers, and tenant-farmers and the consuming masses for the benefit of the rich farmers and a handful of grasping capitalists. The oppressed masses of the American people have no reason whatsoever for mourning the death of the AAA. It gave them nothing but higher prices for the necessities of life and another demonstration of the inability of the present economic system to distribute the abundance at its disposal.

Who Are the Usurers?

Last Saturday the Daily Worker carried on its front page a call from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., signed by

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Toledo MESA Local Wins Real Victory In Ten-week Battle

TOLEDO, O., Jan. 14.—After 72 days of striking and two days of solid mass picket lines, the workers of the Mather Spring Co. have come out of the battle with a real victory for their union, the Toledo local of the M.E.S.A.

After days of jockeying back and forth between the two negotiating committees with the Toledo Peace Board acting as messenger boy, an offer was made by the management and presented to the Mather strikers at their meeting on Sunday, Jan. 12. The proposals were read and explained to the men by the chairman, George Becker, president of local 4, of the M.E.S.A. Following the chairman's remarks, the men were addressed by Mathew Smith, national secretary of the M.E.S.A. and Burke Cochran, vice-president of the Toledo local. Both speakers pointed out that the union had won substantial victories, as the men were guaranteed union recognition, occupational seniority, time and a half for overtime, readjustments and many other minor concessions, and urged the men to accept the settlement.

The Mather Spring Co. men, voting by secret ballot, accepted the settlement by an overwhelming majority and then as the tension of the 72-day battle was for the first time relieved, the meeting broke into wild cheering and singing of the song they had learned during the strike: "On the Line."

The prestige of the local union has increased considerably, because of its conduct of this special week of battle. Shortly a special issue of its new paper, the "Industrial Unionist," will be published as the first shot in a campaign to organize the unorganized auto-parts workers.

Program of Cleveland Congress Reeks With Pacifism; Class Struggle Omitted

The following is the second installment of comrade Stryker's article on the recent League Against War and Fascism Congress held at Cleveland.—Ed.

By PHILLIP STRYKER

General Smedley Butler's speech for neutrality legislation and defensive armaments; General Fang Chen Wu's plea for America not to show weakness toward Japan but to enforce the treaties; Mayor Burton of Cleveland's welcoming speech with its declaration of faith in God and America; the innumerable speeches of the preachers; the deliberate arrangements preventing any discussion of program and resolutions—all this was described in our first report of the "U.S. Congress Against War and Fascism," held in Cleveland, January 3-5.

The ten-point program of the American League Against War and Fascism, and the resolutions, were brought in on the last day, and with the rules forbidding any amendments or resolutions from the floor, were voted through in scarcely more time than rapid reading of the material required. What, then, was the ideological high brought in by the Stalinist-controlled leadership?

Lenin declared, and the first congresses of the Communist International embodied, the conception that the struggle against imperialist war can only be the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The only way to prepare the struggle against war, apart from the building of the revolutionary party and the propagandizing of the only way to fight war, said Lenin, is to intensify the class struggle day by day. The various forms of pacifism are not only preliminary steps toward the struggle against war, but are rather ideological enemies of the struggle against war and must be driven out of the labor movement. This is the program of Lenin and is our program.

Stalinist-Pacifist Chop-Suey.

The Stalinist program for the American League bears not the faintest resemblance to Lenin's program. Our first article showed how the Stalinists did not make a single criticism of the pacifist chop-suey which pervaded the Congress. The reason why they did not do so is embodied in their program, which is pacifist from beginning to end.

But this is not all! Even the most elementary conception of class struggle tactics is absent from the Stalinist documents of the Congress!

In order to obscure the stark anti-working class nature of this Stalinist version of the united front, the Stalinists have evolved a most astonishing formula. In his keynote speech, Chairman Harry F. Ward, declared that the American League "is anti-capitalist; but beyond that point, where it comes to what is to be done with the profit system, how it is to be done, what is to take its place, that is the political task of the parties, and has nothing to do with the League."

This was put even more crudely, in the League organ's November issue, by Paul Reid, its executive secretary.

"The exact character of the new social and economic order and the method of achieving it—through 'class war,' non-violent revolution, class collaboration, etc.—are not the concern nor the program of the American League."

This has a radical sound for a moment, but contrast it with the program of one of the older mass organizations. The International Labor Defense program covers far less grandiose tasks than the American League. It requires no one to believe in the ending of capitalism, and certainly not in its revolutionary overthrow. But it does require

Neutrality, Major Plank of Platform, Guarantees Support to U.S. Government

its members to accept a class struggle line in defense of democratic rights.

The American League's program turns the original conception of the united front on its head. You must believe in the ending of capitalism (this of course in the abstract can be agreed to not only by generals and bishops, Utopians, Epics and Farmer-Laborites, but even by Fascists) but you don't have to accept the class struggle! You can be an avowed class-collaboratorist but fight against war and Fascism! Is there another comparable doctrine to be found in the museum of "anti-capitalist" curiosities? Stalinist mountebanks, is there no limit to the fall?

Yet this fantastic doctrine is absolutely necessary to the American League. On what other doctrine could one gather together these generals and preachers, professional pacifists and trade union bureaucrats and middle-class panacea mongers? Stalinism itself must carry along the old lumber of class struggle phrases, in order to trade on the heroic epoch of the Comintern which is its chief stock in trade in deceiving the workers. But to secure its allies for its nefarious work, it must drop old pretenses altogether.

The illusion of Neutrality

The main planks of the "anti-war" program are:

1. Neutrality legislation to be passed by Congress. Since America is not in the League of Nations (not a word was said against the League of Nations during the congress, of course, since Stalinism now hails it as a "force for peace"), governmental sanctions of the European variety finds its equivalent here in government neutrality legislation. Every rotten reformist and pacifist organization in America supports such "mandatory" neutrality legislation. We have said enough about this vicious proposal in our press and pamphlets recently. But it is worth recapitulating the main argument. The "demand" for neutrality legislation combines (a) illusions of ordinary pacifism with the (b) war-making function of sanctions.

(a) Neutrality legislation ignores the fundamental Marxist doctrine that capitalism is in every country linked up economically, socially and politically with the rest of the world and that war is as "natural" to capitalism as is peace. It implies the possibility of isolating an imperialist power like the United States from the rest of the world to which its tentacles reach. It declares it possible for imperialist America to cut itself off from its foreign trade and investment of capital abroad—the very life lines of imperialism! It declares it possible for the American government, the executive committee of the capitalist class no matter who sits in Washington, to take over the task of maintaining peace. Thus it aids the government in preparing for war, for as Hearst and Roosevelt have consistently declared—and General Butler told the cheering multitudes!—for a "strong neutrality and peace policy" the U. S. requires a strong "national defense." Neutrality legislation is precisely the myth of isolationism which Wilson employed to prepare for the last war.

(b) But neutrality legislation has an even more direct war-making function. In the same way that governmental sanctions would only seriously be enforced by an imperialist power when it meant to crush the economic power of another country as a preparation to crushing it by military means ("war is the continuation of politics by forcible means"), so, too, American imperialism could under the cloak of "neutrality legislation" apply financial and economic restrictions, boycotts, etc. against another country only as a step to open warfare. As the British and French reformist-Stalinist support of governmental sanctions has already demonstrated, those who support such restrictions against another country will inevitably also support the military measures which must follow. Those who try to draw (as American Socialists attempt) a distinction between European sanctions and American neutrality legislation draw a distinction where none exists. Neutrality legislation

leads to war as surely as sanctions do.

The American League's "demand" for neutrality legislation is merely the form in which Stalinism guarantees its aid to American imperialism if America chooses to become an "ally" of the Soviet Union. But not only will such an alliance not whitewash the imperialist and reactionary character of any war conducted by the American government. If America chooses to fight against the Soviet Union, the Stalinists will have bred the illusions necessary to line up the masses to go to war!

The Disarmament Illusion

2. The second major plank in this "anti-war" program is "total and universal disarmament as advocated by the Soviet Union." Whatever the uses to the Soviet state in its international diplomacy of this slogan, dropped by Litvinov into the League of Nations discussion, it is so utterly unreal that even such a bourgeois-pacifist organization as the War Resisters League denounces it. Yet here it is, this moth-eaten panacea of pre-war idealism, resurrected by Stalinism. What does it mean, to "fight" for American imperialism to disarm? A correct policy can only be based on fighting for things which are possible. Can American imperialism disarm? One can assert such a possibility only by throwing overboard the Marxist doctrine that war is inevitable under capitalism and a natural, integrated part of the capitalist process. But even then, disarmament would be theoretically impossible. For armed forces also are needed for the internal war against the masses. During 1935 troops were used twenty-two times against workers and farmers. Can capitalism dispense with this too? The theory of "total and universal disarmament" is based on class-collaborationism and pacifism of the most openly anti-working class character.

These two main planks on war are supplemented by others of equal calibre. The Stalinist distinction between good and bad capitalist powers is smuggled in by a plank "to demonstrate constantly the relation between war and fascism"—as if the democratic capitalist powers were not equally war-makers! This was supplemented by constant references in the many speeches to Germany and Japan as the most dangerous war-makers. There are references to strikes against transport of munitions, exposing American war preparations, and resisting increasing militarization; but the bourgeois-pacifist planks characterize the program.

In concluding the description of the Congress two facts are worth reiterating with emphasis.

A Gaseous Attack on War

The program itself was discussed only in one of the commissions, and not at all in the congress, which adopted it as soon as read. Likewise the scores of resolutions (mainly dealing with defense cases and democratic rights) were adopted without discussion. To think of the congress as a form of discussion, therefore, would be to dignify it. It was a mass meeting where the "delegates" were simply subjected to a barrage of gaseous talk abstractly against war and fascism. Furthermore, not to speak of the validity of most of the "delegates' present"—I. L. D., I. W. O., I. C. O. R., C. P., "workers clubs," unemployment councils, Friends of the Soviet Union, etc., these actually were the bulk of the delegates—organizations sending delegates who presumably were molding the future life of the American League did not thereby affiliate to the American League. Thus it was a masquerade claiming to represent two millions, which both ideologically and organizationally dissolved the morning after but leaving the vicious illusion in the minds of many that something had been accomplished for fighting war and fascism.

The masquerade, however, had an additional function beside sowing illusions. It had, very deliberately, the function of propagandizing for the Stalinist coalition with the bourgeoisie, the Peoples Front. Every important speaker, including the "non-political" Harry F. Ward and Roger Baldwin, etc., sang paeans of praise for the Peoples Front of France—that horrible league of mass struggle the chief activity of which is pushing the French government into pressing sanctions against Italy.

The Ambulance Chasers Speak Up

The Lovestonites, of course, have been assiduously propagandizing for such a broadening of the movement represented by the League. Their only complaint against it is that it is C. P.-controlled. Ignoring completely the role of the social-chauvinism of the Stalinists in the League, the Lovestonites have only begged the Stalinists to open the doors wide. Apparently this Lovestone propaganda was a factor in the action taken by the Socialist Party, in proposing that the League adopt a resolution making possible a broader organization. Zimmerman and the other Lov-

stonites glowed as if they had forced the C. P. to do something it did not wish. Actually, of course, the Stalinists grabbed the opportunity with both hands to declare that the League would dissolve into a broader organization if the trade unions took the initiative in calling a convention for that purpose. For that is what the Stalinists want; they know that the broader the movement, the wider its support—more the trade union bureaucracy, the more they can spread their poisonous pacifism as a cloak for their social-chauvinism. Above all, they are desperately striving to drown the revolutionary voices in the Socialist Party, and the correct position against sanctions taken by the Socialist Party, in such a broad, amorphous movement. The Lovestonites did them yoman service in this task, and the public rebuke of Ben Gold's attack on Zimmerman, which was implied when Zimmerman and Browder followed each other on the speakers' platform in support of the resolution for broadening the movement, was the least Browder could give Zimmerman for his useful services.

The Cat and the Canary

Paul Porter, as official observer for the Socialist Party, in proposing that the League go on record for dissolving into a broader organization, declared himself to be in "full sympathy for the aims and purposes of the League" and termed it "the most realistic of all peace organizations in the country." Apparently his whole criticism of the League is limited to its narrow base! Its bourgeois-pacifism, its role in sowing anti-working class illusions about war, seems to escape him entirely. Porter went around the Congress, after having "pushed" the Stalinists into endorsing "a truly all-embracing Federation," as if he were the cat who swallowed the canary. The truth is in the other direction entirely! The declaration of Porter gave the Stalinists a happy opportunity to begin the liquidation of the sectarian form of organization of the League. The Daily Worker's joyous greeting of Porter's declaration was not only sincere, it was deliciously happy.

The studied silence of the Congress on the question of sanctions was simply bait to pull the Socialists in. The Stalinists are more consistent than the Socialists: they are for sanctions, for neutrality legislation, for the Peoples Front, for "peace-loving" nations like France, etc. It is the Socialists who are inconsistent, in correctly opposing sanctions, but at the same time supporting neutrality legislation, and failing to criticize the concept of the Peoples Front. The Stalinists may well say: "Let the Socialists stay on record against sanctions. All we need is for them to support neutrality legislation, the Peoples Front, and join in a 'truly all-embracing Federation,' and we will drown out and destroy their position against sanctions."

A broad movement against reaction and involving the trade unions is possible and desirable, and the revolutionists will gladly work for it. Such a movement will be keyed to the present situation in America where the struggle for democratic rights has before it the task of strengthening the trade unions and defending political prisoners, the foreign-born, fighting police terror, martial law, etc. In large part, such a movement will, though not in a formal sense, but in actual fact, be aiding the struggle against war; for so far as it is possible to have a united front in the struggle against war, that is possible on the level of the day-by-day struggle against capitalist oppression, which is a necessary pre-condition of the struggle against imperialism. We have advocated and aided in the first steps of building such a progressive movement in the trade unions, and such a broad labor defense movement.

But to confuse the struggle against capitalist oppression, on which a united front is possible and desirable, with the question of the revolutionary struggle against war—and there is only one way to fight war, the way of the revolution, of the overthrow of capitalism—such a confusion can serve only the war-makers and their allies the social-chauvinists. Stalinism wants this confusion; it depends on it to drown out revolutionary voices, it depends on it to befog the atmosphere and prevent the workers of Russia's imperialist allies from preparing the struggle. But what are the Socialists falling into the trap for? They have taken a real step forward, by opposing sanctions. They must not take a hundred steps backward by joining with the social-chauvinists in a "broader" "truly all-embracing Federation."

Fortunately, many intervening steps lie between the present and the possible formation of such a "broad" federation. Revolutionary Socialists must seriously analyze the logic of their own position; the contradiction between their progressive position on sanctions, and their reactionary position on neutrality legislation; the fundamental distinction between the correct united front on issues of capitalist oppression on the one hand, and on the other the question of the revolutionary struggle against war. We have seen, comrades of the Socialist party, where Stalinism is leading in France and her satellites. Is this the road you want to travel?

MARCH OF EVENTS

By JACK WEBER

NEUTRALITY FOR SANCTIONS.

Election year is here and the season is open for the creation of fake issues between capitalist politicians. More especially is this the case over the issue of war or peace. In this respect the present campaign bears certain resemblances with that of 1916 when Wilson was re-elected for having "kept America out of war." Then too the "education" of the masses was accomplished by maintaining a fictitious appearance of neutrality in the first world war. How fictitious this issue was is clearly enough revealed in the memoirs of Secretary of State Lansing, despite the pose of "high moral tone" attempted by the careful selection of documents. Lansing replaced Bryan in order to steer the United States into the war on the side of the Allies. The fundamental reasons for aiding the allied imperialists were the financial interests of the American capitalists, particularly those of the big bankers. The most backward person knows this today so that there is absolutely nothing new being revealed by the Congressional investigation of the relation between the Morgan loans and the entry of America except for the filling out of a few concrete details. It was easy for the bankers to create the appearance of a financial crisis with the possibility of panic in order to achieve their aims of complete support of England and France. Diplomacy had the usual task of covering up these material interests with the more palatable veneer of "humanity and democracy." Thus the immediate causes of war were made the submarine issue and the "freedom of the seas." Lansing is careful in his memoirs to delete all documents which would reveal the direct influence of the Morgans in shaping American policy. Thus the letter of Lansing to Wilson in which the Secretary becomes the obvious mouthpiece of the financiers in securing direct government backing of the floating of enormous loans to the Allies, is omitted.

NEUTRALITY TODAY.

The British Tories found it to their advantage to screen their war preparations under the disguise of sanctions. The pose of international capitalist action against Italian imperialism made an appeal to English workers. Similarly the "liberal" and "progressive" henchmen of capitalism here wish to exploit the desire for peace of the masses by waging a fake battle over neutrality. To do this however they must make it appear that it was the nefarious work of the big bourgeoisie that caused the giving up of neutrality in the last war. It was the careful preparations and maneuvering of Morgan and Lamont behind the scenes that overthrew "neutrality." And of course Nye and Borah intend to see to it that this does not happen again! As a matter of fact neutrality at this time is the method by which the American imperialists are accomplishing their aims with least

expense. American capitalism dominates the world and its wishes must be carefully consulted by the other imperialists. Thus America influences all decisions without appearing to have any finger in the pie at all. This leaves the big bourgeoisie free to maneuver and to remain aloof until the proper moment arrives to intervene and exert their utmost power—when the rival imperialists are in no position to oppose the will of America. Just as Wilson proceeded during "neutrality" to construct the biggest navy afloat, so Roosevelt in the lull that precedes the next great conflict, is hastening the building of the strongest navy on the seas. Neutrality does not stop for one moment the complete militarizing of the Pacific in order to be ready for the need of neutrality and the opening of war with Japan. Neutrality here plays the same role that sanctions played and play in England.

VIGILANTES IN SEATTLE.

The elements and methods of fascism are always present in capitalist society in embryo. It is when these sectional elements begin to recur, when they begin to coalesce and take on national character that fascism becomes immediately menacing to the working class. To gauge the progress of reaction so as to see ahead and organize the working class for defense against the rule of knife and club, it is necessary to pay close attention to every sectional struggle. The Pacific Coast has witnessed tremendous battles in the class struggle in the past few years. The general strike in Frisco stands out as a monument to solidarity. At the present time the indications are that the marine workers in whose cause the workers fought their major battle, may again strike against the big shipping interests. The bosses on their side are prepared to put down such a strike with the violence and brutality characteristic of major strike movements. A minor but important indication of ruling class preparedness is seen in the vigilante movement all along the Coast. Only a few days ago the vigilantes of Seattle raided a Communist school that had just been opened and attacked in vicious fashion students and teachers. The latter were chased for blocks and beaten with clubs. Here as everywhere in the capitalist world when gangster tactics are used against the working class movement, the thugs were aided by the police. Before the arrival of the vigilantes several members of the teaching staff and student body had been arrested by the police under orders from the Mayor. Following the arrests the terror was loosed on the remaining individuals. This is but a symptom of what may be expected on a growing scale in the event of big strikes. It is necessary for the workers to make aware of the situation in advance and to organize their forces accordingly for the defense of their meetings against the vigilantes.

Statement of Bill Reich

In view of the use of my name by Louis F. Budenz from platforms of the Communist Party for the purpose of undermining and disrupting the Workers Party I wish to make entirely clear my own position.

I am absolutely opposed to the action of Budenz in capitulating to the Stalinist party and despite my former association with him in the labor movement, I cannot but condemn his actions and writings since he joined the C.P., all of which has been calculated to instill a false and reactionary policy into the ranks of the American working class. Particularly contemptible are Budenz's vicious attacks on the so-called "Trotskyists," namely, those revolutionists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere who have remained loyal to the principles of Marxian internationalism in the face of the greatest difficulties, calumnies and persecutions.

My condemnation of Budenz, far from being a personal matter, is rather condemnation of his political program and conduct, that is, the program and line of conduct of the Communist Party. Events in the last year in particular have confirmed with tenfold emphasis the analysis of the reactionary and nationalistic nature of the C. P.'s degeneration, above all in the highly crucial question of the imperialist war, on which the C. P. and the Third International have taken a position which is essentially indistinguishable from that of the Second International during the war. In contrast to it the revolutionary Marxian position of the Workers Party on this and other fundamental questions stands out all the more plainly as conforming to the basic and immediate interests of the working class.

The bureaucratic regime inside the C.P., which is merely a reflection of the same regime in the 3rd International, makes it all the more impossible for this organization to contribute to the advancement of the working class, but rather to its defeat and demoralization. The practical results of the activities of the C.P. have been most plainly shown in the mass organizations, especially in the unemployed

field, in which most of my activities have been centered. The line of the C.P. in the PUL and the Lehigh County U.L. has been (as it could not but be) disruptive and unsupportable, unworthy of the support of any thinking worker.

—BILL REICH.

Philadelphia
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LUXEMBOURG
Memorial Meeting

SUNDAY, JAN. 26, 8:15 P.M.

Grant Fraternity Hall
1626 Arch Street, 3rd floor

Speakers:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor New Internationalist

MANNY GARRETT
Editor Young Spartacus
Ausp: Philadelphia Branch, W.P.

New Haven, Conn.

JOHN WEST
will speak on

"The World Faces the New War"

Fraternal Hall
19 Elm Street

Friday, Jan. 24th, 8 P.M.

Admission 15c

BOSTON LECTURE

Max Shachtman, editor of the New Internationalist, will lecture Friday evening, Jan. 24, at our new headquarters, 18 Stuart Street, Boston. Subject: "The People's Front, Can It Stop War and Fascism?" Admission 15c, unemployed free.

Brownsville Open Forum

"Sex and the Class Struggle"

Speaker:

DR. OSCAR TROPP

well known physician

Friday, Jan. 24, 8:30 P.M.

1776 Pitkin Ave., nr. Stone

THE MANAGER'S CORNER

Since our last report 98 new subscribers have been added to our mailing list. This brings us to a total of 320 new subscriptions since our present drive began. Meanwhile renewals on expired subscriptions are coming in well. These, of course, are not listed here. We list only new subscriptions.

The comrades in New York City are doing the best work by far in this drive. Branch 8 has exceeded its quota and Branch 1 and 3 are making headway and having the biggest number of subscriptions to their credit. But branch 7 is lagging terribly.

The list following below shows that responses have come in from quite a few cities and some of the responses are rather good; but from the comrades in a number of cities we have not heard at all. True, we have heard from several of them saying that they are on the job, that plans have been made and they expect to turn in new subscriptions. What really counts, however, is the actual results and we will count on these comrades only when we have these results. Meanwhile we are taking it up with them directly also.

Extension of our party press is an ever pressing duty for every comrade. Sympathizers are, of course, invited to participate as well. We suggest that the comrades in every instance check the list below carefully and make the necessary comparison. Where no results are shown as yet, or where the results are small, the next thing to do is to take the question up in the branch and see to it that action follows.

Since our last report the new subscriptions received together with the quotas of the various cities stand as follows:

City	Quota	Turned in
Akron, Ohio.....	20	9
Albert Lea, Minn.....	10	—
Allentown, Pa.....	30	—
Austin, Minn.....	10	4
Berkeley, Cal.....	10	2
Boston, Mass.....	25	3
Charleston, W. Va.....	5	—
Chicago, Ill.....	50	16
Cleveland, Ohio.....	25	8
Columbus, Ohio.....	10	—
Detroit, Mich.....	25	2
Dickson City, Pa.....	5	—
Fargo, S. Dakota.....	10	—
High Point, N. C.....	5	—
Kansas City, Mo.....	10	—
Los Angeles, Cal.....	25	11
Minneapolis, Minn.....	75	7
Mount Carmel, Pa.....	5	—
Newark, N. J.....	20	4
New Castle, Pa.....	10	—
New Haven, Conn.....	10	—
New York City.....	400	180
(Branch 1.....	90	71)
(Branch 2.....	40	10)
Philadelphia, Pa.....	20	11
Pittsburgh, Pa.....	25	—
Plentywood, Mont.....	10	—
St. Louis, Mo.....	10	—
Salt Lake City.....	10	6
San Francisco, Cal.....	20	2
San Diego, Cal.....	10	4
Springfield, Ill.....	5	—
Toledo, Ohio.....	25	2
Utica, N. Y.....	5	—
Washington, D. C.....	10	3
Youngstown, Ohio.....	10	—
Cities not listed.....	45	39
Total.....	1,000	320

(Branch 3.....	75	36)
(Branch 4.....	30	9)
(Branch 5.....	20	13)
(Branch 6.....	16	8)
(Branch 7.....	16	2)
(Branch 8.....	10	12)
(District.....	100	28)

The issues of the NEW MILITANT for the year 1935 are now ready to be made up into bound volumes. The price for the complete set, in durable binding, will be \$1.50 postpaid. But the actual binding we will do only as the orders come in. Those who desire to obtain a bound volume should, therefore, forward their orders right away.

Preparations are also under way to make up the complete file of the NEW INTERNATIONAL, all issues published to date, in bound volumes. They will contain both volumes 1 and 2, beginning with the first issue, July 1934, up to and including the December, 1935 issue. Several of the issues of this period are now not available except the copies set aside for binding. The price per bound volume of the NEW INTERNATIONAL will be \$3.00 postpaid.

Send all orders to the NEW MILITANT, 55 East 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

Several thousand copies of the pamphlet "War and the Workers," by John West, have already been disposed of. More are still on hand. We did print a large supply, sufficient to meet all orders for the most immediate period.

Numerous comments have been received praising this pamphlet for its popular presentation and yet thoroughly fundamental analysis of the causes of war, the imperialist conflicts of the present epoch and the role of the various forms of pacifism and social-patriotism. To the serious student of Marxism, to the militant worker as well as to the active trade unionist this 48-page pamphlet is indispensable. The price is 10c a copy, 7c in lots of ten or more and it can also be obtained from the NEW MILITANT office.

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The Supreme Court, the New Deal and the Class Struggle

By JOHN WEST

The recent decision of the Supreme Court, invalidating the AAA, when taken against the background of the Schechter Case decision last Spring and the probability of further decisions against the New Deal in the near future, brings into sharp focus many basic problems concerning the meaning and nature of the complex institutional structure of the American state. It is wholly impossible to understand these problems except in the illusion-dispelling light of Marxian theory. Any other approach condemns us to wander in the fog and mists of legal "fictions"—as the English political philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, so accurately called them—and to spend our time, like Don Quixote, arguing about dreams and fighting against windmills.

The need for the light of uncompromising Marxian theory could not be more urgently shown than by a study of the press of the Communist party and the Socialist party during the week following the AAA decision. The first editorial of the Daily Worker demanded to know whether Americans were going to continue to allow nine old men to overthrow "the decisions of the people's representatives." During succeeding issues, the Daily Worker has carried to ever-increasing heights its campaign against the "autocratic oligarchy" of the Supreme Court. "The King of England," the editor says in bold-faced type, "cannot nullify acts of Parliament, but the Supreme Court can invalidate acts of Congress. It is not only a monarch, but an UNLIMITED monarch to boot." And "the astonishing part of it"—and the indignation of the Daily Worker is here exceeded only by its surprise—"is that this power . . . is absolutely UNCONSTITUTIONAL." The Daily Worker should really retain the American Liberty League to bring suit against this outrage: it too is a stalwart defender of the Constitution.

Daily Worker Finds the Issue

The big issue before the American people, then, according to the Daily Worker, is given in a front page box: "Unite for action to demand that Congress and the President: 1. Repeal the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. 2. Impeach judges who usurp the democratic rights of the people. 3. Amend the Constitution to prohibit the Supreme Court from declaring laws unconstitutional."

We are reminded that, in France, the Communist party not dissimilarly demands that Laval and the Chamber of Deputies disarm the Fascist Leagues and oust the Fascist officers from the army. And the C. P. of France is similarly "astounded" that the "representatives of the people" continue to allow such subversive activities against the Republic.

The Socialist Call, if in less gross form, takes what is essentially the same point of view. Norman Thomas writes: "Now six old men on the Supreme Court of the U. S. against 3 of their colleagues hand down a decision which practically destroys the constructive program which has been set up. . . . You have a complete picture of judicial oligarchy. . . . I join with my comrades in demanding immediate and drastic action to end this judicial oligarchy. . . . Real change depends upon an end of this judicial oligarchy, this government by the dead hand of a Constitution, which is given living power by the particular political and economic doctrines of the old men on the Supreme Court bench. . . . It becomes the most important single immediate task of the Party and the entire labor movement to push the Workers Rights Amendment."

Better in N. Y. Post

Such analyses and such proposals have, of course, nothing in common with Marxism. They are reformist, not Marxist, in character. This is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the liberal New York Evening Post, the shrill New Deal defender, has taken exactly this same approach to the Supreme Court in its editorials following the AAA decision, except that its words have been more challenging and more vigorously written; and it has proposed the same reform measures.

What, then, is wrong with this approach? Where does it differ from Marxism?

What is wrong with it is that, instead of clarifying, it obscures and glosses over the fundamental class issues which are the source and root of historical development, and, instead of exposing, it veils and softens the role of the state.

Marxism and the State

Marxism is primarily distinguished by analyzing every social and political problem from a class point of view. In contemporary imperialist society, this means that Marxism always explains and interprets events only in the light of the fundamental conflict whose course determines the direction of historical development: the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In terms of this conflict, Marxism interprets the role of the state as the political executive of the bourgeoisie, whose

historical function is to maintain the social power of the bourgeoisie and to uphold the system of property relations upon which that social power is based.

The state, however, is not an "abstraction." It is actualized in a whole involved maze of concrete historical forms. In the United States these include the Federal executive (the President and his subordinates and administrative departments), the Federal legislature (Congress and the departments and commissions it creates), the Federal judiciary (from the Supreme Court down), the Federal army, navy, prisons; together with all the branches (executive, legislative, judicial, military, police) of the state, county, and municipal governments. These are all in a great variety of ways, part of the state apparatus. Their central and primary historical function is to assure the maintenance of capitalist property relations: that is, to uphold the class rule of the bourgeoisie.

It is only from an understanding of this basic function that a correct analysis can be made of the various actions and activities of the different subdivisions of the state apparatus.

The Reformist Approach

The approach of the Daily Worker and the Socialist Call, however, instead of proceeding from the basic analysis of the class struggle and the class role of the state, and thence going on to a detailed analysis of the particular acts in question (here the AAA decision), does just the opposite. They take the conflict between two subdivisions of the state apparatus (the Supreme Court on the one side, Roosevelt and Congress on the other) as primary; and consequently they totally obscure the basic class role which these two subdivisions share in common, and thus also obscure the fundamental class conflict of modern society.

In terms of their approach, the

Supreme Court Integral Part of the Capitalist State

Supreme Court is the representative of "Wall Street," of the "financial oligarchy," the "Tories." Congress, in conflict with the Supreme Court, is "the people's representative" (this is the Daily Worker's own phrase). We are, then, called on to support Congress against the Supreme Court, in order to make our will felt and to secure our "rights."

Denial of the Class Struggle

What follows? What follows is the denial of the revolutionary class struggle for workers' power, which is and must be the struggle not to win "control" over the existing state machinery, but a struggle against the existing state, a struggle to smash the present state—which is the instrument of bourgeois rule—and to erect in its place the revolutionary workers' state. What follows is social-democratic parliamentarism, gradualism, Kautskism, all over again. In this manner does history take its revenge on the corruption of theory. The approach of the Communist party and the Socialist party to this problem—which is naturally not an isolated example—is part of the propagation of an anti-revolutionary ideology. In the case of the Communist party it must be understood as one item in the preparation for the possibility of supporting Roosevelt in November—a possibility which will be realized if the Far Eastern crisis sufficiently deepens. Indeed, the current analyses and phrases of the C. P. can hardly be distinguished from those of the President.

Now Marxists do not believe that Congress is "the people's representative." They believe that Congress, like the Supreme Court, is part of the apparatus of bourgeois

state rule. They do not deny that genuine and bitter conflict can arise between Congress and the Supreme Court, or between any other subdivisions of the state apparatus, nor do they deny the necessity for interpreting and analyzing these conflicts, and attempting to use them where possible to the workers. But such conflicts, they point out, are never struggles between representatives of the working class or of "the people" on the one side, and representatives of the bourgeoisie on the other. There are always conflicts between different sections or groups within the bourgeoisie, sections which on the given issue have opposing needs and opposing ideas of how best to advance the basic bourgeois interests. In all cases, therefore, such conflicts are subordinate to the underlying class conflict, which cannot express itself directly within the bourgeois state apparatus.

How the "Founders" Reasoned

It was in this way that the "founders of our country," who reasoned more clearly about these matters than our present Stalinists, reformists and centrists, understood the complicated governmental forms which they established under the Constitution—that magically powerful document which they designed to legalize the power of property. The intricate "checks and balances" between the three branches of the Federal government and between the Federal government and the States, with the probability of frequent conflict which these contained, were meant by them not at all to "guarantee" democracy, but to make sure that what democracy there was would not get out of bounds. "Every institution," wrote

Hamilton, "calculated to restrain the excess of law-making and to keep things in the same state in which they happen to be at any given period was more likely to do good than harm."

Nor have the masters of American destiny ever been too much disturbed over legal fictions. They have understood that the central question is the question of class power, not institutional form, and they have consistently approached the Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the other branches of government in the light of that understanding. During the administrations of Washington and John Adams, for example, the Supreme Court played a minor role. The question of its "right" to invalidate acts of Congress or of States as unconstitutional, left ambiguous in the Constitution itself, was not openly raised. The Federalist party, representing the commercial, banking and industrial interests—that is, the progressive class at that historical stage—held control over the executive and legislative branches, and could keep the courts in the background.

The Jeffersonian Reaction

But the Jeffersonian reaction, swept on by the agrarian and planting interests, ousted the Federalists from the Presidency and Congress. The Federalists, consequently, defeated on one front, kept their grip on the Judiciary, and used the Supreme Court to continue the advance of their basic program. Through their Chief Justice, Marshall, they immediately proclaimed the power of the Supreme Court to pass on the constitutionality of laws (the case of Marbury vs. Madison). In a long series of bril-

liant decisions, Marshall maintained their position. But, it should be noticed, the Federalists used the Supreme Court not to restrict the power of the Federal government, but to extend it, to enlarge its sphere of operation, and to establish its clear sovereignty over the States. The aims of the bourgeoisie could not be served without a strong national government.

But deaths on the Supreme Court bench and the Jacksonian movement altered the relationship of forces. By 1857 the Democrats, now openly and almost exclusively the party of the slave-holders, were in control of the Supreme Court, with Taney at its head. So, in the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court reversed the tradition of Marshall, and declared for "states' rights" against the Federal government. In actuality, of course, the decision was not for the legal fiction, "states' rights," but for the slave-holders: by its terms, the Court declared that Congress had no power to legislate concerning slavery. The Phillistines of those days thought that then the battle was over, and that the Northern industrialists had lost. Or, at most, they inveighed against the autocratic usurpation by the Supreme Court.

Judiciary and Class War

But the bourgeoisie was not going to let legal fictions block its historic road. Organized, in temporary alliance with the free Western farmers, into the new Republican party, it accepted the challenge: and fought out the issue of control of the state not in the judicial chambers, but on the field of battle. Neither the acts of Congress nor the decisions of the Court, but the Northern armies decided the basic class question—the question of which class, the bourgeoisie or the plantation owners, was to hold power. And this is the manner in which every class which means historic business settles the basic question.

The struggle which the working class faces at the present time, the struggle for power and for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and its state, is not expressed in any direct way in the conflict between the New Deal (upheld by the President and Congress) and the Supreme Court. The struggle of the working class, in its political aspect, is a struggle against every branch and division of the state. The conflict between the Supreme Court and Congress represents in part a conflict between different sections of the bourgeoisie, in part a bureaucratic contest for control of the immense and highly lucrative governmental apparatus. The AAA decision is perhaps chiefly important for re-emphasizing the fact that the New Deal was merely a series of temporary devices to tide capitalism over a dangerous spot; and that, with profits now mounting, it has outlived its usefulness. The Supreme Court, by a reasonable division of labor, is given the job of undertaker. For Roosevelt, the New Deal remains now as pure demagoguery—as a series of agitation phrases wholly divorced from social reality, with the help of which he hopes to retain enough of middle-class and labor sentiment to enable him to secure re-election.

Playing Reaction's Game

To build up and emphasize, as the Communist party and the Socialist party are doing, a large scale campaign to curb the Supreme Court plays into the hands of reaction. It is not that the demand to curb the court is in itself wrong. Indeed, it would be on the whole a

gain if it were accomplished. The Court is an additional barrier against even partial immediate demands of the masses—as the Schechter and AAA decisions in their "restrictive" interpretations of the "interstate commerce" and "general welfare" clauses, interpretations which can be applied directly against any social security or public works acts—serve to bring out.

Nevertheless, such a parliamentary demand as the curbing of the Supreme Court should have only a minor and secondary place in the agitation and practical program of a revolutionary working-class party. Otherwise it serves to disorient and deceive the masses, and to turn them aside from more important tasks. It is the business of the revolutionary party not to foster but to smash parliamentary illusions; not to suggest the possibility of reforming the bourgeois state, but to make clear, in the living experience of the masses, the necessity for destroying that state and of setting up in its place a new state, the workers' state. The prime reason why a revolutionary party enters into parliamentary campaigns is to bring its own full revolutionary program openly before the masses. Its parliamentary representatives sit not to win "victories" for the workers in Congress or the Courts—which, even on the smallest scale, is increasingly illusory in the decline of capitalism—but to expose the inner workings of the bourgeois state machinery before the eyes of the masses. Revolutionists utilize bourgeois parliamentarism as one means for destroying bourgeois parliamentarism.

Parliamentary Activity Supplementary

Parliamentary activity of all kinds must remain only supplementary to the basic work of promoting and strengthening the basic organizations of the masses. The poor farmers must look first not to Congress and the Supreme Court but to their unions, cooperatives, leagues, and demonstrations, for benefits and relief. The workers will have the "right" to organize when they take that right through the independent strength of their trade unions, and cease expecting it to be handed down from on high by "favorable decisions." The one effective "curb" of the Supreme Court is, precisely, the organized strength of the masses.

The real business of the revolutionary party is the organization of the working class and its allies for the conquest of power. Every immediate demand, every particular campaign, is correct, is justified, only so far as, in its historical implications, it aids in this central task; and is on every occasion to be condemned insofar as it turns the class aside from the road to power.

PLOWING UNDER THE AAA

(Continued from Page 1)

William Z. Foster and Earl Browder. It was headed: "Sweep Away the Autocratic Power of the Supreme Court."

This manifesto has created a furore among those few Stalinists who retain remnants of Marx and Lenin's teachings and still recall the Stalinist arguments of yesterday. Well it might! Such a whole sale burial of its professed principles by a working class party without so much as a funeral oration, such an open dumping overboard of all its traditions has never before been seen in the political history of the labor movement. In this declaration, the American Communist party completely breaks with its past and goes over without concealment or equivocation to the worm-eaten platform of liberal reformism.

This is indicated at the very beginning of the manifesto, which acknowledges that "the Communist party criticized the AAA because of its produce destruction program, because it helped to raise the cost of living, because it helped mainly the rich." This is by no means the whole reactionary essence of the AAA but it will do so far as it goes. What follows? Does the C. P. still condemn the AAA and the Roosevelt administration that put it through? Quite the contrary.

They concentrate their attack, not upon the AAA and its authors, but upon the Supreme Court which killed it. What reasons do they give for thus reversing their position? Listen, O ye faithful! "The Communist party now fights the Supreme Court decision because it deprives the farmers of the little aid they received from the AAA, because the Supreme Court decision outlaws any attempt on the part of the people to fight Wall Street, because this decision would still further help the rich at the expense of the poor."

What is the substance of such arguments? First, the rich farmers, (together with the banks, insurance companies, and corporations) are now deprived of their subsidies from the AAA, paid for with the blood of the masses. They must, therefore, be continued. Second, the enemy of the working class is not capitalism and all its institutions, but only the Wall Street financiers and their judicial stronghold. Third, although the AAA is one of the most cunning and efficient instruments of destruction and extortion devised by the Democratic agents of the ruling class, it must be defended because the ultra-reactionary Liberty Leaguers who oppose it may invent a worse one. This is "the policy of the lesser evil" with a vengeance. On this ground every action of the Roosevelt regime can be justified—and probably soon will be, if we read the signs aright.

Once the first step is taken, the

descent to the Avernus of utter opportunism is easy. Having become the supporters of the Roosevelt farm program against the ultra-reactionaries, the Stalinists go further. They call upon Roosevelt himself to make good his speeches, and, as father of the AAA, to protect his offspring against "the autocracy of the Supreme Court" and to take up the struggle against "entrenched greed." "Mr. President," they shout, "repudiate the Ruling."

What is the most elementary principle of Marxism? The state is the executive committee of the ruling class. The head of the state acts as chairman of that committee. To ask or to expect that any officer of the bourgeois state will carry on a real struggle against his masters and their institutions is to put one's faith in miracles. This is the simplest A.B.C. of revolutionary doctrine. And the Stalinists today flout it without a word of explanation or apology. Could betrayal be more absolute?

Anyone who knows anything about the history of American politics is aware that the tripartite division of the governmental apparatus into the parliamentary, presidential, and judicial arms was expressly designed by the ruling classes to strangle the expression of the popular will

Rewriting American History

Every one of the examples they cite are false and misleading. "Lincoln did not recognize the Dred Scott decision." The truth is that he criticized it before becoming President and obeyed it until the Civil War broke out. "He led the people into the Civil War to wipe out slavery." What an idealization and falsification of history! Lincoln led the people into the Civil War to wipe out the power of the slaveholders and conquer power for the bourgeoisie—and was finally, after much hesitation, forced to emancipate the slaves to accomplish these ends. "President Jackson, the great Democrat," they continue in the vein of a speech by Postmaster Farley, "refused to recognize Supreme Court decisions." Jackson was a slaveholder and a servant of slaveholders, just as Roosevelt is a political servant of the wage slave-holders of capitalism. He did ignore a Supreme Court decision—when the court attempted to protect the lands of the Cherokee Indians against their seizure by the Georgia slaveholders! "President Grant increased the membership of the court to change a Supreme Court decision."—He did so to valorize the paper money issued during the Civil War and held by the financial aristocracy!

These people, who now vie with the Liberty League and Hearst in posing as defenders of the Constitution, echo the old cry of the petty-bourgeois liberals: "The Constitution does not give the Supreme Court the right to declare laws passed by Congress unconstitutional." But this cry has no historical foundation. Although the powers

and to safeguard the property and privileges of the rulers of the Republic. The executive and the judicial branches, as checks upon the larger and more representative Congress (capitalist control over which is somewhat more difficult), divide the labor of carrying out the orders of the ruling class. The Supreme Court's power to declare laws unconstitutional is simply a modification and magnification of the President's veto power. However loudly they bellowed, no President and no bourgeois politician has ever dared to fight anything but sham battles with the Supreme Court, the principal legal pillar of the existing order and the Holy of Holies of American bourgeois democracy.

But, having called upon to lead the masses in a crusade for "the restoration of popular government," the Stalinists find it necessary to prove that previous presidents have successfully fought the autocracy of the Supreme Court and that popular government once existed in the United States. They proceed to rewrite American history as follows: "The history of our country shows that Presidents who really meant to fight autocracy (1) repudiated reactionary decisions of the supreme autocrats of the country."

One stands aghast before this spectacle of complete capitulation to the most vulgar petty bourgeois reformism. Every trace of class consciousness has been expunged from this Stalinist document. Not a phrase that any infuriated petty bourgeois could not subscribe to with both hands, or that will not be uttered time and again by political demagogues of the Democratic party. The Stalinists are not inconsistent in demanding that Roosevelt lead them in a struggle against the reactionaries. Nor will it be inconsistent with their present policy if they support Roosevelt in the coming elections. For the position represented in this official document alone is indistinguishable from that of the left wing of the Democratic party, which is still, we hope they will admit, a capitalist party.

What do those honest workers and revolutionists who still remain in the ranks of the Stalinist party think of such a line? Surely there are still some among them who are class-conscious enough to recognize this surrender of the first principles of Marxism and draw a few conclusions from it.

The leaders of the party who have issued this document, and who slavishly repeat today the threadbare phrases of petty bourgeois radicalism, condemning the Supreme Court for its usurpation of power, are themselves the greatest of usurpers. They have usurped the title of Communists, the name of revolutionist, the traditions of Marx and Lenin. Workers, learn to distrust such charlatans, who masquerade in the borrowed costumes of Communism. They are your greatest enemies. They cannot and will not defend your interests. They will inevitably betray you as lightly as they have here betrayed the principles of Communism.

Liebkecht-Luxemburg Anniversary

LECTURE AND DANCE

8:30 P.M.—Speech by NATHAN GOULD, National Secretary S.Y.L., on "The Life and Work of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg." Short musical program.

9:30 P.M.—Dancing, refreshments. Good band.

SATURDAY EVENING, JANUARY 25, 1936

220 East 14th Street, N. Y. C. Hat check 25c

Auspices: Spartacus Youth League, N. Y. District

Luncheon Symposium

celebrating THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF

BROOKWOOD

Labor's Own School

Speakers:

THOMAS KENNEDY FRANCIS J. GORMAN TUCKER P. SMITH

Fraternal greetings from George Meany, David Dubinsky, Joseph Schlossberg, Frank Grosswirth, Spencer Miller, Jr., Hilda W. Smith, George Rhodes

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, AT 1 P.M.

Frank's Hofbrau, 1680 Broadway (near 52nd St.), N.Y.C.

To Hear Mini Case

(Continued from Page 1)

ing their anti-union drive, however, makes it almost certain that the board will take no such action.

When the board met several months ago at Tehachapi to consider the cases of Caroline Decker and Nora Conklin, two of the Sacramento class-war victims, it refused to set definite sentences. The attempts to deport Jack Warnick, one of the acquitted Sacramento unionists, make it clear that powerful forces are determined to squeeze the last ounce of vengeance out of the Sacramento prisoners for their crime of organizing unions and leading strikes.

N.S.A.C. Asks Protests

The National Sacramento Appeal Committee, in an effort to meet the situation which will exist when the Parole Board meets, is launching a drive to get unions and other organizations, as well as individuals, to send protests to Governor Merriam and Attorney-General Webb of California against the continued imprisonment of the framed-up Sacramento unionists. Protests should be sent to these officials at Sacramento, the state capital.

That there will be plenty of difficulty in getting the board to act at this time is made clear by the character of the men who compose it.

The chairman Frank C. Sykes of San Francisco, in addition to getting \$5,000 annually for his "work" on the board, is a building contractor. He is in close touch with the Industrial Association, open-shop general staff of the San Francisco employers.

Board Members Reactionary

Joseph H. Stephens, second member of the board, was one of the reactionaries who helped the Sacramento Bee stir up agitation against the prisoners during the trial last year. On Jan. 10, 1934, the Bee carried a statement by Stephens advocating the conviction of the union organizers "regardless of the costs." He gets \$10,000 annually as president of the Sacramento Merchants National Bank, besides his \$5,000 from the state. He was a supporter of Governor Rolph, Mooney's great enemy.

David F. Bush, the third member, is an attorney of Oakland, and a prominent Legionnaire. His organization is behind the drive to deport Jack Warnick on evidence which won his acquittal in Sacramento. He was a mouthpiece of the organized employers in the State Senate in 1933. In 1933 the California State Grange, farmers' organization, blocked his candidacy for a judgeship because of his tie-up with the Pacific Gas and Electric Co., keystone of the reactionary crowd.

In addition to sending letters to the Governor and Attorney General, letters should be sent to the State Board of Parole, Sacramento, and to the individual members of the board. Such letters should stress the fact that no overt acts were proven against any of the prisoners, that their sole "crime" has been the organization of unions, and that one of the convicting jurors has already declared that in his opinion there was absolutely no evidence against Norman Mini or Caroline Decker and that the whole verdict was a horse-trade.

Address these letters as follows: Mr. Frank C. Sykes, Kohl Building, San Francisco, Cal.; Mr. Joseph H. Stephens, Merchants National Bank, Sacramento, Cal.; Mr. David F. Bush, Oakland, Cal.

Pressure Can Help

While it can hardly be hoped that the board will set the minimum sentence for any of the prisoners, a real expression of protest by powerful workers' organizations would not be without its effect. It might compel the board at least to set sentence so that the prisoners will know where they stand, and to set it at something close to the minimum.

During recent years criminal syndicalism prisoners have generally served between two and three years. If the board is to be prevented from setting a higher sentence, there will have to be a serious movement of protest.

The effect of the nation-wide protest in the Herndon case, where the judge was driven to free Herndon in order to avoid the political effects of holding him any longer, is well-known. The same could be done in the Sacramento case, where there is no more "evidence" against the prisoners than there was against Herndon.

The efforts of the National Sacramento Appeal Committee to organize a nation-wide movement on behalf of the eight Sacramento unionists, have had no cooperation from the Communist party, the International Labor Defense or their sympathizers.

Although the I.L.D. represents the prisoners, except for Norman Mini, they are passive in the fight. They did not begin legal moves on the question of the transcript of trial proceedings until after the N.S.A.C. got into action. The Daily Worker carries nothing about the Sacramento case. Henderson's legal moves are ignored by the Communist party, which strives to isolate his fight from mass support.

C. P. Breaks Unity

Although the N.S.A.C. includes the Non-Partisan Labor Defense,

the General Defense Committee and the League for Industrial Democracy, as well as the Socialist and Workers parties and other organizations which belong to or support the united defense committees in the Herndon case, the I.L.D. has persistently refused to join the N.S.A.C. or to take any serious steps toward organizing a real campaign of protest throughout the country.

Questions recently addressed to leading members of the Communist party and the I.L.D., as well as to officials of the "California Conference for the Repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Law"—a "united front" organized by the C. P. and its auxiliaries, as to why they will not cooperate with the N.S.A.C. or launch a serious fight, have remained unanswered.

The Workers Party urges all members and friends to respond immediately to the call of the N.S.A.C. for protest letters and resolutions. Moreover, financial support is needed by the N.S.A.C. because of the new legal complications in the appeal fight. Funds should be sent to Dr. Harry W. Laidler, chairman, Room 707, 41 Union Square, New York City.

Youngstown Union Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

against organized labor. The new city administration that was elected to take office January 1 was prepared by the bosses to start such a drive. Attorney W. O. R. Johnson was hired to import scabs to break strikes of the drivers' union.

Mayor L. Evan's first act as assuming office was to arrest Sam Orr, a member of the Teamsters' Union 377, and President Hubbard of the United Labor Congress on Jan. 2, for creating disturbances when they made an effort to settle the dispute at the grocery and meat market owned by George Oles, who was given the mandate to begin the open shop drive against labor. They also, in combination with the newspapers, begin to hurl charges of gangsterism and racketeering at the local union through the newspapers, mass meetings, pulpits and other agencies. The newspapers, and especially the Youngstown Telegram which is part of the Scripps-Howard chain, carried on a frenzied campaign of agitation against the Truck Drivers' Union, accusing it of the most dastardly crimes.

For quite a while this went on until it culminated in a scab being taken out, beat up, and thrown out without any trousers into the square of Youngstown. This act was not committed by the Drivers' Union as the newspapers and the city administration would have the people of Youngstown believe.

There is a suspicion that this scab, Eichenlieb, was paid by the bosses to take the rap of having his pants taken off for a run in the city of Youngstown in order to stir up a lynch sentiment against the union.

Mike Hornyak, a young militant of the union, and Sam Orr were arrested on frame-up charges of kidnapping and torture. Mike Hornyak is at this time under a \$3,000 bond out of jail. Sam Orr is awaiting a \$6,000 bond in jail.

Local Issues Paper

The Truck Drivers' Union responded militantly against this furious attack of the bosses and open shop interests. It immediately issued an open letter on the charge of gangsterism to the people of Youngstown, demanding an investigation. It also issued a statement to the newspapers, January 10, pledging full confidence to Mike Hornyak and Sam Orr, and a fight for their vindication on the framed-up charge of kidnapping and torture.

It has also countered with the move of issuing a newspaper edited by the executive board of the Truck Drivers' Union called the "Union Guide." This paper met with tremendous response, 700 copies being sold on the first day. The union is mobilizing its forces. The president of local 377 stated:

"Make Youngstown a Union Town" "We are digging in and are determined to carry on our struggle for decent wages, and to organize the unorganized drivers at no matter what cost."

The Union has a good chance of defeating the open shoppers, and at the same time of assisting the unorganized workers in the building of a real fighting union movement. The whole trade union movement is quite stirred up over the slogan of "Make Youngstown a Union Town." This struggle may mean the beginning of a real drive among the steel workers for organization.

LUMEN CLUB hike to Palisade Sunday, Jan. 19. Meet at 242nd Street and Van Cortlandt Park 11 A.M. Sympathizers and friends are invited to come along.

CLEVELAND FORUM

Every Sunday Night at Eight Admission Free Stadium Hotel West 6th St. and St. Clair (second floor)

Sunday, Jan. 26: "Which Party for the American Workers?" Speaker: JOSEPH KNIGHT.

Sunday, Feb. 2: "The Decline of the Third International." Speaker: HENRY THURMAN

Auspices: WORKERS PARTY

Maritime War Looms

(Continued from Page 1)

record recommending that the east coast sailors attempt to get at least the west coast rate of pay by job action, preferably on the east coast, and pledging support to all job action taken there, or here.

The Waterfront Machinists and the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers are on strike.

Lockout talk is common on the waterfront. The growing strength of the unions, and resultant higher wages and shorter hours, eats into the income of the famished-for-profits capitalist class. The latter is going to attempt to smash the sole obstacle in their path to the garnering of huge dividends out of the only possible source, the backs of the workers. That obstacle is the union.

Follow Class Struggle Relief

The oncoming lockout or strike of the waterfront workers can and must be won. The workers are incomparably better situated than they were in 1934. Their organization is stronger. They have learned many lessons. The only thing standing between the workers and victory is treachery or incorrect leadership. The right wing class-collaborationists and the Stalinists are the specific dangers referred to. If, in spite of these, a class struggle policy will be instituted on the waterfront, victory is certain.

Let us see the attitude of the old guard of the labor fakers. Scharrenburg, erstwhile member of the Seamen's Union, thrown out of there by the membership, and present secretary of the California Federation of Labor:

Scharrenburg's Attack

"The Sailor's Union has deliberately and flagrantly violated every agreement signed with the shipowners since last year's strike and has repeatedly expressed bitter resentment when urged to respect such agreements.

"Only by a prompt declaration of war on the wrecking crew can we hope to re-establish the reputation of our international union as a responsible organization.

"One or more charters must be revoked. . . I have weighed all objections and realize fully that Bridges' maritime federation will doubtless go to bat for the union or unions that have their charter revoked."

One thing becomes clear here: due to the militancy of the seamen and their vigorous defense of their living standards, they are under attack, not only of the employers, but also of the labor "leaders." The convention of the International Seamen's Union, in session at the time of this writing, will be the scene of an attempt of the reactionaries to either emasculate or expel these militant locals.

The Maritime Federation, founded in struggle, and much more amenable to mass pressure than the robot-like unions that once existed on the waterfront, is a constant threat to Scharrenburg and his ilk.

Again we repeat what we stated a few weeks ago: The struggle of the seamen can be won, if properly supported by the Maritime Federation! Unqualified support to the seamen, without any "ifs," "buts," or "insofars!"

Tampa Defense to Hold N. Y. Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

Miami meeting of the A. F. of L. Executive Board to crack down on the Tampa vigilantes by threatening to remove the next A. F. of L. convention from Tampa unless workers' rights are protected and the Ku Klux murder gang brought to book. President Green of the A. F. of L., due to the intervention of the joint committee, has already issued such a threat, and many local and international unions are known to be in favor of enforcing it.

President Heaton of the Florida Federation of Labor, a political job-holder under the Democratic party, is trying to sew up the convention from Tampa. Efforts will be made to get the Industrial Union group in the Executive Council to take a firm stand against Tampa. It is expected that Norman Thomas, who is chairman of the joint committee, will have an opportunity to address the Council on the subject.

The joint committee now has a pamphlet in the press relating the story of the Tampa crime against working class organizers. It will sell for 2 cents per copy and may be ordered in bundles at low rates from the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 22 East 17th Street, New York City.

The Political Committee of the Workers Party calls on all members to push the sale of the Tampa pamphlet, to get their unions and other organizations to go on record in support of the workers of Tampa. All New York members should do their utmost to build the Hotel Delano meeting so that the reactionaries of Tampa may know of our solidarity with the workers of that city.

Under the Banner of Lenin

(Continued from Page 1)

workers are seeking a new path. The imminence of war is arousing a still wider circle. A revolutionary impulse to oppose the war and the treacherous policy of supporting "sanctions" is particularly noticeable in the ranks of the Socialist workers and the Socialist youth. But a revolutionary policy cannot be confined to national grounds. The fight against war is inconceivable except as an international struggle. And this struggle in turn requires an international organization.

Will a revolutionary struggle against war be conducted by the Second International? Or Stalin's Comintern? Or the two "organically united"? Whoever preaches any of these ideas deceives and misleads the workers. A serious and consistent attitude toward the question of war is possible only for those who visualize an international struggle and an organization capable of conducting it. The question of the international is not something superfluous to be taken up later at leisure; it is the heart of revolutionary policy. In 1914, after the betrayal of the social democracy, Lenin began his struggle against the war with the call for a new international! The revolutionists of the present time must do likewise.

The reaction against Leninism, which has been synonymous with the reaction against the October revolution and the idea of an international revolution, has brought great defeats to the working class of the whole world and a frightful disintegration of the workers' organizations, including the organizations of the vanguard. The struggle for a revival of the Leninist, that is the revolutionary, movement is a struggle against confusion and demoralization. Made-to-order substitutes for the revolutionary strategy of Lenin appear on every side. The renunciation of Leninism has become a fashion. Stalinism not only confuses and demoralizes those who remain under its direct sway, but also many of those whom it repels. Herbert Zam, like numerous others, who long mistook Stalinism for Leninism, in reacting against certain aspects of the former has discarded the cardinal teachings of the latter. The formula for this back-sliding in the most fundamental question of our epoch—the question of the international organization of the vanguard—is the spurious, soul-saving formula of "unity."

In his recent polemics against "Trotskyism" Zam develops his conception of unity as a fetish. From all the vast and rich experiences of the past 21 years, which include the betrayal of the workers in the world war, the consequent split in the international labor movement, the Russian Revolution, the formation and later downfall of the Comintern, the terrible defeats of the later period—from all this vast experience Zam arrives at one basic conclusion: The Second International, splattered with crimes and betrayals and firmly controlled by incorrigible reformists who are "organically" united with their respective national capitalists, is the only possible International. The failure of the "Trotskyites" to appreciate this, their insistence on the necessity of a new international, condemns them to the futile existence of an isolated "sect," says Zam who has appropriated for himself the masses in the Second International. In the Socialist Call, Jan. 4, he writes:

"The central fallacy of the Trotskyite position (aside from all other considerations) is that it ignores the instinctive desire of the working class for unity, a desire which followed a series of defeats to which disunity was a strong contributing factor. The Trotskyite remedy for the present situation is the formation of new parties and a new International—that is, new splits on a national and international scale. But this formula flies in the face of the desires and the interests of the workers, including the advanced workers in the Socialist and Communist parties."

If we may be allowed to say so, the central fallacy in Zam's position is that it ignores historic facts as well as the "interests of the workers." We cite a few: The labor movement of Europe was united in the Second International on August 4, 1914. The united organizations of the social democracy only served to paralyze the masses and plunge them into the imperialist slaughter. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks who had SPLIT with the social-patriots, stopped Russia's participation in the war and made a successful revolution! The revolutionary advances of the European workers in the post-war period coincided with deep splits between the revolutionists and reformist agents of the capitalists, the formation of new parties and the rise of the Comintern. One of the few countries—Austria—which retained its "unity" almost 100 percent on a social democratic basis, succumbed to ignominious defeat despite the heroic resistance of the Socialist workers at the last moment.

Zam implies that Lenin was wrong in 1914 when he called for a rupture with the social-patriots of all countries and doubly wrong when he formed the Comintern in 1919. We do not think so. It is false to put the question of "unity" as an

Plan Appeal in Scottsboro Case

(Continued from Page 1)

ferred to the Federal courts, Osmond K. Fraenkel of New York and Clarence Watts of Huntsville, Ala., defense counsel, said they would seek a change of venue. Hearing on this motion was set for Jan. 16. At the same time it was learned that the defense contemplates a direct appeal to the Federal courts to take jurisdiction from the state courts if the motion for a change of venue is denied.

The first action by defense counsel in the Scottsboro case was taken Monday in a motion demanding a transfer of the trial from the Alabama to the Federal Court on the ground that the state statute forbidding more than one change of venue prevents the defendants from obtaining a fair trial. The motion was filed by attorney Watts of Huntsville, a member of the state legislature, who has been retained as co-counsel by Samuel Liebowitz.

Liebowitz holds retainers from all the Scottsboro boys and now has complete charge of the case. The I.L.D. is out in the cold.

SUBSCRIBE TO NEW MILITANT.

abstraction, as a fetish or sentimental ideal. The unity of the proletariat is undoubtedly necessary for the victory over capitalism. But that is not achieved at one step. For the workers to become united FOR THEIR OWN INTERESTS they must break with the bourgeoisie and take the road of the class struggle. That means they must break away from the influence of the capitalist AGENTS in the labor movement, the social-patriots. Only then can the workers be united in the struggle for socialism. This is the way Lenin put the question of unity and split. The experience of the working class has completely confirmed the correctness of his position.

The unification of the working class for the revolutionary struggle on an international scale is a complicated process. The class is not homogeneous. It has different strata in different stages of enlightenment and development. It has an "aristocracy" which has special immediate interests of its own and advances them at the expense of the whole class. The labor movement has a bureaucracy which, for the greater part, is tied to the capitalists and represents their interests in the ranks of the workers. Then there is the section of class-conscious workers, the vanguard, who understand and represent the general historic interests of the workers as a class. Unification has to begin with them.

The problem of the hour is the unification of the vanguard on the basis of a revolutionary program. That can only be an international program—no other is or can be revolutionary in this epoch—and the organization can only be an international one. So Lenin posed the problem in 1914 when the collapse of the old International became manifest. So we, following Lenin and faithful to his precept and example, pose the question today.

The Third International in its first four congresses under Lenin compressed the fundamental strategy of the proletariat into a number of documents, theses and resolutions which, in all the essential parts, still retain their validity. In the October revolution of the Bolsheviks this strategy was illustrated in practice and fully vindicated. It is the mission of the Fourth International, which as yet is only a program and project of a section of the vanguard, to carry the same revolutionary struggle through to the final victory.

The work for the Fourth International is work in the spirit of Lenin. The unceasing struggle for the regroupment of the vanguard under the banner of the Fourth International, on the way to the unification of the working class for the revolutionary assault against the capitalist order, is the sign that Lenin is alive in the work of his disciples. To take part in that work is the way to commemorate his name.

West Coast Ship Tie-up

(Continued from Page 1)

through the picket lines of any union, and above all, not the Industrial Union which has acted as unionists should by walking out in solidarity.

The Industrial Union's Record

The Industrial Union is comparatively new, not much over a year old. In Camden, N. J., the union carried on a hard, brave battle last year. It was denied admittance into the A. F. of L. because of the craft unions' stand. (Over twenty craft unions claim jurisdiction over work in repairing and constructing ships.)

On the west coast the union is not in the Maritime Federation. It has consistently attempted to join the federation but the influence of the craft union affiliates of the Maritime Federation (Machinists, Scalers) has kept them out. Bridges, who is under Stalinist influence, proposes that the Industrial Union give up jurisdiction over certain key crafts (caulkers, machinists and boiler-makers) and the depleted remnants would then be taken into the Maritime Federation. The union stands solid for its industrial form, however, as the only organizational setup able to cope with the present day shipbuilding industry and protect the interests of the employees.

Although outside the A. F. of L. and the Maritime Federation, the union has won the admiration of all unionists, by its class conscious attitude as well as its advanced organizational form. It has scrupulously observed all union picket lines. It has joined in acts of solidarity, of which their actions of support of the Machinists is the latest. It joined the one day memorial strike and parade on July 5, in commemoration of two strikers who had been killed by the police in the strike of 1934. It downed tools in the half hour general strike of last month which succeeded in winning freedom for the four union scalers on trial for their lives.

Dangers to the Strike

There are a number of dangers facing the strike:

First, the strike was called at a time when the majority of the men have been long unemployed. They may be starved back to work. They must get the help of the entire labor movement of the west coast so as to be able to feed themselves and their families. This help must be forthcoming regardless of the fact that the Industrial Union (against its wishes) is outside the A. F. of L. As a matter of fact, the ship-

yard workers are pioneers in forming a true industrial union, and because of this reason must be supported to the utmost, for a defeat for the Industrial Union of Shipyard Workers would be a defeat for the cause of industrial unionism.

A second danger comes from the company union. The bosses, fearful of the growing power of the Industrial Union, have taken steps to organize a company union. These company union men, who form a very small group, are waiting for the picket lines to weaken in order to go back to work. They must be educated as to what unionism is, but they must be kept out of the yards.

Craft Unions Threaten

A third danger, which is very great, comes from the direction of the bureaucracy of the craft unions (there are, as we have remarked, 20 such craft unions claiming jurisdiction over different parts of shipbuilding and repairing work). The craft union picket leaders may offer their services to the employers, saying, "If you do not come to terms with us, you will have to come to terms with the Industrial Union." The employers' first preference would be no union at all, but rather than have the Industrial Union they would be sure to come to an agreement with the craft unions. They may sign with the craft unions, making a little improvement in wages and conditions for a small minority of the skilled craftsmen, and take back whatever little they give to the skilled by doubly exploiting the less skilled sections. The men must be prepared to fight for their industrial union to the finish.

The machinists' officials, we must report, have, in spite of their word, signed an agreement with the General Engineering and Drydock Co., without consulting the Industrial Union. The Industrial Union is at present holding conferences with the General Engineering and Drydock Co., but if the Industrial Union cannot come to an agreement with the company, they must force the Machinists to live up to their promise to support the Industrial Union. The latter will most probably, in the event that no agreement is reached, throw a picket line around the General Co., keeping out the Machinists, as well as others.

The rank and file of the Machinists will undoubtedly support the Industrial Union in this action.

All support to the striking west coast shipyard workers, who represent militant industrial unions, striking at the boss as one man unlike the antiquated and impotent craft unions!

Members of the Maritime Federation: Support the move for admittance of the Industrial Union to the Maritime Federation!

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

SPEAKER: MAX SCHACHTMAN

SUNDAY EVE. | IRVING PLAZA HALL
JANUARY 19th | IRVING PLACE & 15th St.