

NEW MILITANT

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End of the Blue Buzzard

(Continued from Page 1)

triumph of the point of view. The question here was not an issue between the capitalist class and the working class, but an issue between two groups within the capitalist class.

The Supreme Court said in effect that the U. S. is not yet ready for the social and political structure foreshadowed by the NRA, even though it might have to make use of it to pull out of an emergency. It invalidated the NRA on the grounds that Congress had unconstitutionally delegated legislative powers to the President and attempted intra-state regulation of the relations between employees and employers. The specific grounds are not important, since the Court can always find legal justification for whatever suits the requirements of the dominant capitalist grouping. Nevertheless, they serve to indicate the still immature character of the developing crisis of U. S. capitalism. Finance capital does not yet need a radically new departure. There is now a breathing space, with the old ways, the "Constitution," for the time being "vindicated." But during the breathing space the historical contradictions will ripen further. The Blue Eagle has not gone forever. Like the phoenix, a new and greater Blue Eagle will begin before long to rise from its ashes. And the new Eagle will conceal beneath its wings the Fascists and the Swastika. For Fascism is the necessary capitalist solution to the historical crisis of the capitalist system.

From a survey of the role of the NRA, the central lesson—or, rather, double lesson—emerges:

The workers must defend their rights and advance their demands by militant struggle, by their own independent class actions. It was the misleaders of the workers, above all the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, and not primarily the NRA itself, who permitted the last two years to pass by without advances on the part of the working class. They put their faith in Section 7a, in Roosevelt, in Labor Boards, in "the government." And—not surprisingly—the government of the capitalist class used every one of these agencies to beat back the workers. That is what the government is for. Now, following the Supreme Court decision, the bureaucrats are once more flying to the government, and "demanding" the Wagner Bill, the Guffey Bill, a "new NRA."

In contrast, the answer of the working class to the decision must be a repudiation of this parliamentary horse-trading, whose only possible effect is to befuddle, weaken, and lead aside the working class from its proper business.

The answer must be: Organization, strikes, discipline, militant struggle. The working class has no friend and no support other than its own organized strength. This is what it must learn from its experience with the NRA.

The second, more fundamental, lesson is in fact the central lesson of our entire historical epoch. The NRA proves once more, openly and dramatically, that there is no way out for the working class other than through the socialist revolution. No capitalist "solution," imposed by the capitalist government, can possibly benefit the working class. All such solutions at the present time can only prepare the way for the final capitalist solution—Fascism. The only government on which the working class can rely will be their own government. The independent struggle of the workers to defend their economic and social rights against the capitalist regime must lead to the political struggle of the working class for state power.

This is the lesson of the Blue Eagle.

A Shady Adventure

The recent attempt of David Lasser, Chairman of the Workers Alliance of America, to gather recruits for his organization in territory in West Virginia where for more than two years unemployed leagues affiliated with the National Unemployed League have carried on effective militant activity, met with a cold reception from West Virginia workers. This does not change in any degree the disruptive character of Lasser's adventure.

When the W.A.A. was founded this winter at a conference of certain state and local officials of unemployed organizations, its leaders insisted that it was in no sense an attempt to build an organization "dual" to the N.U.L. Resolutions looking toward conferences for setting up a single, unified organization of the unemployed were carried. W.A.A. officials have recently called certain conferences to discuss his question of unity and of united action.

When the leader of an organization making these professions runs away in the very midst

of the crisis created by the new works relief program, from his own local organization in New York City which has as yet gathered in only a handful of the unemployed of the Metropolitan, and apparently carefully avoids the many states and localities in which practically no unemployed organization exists, to attempt an invasion of territory already very effectively covered, he is guilty of playing on the deep-seated desire of the workers for unity for sectarian purposes, and at the same time creating conditions which bring about division and not unity. It would be hard to find in the whole history of the labor movement of the United States a more flagrant and inexcusable instance of "dual unionism."

The Workers Party stands as always for united action of responsible unemployed organizations for special ends by agreed-upon methods. It supports the N.U.L. in its oft repeated demand for a single unified unemployed organization democratically controlled by the rank and file, as against a loose federation created and controlled by a top leadership. Because of our profound concern that solidarity in the face of the common enemy be achieved, we call upon the executive of the W.A.A. as well as the Labor Committee of the Socialist Party, under whose direction we assume Lasser is working, to repudiate the action we have referred to and to see to it that no similar adventures are indulged in in the future. We believe that all unemployed organizations ought to record their condemnation of such tactics in the most emphatic manner.

We agree furthermore with the N.U.L. that it is time for the W.A.A. to make plain whether it has entered into an agreement with William Green and the A. F. of L. officialdom generally, with regard to unemployed work, and if so what are the terms of this agreement. Unity of the workers, employed and unemployed, is not the same as collaboration with the top officialdom of the A. F. of L. which is itself committed to a policy of collaboration with the employing class and the capitalist government.

The Wagner Bill

The Wagner Bill passed the Senate on May 16 and has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Labor Relations. With reasonable certainty it may be assumed that this most bitterly contested proposed legislation will become law before Congress adjourns.

What then?

Will it meet the same fate at the hands of the nine judges on the bench of the U. S. Supreme Court as did the NRA or will it become one of the means, by virtue of its compulsory arbitration provisions, to help start the American working class on to the road of rebellion?

In the bitter contest that has raged pro and con around this proposed Bill is reflected the great paradox of highly developed industrial America and the retarded political development and union organization of its working masses.

It is true that the Wagner Bill provides for the establishment of an independent labor board; it provides for the outlawing of company-dominated unions and requires collective bargaining in which the representatives of a majority of the workers in any plant would speak for all the workers. These are the provisions that are being condemned by industrialists as a government imposed closed shop. They are not inclined to yield even an inch of ground to labor.

The faint-hearted fraternity of reactionary labor leaders take the opposite stand and hail the Wagner Bill as the Magna Charta of labor while fully understanding its compulsory arbitration features. This is not the expression of the paradoxical position of today for in regard to this point they are heart and soul with the industrialists. They could wish for nothing better than the kind of legislation that would help them put a stop to the prospective strikes which they dread even more than do the hard-headed exploiters who are determined to fight the issues out boldly and brazenly.

The real significance of the Wagner Bill lies not in the provisions that ostensibly outlaw the company union but in what follows. This is the compulsory arbitration features. It provides for the creation of a National Labor Relations Board, composed of three members to be appointed by the President—Section 3 (a)—None are to be appointed by labor. It provides that "the findings of the board as to the facts, if supported by evidence, shall be conclusive." In its clause (f) under Section 9 the Wagner Bill provides that labor disputes shall be placed under the jurisdiction of Federal District Courts, and it expressly prescribes that "the jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the U.S."

If any more proof be needed of the compulsory arbitration features of this Bill it would be necessary to mention only the provisions for punishment of what is called "unfair labor practice affecting commerce." Translated into common everyday language this could hardly mean anything but strikes.

The NRA has been declared unconstitutional in all its code provisions. Insofar as its celebrated Section 7a is concerned, the collective bargaining clause, chairman Biddle of the present Labor Board has already recommended that it be scrapped because of the Wagner Bill being on the way. This Bill is now about to reach its final reading in the House. To the workers it will represent a contradiction

Muste Speaks for Communism on Radio

(Continued from Page 1)

colleges, universal insecurity among industrial workers, farmers, small business people, professionals, curtailment of liberty and the exercise of severe and brutal repression against efforts of the masses to right their wrongs.

This appalling contrast between what might be and what is does not, in our opinion, spring from superficial causes. It arises from the nature of the economic system—capitalism—under which we operate.

"A revolution in technology has occurred since 1789 and is still in process. Steel, automobiles, electric light and power, are produced and distributed not by individuals in individual enterprises, but through socialized, 'cooperative' enterprises. Ownership and control, however, of these enterprises, and with it the right to make profit from them, to exploit the labor of those engaged in them, is still on the same individual basis, operated under essentially the same legal and political system as in 1789. It is just as impossible for this antiquated system of private ownership and profit to function, to supply the needs of the population today, as it was for the feudal slave-holding economy in the Southern states to continue to do so in 1860. The sys-

tem acts, obviously as a brake upon production so that, as the phrase goes, you have "want in the midst of plenty."

"If, therefore, the workers and farmers of the United States under the political leadership of the Workers Party were to come into power, they would take steps to end immediately private ownership and control over natural resources and over the plant for production, distribution and communication which their toil and skill have built. Ownership and control would be vested in society represented by the new Workers' State. The owners, so-called, would not receive 'compensation.' It is the workers and farmers, not the industrialists and financiers who have been coming profit from their toil, who have 'compensation' coming to them! The new state will as a matter of fact take whatever measures may be necessary to make it impossible for the old owning class, the czars of industry and finance, to get back into power. All inhabitants, however, who are not engaged in organizing resistance to the new regime and trying to restore the old order of special privilege, insecurity and war, will have their opportunity to do useful social work and to share in the products of that work.

by the fact that while it presumably recognizes their right to collective bargaining, outlaws company unions, etc., it attempts to shift the fate of all the conditions of the workers in industry and in union organization from the field of battle in strike struggles, where the workers have their real strength and where militancy counts as an important asset, to the decision of labor boards and judges of the capitalist courts.

Needless to say the final decisions by the courts will be properly backed up by policemen's clubs and steel helmeted soldiers. In this is concealed the attempt to completely disarm the workers. Hence the joy of the reactionary leaders who prefer this means of taking off from their shoulders the responsibility of the old time crude betrayals which are becoming increasingly dangerous to their salaried positions.

But if and when enacted, this Bill will reflect a yet greater contradiction in the American scene. The workers have already learned some bitter lessons of what they can expect from industrial disputes referred for settlement to labor boards; and to the capitalist courts. The cleavage that is developing out of these experiences between the working masses, who have nothing to lose but their chains, and their union officials who try to sit on the safety valve to prevent an explosion, is bound to increase with an ever growing speed.

More conclusive proof will be at hand to convince the former that regardless of the latter it will be necessary to rely only on the kind of relations with the employers that they can establish and enforce through union organization and through the welding of their strike weapon. Not the reliance on governmental legislation but on their own militant action should be the watchword.

The Franco-Soviet Alliance

(Continued on Page 4)

thrown, is no imperialist policy pursued; only there can and does a natural policy of peace exist.

The task facing the workers in the capitalist countries, therefore, is an enormous intensification of their efforts against the coming imperialist war. The only preventive for war is the extermination of imperialism itself. Nothing short of that can be effective, and all phrasemongering about "disarmament," the League of Nations, "arbitration" and the like is so much dust in the eyes of the masses calculated to facilitate the work of the warmongers.

To exterminate imperialism, however, the working class must follow a policy of intransigent class struggle against its classic enemy. It cannot for a moment relax its vigilance. To every militaristic and war step of every imperialist power, the working class must consistently reply: "Not a man, not a penny for imperialist war!" In every war that breaks out despite the efforts of the working class, the latter must be prepared to utilize the crisis of the capitalist rulers in order to change the imperialist war into a triumphant battle of the workers against the exploiters, for their overthrow and for the establishment of the workers' republic which will truly bring an end to war and suffering.

This is the position taken by the Workers Party. It is identical with the position taken by all those parties and groups throughout the world with which our party is associated in the work of welding together the vanguard of the working class into a new and genuinely revolutionary world movement—the Fourth International.

The position of the Socialist parties, and of their International (the Second) is just the opposite. Just as in 1914, they are now talking about supporting the so-called "democratic" capitalist countries in the coming war with the Fascist countries. And just as in the last war, they will sit by quietly while the democratic rights of the workers—the right to free press, free speech, free assemblage, to organ-

ize, to strike—are destroyed by the very "democratic" governments which they are supporting.

"Citizenship in the new state will likewise be the prerogative of all who are engaged in useful work, industrial, agricultural, clerical, domestic, technical, professional. The workers of these various categories will be organized in Councils or Unions democratically controlled. They will elect representatives to the higher governing bodies and eventually to the National Council or Congress.

"A National Planning Commission, with subordinate and cooperating commissions in various industries and localities, will be established. Its business will be to plan for the most efficient production of goods and services of all kinds, to utilize fully the many inventions and discoveries already available but held out of use by their owners because no private profit can accrue from them at present, to set the scientists and technicians to work freely and with adequate resources in order to plan for still greater efficiency in the use of our resources and thus for greater abundance of leisure as well as goods. It should be added that the Workers' State will envisage not only national but international planning. National boundaries are artificial and restrictive today as state boundaries had become in 1789, and

socialism is in essence an international, a world economy. 'Every effort to establish "planned" production under private capitalism breaks down, since the warfare between rival capitalists in a nation and capitalist groups in different nations disrupts such efforts.

Obliterating Insecurity

"The removal of the brake of private ownership which shuts down factories, plows under raw materials and stifles the scientist and technician, and putting in its place the social, that is, scientific, use of natural resources and the productive plant, will mean an immediate and substantial improvement in the standard of living of the masses. That improvement can be continuous. The specter of insecurity will be removed. The undemocratic economic domination of the few over the many will be at an end. No one can predict the cultural 'advances' which may follow this release of the human spirit. On no other economic basis can the 'American dream' of liberty, equality and fraternity be realized under the conditions of modern life.

Like every ruling class, the present capitalist class will seek to maintain its power. In the period of its rise and expansion capitalism could accumulate profits and also raise the standard of living of the masses. In the present period, as is clear enough on the face of it, it can no longer do this. Profits can be made only by fiercer exploitation, cutting down the living standards of the masses, taking away even such concessions as were previously made.

"Since capitalism must keep pushing the standard lower and lower, it must eventually seek to destroy every vestige of democratic rights, every means of resistance that farmers, workers, small business men, etc. may have. For obviously no matter how meek, peaceful, conservative an organization of these elements may be, at some point it will try to resist the imposition of further impoverishment and distress. To maintain their system, the capitalists will then seek to destroy any such organization in utter disregard of law, constitution and bill of rights. In other words, capitalism can save itself in the present period only by the resort to Fascism. Under these circumstances to assume that democratic processes will be maintained is an ostrich policy. Unquestionably the struggle and strikes of the workers against impoverishment and injustice which now goes on daily will have to be waged ever more intensely and on a broader front, becoming eventually a struggle against the economic system as such and against the government which resists even moderate adjustments as witness the Supreme Court decision on NRA and becomes more and more openly an undemocratic agency of oppression. The choice is between Fascism and revolutionary action for a new social order.

The Choice for All

"To those elements in this country who are well aware from their own experience that something is radically wrong but who hesitate to face the clear and drastic alternatives, we point out what has happened to similar groups and classes in Germany and elsewhere. They espoused Fascism because they wanted an improvement in their standard of living; they are being beaten down to the level of bare existence. They desired security; and they have insecurity. They wanted national self-respect and peace; they are being rushed down the precipice to war. They wanted freedom and recoiled from the 'regimentation' which they were told would obtain under socialism or communism; they have gotten the extreme of regimentation. They wanted a life based on the old virtues, and recoiled from the march forward to a new culture; they have gotten all the indecencies of Hitlerism. They wanted to go back to the 'good old days' before the war; they are being swept back to the middle ages, to barbarism, to savagery. Capitalism today means retreat, reaction, Fascism, war, the collapse of civilization. The one road to security, to peace, to freedom, to cultural advancement is the road of the workers' revolution.

"This is your choice—capitalism which means reaction and chaos or a Workers' World which means a higher level of civilization and culture."

Drive on Pro-Labor Professors Spreads

(Continued from Page 1)

of Dr. Hallett. The local unions are requesting their international to take action. If Dr. Hallett is not soon reinstated, the Central Trades and Labor Council will appeal for aid to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor.

The Pennsylvania Unemployed Leagues, in which Dr. Hallett is also active, announced today that if Dr. Hallett is not reinstated before June 10, graduation day at Cedar Crest, the Unemployed Leagues of Lehigh, Northampton and Carbon counties will throw a mass picket line around the college. Dr. Hallett has asked the Non-Partisan Labor Defense to rally support of labor organizations nationally.