

To Hear Mini Case

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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 sentence. 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

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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 on 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
Audience: Workers Party

Maritime War Looms

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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

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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

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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, splintered 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

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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.

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

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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, Sealers) 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 sealers 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.