



# UMW Gives Blank Check To Roosevelt

## District Autonomy Is Blocked By Lewis Union Machine

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The United Mine Workers convention held here has adopted policies reflecting the basic aims and purposes of John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. leadership. They indicate the trends that the C.I.O. movement will follow in the coming period.

Although over 200 resolutions were introduced asking for the right to district autonomy (the right of districts to elect their own officials) the Lewis administration was able to forestall the introduction of this elementary democratic procedure by pushing through a spurious "compromise" resolution.

In the compromise resolution passed, the majority of the districts which are in dispute were given the right to elect vice-presidents and other minor officials, but the key posts of president and secretary-treasurer are still subject to appointment. Lewis intends to continue his iron-hand control of the miners' union.

### For Roosevelt

Faith in Roosevelt was the keynote of all political speeches delivered and a special resolution of unqualified support to F.D.R. and his policies was unanimously approved by the convention. No mention was made of the role of Roosevelt in the "Little Steel" strike betrayal, nor of the action of the miners' executive board condemning the role of the Federal Government at that time.

The Lewis machine squashed any rumors about beginning a "third party" movement. Labor's Non-Partisan League was praised and its policies approved. The C.I.O. intends to use the League as a buffer force between politicians and not for independent political action by the working class, the speakers indicated.

The need for fighting against wage-cuts was realized and emphasized by Lewis in his opening address.

### High, Wide and Handsome

The salary of Lewis was raised from \$12,500 a year to \$25,000, while Vice-President Phillip Murray and Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy get increases to \$18,000 a year from their present pay of \$9,000. At the last convention Lewis dramatically refused a wage increase because \$12,500 was enough. The time for that sort of demagogic apparently has passed.

The reactionary A.F. of L. Executive Council was put squarely on the spot by Lewis in his offer of unity between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L.

Lewis said the C.I.O. would be willing to march as a whole into the A.F. of L. on Feb. 1, with A.F. of L. charters given to all C.I.O. unions at once; or, if the A.F. of L. wanted, it could march as a whole into the C.I.O. which would give charters immediately. A convention of the united labor movement would then decide any question raised by jurisdictional claims, etc.

### Unity Approved

The convention approved this offer of unity.

The size of the convention and the power of John L. Lewis were impressive testimony that the backbone of the C.I.O.—the miners' union—was intact and that by A.F. of L. bureaucrats that the C.I.O. is a "merging passing phase," is sheerest nonsense. The C.I.O. is still the powerful, historically progressive movement and the miners' union is its stronghold.

### Widick Flays Hague

(Continued from page 1)

support to this struggle since it spells the beginning of Hague's end as the pompous, "I am the law" political over-lord," Widick emphasized.

"Hagueism is a classic example of American politics. Hague is a supporter of Roosevelt, along with most reactionary democratic politicians. His outrageous political activities are possible because he has the united support of the Chamber of Commerce and sweatshop owners, who are willing to pay a high price to keep Jersey City labor unorganized so they can continue to exploit them mercilessly."

"The answer to Hagueism is a union organization drive conducted on the lines of the Crucible strategy, and independent political action of the working class to combat him on the political field," Widick said.

# Progressive States Win In Lundeberg Victory

West Coast Seamen Show Their Determination To Follow Militant Leadership By Casting Huge Vote

### By Glen Trimble

SAN FRANCISCO.—As usual on the West Coast, the Sailors' Union of the Pacific has taken the lead in blazing the progressive trail. The results of the annual elections overwhelmingly favor amalgamation of the unlicensed seamen into a united, industrial union affiliated to the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast. This decision was outstanding in a general landslide for the progressive candidates and policies backed by the militant group headed by Harry Lundeberg.

In one of the largest votes ever cast, the West Coast's Stalinized C.I.O. took a terrific drubbing despite an intensive, expensive and vicious campaign which involved the expenditure of thousands of dollars on radio broadcasts, leaflets, pamphlets, "mass meetings," and so on. Every ounce of "C.I.O." talent was mustered but the S.U.P. membership again proved its title to the rating of most advanced section of the working class in the Western United States by discounting the flood of hostile propaganda and attack and holding to a genuinely militant course.

### Reactionary Squabble

The amalgamation resolution read: "Are you in favor of the amalgamation of the unlicensed seamen as divisions of a single, united, independent industrial union of West Coast seamen, affiliated with the Maritime Federation of the Pacific Coast?" Two thousand three hundred and eighty-two sailors voted yes; sure, defeated every Stalinist candidate for individual office, allowing them only three out of ten on the executive board in a proportional representation election.

Clearly, the days of Stalinist disruption in the San Francisco labor movement are numbered!

## Police Terror In St. Louis Strike

### Ford Workers Fight Provocations; Union Men Arrested

ST. LOUIS.—The vicious tie-up between the management of the St. Louis plant of the Ford Motor Co. and the St. Louis police and relief agencies has been thoroughly demonstrated to the striking Auto Workers here by this time. The U.A.W. strike, forced on the union by company discrimination against militant workers in rehiring, has been on since the last week in November.

Bert Gantner, personnel director of the Ford plant, accompanies the police every time the union headquarters are raided and selects for arrest whatever members he wants detained. He then directs the examination and questioning of the arrested men at police headquarters. It would be superfluous to say that the police never trouble themselves about warrants in making their illegal raids.

### Provocateurs At Work

Strikers applying for relief are forced onto WPA jobs, though ordinarily relief applicants are not handled in this way. This method naturally diminishes the number of strikers available for picket duty, and active union work.

A number of acid-throwing cases, in which new Ford cars and even some Ford scabs have been the targets, have occurred recently and naturally have seriously injured the union's popularity. There is little doubt that these incidents are the work of agents-provocateurs, and the union members are leaving no stone unturned to find the actual aggressors. Naturally, each such event is the signal for mass arrests of union members. Absolutely no evidence has been found to link any unionist with these tactics.

### Publicity Backing

Unfortunately for the cause of the strikers, the strike bulletin which was published for two weeks has been allowed to drop, and the union, taking no advantage of the lessons of the big gas house strike here a few years ago, has been forced to see its fight presented to the public only by the capitalist press, where the facts are consistently sensationalized and garbled.

The necessity of active publicity presenting the union's case correctly, both for the sake of the morale of the men and that of the union's sympathizers, has not yet been grasped by the union leadership, which otherwise is waging a courageous fight against serious obstacles.

# Lundeberg Hits Back At Charges

### Denounces Slanderous Accusations Made Against Seamen

WASHINGTON.—Appearing recently at the hearings of the Copeland Committee Harry Lundeberg, militant head of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, registered a vigorous protest against the establishment of a Maritime Mediation Board as proposed in Senate Bill 3078. He scored the flood of false propaganda charging American seamen with being "undisciplined" and inefficient, declaring it to be not only untrue, but "camouflage to cover up the real reason for the sickness of the American shipping industry."

"In the last few months," Lundeberg said, "the seaman has been constantly accused of lack of discipline, insubordination, and bad performance aboard ships. This publicity has been carried on through the newspapers, leading magazines, and statements by various people in public office to such an extent that by now the front pages of the nation's papers are covered with stories about the 'undisciplined' American seamen, etc., which in their language is ruining the American Merchant Marine. We know that these stories are not based on fact but on assumptions."

Cites Federal Laws  
"As a matter of fact, the United States federal laws take ample care of the handling of 'undisciplined' seamen. If a man refuses duty on the high seas on American ships he can, according to the laws, be prosecuted for mutiny, which carries a sentence of from three to five years. Secondly, before an American seaman goes to sea today, he must sign articles before the U.S. Shipping Commissioner with a government certificate, called the 'Certificate of Efficiency.'

He cited the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. "This in itself," he pointed out, "takes care of any undisciplined crews. In fact, in our opinion, as we stated when we appeared before the House Committee on Merchant Marine last year, this is too severe a law.... We maintain that the Department of Steam Boat Inspection Service has more than enough power to invoke discipline under this act, and that thereby anyone accusing the seamen of lack of discipline, is in reality accusing the Department of failing in its duties."

### Grounds of Opposition

The opposition of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific to the Mediation Board was based, he said, on the following reasons:  
"1. It takes from the workers their most important means of protection: strike action.  
"2. It delays for months the settlement of grievances.  
"3. It will ultimately put the sailors in the same category as the seamen of Italy, Germany and Russia, whose right to economic action has been completely taken away from them and consequently their conditions are not what they want, but what have been forced upon them by edict.  
"4. We, as seamen, believe we should have the same right as other American workers, the right to have a direct voice in the determination of our own working conditions."

### Defends Union Power

"5. Seamen are entitled to the prompt adjustment of grievances by means of direct negotiation. But all experience has shown that negotiations can be fruitful only if the unions have the power and freedom to back up reasonable demands by strike action. This proposal would tie up the adjustment of the most pressing grievances in so much red tape and involve so many delays as to be tantamount to a virtual stoppage of the right to strike. The American seamen can never agree to such an infringement of their rights."

"6. Furthermore, the adoption of this proposal, with its provision for endless delays would involve the industry in prolonged periods of unrest and uncertainty injurious to normal functioning and to the morale of the seamen. Drawn-out delays in the adjustment of grievances would tend to demoralize the workers and lead to all kinds of sporadic actions beyond the control of the unions."

# Party Resolutions

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT and the S.W.P.

The following is the first installment of the resolution on the trade union question adopted by the convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

The most important single field of activity of the revolutionary proletarian party is the trade unions. Unless the party is deeply rooted in the basic economic organizations of the working class, and is inseparably associated with them in their daily struggles, it can be, at best, a literary propagandist group but not a living revolutionary political party of the proletariat, able to lead the latter in the decisive struggle for power. The party that is divorced from the trade union movement and its daily work, is doomed to sterility and disintegration. This is especially true in the United States at the present time.

The outstanding characteristics of the working class movement in the United States in the recent period are the enormous growth of trade union movements which now embrace millions of workers never organized in the past; the development of the C.I.O. as the movement of the workers in the basic key and mass-production industries, organized in industrial unions, as contrasted with the classic A.F. of L. form of craft unions; the violent conflict between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., and the recent trend towards the unification of the two bodies; and the expansion of the powers and role of the federal government as "mediator" in the conflict between the workers and the employers.

Most significant and promising of all recent phenomena in the working class is the speedy growth of the C.I.O. movement among the hitherto unorganized workers.

Essentially the A.F. of L. always was and today especially is the organization of the skilled worker or the aristocracy of labor. With the exception of a few of its affiliates or of certain periods in its history, it pursued a deliberate policy of ignoring the great mass of the unorganized proletarians in the basic industries of the country. So far as organizing the mass production industries was concerned the craft union structure of the A.F. of L. made the achievement of that task practically impossible.

The C.I.O. movement represents a radical break with this reactionary tradition. Under the banner of this movement hundreds of thousands of hitherto unorganized workers have swelled the ranks of organized labor, demonstrating the practicability and even the ease of organizing the masses of unorganized once the doors of unionism are thrown open to them. Moreover, the C.I.O. movement has grown on the basis of the organization of the key and mass production industries of the country controlled by the most powerful financial oligarchs (rubber, auto, steel, packinghouses, etc.). Still more, it has shown that the only possible and feasible means of organizing big industry and of preserving the unions is the industrial, or vertical structural form.

### Industrial Union an Essential Form

Contrary to the obsolete craft union structure of the A.F. of L., which is thoroughly reactionary and divisive, the industrial union corresponds entirely to the modern organization of industrial life, made possible by the tremendous technological progress and consequent levelling of skilled workers to the plane of semi-skilled or unskilled. Finally, the organization by the C.I.O. of the unskilled mass production industrial workers, the most poorly paid and the least subject to petty bourgeois influences, produced a decisive change in the social composition of the organized labor movement.

Up to that time, the latter was dominated overwhelmingly by the labor aristocracy, closely interwoven with the bourgeois political parties, and presided over by a reactionary bureaucracy which never encountered any really perilous proletarian opposition in the ranks. Now, the organization of several million truly proletarian elements into unions drastically alters the relationship of forces in the organized labor movement. The unskilled, truly proletarian forces are the predominant element in the union movement for the first time, and thus constitute a formidable power not only against the conservative labor bureaucracy but also against capitalism itself.

This is already indicated by the fact that, immediately upon their organization into unions, and despite the fact that their employers represented the most powerful groups of the bourgeoisie (or rather, precisely because of that fact), these masses in the basic industries adopted the most advanced fighting tactics, encroaching directly upon the "sacred" property rights of the bourgeoisie (sit-in strikes), and conducted their struggles in the most militant and aggressive manner, often in disregard of the restraining hand of the C.I.O. bureaucracy.

It is indicated also by the fact that, scarcely having entered the field of economic organization, they already showed their inclination to arm themselves with independent political organizations as well, to break with the traditional bourgeois parties (which are also the traditional alternatives of the A.F. of L. political policy), and to create their own party. This highly significant political tendency is weakened or checked—but its existence is not disproved—by the attempts of the C.I.O. leadership to direct it back into old party channels or to distort it in labor's camp.

On top of this is the ominous deepening of the new crisis, which weakens labor's hold on industry and foreshadows an employers' offensive to reduce the workers' standards of living, annul all the gains made in the past period, and wipe out whatever union control has been established. The dangers of the crisis are reflected in the mounting sentiment among the organized workers throughout the country for a speedy unification of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. so that labor may be able to present a sorely needed common front against the capitalist class.

in the form of petty-bourgeois Labor and Farmer-Labor parties. All these considerations underline the fact that, on the whole, the C.I.O. has been and remains the more progressive force in the organized labor movement.

The growth of the C.I.O. movement has not, however, eliminated the A.F. of L. as a factor in the labor movement. Quite the contrary. The A.F. of L. has not only succeeded in maintaining virtually intact all the forces it had after the departure of such C.I.O. organizations as the United Mine Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers but has even registered an increase in membership, in vitality and even in strike activity. The unionization of the American working class in the recent period has not, by and large, taken place in one section at the expense of the other, but has proceeded along parallel lines, both in the C.I.O., which has recorded the greatest and most significant gains, and in the A.F. of L.

The preservation and even growth of the A.F. of L. is accounted for by number of important factors. In the first place, it still remains the organization primarily of the skilled workers, the aristocracy of labor. The A.F. of L., furthermore, is the "traditional" organization of union labor, with strong craft traditions. In many industries and trades, its solidity is based upon the fact that it has regular contracts with the employers. Moreover, its main basis is constituted by more or less stable unions of long standing, having a strong apparatus, regular dues systems, and ample treasures, a firm bureaucracy, regulated local and national organizations, with their own regular meetings, conventions, elected officials, etc., etc.

### A.F. of L. Also Using Industrial Form

In addition, under the irresistible influence of the patent successes of the industrial form of organization, certain sections of the A.F. of L. and its bureaucracy have relented from their stiff insistence on the craft union form of organization and organized new unions on an industrial basis. Finally, the fact that the once apparently unhalting sweep of the C.I.O. has been checked, and even driven back by the employers, has served to strengthen the feeling among certain sections of the working class that the A.F. of L. is not outlived and can be utilized as well as or even better than the C.I.O. for the defense of labor interests. The flagrantly undemocratic system of leadership instituted by the C.I.O. in the new unions organized by it, has also been skillfully exploited by the A.F. of L. bureaucracy to its own advantage.

A whole series of circumstances has now brought prominently to the fore the question of the unification of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. The main responsibility for the split two years ago unquestionably lies on the shoulders of the A.F. of L. bureaucracy. By its reactionary control of the labor movement, the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. sought to stifle every attempt to modify the obsolete craft union structure upon which it is based, and actively sabotaged all efforts to organize the unorganized, especially in the mass-production industries, on an industrial, that is, on the only conceivable basis.

The formation of the C.I.O., its fight against the Green-Wall-Frey machine, its decisive plunge into the work of organizing the masses of the unskilled in the key industries, were progressive steps and more than warranted the active support given by the revolutionaries to the C.I.O. as the progressive section of the labor movement. In its fight against the C.I.O., the leadership of the A.F. of L. played a disloyal and reactionary role. Instead of facilitating the work of organizing the big industries of the country, it stood in the way at every turn, joining in the union-breaking chorus of the employers and their apologists. In many cases, the A.F. of L. leadership even resorted to downright strike-breaking in an effort to stem the sensational advances made by the C.I.O.

However, notwithstanding the wide rift that developed between the two sections of the labor movement, there are now strong forces at work for their unification. The setbacks suffered by the various sectors of the union movement in most recent times has strengthened the feeling that one united organization, instead of two antagonistic ones, would make it easier to win labor's battles against the employers. The defeat registered by the workers in the "Little Steel" and similar strikes, has only served to emphasize the need of putting an end to the division in labor's camp.

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### Pressure from All Side for Unity

Contributing to this inexorable trend are a number of subsidiary factors. The Roosevelt regime is not antagonistic to

(Continued on page 4)

# Seamen Stop Stalinists In Union Fight

(Continued from page 1)

they did not take part in the Unity Conference in San Francisco on January 17. Therefore we will have to force them to unite with us."

These arguments were squelched by proof that N.M.U. men sail from the S.U.P. halls; that seamen from all unions were on the beach because of the depression and because winter is the worst time of the year for shipping; that because the S.U.P. wanted unity of the men on the job they went independent so as not to take part on either side of the labor civil war between the A.F.L. and C.I.O. on the Pacific Coast, and that the S.U.P. has always united in action with all seamen against the bosses or the government.

The final motion that passed was to rescind the "civil war" resolution, ask for a statement from the S.U.P. on their policy toward N.M.U. men on West Coast ships, and refer any action on this matter to a referendum vote of the N.M.U. This

### Revolt Crystallizes In Newsstand Union

# Real Plan Behind Reubens Case Now Becoming Clearer

By Junius

One relation of Mr. Earl Browder to the impending "Robinson-Rubens" frame-up, which is already clear, and which he wishes could be kept obscure, is the contribution of his party to the groundwork of the frame-up in the United States. All trials have led to the door of the Communist Party, and some behind the door, nine floors up. Despite the reticence of Mr. Hull and Mr. Yezhov, which was absolute this week, new facts that point in the same direction continue to come to light.

Mr. Browder has another relation to the case through his politics, which today consist chiefly of "struggling against Trotskyism," and "implementing Roosevelt's Chicago speech." The Communist Party, however, is a feeble arm to wield such a big speech.

Franklin is implementing it himself with Uncle Teddy's big stick: the billion dollar armament program. No one is better aware of the feebleness of 13th Street's blatant jingoism than its absentee proprietor, Stalin himself. But the Stalinists have other methods of "implementing" speeches: the spy scare and the program against "foreigners."

## Browder's Japanese Scare

In a most candid statement of the war program of the Communist Party, Mr. Browder in the current *New Republic* advocates a Soviet-American alliance against Japan. He says that a continuance of weakness at Washington will cause Japan "to take over the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam and Alaska, as guarantees against the future, when the United States might dare to fight. From that it would not be a large step to recall how much more successful are the Japanese than Americans in cultivating the beautiful and rich lands of California." Any Jew in Rumania today could tell you what that means.

Browder's chauvinist remark "implements," in addition to Roosevelt's, a recent speech of a Vice-Commissioner of the G.P.U., who declared that California is overrun with Japanese spies. The Japanese-in-California crack is a tip-off to the "Robinson-Rubens" frame-up. Double R will supply the link in the Trotsky-Mikado formula. The locale will be California.

## California Setting

There are of course both Trotskyites and "Trotskyites," as well as Japanese in California. According to the 1930 census (not a 1917 Baedeker), about 70 per cent of the Japanese in America are concentrated in California, and fully 90 per cent on the West Coast. And anyone who has a slight acquaintance with that part of the country knows how rampant is the anti-Japanese chauvinism. The soil is rich, as Browder says. A hotel in San Francisco, Los Angeles, or San Diego looks like a better proposition than the Bristol in Copenhagen.

Another time we will take up the deeper implications of the Browder remark and the frame-up, in the matter of national minorities. Abandoning principle, the question of whose minority rights the Stalinists will champion and those they will attack becomes one of expediency. Italians and Germans may come next. And who can say for sure that it will never be expedient for Browder to unload even those racial groups that have no mother country?

## Is Stalin Rebuffing U. S.?

The Soviet action in rebuffing the State Department's attempt to visit Mrs. Rubens is remarkable in view of the enthusiastic efforts of the Stalinist government to court the "democratic nations," especially the United States. That Stalin should risk the loss of much of the good will obtained through the 7th Congress of the Comintern and reactionary moves on all fronts, by treating the United States like hostile Fascist Germany in a case involving an American citizen is, at first blush, inexplicable.

Perhaps the G.P.U. has been caught in its own trap. Refusing the interview strains diplomatic relations; but permitting it might expose the magician of the Moscow Trials, and strain everything.

If a trial is held, it may be taken for granted that Stalin will attempt to recoup his diplomatic fortune by "involving Americans for the apparent be-

Frame-up Artist



ANDREY VISHINSKY

## Roosevelt War Speeded Up By Naval Budget

(Continued from page 1)

## Realize Mass Opposition

Roosevelt is aware that the masses are opposed to his imperialism. The Gallup Poll showed at least 60% of the electorate favoring withdrawal of U. S. forces from China, and an equal percentage in favor of the Ludlow amendment. The masses are hostile to the League of Nations, and the whole idea of "collective security." But the forces of jingoism, militarism and social-patriotism are intent on swinging them into line.

The Japanese are counted on to assist. There will be more Panay incidents, and a few more U. S. diplomats will stick out their chins to be slapped. The American war front is forming: the sixty families, the economic royalists, Landon and Knox, the Nation and the Daily Worker, William Green and Lewis, Heywood Broun and Barney Barnum, Nicholas Murray Butler and Earl Browder.

## Browder's Fair Fields

Browder salutes the "President's declaration of a positive peace policy" more lyrically than anybody. Debating with Charles H. Beard in the *New Republic* he openly undertakes the defense of American imperialist interests and colonies. He conjures up the possibility of the Japanese seizing Guam, the Philippines and Alaska. There is a throb in his voice, as he envisions the danger confronting "the beautiful and rich lands of California."

We must not, he suggests, encourage the enemy by giving them a picture of an America sharply torn by class struggle. There is little that can be added by way of comment to "expose" Browder. The Stalinist agents of imperialism proceed so brazenly now that their own statements are the plainest avowals of their treason. Browder in the U. S. loyalty follows in the path of Social Democratic allies in France and Czechoslovakia who vote the war budgets without a quaver.

The greatest of all the lies which Browder uses to trick his own following is the distinction between "aggressor" and "non-aggressor." In 1915 Lenin wrote: "The truth is that for decades three highway robbers, the bourgeoisie and the governments of England, Russia and France, were arming to sack Germany. Is there anything surprising in the fact that two highway robbers launched an attack before the other three got the new knives they had ordered? Is it not sophism when the phrases about the 'initiators' are used to obliterate the equal guilt of the bourgeoisie of all countries?"

The State Department in the "Robinson-Rubens" affair is evidently out to catch as big a fish as it can. It is releasing only such data as it finds advisable to release. The impression already given by the bourgeois press, is that the political left is composed of conspirators, chiefly foreign, engaged in shady rackets—a variation of the impression Browder seeks to create. But Washington may try to turn the affair into a scandal of the left with a plague on all its houses, including the one with the American flag and the red light. It may sometime release information on its findings; but pressure must be brought to get this information released now.

The labor movement can look for trouble in the "Robinson-Rubens" affair from Mr. Browder and both governments. From Moscow the spy scare frame-up. From Washington the "alien agitator" campaign. From Mr. Browder a continuance of his Yellow Peril.

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## Stolberg CIO Articles Faulty In Analysis

(Continued from page 1)

breed. Broun picks one flaw in an effort to discredit the main import of the articles.

## Unprincipled Opposition

It is a fact, testified to by the minutes of the International executive board meetings, that those "oppositionists" to Martin, Mortimer, Reuther, etc. (Stalinist stooges of the Broun variety) have voted with Martin on all important union questions since the convention last fall! That is why their "opposition" is unprincipled.

In the recent Pontiac sit-down, the entire executive board approved of Martin's actions and criticism of the rank and file that had been goaded into a sit-down by the company. Incidentally, on all these questions, the Lovestoneites went along as appendages to the Martin machine.

The pitfalls of liberal analysis are clearly indicated in the Stolbergian evaluations of the C.I.O. top leaders. Dave Dubinsky was called a "shrewd politician, a hard bargainer, as tough as honest, and full of fun." At whose expense, we might ask? What about the Dubinsky who fought the left-wing for years? Hillman, according to Stolberg, is "almost the opposite of Dubinsky. He lacks Dubinsky's good humor, his tough and homely democracy."

"Hillman's fault is his self-estimation." Yes, yes, but what about the internal situation in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union? Remember what Hillman tried to do to Joseph Schlossberg because Schlossberg would not go along with the Roosevelt election campaign?

## Weaknesses Ignored

Stolberg, throughout his series, said nothing about the fatal weakness of the C.I.O., its bureaucratic structure. In his desire to protect the C.I.O. from vicious outside opponents and from the insidious Stalinists, Stolberg did some unnecessary "white-washing" of the leadership.

John L. Lewis deserves credit for promoting industrial unionism as C.I.O. chairman, as Stolberg pointed out. But that does not excuse his faults. The Ohio district miners are still fighting for the right to elect their own officials. And when are the steel workers going to

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## SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. II. NO. 6. Saturday, February 5, 1938

Published every week by the

SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.

at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Telephones: Local Office: GRAmacy 5-9142

National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6

months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order

3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made

out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1,

1937 at the post office at New York, New York,

under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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## "Fugitive From Justice"

Immediately upon the announcement that the Massachusetts authorities had arrested Fred Beal and held him for extradition to North Carolina where a 20-year prison sentence awaits him, the *Daily Worker* labelled Beal a "fugitive from justice."

Those three words reveal a depth of degradation that has rarely been reached by a paper claiming devotion to the cause of labor.

From what "justice" is Beal a fugitive?

Beal and six of his fellow unionists were framed up and sentenced in September 1929 to long terms of imprisonment in a lynch court in North Carolina for the simple and sole reason that they had led the unspeakably exploited textile slaves of Gastonia in one of the most magnificent and heroic strikes the Bourbon South has ever seen.

Upon the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of which the defendants were members, they forfeited their bail and fled to the Soviet Union. After they had left, the *Daily Worker* of August 27, 1930, wrote:

"They are quite justified in escaping from the vicious sentence imposed upon them, by placing themselves beyond reach of the Southern capitalist class justice.... The working class as a whole should glory in the fact that they got away. The workers should support their escape despite the howls of the bourgeoisie.... Let the bosses take the bail; it is better that they have \$27,000 than the seven Gastonia fighters serve 117 years in their prison."

Why were none of the Gastonia defendants "fugitives from justice" in 1930? Why does the *Daily Worker* join in 1938 with the "howls of the bourgeoisie" in demanding that "Southern capitalist class justice" be given its victim, Fred Beal?

Because Beal has committed the greatest crime imaginable in the eyes of the Stalinists. His residence in the Soviet Union made him an opponent of the Soviet bureaucracy.

That is the only reason why the Communist Party in this country would like to see him pay the penalty of imprisonment for his devoted working class activity among the textile workers.

And in order to get their revenge, the Stalinists sink to the lowest level of the traitor: They blow the whistle to call the cops against a militant worker! Like stool-pigeons, these eminent defenders of the reactionary Southern courts put the finger on Beal as a fugitive from "justice."

Whoever does not feel a shudder of revulsion at this latest display of Stalinist ignominy, is lacking the elementary spirit of working-class solidarity. To those still imbued with that spirit, who still work in the great tradition of defending the victims of American class "justice" from the days of the Haymarket martyrs to the days of Sacco and Vanzetti and Mooney and Billings, we once again call for an iron ring of protection around the imperiled militant, Fred E. Beal. Let the united front of the Stalinists and the cops be broken by the united front of the entire working class.

## Another Frame-Up

The International Furriers' Union is run by Mr. Ben Gold and the other Stalinist leaders just as Turkish Walis managed a province under the bloody Sultan. They are now adding to their repertoire of domination the methods of the Moscow Frame-Ups.

The Stalinists in the furriers' union have been feeling the ground shift from under them. In New York, the biggest center, there is a rising movement of revolt by progressives, especially among the Greek workers. Gold and Co. have therefore proceeded with an attempt to frame-up the leader of this opposition on the charge of being a stool-pigeon and the like. Now they are trying a similar stunt in Toronto.

Max Federman, vice-president of the International and manager of the Toronto furriers' locals, is being framed by the New York union leaders on the charge of embezzling funds. At a joint meeting of the two Toronto locals at which the charges were heard, the membership voted overwhelmingly to acquit Federman. The Stalinist officials have nevertheless taken action against him.

Federman, who has in the past worked harmoniously with the Communist officials, is nevertheless a member of the Left Poale Zion in Canada, a radical Jewish workers' organization. His crime apparently consists in not being a 100 per cent Stalinist, ready to take orders and give them in accordance with the bureaucratic decisions of the Stalinist leaders. Too popular to be replaced, he must needs be framed-up and driven out of the labor movement.

How much longer will the workers tolerate this infamous crew of Stalinist character-assassins and the policy of totalitarian rule in the labor movement which they follow at the behest of the anti-Soviet bureaucracy of the Kremlin? The Federman case again shows the need of burning the Stalinist cancer out of the working class and its organizations.

## The Ludlow Amendment

The Appeal has pointed out that regardless of the faultless intentions of the supporters of the Ludlow Amendment for a popular referendum on war, especially of the masses of the people who see in it a way of preventing the American war-lords from hurling the workers and farmers into a new imperialist slaughter, we cannot become the advocates of the Bill. And that for the simple reason that we regard it as another of the many pacifist illusions by means of which the masses are distracted from the only means whereby imperialist war can be fought, namely, the continuous prosecution of the class struggle against the system which inevitably breeds war.

For those who consider the Ludlow Bill a guarantee against the United States government launching a war without sanction from the people, we recommend the following comment by one of the prominent advocates of the amendment, Mr. A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Writing in the official organ of the United Automobile Workers (January 15, 1938), Whitney says:

"As I interpret this Amendment, our government would still be free to pursue a vigorous international peace policy. There is nothing in the Ludlow Amendment that would prevent our ships from turning their guns on attacking planes, just as was recently done in the Panay incident on the Yangtze River. There is nothing in the Ludlow Amendment that prevents the vigorous defense of the Monroe Doctrine. There is nothing in the Ludlow Amendment which would prevent Congress from spending 100 per cent of our national income for defense purposes. Under the Ludlow Amendment, Congress could even conscript American citizens in contemplation of a conflict. Our warships may continue to be manipulated in peace time just the same under the Ludlow Amendment as at present."

To imagine that after all such preparations have been made for a new war, the imperialist masters of the country would hold off final action because of a "scrap of paper," is simply to drug the masses into the paralysis of false security. That's the trouble with the Ludlow Bill.

## People's Front Balance

## The Promise:

"The People's Front Government in France will smash Fascism. The People's Front in France will guarantee democracy. Through democracy the masses will go forward to socialism."

## The Reality:

Four years ago the masses, by their own spontaneous action, had the tiny Fascist groups on the run.

Today, every one who knows anything about France admits that the Fascist movement is stronger, larger and more aggressive than ever.

Early in 1936, the masses struck by the hundreds of thousands and by their own action and solidarity obtained considerable wage increases, the 40-hour week, and union recognition.

Today, the wage increases have been wiped out by the rise in the cost of living and the government is preparing to smash the 40-hour week in cahoots with the employers.

In 1936, the Unions grew to enormous proportions. Today, a Fascist trade union movement is gaining ground for the first time, based on the demoralization and disillusionment caused by the treacherous People's Front regimes.

The first People's Front government early in 1936 was overwhelmingly Socialist, with the capitalistic Radical party playing a background role, and Blum as premier.

The second People's Front government marked a shift to the right, in favor of the capitalist parties in the cabinet, although Blum remained premier.

The present, third People's Front government has shoved the Socialists out completely, made Chautemps, a capitalist politician, premier, and marked another sharp shift to the right.

That is how the People's Front in practice, in reality, "stops" Fascism and "leads to socialism."

## The "New International"

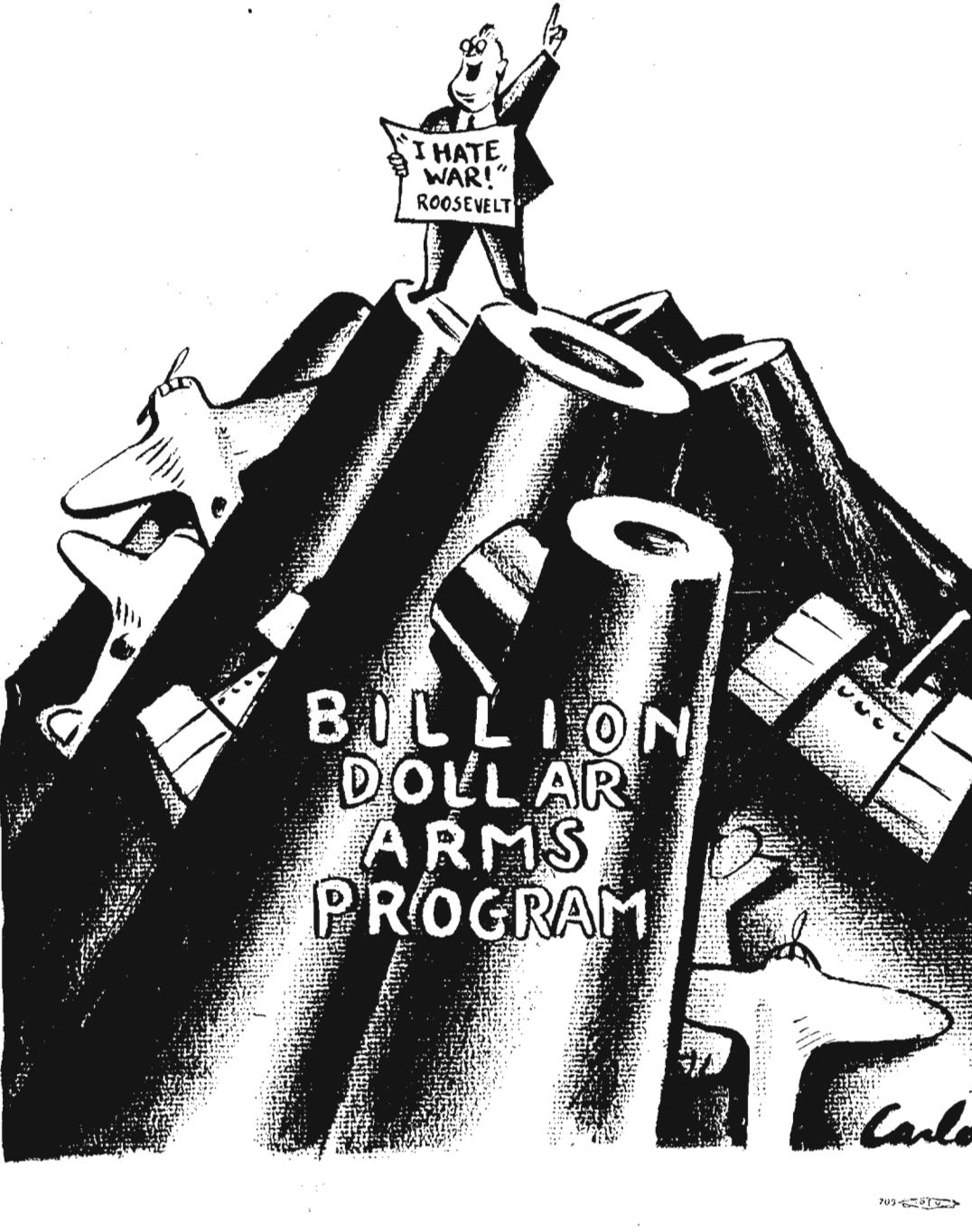
The February issue of the *New International*, which has just appeared, inaugurates a new and valuable feature, a Review of the Month by the Editors. The bulk of the Review this month is devoted to a survey of the record of the New Deal, Roosevelt's course during the "recession," and the administration's war preparations as revealed in the new defense appropriations. Especially impressive is the lengthy analysis of the Ludlow amendment and the debate which has raged around it.

Also pertinent to the present American scene is James Burnham's article on "Roosevelt Faces the Future," which casts a balance sheet of Roosevelt's class record and points out the trends toward political realignment and third-party formations in connection with the 1940 elections. The editors announce a series of articles by Burnham on American politics, the next to be concerned with the Labor Party movement. The timely article by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, on the foundation of the new party, and George Novack's study of "Marx and Engels on the Civil War," round out the material relating to the national scene.

International events are covered by Alfred Rosmer's comments on the impasse of the French Popular Front, and Felix Morrow's review of the current crop of books on the Spanish civil war. Much historical material, hitherto unavailable, is furnished by Trotsky's "Two Letters on the Question of the German October," which relate to the German events of 1923, and the extracts from John G. Wright's study of the controversial Kronstadt revolt.

The chief difficulty with the *New International* is a purely technical one: the limitation of space. Articles on many important subjects—the murder of Corcoran, the anniversary of Lenin and Luxemburg, the Brandler-Thalheimer position on the Soviet Union, the Mexican situation—were crowded out of the present issue, as were many important reviews. Support for the subscription drive and an increase in circulation will pave the way toward a larger and still more useful *New International*.

## The Peace-Loving President



## Browder Defends Imperialism

By James Burnham

When Marxists state that Stalinism now functions in the world labor movement as a counter-revolutionary force, as the chief obstacle in the struggle for workers' power and for socialism, there are still, of course, many who do not believe them. There are, for example, honest members and sympathizers of the Communist Party itself who think that this is altogether sober and scientific analysis of the Marxists in the slander and ravings of "mild dogs." Such persons are compelled by their own conscience to think in this manner.

They differ in their whole moral makeup from the cynical, depraved and shameless bureaucrats who actually run the Communist Parties of the world. In their own hearts, they sincerely want socialism; and they believe that the only road toward socialism lies through support of the Communist Party, which they mistakenly look upon as the heir to—instead of the most bitter enemy of—the October Revolution. If they understood the true role of Stalinism, they would abandon it overnight. That is why we must dissect every concrete manifestation of Stalinism, in order to remove the false outer skin and lay bare the internal decay.

**WAR QUESTION IS DECISIVE**

It will need no argument to prove that today the war question is the decisive question. Since it is the decisive question, the answers given to it provide the surest touchstone to the character of every political movement. To anyone who doubts what the Stalinist answer is and means, the *New Republic* of February 2 offers an easy and spectacular way of clearing up those doubts.

In this issue of the *New Republic* there is published a debate between Earl Browder and Charles A. Beard on the general subject of "Collective Security." I plan, on another occasion, to analyze Browder's arguments in this debate, as well as those of Dr. Beard, and in particular to discuss the whole conception of "collective security." I wish, in the present article, to consider merely the point of view from which Browder writes.

Naturally enough, Stalinists pretend to their own followers that they write from the point of view of the international proletariat. Even a brief survey of Browder's article in the *New Republic* can demonstrate beyond any doubt that he is reasoning and writing from the point of view of the defense of U. S. imperialism.

**BROWDER SPEAKS FOR ROOSEVELT POLICY**

In no line does Browder even suggest that his policy is a working-class policy, or an independent policy of any kind. He himself speaks openly for Roosevelt's policy. The cover of the magazine correctly reads: "Earl Browder—for the President's Policy." Clearly, then, Browder writes "in our country the task is to or-

ganize effective support, behind the President's policy, of the 27,000,000 who voted for him in 1936." Replying to Bruce Bliven's objection that his policy is peculiarly "Russian," Browder says: "We will not quarrel with Mr. Bliven as to how the policy could be best 'framed in American terms'; we are willing to leave that to the President...."

The President, according to Marxism, is the chief political executive of the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, in this country. Browder, by his own words, accepts the war policy of the chief executive of the bourgeoisie, accepts it one hundred per cent, and is willing to leave its fuller formulation altogether to that chief executive.

**WOULD SUPPRESS LABOR'S STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITAL**

In Browder's article, the class struggle—according to Marxism—the motive force of history, from an understanding of which all Marxian analysis of all social and political problems proceeds—is mentioned only once. There is no word of the class struggle in the discussion either of the causes of the cure for war. On the one occasion where the class struggle appears, it is cited as one of the major weaknesses of the United States against Japan; and it therefore follows, as a factor which must be overcome if an "effective peace policy" is to be achieved.

**ROOSEVELT WILL SAVE HUMANITY**

The most startling and naked of all the sentences in this remarkable article is, however, the following: "Only the courageous implementing of the policy laid down by President Roosevelt in Chicago can save our country, and all the capitalist world, from unparalleled reaction and catastrophe." Criticism itself becomes tongue-tied when faced with such a remark.

Whom is the working class called upon by Browder to save? He answers: "Our country, and all the capitalist world." And what must this capitalist world be saved from? He answers: "From catastrophe." But what is catastrophe for the capitalist world? Catastrophe for the capitalist world is, and is only the socialist revolution. Browder's entire article is summed up in this clarion call: join with me to save capitalism from the socialist revolution.

(This article is the first in a series of four on the New Republic debate between Earl Browder and Charles A. Beard. The remaining three will discuss the origin and meaning of "collective security"; Dr. Beard's "isolationist" reply to Browder's advocacy of collective security; and the Marxist answer to "collective security." —ED.)

## Party Resolutions

## TRADE UNION MOVEMENT and the S. W. P.

(Continued from page 2)

unity, but rather favorable. In its systematic work of preparing the country for war and extending the militarization of all institutions, it understands that the trade unions can be more smoothly coordinated into a war machine if friction in their ranks is eliminated and if they are a single unit led and controlled by a single reactionary leadership.

In addition, a certain section of the employers is exerting pressure in the direction of unification because it finds the "raids" conducted by the C.I.O. on the A.F. of L., and vice-versa, with their consequent effects on industrial production, to be more unprofitable to the employers than dealing with a single, conservatively-led union would be. The financial drain upon both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in the violent struggles against each other, are also a factor of some influence in bringing unity closer to realization.

Finally, the original point in dispute, namely, the question of organizing the mass-production industries on an industrial (vertical) basis, has already been settled by the realities of the auto, rubber, steel, electrical unions now in existence and functioning. Not even the most hardened Bourbon of craft unionism in the A.F. of L. leadership would seriously propose today to dissolve the United Automobile Workers, for example, into the 22 craft unions which existed under the Green dispensation prior to the C.I.O.'s advances.

Apart from face-saving considerations, the principle of industrial unionism, at least as applied to the mass-production industries, may be considered generally acknowledged throughout the organized labor movement, and reluctantly accepted even by the Green-Wall machine. What stands chiefly in the way of the successful conclusions of the unity negotiations now under way, is the struggle for power in the united organization between the old A.F. of L. and the new C.I.O. bureaucracies. The main point in dispute is not the right of industrial unionism, but such a form of re-unification as will give the one or the other bureaucratic machine the greatest number of supporters and the upper hand in the united organization.

Our party, together with every revolutionary and class-conscious worker, takes a clear-cut position in favor of the earliest and completest possible unification of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., and also the hitherto unaffiliated Railroad Brotherhoods. The only condition, practically speaking, under which such unity would be a step backward would be one binding the former C.I.O. unions to abandon the industrial form of organization and to divide themselves into scores of impotent craft unions. Unification on such a basis is, however, scarcely conceivable.

Unity would be a tremendous step forward for a number of reasons. The united trade union membership in the United States today is the largest ever reached in all its history, far larger than at the post-war peak. Unity of all the unions into one, would mean a common, organized union front of approximately 8,000,000 workers, with a tremendous attractive power for the still unorganized, with almost inexhaustible forces capable of withstanding the offensive of the employers and of advancing aggressively the demands of the workers on all fronts. The unification would overcome the present, thoroughly reactionary division between the unskilled, proletarian elements in the unions, on the one side, and the skilled labor aristocracy on the other. Finally, a united union organization is, in general, a better field for the work of the revolutionary vanguard than a union movement divided against itself.

The reactionary role which the A.F. of L. leadership has played is clearly established in the minds of the class-conscious workers. From this it should not follow that the revolutionary vanguard makes a fetish of the C.I.O. and worship unquestioningly at its shrine. Prior to the establishment of the unity of the two organizations, which the revolutionists must advocate as their general line, they work in either organization, according to specific local circumstances.

## Unity Must Be On Proper Basis

The revolutionist does not withdraw from a union just because it may be conservative in policy or leadership; on the contrary, such a condition is usually all the greater reason for revolutionary activity in the union, always provided, of course, that the union embraces the decisive sections of the workers (employed or unemployed, as the case may be) in its particular field. But even where concrete circumstances dictate working in an A.F. of L. or craft union, the revolutionary militant must always bear in mind the need of stressing the obsolescence and ineffectiveness of the craft union form and the demonstrated superiority of the industrial form of organization, be it achieved by direct organizing of the unorganized, or by the amalgamation of craft unions already in existence in a given industry.

Although it is impossible for us at the present time to influence decisively the course of events, or to determine the pace and method of trade union unity, we are nevertheless bound to concentrate our propaganda and agitational activity among the workers in favor of the most desirable basis for unity, that is, democratic organization and a wide measure of autonomy for the affiliated unions, especially such a measure as would facilitate the organization of the basic industries into industrial unions and preserve the integrity of those already in existence. Every attempt to carve up the industrial unions into craft formations must be stubbornly resisted as thoroughly reactionary.

While the general line of all militants in the labor movement must be based upon the speediest consummation of unity, it does not follow that