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For the
Fourth International!

Green Backs War Program

AN EDITORIAL

Commenting at Miami on the enormous war budget proposed to Congress by Roosevelt, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor declared:

"I feel that at this period, when we take into account what is happening internationally, we must have confidence in the judgment of the Chief Executive. He must have information on the world situation which we do not possess. It is really the duty of all of us to stand with the President in this trying world situation. If he feels that a billion dollars are necessary to protect America, I feel we ought to support him." (N.Y. Times, January 29, 1938.)

Why Is Information Kept Secret?

In the first place, if Roosevelt has "information on the world situation which we do not possess", why does he not impart this information to the common mortals who have to do the fighting and dying in the war for which he is preparing? And if he doesn't impart it, is it not the elementary duty of a labor leader to demand the information before he asks the workers to put blind "confidence in the judgment of the Chief Executive"?

Why, even such capitalist politicians, progressive and conservative, as Borah, Nye and others, have asked Roosevelt at least to express his foreign policy before he is given a blank check of support!

In the second place, if support to the war program is to be given Roosevelt just because he "feels" that a billion dollars are necessary to "protect" the U.S., then what's the difference between our "democratic processes" and the way things are done under the rule of the Fascist Fuehrer in Germany?

In the third place, why should American labor put even a scrap of "confidence in the judgment of the Chief Executive" of the capitalist class? Has nothing been learned from the confidence in the Chief Executive which Samuel Gompers imposed on the labor movement during the last War to Make the World Safe For Democracy?

No Confidence In Ruling Class

Has the regimenting, conscripting, gagging and chaining of labor in the last war, while the war profiteers became increasingly bloated with blood-stained wealth—all that has all been forgotten? Have we forgotten that the last war for Wall Street was also launched on the pretext of "protecting" America?

Have we forgotten that while we were fighting for "democracy" in Flanders, Mooney was framed up in the United States, the Bisbee strikers deported, labor halls raided, labor papers suppressed, genuine labor leaders imprisoned or lynched, and all democratic rights for the masses suppressed—while Gompers "stood with the President" and with the assistant secretary of the navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt?

The government and the capitalist class it represents cannot plunge us into another imperialist war without guaranteeing themselves the support of labor in advance. Without peace at home—at labor's expense—an effective war cannot be prosecuted. Whoever ties the labor movement to the war program and the war machine, is helping bring war closer; he is handing over the working class, bound hand and foot with fake patriotic slogans, to the war-mongers.

That's the crime of William Green. That's the crime of all the other labor bureaucrats who, like the Lewis machine at the United Mine Workers convention, cheered themselves hoarse for Roosevelt at the very moment when he was launching an unprecedented armaments program.

Forward To The Class War

No confidence in Roosevelt or the government! Confidence only in the solidarity and solidarity and militancy of labor's own ranks! That's the requirement of the hour. If labor relies on itself to defend its own interests, it will save itself otherwise inevitable surprises, disappointments, betrayals.

Not an iota of support to the armaments program for war! We have a war of our own to fight: the war against poverty, suffering and exploitation. That war can be won only if it is fought against the capitalist class and its chief executive in Washington.

Roosevelt may "feel" that a "billion dollars are necessary to protect" American investments and imperialist interests abroad.

But every worker KNOWS that the billion dollars are necessary to protect the millions of unemployed right here from the unspeakable misery they suffer.

A billion dollars for war armaments?

A billion times: NO!

Let us demand that the billion be shifted out of the war column in the budget and into the column for unemployment relief!

'Little Men' Fume and Bluster As F.D.R. Provides Steam Valve

To the tune of shouts, whines, and general thrallo, the conference of a thousand "Little Business Men" last week provided Washington with its most disorderly show of the current season. For two days, these bathrobe manufacturers, country editors, photo supply dealers, salesmen and hardware store owners, wrangled, shouted at each other, shook their puny fists, and struggled hundreds at a time to get the floor. On the third day, a delegation presented to the President a list of twenty-three "demands"—politely worded ver-

sions of "resolutions" issuing out of their mass meeting.

This Conference was a most instructive contrast to the various Conferences of the big business men which had preceded it. The meetings of the latter, the real rulers of American capitalism, were models of order and decorum. There were no yells or rioting. The suave spokesmen gave their dignified generalities to the press in the most gracious manner.

The Little Business Men, alas,

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WPA WORKERS USED FOR WAR PURPOSES

NEW YORK.—The speed with which the government is preparing for the outbreak of war, and the extent to which it is using the unemployed for war preparations, was revealed here last week.

More than 1,000 W. P. A. technicians, laborers, etc. are now employed on the construction of an army land and sea airbase, with 39 hangars, at the Curtis airport on Long Island.

Construction of the base, although technically coming under the jurisdiction of the W.P.A. and being financed with W.P.A. funds, is actually being supervised by the War Department.

The utmost secrecy and precaution enshrouds this "W. P. A. project," with army men imposing a maximum of discipline on all employed there. In line with general plans to complete the airbase within a very short period, the construction work has been put on a 24-hour day, 6-day week basis, with three 8-hour shifts per day.

AUTO WORKERS LEADER SLAMS WAR MONGERS

Homer Martin Exposes C. P. As Reactionary Force In Union

Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, second largest C.I.O. affiliate, rocked the labor movement last week with a devastating blast against Communist Party policy and activity in the union movement.

Amplifying charges made by Benjamin Stolberg in his series of articles in the N.Y. World-Telegram, Martin declared in an interview that the C.P. was working to "involve the United States in war with Japan for the defense of the Stalin dictatorship in Russia," doing this in the name of "collective security."

The Proof

The entire present activity of the Stalinists, who are laboring overtime to line up the workers of this country behind the war plans of the Washington government, proves Martin's point.

He declares that in their effort to plunge the U.S.A. into war against Japan the Stalinists are "working hand in hand" with "certain financial interests." Right again. Regardless of whether an explicit agreement exists, there can be no doubt in the essence of the matter that Stalin's henchmen in this country are serving the interests of the financial oligarchs of Wall Street by their social-patriotic ballyhoo.

Aid Freely Given

The American imperialists need Stalinist cover for their war plans, Stalinist aid to whip up war hysteria, Stalinist aid for war recruiting, and—when war breaks—Stalinist aid in leading the lynch-mobs against the revolutionists. They get it freely and voluntarily, because it is in line with Kremlin policy in this country.

Martin is not correct in saying that "the Communists are Fascists in every sense of the word." True, Stalin has in his dictatorial rule borrowed freely from the arsenal of fascist methods. Hitler and Mussolini, on the other hand, have supplemented their army of repression with methods copied from Stalin. Nevertheless, the aims of the "Communists" and the fascists are different, even though they pursue those aims by more or less identical methods. Responsibility for the current identification of Communism with Fascism rests exclusively at the door of the Stalin regime and its lickspittle agents who defend and extol Stalin's totalitarian barbarism.

"There is a hue and cry about Nazism and fascism," Martin told his press interviewers, "but if any one mentions Stalinism they are immediately accused of 'red-baiting.' We take the position that a political label does not immunize any group from criticism." The Little Business Men, alas,

(Continued on page 4)

Hitler Seeks To Appease Reichswehr

Army-Nazi Feud Breaks Out; Shifts Viewed As Compromise

The chronic friction between the German army officer caste and the upstart Nazi bureaucracy reached the explosive point last week in the summary removal of Marshal von Blomberg as War Minister and of General von Fritsch as Chief of Staff, the shifting of several foreign diplomats, the replacement of Foreign Minister von Neurath by the former ambassador to London, von Ribbentrop, and the assumption of direct control of the armed forces by Hitler himself.

The fact that control of the army was given neither to Goering nor to Himmler, who is head of the private black Nazi divisions, while several of the old-line conservative representatives of the army officer clique have been installed in the new dominant Party Council, indicates that Hitler has sought to mollify both sides by concessions and a temporary compromise.

Rests On Bayonets

The destruction of the mass basis of German fascism has brought it to the position where its rule is based entirely on the bayonets of the Reichswehr, on the one side, and the ambitious mercenaries of the private Nazi army, led by the selected corps of Himmler's Schutzstaffel, on the other.

Having preserved German capitalism by the ruthless crushing of the working class and the labor movement, and prepared the ground for the imperialist expansion of Germany, the Nazi upstarts have continually demanded a greater share of the spoils of rule. Their demands have brought them into more than one conflict with the old governing bureaucracy whom they replaced and with the army machine which is the most reliable prop of capitalist domination.

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Leahy Testimony Bares War Plans Of U.S. Imperialism; Admits Conflict Is Near

FDR 'Talks' For Peace; Fleet Prepares For War

Navy Maneuvers, Alaska Issue, Indicate Trend Toward Clash

Foreign policy, Senator Pittman told the Senate last week, consists of "the actions of a government and not its words."

The actions of the United States Government in the past ten days, reflecting its swift pace toward a showdown against Japan in the Pacific, included the following:

1. Nearly 100 warships and 300 fighting planes completed five-day maneuvers off the southern coast of California.

Pearl Harbor Reinforced

2. The already huge military establishment of Honolulu, key Pacific base of American imperialism, was augmented by 1,000 marines withdrawn from Shanghai and 1,268 men of the regular army sent from the West Coast.

The marines, originally drawn from the San Diego naval base, were ordered to Pearl Harbor instead of back to their original posts. The submarine Nautilus was also ordered to Pearl Harbor for permanent duty there. Only two weeks ago a fleet of 18 huge fighting planes made a record formation flight across the Pacific to Pearl Harbor and more are to follow.

3. Three American cruisers, the Trenton, the Memphis, and the Milwaukee were scheduled to be at Singapore for the ceremony there on February 11 opening the new huge British naval base.

This significant American participation in a naval display obviously aimed at Japan was linked with the secret and still unexplained trip to London of Captain Royal Ingerson, of the War Plans Department of the Navy, last month.

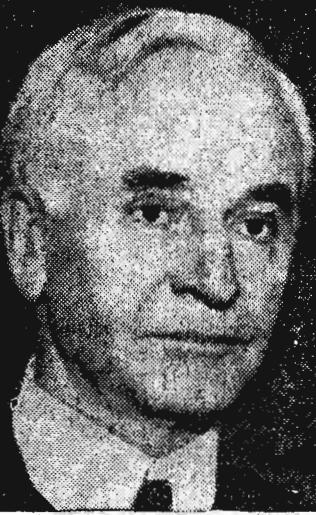
Testifying in Washington last week, Admiral Leahy, chief of naval operations, refused to explain the purpose of Ingerson's visit, which was obviously in order to coordinate possible Anglo-American naval action in the Pacific.

Capital Ship Race

4. Concurrently with Great Britain and France, the United States government on February 6 presented to Japan a virtual ultimatum on the subject of super-dreadnought building above 35,000 tons as the prelude to an undisguised race for naval supremacy.

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Threatens Japan



CORDELL HULL

LINKS POYNTZ TO 'ROBINSON' SPY FRAME-UP

Carlo Tresca Says She Was Abducted By G. P. U. Agent

BY JUNIUS

While Loy Henderson, U. S. chargé d'affaires in Moscow, waited for the G.P.U. "to arrange the time and place" of his interview with Mrs. Rubens, Carlo Tresca, veteran anti-Fascist leader, this week delivered a withering attack on the Stalin frame-up machine charging it with the abduction of Juliet Poyntz, noted Stalinist leader who disappeared last summer.

Tresca offered to go before the Grand Jury now investigating the Rubens passport mystery and to give evidence implicating the G.P.U. in the disappearance of Miss Poyntz.

Linked To Rubens

He also indicated that a connection might be established between the Poyntz disappearance and the Rubens case, which seems about to flower into a first class "spy" plot seeking to involve American Trotskyists (Continued on page 2)

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Just a Police Patrol

The Admiral regarded the navy as a police patrol for the entire western hemisphere. "At our doors nothing stands in the way of possible exploitation or seizure of the Republics of Central or South America except the Monroe Doctrine, backed by such naval forces as the United States may have and the use of that force if the necessity should arise." He asserted that the navy must be "maintained at a strength which will prevent a serious challenge by any nation or nations to any of America's vital national policies."

Admiral Leahy persistently denied that there was an understanding between the United States and Great Britain on naval policy or plans involving joint action in case of war. He said that with the fleet concentrated in the Pacific as at the present time no nation could invade the United States on the Pacific shore. He thought it necessary for the Navy Department to have a force at its disposal equal to the combined strength of the German, Japanese, and Italian fleets because "these nations are in some sort of agreement."

Denies English Alliance

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Leahy's testimony was riddled with such contradictions. After having pointed out that the international war danger and the naval strength of other nations were the prime factors in proposing the huge new naval program, he refused to admit that the new program would have any considerable effect upon the rest (Continued on page 3)

There was no one to intercede in their behalf and so there was no need for any ceremony in dealing with them. They were all, as a rule, accused of espionage. Very quickly followed the arrest of Russians who had married foreigners, i.e., female "spies."

They Just Disappear

Foreign communists disappeared in batches, new ones daily. Two old Polish Communists happen to meet on the street: "You're not in jail yet?" "And you?" Or, another meeting: "You're still in Moscow! I thought you were arrested long ago!" Among those placed under arrest, in pursuance of the line of liquidating the old cadres, was an old Chekist, B. In search for some pretext, they seized upon a denunciation in his case: In 1927, in reply to some denigrating remark about Trotsky made by an assistant of his, B. had said, "Don't you... dare mention Trotsky's name in my presence!" Nothing was made of it at the time. But now, ten years later, he was reminded of his hot-headed action.

After pointing out that the navy was the first line of national defense, he stated that "in defending our territory in war, we cannot assume an attitude of passive defense. Prompt and effective injury to an enemy at a distance from our shores, is the only correct strategy to be employed" in case of anticipated or actual attack. This declaration that the best means of defense was an offensive attack nullified Admiral Leahy's steadfast denial in the subsequent question.

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Crucible Strikers Win Despite Hague Threats

Majority of Points Won After Week's Strike; Kaempf Cheered

JERSEY CITY, N. J.—Organized Labor gained its biggest victory against the anti-union policies of "I am the Law" Frank Hague, boss of Jersey City, when the Crucible Steel strikers won the majority of their demands after one week's shut-down of the plant.

Picket lines were maintained throughout the strike, although Hague has often threatened "drastic action" against any C. I. O. union which organized in his bailiwick.

Leader Gets Cheers

An enthusiastic mass meeting of the strikers voted to approve the terms of the agreement as outlined by the negotiation committee. Cheers for Ed Kaempf, S. W. O. C. organizer, who directed the strike, showed the workers' response to his militant leadership.

The morale of the Crucible unionists had been low in some departments when the strike began. The workers today are the most spirited in the state. Every one of them understands the great chances they had taken when a strike was called in Hague's anti-labor territory.

Visions of police brutality, mass arrests and other means of terrorism stood before the workers throughout the strike. They watched each move of the police with apprehension.

Police Cautious

But nation-wide publicity forced the police to be cagey. The fact that the workers were all Jersey City residents and that the company has an odious repu-

Program Mapped At N.Y.C. Convention

Two-Day Session Opens New Phase of Work For Party

NEW YORK.—The first New York City convention of the Socialist Workers Party met on February 5-6 and made plans for the coming six months. In addition to adopting proposals for each department of work, the convention decided to launch a campaign against Roosevelt's war preparations, linked to a drive for party membership and the increased sale of the *Socialist Appeal*. There were 31 delegates representing 13 branches.

The convention revealed that in the past period, one of reorganization and national and local pre-convention discussions, insufficient attention had been given to popular mass propaganda, distribution of the *Socialist Appeal*, and in general, that the city committee and the organization had not shown immediate responsiveness to issues as they arose.

Better Union Work

Marked improvement was recorded in trade union work. In several unions the Stalinist campaign to drive the militants out of the movement was met with effective resistance and counter-attack. A number of trade unionists were won to the party during this period. The report showed that about two-thirds of the party are members of trade unions.

In the Workers' Alliance, the Stalinist campaign had created a large progressive opposition to People's Frontism and expulsion of militants. In view of increased lay-offs caused by the economic recession, the workers were being pitted against the LaGuardia and Roosevelt administrations—much to the embarrassment of the Communist Party. The convention recognized work among the jobless as a major task in the coming period and adopted measures for the maximum utilization of the situation.

Education Stressed

Plans were also adopted for the extension of educational work, including frequent publication of popular leaflets and pamphlets, a drive for enrollment in the Marxist School, concentration on several local open forums, monthly open branch discussion meetings and the organization of local classes in elementary socialism.

The brightest part of the convention was the report of the Young Peoples Socialist League. Enthusiasm and spirit has marked the work of the YPSL. Continued activity, including an effective anti-war campaign, has resulted in substantial increase in membership, particularly among high school students and Stalinist youth. Steps were taken to insure greater cooperation between the party and youth organization.

Curran Gets N.M.U. To Vote S.U.P. War

NEW YORK.—Some 2,000 members of the National Maritime Union, meeting here February 1, heard the Sailors Union of the Pacific charged with discriminating against East Coast men and demanded if the C. I. O. follows the policies which the steel workers used in the Crucible strike.

Professing opposition to the "civic war" resolution defeated by militants the previous week, Joe Curran, N. M. U. organizer, presented a more "moderate" proposal differing in no essential from the defeated measure.

If within ten days the S. U. P. does not issue a public statement acceptable to N. M. U. leaders, the N. Y. district committee will have power to take the following contemplated steps: (1) Pull West Coast men off East Coast ships unless they take cut N. M. U. books; (2) deny shipping rights to West Coast seamen; (3) open N. M. U. halls on the West Coast.

There was no organized resistance to these proposals of Curran. A barrage of words from the speakers' platform, charging progressive non-Stalinist West Coast unions with wrecking national unity of the maritime workers, caused the militants to weaken, and only a few scattered "noes" greeted the revised "civil war" resolution.

Strike Voted

After weeks of futile negotiations between the Union and the Howard Stores, a strike was voted by the forty-two office workers involved. After picketing a day and half, the strikers were informed by the manager of the Howard Stores that the strike had been called off. Believing this to be a trick, the strikers got in touch with Union headquarters and were informed that as a result of a conference between Lewis Merrill, international president of the Office Workers Union, and the manager of Howard's, the strike had been called off, and that all workers were to go back to work Monday morning.

On Monday, the strikers reported back to work. Instead of all of them being taken back only twelve out of the forty-two were rehired. The rest were out. Upon reporting this back to the Union, they received no instructions to resume picketing. Not only that but the Union permitted the twelve rehired to remain at work. That evening the strikers were told that beginning the next day picketing would again be resumed by the Union.

On Tuesday morning when the strikers reported to the Union office they were informed that inasmuch as a conference between the Union and the employer was scheduled for that day no picketing was necessary. A stormy meeting of all the workers held that evening. The workers were militant, demanding strike action and a fight to the finish until all the workers were taken back.

Try To Discourage

The administration did everything to discourage the workers, pointing out the difficulties of picketing in cold weather, that the Union could not finance the strike, that a continuance of the strike would lead to demoralization, etc. In spite of this, however, on a motion as to how many would picket, thirty out of forty present raised their hands.

Before vote was taken, the organizer read the names of the twenty-one of the forty-two whom Howard was willing to re-employ. The rest would be put in a preferential list and rehired as soon as vacancies occurred. This last move broke the spirit of the strikers and the motion to call off the strike carried.

Strike Is Over

The strike was over, and half the workers were out of jobs. Those remaining on the job were completely terrorized. Since then three additional have been fired, while 17 new workers were hired by Howard from various agencies.

For four weeks following the strike nothing was done by the Union. The strikers were left to shift for themselves. Only when the news leaked out, and the Progressives got hold of the facts did the administration begin to take action and discuss the advisability of taking the case before the State Labor Relations Board.

A policy of rallying all workers to support the strike by having an independent strike bulletin is being urged by progressive unionists. The progressives are pointing out that the fault of the union leadership has been to place the confidence of the workers in the labor board rather than in their own action on the picket line.

Also, unless the Ford strike is won here, it will be more difficult to organize the main Ford plants in Detroit. A victory here would inspire the Ford Workers everywhere.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Monthly Marxist Magazine

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UMW Convention Bans Communists From Membership

Vote Aids Bureaucrats To Act Against Real Militants

Stormy re-affirmation of an old resolution barring Communist Party members from the ranks of the United Mine Workers was given by Lewis' union last week at the closing session of its convention in Washington.

Communist Party spokesman, taking the floor with a plea for "tolerance," was shouted down with cries of "throw him out."

Resolution All-Inclusive

Unlike Homer Martin's attack upon the Stalinists, which centered upon the C. P.'s pro-war policy and specifically stated that the fight against it did not involve undemocratic procedure in the union ranks, the U. M. W.'s resolution was reactionary in character.

The resolution, re-adopted as an article of the constitution, groups the Industrial Workers of the World, the Working Class Union, the One Big Union, with the Communist Party, the National Chamber of Commerce, and the Ku Klux Klan, making no distinction between sincere working class groups and capitalist organizations, or between the C. P. as a pro-capitalist party and the outright organizations of American capitalism.

No Political Motives

Thus, in line with Lewis' traditional policy within his own union, the resolution can, and in all likelihood will, be used as an excuse to bar genuine militants and revolutionists rather than servile Stalinists from the U. M. W.

No attempt was made at the convention to pursue Martin's policy of exposing the Stalinists on the ground of their war-mongering, and support of the Roosevelt re-armament program, as well as their dictatorial rule or ruin policy in the union movement.

Weak-Kneed Defense

Stalinist union bureaucrats immediately took a defensive attitude, either arguing that the U. M. W. has a right to make whatever decisions it desires or refusing to comment at all.

Ford Police Take Over

After the seasonal shut-down, re-employment of the men was taken out of the hands of local management and placed in charge of Ford's private police service directed by Harry Bennett. A flagrant policy of discrimination against active unionists was instituted.

Ford's strategy was to force an isolated strike and then whip the United Automobile workers piecemeal. Yet the auto workers had no other choice but to go on strike against the discrimination or to allow the union to be broken without a struggle. A strike was called.

Escorting scabs into the plants became the chief occupation of the city police. Besides, workers were continually arrested, picket lines broken, strikers framed on false charges, and every conceivable anti-union activity fomented.

Strikers Firm

All the false stories in the press, and the strike-breaking activities of the police, however, have not succeeded in breaking the morale of the strikers. A boycott against Ford is succeeding. Only 75 cars a day are being made in the plant.

Dependence on government agencies has been one of the chief weaknesses in strike strategy. Main emphasis has been placed on National Labor Relations Board hearings which drag out interminably. Even then Ford can ignore the findings, and a policy of militancy must soon be adopted if the strike is not to be lost through stalling around.

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Asks Defense Action

In his statement, Tresca said it was high time for all American radicals who oppose the Stalinists to take "some measure of defense against the terrorism of the Soviet G. P. U."

Party Resolutions

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT and the S. W. P.

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

The militant vanguard must constantly stress the fact that neither industrial unionism nor unity, by themselves, solve the problems of the working class and its struggle. In its way, each is a step forward for labor which facilitates its further progress. Unification is always desirable because it enables labor to present a more solid and effective front. Industrial unionism aids in the development of rank-and-file democratic control and in militant mass action, and promotes the best functioning of the organized workers in the modern big machine industries.

But unless the industrial unions, or the union movement in general, function as class struggle organizations, they present down to the working class no decisive and lasting advantages. Class collaboration under whatever form or structure finally yields only defeat for the working class. The correct basis for the union movement can only be found in the theory and practice of the class struggle, in the widest inner-union democracy, in rank-and-file control, and in a leadership and policies based upon the class struggle and workers' democracy.

Class struggle policies and leadership, and union democracy, are at a minimum in the A. F. of L. and in the C. I. O. The bulk of the leadership of both sections of the union movement have in common the fact that they both serve as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and are the defenders, basically, of the capitalist system. All the difference between the two movements notwithstanding, this common fundamental feature of the leaderships can be ignored only at the greatest peril to the proper orientation of the militant vanguard. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy is the classic representative of class collaboration policies in the labor movement, with its theory of the "harmony of interests" of employer and employee, and the acceptance of capitalism implied in the slogan of a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work". The same bureaucracy has, consequently, not recoil from the most arbitrary and repressive measures against every militant and revolutionary minority that has threatened its rule and its policies.

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C. I. O. Leadership Also Reactionary

Fundamentally, the role of the C. I. O. leadership has been no less reactionary. It has performed the function of steering the spontaneous and independent class action of the workers organized under its banner back onto the road of class collaboration, of employer-employee "harmony," of reliance upon the Roosevelt, i.e., the capitalist government, its institutions and its "impartial mediation." The failure of the "Little Steel" strike only emphasized the ruinous results of this course. The most elementary requirements of strike organization were ignored. No real strike committees or mass picket lines were organized. The workers were not given to understand that the strike was to be a real and vigorous class action and that victory depended upon their own might, their own militancy, their own organization.

Aided and abetted by the Stalinists who follow their line, Lewis and Murray repressed the militant forces in favor of an appeal to and dependence on official action by the president and the governors involved. The idea that Roosevelt, and not the workers, would win the victory for the union, proved fatal, as was to be expected. Class collaboration was carried to the limit of welcoming the Ohio National Guard in Youngstown. The leaders and their subordinates poisoned the minds of the workers with assurances that the governor had sent the Guard to keep the plants closed, and thereby help the workers defeat the employers.

The bureaucratic management of the new C. I. O. unions is notorious. The Lewis-Hillman-Murray clique, aware of the danger to their leadership and policies represented by the mass unionization of the aggressive unskilled workers in the large-scale industries, sought to paralyze rank-and-file control in advance by establishing a bureaucratic guardianship over all the unions they organized. Neither the leadership nor the policies were voted by the union membership. No regular organization has been set up in most cases. Officials are appointed in the worst traditions of the United Mine Workers of America.

Bureaucrats Appointed By Themselves

The C. I. O. itself is a self-appointed committee of leaders which has never been ratified by the rank-and-file. The inability of the latter to determine their leadership or decide upon the policies of the various "Organizing Committees" has already produced a bad reaction in the organizations, manifesting itself in a decline of interest, falling into indifference, reduced attendance at meetings etc. The C. I. O. can be restored to its full strength and effectiveness, and put in a position to exploit all the possibilities of growth before it, only in a relentless struggle against the poison of class collaborationism and bureaucracy, and against the leadership that represents them.

If neither industrial unionism, nor unity, as such, are a solution of the problem, they are nevertheless steps in that direction. The problem itself may be summed up as follows: the triumph of a militant leadership in the unions, basing itself on class struggle policies, union democracy, and rank-and-file control.

Of all the labor political groups in the trade unions today, which is indicated to promote a solution of this key problem?

The Communist Party was once the organizer of the progressive and left wing movement in the trade unions. It has completely abandoned this role today. In the period of its reactionary degeneration, it has been reduced to the position of an agency in the American trade unions, representing the interests and responding exclusively to the commands of the anti-Soviet bureaucracy of the Kremlin.

Stalinists Are Servile Flunkies

Throughout the trade unions, but above all in the C. I. O., the Stalinists are the most servile and venomous assistants of the reactionary bureaucracy. They outshout the most vehement in their advocacy of class collaboration, of reliance on the Roosevelt regime, of subservience to the union officialdom. At the same time, it must be emphasized that they nevertheless have a different basis than that of the C. I. O. or A. F. of L. bureaucracy. The latter, though they act as the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie, and base themselves on bourgeois democracy whose left, reformist wing they constitute, cannot preserve their own power as a bureaucracy without, to one extent or another, preserving its source and foundation, namely the trade unions. Their policies, in the long run, do, it is true, help destroy the very trade unions upon which they rest; but in doing so, as shown, by the German Italian and Austrian experiences, they are themselves destroyed.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, even in the trade unions, is, however, primarily an instrument of the counter-revolutionary Stalin bureaucracy in Russia, and serves its interests first of all. The preservation and advancement of the interests of the trade unions, and the working class in general, are entirely secondary considerations, subordinated to their main function. For them, the trade unions are primarily institutions to be converted into instruments for the People's Front, for the successful propagation of the war of the "democratic" imperialists against the "reactionary" imperialists in defense of the Stalin regime. The most consistent class collaborationists and social-patriots in the working class, and in the trade union movement, are the Stalinists. Hence, they are the most violent and bureaucratic

enemy of all revolutionary and truly progressive forces in the unions. Hence, their chief slogan: "Drive the Trotskyites out of the labor movement," which means, drive out of the labor movement all those who stand for the class struggle, who oppose imperialist war, and the reactionary bureaucracy which is already ready part of the capitalist government machine today and the war machine tomorrow.

The idea that the Communist Party represents a progressive factor in the trade union movement is based upon outworn memories of the past. The C. P. today is a reactionary force in the labor movement and must be dealt with as such. It is a pernicious influence which the vanguard elements and militants in general must fight tooth and nail to eliminate from the working class movement.

Small Likelihood Of Blocs With C. P.

Blocs with the Communist Party in the trade unions are, as a rule, entirely inconceivable for the revolutionary Marxists, and are permissible only under the most extraordinary and exceptional circumstances, and provided only that the utmost vigilance is maintained towards them and the most rigid political independence is insisted upon. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, collaboration with the C. P. forces will prove permissible only under exceptional circumstances where they are part of a much more broadly organized general progressive or left wing movement of which we may also form a part.

In those unions which are under the control of the Stalinists, and in which left-wing minority work is particularly difficult, it is the special duty of the revolutionists to remain doggedly at their task, to avoid and fight against expulsion, and not to leave the rank-and-file under the uncontested leadership of the C. P. cliques.

The Thomas-Tyler-Altmann Socialist Party cannot be counted as a decisive progressive force in the trade unions. The S. P. is a right-wing propaganda sect without direct influence of its own in the labor movement. Wherever individual members of that party occupy official or leading posts, they were gained, as a rule, not by the advancement of a militant socialist position, but as a result of adaptation to the policies and rule of the conservative union bureaucracy. This has, in fact, been the traditional method of "rooting themselves in the unions" pursued by the S. P. reformists.

Even over these officials, the S. P. has no control, nor does it seem to exercise any. Party discipline is employed only against those few rank-and-file militants who do seek to conduct a militant struggle against class collaborationism and bureaucratic leadership in the unions. However, because of the number of rank-and-file S. P. members who are ready to go part of the distance in a consistent struggle for left-wing policies, it is permissible in specific instances and for specific ends.

Reiss Describes Inner Life of Stalin's G.P.U.

(Continued from page 1)

pionage". When his chief, an intimate friend of his, who knew very well this was a lie, was asked how he had failed to notice that S. was a spy, he replied: A spy does not impart his secrets. An important G.P.U. functionary, Sh., was arrested, and, of course, charged with espionage. His wife was immediately thrown out of their apartment. Sh. was a typical G.P.U.er, in the worst sense of the term. Comrades who knew him intimately were in a quandary: Why had this man been arrested? Was it perhaps because he knew languages? Was this perhaps held suspect by the authorities?

In the G.P.U. there worked a German. His fate had long been decided, but for one reason or another he had not yet been arrested. Apparently they were waiting for some suitable trial. A pure-blooded German of the Aryan type, he was admirably suited for the role of a Nazi in some public trial. It was indispensable to "liquidate" him, if only because he was a German. Either because no suitable trial cropped up, or for some other reason, a different method was applied in his case. He was sent to Spain, and disappeared there. In general, it is by no means a rare practice to send people to Spain for the purpose of liquidating them.

Dog Gives Clue

A member of the G.P.U. fails to show up for work. Was he arrested? Worried comrades begin to wonder. No one, of course, dares to make inquiries. There was still hope that X. had gone abroad, where he had done work. Sometime later a friend of his receives a letter from X.'s servant abroad, with an inquiry as to what she should do with X.'s dog. She had written to the master, but received no reply. Thus, because a dog had been left abroad, news of the arrest of the dog's owner arrived in Moscow.

Several years ago, one of the G.P.U. functionaries detailed to "work" on the street and to compile reports about the prevailing moods, in making his report to the authorities was rash enough to say that in re potatoes, things were really very bad. Not potatoes, but some sort of mud. Couldn't something be done about it? He was clapped in jail, and, as is sometimes the case, forgotten. He received no packages, no visits; his relatives were afraid to inquire. A year and a half passed. An investigating magistrate, on finding the case among the old files, proposed in the nucleus that he be set free. (At that time minor cases concerning members could still be brought up in the nuclei.) No decision was reached on the question. The authorities kept dragging the case, but no one doubted that the arrested man would be freed either this day or the next. Presently, some one again reminded himself of the case, and this time the authorities finally decided: To be shot in 24 hours.

To Avoid Fuss

Nowadays they try to make arrests with the least amount of fuss. Men are not seized either at home or in the department—so as not to cause panic. People are not arrested—they simply disappear. For example, a meeting is in session; a man gets up to go to the toilet and does not return. This attracts least attention. No one, of course, asks what happened to him.

After Yagoda's removal and the smashing of the central apparatus of the G.P.U., they began to recall foreign agents to Moscow. As a rule they are recalled by some sort of ruse. For example, X. is informed that he had been compromised and would have to transfer to another country, and "en route" he might drop in on Moscow. U. is recalled on some other harmless pretext. In Moscow, they "disappear."

Arthur Stashevsky worked in Spain ostensibly as a trade representative. But in reality as one of the leading functionaries of the G.P.U. After Tukachevsky's trial and connection with the arrest of Unschlicht and other Polish communists, it was decided in Moscow to recall Stashevsky as well. But inasmuch as his wife and daughter were working in the Soviet pavilion at the Paris exhibition, Moscow was afraid lest he refuse to return. The resourceful minds in the G.P.U. thought up the following stratagem: Stashevsky's daughter (without her father's knowledge) was sent from Paris to Moscow with some exhibits, while Stashevsky himself was called to Paris from Spain. In Paris two surprises awaited him: an urgent request by wire to come to Moscow and the information that his daughter was already there (a hostage). Ac-

Defends Property



JUAN NEGRÍN

Negrín Promises Stern Defense Of Private Property

Frank Interview Shows Who Is Destroying Revolution

The real economic aims of the Spanish Loyalist Government were strikingly revealed last month by President Juan Negrín in an interview given to the Radio news agency. The most significant statements, omitted from the reports in the American press, are reprinted below from the Paris *L'Œuvre*:

"Numerous owners have already made peace with the Republic and their property has been returned to them.... The seizure of property is illegal. We shall do everything within our power to assure foreign property-holders or stock-holders the full enjoyment of their property and the complete exercise of their rights.... The workers recognize the difficulties inherent in the functioning of the enterprises and are increasingly well-disposed to accept regulation.... In this connection, we have been assured of the collaboration of the Communists, and we shall do what is necessary to obtain that of the Anarchists."

Deeds Versus Words

In Moscow the "confessions" are openly scoffed at. Very popular are anecdotes such as the following: Alexei Tolstoy, upon being arrested and examined, confessed that he was the author of Hamlet, etc.

Because of the number of arrests, and the enormous number of cases, virtually all the functionaries of the G.P.U. have become investigating magistrates. For the same reasons, no packages are permitted in jail. With tens of thousands in prison, the sending of packages is allegedly impossible "in practice". On the same grounds, many are shot; of course, they are very well aware of what is involved.

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A. F. of L. Expulsions

The decision of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to expel the United Mine Workers and two other international unions, is a reactionary blow at the prospects of peace in the ranks of organized labor and a blow at organized labor itself.

The fossilized bureaucrats assembled in Miami, their vision circumscribed by the narrow horizon of craft unionism into which they split the American workers for years, simply would not reconcile themselves to the living, unchallengeable reality constituted by the successes of industrial unionism under the banner of the C.I.O. Goaded especially by Republican Party stooges like Hutchison, who fear the development of an independent political movement of labor, they have put one obstacle after another in the path of unity. Even their thoughts on the subject have been dominated by the consideration of how many thousands of members they can split off from the existing industrial unions so as to enlarge their per capita power in the obsolete craft union set-up and to keep the power of craft unionism dominant in the organized labor movement.

The move for unification, which still represents the best interests of labor in the United States, should not be slowed down for an instant because of the Miami decision. On the contrary, it calls for an even more vigorous assertion of the rank-and-file's demand that the split in the labor movement, especially in face of the critical situation in industry, be promptly overcome—not at the expense of industrial unionism, to be sure, but rather with guarantees of the unassailable rights, proved a dozen times over in struggle, of the industrial form of organization.

The War In The Far East

China's 450,000,000 people cannot be whipped and driven into slavery by the Japanese imperialists—provided these millions rise up and fight against their would-be enslavers.

During seven months of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, the invaders of China have been able to score a number of important military victories—because the Kuomintang rulers, aided by the Stalinists, have held the masses back from the struggle.

Japan's war machine is now concentrated

Mr. Isaacs, keep Gerson!

Little Men Fume, Let Off Steam

Party and Press

The Socialist Workers Party is one of the bright spots on the Appeal horizon.

He has increased the Chicago bundle order by 50 per cent and promises to double it in the near future. He has made regular payments on back bills and kept up payments on current bundle orders. He has also started a subscription drive which has already brought in more subs than we have received from any other local since the Convention.

Thus far, Chicago is the only local that has demonstrated in an effective manner its determination to carry out the Convention decision so far as the press is concerned. From one of the most inactive locals of the Party, Karl Shier, a newly-appointed literature agent, has made Chicago

TO SOLIDIFY VERSAILLES SETTLEMENT

Collective Security was the plan for accomplishing just this solidification. All of the nations (united in the League) were to take joint steps against any nation which might attempt to break through the existing imperialist division. In addition, it was of course understood that collective action would above all be exercised against a bid for power by the working class of any nation—which would naturally be the greatest of all threats against the existing imperialist division.

It was as if two coalitions of gangs had been fighting for control of a racket. The winning gang, having consolidated its victory, decreed that henceforth "peace and order" were to reign over Brooklyn. All the gangsters together would take collective action against any rival gang which attempted to muscle in. And, of course, similar collective action would likewise be taken against any group of honest citizens who tried to break up the rackets themselves.

How can anyone object to such a calm and virtuous proposal? No wonder Browder is indignant at the scoundrels who insist on criticism!

ORIGIN OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

But let us, approaching this as all questions from the point of view of the interests of the working class, ask: First, even assuming that Collective Security might preserve peace, is it a correct program; and, second, whether it is in fact preserve peace—or whether it is even designed to preserve peace. The answer to both of these questions requires a brief account of the origin of the idea of Collective Security.

The idea of Collective Security is not an invention of Browder, nor of Litvinov nor of Stalin. It arose in the camp of the Allied Powers during the latter part of the War of 1914-18, and was part of the basis for the construction of the "Versailles system." Its chief early advocate was Aristide Briand, the renegade from socialism who became during that time an outstanding spokesman for French imperialism.

Here, it should be noted, is the record of the heroes of the People's Front. These are the "democratic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie" of the People's Front fairy tale, so different from the "fascist-minded" most reactionary sections of finance-capital.

The champions who are going to defend the working class from War and Fascism. The working class had better think twice before turning itself over to Little Business and its proponents?

Want Labor Curbed

So plank after plank calls for the repeal of the Wagner Act, condemns any wage and hours Bill whatever, wants unions made more "responsible," asks exemptions from the Social Security Act, insists on broadening of the Income Tax Base. The Big Business is oppressing them, but

perhaps they can curry favor by turning fire against the common enemy. After all, are not their five and ten and twenty employees, with their inordinate demands and unionization and collective bargaining, driving them to the wall as effectively as the monopolies?

Lower East Side Labor Forum

"THE CRISIS AND THE UNEMPLOYED"

Speaker: NEIL HARRISON

(Chairman—W.A.A.—Loc. 15)

FRIDAY NITE FEB. 11

at East Side Labor Center

159 Rivington St.

(Near Clinton)

Admission FREE

above all, they want to stop the relentless march of history. "If American leaders, as represented by the Federal Government, would light some place and maintain a constant perch rather than flit about like a canary, American business would find encouragement." If only, in other words, history would stop, and leave us alone, immune to its conflicts and troubles, maybe we Little Men would make out somehow.

Then, however, after these futile slaps, the real viciousness in their hearts was let loose. Big Business is oppressing them, but

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