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 which the steel workers used in Hague, boss of Jersey City, when the Crucible Steel strikers won the majority of their demands Victory' Faked 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. Leaders Try To Conceal 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 Union. The rest are completely terrorism stood before the work- demoralized by the Stalinist sellers throughout the strike. They out. The facts are as follows: 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 the company has an odious repu-

Program Mapped Al 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 ported back to work. Instead of February 5-6 and made plans all of them being taken back for the coming six months. In only twelve out of the forty-two addition to adopting proposals for each department of work, the convention decided to launch a campaign against Roosevelt's tions to resume picketing. Not war preparations, linked to a drive for party membership and the increased sale of the Socialist at work. That evening the strik-Appeal. There were 31 delegates ers were told that beginning the 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, mittee and the organization had stormy meeting of all the work- the United Automobile workers not shown immediate responsive- ers of the Howard Stores was piecemeal. Yet the auto workers ness to issues as they arose.

Better Union Work

Marked improvement was re- back. corded in trade union work. In several unions the Stalinist campaign to drive the militants out of the movement was met with effective resistance and counterattack. 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

Stalinist campaign had created forty present raised their hands. activities of the police, however, Tresca declared that Poyntz a large progressive opposition to Before a vote was taken, the have not succeeded in breaking was "lured or kidnapped" to the People's Frontism and expulsion organizer read the names of the the morale of the strikers. A Soviet Union because "she knew of militants. In view of increas- twenty-one of the forty-two boycott against Ford is succeed- too much." He said he knew the ed lay-offs caused by the eco- whom Howard was willing to re- | ing. Only 75 cars a day are being | man who he believed was responnomic recession, the workers are employ. The rest would be put made in the plant. being pitted against the LaGuar- in a preferential list and rehired dia and Roosevelt administra- as soon as vacancies occurred, agencies has been one of the she had broken with the Stalintions-much to the embarrass- This last move broke the spirit chief weaknesses in strike strate- ist party. ment of the Communist Party. of the strikers and the motion gy. Main emphasis has been plac-The convention recognized work to call off the strike carried. amonge the jobless as a major task in the coming period and adopted measures for the maximum utilization of the situation.

Education Stressed

extension of educational work, while 17 new workers were hired ers to support the strike by havincluding frequent publication of by Howard from various agenpopular leaflets and pamphlets, cies. a drive for enrollment in the Marxist School, concentration on several local open forums, Union. The strikers were left to meetings and the organization of local classes in elementary socialism.

ed the work of the YPSL. Concerted activity, including an effective anti-war campaign, has resulted in substantial increase in membership, particularly among high school students and Stelinist youth. Steps were taken to insure greater cooperation between the party and youth or-

ganization.

tation aided the strikers im-

Already, in other steel plants, organizing is proceeding more rapidly. Five union men were reinstated in one big steel plant. Jersey City will be organized if the C.I.O. follows the policies the Crucible strike.

By Office Union

Defeat To Protect Prestige

NEW: YORK CITY. -- How strike "victories" are faked in Stalinist-controlled Unions in order to maintain the prestige of the leadership at all costs was brought out by the Progressive Group of Local 16 of the United Office Workers Union in connection with the recent strike of over forty office workers at the Howard Stores. In an article in the Ledger, official organ of the Union, the claim is made of a "victory" in Howard's and the granting of Union recognition.

Actually twenty-one of the 42 workers involved lost their jobs, and only four out of the 42 workers are now members of the

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 picket-Jersey City residents and that ing 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 ternational president of the Of- pelice terror against the workhad been called off, and that all umon plans. workers were to go back to work The strike was forced on the ruin policy in the union move-Monday morning.

On Monday, the strikers rewere rehired. The rest were out. Upon reporting this back to the Union, they received no instruconly that but the Union permitted the twelve rehired to remain next day picketing would again taken out of the hands of local be resumed by the Union.

On Tuesday morning when the strikers reported to the Union inasmuch as a conference between the Union and the employer was scheduled for that day no picketing was necessary, A held that evening. The workers had no other choice but to go on were militant, demanding strike strike against the discrimination action and a fight to the finish or to allow the union to be broken

Try To Discourage

The administration did everything to discourage the workers, pointing out the difficulties of picketing in cold weather, that false charges, and every conthe Union could not finance the ceivable anti-union activity fomstrike, that a continuance of the ented. strike would lead to demoralization, etc. In spite of this, however, on a motion as to how In the Workers' Alliance, the many would picket, thirty out of press, and the strike-breaking promptly subpoensed.

Strike Is Over

The strike was over, and half the workers were out of jobs. Those remaining on the job were adopted if the strike is not to be completely terrorized. Since then lost through stalling around. Plans were also adopted for the three additional have been fired,

For four weeks following the strike nothing was done by the monthly open branch discussion shift for themselves. Only when the news leaked out, and the in their own action on the picket had mentioned no names, Lieber-Progressives got hold of the line. The brightest part of the con- facts did the administration bevention was the report of the gin to take action and discuss Young Peoples Socialist League, the advisability of taking the Enthusiasm and spirit has mark- case before the State Labor Relations Board.

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 a statement from the S. U.P. regarding its stand in

Professing opposition to the 'civil 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.

Militant Policy Need In St. Louis

Progressives In Ford Strike Urge New Fighting Tactics

ST. LOUIS, Mo .- The United Automobile Workers strike against Henry Ford at the local here continues unabated after between Lewis Merrill, in three months, despite increased fice Workers Union, and the ers, and the cooperation of the manager of Howard's, the strike capitalist press with Ford's anti-

union by a lockout which the ment. management pulled in an effort to break the union. For seven months prior to September 15 the in the union.

Ford Police Take Over

After the seasonal shut-down. re-employment of the men was management and placed in charge of Ford's private police service directed by Harry Bennett. A office they were informed that flagrant policy of discrimination against active unionists was instituted.

Ford's strategy was to force an isolated strike and then whip until all the workers were taken 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

Strikers Firm

All the false stories in the in this country. Tresca was

ed on National Labor Relations board hearings which drag out interminably. Even then Ford policy of militancy must soon be

A policy of rallying all working an independent strike bulletin unionists. The progressives are pointing out that the fault of the union leadership has been to

Also, unless the Ford strike is won here, it will be more difwould inspire the Ford Workers been taken by him in the matter.

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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. A Communist Party spokes-

man, 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 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.

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

Weak-Kneed Defense

Stalinist union bureaucrats union had certain collective bar- immediately took a defensive atgaining privileges with the local titudes either arguing that the management. Of nearly 1,000 U.M.W. has a right to make employes, ninety per cent were whatever decisions it desires or refusing to comment at all.

Clarence Hathaway issued a tatement for the C.P. in which he assured his followers that this is not the beginning of a drive against the Communists... in the miners' union there are large numbers of Communist; loyally working to build the union and to carry out its policies."

Despite these bland reassurances, however, there are many indications that C. P. leaders expect and are fearful of a concerted drive against them in the C.I.O. Such a drive may well be reactionary in character unless militants see to it that its content is straightforward and political, instead of purely organizational.

Link Poyntz To 'Robinson' Case

(Continued from page 1)

with Japan's espionage system

sible for spiriting the woman Dependence on government leader out of the country after

'Forward' Names Him

(The Jewish Daily Forward said on February 8 that the man can ignore the findings, and a referred to was Schachno Epstein, former editor of the New York Stalinist Jewish paper, the Freiheit, who was long suspected of being a G.P.U. agent.)

Elias Lieberman, at one time attorney for Miss Poyntz, came is being urged by progressive forward with an attempted denial, but admitted that some months ago there had been susplace the confidence of the work- picious pointing to the man Treers in the labor board rather than sca had in mind. Since Tresca man's statement caused some astonishment. Lieberman himself ficult to organize the main Ford named no names nor did he displants in Detroit. A victory here close what action, if any, had

Asks Defense Action

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

Curran Gets N.M.U. UMW Convention Party Resolutions Bans Communists 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 ncither 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 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 practise 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 recoiled from the most arbitrary and repressive measures against every militant and revolutionary minority that has threatened its rule and its policies.

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 organi-

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 largescale 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 bureaucratem, and against the leadership that represents them.

If neither industrial unionism, nor unity, as such, are a -lution 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 Flunkeys

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.L.O. or A.F. of L. bureaucracy. The latter, though they act as the labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisies, 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 Trotskyists 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 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-Altman 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 seek 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 and necessary for the revolutionists to form blocs with them in specific instances and for specific ends.

With insignificant changes, what has been said about the S.P. applies to the Lovestone group. The positions occupied by some of its members in the trade unions have been acquired or maintained, generally speaking, by the surrender of working-class principles and adaptation to the conservative bureaucracy and its policies. Examples of this are to be found in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Shoe Workers Union, and the Auto Workers Union. As with the S.P. blocs are p missible under certain conditions with the Lovestone group.

To the extent that the Lovestoneites also come into conflict with the Stalinists and their murderous Red-baiting drive against all militants, the Lovestoneites will be compelled to seek a common front at least on such elementary questions as the rights of minorities in the unions. Actuated though they are by the interest of self-defense and self-preservation, temporary blocs with clearly limited aims are quite conceivable between the revolutionary Marxists and the Lovestoneites.

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I. W. W. Now Only A Reactionary Sect

From the standpoint both of its membership and its sympathizers, the I.W.W. plays only a limited role in the labor movement today. As an organization, it is a reactionary sect, dominated by a narrow-minded anarchist clique imbued with a deep hatred of the Marxists and the Russian Revolution, and animated by the narrowest factional interests. On the other hand, as a general movement, in the sense of those former members of the I.W.W. who are still influenced by its ideology, it has a distinct importance in certain fields, notably in the maritime industry. Most of these elements have splendid traditions behind them and are permeated by an irreconcilable spirit of class struggle and militancy. In the maritime industry, the building of a broad progressive and militant movement requires a sincere cooperation with the best elements among the syndicalist-minded workers.

At the same time we must conduct a persistent and stubborn though patient and comradely-struggle to break down the antipolitical, anti-Marxist prejudices inculcated into these militants and fostered by the corrupt parliamentarism and reformism of the Social-Democracy and by the bureaucratism, deceit, fakery and treachery to principles of the Stalinists.

The only consistent revolutionary and progressive force in the trade union movement is represented by our party, the party of the revolutionary class struggle. It can begin to accomplish its tasks only by understanding its present relationship to them. The party is woofully weak in general, and especially weak in the trade unions. Its influence and leadership is either local; episodic, or accidental. Very little systematic trade union work is done, and what is done is not properly organized or centralized. Our press only casually reflects the American class struggle. News of the trade union movement, its struggles and internal life, are accidental in its columns, dependent largely upon chance contributions of isolated comrades.

Complete Reorientation Is Demanded

A compete reorientation of our party, from the membership up to the leadership and back again, is absolutely imperative and unpostponable. No less drastic a reorientation is required of our weekly press. The attention of the party must be focused primarily upon the American labor movement. The energies of the party must be devoted mainly to rooting itself in the trade unions, becoming an inseparable part of the trade unions and their struggles. The bulk of the party's work must be directed to this vital field of the class struggle. Unless this slogan is translated speedily into life, the party is doomed to vegetate as an impotent sect which will be washed away by the waves of the first serious social crisis.

The party membership must be rooted deeply in the trade unions. The first demand for activity that the party must make on every member is that he join the union in which he is eligible for membership. The sweep of unionism, covering virtually every craft, trade and industry, insures the possibility of virtually every worker becoming a unionist today. It should be borne in mind that if our party is to be a genuinely proletarian party, both in its composition and its ideology, it must be composed, in its decisive majority, of proletarians and trade unionists. Above all, it should be borne in mind that if the party is to survive the coming war, with its certain persecution and hounding of the revolutionary movement, if the party is to fulfill its great tasks during the war, if it is not to be dispersed and its efforts rendered nugatory—the party membership must be solidly and inseparably connected with the organized working class. There is no better way of accomplishing this connection than by every member becoming an active, responsible and influential trade unionist.