

# ROOSEVELT DICTATOR UNDER NEW BILL

## Daily Worker's Editor Expelled

Neither He Nor Browder Will Tell Why; May Be Dodge to Cover Up Their Tracks

Clarence Hathaway, editor-in-chief for ten years of the Daily Worker, central organ of the Communist Party, a member of the Political Bureau, and ranking in the Stalinist bureaucracy second only to Browder and Foster, has been expelled, the "national committee" of the Communist Party announced Sunday.

As with all Stalinist expulsions and expulsions, the "explanation" given only serves to muddy the waters. The official notice, in the Sunday Worker, merely said that the expulsion was for Hathaway's "failure to meet personal and political responsibilities assumed by him, for desertion and for failing and refusing to take steps to rehabilitate himself."

Pressed by reporters for further information, a Stalinist spokesman would give nothing, except to cite two sections of the C.P. constitution under which the expulsion was carried out. They read as follows:

"Breaches of party discipline by individual members, financial irregularities, as well as any conduct or action detrimental to the party's prestige and influence among the working masses and harmful to the best interests of the party may be punished by censure, public censure, removal from responsible posts and by expulsion from the party.

"Party members found to be strikebreakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, persons who practice or advocate terrorism, sabotage, espionage or force and violence, or members whose actions are otherwise detrimental to the party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled from the party, and exposed before the general public."

The most suspicious aspect of the scandal is Hathaway's silence. Newspaper speculation that Hathaway may have come to disagree with the Stalin-Hitler pact is nonsense. Hathaway is typi-

cal of the venal and corrupt bureaucrats of the C.P. who are ready to avow whatever the Kremlin decrees. In the days when disagreements could still be voiced, before Stalin had succeeded in crushing the Russian Bolshevik party and the Comintern, Hathaway and Foster were oppositionists on a number of questions; but when Stalin cracked the whip, they knuckled under and have been his agents ever since.

Perhaps Hathaway is now knuckling under to a stronger power than Stalin's: American imperialism. It is certain that more than one of these Stalinist "leaders" will leave the ship like frightened rats when serving Stalin becomes intolerable to American imperialism.

Perhaps the Stalinist leadership fears imminent disclosure of some criminal activity involving Hathaway, and is hastily "expelling" him to clear its skirts and have him take "individual" responsibility for the crime. The Mexican investigation of the GPU's murder of Leon Trotsky has disclosed not only the direct connection of the GPU and the Mexican Communist Party with the assassination, but has made clear that the central direction of the GPU in this hemisphere is in the United States.

The Mexican Communist Party is now desperately engaged in clearing its skirts of responsibility for its members involved in the assassination, including David Serrano, a member of its Political Bureau, now in prison awaiting trial. Hathaway's expulsion may be a measure in advance of exposure.

"Expulsion" of a prominent party member has been a measure taken in a number of cases where that member has been assigned to GPU work. For example, David Alfaro Siqueiros, now in prison awaiting trial in Mexico as the admitted leader of the GPU gangsters who attempted to assassinate Trotsky on May 24, was "expelled" from the C.P. some years prior to turning up in Spain as a GPU colonel.

## GRACE CARLSON IN BOSTON

Grace Carlson, Trotskyist candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota in the last election, arrives in Boston this week-end on her national lecture tour. The two meetings arranged for her in Boston are:

SUNDAY, Jan. 19, 8 p.m., at the Workers Center, 158 Broadway. Subject: "South America."

MONDAY, Jan. 20, 8 p.m., at the Aurora Club, 42 Maverick Square, East Boston. Subject: "The Right to Life," a graphic picture of the actual conditions under which the American people live, and how their living conditions can be transformed by a Workers' Government.

(Complete schedule of Carlson tour appears on page 2.)

## Grace Carlson's Own Story On Tour Meetings

By GRACE CARLSON

DETROIT, Jan. 10.—In centers like Flint and Detroit one has the feeling of walking on volcanic ground. Everyone is certain that there will be an eruption in the struggle between the UAW and the automobile industry bosses, but no one knows when or how the eruption will take place.

The whole story of the struggle over the speed-up in the auto plants, the unadjusted grievances, etc., has been reported in the Appeal time and time again.

What seemed to me unique and extremely encouraging was that only our party carries on mass propaganda work among the workers. Hundreds of Socialist Appeals are distributed weekly at factory gates in both Flint and Detroit; pamphlets are sold in house-to-house sales drives in the working class sections; open meetings are held; educational classes on Marxist theory and trade union problems are conducted. Besides this many of our comrades are active as stewards and officers in the various UAW locals.

Formerly, the Socialist Workers Party competed in these cities with the Lovestonettes, Stalinists and Norman Thomas Socialists. Now, I understand, none of these groups do any literature distribution or hold any open meetings. The small numbers of union officials, etc., whom the Stalinists and S. P.'ers still control are voluntarily far underground. And the field is clear for us!

The last open meeting which the Stalinists held here several months ago for James Ford, their vice-presidential candidate, brought out only 25 people. The open meeting which I addressed in the headquarters of the Detroit Branch of the S. W. P. last night had 46 people in the audience, and this did not include the more than a dozen comrades and friends who came to a Wednesday noon meeting because they are night workers.

Perhaps the most encouraging features of all was that 12 of those attending this meeting were colored workers, most of them from UAW locals. Colored workers are the most exploited both in the shops as well as in the army and they received the proletarian military program for the abolition of Jim Crowism in an enthusiastic way.

One thing is certain, that the devotion, enthusiasm and self-sacrificing spirit of the Flint and Detroit comrades who are bringing the Marxist program to the mass production workers of these centers "will bring forth fruit a hundredfold."

NEW YORK !!!

Don't forget our Lenin Memorial Meeting at which Grace Carlson will be the principal speaker.

Friday, January 24, 8 p.m., at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, New York City.

## CIO Executive Board Adopts 6-Point "Plan" For Draftees

Accepts Principle That Unions Are Duty-Bound to Protect Rights of Worker-Soldiers; But Program Is Too Vague

A "six-point plan to insure democratic spirit in the army" was adopted by the CIO executive board at its two-day session in Washington last week-end.

This "plan" is practically a word-for-word repetition of the resolution (No. R-24) adopted by the November convention of the CIO at Atlantic City. The repetition of it by the CIO board now, in the form of a "new" six-point program, indicates there must be a strong demand from the ranks for a union program to protect the rights of the workers drafted into the army.

Unfortunately, however, the CIO "plan" deals very little with workers' rights within the army. It is primarily concerned with requesting an "active voice" for labor on the draft boards, guaranteeing re-employment when the men return from the army, protection of their families against lapsing of life insurance policies, foreclosures, etc.

The only points that deal at all with conditions within the army are the following:

"4. Living conditions for conscripted men that will improve their health and well-being.

"5. Administration of the training period in accord with democratic practice." (CIO News, Jan. 13)

"Harsh and authoritarian discipline," the CIO statement says, in explanation of these points, "has no place in a citizen army.

"The encouragement of initiative and self-reliance with full opportunity for advancement from the ranks is a first requirement of the American army.

"Conscripted men should be guaranteed both in selection and training against discrimination because of race, creed, nationality or any other reason. The civil rights of conscripted men, such as the right to vote, must be protected. Communication with families and unions must not be interfered with."

The extreme vagueness of this language is very striking. When the CIO board wants to make clear what it is talking about, it can do so very easily.

What, for example, is meant by the words: "Communication with unions must not be interfered with." Does that mean, as it should, that the unions are prepared to defend the interests of their members in the army? That the unions propose to set up ways and means whereby they will keep directly in touch with their members in the army and represent them in their grievances against the reactionary officers? That the unions will set up spe-

cial machinery for the grievances of the worker-soldiers, just as the most progressive unions did for their unemployed members?

That's what the CIO program should mean.

It is true, as the CIO board says, that "harsh and authoritarian discipline has no place in a citizen army." But the plain fact is, as everybody knows, that the discipline of the U. S. Army, like that of all capitalist armies, is harsh and authoritarian. What does the CIO board propose to do to remedy that? Its "program" does not say.

The officer caste is hand-picked from the capitalist class. Hardly a single worker-soldier ever rises to a commissioned officer. The "full opportunity for advancement from the ranks" proposed by the CIO does not exist; and the CIO board makes no proposal to change that.

In short, the CIO board, while admitting in principle its responsibility to launch a program on behalf of the worker-soldiers, has not done so.

The struggle to defend the rights of the workers in uniform, once it is taken seriously, will lead thinking workers to demand trade union control of military training.

## Boss Weakening In 20th Week Of Leviton Strike

Electrical Workers Are Smashing His Union-Busting Boast

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 13.—The twentieth week of the Leviton strike began last Thursday with growing indications that Isidor Leviton, is beginning to realize he faces defeat. Leviton made \$12,000,000 through his exploitation of the Leviton electrical manufacturing workers and swore to spend all his ill-gotten fortune in breaking the strike if necessary. Now he has indicated that he will negotiate with the representatives of the strikers, who belong to Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The strikers demand a union shop, a minimum wage of \$16 a week and a minimum increase of 10 cents an hour for every employee.

Pickets on 24 hour duty at the plant described to a Socialist Appeal reporter some of the intolerable conditions which led to strike action. Forced collections were made from women employees with which to buy presents for foremen. Some girls were forced to make "loans" to certain foremen which were never repaid.

An official release of the union charged that some girls had been forced to submit to certain foremen in order to hold their jobs.

When employees throughout the plant were forced to produce more or lose their jobs, their piece rates were then cut, resulting in more production at the old pay. Some men employed on an hourly basis went to work at 6:30 A. M. but were not allowed to punch the clock until 8 A. M. to evade the provisions of the Wage and Hour Law. Many men with families earned as little as \$11 a week. Wages were so low that mothers had to hurry back to work, weak and sick, after leaving their babies. Mothers worked beside their husbands and children at the bench and the machine.

## Flint Chevrolet Votes To Strike

Strike Power Given to Local Board, to End Company's Dodging of Grievances

FLINT, Mich., Jan. 10.—Chevrolet Local No. 659 completed a strike vote today in which the overwhelming majority of Chevrolet's 12,000 workers recorded themselves in favor of giving strike power to the local executive board. The ballot was ten to one in favor of strike.

This follows the vote in favor of authorizing strike powers to the board of the Chevrolet Drop Forge local in Detroit. In other GM plants issues have arisen in the last few days which also will probably lead to strike votes.

If Walter Reuther and his aides-de-camp on the UAW executive board, who have been

## Marks Products Strike Backs Up Leviton Action

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 13.—The strike against the Marks Products Co., 80 No. 9th St., entered its fourteenth week with reinforced picket lines to counteract attempts of the company to run strike breakers under police protection into the plant. Members of the B. F. Division of Local No. 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers were instructed to concentrate at Marks Products in place of the Leviton plant until the union demands for a \$3 weekly wage increase and a closed shop are won.

The Marks plant uses 60 percent of the output of electrical parts of the Leviton company, and its strikebreaking attempt is backed by the Leviton outfit.

Previously unorganized, the Marks Products Co. attempted to set up a company union when sentiment grew among the workers for an increase on their miserable wage of \$12 to \$13 weekly. More than 70 percent of the workers are women. The IBEW challenged the company union, and the National Labor Relations Board decided in favor of the IBEW. Marks responded by organizing a new company union.

so possessed with high military questions, wished to analyze the GM situation from the army man's point of view, they would undoubtedly find that "a perilous situation prevails which threatens to become general." For this kind of thing Reuther and Co. will probably sound retreat; but it is doubtful that the GM rank and file will take the order.

The Chevrolet Workers in Flint took their strike vote after the management refused time again to negotiate on important grievances. According to Regional Director Carl Swanson, "Chevrolet management has consistently violated the General Motors agreement, they have unjustly discharged committeemen and they have caused the complete breakdown of collective bargaining in that plant."

The Michigan state labor mediation board has announced it will attempt to invoke a 30-day waiting period in all strikes, in which no production plants are involved. The labor board has asked the opinion of the attorney general as to the legality of the action. Undoubtedly the entire labor movement of Michigan will oppose this attempt to destroy the strike weapon.

While the strike votes at the Chevrolet plants in Flint and Detroit now face the Executive Board of the UAW with an immediate problem, the General Motors Conference moves closer. The date has been set for February 8 and 9 in Detroit. With the temper of the GM workers on the rise, the leadership can expect plenty of heat from the ranks.

## Bankers Give It Their Blessing

Bill Is Confession That Imperialists Whether "Democratic" or Fascist, Now All Wage War By Totalitarian Methods

Roosevelt's "Lend-Lease" Bill—its correct title should be War Powers Bill—is certain to be adopted with all its essential sections intact.

That was made plain when the bill was endorsed by Wendell Willkie on behalf of the Republican high command, and by Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the great Chase National Bank, undoubtedly speaking for the dominant section of Wall Street.

The silence of the AFL and CIO leadership, during the first crucial days after the bill was introduced, indicated that, whatever perfunctory opposition they might offer later to one or another section of the bill, they were in reality already committed to accepting it.

They were accepting a personal military dictatorship of the United States. The War Powers Bill creates that. It vests in the president all the main powers hitherto given by constitution and custom to Congress. The process of concentration of power in the presidency, which has been going on since the crisis began in 1929, is climaxed by this measure.

Congress' power over the purse was specifically established in the constitution in order to provide a civil check and control over the military arm of the government, of which the president is commander-in-chief. This bill empowering the president not only to transfer the whole or any part of the Navy or Army equipment to other countries, but also empowering him to draw from the Treasury "such amounts as may be necessary," wipes out Congressional control of the purse. Thus all financial and military powers are fused in the hands of a single omnipotent individual.

The motivation for this personal military dictatorship is plain enough. It is an obvious fact that Congress is always more amenable to popular pressure than is a president. By abdicating its powers, Congress will protect the war plans of the president against future changes in the outlook of the people.

By constitutional provision, to protect the people against a war making president, Congress alone has the power to declare war. This provision has, of course been violated more than once. But the present bill simply wipes out that constitutional provision.

END OF "DEMOCRACY"

The demand of Roosevelt for such powers constitutes a confession that "democracy" goes by the board in this epoch of world-wide collisions between the great capitalist powers. Modern imperialist war can be waged only by totalitarian methods on either the "democratic" or the fascist side.

There are, of course, plenty of fat-headed liberals and "labor" leaders who are prepared to give us their personal guarantee—backed up by nothing—that after the war is over, the country will go back to being a "real" democracy. "It may be a paradox," they say, "but dictatorship is necessary now in order to have democracy later."

Yet these are the very same people who accuse us of mysticism when we say that a dictatorship of the proletariat is the only road to REAL democracy. They can't see how a Worker's Government will establish genuine democracy, but they can see how a Wall Street dictatorship will voluntarily make way for democracy. And these people call themselves realists!

Coming events contain many unpleasant surprises for these people. They will see Roosevelt employing his dictatorial powers to back the British Tories against the demand of the majority of the English people for a Labor Government. Churchill will rule England thanks only to Roosevelt's threat of withdrawal of arms supplies from England. The Latin-American Hitlers

and Mussolinis will likewise maintain themselves in power against the masses, thanks only to their Good Neighbor's generous donations of arms and warships.

REAL LIMIT OF POWERS

Fortunately for the future of the human race, the mere conferring of these powers on the president by Congress does not guarantee him the strength to exercise these powers. Legal powers of this or any other kind are only formal and not real, unless the workers permit the exercise of such powers indefinitely.

The struggle against this concentration of power in the president can henceforth only mean a struggle for the concentration of power and control in the hands of the workers' organizations. The first stages of that struggle are clear enough. In civil life and industry; keep the hands of the bosses and their government off the trade unions, and make the unions real fighting organizations. In the armed forces, likewise, the workers' organizations must fight for the rights of the worker-soldiers. Trade union control of military training is the way to get those rights.

We are many, they are few. They can pass the laws. We run the machines and bear the arms. All that is needed is that the workers grasp this simple fact.

## EAST CHICAGO STEEL CHIPPERS OUT ON STRIKE

EAST CHICAGO, Ind.—One hundred and fifty chippers of the Indiana Harbor, Ind., plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company went on strike this week. After weeks of fruitless negotiating with the company, these chippers—all members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO)—working under the most difficult physical conditions, were forced to strike when the management refused to grant their demands.

The chippers are asking for a dollar a day increase in wages in order to be able to meet the ever-increasing cost of living which is especially high in this area. Despite its tremendous profits gained from lucrative "defense" orders, the company pays these men wages which are far lower than those paid by other steel corporations for similar work.

In spite of the fact that both the company and the boss press are using the war hysteria to attempt to raise public opinion against the strikers on the grounds that they are "sabotaging national defense," these militant workers are holding firm. The Indiana Harbor SWOC local of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, representing some 6,000 workers in the plant, is supporting the chipping department and is preparing to call a general plant strike if necessary to force the company to come to terms.

## ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Joseph Stalin has again shown that his bread is still buttered on the same side. Down upon the heads of all the wishful thinkers in London and Washington about a Nazi-Soviet break came the news of a new series of Hitler-Stalin pacts. The most important of them was a sweeping new trade agreement, said to involve the greatest international grain deal in history.

It is probably true that Hitler has not—yet—gotten all he wants from Stalin's regime in Russia. Indeed, he won't get that much until he tries moving in with all his horses, his tanks, his planes, and his men. This does not change the essential significance of Stalin's present course. He is playing along with Hitler and will continue to do so until Hitler's military predominance is cancelled by events not now foreseeable.

Groping in the fog of Balkan developments, watchers in London and in this country have looked hopefully for signs of developing strain in the relations between Hitler and Stalin. And out of that fog comes now fresh evidence that Stalin is just as firmly hitched to Hitler's chariot as before. The bluster of the Moscow Pravda and Izvestia about Stalin's "independent policy" does not conceal the fact that Stalin still "waits" because he does not dare to move in any

direction. And while he waits he remains compliant to Hitler.

If the flow of goods from the Soviet Union into Germany has not up until now met Nazi expectations, it is certainly plain that under the new accords this flow will increase.

The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, commenting on the pacts, said that "the Russo-German understanding... stands, indeed, on the threshold of new and still closer cooperation." Can this be taken to mean the Balkans? Is Stalin bargaining now on the basis of the revealed weakness of the Italian axis partner? Remarks like this in Nazi newspapers are never aimless. It may even be that it is Hitler who is exploring the possibility of using Stalin to fill the gaps left in his armor by the Italian reverses.

The report that a Soviet trade delegation is en route to Buenos Aires to buy huge quantities of grain awaits confirmation. If it proves to be true, there can be little doubt that Stalin would be buying for Hitler's account.

In any case, the new Hitler-Stalin pacts make it plain that the Kremlin's policy still flows from a shuddering fear of Hitler plus no less a fear of internal upheaval. These two factors determine Stalin's policy. Incidental factors which seem to contradict this from time to time are purely transitory. Stalin "always" knuckles down in the end.