

REVOLT

Vol. 2, No. 4

Published by Demos Press for the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League, U. S., Box 141, Alfred St. Sta., Detroit, Mich.

March 4, 1939

Out with Homer Martin and John L. Lewis

For One Democratic Union in Auto!

A Dark Hour for the Spanish Workers

Stalinists Threaten Negrete's Life

Daniel J. Tobin, Enemy of Labor

Danger Signal to Labor Press

Post Office Bans Revolt
Censors Revolutionary Ideas

Thieves Run Riot in Chicago Primaries

- r e v o l t -

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DANGER SIGNAL TO LABOR PRESS

POST OFFICE CENSORS REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

DETROIT, Feb. 24.- We have just received the texts of the passages in the January 7th issue of REVOLT which the Post Office claims violate the U.S. Postal Laws and Regulations and Title 18 of the U.S. Code. According to the ruling all issues containing these passages will be unmaillable. Until the Post Office is compelled to cancel this ruling REVOLT can be mailed only with the approval of the Post Office censor, Solicitor Vincent B. Miles. The provisions of the sections "violated" and the correspondence leading up to the receipt of the latest information will be found on page eight. The passages involved occur in two articles in the banned issue: an installment in the Study Course, ABC of Marxism; and the statement of principles and aims of the League, WHAT WE STAND FOR, which was published prior to January 7th in the May 21st and June 24th issues in 1938, and since then, in the February 5th, 1939 issue.

In order to give a clear picture of the character of the action of the Post Office we republish below the statement of principles WITH THE PASSAGES TO WHICH THE POST OFFICE OBJECTS OMITTED.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

"THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZES:

"That in capitalist society the lot of the working class is exploitation, economic and political oppression, poverty, and the horror of ever-recurring imperialist war;

.....(This paragraph states our BELIEF that.....
 the only solution for the condition of.....
 the working class, described in the pre-.....
 ceding paragraph is a revolutionary one.).....

That the capitalist state is an instrument in the hands of the capitalists for the subjugation of the workers; and instrument of the dictatorship of the exploiters over the exploited, either masked as a "democratic" government, or openly revealing its true role as a fascist or military government;

That the interests of the workers can never be reconciled with the interests of their oppressors and exploiters; and that, consequently, between these two classes a class struggle must go on until the working class overthrows the capitalist class;

That the emancipation of the working class can be attained only by the working class itself.

RECOGNIZING THESE THINGS TO BE TRUE, THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE IS DEDICATED TO THE FOLLOWING AIMS:

.....(This paragraph states the revolution-.....
ary end for which the League works.).....

"The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument for the construction of communism, a classless society based on collective work and ownership of the means of production;

"The establishment of the council (Soviet) form of government;

"The building of a revolutionary party as the leader of the working class in the daily class struggle and in the proletarian revolution. Since the emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers of all countries in the Communist Fourth International;

.....(This paragraph states what the League's pol-
..... icy will be during imperialist war, Lenin's
..... policy which he called revolutionary de-
..... featism.).....

"WORKERS WHO ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THESE AIMS AND ARE WILLING TO WORK FOR THEM, SHOULD JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE U.S. (REVOLT)."

The passage from the Study Course to which the Post Office objects quotes the historic words of the closing paragraph of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels which boldly proclaims the refusal of Communists to conceal their aims and states the revolutionary means of attaining them.

There can be no doubt that the motivation for the censorship is POLITICAL. The Post Office is objecting to revolutionary ideas.

All the ideas to which the Post Office bureaucrats object have been published millions of times in this and other countries and sent through the U.S. mails in papers, magazines and books without number. The Communist Manifesto is sold every year in tens of thousands of copies. As war and revolution draw closer its sale will increase. Any worker can order a copy from publishing houses and bookstores. Demos Press will be glad to supply copies at five cents a copy.

If they object to the circulation of these ideas through the mails at this time it can be only because the war is close and even the weak revolutionary movement is a danger to the war plans of the capitalist class.

The censorship of REVOLT is a danger signal. As opposition to war increases in the labor movement, the government will try to extend the censorship to other labor papers.

Now is the time to fight to stop the censorship before it really gets started. The government must be restrained from interfering with agitation against the war program of the ruling class. The censorship of REVOLT must be cancelled.

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- EDITORIAL -A DARK HOUR FOR THE SPANISH WORKERS

After Barcelona fell Catalonia collapsed.

Franco now controls three quarters of Spain, the French border, the Portuguese border, most of the seacoasts and practically all of Spanish industry and agriculture; the Republican government is in possession of little industry and the very poorest agricultural regions.

Franco has an overwhelming superiority of planes, munitions, tanks, gasoline, and food, and can get more. The Republican armies in which the workers fight are under-armed and under-fed. The weak Republican navy cannot break the blockade. The civilian population of Republican Spain is starving. It has no hope or faith in victory.

Practically all the conquests of the revolutionary struggles of July, 1936 and April, 1931 have been destroyed. The Republican regime is a reactionary military dictatorship.

The French and British governments are preparing to recognize Franco and extend large loans to his government. With recognition will go an absolute blockade of the Mediterranean coast. Without gasoline for the transport of food and munitions the Republican armies will be helpless.

Complete victory or surrender, says Franco. If the Spanish workers continue to fight in Central Spain they will be annihilated. How can they fight? It would be a useless sacrifice in a lost war. On the other hand they cannot surrender without subjecting themselves to murderous reprisals greater than the white terror in Hungary after the fall of the Soviet government in 1919, and the terror in Germany today. There are reports of Franco vengeance lists containing the names of more than 2,000,000 men and women, mostly workers who opposed the Fascist rebellion. After the collapse of Catalonia more than 100,000 prisoners were taken. On February 15th the Burgos government passed a law providing for the punishment of all those who "contributed to the general disrespect for law and order in Spain between October, 1934, and July, 1936."

What shall they do? Azana - from the safety of Paris - wants to surrender. To save his face he makes the condition that Franco give his word there will be no reprisals. British and French negotiators have been unable at this writing to secure such a pledge. Even if Franco were to accept this condition there is no guarantee that he would respect it. Negrin and Miaja want peace, too, but they also want guarantees that there won't be reprisals against government leaders. The Stalinists shout for the war to go on, but for many months the Stalinist government over which presides the Sun of Socialism, as they call gangster Joe, has sent neither arms nor food despite the willingness of the Republican government to pay in gold as heretofore.

Aggressive action by the workers of other countries could help the Spanish workers. Is this to be expected? Led by imperialist lackeys like the leaders of the British Labor Party and the Communist and Socialist parties the workers have been unable to come to the decisive aid of the Spanish workers.

The only realistic view of the situation which the intransigence of distant "heroes" cannot alter, is that Franco's victory with its terrible consequences, either through a fight to the finish or surrender is now inevitable. If a channel can be opened for the evacuation of all workers desiring to escape before Franco occupies the rest of Spain, thousands of lives can be saved.

It is the task of the French and British workers to compel the British and French governments to provide the means. In all countries the workers have the duty of fighting for the right of asylum for their Spanish brothers.

STALINISTS THREATEN NEGRETE'S LIFE

LABOR MOVEMENT ALERT TO CHECK HOOLIGAN TACTICS

NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 11.- Three hundred and fifty workers attended the meeting last night, organized by the Russell Negrete Blackwell Defense Committee, to hear Negrete make a first hand report on Spain today and tell the story of his imprisonment in a dungeon by Spanish agents of the Stalinist G.P.U. The meeting opened with a report by the Committee of its work since its formation on October 13, 1938. The report hailed the progress made in labor defense in New York by the collaboration of the various tendencies which supported the Committee's work. Speakers from the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyites), Independent Labor League (Lovestonites), Social Democratic Federation, Revolutionary Workers League and others welcomed Negrete back to active work in the American labor movement. Speakers from anarchist groups were scheduled to speak but were unable to attend. With its aim accomplished the Defense Committee announced its dissolution.

Negrete made a clinching indictment of the policies of the Peoples Front government of Republican Spain and showed how they contributed at every step to the victory of Franco. Intense attention was paid to the exposure of the government's refusal to accept the aid of the Pan Islamic movement in return for the promise of freedom for Morocco, because a revolutionary movement throughout North Africa would jeopardize the interests of French imperialism.

A profound impression was made by Negrete's account of the demoralizing effect on the workers of the government's dictatorial censorship of the press which permitted no criticism of the government, made Fascist rumor-mongering easier. Citing names, dates and places, Negrete showed the wide-spread persecution of workers who fought for a revolutionary policy.

No less absorbing was the story of his kidnapping and confinement in solitary for two and a half months in a burial vault while he was questioned night after night by a Russian Stalinist who went under the names of Hans and Juan, in an effort to extort a confession of Fascist espionage from him, and evidence for use against the leaders of the POUM. On August 12 he was seated on a chair, his hands were handcuffed behind

his back and four thugs beat him about the head and chest. The leader of these sadists was a Stalinist well known for his brutality, Apellaniz, leader of the First Section of the Valencia SIM, Military Intelligence Service. It was this same SIM, it will be remembered, that told the CNT which reported it to the defense in the United States, that Negrete was a Trotskyist, American spy.

That he did not meet a worse fate, he attributes to the following factors: he was an American worker - had he been an Italian or German worker he would not have come out alive, he says; his removal by the Secret Police from a British ship on which he had been embarked by the American Vice-Consul in Valencia on August 1 involved the prestige of the American State Department and made it more energetic than it might otherwise have been; and, last, but far from least, the pressure of workers organizations and defense bodies in various countries, but mainly in the United States.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S NEPHEW ARRESTED BY G.P.U. AGENTS

Laughter greeted Negrete's account of the arrest of Daniel Roosevelt, nephew of President Roosevelt, in Valencia last summer by the same G.P.U. agents who arrested him. Daniel Roosevelt, travelling as a correspondent for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, made the trip from Madrid to Valencia with Negrete, where they were both arrested. Roosevelt was identified by a Socialist lawyer and released after two hours. Negrete had to wait five months. Roosevelt's arrest should have been front page news all over the world. Not a paper carried the story.

Evidently inspired by their Spanish fellow-gangsters, six Stalinists, wearing brass knuckles under woolen gloves, barged into the mass meeting last night, refusing to pay the admission price and took seats in the rear of the hall. Before they could work themselves up to a single boo they were quietly surrounded by workers from the organizations supporting the meeting. When the hoodlums saw that they were helpless to disrupt the meeting without serious risk to their own hides, they left the hall and held a consultation outside the door under the watchful eyes of a group of Defense Committee members and other workers. After a brief discussion one of them wrote a note which he asked be delivered to comrade Negrete. The note follows:

Comrade Negrette-
 I saved you
 from getting shot
 once- I assure
 you that I will
 do all in my power
 to rectify my error.

The signature is undecipherable. The note was read from the platform and the chairman warned that any attempt against Negrete would be met by the same united effort which contributed so weightily to the smashing of the frame-up in Spain. Photostats of the entire note, including the signature, have been made and given to a number of labor papers. The record has been made. If any hooligan attempt is made against Negrete the working class will know where to place the responsibility.

On his return Negrete was able to give us a copy of the official indictment, which follows:

S P A N I S H R E P U B L I C

The Public Prosecutor in case Number 92 for the year 1938 for Special Guard Tribunal Number 3, formulates the following provisional conclusions:

FIRST: The accused, Russell Blackwell, who uses the name Rosalio Negrete, and who belongs to the Revolutionary Workers League, a workers' party of New York (U.S.A.) came to Spain in the month of November, 1936 for the sole purpose of influencing the POUM and FAI, political parties and the CNT, trade union organization, against the support of the policy of the legitimate government of the Republic, breaking the People's Front Bloc, and following this up by the violent seizure of Public Power, re-establishing in the country the methods employed in the early period of the Militia Committees going beyond the organs of power and nulling in deed and in the legal sense the Government of the Republic and the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, for which purpose the accused established contact with the aforementioned political and trade union organizations and visited most of the cities of Loyalist Spain.

SECOND: The above stated acts constitute a crime of high treason as foreseen in Section One, Article Six of the Decree of June 22, 1938, and sanctioned in the following article of the same Decree.

I ask for a verbal trial and examination of the accused and for the examination of the documents in the hands of the court.

Valencia, October 28, 1938

P.D.

(signed) J. Marcos

The indictment accuses Negrete of being a proletarian revolutionist. It does not allege any criminal acts by him. It is conclusive proof that the Peoples Front government regarded the social revolution as high treason. In withdrawing the charge the government submitted to the pressure which was being exerted by many quarters on Negrete's behalf.

The financial statement of the Defense Committee will be found elsewhere in the present issue.

CHICAGO COPS TRY TO INTIMIDATE LEAGUE ELECTION MEETING

CHICAGO, Feb. 21.- Two cops stationed themselves in the hallway of the League's hall last night and put our meeting on the primary election under surveillance. A number of workers who came to the meeting were scared away by the bluecoats. Arrangements were made with a lawyer's office to be called every fifteen minutes to see whether the meeting had been broken up and anyone arrested. But the meeting came off without any other incident. At the same time the New York cops were out in force to protect the monster mass meeting of Fascist anti-Semites from attack by indignant workers.

POST OFFICE BANS REVOLT

RULES JANUARY 7TH ISSUE UNMAILABLE

DETROIT, Feb. 22.- On February 7th Roscoe B. Huston, Postmaster in Detroit, informed the Revolutionary Workers League. "...that copies of your publication "REVOLT" can no longer be carried in the mails, due to a violation of sections 598 and 600 of the Postal Laws and Regulations. Please do not attempt to mail further issues of your publication."

Section 598 deals with indecent matter which is defined as including "matter of a character tending to incite arson, murder or assassination." Section 600 deals with "matter advocating, or urging treason, insurrection or forcible resistance to any law of the United States...." But the postmaster gave no specifications of articles or paragraphs which were supposed to have violated the law.

A wire to Postmaster Farley by Attorney Francis Heisler of Chicago, asking for these specifications and a statement as to whether the ban applied to all issues, elicited the following reply from the Solicitor of the department, Vincent M. Miles: "January 7 issue Revolt unmailable for reason that it contains matter in violation of Sections 334 and 344 Title 18 U.S. Code. Ruling applies to that issue only...." Sections 334 and 344 of Title 18 U.S. Code are identical with Sections 598 and 600 of the Postal Laws and Regulations. Efforts are being made to obtain the specifications but at this writing they are not at hand.

DETROIT POSTMASTER RETREATS

The ruling of the Solicitor contradicts the letter received from the Detroit Postmaster. After an exchange of letters between himself and Attorney Heisler, Huston has acknowledged the ruling as binding. This is apparently a retreat by Huston. But in making this acknowledgement, he wrote: "But, the publication you represent, has violated the law and for that reason is under suspicion until such time as the policy of carrying such objectionable articles has been changed. Until that time arrives, the publication will be scrutinized very closely and, ...all subsequent issues of Revolt will be examined and if found to contain objectionable articles, the complete monthly issue will be withheld from the mails (Section 602 P.L. & R.) and a copy submitted to the Solicitor for his opinion. When the decision is received the copies will be, if acceptable for mailing, placed in the mails and, if unmailable, the copies will be sent to the Dead Letter Office."

This sounds like a good way either to tie REVOLT up in knots so that it reaches its subscribers weeks late or to suppress issues of the paper altogether. REVOLT is still threatened with a complete ban.

The significance of the ban of January 7th issue goes far beyond the legal and technical questions raised by Miles and Huston. No matter what reason the Post Office will give, and without knowing the specifications, we can say that the real reason for the ban is an attempt to

prevent a group of revolutionary workers from exposing the New Deal war program of the ruling class. As the war draws closer attacks on labor papers will increase.

Prompt action compelled Huston to retreat from his attempt to ban REVOLT and can force the cancellation of the restrictions he has imposed on it.

THIEVES RUN RIOT IN CHICAGO PRIMARIES

DIRT FLIES AS NOMINEES EXPOSE ONE ANOTHER

CHICAGO, Feb. 18.- In ten days there is going to be a primary election to choose the nominees of the Democratic and Republican parties for the next November elections, when a new mayor is to be elected. Four men are in the field; Mayor Edward J. Kelly and State's Attorney Courtney are seeking the Democratic nomination; Dwight Green is the Republican nominee; and Big Bill Thompson, now over 70 years old and a picture of bloated senility, is running as an "independent."

Reading the speeches of the candidates shows there is no essential difference among them. All four are in favor of "honest elections"; working out a coordinated traction system; continuing Superintendent Johnson's plan to eliminate academic training for young workers who cannot go to college; and ECONOMY, or in other words, slashing relief.

They may all be for honest elections but the papers are full of charges of graft, corruption, and the use of mobs and murders which these noble-minded men hurl at one another. If only one-hundredth part of what they say is true - we think the figure should be placed much higher - they are as rotten a set of capitalist politicians as can be found in any city in the country.

While these birds are busy fouling one another's nests, there seems to be a tacit agreement among them to lay off certain issues. Not one of them has said a word about repealing the sales tax; or about lifting the ban on the Newspaper Guild's picketing of the Hearst downtown offices; or about repealing the new city ordinance which practically prohibits what is called sympathy picketing. In short, all four are enemies of labor.

Although there are four candidates the race is really one between Kelly and Courtney. Kelly, it is said, telegraphed to Washington that there will be "chaos" if the Chicago W.P.A. appropriation is cut. Under Kelly's administration Chicago has cut its own relief appropriation, "I am going to provide jobs for any man who wants one," says Kelly.*

* "Unemployment cannot be relieved by the election of a political party" according to Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President, the Associated Press reported on Feb. 22. "We've been afraid to face the fact that this is an economic problem and none of us knows the answer."

Together with Professor Merriam, Professor Paul Douglas started the campaign to have Secretary of the Interior, Ickes, run for mayor as a liberal. Ickes declined. In 1937 and again last year Douglas sharply condemned the Kelly administration for its brutal shooting of unarmed workers in the Memorial Day Massacre. Today he is running for Alderman of the 43rd ward on Kelly's ticket. The famous Professor's move surprised some of his friends, but he is in good company. The Communist Party, after withdrawing its candidate, Jack Johnstone, is backing Kelly as the "friend of labor" under the slogan "A vote for Kelly is a vote for progress." Kelly, whom the Midwest Daily Record once denounced as a Fascist, will now, according to the same sheet, build "a municipal administration 100% behind the New Deal." The Non-Partisan Labor League supports him for the same reason.

State's Attorney Courtney who conducted a spectacular axe-wrecking campaign against hand book joints last Fall is supported by McCormick's Chicago Tribune, one of the most vicious anti-labor papers in the world. While Courtney was raiding hand book joints - incidentally there are as many if not more today - the Federal Grand Jury indicted, among others, Courtney's chief assistant, Chief of Detectives Dan Gilbert, for "conspiracy to defraud the public" in connection with the illegal establishment of a milk monopoly at high prices. (See REVOLT, Dec. 10, 1938). Governor Horner of Illinois, Courtney's political side-kick in last November's election struggle against the Kelly-Nash machine, is ill in Florida. Or is that a convenient place to be in the midst of the stink of the present fight? Horner has had a special absentee ballot sent to him. Apparently he is waiting to see which side will come out on top. It is important for him to pick a sure fire winner in order to be in line for re-election in 1940.

The Illinois Labor Party hasn't made up its mind yet. No one knows where it stands.

This is the capitalist election system, a free-for-all for grafters, crooks, gangsters, swindlers, newspaper owners and trade union pie-card artists. The whole system is rigged for the benefit of these parasites at the expense of the workers.

- CHICAGO WORKER

DANIEL J. TOBIN, ENEMY OF LABOR

Dan Tobin is President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, affiliated with the A.F. of L.

In the February issue of the Official Magazine of the Brotherhood Tobin wrote an editorial in which he reveals himself as a

STRIKE-BREAKER

"The Newspaper Guild went on strike recently in Chicago against certain newspaper publications. They immediately demanded that the members of our Local 706 stop work to help them. We congratulate Local 706 on carrying out the signed, closed shop contract which they recently entered

into with Chicago publishers and because they continued their work day after day amidst some of the undeserved remarks and sneers of the pickets representing the Newspaper Guild..."

UNION-BUSTER

"...officers and members of Local 706, accept our stamp of approval of your action in preserving your signed contracts, because were you to violate that contract the International Union would be compelled to sever its relations with your local union."

UNION-RAIDER

"To all our business agents in other places, Milwaukee, New York, and Philadelphia, we say: what's the matter with you, that you do not fully explain to the men driving beer trucks that their place is within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters?"

RED-BAITER

"There is no law in our International Union that prohibits you from belonging to any church organization, any fraternal organization, or any political party, except the Communist."

FOR ONE DEMOCRATIC UNION IN AUTO!

CONVENTIONS SHOULD OUST MARTIN, LEWIS FACTIONS AND UNITE AUTO WORKERS

DETROIT, Feb. 24. - As the date of the first of the conventions called by the Martin and Lewis factions draws closer and the fight between them grows bitterer the workers are becoming disgusted with both sets of bureaucrats. This was clearly shown when Lewis' man, Leo LaMotte tried to call a strike in Chrysler's Plymouth plant two days ago to force the company to recognize his faction as the collective bargaining agency for the men. The company refused to deal with either group to the exclusion of the other and said it would negotiate with either one in the presence of the other. Homer Martin led a back-to-work movement. The "strike" failed because the men did not respond to it the way LaMotte hoped. In the 1937 sit-downs the Plymouth plant was solid for the strike.

To back up LaMotte's play Emil Mazey called a strike at Briggs. Here, too, the men in the plant did not respond. But when the truck drivers refused to deliver Plymouth bodies the plant was shut down. The LaMotte-Mazey strike calls were a bid for endorsement of their faction. They failed to get it. The workers are getting sick of them.

When LaMotte saw his tactics were getting nowhere he called off his "strike" because, he said, he wouldn't let Martin deprive the workers of "further income", and appealed to the Labor Relations Board for an election in the plant.

These incidents show to what lengths the two bureaucratic factions will go in their struggle for control. As in the A.F. of L. jurisdictional

fighters they pit worker against worker to the injury of all the workers.

Despite this setback the Lewis gang is almost sure to come out on top in its fight with the Martin clique. There are three reasons in the main why Martin is almost sure to lose.

Martin defined the issue as a fight against a conspiracy by the C.I.O. leadership and the Communist Party to destroy the autonomy of the U.A.W. Auto workers who hated the Stalinists' guts from first hand experience with these union wreckers were willing to join the fight to break their influence in the union. Others who knew that Martin was only picking up an issue to hide his real aims thought they could beat the Lewis-Stalinist combination by supporting Martin and then settling his hash after.

MARTIN CANNOT RALLY WORKERS AGAINST EMPLOYERS

As the faction fight gets hotter experience is teaching these workers that this scheme won't work. Lewis has a tremendous apparatus and funds at his disposal. He is experienced in crushing union revolts. He doesn't stop at machine guns. His thugs have used them in the mine fields. That kind of a set-up can be licked. But it takes determined men with a policy of fighting the employers, and a fighting leadership. Martin cannot give that kind of policy and leadership. His record shows that he is a red-baiting, bureaucratic strike-breaking agent of the employers' interests. If he is shouting that he is against dictatorship and for democracy it is only because he thinks he can rally support on these issues.

His inability to rally the auto workers on a program of fighting the employers is Martin's first and decisive weakness. His second is that he is unable to show the workers what to do if Lewis gets the majority in the present fight. If Martin were fighting for a class struggle policy against the class collaborationist policy of Lewis he might succeed in building a solid left wing and find allies in other C.I.O. unions to make it a broad fight. But, being a pie-card artist, the only thing he can do is set up another union and stay independent or hook up with Dubinsky or the A.F. of L.

If that is Martin's goal he cannot say so straight out. Thousands of auto workers are willing to fight it out with Lewis for democracy and autonomy in the U.A.W. as they have shown by following Martin this far even though they disapprove of his methods and policies. But they don't want to split the U.A.W.; they don't want to quit the C.I.O.; and the last place in the world they want to go to is the A.F. of L. The memories of Collins and Dillon who were run out of town are too fresh in these parts as are the memories of Bill Green's attempt to break the sit-down strike in GM in 1937. That is why Martin says: "Where the workers decide to go, I will go."

Recent events have shown very clearly that Martin even with the help of his Lovestonite advisers and Dubinsky has been unable to deal with this problem. On February 6 he went into Wayne County Circuit Court and sued to restrain the Lewis-Stalinist members of the Executive Board from using the name or property of the U.A.W. or publishing the Automobile Worker and many more things. Paragraph 84 of the Bill of Complaint is titled "NO AFFILIATION WITH CIO." Martin contends that the U.A.W. is not affiliated with the C.I.O. because no charter of affiliation was

ever issued and no vote on it was ever taken either by a convention, referendum or in any other way. His arguments are purely legal arguments and are based on tricky reasoning. The Bill of Complaint speaks of affiliation with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which was constituted last November in Pittsburgh at the convention at which Homer Martin gave John L. Lewis a gold watch in the name of the Executive Board members of the U.A.W. The U.A.W. was present and participated in the convention. Since that convention there has been no convention of the U.A.W. which could act on the matter, the last one having been held in Milwaukee in August, 1937 and the next one scheduled for March 4 if we take Martin's convention as the official one for the sake of argument. The significance of Martin's legal trickery is that it could have been used only by people who were considering, if they were not already decided on, breaking with the C.I.O.

But, knowing that the workers are not for such a move, Martin had to disguise it. The February 11 issue of the United Automobile Worker put out by Martin, who, it is announced on the front page, is the President and Editor, has a streamer across the top of the front page, underneath the name of the paper, which reads in bold face italics: "AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS."

LEWIS BANS LOCALS ATTENDING DETROIT CONVENTION

Lewis who is nobody's fool in factional union warfare and knows what the workers are thinking better than most people has taken very shrewd advantage of Martin's dilemma. When he saw the way things were shaping up, he ruled on February 16, that locals attending the Martin convention "will forfeit membership in the C.I.O." The result of this ruling was to draw the lines sharper, widen the breach between the C.I.O. apparatus and Martin, and clarify the situation. It did not stampede the workers into Lewis' camp. Locals are still voting to attend the Detroit convention. But it showed some of Martin's fellow pie-card artists where they would have to go if they want cushy jobs. Brass-knuckle artist Loren Houser and Charles Madden promptly deserted Martin's ship like rats and went over to Lewis. Madden later announced that he was on neither side. But Houser's desertion is the most convincing proof that the real issue with him and his kind is a job for which he is ready to slug anybody.

Martin met Lewis' split threat with a declaration that it was a "crowning act of arrogance" and that "we have no desire to be any part of the C.I.O. or to have any further relation with it or its dictatorship under conditions where we must surrender and compromise our principles and ideals." Martin thought, no doubt, that Lewis' statement would create resentment strong enough for him to advance his position from a legal document to a public statement. He followed this up on the radio on the the 21st in a speech in which he praised the A.F. of L., held out the hope of finding friends there and said, significantly: "At this hour we are not going beyond that."

If Martin thought that Lewis had made a tactical blunder of which he had taken advantage he was soon disillusioned. Within twenty-four hours came the news that his four man Executive Board would meet to hear an explanation of his policy. At the same time Lester Washburn, one of the Martin Executive Board members said his union would remain under the C.I.O. Under this pressure Martin announced on the 22nd that he is not considering affiliation with the A.F. of L. At the same time he repeated his story that the U.A.W. was never affiliated with the C.I.O.

Martin may not want to travel the road out of the C.I.O. That is a personal matter with him which is not very important. The important thing is that he is travelling on it and that it is the only alternative to giving in to Lewis. Lewis knows this and will push his advantage for all it is worth.

There is a third weakness in Martin's position. Lewis represents the New Deal in the labor movement. Without having any government titles or positions he is as much a part of the New Deal set-up as Madame Perkins and far more important and powerful. In the workers eyes he is connected with the labor laws of the New Deal, with the National Labor Relations Board, the Wagner Act, Social Security, and other things which they believe are good things and in labor's interest. Behind Lewis stands the President as far as the great majority of workers in the C.I.O. are concerned.

In bucking Lewis Martin is bucking the New Deal in the eyes of many workers. This idea has been strengthened by the fact that some of the most vicious and reactionary anti-New Dealers in the capitalist class have tried to encourage Martin and give him support. That is how they interpreted Father Coughlin's praise of Martin as the "Man of the Hour" and his criticism of Lewis. That is how many auto workers regard Ford's willingness to make concessions to Martin. It looks to them as though Ford were trying to intervene in the fight in the auto union on Martin's side against Lewis. These and similar events have decided many workers to put up with Lewis and the Stalinists much as they dislike what Lewis stands for and does. They do not see in Martin's position any hope of retaining what they believe to be the benefits of the New Deal.

WAR PLANS LEAD NEW DEAL TO SUPPORT LEWIS AND STALINISTS

Why does the New Deal administration back Lewis who is making use of the Stalinist apparatus to beat Martin's brains out? The answer to this question will explain many things about the split in the auto union. The New Deal is driving full speed ahead now preparing for the coming war. In that war the auto industry will be called upon to play a great role. It will be its task to produce the trucks, tanks, and airplane motors without which the capitalists cannot win the war. Continuity of production will be a military problem. Great strikes like the 1937 sit-downs may bring about defeats in big battles. The New Deal is far-sighted. It got a good scare during the 1937 strikes and wants to make sure if it can that there will not be a repetition of them. It wants a set-up which can hold the workers down, keep them from striking, and break up their strikes if they should take place.

Martin has shown that he is not the man for this job. On the other hand Lewis' record says that he is qualified. In October, 1917, he made an agreement with coal operators and the Wilson administration to insure enough coal production to "win the war." Two years later when the armistice with Germany was one year old, the 1917 agreement no longer in force, and the cost of living had risen seventy five percent, the Cleveland convention of the United Mine Workers of America ordered Lewis to issue a strike call for November 1 for a sixty per cent increase in pay, abolition of company fines, the six hour day-five day week and the nationalization of the mines. On October 25 President Wilson declared that the war itself was still a fact and criticized the miners for lack of patriotism. Wilson based his argument on the fact that no peace

treaty had been signed with Germany. This was not done until 1922. On October 30 Congress passed a resolution providing for the use of the federal troops. Soldiers were sent to the mines. Four hundred thousand miners went out on strike. Attorney General Palmer got an injunction from Federal Judge A.B. Anderson ordering the U.M.W. of A. officials to call off the strike by November 11.

The stage was set for a show down. On one side were the miners, on the other the coal operators, the cops, the militia, the federal troops, the courts and the President. On which side was John L. Lewis? On November 11 Lewis broke the strike. He said: "We cannot fight our government."

Roosevelt knows that although Lewis may sanction a strike here and there for purposes of his own, when it comes to big situations he can count on Lewis to wave the flag again and sell the workers out to the employers. The class collaboration, pro-war policy of the Stalinists makes them good tools for the New Deal-Lewis scheme in the present situation.

In his exposure of Lewis Martin does not expose the war plans and schemes of the New Deal-Lewis alliance. He does not expose them because he stands for the same things himself. He is waving the flag and says he is fighting for Americanism against Communism. Martin is made of the same stuff as Lewis. Both men are enemies of the working class. The workers can make progress only by the bitterest fight against these agents of the capitalist class.

We firmly believe that neither Lewis nor the New Deal will ever succeed in stabilizing the auto industry on the basis of the present anti-strike, class collaborationist policy. The speed-up and the new labor saving machinery is as much a part of this industry as the raw materials it uses. Hour after hour, day after day, the merciless, inhuman operation of the auto production process itself drives the auto workers to revolt. The Lewises and the Martins are the men who try to hold back the revolt, break it up, steer it into sell-outs. But they cannot eliminate the revolt itself because this arises out of the operation of the industry itself. That is why we feel confident that in the end the auto workers will succeed in smashing through the barriers set up by the Martins and Lewises and bring the auto barons to their knees. When that day arrives the whole labor movement will take a giant stride forward toward a decent life.

A PLAN FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

The first steps should be taken at the March 4, Detroit convention called by Martin, and the March 27, Cleveland convention called by Lewis' men. The bureaucratic splitters are trying to force the workers to chose one set of pie card artists against the other. The workers should use the conventions to unite against both gangs, clean house and make a fresh start.

If the delegates are determined they can settle the hash of Martin and Lewis. For this it is necessary to:

Maintain solidarity in the plants; do not carry out the instructions of Martin and Lewis' yes men to strike for recognition of their factions; protect wage scales, seniority, grievance procedure through the department and plant committees; discuss problems, decide on action and abide by the majority decision.

Throw both bureaucratic gangs in the Executive Board and their goon squad out of the union;

Scrap the present bureaucratic constitution;

Elect committees of rank and file workers at both conventions to co-operate in organizing a national convention to reconsolidate the union; decide that delegates to this convention shall be elected by department and plant committees; write a new constitution at the national convention eliminating the bureaucratic rights and privileges of the Executive Board and International officers; protecting autonomy for the locals;

Refuse to submit to the dictatorship of the C.I.O. clique; refuse to compromise with Lewis over question of autonomy for the International Union;

Appeal to workers in the other C.I.O. unions to join the fight to democratize the C.I.O.

The League is distributing thousands of leaflets with this program at the plant gates. The leaflet which is published on the following page is received with eagerness by the workers in the Packard, Dodge, McCord, Plymouth and other plants. Only the Stalinists have attempted to interfere with the distribution.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor, "Revolt"

London, England, 15-2-39

Dear Sir:

In your issue of Feb. 5th, 1939, you repeat the lying slander spread by British imperialist agents, that the Nationalists of Armagh, telegraphed Hitler on Oct. 4th 1932, asking him to assist in terminating the partition of Ireland.

The B.B.C. here, which broadcast this lying accusation, was compelled to issue a repudiation the following day. Irish nationalists are indignant at this slander. It is strange to see self-called revolutionaries repeating the slanders of the imperialist agents and Stalinist stooges.

I would like to add that I fought with the P.O.U.M. battalions in Spain and participated in the May days, against the betrayals of the Spanish workers. On that occasion we had to withstand similar slanders from the liberal bourgeoisie and stalinist agents.

The Irish peoples look to their own powers for their freedom and not to Hitler or Mussolini.

yours sincerely,
John Donovan

P.S. Would you be good enough to publish this denial.

EDITORIAL NOTE: Revolt invites criticism by its readers of material published in its columns. But more than criticism we invite the presentation of positive views on social questions, whether or not these views are in agreement with ours.

OUT WITH JOHN L. LEWIS AND HOMER MARTIN!

FOR ONE DEMOCRATIC UNION IN AUTO!

In the great sit down strikes of 1937 we auto workers learned that in unity there is strength. Now John L. Lewis and Homer Martin have split the auto union, one of the most powerful unions in the country.

WHY?

Who sold out the GM and Chrysler sit downs in 1937? Homer Martin and John L. Lewis. Who put over the present bureaucratic constitution at the Milwaukee convention? Martin and Lewis' henchman, Ora Gassaway. Who gave Lewis a gold watch at the Pittsburgh convention of the C.I.O. last November in the name of the U.A.W. Executive Board members? Homer Martin. Who gave GM the O.K. to fire the militants of the Fisher Body plant in Pontiac out of the industry, and who fired them out of the union? Homer Martin and all of Lewis' yes-men on the International Executive Board. Who sent Houser with a brass-knuckle squad to beat up officers elected by the L.A. Young Spring local and force them to resign? Homer Martin. Who made a deal with U.S. Steel behind the backs of the steel workers? John L. Lewis and Phillip Murray.

John L. Lewis and Homer Martin are two of the best red-baiters and capitalist agents in the country.

John L. Lewis is out to rule the auto union the way he rules the miners union. In the U.M.W. of A. he appoints all the district officers in 20 of the thirty districts. Lewis is head man of the New Deal's labor lieutenants. With war drawing closer the New Deal has picked Lewis to eliminate strikes from the mass production industries and guarantee the production of trucks, tanks, aircraft motors, etc. Once before Lewis did the job for the capitalists. Back in October, 1917 Lewis made an agreement with the Wilson government and the coal operators to insure enough production "to win the war".

Submit or get out! Lewis says to the auto workers. Auto workers: Don't take orders from this stink bomb!

The fight of Homer Martin and his top clique against Lewis to rule or split the union has won the support of the most reactionary anti-New Dealers. Why did Father Coughlin endorse Martin as the "Man of the Hour"? Why was Ford willing to make a lot of concessions to Martin if it wasn't to strengthen him against the New Deal-Lewis-Stalinist gang?

Dictators, Communists! Come across, or else, shrieks Martin to Lewis and his gang.

Or else what? Auto workers have a right to know! What is Martin going to do if he can't be boss of the auto union? Why did he go into Wayne County Circuit Court and say that the auto workers never were affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations AT THE SAME TIME THAT he published the AUTO WORKER which says across the top of the front page: "AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS"? Why this brazen fakery? Has Martin made a deal with the A.F. of L.? Or with Dubinsky? Auto workers: make Martin come clean!

(over)

Come to the Cleveland convention, commands John L. Lewis. Attend the Detroit convention, pleads Homer Martin. It's the old run around.

Auto workers: We don't have to pick between Martin and Lewis. Those bureaucrats don't own us auto workers. Now is the time to kick them both the hell out.

Fight for one united and democratic union in the auto industry, controlled by the workers and organized to fight the employers!

DELEGATES TO BOTH CONVENTIONS!

THERE ARE TWO VITAL ISSUES BEFORE YOU: ONE UNION, AND UNION DEMOCRACY. ALL OTHER ISSUES ARE SECONDARY.

DON'T SUPPORT EITHER FACTION!

SCRAP THE PRESENT BUREAUCRATIC CONSTITUTION!

TAKE OVER THE UNION FROM BOTH SETS OF BUREAUCRATS!

THROW THE GOON SQUADS AND BUREAUCRATIC SPLITTERS OF BOTH SIDES OUT OF THE UNION!

ELECT COMMITTEES OF RANK AND FILE UNION MEMBERS TO WORK TOGETHER TO ORGANIZE A NATIONAL CONVENTION TO RECONSOLIDATE THE UNION! DELEGATES TO THIS CONVENTION TO BE ELECTED BY DEPARTMENTS OR PLANTS! AT THIS CONVENTION WRITE A NEW CONSTITUTION ELIMINATING THE BUREAUCRATIC PRIVILEGES OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AND INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS, GRANTING AND PROTECTING LOCAL AUTONOMY!

FIGHT FOR THE AUTONOMY OF THE UNION AS A WHOLE! NO COMPROMISE WITH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE LEWIS-HILLMAN CLIQUE! APPEAL TO THE WORKERS IN THE CIO UNIONS TO JOIN THE FIGHT TO DEMOCRATIZE THE CIO!

PENDING RECONSOLIDATION OF THE UNION PROTECT WAGE SCALES, SENIORITY, GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE THROUGH THE PLANT COMMITTEES! SET UP THE APPARATUS TO ORGANIZE LOCAL AND DISTRICT CONFERENCES OF DEPARTMENT AND PLANT COMMITTEES!

Revolutionary Workers League, U.S. Box 141, Alfred Sta. Detroit, Mich. 2/20/39.

READ!

SUBSCRIBE!

SPREAD!

R E V O L T

FIGHTS FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS AND WORKERS' INTERESTS EVERYWHERE

One year (26 issues) \$1 - Half year (13 issues) 50¢

NAME.....ADDRESS.....

Pass this on to your fellow workers!

FINANCIAL REPORT
OF THE RUSSELL NEGRETE BLACKWELL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A. Financial statement of money handed by Anita Brenner, John McDonald and Revolutionary Workers League (REVOLT) from March 8, 1938 to the organization of the Defense Committee on October 13, 1938.

B. Financial statement of the Defense Committee from October 13, 1938 to Feb. 11, 1939.

TOTAL INCOME	\$675.85
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$671.87
CASH ON HAND	\$ 3.98

A. Financial statement from March 8, 1938 to the organization of the Defense Committee on October 13, 1938.

INCOME

N.Y. March 8, Appeal by a group of individuals		
Anita Brenner for circularization expenses		\$10.00
Circularization		97.87
	*	\$107.87
Chicago July 20, Appeal by a group of individuals		14.00
McDonald		
American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees		32.65
S.W.P., Boston		2.00
Loan from G.		30.00
From individuals		38.50
		103.15
R.W.L.		
R.W.L. itself		
loans		57.55
donations		58.73
Individuals		16.25
* (Chicago, July 20, Appeal, 14.00)		132.53
* This money turned over to R.W.L.		
-----	TOTAL	\$357.55

EXPENDITURES

Circularization of March 8 Appeal		\$10.00
To State Dept. for fare back to U.S. for Blackwell		200.00
To Blackwell in prison.		25.00
Cables and Wires		31.81
Phones		3.15
Postage		17.82
Stationary and supplies		4.35
To Edna Blackwell for defense expenses		17.87
Repayment on loans		47.55

	-----	TOTAL	\$357.55
Obligations accepted by the Defense Committee			
Bal. of loan from G.		\$15.00	
Bal. of R.W.L. loan		25.00	

B. Financial Statement of the Defense Committee from October 18, 1938 to Feb. 11, 1939.

INCOME

Donations		
Committee Members	\$30.00	
General	<u>61.22</u>	
		\$151.22
Circularization		26.00
Collection lists		13.54
Mass Meeting		
Collection	\$25.09	
Admissions	<u>51.95</u>	
		77.04
Loans		50.00
Miscellaneous		.50
	TOTAL	<u>\$318.30</u>

EXPENDITURES

Trip to State Department		\$30.00
Cables, wires		54.53
Phones		26.71
Postage		28.39
Circularization		40.02
Meeting		48.77
Repayment of loans		68.00
Stationery		4.75
Misc.		8.15
To Blackwell on his return		5.00
	TOTAL	<u>\$314.32</u>
	On Hand	<u>3.98 *</u>

OBLIGATIONS

M.D.S., Balance on loan	\$15.00
Telephone bill	8.00
J.M., Balance on bill for expenses	10.00
T.S., Balance on bill for expenses	10.00
G., Balance on loan	7.00
R.W.L., Balance on loan	10.00
	<u>\$60.00</u>

* To be used for expenses in appealing to Committee Members for \$60.00 to liquidate the Committee's obligations.

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R E V O L T

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