

# Minneapolis Strike Defamers

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ing the militancy of the February fight, tried to head off the strike and avoid recognition of the union by "voluntary" wage increases.

In the meetings of the Citizens Alliance (the bosses' organization) held on the eve of the strike—as reported to the union officials by a sympathizer—the leaders of the bosses urged and insisted that substantial increases of the miserable wages be made forthwith for the purpose of disorganizing the union campaign and defeating the demand for recognition of the union. On this point the bosses and the workers saw eye to eye—each side understood the question of the union to be paramount. The manoeuvre was defeated. The union officials, with the membership behind them to a man, put the recognition of the union as the first and fundamental demand.

Were the union leaders and members, perhaps, mistaken in centering the fight around the question of union recognition and directly related issues—no discrimination and seniority rights—as certain scholastic wisecracks and unsuccessful labor organizers maintain? Not at all. It is self-understood that the struggle for economic demands is indissolubly joined with the fight for a union, but the union is the instrument of the fight and the guardian of the economic concessions. Every worker who joins the union understands this instinctively. The worker wants an improvement in his conditions, but he wants also security in his job while fighting for these improvements. That is what the formula "recognition of the union" means concretely.

The Minneapolis strikers expressed it in their own language as "protection". They wanted the union to protect them against discrimination, against arbitrary firing, against the damnable "merit" system. In this attitude they were at one with every group of workers entering the organized struggle for the first time. They aspired to build a union to compel the boss to recognize and deal with it.

**How the Strike Was Organized**  
For that they fought. And what a magnificent fight! In Minneapolis was to be seen what reservoirs of working class solidarity and courage can be tapped when the rank and file is fused with an honest, competent and trusted leadership. The whole working class of Minneapolis acclaimed the strike as a model of organization as well as of militancy. Transfer the Minneapolis method to Detroit and Pittsburgh! Then you will see the real resurgence of the labor movement!

Even the class enemy gave grudging testimony to the efficiency of the organizers and the soldierly discipline with which they imbued the strikers.

"Even before the official start of the strike at 11:30 p.m. Tuesday," reported the Minneapolis Tribune on May 16, "the General Headquarters organization set up at 1900 Chicago Avenue was operating with all the precision of a military organization."

"Before him on a desk, Farrell Dobbs, in charge at headquarters, had a list designating all the places in the city to be picketed and the time set for start of picketing. As the picket groups left for their posts, the list was checked."

"Days before the strike started, Mr. Dobbs said, picket captains had been selected, sizes of picket crews had been determined and all spots to be picketed had been designated. All that remained when the time came for moving the picket crews was to assign the squads, varying in number according to needs at the various picket places, load them in trucks or cars, and send them on their ways."

The pickets went "on their ways" so effectively, and they attracted to their support such a wide section of other workers, some of whom came out in sympathy, that the employers found it advisable to recede from their stiff-necked position and deal with the union. On Friday, May 25, ten days after the beginning of the strike, a settlement was made and the men returned to work.

**When is the Time for Strike Settlement?**

The resolute course of the union leaders in recommending the acceptance of the settlement has raised an extremely interesting and important question before the advanced and militant workers who followed all the developments at Minneapolis with the utmost attention. In the history of the American labor movement the radical and revolutionary workers have been distinguished by a singular oneness in regard to strike and trade union strategy. They led and organized many a militant strike, but seldom succeeded in maintaining a stable union. There is little to go by, in the way of previous experience, to aid the modern militants in determining how and when to settle strikes. Their predecessors did not settle any.

And yet, if we really aim to get into the labor movement and influence it permanently from within,

all the year round and not merely during strikes—and this is the fundamental task of the present-day militants—this problem must be solved. The leaders of the Minneapolis strike faced it without hesitation. Those who really want to learn something about the art of building unions, leading them through strikes and keeping them intact afterward ought to study this phase of the Minneapolis struggle particularly.

Those who merely want to throw mud, to scream and show their own impotence and ignorance, will not learn anything from the experience under review, or from any other experience for that matter. Nevertheless, they also serve the cause of progress indirectly. By holding their arguments and criticisms up to the light the education of others can be aided, as temperance used to be taught by the exhibition of the "horrible example".

**What the Strike Settlement Means**  
Every strike settlement is a compromise in the sense that it leaves the bosses in control of industry and free to exploit the workers. The best settlement only limits and checks this exploitation to a certain extent. Realistic leaders do not expect justice from the capitalists, they only strive to extract as much as possible for the union in the given situation and strengthen their forces for another fight.

Tight at the present time, when the great problem and task of all the unions of newly organized workers is to establish a permanent status and to compel recognition—a task that remains yet to be accomplished for the great majority of the new unions, for nearly all of them in fact—the Minneapolis settlement, itself manifestly a compromise, stands out high above any other of which we have direct knowledge. Those who have secured better settlements for new unions since the inception of the NRA—old established unions obviously stand in a different category—have a certain special right to criticize the Minneapolis leaders. But, first, it is necessary to find the leaders who did better. Who are they, and where are they? Are they, by any chance, the leaders of the St. Paul packinghouse strike? or the New York Taxi strike?

Here is what the Minneapolis settlement says on the questions of union recognition, discrimination and seniority rights, quoted from the official text printed in the Minneapolis papers, May 26:

"All members of the General Drivers and Helpers Union No. 574 in dealing with employers may be represented by the officers of such Union, and no discrimination against representatives shall be made because they are officers or agents of said Local Union No. 574; and such firms shall deal with such representatives when duly selected as accredited representatives of these employees."

"In the hiring or discharging of employees hereafter, no employer affected hereby shall discriminate against any employee because of membership in said Local Union No. 574."

"In the hiring and discharging of or laying off of employees, seniority rights shall prevail, except for just cause."

**Recognition Enforced to the Letter**  
In these sections of the agreement the main demands of the union were complied with in written form. And what is more important, they were carried out in practice in the days immediately following the end of the strike. Every case of discrimination in the rehiring of the workers—there were about 50 out of 5,000, according to the report made to the union meeting three days later—brought a committee of union officials to the office of the firm complained against. In not a single case did the employers refuse to meet the union officials and to adjust the complaints.

That is "recognition" enforced to the letter by a union that stands intact and ready to fight again if necessary. Where is there a new union anywhere in the United States which secured a clearer and more definite recognition since the inauguration of the NRA and began to enforce it the very next day? Against these gains must be put down on the other side the fact that the union agreed to submit the wage demands to arbitration and to accept the results. This, the union had offered early in the strike on the condition that the union be recognized. The arbitrating body is not the Regional Labor Board, but is to consist of two members of the board, two employers and two representatives of the union, plus a seventh member to be selected. This body is also to arbitrate and decide individual disputes regarding the seniority clause.

This is a serious concession which the union officials felt it necessary to make under the circumstances in order to secure the recognition of the union and consolidate it in the next period. It is a big concession, but by no means a fatal one. It is a concession that has been made by many unions. It is somewhat ironical that the Furriers Union, the one Stalinist organization having direct relations with the bosses up till recently pro-

vided, in the agreement, for arbitration by an "impartial chairman". An adverse ruling of the board of arbitration would undoubtedly galvanize the union membership for action again. The board will meet under the direct impress of the 10-day strike and with the consciousness that the union is strong and militant.

That, in our opinion, is the fundamentally decisive feature of the results of the Minneapolis strike—the indubitable establishment of a new union where none existed before. All the plans of the leaders and organizers were directed to this end as the first objective in a long campaign. The struggle was centered around this issue and was crowned with success. On that basis further steps forward can be made. To speak of such an outcome as a "defeat" is simply absurd.

The labor movement of Minneapolis has been restored to new life by the emergence of Local 574. The working class of the entire country has been inspired by a new example and enriched by a fresh experience which constitutes a real contribution to the burning question of trade unionism. Honest and loyal workers everywhere will acknowledge an indebtedness to the group of Minneapolis militants at the head of Local 574 who organized this magnificent movement, steered it through the strike and the settlement and still remain at its head. The work they have done already is bound to influence future developments of the left wing labor movement on a national scale. And they are not finished yet.

As was to be expected, the Stalinist specialists in the art of losing strikes and breaking up unions are bitterly disappointed with the Minneapolis situation. It was also to be expected that they would work overtime to discredit the strike and the union and blacken the names of the organizers and leaders. But even those who understood, especially those with sensitive stomachs, could not avoid a slight feeling of nausea at the instrument chosen for the present job and the dirty self-befouling methods assigned to him in executing it.

For the "Minneapolis job" the collective Browders, with a perverse cruelty, summoned the wreck of what was once a revolutionist and a man named William F. Dunne and offered him the opportunity to restore himself to grace and favor. He took the job of slandering the Minneapolis movement and all connected with it, and it must be said he did a dirty job as he was required to do.

That side of his articles are of no particular interest in themselves and can well be passed over. What is important and worthy of discussion is the fact that, in the course of his attacks, he exposes a conception of the trade union question, as he has learned it in recent years in the school of Browder-Stachel, which throws a searchlight on the present-day tactics of the Stalinists in contrast to ours. We can only welcome the opportunity to discuss the contrasting viewpoints on the basis of a concrete demonstration of one of them. That the discussion takes place on our ground—in itself is a fact which helps to explain the meaning of the differences. In next week's issue I hope to take up the main thesis of the Dunne articles on the Minneapolis strike and demonstrate its falsity and, consequently, the falsity of all the tactics prescribed on the basis of this thesis.

# Browder "Exposes" Strike "Sell-Out"

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leaders in this strike, were they not?" Affirmative replies from all parts of the hall. "These Trotskyists, these revolutionist revolutionists, they call us Centrists and Reactionaries, you know. Is their settlement any better than that made by the Social-Fascists everywhere else, in Toledo, in Detroit, etc. . . . There is no reply, there is no applause, silence! He continues, "I understand that there are a thousand men who lost their jobs from this settlement". There is mumbling and commotion in the crowd. Browder retreats, "Or am I wrong, well, you say there is only a hundred." He points to some imaginary questioner in the crowd. "Even if it were less than a hundred, that would have been a shame." No applause. The lie, the trickery of his speech, was even too raw for the hard-boiled Stalinists (who were the vast majority of the crowd) to swallow. "This settlement contains the clause of Section 7a, does it not? That is an endorsement of the Company Union is it not?" No response. No applause. Browder went too deep. The Stalinists were ashamed to applaud this characterization of a splendid union and a magnificent strike. Besides there was a rumor that had gone around them that fifty truck-drivers, union members, were in the hall.

Browder had waited for applause, it didn't come. He hesitated a moment, he left the subject of the Minneapolis strike and started to talk in general about the wave of strikes. He had nothing further to

# The Militant Pledge Fund

We want to take this opportunity to thank all the comrades who have been contributing regularly to the Pledge Fund, and to tell them that if it had not been for their contributions, we would have been obliged to skip at least one of the issues in the past few months.

Due to unemployment, several of our regular subscribers to this fund, have been obliged to discontinue their contributions. We call upon other readers and sympathizers to take their places.

The Militant is in a critical financial situation. Like all revolutionary papers, we operate on a weekly deficit which has to be made up by special donations. The debts which have been accumulating for a period of time, are pressing hard on us and threatening our existence. The Organization-Press Campaign which is now in progress, will help to liquidate these debts and thus prepare the base for stabilizing the paper. But it cannot permanently solve the problem. Our hope is in the Pledge Fund.

If we can get a total of \$40 weekly in pledges, to supplement our other income, we can guarantee the continue appearance and prompt mailing of The Militant.

**MAKE YOUR PLEDGE TO-DAY. SEND FOR A PLEDGE CARD.**

**THE PLEDGERS**

**New York City**

I. Porter	\$1.00	monthly
E. Alby	1.00	"
E. E. C.	1.00	"
E. J. Conwit	.50	"
Cornelis	1.00	"
Samuel, E.	1.00	"
Ann Ehrlich	1.00	"
The Gelmans	1.00	"
L. Haidous	1.00	"
P. Miller	1.00	"
Sydney Moroff	1.00	"
A. McAbe	1.00	"
City Subway Worker	1.00	"
Beecher	.50	"
Colay	.50	"
Coehrin	.50	"
Jerry Marsh	1.00	"
Ann Toven	1.00	"
Gonzales	.50	"
T. Smith	2.00	"

**Bronx**

Edith Sher	1.00	"
S. Eckstadt	1.00	"
M. Lifshitz	1.00	"

**Newark, N. J.**

Lambert	1.00	"
G. Holly	.50	"
L. Nagy	.50	"
Becker	1.00	"
G. Kots	1.00	"
A. Sympathizer	.50	"
A. Social Worker	1.00	"
A. Clerk	.50	"

**Boston**

E. Wiener	.50	"
C. Shecket	.50	"
W. Henderson	.50	"
J. Chiplovitz	.50	"

**Others**

A. Wolfe, New Haven	1.00	"
A. Worker, W. Va.	1.00	"
(paid in advance for 10 months)		
A. Teacher in N. Y. C., paid for 10 months in advance.		
A. Friend of The Militant paid \$25 in advance at \$1 a week.		
A. Friend in Youngstown is paying \$2 monthly. We just received a letter from him enclosing \$8 for 4 months, saying: "I pledge for as long as The Militant will be in need and as long as I will be able to remit."		

**Brownsville Forum**  
**WHAT NEXT IN FRANCE?**  
Speaker  
**JACK WEBER**  
SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 8:30 P.M.  
Dir. International Workers' School  
1776 Pitkin Ave., near Stone Ave.

# Militant Builders

Again we remind our branches and our readers that the Second Club Plan sub drive (4 six-month subs for \$3.00) ends on AUGUST 1. NO CARDS SOLD AFTER THAT DATE.

**GET YOUR CARDS AT ONCE!**  
The following extracts from letters show that interest in the Militant is high and that subs can be gotten if they are gone after.

From a comrade in Columbus we hear:

"The new subscriber says that the Militant certainly makes a man think. He thinks he can get new subscribers. He is one of the men who goes around all day in a horse cart for a baking concern. The workers had a successful strike a week ago."

George Truhar, of the Cleveland branch writes:

"Find enclosed four cards and another \$1 for 4 more cards. We are trying to get 100 subs by the end of the drive."

If you do George, you will deserve a prize.

S. Jojanov of Chicago, says:

"The first time I read your paper was at the May Day demonstration and I like it because it sincerely believes in united front. I hope you will continue. I do not believe in the tricks the Stalinists do. Enclosed find \$1 for a subscription."

This morning's mail brought the following:

"Dear Comrades: Reading the Militant after the Daily Worker is just like jumping from a mud bath into a cold, clear spring. The true spirit of international working class solidarity permeates your paper. The Stalinists give lip service to it. I read Dunne's articles on the Minneapolis strike. What lies! It was only because the League was in the forefront of this fine strike. Anything the Stalinists are in is wonderful. But when anybody outside the party is concerned, no words are too vile, no hysterical

frothing too disgusting or too low for them to apply. Look what these "revolutionists" did to the taxi strike. . . . Keep up this splendid paper and you can't fail to win. Good luck! I am unemployed, but I am enclosing 25c for the Militant."

Signed, A Militant fan.  
Thank you for your letter comrade "Militant fan". If you had given your address, we would put you on the mailing list so you would be sure of receiving it regularly while you are still unemployed.

The following subs were received during the past week: Chicago br. 8; Cleveland br. 12; Davenport br. 4; Constance N. 4; Youngstown br. 4; Total, 32. Previously reported, 234.

## THE COMPLETE RECORD OF SECOND DRIVE

Minneapolis Branch	40
Cleveland Branch	34
New York Local	32
City Office	28
Harlem Br.	4
Chicago Branch	28
Los Angeles Branch	24
Boston Branch	8
Chicago Friends of the Militant Club	8
San Francisco Br.	8
Philadelphia Branch	8
Constance N.	8
Davenport Branch	8
Toronto	4
Kerkeley (Kogan)	4
Ben. L. and I. Porter	4
Leeser	4
New Haven Branch	4
New Castle Branch	4
Newark Branch	4
Oakland Branch	4
Springfield Branch	4
St. Louis Branch	4
Osborn, Frisco	4
Toronto Branch	4
Toronto Youth Club	4
Waukegan Branch	4
Youngstown Branch	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>266</b>

# N. Y. Independent Printers Union

Six months ago seven militants began organizing the unorganized New York printers. Today this new union, the "Independent Printing Employees" has reached a membership of about 1,000. An excellent beginning has been made of a big job in a big field. There are still not less than about 40,000 unorganized pressmen, compositors, linotype operators, and other workers distributed in some 2,100 small printing shops in the city. These unorganized printers have been denied admission into the official A. F. of L. printers' unions. The new union, however, has adopted as its policy a demand for inclusion into the official unions.

One tribute to its success and growth was given at the mass meeting held by this union on June 4th. Despite the sizzling heat there was an enthusiastic crowd of more than 500 printers present who unanimously approved the union program as set forth in three excellent speeches delivered by the union leaders. Each speech was different and yet each was brimful of the one and only inevitable conclusion—organization.

S. R. Solomonick, as chairman of the meeting, said in his introductory remarks, that the meeting was called primarily for the purpose of explaining the recently adopted Printers Code to the printers, and to work out a plan for its enforcement upon the bosses and "chisselers", who are repeatedly violating its most important clauses.

The preliminary speaker of the evening was a guest politician from the Regional Labor Board, a "labor" member of that body. The gentleman tried his best to play the part of an ardent union sympathizer, well wisher and peacemaker, as if he had smelled in the air the restlessness, and spirit of revolt of the underpaid and stepped-upon printers. He spoke long and said little and the lively crowd felt relieved when he had spoken and M. Tomasch, an active militant and member of the executive board was introduced.

M. Tomasch stressed the crying need of organization in the printing industry. He pointed out the unwillingness of the leaders of Local

51 and the "Big Six" of the A. F. of L. to open its books to unorganized printers. "It is up to us to organize the entire trade, to crack down the doors of the union, and fight for the 30-hour week and union scale throughout the whole industry."

The next speaker was Sam Gordon, one of the founders of the I.P.E. and its president. During his speech about the Printers Code he handed to the representative of the Labor Board 90 code violations for examination which had been returned by the Board to the organization after a long delay without any action having been taken. Tumultuous cheers drowned his voice, when he finished his speech by calling the attention of the printers to the militant fights of the workers in Toledo, Minneapolis and the West Coast.

Then George Clark, the young educational director and member of the executive board, spoke. He reviewed the short history and the growth of the organization; how in six months time the membership had grown from the original seven to more than a thousand, with individuals and whole shops lining up every day in the headquarters at 24 W. 20th Street. Already the organization has conducted one successful strike in one shop and is negotiating with several others. Clark summed up his forceful speech by calling all unorganized printers up to action: "There is no other way to get the thirty-hour week but by fighting and no successful fight was ever secured without militant organization."

The I.P.E. has undertaken a tremendous job. Their job of fighting the 2,000 small shop-owners in New York and the well-oiled machine of Local 51 and the Big Six of the A. F. of L. is no sinecure, no joy-ride. It demands ability, and most of all, hard courageous effort against obstacles and difficulties little realized by ordinary workers. That the leadership commands all these requirements was even openly admitted by the representative of the "Labor Board". It depends upon to what extent they are willing to support this movement. —P.S.

# N.Y. Picnic Sunday, June 24th

You can't afford to miss the greatest get-together of the Communist League and its supporters and friends ever held in New York. Arrangements are being completed to assure a good time to all. Are you an indoor baseball player? Then register for one of the teams. You'll have a chance to play soccer, quilts, or take part in the fat man's race—if we can find enough fat men to make a race worthwhile. There will be many other features to the sports program. The place is ideal. Large trees shade the tables. Food will be good. The menu includes "Sashlik", and also "Hot Dawgs" for the American approach. Thirsty? Your needs will be attended to. Dancing will go on till midnight in the roofed-in pavillion. If you wish to lose yourself for an hour—the large woodland estate which surrounds the picnic ground is yours.

If you wish to discuss Cuba, Imperialist War, Fascism, Stalinism, or the Fourth International, you will find the best informed Communists in New York present. At 4:00 P.M. Max Shachtman will speak on the "New International".

Come early for the program. Stay late for the dancing and camp-fire songs.—From 10:00 A.M. to Midnight.  
Get your tickets at once—only 25c. The place is "Zedler's Grove", Lincoln Heights, Yonkers. The White Plains Lexington Ave. Subway or Third Avenue El. to 241st and White Plains Road will take you there. Get off at the last stop. A 15 minute walk, or Zedler's Grove Bus will take you to the open grounds. Don't miss a minute of this grand outing.

# I.L.A. Leaders Weaken Strike

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velopments, and particularly in reply to the threats of bringing out soldiers, the demand for a general strike went up in a powerful chorus all along the coast. It gained a tremendous impetus among the workers. But it remained a slogan.

The same can be said for the demand for a Waterfront Federation to be set up of the various unions involved. An entirely legitimate and correct demand. But alas, it also remained a slogan. The united strike committee which was set up, instead of being tightened-up and enlarged to take in all the unions affected by the strike, and to have some real influence upon the conduct of the strike, was allowed to deteriorate after a couple of meetings.

Needless to say that in such a situation the strike, despite its magnificent militancy and broad sweep, is endangered. Oakland furnishes an example of this neglect of the danger and at the same time also of the sentiment of solidarity. The I.L.A. local asked for action in the Central Labor Council on a general strike vote. According to its laws a two thirds majority vote is required. The proposition narrowly missed that majority. It was only two votes short. Nevertheless several unions walked out in sympathy strike. But no serious effort was made to link these unions up with the united strike committee.

## The Stalinists in the Strike

The official Communist party was in a position of having actually a mass basis on the Pacific Coast. Long before the strike it had gained serious influence among the rank and file and had promoted the slogan for a strike. It accounts for both the early strength and the subsequent weakness of the militant section. It was the first to raise the united front slogan, and to raise the issue of a general strike. Its prestige increased. But when it came to following up on its slogan matters changed and the resolutions it had adopted, those which were correct, remained on paper in usual Stalinist style.

Accounting for its failure stands first of all the fact that its policy of the T.U.U.L. unions existing also on the Pacific Coast contradicts the process of advancing the mass unions to a higher level. It becomes the first very serious point of division. Flowing from that the very tactics pursued will perhaps yet have even more disastrous consequences. While the Stalinists apparently sponsored the united front policy they insisted on having their own particular "united front" consisting of the official party, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, the International Workers Relief, the International Labor Defense, etc. When the I.L.A. called for a united protest against the police brutality in the outrageous attack and firing upon unarmed workers on the Embarcadero, the Stalinists injected their particular "united front" confusion. In the name of the I.L.A., but through their own particular set-up, they collected funds. Incidentally, however, when the two comrades of the League, Wyle and Booth, were arrested on the water front they absolutely refused to have anything to do with the cause.

**Mistakes of the League**  
Had the official party been able to translate even its correct resolutions into action a solid federation of transport workers could have been formed and the whole strike strengthened instead of the first backwash of retreat being apparent. The Communist League was not without faults in the strike situation. Some members were active in the strike leadership but permitted themselves meanwhile to become isolated from the League activities. As a result the organic connection between the League and the strikers suffered. The fact that our branches are small when compared to the huge task and the fact that our members were swamped with work is not a sufficient excuse. Our decision to issue a monthly paper was held in abeyance. Such errors should not be repeated. We are no longer in the Stalinist party where decisions are handed down from above bureaucratically without any right of the membership to question. The correctness of our trade union policy is already verified by experience; but we must carry it out.

—F. C.

## MOONLIGHT PICNIC IN MINNEAPOLIS

WORKERS OF MINNEAPOLIS

Attend

MOONLIGHT PICNIC

Given By

Minneapolis Branch Communist League and

Workmen's Circle Branch 989.

At

Glenwood Park Ground No. 3

SATURDAY NIGHT, JUNE 23

9:00 P.M.

MUSIC — ENTERTAINMENT

REFRESHMENTS.

Speaker from General Drivers

Union will speak on the TRUCK

DRIVERS' VICTORY.

Bring Your Friends for an Enjoyable Evening.