Trade Union Strategy

# Unionism the Main Issue

ganization and union recognition- campaign of hysteria against comis the crucial issue involved in the munism, charging the objects of the without a permit from the union. San Francisco general strike. But general strike to be an insurrection, it is not confined to this one section and by the savage attacks upon the the first two days by the general of the battle front, it is the most Communists, the official Communist strike committee. The bosses time it is also the most sharply contested issue wherever the differences between exploiters and those who are exploited come to a jution on the West Coast. The aim and the Longshoremen's Board inhead. In this San Francisco is in of labor in this situation, the aim the limelight.

is by no means an established fact. ship owners to grant the maritime Union recognition is not something workers three demands: (1) union that can be taken for granted. On control of hiring halls; (2) recogthe contrary, it is accorded only nition of the maritime unions; (3) wherever the workers themselves improvement of working condisecure it through the force of their tions." collective efforts.

#### Recognition Still to Be Won

Many fierce struggles to secure the right of union organization are recorded in American labor history and yet the issue had to be fought out again and again. History once more repeats itself. The present sweep of union organization has brought large numbers of new recruits into unions formerly existing only in skeleton form and now infusing them with new life and new hope. New unions have grown up in formerly unorganized industries. A strong stimulus was undoubtedly provided by the NRA, at least in its early stage. But it did not at all establish the right to organize nor secure recognition of the unions. That this right can be assured only through struggles is verified once more by the San Francisco general strike. It was verified before by the struggles in Minneapolis and Toledo and in its reverse form by the treacherous sell-out in the automobile and steel industries.

On the Pacific Coast the Longshoremen and the other maritime workers in their battle of almost three months duration demanded this elementary right-union recognition and union control of hiring halls. From the outset the contest centered around this issue. The owners of the maritime industry refused to yield and refused to concede even this elementary right. Supported solidly by the whole of the capitalist interests and their government, the San Francisco section assumed the offensive to endeavor to settle the issue to their own liking through their armed forces. The concentration of troops and police became a direct threat to the very life and existence of the un-

# Efforts to Smash Strike

gan, the combined forces of the objective result of such an attitude strike. capitalist interests and their gov- is the breaking of the solidarity of ernment, stiffened their offensive the strikers. To break this solidarand assumed a more aggressive at- ity is treason to the working class. titude. No longer was the object The attacks of course must be refor union recognition and control duty of every honest worker to rally of hiring halls, the whole scope ex- in the defense of those attacked. tended to one of smashing the strike, put a stop to the organiza- ducted by the A. F. of U. unions. tion developments and to crush the It is the life of the A. F. of L. ununions. Watchful of any weaken- ions that is at stake. Unity and ing of the general strike, the capi- solidarity in the A. F. of L. unions talist forces prepared, as stated in for the most sweeping general the New York Post dispatch, to strike in years had been accomchallenge the workers, that "they plished. But it had been accomcan return to work only upon a plished against the reactionary basis to be determined by the em- leaders. It had been accomplished

Could it be more clearly and more brazenly stated that the issue of the right to union organization is a definite class issue? Additional

## The New International

The long awaited first issue of the New International is now off the press. It is an issue that every member and sympathizer should

Beginning with a stirring editorial for the FOURTH INTERNA-TIONAL which gives the general perspective of the magazine, it contains two documents by Comrade Trotsky: The Testament of Lenin and The "Clemenceau Thesis" and the Party Regime, a document of great historical importance. Comrade Cannon contributes two analytical articles on the Minneapolis Strike and the Socialist Party Convention. A prominent German Communist under the pen-name of A. Max, writes on the Legend of the analysis of the treacherous role of the Social Democratic leaders in the recent Austrian events.

Soviets and the League of Nations, And naturally so. Unionists loyal an article by Jack Weber on New Trends under the New Deal; to their class must necessarily fight Strikes and the Economic Cycle by for the unity of the mass unions Alfred Weaver; The Decay of the and can only become bitterly hos-Stalinist Party by Arne Swabeck; tile to the splitting policy of the Engels on Bimetallism, which is rival unions which have no mass particularly interesting in view of basis. the monetary crisis. An article on the internal political situation in aimed to defeat the general strike France serves to illuminate the re- and to crush the unions, unity and cent events there. It also contains solidarity is the paramount issue. a book review section, a survey of Unity proceeds against the reactioncurrent periodicals and numerous ary traitors, but it must also set miscellaneous items.

future. Every effort should be ished. A collapse of Stalinism will made to secure it the widest circu- result, but the revolutionists will lation. All inquiries should be ad- continue their fight for unity in the dressed to The New International, mass unions to prepare for victory Station D, P.O. Box 119, New York, in the bigger struggles to come. N. Y.

Unionism-the right of union or-femphasis is lent to this fact by the burning issue before the American Party and the Communist League obeyed, and only trucks with union working class today. At the same of America. To this the Daily Worker of July 17 answers:

"Any sensible, sane and honest person knows that there is no revoof the general strike is not to seize The right of union organization political power, but to force the

#### What About Minneapolis?

This is entirely correct. Such first of all the building of powerful unions to assert their rights and to establish the guarantees of recognition by their own forces. Incidentally we may ask, in view of this correct statement, from whence appeared the thesis advocated by that in the Minneapolis Truck Drivers strike of last May the essential objective should have been the overthrow of the state government, which, the "Trotskyists" "failed" to do? Are the Stalinists now ready to say that "any sensible and sane person knows" that the aim of the Minneapolis strike could not and should not have been to seize political power? Are they ready to say that the aims werd recognition of the union, control of the hiring of its members without discrimination and improved working conditions; the very aims that these strikers battled for until the main victory was won? Are they ready to grant that this correct policy resulted in the establishment of a powerful union? Upon honest revolutionists such a confession would be obligatory.

Breaking Strike Solidarity Meanwhile in San Francisco the struggle for unionism to a higher the result that scab drivers are filllevel than before. Hence the desof L. hierarchy, who above all else fear the militancy of the rank and were in evidence. file, began to turn their backs treacherously upon the general Ever since the general strike be- ers charged as Communists. The move the value of the teamsters'

The San Francisco strike is con-

also in spite of the splitting T.U. U.L. policy of the Stalinists. Stalinists Foster Division

to bring out once more the criminal hold them together. By one trick policy pursued by the Stalinists or another Casey may still drive which from the outset played into them back to work. the hands of the employers as well as into the hands of the reactionary leaders. While the maritime unions were growing, rallying thousands of unions have no experienced rank new recruits to their ranks, the and filers. Stalinists pressed forward in direct rivalry their private Marine Workers Industrial Union. While the A.F. of L. maritime unions marched forward in a progressive move to strengthen their solidarity and unity in a waterfront federation, which of necessity could not include the rival unions, the Stalinists attempted a counter-move by efforts to rally some of these unions in a separate conclave with the M.W.I. Simultaneously they insisted upon bringing into the A. F. of L. waterfront federation, first the M. W. I. U. and when that did not succeed they attempted to bring in a subsidiary of the M.W.I.U., the THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION Vienna Commune - a castigating ship scalers union. So far did this criminally false policy proceed that the party bureaucracy found itself in conflict with the party fraction Then there is an editorial on the in the A. F. of L. maritime unions. to their class, revolutionists loyal

In the present severe attacks itself hard as flint against the All in all, it is a splendid issue splitting policy of the Stalinists. which shows great promise for the This policy cannot proceed unpun-

# The Betrayal of the Coast Strike

(Continued from Page 1) an order permitting scab trucks to move. When the teamsters came out in sympathy with the waterfront fight, they had seen to it that no trucks rode the Frisco streets This procedure was also followed permits moved. The milk, bread, produce and other trucks exempted from the strike had to have union drivers. But after the resolution terpretation, the bosses decided they could flout the union's orders, and non-union drivers drove trucks.

Especiatry the Standard Oil Co. and other gasoline companies ran scab trucks. The teamsters and longshoremen got busy, and chased trucks off the street, and closed gas stations as far as San Mateo. When for provocative purposes, two filling stations were opened early Wednesare the aims today. They imply day less than a block from the the Longshoremen's headquarters, with National Guard sentries guarding each station with rifles, bayonets and machine guns, scores of carloads of pickets went cruising to prevent shipment of fuel into Frisco. Whatever reasons the general the Stalinists in the Daily Worker strike committee might have about sending municipal car workers back, and liberalizing issuance of truck permits to include ownerdriven trucks, it was essential to the salvation of the marine strike, let alone the general strike, to keep scab trucks off the street. That's why the teamsters came out, independently and before the general strike. Had the general strike never come, the teamsters themselves would have seen to it that no scab trucks rode the street.

It was this vital spot of the strike that Vandeleur and his gang stabbed mortally. The small executive committee, without even consulting the big general strike committee on this fundamental question, issued an order "releasing gasoline and fuel oil supplies to the general public." While every other embargo lifted previously had provided for union truck-drivers, this general strike developed the whole included no such provision. With ing the streets. This has made the perate onslaughts upon it by the union permit ridiculous, and bosses

With these two moves, first the demoralizing resolution, then perstrike, gave concession after con- mitting scab drivers, the labor fakcession, joined the red baiting ers have broken the back of the chorus and thus assisted in the general strike. They have also savage raids and arrests of work- largely nullified by the second

## Waterfront Strike Not Over

But this by no means ends the waterfront strike. Even with the National Guard in control, not only merely the defeat of the demands sisted to the utmost and it is the of the waterfront but also of a large part of the surrounding territory, including markets and warehouses, it is a lie that steamers are being loaded and unloaded to any degree approximating normal. They can't get enough scabs on the Pac- Press further exploded the workerific Coast to man the ships and service them, nor trucks to bring tie-up with the government authorand take away the reight. If the ities: waterfront workers and the teamsters stick it out, they can still win.

The teamsters over-rode their President, the reactionary Mike Casey when they went out. But the rank and file are an inexperi-It is necessary to remember and enced lot, with no militant core to

The longshoremen are solidly behind Harry Bridges, but he is a lone militant. The other marine

If Joseph Ryan, strikebreaking head of the I. L. A .-- word has come that he is driving the men on the East coast to unload ships loaded here by scabs-and Andy Furuseth, white-haired "old man of the sea"-and like the old man of the sea in the story, he's got his legs

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the Seamen's Union-if these two ghouls start driving the marine workers back to work, can Harry Bridges with a handful of men around him keep them fighting?

Stalinist Responsibility If the marine strike fails, the Stalinists will bear a heavy responsibility for it. By going right on with their splitting policy of building the Marine Workers Industrial Union, they have done a perfect job for Ryan, Furuseth and the bosses. The existence of the M.W.I.U. has meant the isolating of splendid, fighting militants who should have been in the midst of the marine workers within the unions. Instead of that, most marine workers have come to hate these militants for being in a dual union.

The M.W.I.U. was like a man sticking his chin out for a sock. and when the troops and vigilantes raided its headquarters, the result of the whole splitting policy was that the striking thousands did not come to their help. The failure of the strikers to defend the M.W.I.U., and the condonation by the Vandeleurs of the red raids, would have been absolutely impossible if it weren't for the splitting policy of the Stalinists. The confusion bred in the minds of the workers has also enabled the police and troops to march right into groups of pickets and soup lines and arrest militant strikers. There have been plenty of fights in which strikers fought to save arrested men, but defense has been spontaneous and unorganized, whereas if the M.W.I. U. members had been all along inside the regular unions, this raiding of strikers would have led to a tremendous and organized defense of the rights of strikers.

It's just beginning to dawn on the masses of strikers what the Vandeleurs, Kidwells, Caseys, are doing to them. It's a known fact here that the Standard Oil Co. has contributed two million dollars to the Frisco Industrial Association's open-shop fund, that almost every firm in town has signed a pledge card covering five years' contributions to this strike-breaking fund, and that the banks are discounting most strategically important factor the pledge cards for the full sums in cash, so that the Industrial Association has a terrific batch of cash, and is out to smash the union movement here. The workers are employers. Hence also the craven are tearing them off with impunity. contrasting these known facts with reactionary local leaders headed by On Tuesday no truck rode the the backing-down of the union lead-Vandeleur and backed by the A. F. streets without a union permit. ership and are finding that the an-Now or Never.

the union movement here.

# Bosses' Terror

(Continued from Page 1)

civilians, who had dressed like workers and circulated through the crowd, struck like lightning. Several speakers resisted and were reported to have been beaten.

Telegram (July 18) by the United vigilante myth and revealed the

"Just Hoodlums," Declare Police By EVELYN SEELEY. World-Telegram Special Correspondent.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 18 .-'America Today," announced the red and white poster bared to vie at the first broken window of the San Francisco Worker's School, demolished in yesterday's first general strike violence.

"America Today" was a lecture to have been given last night by Jim Branch, tall young Harvard economist and head of the Workers School. Students said Branch probably would have spoken of strikes and violence, the struggle between capital and labor. But last night's newspapers told the story for him.

We were having a sandwich at

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Books by Leon Trotsky

PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

#### tightly twisted around the neck of | the Maison Paul, that runs through Market St. to Grove, when waitresses began rushing to the Grove St. exit to see what was happening. We followed them, went on out and across

Grove St. to join the crowd that

stared across at the office of the Western Worker, Communist newspaper.

Glass Front Smashed. Its plate glass front was smashed, the shattered glass scattered all over the sidewalk. People in the crowd told us that "a gang of hoodlums" had driven by and done it with rocks they carried. They "might have been workers-maybe strikers," they said. They all wore leather jack-

"They got away," they said. "Where were the police?" we asked, They shook their heads. We went across the street and into the building. We went all through the rooms, both floors, and nobody there.

Soon the police came, four carloads of them, sirens shricking. It had been about ten minutes since the rock throwing. They did not question the witnesses nor start pursuit. They went right on into the Western Worker and Workers' Bookshop and finished what the "hoodlums" had begun. They smashed every window and every piece of furniture in the place, knocking glass and pieces of chairs down into the street. Brandish Clubs

They brandished clubs and

chased everyone across the street, even reporters. But Herbert Lord, 27, they insisted on hustling inside the building. When he came out his head was bleeding. "I didn't do nothing," he declared.

When they got through there the police raced up to the Workers' School at 121 Haight St. We followed. Police did not have to do much smashing there. Twenty men or more ("I guess they were hoodlums," said the cops), had droven up in cars and done a thorough job. They wore leather jackets and heavy gloves and carried rocks. They didn't leave a piece of the place intact except the poster that stared out the window about "America Today."

## Green's Treachery

(Continued from Page 1) The "Holy" Contract

Richard J. Gray, international If the teamsters and waterfront treasurer of the Bricklayers, Masmen hold out they can still save ons and Plasterers International Union, said: "Our policy is to live up to our contracts. A union has no right to walk out, no matter how In this attempt to alienate the great its sympathy with another craft, if it is bound by contract."

ment which is at least commendable | World Telegram carried the screamfor its plain-speaking. "There will ing headline: "Refugees Flee Coast be no strike here in New York As Food Shortage Grows." This while we can hold our men. We have an agreement with the steamship companies until October 31, porter checked up outgoing traffic, and we shall continue to live up and found few more than usual to it. Communists are trying to were leaving the city, the fact was Later dispatches in the World make trouble in the vicinity of the buried inconspicuously in the later piers where ships from the West Coast are unloaded." (That is, scabloaded ships, being unloaded by union men on Ryan's orders). They tell the men that it is their duty to walk out to show their sympathy with their comrades on the Pacific, but the men are paying no attention.'

Green and the A. F. of L. bureaucracy must not be permitted to live down this shameless treachery, this flagrant display of unity with the bosses against the workers.

A survey by the N. Y. State Industrial Commissioner based on reports by 1,675 representative factories in various parts of the State, reveals that employment between the middle of May to the middle of June dropped only 1.2% while wages dropped 18%. Compared to last year this mcans a further reduction in wages of 26.6%.

This is ample testimony to the 'benefits" the NRA has brought to the workers. It also accounts for the support of the NRA by the

It is a commonly accepted Marxian axiom that capitalism can develop only in so far as it can revolutionize the instruments of production. Recent statistics show that unemployment amounts to 47% in the durable goods industries. The Durable Goods Industries Committee also reports that only \$160,000 population. These various ways of 000 was invested in industry in 1933, as compared with an average of \$4,000,000,000 a year in the 10 ther. One example is the lead of years ending with 1930. This amounts to 4 per cent of the annual average.

The NRA codes also show a tendency to restrict the installation | tan area accompanied by vandalism of new machinery and to limit pro- and violence." Another example is ductive capacity on the false theory of "overproduction". This planned sabotage of the productive forces is the distinguishing feature of declining capitalism.

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or smaller, your subscription to The Militant expired. Do not delay. the unions are attempting to pre- lishers, 84 E. 10th Street, at the send your renewal in at once and so save us innecessary labor and Merriam was ready to declare mar- plus twenty-five cents for postage. expense. If you cannot renew at tial law to assure food deliveries, Regular price is \$2.50. Order your this time let us know how soon you while leaders said that a general copy immediately before our supply

Brass Check Journalism

# The Boss Press and Frisco

on by the nation-wide capitalist da against the strikers!

The Los Angeles Times of July 16 editorially called for the crushing of the strike by force, calling it an "insurrection" and saying: There is but one thing to be done -put down the revolt with any July 16 said the aim of the strike efforts. The San Francisco Chronicle, declaring the "radicals" are in control of the strike, says the "majority voted for the strike in fear of radical thuggery."

The newspapers are enthusiastically backing the red scare and the carried on by the police, the bosses' vigilantes, and the National Guard. Before the raids even began on Tuesday, every San Francisco torials proposing crushing of all Press, are reporting the raids as es" and those arrested as "Communists". The N. Y. Times of July 17 attempted to convey the impression that the raids were made by longshoremen. The N. Y. Post was being arrested.

#### The Myth of the Food Shortage

The red scare was merely the latest of a series of propaganda methods by which the capitalist press has been aiding the bosses against the strike. The worst of these was the myth of a food shortage in Frisco.

In San Francisco, where the public could learn from Strike Committe statements, from strikers, and the clap-trap class collaboration from the bread, milk and other machinery. food trucks passing freely in the streets, that the Strike Committee had made every possible arrangement before the strike began for adequate distribution of food, the myth of a food shortage could make little headway.

But the rest of the country, un-Frisco, were systematically propagandized by the nation-wide capimasses from the strikers, the "liberal" press played its part. As Joseph P. Ryan issued a state- early as Saturday noon the N. Y. was the main point of many stories. But when an enterprising restories.

## Food "Riot" Scares

press maintains a dead silence about the fact that every day in the week desperate unemployed break into food stores, two or three usual instances of the same kind occurring, not in Frisco but in Oakland which was as yet not involved in the strike, were magnified beyond recognition into a fantastic picture of enormous mobs. The ultra-re- Telegram by such phrases as "labor spectable and ultra-reactionary N. Y. **Herald Tribune** ran on Monday

four-column scarehead: "Famine Menaces San Francisco; Stores Looted in Strike Crisis." The ever so "liberal N. Y. Post went even further, carrying the same day an eight-column streamer: "Coast Mobs Riot For Food." This was based on an Associated

Press dispatch. A careful reading of the three column dispatch disclosed that one grocery store was involved.

Thus the press attempted to create sentiment against the strikers by falsely picturing them as preventing food distribution, and also to create an atmosphere of rioting mobs and chaos and violence, in order to justify the use of violence against the strikers. In addition, the press pictured the strike as a blow, not at the oppresive capitalists, but at the whole creating antagonism against the strikers were cleverly woven togethe Associated Press story of July 15: "The general strike began to swing down upon the 1,300,000 residents of San Francisco's metropolithe United Press story of July 14. in the N. Y. World Telegram, which said that "unions met to deliver the most devastating blow organized labor has ever dealt to an American

Anything Goes in Brass Check Press

The same dispatch says not a strike and a complete stoppage of is exhausted.

A venomous attack on the San | business was inevitable." Any-Francisco strikers is being carried thing, any trick, to make propagan-

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

Freed from the restraint of ap-

proximating the facts in the news

columns, the newspaper editorials

were bitterly hostile to the workers.

The "fair-minded" N. Y. Times of

force necessary." The Sacramento was "to inflict such hardships upon Bee, and the Oakland Tribune edi- the people of the city that the autorially hailed Governor Merriam thorities will yield"-leaving out enand Mayor Rossi's strikebreaking tirely the fact that it was a strike against the bosses. The Times hailed the red scare and provocative attacks of the Mayor and Governor, saying their "attitude and proclamations" "are correct and commendable", said the strikers had "already alienated public symparaids on groups of strikers being thy" and talked lyingly of the strikers' "determination to keep food and supplies from hospitals and children. Such an open effort to hold it up the city must be prenewspaper carried front-page edi- pared to resist with all its might." The N. Y. Tribune's editorial of militant elements. With eight-col- July 16 was a tissue of lies. The umn streamers, the yellow Hearst attempt to separate the longshorepress throughout the country is men from the other marine workhailing the mass arrests of militant ers, and the bosses' refusal to abide strikers as seizures of "Reds" The by a vote for representatives of the wo great national press services, seamen-issues fundamental to the the United Press and the Associated strike-are thus described: "The most difficult issue . . , is a rather raids on "Communist meeting plac- minor one about the recognition of some weak maritime unions in trades in which an election cannot be held at once because most of the workers are at sea." Then the Tribune, like a magician making rabthe only paper whose headlines its disappear, does away with all made it clear that strikers were the issues of the strike: "It is a strike about very little, which presumably means that it is not really strike at all, but the discharge of pent-up emotions", etc. Then, like true bourbons, the Tribune blames for the strike-"the Roosevelt labor policy"! The Tribune, no doubt, would like to outlaw labor unions altogether, instead of, like Roosevelt, chaining labor to arbitration boards, special mediators, extraspecial mediators and the rest of

#### A "Pro-Labor" Paper

As hostile as the bourbons is the N. Y. World Telegram's editorial of July 16, but it finds itself subtler arguments. It denounces the general strike as "suicide for organized labor" because "the basis of organized labor is the union conable to see what was going on in tract and any union which engages in a sympathetic strike can do so only by breaking its own contract talist press with preposterous stor- with its employers." In other ies about famine in the strike area. words, it denounces unions for breaking the clause often inserted in contracts by bosses to prevent sympathetic strikes-a clause, by the way, which the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, to which the Telegram belongs, has always forced from the Typographical Union. Then the Telegram goes on to say that in a general strike "the public is certain to be wholly hostile. The public, indeed, is made a direct party to the conflict. It fights to save itself." Certainly the World Telegram, for all its false claims to be pro-labor, has been While usually the capitalist doing all it can to make the public hostile.

> By Tuesday the elaborate arrangements made by the Strike Committee, to insure adequate food and other necessities, had become too obvious to ignore, and after two days of ranting about famine the truth began to get through the press, but distorted as in the World was slowly relaxing its grip on the throat of Frisco".

# Militant Builders

ONE MORE WEEK TO GO No Club Plan Cards Sold After August 1st.

BUY YOUR CARDS NOW!

4 six-month sub cards for \$1 Cards not sold in clubs of less than 4 at a time.

Pittsburgh Branch bought 12 cards last week and A. S., New York City, got 4. This brings the total subs of

the second drive to 390. Take advantage of the last week to stock up on the club plan

Invest a few dollars and have these cards on hand so as to be able to give an opportunity to such workers as cannot afford to pay the full rate to buy a sixmonth sub for 25c. After August 1st a six-month sub will be 50c. Only those who have bought the

cards before August 1st will be

### able to get the special rate. Bound Volumes

We have just received from the binders a number of Bound Volumes of the Militant, Series No. 3 which includes all issues of the word about the Strike Committee's Militant from January 7, 1933 to arrangements for food distribution, December 30, 1933 inclusive. Copies but instead makes it appear that can be obtained from Pioneer Pubvent food distribution: "Governor phenomenally low price of \$1.50