

Concerted Union Drive Needed To Oust Hague

A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Feud Must End So That Labor May Act Unitedly To Smash Dictatorial Rule Of Would-be Hitler In New Jersey

By JAMES RALEIGH

In previous writings about Jersey it has been indicated that while the Democratic Party is the private property (sic) of Frank Hague, the Republican Party is simply a disorganized, spiritless and impotent group of political "opponents," carefully nurtured in disunion and debility by Hague's deals with its leaders. Nonetheless, the numerical strength of both these parties rests with the workers.

The problem is how to clarify political issues for the workers so they not remain divided, conveniently for Mr. Hague, within the framework of these old-line parties. But to achieve this requires first giving the workers a political understanding that their interests differ from Hague's as well as from those of the financial and industrial forces behind Hague.

Unions Are The Place

All fields for solidizing the workers eventually boil down to—the labor union. Here dissident elements, except for the easily-detected bosses' stooges, are generally absent and a clear-cut, class-conscious attitude of the worker can be crystallized. His concern in his economic organization can then be utilized to unite him politically with his brothers. Any effort, therefore, to effectively politicize labor must have a labor union base. This does not mean, however, that the unemployed and the unorganized cannot participate. On the contrary, they are most necessary—in fact, indispensable.

But first of all there must be a considerable autonomous labor nucleus. In Jersey City this does not exist. The A.F. of L. is bureaucratic and Hague-controlled and backs Hague in every anti-C.I.O. move. The C.I.O. itself is young, numerically weak and none too ably led. Consider, for example, the recent C.I.O. "drive to open up Jersey City," which was crudely bungled from start to finish, and the results of which in terms of organization of workers was directly proportionate to the crude tactics employed. Since the drive began, no appreciable achievements have been made, because from the very outset no preparatory groundwork was done prior to the campaign, the C.I.O. leaders naively believing they could "invade" Jersey City and take it by storm.

Publicity Stunts

Another blunder was to try merely to make the issue "spectacular," to "publicize it across the country." Although the leaders were cautioned against this tactic as tragic and useless, the publicity craze overwhelmed them and a battle was fought across the front pages of newspapers from Miami to Seattle, but the workers still are unorganized. The prevailing opinion now seems to be that Roosevelt's Department of Justice will do what no one else has done—make Hague "behave." How this will establish unions, advance workers, or help the unemployed is not even mentioned.

But these are not the only mistakes the C.I.O. leadership made. Admittedly checkmated in their endeavors to organize Jersey City labor, the leadership concluded that the real obstacle in their path was Frank Hague, in person, and that the solution to their problem lay in "coming to an agreement" with the Jersey dictator. They reasoned that Hague was being "injured" by the adverse "nation-wide" publicity which his suppressive acts aroused.

What they forgot to take into consideration was that Hague was not responsive to "outside" opinion of his actions as long as he maintained a semblance of support in Jersey City. At any rate, conferences were arranged between the C.I.O. and Hague representatives, Morris Ernst on one side and Senator John Milton on the other. And a tentative compromise was reached wherein

all adverse publicity was to be terminated by the C.I.O. and Hague was to provide a "Hyde Park" for free speech in Jersey City.

A Dangerous Deal

The harm of such a "deal" cannot be stressed too emphatically, for it would immediately have placed the C.I.O. "under obligation" to the local political boss. As soon as militant action was begun, this treaty would be ended. As a result, the C.I.O. would always be inclined toward moderation and concessions in order to preserve their inconsequential civil right. On the other hand, the right to continue unionization, with which Hague was to cease interfering, was only an imaginary concession.

For the C.I.O. already had this right and was actually exercising it, though modestly, throughout the recent disturbances. The error of the C.I.O. negotiators was in believing that if Hague granted them permission to organize, they could organize better. In fact, if they began to organize under Hague patronage, the trend thereafter would be to pacify him at all times and from that position, by short steps, they would soon be where the bureaucratic Hague-dictated A.F. of L. is today. A militant labor organization that comes on the scene crawling on its belly ends up only lying on its back.

How To Organize

The only real concession to the people under this proposed pact was the establishment of a public place where free speech could be exercised without police interference. But while this democratic right is valuable for the public at large, it is of secondary value—from an organizing view—for labor. You cannot organize workers on a public thoroughfare or at a public meeting. Workers can be organized only in their shops. You cannot bring together in open mass meetings heterogeneous, unrelated workers and UNITE them, let alone ORGANIZE them. To organize, that is, to create a single functioning organ of workers, requires that they be united on common ground. The only common ground is their particular field of employment, their particular shop or factory or trade. From this base one can proceed to separated and dissimilar, though similarly organized, units of labor. But the beginning must be at the place of work.

Fortunately, before Hague had a chance to ratify this compromise, the deal was prematurely announced in the press. Hague immediately denied, first that any authorized negotiations were pending and second, that any concessions would be made to the "red" C.I.O. Thus, the C.I.O. "drive" is exactly where it was last November, with the workers still largely unorganized.

Perhaps recognition that the present nucleus for organizing labor politically was none too promising, caused Labor's Non-Partisan League to abandon its recent efforts to launch a labor party in New Jersey. After two conventions, one in December, the other in May, the matter seems now to be in a state of summer hibernation. If the C.I.O. and L.N.P.L. are at all aware of the obstacles and objectives in New Jersey, three things no doubt occur to them now. First, they must extend unionization, especially in Jersey City, by effective, persistent, not necessarily spectacular, audacious tactics—not futile, sporadic, grandstand, publicity-seeking stunts. Second, they must begin an education campaign within the A.F. of L. to teach its membership the reactionary role their leaders are now performing. Third, they must strive to unite the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. so as to steal Hague's thunder, that he may no longer use the red-baiting, anti-Catholic scare to deceive the rank-and-file of the A.F. of L. and mislead the unemployed and the unorganized.

Bill Brown

A PROLETARIAN FIGHTER

By JAMES P. CANNON

(This is the first of two articles by Comrade Cannon on two outstanding leaders of the workers' and farmers' movement in the northwest whose deaths were reported in preceding issues of the Appeal.—Ed.)

Death struck twice with cruel perversity in recent days at the liberation movement of the oppressed. One cannot get accustomed to the thought of the Northwestern sector of the movement without Bill Brown, president of Local 544, and Rodney Salisbury, one-time Farmer-Labor sheriff of Sheridan County, Montana, and president of the Montana Farm Holiday Association. They were as indigenous to the country as the tough native grass. Both were men of unique and distinctive personality. They were rich in talents which they freely devoted to a cause bigger than themselves or any of us. They truly reflected and expressed the movement out of which they had grown, by which they had been shaped and upon which they, in turn, had placed their own personal stamp.

They Live On!

Now they are both dead. But I assert with confidence that their names and their deeds will live after them in the grateful and affectionate memory of their co-workers who numbered many thousands. More than that, their memory ought by all rights to be saluted in wider circles than those in which they lived and died, and passed on to our youth. It should be a source of inspiration to them. Such considerations alone prompt and will perhaps justify these lines, which otherwise would not be written. It is not easy to write about the dead, especially when the wound is fresh; I have always believed with Swinburne that "silence after grievous things is good."

From the time that William S. Brown went to work driving a one-horse wagon as a boy of 13, until his untimely and tragic death at the age of 41, he was continuously and unintermittently associated with the workers; more specifically, the drivers, and their trade unions. Flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, he reacted sensitively to all that concerned them—their grievances, their advantages, their victories and defeats.

College of Hard Knocks

Lacking formal education, he compensated to a large extent for the deficiency with a first-class diploma from the college of hard knocks, and supplemented it with mother-wit and native shrewdness. When he attained to leadership in the big mass movement and had to match wits with the bosses and their slick and oily lawyers, he was able to hold his own. Without any schooling in the technique of public speaking, he revealed in the great struggles of the union a surprising articulateness, and became a commanding orator and master of the felicitous phrase. Nobody could lash the rapacious employers and their murderous cops with the bitter effectiveness of Bill, and none could stir the workers so deeply.

If there is such a thing as the "typical American," he was it—tough, hard-boiled, sophisticated and, at bottom, deeply sentimental and a sucker for a hard-luck story. Like all Americans, he was an empiricist, learning as he went along and inclined to improvise answers to problems as they arose from day to day. At least, that's what he had been all his life up to the great strike of 1934. After that he stood at the head of a mass movement. He was involved more and more in big and complicated actions where rule-of-thumb practice was lost and helpless. Under the influence of his new environment, Bill was thrown more and more into the consideration of things from a broader standpoint. He assimilated the basic ideas of socialism and became inspired by its great ideal. That is the true explanation of his remarkable transformation from a more or less ordinary trade union official to a leader of militant mass actions. In this, I think, he pioneered on a road that hundreds and thousands of minor trade union officials in America are destined to follow.

An Assiduous Student

He became a party man and a fairly assiduous student of the theoretical teachings of our great masters. Few knew this; he didn't advertise it. The hard-boiled trade unionist remained to the last a bit shy about explaining this strange business of comprehensive theory and world-wide vision which was so far removed from trade unionism of the old school, its limited outlook and its humdrum routine. Nevertheless, it opened up a new window on the world for Bill, as he freely acknowledged in the close party circles, and greatly heightened his stature as a leader of the stormily developing mass movement.

This was all the more remarkable in view of his life-long background in the stagnant pool of old-fashioned trade unionism. Bill was President of General Drivers Union, Local No. 574 (now 544) continuously from 1921. It was a small union and he continued to work as a driver until 1932. During all those years, up until 1934, as with most unions of the same sort, nothing much ever happened. There were a few piddling contracts with small bosses. There was the routine business of keeping an office open and collecting dues and letting well-enough alone what is so characteristic of the old craft union school.

Bill had something in him that such an environment could not draw out. During all those years of that deadening routine, there wasn't much on the surface to distinguish him from the ordinary run-of-the-mill business agent.

But, as further developments amply proved, that was only the surface appearance. Big events and new conceptions were needed for

Bill to discover himself, and unfold his hidden talent and capacities for greater things. They came with the development of the crisis which shattered for all time the stability of capitalism and cleared the road for the militant mass movement of labor, which will finally put an end to its domination.

The crisis bore down with unbearable weight on the workers in the trucking industry, of which Minneapolis is the great northwestern center. The provincial Minnesota bosses, their greed multiplied by their ignorance, slashed wages and increased hours of work with reckless abandon. The truck drivers, unorganized for the most part, were goaded to desperation; only a spark was needed to touch off the explosion that would rock the country.

The entrance into this fully-ripened situation of a new group of men, and the working collaboration established between them and Bill Brown, supplied the spark. The "new men" were a group of coal-yard workers who are sometimes called "Trotskyites." These studious men of theory, who were also qualified mass workers—a rare enough phenomenon—came into the teamsters' union by way of an organization campaign in the coal-yards. It is to the eternal credit of Bill Brown that he opened the door of the union to this new development and received the new dynamic forces with open arms. The compact formed between them—one of the happiest and most fruitful ever recorded in the labor movement—endured to the end and flowered into political as well as trade union solidarity, not to speak of unshakable personal friendship.

Had Indispensable Qualities

Bill's rich experience in the trade union movement, his charming personality, oratorical ability and widespread popularity were an absolutely indispensable factor in the subsequent developments. He and the "new men" from the coal yards, working together, welded the new insurgent mass movement and the apparatus of the old drivers' union into one solid piece. The rest is history. They formed a combination that hasn't been beaten in a single engagement to this day.

In the great strikes of 1934—especially the July-August strike—Bill Brown came out of his shell and showed his real talent as a mass leader. Somewhat weak as an executive, and a poor office man (Bill wasn't gifted on these lines), he loomed up powerfully at moments of crisis and showed the heart of a lion in times of action and danger. He fulfilled the duties of union president, best on the picket line; and if a recalcitrant scab had to be clipped, he wouldn't spare his own knuckles.

As the mass orator at critical moments in the strike, and at later fateful turning points in the life of the union, Bill was supreme. He articulated the indignation and the mass courage of the workers better than any other. In this field also he was pretty much of an improviser. I don't think he ever "prepared" a speech in his life, but he delivered some mighty fine ones; some almost perfect speeches for the occasion. Like the true orator, he sensed and "felt" his audience and let the inarticulate mass speak through him.

Virtues Outweighed Failings

All those who went together through those days of destiny, took a great personal liking to Bill. "The little guy," as he was sometimes called by his friends, who had such a big and strong heart, had a way of making people like him; one tended easily to minimize or overlook his faults, of which, by the way, he had his share. Bill was no plaster saint, but human, all too human.

His virtues outweighed his failings, and that's about the best that can be said of anybody. Bill Brown was a man who took sides and always stayed on the side he had taken. He hated the bosses as a bunch of greedy and cheating parasites; he was on the side of the underdog every time and his big heart was full of sympathy for suffering and struggling workers everywhere. He had a fierce hatred and contempt for policemen and deputies, and all hirelings of the bosses. He loved the workers, the union, the big headquarters with the big auditorium where he presided and spoke so often. His whole life revolved around it.

Herald of the Future

With all his importance and his fame as a labor leader, Bill was a carefree laughing fellow all the time. Everything seemed to sit lightly on his shoulders, even when in moments of desperate crisis in the union's battles he seemed for the moment to bear the whole weight himself. I never knew a man who loved life better than did Bill; never one who got more fun out of it even under the most adverse circumstances. That is why his death seems such a monstrous incongruity. He was a decidedly gregarious person. Companionship was the breath of life to him. He liked action all the time. He had a good time fighting and a good time celebrating when the fight, for the moment, was ended.

I recall Bill Brown as a herald of the happy future when social relations will be organized sanely and will be lighted up by human joy and laughter. He was a good soldier in the emancipation struggle of the toilers and put in his licks and his blows to hasten on the day of their liberation victory. Those who survive him and carry on the struggle which alone gives life hope and meaning will gratefully remember the man who bore the proud title of president of Local 544, the lion-hearted fighter and soft-hearted friend, Bill Brown.

(Next week's article will deal with Rodney Salisbury.—Ed.)

OMAHA COURT ARRESTS, VAGS UNION OFFICIAL

Police Seize Organizer In Office, Search His Quarters

OMAHA, Nebraska.—Arrested in the office of the union by which he is employed, Alfred Russell, well-known militant and paid organizer for Local 554, Omaha Teamsters union, was last week convicted of vagrancy and ordered to leave the city under a suspended sentence of 90 days in jail.

The arrest was made by plainclothes men, who took Russell to his home and made an illegal search of his possessions, seizing a number of personal letters, pictures and pamphlets found there. Russell was then held in jail for three days without charges being placed against him.

Goldman Excluded

Russell, who is now and for the past five months has been employed as organizer for Teamsters' Local 554 at a wage of \$30.00 weekly, was tried by a police magistrate on charges of vagrancy. Albert Goldman, Chicago labor attorney, appeared on behalf of Russell, but as he is not licensed to practice in Nebraska the magistrate, Judge Harry Wheeler, refused to hear Goldman.

Goldman asked the court to continue the case until Russell could obtain local legal counsel, but Wheeler ignored this request and found the defendant guilty of vagrancy. The sentence of 90 days, suspended provided the defendant leaves town immediately, is the established manner of getting rid of "undesirables," especially the unemployed and homeless.

Blow At Unionism

For Russell the sentence means giving up his job, and, more important to the court, abandoning the struggle to organize the teamsters and other workers in Omaha. One of the chief attractions of Nebraska to industrialists, according to the State Chamber of Commerce advertisements, is an ample supply of "docile" labor, and the vigorous organizing campaign of the Teamsters Union is frightening the bosses.

On the advice of Goldman, Russell is ignoring the court order to leave Omaha and is continuing his duties as organizer for Local 554. The case is being appealed by the union, with a local attorney, Dewey Hanson, representing Russell.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before six o'clock Monday evening.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK BOAT RIDE, Sunday July 3, to Hook Mountain. Organized by Italian I.W.W. members. Steamer Calvert leaves Pier 1, North River, 9 a. m. sharp. Return trip from Hook Mountain starts 6:30 p. m. Swimming, dancing, spaghetti and other Italian delights. Tickets may be had at any I.W.W. hall in N.Y.C. or by calling Main 4-0291.

RUSSIAN BULLETIN. New issue, just out, features "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International." Also articles on the Soviet Union. Read Leon Trotsky in the original. Subscription, \$1.00 for six months; single copies 20 cents from Rae Spiegel, c/o Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place, N. Y. C.

YIPSELS ATTENTION! Do you want a Convention? The dues response to date doesn't show it. Get your circle paid up by July 15 if you want proper representation.—Y.P.S.L. National Finance Committee.

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

GRAND PICNIC AND OUTING at Shoemaker's Farm, Perkasie, Pa., Sunday, July 17, 1938. Meet 10 a. m. at junction of Routes 318 and 563, Perkasie, Pa., R. D. 1. Tickets 15 cents. Auspices District Bureau, S.W.P., Eastern Pa.

CAMPS

CAMP SEVEN OAKS, Eatontown, N. J. (Red Bank Station). Capacity 25, swimming pool, tennis court and other sports facilities, good food, comfortable housing. Daily \$2.75, weekly \$16.00. Fare 80 cents. Further information phone BRYant 9-7620 or Eatontown 515.

LA NOCHE de la FIESTA

See Announcement NEXT WEEK

Guild Convention Shows Newsmen's Big Gains

But Brown, Re-elected President, Moves To Tie Membership To Imperialist War Chariot By Resolution On Collective Security

The fifth annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild, C.I.O., held recently in Toronto revealed significant organizational gains as the result of the industrial union policy adopted at last year's St. Louis convention. There were present 130 delegates, representing a total membership of 16,797 a 51 per cent increase over last year.

It was reported that 77 contracts were in effect with 50 locals of the guild, 40 of which had been signed in the past 12 months. Thirteen of these called for the Guild Shop, making a total of 22 Guild Shop contracts. The significance of such an advance can hardly be overestimated, especially when one remembers that the organization is one of white-collar workers.

Political Back-Sliding

Unfortunately, however, losses were also registered. Last year's convention reaffirmed the Guild's stand for a Labor Party without the slightest trace of People's Frontism or Democratic Frontism. Gunnar Mickelson, A.N.G. vice-president, made a speech in which he stated that "labor can never hope to come into a full share of the goodness of this country without having candidates of its own, responsible to labor alone."

This year, Jonathan Eddy, re-elected executive vice-president, spoke for "our government conducted in such a way as to hinder and not to help the cause of aggressor nations," barely touching on the question of independent political action. For him, as for Heywood Brown, unanimously re-elected president, this policy is merely a stepping stone to unity with a capitalist government which pretends willingness to fight reaction abroad. This was made abundantly clear in

the foreign policy resolution, the keynote of the entire convention.

Whereas last year the Guild prominently featured its demand for a \$3,000,000,000 appropriation for W.P.A., this year first place was accorded the speeches by Roosevelt and Hull on "quarantining the aggressor" and "international cooperation." Backed up by an editorial in the convention issue of The Guild Reporter which demands that the "United States... act resolutely to make aggression impractical," the resolution calls, among other things, for an international peace policy based on Roosevelt's Chicago speech and for amending the Neutrality Act to define the aggressor. It was passed 109 5/6 against a heterogeneous minority of 40 1/6.

A Disastrous Idea

Thus the Guild, in spite of notable organizational advances has allowed itself to be snared by the anti-working class collective security program of Stalin-Brown, who apparently have sold the Guild the disastrous idea of giving up the class struggle on the war question in the false belief that they will be punishing "aggressors" and stopping fascism.

The Guild membership is being committed to support of any war in which American imperialism engages, provided the imperialists declare—as, of course, they are already doing—that the aim of the war is the preservation of peace and democracy.

Appeal Army

National Appeal Campaign: The drive for 10,000 circulation is on! Enthusiastic letters from all over the country indicate that a real campaign can be expected. Boston writes that the entire branch has been mobilized to participate in the work: "We have the Appeal on eight newsstands regularly and will send in names and addresses." From Reading, Penn. we have word that the comrades there are planning a party for July 3 to raise money for the paper.

One of the most enthusiastic responses is from our old friend Ruth Querio of Allentown, Penn.: "I am personally aiming at First Prize. I want it! I've challenged my branch to pit their entire strength against mine alone." Ruth has asked us to put aside copies of the prizes for her. And she's off to a head start already, with two subscriptions to her credit! The Allentown branch has held several lengthy discussions on how to best put over the campaign. Keep your eye on the Allentown comrades! We expect big things of them!

This is National Newsstand Week. Crews of comrades and friends are to be sent out to all newsstands in order to get the Appeal placed. Literature agents should see to it that this is done properly as suggested in the Appeal Army bulletin. And don't forget to send in immediately lists of the stands carrying the paper!

The sub campaign begins this week, too. It will last until October 1 and the following prizes are at stake:

(a) First Prize: "America's 60 Families" by Lundberg and "History of the Russian Revolution" by Leon Trotsky.
(b) Second Prize: "U.S." by John Dos Passos and an autographed copy of "The Revolution Betrayed" by Leon Trotsky.
(c) Third Prize: One year's subscription to the Appeal and to the New Internationalist.
(d) Fourth Prize: Six Months' subscription to the Appeal and to the New Internationalist.

First prize winner must get a minimum of 24 subs during the contest.

Ruth Querio is in the lead! Who's challenging her?

Subs picked up this week. New York City's revival helped considerably. Here is the list:

MINNEAPOLIS	12
New York City	9
California	5
Washington, D. C.	4
New Mexico	2
New Jersey	2
Philadelphia	2
St. Paul	2
Connecticut	1
Cleveland	1
Toledo	1
Montana	1
Miscellaneous	1
TOTAL	43

On bundle orders, we welcome a new agent to the ranks: Pauline Thompson of Worcester, Mass., who starts with five.... And Ben Heibert of Saskatoon, Sask. has increased his order to seven.

The SOCIALIST APPEAL can now be obtained at any of the following newsstands:

St. (opp. Loew's Theatre); Sorkin, 206th St. and Bainbridge Ave; Jerome and Burnside Aves; 160th St. and Prospect Ave; Allerton Ave. Station; Freeman Ave. and Southern Boulevard; 174th St. and Boston Road.

BROOKLYN: Grand and Union Aves.; Havemeyer Avenue and South 4th St.; Marcy and Broadway; Pitkin and Douglas Aves.; Sutter and Pitkin Aves.

ALLEN TOWN, PA. R. Zettlemyer, 637 Hamilton St. BOSTON, MASS. Andelman's, Tremont St. (opp. Hotel Bradford) CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Felix's, Massachusetts Ave. at Harvard Square. ROXBURY, MASS. Friendly Variety, Warren St. (Grove Hall) SAN FRANCISCO MacDonald's Bookstore, 85 Sixth Street

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