

# A New Chapter Begins in American Labor History: What Is at Stake In the Fight on Labor Unity?

By E. R. FRANK  
II.

John L. Lewis took a fall out of Roosevelt in their exchange on the question of labor unity. In Washington on Saturday, Lewis read with malicious pleasure the reply he had sent last October to the president's "peace" proposal; that took care of Roosevelt's assertion that Lewis had not deigned to reply. What is more, Lewis was able to repeat his proposal of last year: labor unity by the simple method of each CIO unit being chartered by the AFL, with all "questions of detail" settled within the joint organization—i.e., an organization in which the CIO forces would have a decisive voice.

Progressives in the labor movement, whether in the AFL or CIO, must clearly understand why the only worthwhile kind of unity for the labor movement is that in which the industrial unions will remain the leading tendency in the labor movement.

The split neither originated nor is it continuing today because of the personal hostility of Green or Lewis or any other individuals. Such an explanation is only for little children. The split originated on the basic question of organizing the unorganized industrial proletariat of America's mass production industries.

The split continues today over the question of which unions and which policies shall possess the hegemony of the labor movement; the industrial unions under Lewis, Murray, etc., or the old craft unions under the domination of the Hutcheson-Frey-Woll clique. A bitter personal antagonism exists between these two groups of men, to be sure. But this conflict originates from the different type of unions that the two sets of leaders control, the different interests involved, the different policies pursued, and not merely an expression of personal dislike or hostility.

## THE KIND OF UNITY ROOSEVELT WANTS

Roosevelt is not interested in a united labor movement because of solicitude for the welfare of the American working class. His interest arises solely out of his war program. He fears that the continuation of the labor split makes more difficult the realization of his goal: to reach a definite understanding with the top officialdom on putting the unions into the strait-jacket of his war machine. Roosevelt is working for a united labor movement that will be headed by a servile and cowardly leadership, willing to act as the agent of the War Department inside the labor movement. That is why Roosevelt is today putting the squeeze on Lewis and through Lewis on the industrial workers who make up the unruly, the untamed, the aggressive type of unions, whose industries constitute the nerve centers of America's war machine. Roosevelt wants to mobilize public opinion against the CIO industrial unions in order to force them to subordinate themselves to the servile, house-broked bureaucrats of the Frey-Woll-Hutcheson stripe. This is the meaning and the aim of the Roosevelt Peace crusade.

## THE MEANING OF TOBIN'S UNITY DEMAND

Tobin's recent attack against "less than a dozen men" who are "responsible for the division of eight million men" and his call upon the rank and file to "rise up and demand" the complete cessation of hostilities between the two labor organizations, has an entirely different meaning and purpose than the Roosevelt peace campaign. Tobin's call-to-arms is an attack primarily upon the reactionary clique that runs the AFL Executive Council and was so understood and received by the entire AFL leadership. Tobin is demanding, in effect, that the

craft unions drop their stiff-necked attitude and give in to some of the demands of the CIO.

The Teamsters Union and Tobin have travelled a long way since the 1934 San Francisco convention, when Tobin denounced the "rabble and riff-raff" that were attempting to invade the AFL. Tobin today heads a powerful semi-industrial union of 400,000 men; he is, in a way subject to the same influences and pressures that operate on the CIO leaders. Because of the changed status of his union, Tobin's whole labor philosophy and approach is today much closer to that of Lewis than the policies of Tobin's colleagues of the Executive Council. Tobin envisages today a united labor organization, stronger and more aggressive than the federation of the past, with the power divided somewhat evenly between the new industrial and semi-industrial unions and the old line AFL craft unions. Tobin

is a logical compromise candidate for the leadership of such a united labor organization and unquestionably so considers himself. Tobin remains an ardent New Dealer, but he is above all the president of an important labor union, and that is why his unity aims are so different from those of Roosevelt. That is why Tobin is putting the squeeze on the AFL Executive Council to "give in" and make peace with the CIO.

## THE KIND OF UNITY GREEN WANTS

Green, who has the responsibility of the AFL national office and who has no base in any International union, fears even more than the other old line craft union officials, the eventual decay of the AFL unless the labor split is healed and the federation is allowed to absorb the young blood of the modern industrial unions. Just the same he, like the craft union clique, to which he has tied his fortunes, fears the new unbridled masses of proletarian workers as he fears the plague itself. The AFL leadership want unity, but unity with the assurance that the new unions will keep their place, pay their per capita taxes and not challenge the leadership of the Executive Council.

## HOW LEWIS ESTIMATES THE COMING PERIOD

Lewis is convinced that the coming period will be marked by a huge expansion of all mass production industries, feeding both the American and European war

machines. He remembers the marvelous organizational union growth of the last war period of a decade ago, when the AFL, its membership. He is convinced with little effort, almost doubled that the CIO with its centralized authority, its industrial union structure and its modern and aggressive methods of organization will achieve huge gains in membership in the coming period and thus establish unquestioned hegemony over the trade union movement. Firmly convinced that the future is with the CIO, he is determined not to subordinate the CIO unions and their freedom of action to the majority of the AFL Executive Council, come what may. He wants unity and a united labor organization with the upper hand and the determining policy vested in the leadership of the industrial unions.

Progressives have the task of explaining to the membership the full meaning of the unity campaign. The progressives must fight for a united labor movement, achieved only by the action and the pressure of the rank and file itself. They must condemn unreservedly any interference into their internal affairs on the part of Roosevelt or any other capitalist politician. They will then, in every case, put pressure, first, upon the old line craft union officials, in order to force through a united labor organization, with the hegemony in the hands of the industrial unions and the industrial proletariat—the most advanced section of the American working class.

# AFL Council Pettifogs While Major Issues for Workers are Ignored

By GEORGE CLARKE

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has finished its grave deliberations under the warm Florida sun. It labored and labored and produced — a mouse that even the rodent family would be ashamed to claim its own.

With good whiskey and mellow cigars plentiful, the punjabs of America's craft unions leaned back in their plushy hotel chairs and pondered the state of the nation. They found conditions deplorable. The depression is still with us after ten years — lingering on like a bad dream. Capital lies idle by the billions in the banks. Business stagnates, there is no expansion, factories are idle. Ten millions are unemployed. And with it all, the nation teeters on the brink of war.

In other words, which no one can deny: America remains in the death grip of the most intense social crisis in its history. Patch-work schemes won't work any more. This is a time, obviously, for bold men with bold programs. The leaders of 4,000,000 workers, who are most seriously affected by the crisis, should call out the might of organized labor for immediate aggressive action.

They should, yes—but the old, old men of the Executive Council have another idea of what should be done and how. For them the proverb "discretion is the better part of valor" is a hoary principle frozen in their bones. To the waiting world they uttered solemn words:

"Unemployment still is the most acute domestic problem of the nation. . . the American Federation of Labor refuses to accept the idea of chronic or permanent unemployment. . .

We believe that a democracy owes a basic obligation to its citizens to provide them with opportunity to work and achieve a progressively higher standard of living. . . The AFL calls upon both political parties to incorporate in their platforms this year a constructive program for the elimination of widespread unemployment."

And what is this constructive program? ". . . find out the facts and face them courageously. . . Ascertain just how many men and women willing and able to work are unemployed through no fault of their own. . . Find out the extent of unemployment among our youth and among middle aged workers." In short: take a census. The government should easily comply with this demand as this is census year. Cut a notch in the Council's belt. The victory is already won.

But what then? ". . . provide jobs for the unemployed in private industry." Noble thought. But how, when in the words of the Council ". . . there are not enough jobs to go around?" "We demand," the Executive Council whispers meekly after Tom Dewey and Senator Vandenberg, that those in authority take whatever steps may be necessary to restore business confidence. We urge that all government actions that tend to discourage business expansion cease. . .

Yes, yes, we heard that before. The Republican National Committee, the National Manufacturers Ass'n, the American Chamber of Commerce has been dining that tune in our ears for a decade. But what about the unemployed, the jobs, the idle factories? ". . . we urge Congress to create a national advisory council on unemployment which would have representatives of government, business, labor and consumers. Such a council could bring about unity of purpose and unity of action on a constructive program."

But suppose the members of the council couldn't agree among themselves? Suppose labor is voted down by "business" and "government"? Suppose labor doesn't like the program? Suppose there is a lot of speeches and no program? Ah, well! A fine effort but perhaps the times are not auspicious for "unity of action" and "unity of purpose." Fatigue! There is something positive. "Organized labor has

long felt that the shorter work week without decreases in pay provides a positive and progressive offset to the natural displacement of workers by the introduction of labor-saving machinery."

How is this most necessary step to be obtained? Action, strikes, demonstrations? Take it easy, brother! This is the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. "The AFL will continue to press for the five-day week and the six hour day." And that's that.

Four days later, apparently slowly recovering from the shock of this radical declaration, ten leaders led by Hutcheson and Wohl unlimbered 5,000 solid words of Republican indignation on the New Deal. The statement bears the startling title: "A Call for United Action."

There has been too much "tinkering" with business. Public confidence has been destroyed. The poor banks have been forced to finance the government. This unrestricted "experimentation" has provoked strikes and labor strife. Taxes are much, much too high—in fact the suffering Sixty Families are being bled to death. Too many g—m radicals, too much "innovating."

On the question of war, the Council was united. "The US (must) maintain strict neutrality and keep out of European wars." Not a word, however, about Roosevelt's hurried moves towards US entry into the war, not a word about turning the US into an Allied arsenal, not a word about the American zones of continental influence, not a word about the huge armaments programs, not a word about the M-Day plans to strangle the labor unions.

But there was "condemnation

# Women WPA Strikers Sentenced in Mpls.

(Continued from Page 1)

The judge summoned each defendant before him.

## Labor Proud of Defendants

His observations were an unconscious tribute to the militancy and heroism of these women. This one, he said, still believed the arguments of the strike leaders were sound and convincing. That one believed herself to be persecuted. He couldn't see how a third could be so ladylike and yet so militant on the picket line.

When it came the turn of the Finnish woman Sigrid Assumma he commented that she was uncooperative. Skillfully bringing in the Soviet-Finnish war, Judge Joyce suggested that Mrs. Assumma must be glad she is living in the United States, not exposed to guns and bombs in her homeland. "Your boy, Archie, can march off every morning to Dunwoody school, he doesn't have to march to war."

The "better element" in the courtroom nodded approvingly. Mrs. Assumma stared unresponsively at the judge.

The courtroom, as usual, was packed with strike sympathizers. As Minnie Kohn was taken to the workhouse, friends showered her with cigarettes and money.

Presidential Pardon Possible  
The Workers Defense League on February 2 called upon Presi-

dent Roosevelt to pardon all the convicted strikers. It is believed that the Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee is also pressing along this line.

Some labor leaders estimated that President Roosevelt would seize the opportunity with both hands, in the hope such a gesture would enable him to represent himself as the genial friend of the unemployed. New Dealers in the union movement are banking on the President coming through with a pardon, believing that such an executive act will arm them with an argument to protect Roosevelt against the bitter criticisms of the thousands of unionists and unemployed and will aid them in their drive to merge the Farmer Labor Party with the Democratic Party.

## Men Start Serving Terms

Fifteen of the men strikers sentenced last Saturday were taken from Minneapolis Thursday morning to Sandstone where they will serve periods of from 90 days to eight months. Ralph Core and Charles Connors, who received lighter sentences, remain here to serve their time in local penal institutions.

Tuesday in Washington the Senate appropriations sub-committee held a hearing on confirmation of Glotzbach and Stolte, the two strike-breaking WPA officials promoted by President Roosevelt following the WPA strike of last July. Roosevelt promoted the pair after they had aided in crushing the strike here. At that time, Farmer-Labor Senator Ernest Lundeen, acting at the behest of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, was able to block confirmation of the promotions in the United States Senate.

Early in January the President again sent their names to the Senate. The line-up on the Glotzbach-Stolte case is quite revealing. Governor Stassen, Democratic Congressman Ryan, Colonel Harrington and Senator Shipstead, renegade Farmer-Laborite, are all siding with Roosevelt against the Minneapolis union movement and Senator Lundeen.

Robby Cramer, editor of the Minneapolis Labor Review, Central Labor Union organ, appeared before the Senate sub-committee Tuesday to jeer the Central Labor Union's protest against the two.

Governor Harold Stassen had written to Washington charging that "unsound left wing labor leaders who were back of the WPA strike are behind the present opposition to Glotzbach."

## "Followed President's Orders"

Colonel Harrington, in announcing his support of Glotzbach, said the man only carried out the instructions of himself and President Roosevelt in keeping the WPA projects open with the aid of the police.

Democratic Representative Ryan repeated Republican Stassen's charge that Glotzbach's nomination was being held up in the interests of "labor agitators and radicals in Minneapolis in order to bring their political will to bear on the politics and personnel of WPA in Minnesota. . . Glotzbach only stood by President Roosevelt's policy that WPA workers can't strike against the government."

Senator Shipstead, to whom the WPA Defense Committee had mailed a copy of Glotzbach's strike-breaking record urging the senator to oppose his appointment, had the gall to say: "I have heard of no complaint against Glotzbach. I think his nomination should be confirmed." The senate sub-committee waved aside the objections of organized labor and confirmed the two appointments. However, Farmer-Labor Senator Lundeen has announced he will take the floor in the senate next week to oppose the committee's report.

## A Good Lesson

New Deal followers in the labor movement find themselves in a horribly embarrassing position in the case of Glotzbach-Stolte.

Now this false policy and estimate has led them to the end of the road, where they find Glotzbach and Stolte still supported by President Roosevelt, Colonel Harrington, Congressman Ryan, and Governor Stassen. The situation may be a bit amusing, to those who always understood Roosevelt's true role in initiating and supporting the attacks on the unemployed. But more important, the situation provides another air-tight argument for labor to ruthlessly reject both old boss parties and strike out on the road of an independent labor party.



Red Sundays are a sure-fire proposition for increasing sales of the Socialist Appeal. This isn't agitation—its the gospel truth. Boston proved it to the hilt. Since they started on Red Sundays, they've increased their bundle order by 100 copies per issue.

Why can't every branch follow the example of Boston? Not a reason except that there is too much of that social democratic disease, — "it-can't-be-done-itis." That's what we think when a branch asks us to cut its bundle order because the weather is too cold. What an alibi! Would you say that to a group of striking workers as your alibi for not showing up on the picket line? Not if you had an ounce of rebel blood in your veins!

Can your attitude to the Appeal be any different than your attitude to striking workers? You answer that question for yourself. If the branches that have cut their bundles think it should be different, send us your reasons and we'll print it in big bold letters.

There are a thousand ways to sell the Appeal if it's too cold to sell it on street corners. Here are the contents of an attractive leaflet issued by the N.Y. Lower East Side Branch to the "Laundry Workers of the East Side":

"This is a free introductory copy of the Socialist Appeal, a working class newspaper.

"In it you will find the story behind the headlines—the news that the boss press doesn't dare to give—the news that's 'not fit to print'.

"This week it contains a story on the laundry industry which will be of interest to you.

"Every week it contains stories direct from the picket lines and the fields of labor's struggles. It exposes the drive of America's Wall Street masters to take us into the Second World War.

"Read about labor's fight for better conditions, political rights and against war every week in the Socialist Appeal. "Send us news of your shop and your union—your grievances and your victories. We will print it.

"Our salesmen will be in front of your shop every Tuesday and Friday. Read the Socialist Appeal—five cents a copy."

Why should there be any drop in circulation when there are thousands and thousands of shops and factories throughout the country which have never seen a Socialist Appeal? Why?

We've received the following letter from a ship's delegate, from a ship in the gulf:

"Enclosed find m.o. of \$1.00 for a six-month subscription to the Socialist Appeal. We subscribe to a good number of working class papers and at our last ship meeting your paper was added to our list upon a recommendation from C.W. at San Francisco who stated it was 'the foremost working class paper in the country'. Well, we may not agree with him but we are always willing to hear, read other workers' arguments."

We're sure that the Appeal will live up to the recommendation of the San Francisco worker. And we'll be glad to print any criticisms or comments our seamen friends may have on the paper. Meanwhile, how about our comrades, friends and sympathizers who are sailing the seas, following the example of the ship's delegate on the Gulf? Make this your motto: An Appeal subscription on every ship!

We don't like to print this record. But it's true. The only way we can change the copy is by you changing the facts. Appeal subs for the last two weeks:

Los Angeles	2
Philadelphia	2
San Francisco	1
Chicago	3
Boston	3
Kansas	1
Washington, D.C.	1
New York City	5
Akron	1
St. Louis	1
Youngstown	1
Toledo	2
Berkeley	1
Total	24

# Action Needed to Win 30-Hr. Week at General Motors

(Continued from Page 1)

Will come from locals of the UAW. Strikes of a major character have been narrowly averted in every Flint plant, several times during the last few months. The corporation has been forced to recognize the CIO Committee as bargaining agents and representatives of the men, by local militancy.

Should the seething discontent of the ranks manage to break through at some point, in some important GM plant . . . the days of 1937 will be relived: the Spirit

of the Sit-Down wave will spread through the ranks . . . and a new day of growth will dawn for the organization of the auto workers.

Militants! Don't wait for the NLRB to hand you a worthless piece of paper. Once you win the NLRB elections, the CIO will have to start at the beginning again, to force the company to sign a new agreement with some teeth in it! Demand action now!

Don't wait for the slack season! The whole CIO movement awaits the action of the auto workers. FIGHT NOW for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay!

# WORKERS JAILED AT JAMAICA RELIEF BUREAU

(Continued from Page 1)

off to the Jamaica Station House where they were booked.

## Won't Feed Children

Bruno and his wife, Angelina, are the parents of six children. They applied for relief at the beginning of January and have been given a run-around by the Bureau ever since.

The Bureau refused to consider the case, unless the Brunos sold an old 1930 Chevrolet car they bought several years ago second hand.

Mrs. Bruno did as she was ordered, getting \$12 for the car. Now the Brunos and their children are still denied any relief, and faced with an immediate eviction notice.

## Others Arrested

Also arrested was Richard Hicks of 106-28 Union Hill Street, a life-long resident of Jamaica. Hicks is 63 years old, absolutely destitute and applied for relief two months ago. He is still being refused relief while the Bureau attempts to force him to live on his relatives.

Also arrested was Guseppe Pace, a sick and penniless 64 year old shoemaker. Pace, a skilled worker, used to make shoes for the rich, costing \$25-30 a pair. Now he cannot get any work, the rich, through their agents in the Bureau, deny him even money for

food or medicine.

Also arrested was Massimo Di Bernardo, 49 years old, of 117-58 140th Street, Jamaica. He is unemployed, and has to support himself, wife and fourteen children. Two of his older children work, thereby providing for the family income \$16 a week between them. The Bureau is attempting to make this family of sixteen human beings, live, pay their rent, eat, and buy clothing upon the pitiful sum brought in by the two youngsters.

Support for these workers and leadership in their struggle for relief was given by the Unemployed and Relief Workers League 151-06 Beaver Road, Jamaica. Arrested at the Bureau in sympathy with the demonstrators were David Cowles, Organizer of the League, Harry Harrison, Chairman of the Grievance Committee, Gabriel Strouthos, Alfred Lynn, Gustave Galanos, Chris Andrews, and Anna Key.

## "Disorderly Conduct" Charge

In the Brooklyn Night court, Magistrate Matthew Troy denounced threateningly "subversive elements" and "organized mobs" but was persuaded to release all defendants in custody of their lawyer. They will be tried in Queens Court Thursday morning for "disorderly conduct".

The Long Island Daily Press lied about the defendants in its account of the story. It attempted to cover up the brutality of the treatment given these workers by reporting that they were seeking a "larger relief allowance". The bitter truth is that the Relief Bureau has denied to all these unfortunates any relief whatsoever.

**February New INTERNATIONAL**  
featuring  
**RUSSIAN QUESTION**  
Again and Once More Again on the Nature of the U.S.S.R.  
**LEON TROTSKY**  
The Invasion of Finland, Editorial  
Speech on the Russian Question,  
James P. Cannon  
also  
Dialectical Materialism and Science  
by Leon Trotsky  
Twenty cents per copy; fourteen cents in bundles of five or more.  
**NEW INTERNATIONAL**  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

**Sensational Offer!!**  
(for month of February)  
THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY, single copy . . . \$ .25  
LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX, single copy . . . . .85  
FASCISM and BIG BUSINESS, single copy . . . . .75  
WORLD REVOLUTION by CLR James, single copy 1.50  
THE FOUR IN COMBINATION FOR . . . . . \$2.50  
SPEECH by LEON TROTSKY—In English . . . . \$6.00  
A recording on two double-faced discs.  
**IN COMBINATION**  
WITH THE FOUR BOOKS LISTED ABOVE . . . \$7.50  
**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.