talinists In The C.I.O.-A History Of Transport Workers Inion-Wrecking And Corruption

By E. R. FRANK

Prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalin-employers, belly-crawling before tants of 1934 and 1935 had under-program designed to eventually constituted a major force in the American trade union any two by four politician or pub- gone a profound transformation. destroy the Transport Workers overnent. Posing as the best union fighters, the true cham- lie official, and a distoyal, ruthless The new officials of the new un- Union." The prophecy has been ons of honesty, militancy and democracy in the labor moveent, supported by a well-organized national apparatus, a trail of wrecked unions, honest der the pressure of capitalist pubrong press, with huge funds at their disposal, the Stalinists union militants corrupted into lic opinion and because of their might the rising ClO movement of young unsuspecting work- cynical officials and thousands of lack of class consciousness and s completely unawares and easily wormed their way into file workers. entrol of numerous unions.

aucrats how to really orga-obor movement and helped destroy ize an autocratic, reaction- its fighting power.

eteers, gangsters and any re- might and main to line up the wrecking activities of the Stalin- depended upon a strong, virile tan Railway Company. The road ion officials and recognizes the ectionary forces in the unions, chine, Roosevelt displayed an at- In 1939, this rank and file re- preserving that. n order to gain control. They titude of toleration towards the volt gained strength and swept Even more hostile to Stalinism playees were thrown out into the transport companies. wstematically hounded, slan- Communist Party and its activi- through both CIO and AFL un- were the rank and file leaders streets without a job. La Guardia leved and persecuted all genofficials actually became outright ers, the Maritime unions on both calities, veterans of the strike six hundred workers were never the Transport Workers Union, back attempting to pay loans we time militants and progres- supporters or fellow-travellers the coasts and the Gulf, the struggles of the CIO, hardened returned to work. gives who dared to revolt of the Stalinist movement. gainst these high-handed

making fascists."

WERE ROOSEVELT'S MOST To push through this infamous jution. scheme, the Stalinists converted LEWIS WAS SURE themselves into the most servile, belly - crawling supporters of HE COULD BREAK THEM

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Once in the saddle, they showed the American labor bu-

hey signed agreements that this period, was on passively ments sprang up in union after union officials knew one thing for A year ago, the City of New trade unions behind his war ma- ist gang.

g, was to find itself, according ion? It was not Lewis who had Union. to the Stalinist plan, one fine day, changed his basic philosophy! The By 1939 the American trade lined up to a man behind the Communist Party, during the unions presented a far different Stalinists in the CIO will ap-Roosevelt war machine and hell- "People's Front" period cynical- picture than at the beginning of pear next week.) bent on shoving through a "col- ly dumped overboard all talk lective security" war alliance of and pretense of working for so-America, England, France and cialism or militant union policies. Russia, against the "bad, war- It began to drape the Stars and Stripes around itself and bellowed more patriotically than even the SERVILE AGENTS IN UNIONS Daughters of the American Revo-

Roosevelt's New Deal, picturing Lewis and his lieutenants, viewing the Appeal's discussion to the politicians and auctions off It as an almost suitable substitute drunk with victory as a result of of the Lewis-Roosevelt split, and the labor vote. By that I mean maritime unions, the whole west official party view on the split. coast CIO movement, the radio

the war crisis will be eager to ship, the Stalinists pursued a degranted. purchase and read a copy of the liberate policy of "rule or ruin."

the signing of wretched contracts, the CIO movement. The unsus- and the Wall Street bankers, is is now made clear by your letmaking outrageous deals with the pecting, inexperienced union mili-driving through an anti-union ter-that it was your intention Stalinists left in their wake a and more conservative both undisillusioned, disoriented rank and working class philosophy.

WAVE OF REVOLT

AGAINST THE STALINISTS

Teachers Union, the West Coast and toughened by their experi-The Stalinists had the addition- Office Workers, the secesssion of ences. They had learned the hard tiod of Stalinism. In this scheme, Front" period. Why did Lewis ers. This imposing rank and file labor movement. They were de-

and corrupt machine. The Roosevelt government, in the signing of the Stalin-Hitler a pawn and tool to realize the York.

(A second article on the

WORKERS' FORUM

WHY DID LEWIS SPLIT WITH ROOSEVELT?

in the pre-election deals.

However, neither Frank nor But there is something else in-

bend to their will, as in the Sail- my criticism of the Appeal. The cause, but it is the dominant one. ors Union of the Pacific, the Auto workers in this area are still for In this sense, Lewis's political Send in your order together Union, etc., they engaged in bit-Roosevelt. To them he is still the approach is very much like Stal-Roosevelt among these workers? ter, irresponsible factional wars one president "who has done in's foreign policy. THE NEW INTERNATIONAL that threatened the very life of more for labor than any other May I suggest that the various control, their rule was marked by velt run for a third term, and be consulted on the question of they are confident that if he runs the Lewis-Roosevelt split. Whe-

> Speaks of Steel Workers Of course, it may be that we now. are situated in an area which economically has fared better than other sections of the coun- East Chicago, Ind. try. However, for the past five

WORLD REVOLUTION,

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In return for the services of this ticles in the Appeal are written to come across. In any case, we spect to their wages, hours and ions, AFL, CIO and independent, machine, Lewis made the alliance, in the same tone, and from all have always presented Lewis as working conditions through a

workers, the agricultural work- anyone else has presented any volved. These CIO bureaucrats ers, the white collar unions, etc. concrete evidence in support of are also interested in the ques- support him, he is undoubtedly mayor. He was positive that he could al- his conclusion. Mass feeling is tion, "Who is going to win the speaking of the support that ways get rid of the Stalinists, if not something which we discover election?" They do not believe in Roosevelt would presumably get as preparatory steps to organizby instinct; it is a thing which betting on losing horses, for their from such groups of organized ing the fight ahead. It is however, The period from 1936 to 1939 soon expresses itself in outward greatest fear is the possible de- workers as steel, auto, coal. Workers Party, forming the most was the hey-day of Stalinist rule signs. If there were opposition to feat of their candidate. In many But to win, Roosevelt would bold, courageous fighting policy important section of the pre-con- and marks a fever chart in the Roosevelt from below, local un- cases they have supported their have to get the votes of the ten that realizes that the Mayor and rention discussion in the S.W.P. history of the unions which the ions, and even state organizations outspoken enemies, rather than million unemployed, the AFL the whole city administration, wention discussion in the S.W.P. Instity of the discussion in the S.W.P. Institute of the discussion in the second of the to line up the unions behind their that effect. Rank-and-file leaders (and a third party movement to line up the unions behind their that effect. Rank-and-file leaders (and a third party movement to lined up, to a man, with the bank-lined up, t Every revolutionary worker, 'collective security' program re- would have spoken out this op- them is always a sure loser). Justice), the workers (including ers and the industrialists of this the state Supreme Court. every sympathizer of the revolu- gardless of cost, feeling no res- position long before Lewis would Such was the case when they the big strata of white-collar city, and are determined to smash tionary movement, every radical p'neibility for the unions, cynic take such a bold step. But the supported Kelly in Chicago, and workers), who didn't get organone of the most strategic unions interested in the latest develop- ally indifferent to the real needs Appeal refers to no such inci- it morely takes them for it is Lewis's fear that Roosevelt illusions about Roosevelt's labor Workers Union ments in the Soviet Union and and desires of the union member- dents; it merely takes them for it is Lewis's fear that Roosevelt illusions about Roosevelt's labor Workers Union. My own observations among which brought about the break, early twenties who came of age In those unions that would not fellow workers seem to confirm Of course, this is not the only in a jobless world, etc.

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LABOR AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR,

acterization of the C.I.O. bureau- the shameless run-around which its membership to present the cracy. We have always pictured the union had received from La situation to the membership con-I spent a good deal of time re- Lewis as a bureaucrat who goes Guardia. for socialism itself. They hounded the first brilliant successes in rub- after careful consideration. I that he offered the support of laand slandered any worker who ber, auto, steel, maritime and othand slandered any worker who bet, add, see the could there is something faulty in the greatest number of favors in reto confer with us," Quill wrote, posed," Austin Hogan announced. dishonest, reactionary policy. work with everybody, use every- Appeal's analysis of this event. turn. At other times, we have "with a view to the formulation Thus, this crew of union wreck- body and outsmart everybody. E. R. Frank's article in the pictured Lewis as one who uses of a plan which would, after uniers, posing as the left wing of the The Stalinists had a machine, a February 3 issue refers to the labor vote as political black- fication, recognize the right of nions, sidetracked the whole la- national press, experienced jour- Lewis-Roosevelt split as a reflect mail; that is, he threatens to opnalists, speakers and organizers. tion of mass feeling. Other ar- pose some politician who refuses and bargain collectively in re-

Denounce LaGuardia

(Continued from Page 1) suppression of all opposition. The ions had become more cautious fulfilled even sooner than anyone expected.

Long-Planned Scheme

The whole history of the "unification" deal reveals, clear as The union movement represent- day, that Hizzoner, the great ed to these officials, however, "friend of Labor" is a party to a their life's career. They became deliberate conspiracy of the bank- You did not seem to be able to The Stalinists were driven to therefore extremely suspicious of ers and tycoons of Wall Street to give them enough of your time be more cautious and diplomatic and antagonistic to the Stalinists completely destroy the union of and the people's money," Quill in the last period just preceding who viewed the unions merely as the transport workers of New continued.

isgraced the labor movement. Union. And since the American union, challenging their autocrat- sure: that their importance and York took title to the Sixth Ave-They blandly united with rac- Stalinists were laboring with ic rule and exposing the union- prestige, as well as their salaries, nue elevated line of the Manhat- confers immediately with the ununion and they were interested in was closed on December 5, 1938 contracts which the union holds Communist Party and its activi-

Several months ago, the La al support of John L. Lewis and important unions from the Los way the meaning of Stalinism Guardia administration concluded as support of John L. Lewis and important unions from the Los way the meaning of Stallinsh were in an official bloc with the Angeles CIO Council, the New and the fact that it was the most It was the "People's Front" pe- latter throughout this "People's York Painters and Food Work- reactionary force in the American the bankers. Immediately, in order to raise all available cash to the unions constituted the most make a bloc with the very people revolt against the Stalinist ma- termined to destroy the Stalinist speed the "unification" along, important battle grounds. The la- against whom he had waged a chine was climaxed by the titan- cancer, in order that the labor they pushed proposals for the debor movement, suspecting noth- bitter struggle in the miners un- ic struggle in the Auto Workers movement might advance and molition of the Second and Ninth Avenue elevated lines, in order to raise eleven million dollars in cash from the increased assessments on the adjoining properties. This demolition program will put out into the streets an additional three thousand unionists for vhom the city is not making any

> On March 4, union president Quill answered the letter of La from our rather incomplete char- Guardia and called attention to meetings throughout the city of

> > The Run-Around

"Ever since the summer of 1938 handing over to the Stalinists the indications, this appears to be the the active and aggressive element bona fide union of their own ning at the Hotel Capitol, to con-

might lose in another election legislation, the millions in their

What is the sentiment toward If they are hostile to Roosevelt, he cannot win. What, then, is the the unions. Where they seized man". They want to see Roose- proletarian sections of our party Lewis, in breaking with Roosevelt, responds to mass feelingthey are confident that if he runs the Lewis-Roosevelt split. Whe-he will win. Among the more mil-ther or not the Appeal's analysis ers—or that Lewis breaks with itant workers, this feeling is alis correct we must determine Roosevelt for fear that Roosevelt soon. "The truth at all costs!" will not get re-elected? We inwill not get re-elected? We invite Comrade Mills to write furthe distinction that he makes.

> Comrade Mills is right in emphasizing the importance of our years, I have found the sentiment. Comrade Mills is referring to knowing just what is the attiamong workers in this area to be the sentiment of the organized tude of the various sections of Strike Breaker No. 1, Mayor La officers were sentenced to two cals throughout the 13-state area no different from that of the ma- steel workers of the mid-West the working class toward Roose- Guardia. jority of the American workers, steel area. When he speaks of velt, We urge our comrades and It seems to me that the faulty Lewis's fear that Roosevelt might readers to write letters to the analysis of the Appeal flows lose even though the workers Workers' Forum on this question.—Editor.

> > SAVE SATURDAY Night, March 16th. A party with a new twist entertainment, hamburgers, beer, dancing, folk dancing games . . . all for 25c. 916 9th Avenue, Harlem Branch.

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"We began to suspect what all along to reduce the transit workers of this city to individual helplessness by destroying the Transport Workers Union, the labor organization that they had finally built after thirty years of pitiless persecution and unceasing effort."

"How differently you treated the Morgans and Rockefellers! owed the Appeal in unpaid bills

The union letter implies that a strike will be called in all of the subway lines, unless the Mayor and the next day six hundred em- at the present time with the bills more than \$300. This may

stated that the union did not in- cannot possibly find the money tend to remain passive while to pay with. It means that our their union rights were "taken reduced staff is placed on meager,

How different this sounds from the-speeches of TWU officials two years and even one year ago. So ends the honeymoon with the Little White Flower, New York edition of the "great friend of labor." Once again it is proven right down to the bottom that labor will always be double crossed and betrayed by all of its "friends." Labor can only rely on its own strength, its own organizations, its own political

cerning the serious crisis of the union. "The scandalous conduct of Mayor La Guardia and other

In addition, a meeting of reprehas been called for Thursday evesider action of the whole labor movement to answer the brazen union-busting challenge of the

absolutely necessary to have a

This challenge of the bosses and their agents can be met in one way and one way only: a firm demand that the union contract be recognized at a certain date OR THE CALLING OF A STRIKE ON ALL LINES OF THE CITY - OWNED TRANSPORTATION SYS-TEM. The membership of the TWU must put across this demand in the meetings of the

ther to clarify the importance of ership to call upon the whole la- sota state line, providing the pre- ested. For unionization of the bor movement of this city, com- text for intervention of the F.B.I. teamsters has meant here, as in posed as it is of more than a mil- and taking the case into a federal Minneapolis after 1934, the inlion union men and women, to court, where a jury could be spiration of unionism in every back the TWU in its great fight hand-picked from outside the in-field. against New York City's New dustrial towns. The eight union | Fortunately, the teamsters' lo-

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1. On March 1st, the branches for bundles of \$588.44. You will receive bills in your next mail.

2. Most of the branches are two, three and more months behind in payments. Some of them are so far behind that even the word disgraceful fails to apply. A reputable business house would have cut them off long ago.

3. We are behind in printing not seem like a large amount to you but to us here it means a Austin Hogan, recently re-threat of cessation of publication all, constant danger of suspension of the Appeal. If the branches paid up in full we might completely liquidate our printing bill and have enough to carry us through the difficult month of this pre-convention period.

> 4. If! ! - There can be no question of it. The branches must make immediate payments. There is no other way out. The paper cannot be printed on sentiment. How? If the bill is small,

your branch must take up an immediate collection to liquidate it in its entirety. If the bill is large, we have the following suggestion to make which Newark has carried out this week: take out a loan for the entire amount and then pay it off from month to month either through a pledge fund or a monthly collection in the branch and among sympathizers. We know there are extenuating circumstances. But the printer won't take these instead of cash. Besides the payments are small enough each month to make this plan entirely feasible.

The fate of the Appeal is directly up to you. Action on this

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Teamsters Map Fight Against Boss Attack

(Continued from Page 1) | that if the union officials were

G-Men Help Bosses months, plenty of money and a many incidental ways and means

score of federal agents on the by which the union has been hamjob, they rigged up a case in the pered in its fight against these federal courts against eight union frameups. officials of the teamsters' locals in Sioux City, Des Moines and Omaha, including Fouts and the only group behind this union-

strike eighteen months before! is financing an "independent It is then up to the TWU lead- been just over the Iowa-Minne- house companies are also inter-

The Latest Frameup another angle-they announced ham.

Pressure to prevent bondsmen

from dealing with these union

Many Bosses Involved Trucking companies are not Johnson and another Sioux City busting campaign. The Union teamsters' union leader, Jack Pacific and Northwestern railroads are vitally interested in The unionists were arrested in preventing the spread of union-September, 1939-charged with ization in the area. The Sioux damaging a truck in a bakery City Businessmen's Association The truck was supposed to have union" drive. The big packing-

years each in a federal peniten- understand the great role of the Sioux City drivers in bearing the brunt of this attack. They under-Now comes this latest arrest stand that what is involved is of Fouts, Johnson and Cunning- the safeguarding of the union ham, the talk of death by hang- conditions of the Area Agreeing, refusal of bond, etc. Imme- ment. That is why the North diately upon their arrest, the Central Area Committee has bonds for Johnson and Fouts in peedily met with President Tobin the South Dakota case was can- this week to organize the defense celled, giving the newspapers of Johnson, Fouts and Cunning-

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