

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

When Dan Tobin, president of the powerful teamsters union, resigned from the A.F. of L. negotiation committee for peace with the C.I.O., Louis Stark, labor reporter of the N. Y. Times wrote, "His action came as a surprise to Administration leaders who regarded it as akin to a calamity. It was a definite setback to hopes of early labor peace. Tobin, as leader of the largest and strongest A. F. of L. union, was a key person in unity negotiations. The A. F. of L. committee of Thomas Rickett, Matthew Wolf, and Harry Bates, is composed of "front men." None of them wield

Comrade B. J. Widick is now on a leave of absence because of ill health. His column which usually appears in this corner in each issue will appear only in the Friday issue for the next month.

any real power in the A. F. of L. Why Tobin resigned is a matter of great importance to progressive trade unionists interested in a united labor movement. Certainly, he is hardly more busy than other union chieftains and this reason was only an excuse.

Believes Lewis Is Opposed to Unity

Actually, Tobin's attitude on unity of the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. has changed considerably since his blast at the A. F. of L. council's reactionary stand at the last convention of the Federation. Tobin's strong plea for a more conciliatory attitude towards the C.I.O. gave impetus to the trend towards unity.

However, his private conversations with Roosevelt administration officials and with C.I.O. top leaders apparently have changed his mind on the position of the C.I.O. towards unity. At the recent quarterly meeting of the A. F. of L. executive council Tobin told reporters he had no intention of pulling out of the A. F. of L. At the convention, Tobin had hinted at some such action.

Not so long ago, Tobin made a very significant statement when interviewed by Cal Tinney of the N. Y. Post. Tobin blamed top C.I.O. leaders for the failure of peace negotiations!

Authoritative reports from Washington say that Tobin now has gone a step further. He evidently blames John L. Lewis personally for an incorrect and intransigent attitude towards the A. F. of L. which has made negotiations infinitely more difficult. That is why Tobin refused to be put on the spot as a "negotiator"! His resignation move evidently is intended to force Roosevelt to put more pressure on Lewis in the negotiations!

The Daily Worker Protests Too Much

If Tobin again joins the A. F. of L. committee, it would in our opinion signify his belief that some of the obstacles placed by Lewis on unity negotiations had been removed. It goes without saying that the difficulties with the "diehard" clique in the A. F. of L. are perhaps a greater problem.

There is another story circulating the rounds of A. F. of L. circles in Washington that is extremely interesting. It says that Lewis wants not only a guarantee for industrial unionism in mass production industries (which Tobin and others are ready to grant) but also protection of the C.I.O. craft unions (office workers, etc.) under pressure of the Stalinists who control that segment of the C.I.O.

Is this why the Daily Worker so vehemently denied last week the "charge that Communists are against labor unity"? Methinks you protest too much, Messrs. Browder and Hathaway. There is little doubt that the A. F. of L. will demand from the C. I. O. as one of the conditions of unity that Lewis dump the Stalinists. In view of this fact, one can expect open moves by the Stalinists to sabotage unity negotiations.

President Roosevelt's open intervention in the union disputes arises from two convictions. (1) He believes European war with American participation is rapidly coming and he therefore wants national unity here which means above all peace and abject servility of the labor movement, and (2) He knows the rank and file in both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. wants peace and he thinks he can strengthen his hold over the working people by posing as the "champion of labor peace."

However, the practical difficulties confronting the unity negotiations such as the wide differences on the Wagner Act and on Labor's Non-Partisan League, to mention two main obstacles, will not easily be resolved.

Convention Marked by Red-Baiting

Martin Tries to Skip Affiliation Question

(Continued from Page 1)

with the full impact of a tepid dungheap. Foreigners, "radicals" of every description are the devils of this convention. Pat McCartney, Dies Committee witness and reactionary without rival, is the hero of Martin's gathering and Ed Linder of Packard, slightly less boisterous but no less reactionary is second in line for the honors.

Martin is Bandmaster Martin runs the shows like the ringmaster of Barnum's circus. He is cheer-leader, bandmaster, impresario and major performer all rolled in one. He chairs the convention, practically delivers the main reports, bats for the reporters when they run into a snag and receives all the "tributes of appreciation" and all the plaudits for "Der Fuehrer." As "Fuehrer" of this convention he set a keynote that would make Matthew Wolf blush for shame in its jingo, red-baiting, out-Heavenly Hearst patriotism. There are two kinds of unionism, Martin perpetrated to the flash of photographer's bulbs with all the rabble-rousing invectives of the poison-tongue of Royal Oak. One of them is "responsible" unionism that "lives up to contracts" and "serves with honor and integrity." But, he emphasized:

"The revolutionist has a different point of view. We have seen that point of view at work in the local unions, under C.I.O. control, where communist policies have controlled, where communists have gained control by intrigue, deception and stealth. The revolutionist seeks only to destroy and to capture. Some of our members have not discovered that fact yet. They are still deceived. But the majority, as we see it represented in this hall, has discovered that fact and is determined that our union shall not be the tool of revolution, the pawn of a communist machine which has international revolution as its goal."

The remainder of the speech was punctuated by the same type of baiting and all to the accompaniment of sweet outpourings of peace to the employers and the government. The old, old gag of the Chamber of Commerce was trotted out to frighten easily-frightened delegates. "One great industry [has been] driven to the far corners of the country to escape irresponsibility and outlawry among its organized employees." But only the fools—even at this convention—believed that this industry—whatever it was—decentralized for any other reason than to escape the high wages, low hours and decent humane working conditions introduced by unionism. The auto industry can't be put on wheels and it can't escape unionism unless the labor skates open the front gates and let it out. That's what Martin is trying his utmost to do.

Worries About Government

How reactionary a labor leader can become when forced by his own illogical position is seen in a statement like this. Says Martin: "The law of the land has guaranteed our right to have unions, but it is our solemn obligation to understand that the law will give us that right only so long as we do not abuse it. I think we need to realize how vital our industry is to our government. And government cannot permit itself to be either undermined or defeated."

What rights did the auto workers of Michigan have till they took the law in their own hands? This they learned today when the Supreme Court loaded with Roosevelt's "liberals" declared that the very tactic which ended slavery for auto workers, which put the kibosh on the open shop in General Motors and Chrysler and Hudson and Packard and Nash was "illegal." Preacher-Patriot Martin is far less concerned with the auto workers and their union being "undermined and defeated" than he is with the government of DuPont, Ford and Chrysler being "undermined and defeated!"

Super-Americanism

The whole convention followed this keynote. Even a simple resolution which would have been passed at any other convention with the delegates blindfolded because it lacked the oath of Americanism. The resolution called for "joining any movement looking to legislation beneficial to its [U.A.W.] membership." A delegate objected that this would allow the "dirty element with their theories and practices detrimental to the government of the U.S." to put something over on the patriots. He wanted a clause on "American principles" inserted. The resolution was referred back to committee.

This fierce anti-red breeze blowing over the convention is prov-

ing slightly embarrassing, to put it kindly, to the Lovestonites. The sentiment of the convention is "to hell with the lams" and the word is out that Martin has broken with the Lovestonites. Somebody said that the Lovestonites would oppose Martin. If they do, historians will have to record a brave deed—but only as an epitaph on a sad career. These poor people are like the boarder who doesn't know when he has outstayed his hospitality—he has to be booted out the door. This is a world of hard knocks—and God knows the Lovestonites have taken their share... even though at times it seemed they liked it.

Patriotic Oath

If any progressive manages to get by this convention, he will probably have to take a loyalty oath now being proposed by Tucci, Regional Director of New York area, whose blustering is greater than his following. "I swear," says the oath required of all applicants for membership, "that I will support and defend the Constitution of the U.S. against all enemies, foreign and domestic..." Tucci signalled order for honors along with Irvan Carey and Lester Washburn as the three Mohicans on the Executive Board still supporting Martin.

And if the progressive eats crow he will have to fulfill this obligation: "no member of the Communist party, or a member of any group or organization which seeks to overthrow the Government of the U.S. by force, can become a member of the I.U.A.W.A. and that henceforth, any member of the I.U.A.W.A. shall be immediately dropped from the membership rolls of our union upon proof that he is a member of any such group or organization." This resolution, worthy of the most reactionary of the craft union bureaucrats, is said to have the support of Martin himself. It originates from his pet local in Kansas City.

Dodges A.F.L. Question

Martin's dilemma on how to make the break from the C.I.O. and join the A.F.L. came to the front first in an incident on a resolution calling for support of the 20-point program. The resolution failed to make it clear that the 20-point program involved was not the same one as adopted last April when Martin made his first and only progressive move. So a delegate from Milwaukee arose and objected that point 17 of the 20-point program called for "continued wholehearted support of the policies and principles of the Committee for Industrial Organization, including regular and prompt payment of per capita tax as a fixed obligation of the union." Martin was clearly baffled by this surprise (he wrote this clause himself!) and the resolution went back to committee.

Then a conference of the press

was called. Martin was asked about his future and present relations with the A.F.L. and he dodged the question with usual dexterity. But the newspapermen pressed: If there was no technical affiliation to the C.I.O. as Martin claimed, how come the U.A.W. under Martin paid per capita tax to the C.I.O.? How explain that Martin and others were represented officially at the Pittsburgh convention of the C.I.O.? How explain that the legend "Affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations" still appears on the masthead of Martin's newspaper? Martin was in a cold sweat. And when someone asked him how he explained the presence of Joseph N. Cummings, Michigan A.F.L. representative, at the convention, he was all but ready to retire to the pulpit where only God asks questions and nobody else hears.

Interesting sidelight was Pat McCartney's stool-pigeon paper which printed photostatic copies of membership cards held by Plymouth workers in the Communist Party—the Department of Justice will show its gratitude to McCartney by deporting these workers, no doubt!

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SOCIAL—ALL INVITED. 231 W. 16th St., Apt. 5W. Saturday night, March 11 at 8 P.M. Funds to White Collar Local Committee Fighting Against WPA Lay-off.

PATIE DE FOIE GRAS? IT'S FREE!

DETROIT WORKERS' Discussion Group: Every Sunday night, 8 P.M. Socialist Appeal Hall, 3513 Woodward, Room 5. Adm. free.

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STALINISTS GET A VOTE LICKING

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW YORK, Mar. 3.—Stalinists suffered a two-to-one defeat in the election of officers at the Greek Foodworkers Club last Friday night. The Club, located at 783 Eighth Ave., is composed of Greek workers in all sections of the food industry, regardless of political affiliation.

So disastrous was the leadership of the Communist Party crowd in the foodworkers' unions been, that outside of machine control by means of job trusts it has lost all standing among the rank and file. While the latter may be terrorized to a great extent in union balloting, once they get away from the watchful eye of the business agents who hold their fate in bureaucratic hands by having final say on jobs, they inevitably repudiate that leadership.

The election in the Greek Foodworkers Club, giving the Stalinists 106 votes as against 216 for their opponents is eloquent evidence of this trend.

DUNNE REPORTS ON ANTI-FASCIST TURNOUT IN N. Y.

Flag-Waving Rally Held by C.P. for Foster

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS.—"20,000 Fascists in Madison Square: What It Means to You" was the subject of the record-smashing forum meeting held in the Minneapolis Socialist Workers hall on Sunday, Feb. 26, when V. R. Dunne reported on the historic events of "Nazi Monday" in New York City.

Even standing room was taken at the forum—the result of a good distribution of leaflets throughout the city, together with a tag day in the Jewish working class district. At least seventy-five of the persons attending were entirely new people. The impact of the New York events was also evident in the question period, which was vigorous and long. A collection of \$95 was taken, in addition to an entrance fee.

Matches German Rallies

"This insolent Bund meeting in New York heralds the approach of an open and formidable American fascism in this country. The meeting more than matched the Nazi rallies in Germany in 1931," Comrade Dunne stated.

"Fascism in the United States will probably be led by a man with the eloquence of a Franklin Roosevelt, the personality of a Floyd Olson and the brutality of a police sergeant. This meeting is the forerunner of a fascist movement of unparalleled swiftness and violence.

"The fascists are obviously financed, organized, armed and openly presenting a political program. Unless big financiers match dollar for dollar with the fascist rank and file, they will lose control—which they will not do."

"Only by smashing the fascists by organized, disciplined Defense Guards, will this rapid and alarming fascist thrust be stopped in America."

FOSTER MEETING

The Communist Party of Minnesota held a rally for William Z. Foster on February 26, the day of the S.W.P. Sunday Forum, in the Eagles Hall. The meeting plumed new depths of Stalinist flag-waving degradation.

After distribution of leaflets with a red, white and blue motif, the meeting continued that idea in the decoration of the hall, which looked like the haven of an unrestrained D.A.R. rally.

The meeting opened with the Star-Spangled Banner. The first speaker of the evening was Carl Winter, the new organizer of the C. P. who replaces the discredited Nat Ross.

Silent on C. P. Role

Shrilly deriding the idea that the New York demonstration and the "Trotskyites" had anything in common, Minnesota's new commissar admitted that 100,000 people did demonstrate against the Bund in New York. But they did it "spontaneously," and "the workers of New York demonstrated not only against the fascists in Madison Square Garden, but also against that Sly Trotskyist fascism that sinks in their midst!"

The role of the C.P. in the

New York demonstration did not receive the attention of Winter. Foster Gets Pink Bouquet Upon the appearance of Wm. Z. Foster, everyone rose and cheered. The occasion happened to coincide, it was announced, with Foster's 58th birthday. Amid ringer-

House Votes Huge Army Fund for Coming War

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The day after the \$520,000,000 measure passed the House, for example, Roosevelt presented a new bill asking for \$123,000,000. This money is to be used also for the Army, particularly in buying new anti-aircraft, coast defense and machine-gun equipment, and large numbers of recently perfected deadly Garamond rapid-fire rifles.

At the same time, Congress is acting on a \$32,000,000 bill for "educational orders" to enable factories to buy, with no expense and much profit to themselves, machines needed to handle mass production of munitions.

A \$350,000,000 to buy airplanes for the Army has already been passed by the House and is now before the Senate. The sum for the proposed training of 20,000 young pilots is likewise handled in a separate bill.

All these appropriations for the Army are, of course, entirely apart from the even larger sums already appropriated to or projected for the Navy: the regular Navy appropriation of more than \$600,000,000, the \$50,000,000 bill for strengthening naval bases just passed by the House and now under debate in the Senate, the mounting appropriations for additional Naval aircraft, and the sums running into several billion dollars either appropriated or authorized for new battleship construction.

In fact, a new armament bill is being sent to Congress by Roosevelt nearly every day.

It is already clear, as predicted by the Appeal, that the mighty sum of two billion dollars for armaments during the fiscal year

GANDHI SEEKS TO DIVERT STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

processions, demonstrations and militant actions defied the repression of the Thakore and his British advisor, Sir Patrick Cadell. Police beatings, arrests, firings and terror did not stop the workers and peasants. Rajkot became the symbol of Rebel India. From outside this state thousands of left-wing nationalists and socialists poured in to aid their brothers.

Tool of Britain

Behind the Thakore Sahib stands the entire British Empire. This ruler is but a willing tool in the hands of the British imperialist slave masters. They can feel beneath Rajkot a surging current of mass discontent rapidly gathering speed all over India. The 365 million people of India are fed up with British military and slave "democracy." They are ready—for the third time since the World War—to march forward and do battle with the hated oppressors from over the seas. The Rajkot struggle is but the vanguard of mightier struggles to come.

And so when the action of Rajkot's people had brought the Thakore to his knees and forced him to dismiss his British advisor, the British decided to make a test-case. The Thakore had signed an agreement with Gandhi permitting him to appoint a 10-man, representative commission to draw up a new democratic constitution. Under pressure from the British, he rejected the proposed list Gandhi had drawn up and announced the end of the agreement. The British Resident announced a no-compromise fight was on. A mass general stoppage of work immediately swept the entire state.

Masses Desert Gandhi

This is the background of the present Gandhi fast. But beneath lies a still more basic reason. India's masses have long outgrown the conservative and compromising tactics of Gandhi. Time after time have they been led by the Mahatma into battle with the British and then, at the decisive moment, he and his middle-class following have deserted.

The Indian Nationalist Congress

which Gandhi has led since ing cheers, Foster was honored with a large bouquet of yellow flowers, lightly touched with pink. Speaking in a tired, wheezy voice, Comrade Foster told the audience that "I think you people in Minnesota were pretty thoroughly fooled in that last election."

Foster then laid the defeat at the door of the "Trotskyists" whose criticism of ex-Governor Benson was "responsible for his downfall."

Next Sunday night at 8 P. M., James Burnham will finish the series of lectures on fascism by speaking on the subject: "The UNITED STATES, It Need Not Happen Here!"

Attack Referendum Bill

Reflecting the fear of the people at the prospect implicit in the armament program, a loose bloc of Senators has introduced a much watered down version of the "Ludlow amendment." The virtual unanimity with which all of the armament bills are being voted makes clear that no one in either branch of Congress can be relied upon to hinder in the slightest the march toward the war. In spite of this, the Roosevelt war-mongers are so determined to permit no kind of opposition to their plans that they immediately unleashed a nationwide attack on the proposal for a referendum on war, an attack even harsher in content than that whereby they smothered Ludlow's original plan.

Led by Secretary of State Hull, the war-mongers exposed the cynical hypocrisy of their slogan of another war "for democracy" by bitterly rejecting the new call for a democratic referendum of the people to decide whether or not to enter a war.

The leaders of the war machine, from Roosevelt up and down, do not and cannot dare to give the people—who will pay the full cost in their own blood—any voice in deciding about the war. Roosevelt and his cohorts know that the war they plan is a war of external, imperialist aggression (the only kind of war that is even conceivable from the point of view of the United States), and they know that the people of the country would not support such a war if they had a chance to speak. Therefore, no chance must be given them.

1919 and which is the mass nationalist movement of the country with a membership of 4 1/2 million, has begun to reject Gandhi's pacifist, half-way measures. The Congress rank and file bitterly oppose the People's Front methods employed by the Gandhian right-wing politicians who hold political power in 8 out of India's 11 provinces.

The waning influence of Gandhi was clearly displayed at the recent election of the new president of the Congress when his nominee was defeated by the candidate of the Congress socialists and left-wing elements. It is this new generation of radical fighters who have challenged Gandhi's 20-year old leadership. Gandhi has undertaken his demagogic and sensationalistic action in a desperate effort to place himself once again at the head of India's mass movement.

Diverts Struggle

Instead of drawing up a plan of action against the British; instead of summoning the workers and peasants into mass action against their rulers; instead of urging the peasants to seize the land and the workers to take over control of India's industry Gandhi—like the shrewd and clever politician he is—is attempting to center all attention upon himself and divert the masses from the real business at hand. This is the real meaning of his dramatic action. Gandhi will try to place himself at the head of India's marching armies—the better to strangle them!

But this time the masses cannot be deceived so easily. If Gandhi can offer nothing but his old tricks he'll soon be left far behind. The third mass movement of India since the war threatens already to outstrip the others in scope and in extent. Previous Appeal issues have described the wave of peasant actions and labor strikes now going on. Already there are reports that the Congress ministries may be forced to resign due to mass pressure from the Congress rank and file.

400 Workers Hear Shachtman Explain Situation in France

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK, Mar. 6.—Before an assembly of more than 400 workers, Max Shachtman last night analyzed the economic and political situation in France, predicting that unless supreme efforts were exerted to provide the French workers with revolutionary leadership France would plunge into the barbaric chaos of fascism.

At the close of the question and discussion period when the floor was thrown open to any of the audience who wished to express agreement or disagreement with the speaker, one worker joined the Socialist Workers Party.

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APPEAL ARMY

"The SOCIALIST APPEAL rings the bell—it's the most interesting radical paper ever published and proves that a revolutionary paper can be made readable." From a reader in Seattle, Washington.

"This is to congratulate the S.W.P. on the way the mass demonstration was put into effect at the fascist 'shin-dig' at Madison Square Garden. Let us have more and better counter-demonstrations every time the fascist pigs try to put on their Jew and red-baiting show business. . . . A donation of \$2.00 is enclosed. This is to be used for a circulation fund for the APPEAL." W. A. S. of North Chicago, Illinois.

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