

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

With the odds at 50-50 that war will break out this spring and 80-20 that it will begin by next fall, there isn't much time left to prepare the union movement for the trials and tribulations ahead under war-time conditions.

A study of the events in America in the last world war give a clear picture of what can be expected tomorrow, and incidentally, shows how phoney the last war for "democracy" was.

Spearhead Against I.W.W.

It was inevitable that the spear-head of the bosses' drive against unionism should be concentrated on the I.W.W. with its militant traditions and unrelenting struggle for the oppressed.

Chief union strength of the I.W.W. was in the Lumber Workers of the Northwest, 30,000; the Metal Mine Workers, 40,000, primarily in the Rocky Mountain and Minnesota and Michigan iron ore regions; the Agricultural Workers, 24,000 and others.

In the spring of 1917 a number of small lumber strikes developed under the inhumane conditions and low wages that made work unbearable. They spread in Idaho, Washington, Oregon and Montana.

The government reply to the strikes was quick in coming. Infantry troops from Oregon were sent to leading strike centers and a round up of all pickets began. A concentration camp was erected at Ellensburg, Washington, where many strikers were held for months without any charge being placed against them!

Resentment over this brutal treatment spread to other lumber centers, and combined with agitation for an eight-hour day and sanitary camp conditions, a strike of 50,000 lumberworkers in the rich timber belt of Puget Sound resulted.

Miners Strike

At this time the country was scandalized to read about a disastrous fire at the Speculator mine in Butte, Montana that took the lives of 260 miners. 14,000 miners went out on strike to obtain union control of safety appliances underground and the abolition of the blacklist.

The whole Northwest and West was seething with unrest. It was then that the unionists got a real taste of the "democracy" for which American workers were losing their lives in Europe.

A vigilante "Loyalty League" in Jerome, Ariz., kidnapped 100 strikers and drove them out of the area. Police aided them by arresting the strikers after they were freed by the vigilantes.

In Bisbee, Ariz., 2,000 company officials, etc., armed with rifles, dragged 1,200 strikers from their beds early on July 12, 1917 and marched them to Lowell and other nearby cities. The strikers were corralled like cattle in railroad cars used for animals amid beatings, etc. and the murder of one striker.

After the train departed, U. S. soldiers took charge of it and put the strikers in an encampment at Columbus, N. M., where they stayed for over three months! Those who left and returned to the scene of the strike were arrested!

Company gunmen kidnapped Frank Little of the General Executive Board and hanged him on August 1, 1917!

Whip Up Lynch Spirit

Meanwhile, the press of the country, as emphasized in the study made public recently by John Hopkins University, was whipping up additional lynch spirit by seeking to tie the Wobblies to the "German Huns." All Wobblies were German spies, according to the newspaper headlines.

The hysteria aroused by this campaign created the basis for the nation-wide raids, arrests, beatings and murder of the I.W.W. members. On September 5, 1917, almost every hall of the I.W.W. in the country was raided.

The convention of the Construction Workers Industrial Union, 15,000 strong, was busted up and forty-seven delegates arrested to be held for months without charges or trial.

While many of the lumber strikes were broken, the use of a modified "sit-down strike" tactic applied as "job-action" by the strikers who were forced back to work secured the eight-hour day and improvement in the sanitary conditions!

C.I.O. Auto Union Faces Difficult Future

C.P. LEADERSHIP IS MENACE TO UNION POSITION

(Continued from Page 1)

to the Stalinist machine was provided in Cleveland by a hastily improvised caucus under the leadership of the big four Detroit locals: West Side, Briggs, Hudson and Chrysler. These locals and their leading officers had been aligned all through the Martin factional fight with the "Unity Group." After the formal split, when Martin formed his organization, a furious battle broke out on the executive board between Reuther and his supporters, and the Stalinist machine. The issues they were fighting, remained, however, completely obscure and the fight itself was conducted behind closed doors, without the knowledge, approval or otherwise of the auto membership.

In the week preceding the convention, Reuther and his friends deceived themselves into believing they would control an easy majority at Cleveland, through the cooperation of the C. I. O. officials. But when they came to Cleveland they found the majority on the other side. Instead of planning a struggle on major issues that would have split the Stalinist forces, they staked their cards on the intervention and influence of Hillman and Murray. But as the convention showed, they reckoned without their host.

C. I. O. Force

The C. I. O. in the persons of Hillman and Murray, was possibly the most important force at the Cleveland convention. Behind the scenes they wielded a tremendous influence and authority on all important decisions. What did the C.I.O. attempt to accomplish? Primarily they wanted a "responsible leadership" at the helm of the U.A.W. That was why they picked R. J. Thomas as their candidate for union president.

A conservative unionist, they knew he would be completely amenable to C.I.O. advice. Hillman and Murray rapped the C. P. crowd over the knuckles, as they had done in the Pittsburgh C.I.O. convention—in order to keep them from getting too much power and to avoid the impression from getting abroad that the U.A.W. was dominated by a bunch of "communists." But they would not and they could not fight the Stalinists in an open political struggle. Hillman and Murray did most of their work in the hotel room caucuses.

The temporary split among the top leadership of the union, the defensive position of the C. P. machine when under C.I.O. attack, the sure knowledge of the C. P. that they had a majority of the votes any day and their lack of great interest in the constitutional provisions, the presence of large, important delegations in opposition to the Stalinist machine, all worked to produce what appeared as a highly democratic convention.

The loosely knitted and improvised bloc of Reuther and his friends believed at the beginning of the convention that they would differentiate themselves from the Stalinists by their proposals for a highly democratic union convention and thus swing the membership to their side. But the Stalinists didn't give a rap about the constitution, as long as they were going to do the interpreting and administering. Far from fighting the constitutional proposals, they became the hypocritical champions of democracy. They demagogically spurred on the rank and file to put down the powers of the International President and shift them to the Executive Board. Why not? In this case the democratic desires of the rank and file was duck soup for the Stalinist machine. While they were not sure of the presidency, they were sure of their majority on the new executive board.

As the convention progressed it became clear that the loose progressive bloc didn't know how to differentiate itself from the tricky, unpredictable, unscrupulous C.P. machine. They were stumped. Their one and only attempt to fight the issues out on the convention floor in connection with the officers' report was a total flop. A real fight here could have set the tone for the whole convention and split the C. P. bloc wide open. But the fight, after the smoke had cleared, seemed little more than a personal wrangle between Reuther and Frankenstein and even there

Liberal-Labor Caucus Endorses Eide as Mpls. Mayoralty Candidate

Socialist Workers Party Branch Withdraws Candidate To Support Progressive Trade Union Slate

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS—About 300 delegates from trade unions and Farmer-Labor ward clubs endorsed T. A. Eide as candidate for mayor, together with a partial slate of candidates for aldermen and other city offices, at a caucus held here April 8.

Eide has been secretary of the Franklin Cooperative creamery since 1925. A steering committee met two days later at the Central Labor Union and completed the slate.

Following this development, the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party issued the following statement on the withdrawal of its mayoralty candidate:

The Socialist Workers Party welcomes the resurgence of the Minneapolis trade union movement on the political field, as shown by the actions of the union delegates at the April 8 labor-liberal caucus to salvage what remains of the wreckage of the once-progressive Farmer-Labor movement.

Stalinists Pushed Aside For the first time in three years, the Communist Party did not control a local labor political convention. The trade unions, reacting to the bureaucratic practices and anti-working class policies of the Stalinists, on the one hand, and to the ferocious attacks of the Stassen (Republican) machine on the other, sent representatives in such numbers as to control the April 8 convention and dictate the choice of candidates and the platform upon which candidates are pledged to run.

Though dozens of Minneapolis trade unions have recently withdrawn from the Farmer-Labor Association, it was shown on April 8 that the unions are by no means apathetic to the severe political blows received recently by organized labor.

In view of the long stride taken towards labor political unification, and in order that no obstacles, real or imaginary, be placed in the road of labor's campaign to drive the Associated Industries from the courthouse, the Socialist Workers Party has decided to withdraw its candidate for mayor, Carlos Hudson. Our party urges all workers to vote for the candidates of the April 8 labor-liberal caucus.

By this withdrawal, the Socialist Workers Party does not set a precedent whereby we will withdraw our candidates when confronted with candidates of other labor groups. In future as in past campaigns, according to circumstances, the Socialist Workers Party will make its estimate either to file its own candidates or to give a measure of critical support to candidates of other labor groups.

It is quite possible that unscrupulous politicians will now attempt to dub T. A. Eide, the candidate of the union caucus, a "Trotskyite," and to distort our position. We are sure, how-

ever, that our friends, familiar with our political views, will not be confused by such charges but will give their support to all candidates of the labor caucus despite the fact that none of them is a revolutionary socialist. Eide is not the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Indicates Differences The Socialist Workers Party makes this move without in the least concealing its basic differences with both the political program and the organizational set-up of the labor caucus.

The platform adopted April 8 contains demands which are in the main progressive insofar as they go, but in almost every instance they could and should have been carried much further.

The most glaring deficiency in the platform is its failure to mention the very real threat of a new horrible imperialist war "to save democracy" and to speak out unmistakably against that war and the Roosevelts and Landons who are combining to lead us into war.

While it is true that the platform approved by the delegates to the April 8 caucus—unlike all Farmer-Labor platforms in recent years—carefully avoids the attempt to tie the trade unions to either of the two old boss parties, it fails to make clear the next logical political step for the union movement: the creation locally of a Labor Political League and its immediate hook-up nationally with the forces working for the creation of a national labor party independent of and opposed to the boss parties.

Political Apparatus Needed

Though all candidates endorsed April 8 are pledged to abide by the platform adopted, yet the trade union movement will lack the organizational apparatus to hold the candidates to their pledges, once they are elected. A great weakness of the Farmer-Labor Association, and one of the factors contributing to the crash of the Farmer-Labor Party, was that it did not permit the trade unions to control the persons elected by the E.L.P. We saw this in the case of Latimer, of Benson, etc., etc. The caucus form of organization which will conduct the campaign for the union candidates is much too loose to give any guarantee that the candidates will carry out the will of the unions, once in office. We ask all workers to raise in their unions immediately the question of forming a Labor Political League based on the trade union movement, to further the political struggle of labor.

Clean the Stassen-Associated Industries-Leach crowd out of the courthouse! Vote for the candidates of the labor caucus!

For a Labor Political League of the trade unions locally, for a labor party nationally! Join the Socialist Workers Party, the only anti-war party of the working class!

WORLD WAITING FOR SLAUGHTER FEST TO BEGIN

(Continued from Page 1)

time, ask the workers of France already under the iron hand of Dictator Daladier, ask the workers of America with the M-Day industrial mobilization plans hanging over their heads about "democracy"!

War for Profits

No, this war they are preparing is for the profits of the bosses, not the rights of the masses in any of the riva camps. As far as government system is concerned, there won't be much to choose between Germany, Italy, France, Britain, or the United States once the war begins.

The present period of desperate diplomatic jockeying, supplemented by mutually menacing moves of armies and navies, offers only an interlude, perhaps the final interlude, before it actually does begin.

The United States fleet is on its way to the Pacific to deal with the Japanese end of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. It is openly said in Washington that an undercover agreement exists between Washington and London whereby the American fleet will handle the Far Eastern assignment and leave the British fleet free for operations in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

With much fanfare Lindbergh is paraded out to help whip up the hysteria which will enable the government to convince the workers of the need for its gigantic airplane-building program. Millions more are appropriated for naval bases and "educational" orders to industry while a drive is begun against organizations of the unemployed under the guise of an "investigation" of the W.P.A. and against the workers through court decisions aimed at the more liberal provisions of existing laws and at the rights won by workers in decades of bitter struggle. All this is part of the war preparations.

Offer Stalin Alliance

Among its many other purposes, the Roosevelt message to Hitler and Mussolini was also designed to aid Franco-British diplomacy in its efforts to swing the Soviet Union into the anti-Hitler bloc.

Britain and France are now reported to be offering Moscow a full-fledged military alliance, but all inspired and wishful reports to the contrary notwithstanding, Moscow seems to be continuing to hold Daladier and Chamberlain off at arms length waiting still to see if they will make sufficiently ironclad pledges to warrant the plunge into their camp or if Hitler will yet grasp the outstretched hand of Stalin and make the one deal that would enable him to go to war with Britain and France with a good chance of defeating them.

NATIONAL COAL STRIKE THREAT MADE BY LEWIS

(Continued from Page 1)

industries, the threat of the nationwide strike is expected to hasten governmental intervention to break the deadlock.

Fear Blow to War Plans

Already John R. Steelman, director of the United States Bureau of Conciliation (who, incidentally, walked through the picket lines in the recent hotel strike here), and James F. Dewey, a federal conciliator, conferred with the miners' committee and the operators.

Anxiety was expressed in White House circles that the miners' strike was "jeopardizing the national defense program," and it was expected that Roosevelt would soon intervene to prevent any obstacles to his war plans.

Roosevelt, as usual, indicated he would step in after the preliminary stages had been built up by the department of conciliation.

Closed Shop Issue

Chief issue between the U.M.W.A. and the coal operators is the closed shop which is vital to the miners union if a disastrous war between the C.I.O. and the A.P. of L. is to be avoided in this industry.

Besides the reactionary A.F. of L. dual union in the miners' industry a new threat arose in Western Pennsylvania where a large company union has been set up. A closed shop for the U.M.W.A. would eliminate these rivals.

The importance of the Appalachian agreement under dispute is that it sets the standards for contracts between the U.M.W.A. and the coal operators throughout the country. But, in giving up all demands for higher wages and improved conditions which were included in early negotiations, and in demanding only the closed shop the U.M.W.A. committee is dangerously neglecting an opportunity to improve the poor economic status of the miners on a national scale.



May Day 8-page APPEAL will be off the press on Wednesday, April 26. It will be in the hands of every branch by May Day.

Those few branches that have failed to send in their May Day greetings yet, or have not placed their special May Day orders can still do so. BUT THEY MUST DO THIS IMMEDIATELY. AIR-MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY. Otherwise they will be too late. This represents absolutely the last opportunity. Everything indicates not only a splendid May Day issue, but a record press run for the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

The literature agent is ordering an additional bundle order of the May Day edition. We plan to have a tag day on Sunday, April 30 in one of the working class districts in town to sell Appeals, to distribute the May Day manifestos and to publicize the joint Twin City rally on May 1.—Dorothy Schultz, St. Paul local.

"We have sold the last six issues out completely. The street sales are O.K.—three days a week!"—John Taber, Boston literature director. Incidentally, this Boston local under John's direction is going places! Not only did they win the second prize in the subscription contest, but they are completely paid up on their bill and have been steadily increasing their order. We understand, too, that they have a fine street-sales squad.

"Congratulations on the new appearance of the Appeal. I think it looks more like a newspaper and is easier to read. Generally speaking, the Appeal

has taken on more of a newspaper character."—Sam Richter of Chicago.

"We are particularly pleased with the enlarged format and improved typography, which was recently effected. We hope to fulfill our subscription quota and double it if possible, even though we will be late in doing so."—Paul Fielding of the Akron branch.

Even though the sub-drive is over we still are able to report good results on subscriptions. Let's try to keep up a pace of 50 per week as a minimum. Here is this week's results:

MINNEAPOLIS	9
New York City	7
Boston	6
Chicago	6
Pennsylvania	5
California	5
Michigan	5
Youngstown	4
St. Paul	3
New Jersey	3
Ohio	2
Lynn, Mass.	1
Missouri	1
Maryland	1
Total	58

We want to point out that Sol Thomas of Philadelphia, and Bob Ontell of Los Angeles, are the two star subscription getters of the Party. Each of them have been far ahead of anybody else during the past month.

There were two bundle order increases during the past week: John Murphy of Los Angeles increased his by 25 and now takes 125 copies of each issue; while John Taber of Boston added 20 to his and now takes a total of 105 copies per issue.

Flint U.A.W. Jobless Ask \$30, 30 Hours

FLINT, Mich., April 15—The W.P.A. and Unemployed section of the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.) last week unanimously demanded a W.P.A. appropriation of \$5,000,000,000, jobs for all in need at \$30 for a 30-hour week, and the immediate doubling of the miserably low relief allowances in Flint.

Launched only three weeks ago, the W.P.A. and Unemployed section has shown the kind of militancy necessary to fight the New Deal's W.P.A. slashes and to alleviate local relief conditions.

The section passed a resolution condemning the New Deal's spending billions of dollars for arms while starving the unemployed and pointed out that even Roosevelt's original request would mean the firing of hundreds of thousands of W.P.A. workers.

Demonstration Planned

The resolution provided for immediate action to enforce the

organization's demands. A mass meeting was set for Friday, April 21, following which a mass demonstration will be organized at the Welfare office and at the city hall.

Dozens of former Workers Alliance members, who had been desperately clinging to the Stalinist-dominated outfit in the hope that it might some day drop its company union policies of job towing to Roosevelt, have joined the new U.A.W.-C.I.O. Unemployed section. They voted for the vigorous anti-New Deal resolution with new born enthusiasm.

It is planned to publicize the mass meeting and demonstration through advertisements in the press and through leaflet distribution. Workers in the shops who are now facing a big lay-off scheduled for the near future, are expected to turn out in support of their unemployed brothers.

Benjamin Decides "U.S. Is Not Capitalist State"

(Continued from Page 1)

Congress of relief appropriations, is lead dog and straining at the leash in the attack which the Roosevelt Administration has launched against the poverty-stricken recipients of government relief.

Believes in Capitalism

Lasser on questioning admitted that he was a renegade Socialist, but denied that Socialism affected his beliefs any longer. "At the present time I believe in trying to make capitalism work," he said.

Asked about Benjamin's present attitude to a leaflet written by Benjamin advocating the use of the strike by the unemployed as a means of obtaining funds and relief from the government, Lasser responded: "From my knowledge of Mr. Benjamin, I don't think he subscribes to that now. It is not my philosophy and it is not the philosophy of the Workers Alliance. There have been no strikes authorized by us in the last year."

And it is during the last year, it might be pointed out, that the offensive against the unemployed has really gained headway.

Loyal to Roosevelt

Mr. Benjamin, when questioned, corroborated Lasser's statements, stating that they represented his position. When questioned directly about the leaflet which he wrote a few years ago when the unemployed movement made great gains through strike action, he

responded he would no longer subscribe to it. The booklet stated that relief workers must not hesitate to use their right to strike to avoid starvation. "That does not represent my views now," stated Benjamin categorically. With Lasser he now believes in "averting" any strike action on the part of the unemployed.

U. S. Not Capitalist

He no longer believes in communism and the overthrow of capitalist democracies, he explained. He believes in capitalism. He is not only "trying to make capitalism work," as it was formulated by Lasser, but he believes that capitalism does not exist in the United States. It's a "democratic" state, not "capitalistic." He finished with all the lucidity of a Daily Worker editorial, explaining that anyway the United States was a communist state in the first place, there being "no difference between communism and the principles upon which the American government was founded."

In any case, whatever the U. S. government is, Benjamin and Lasser are for Roosevelt, and if the interests of the unemployed and the interests of Roosevelt clash, the "views" of these two bureaucrats are guaranteed to represent everything but the unemployed.

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Y.P.S.L. LEADS STUDENT STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

the Roosevelt war policy. In every school the Stalinists hid under a cloak of respectability, inviting reactionary school administrators to address them. "Peace Rallies" was the official term used by the Stalinists for their jingo meetings—the word strike being avoided like a plague.

Speakers of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. for a militant revolutionary line on war, were sharply differentiated from those of the Youth Committee Against War (stooges of the Socialist Party Youth) whose speakers presented a drab pacifist line. Significantly enough it was the revolutionary speakers who received the greatest ovations from the students.

The slogans of the Y.P.S.L., "Not One Man—Not One Cent for Boss War," etc., resounded on every campus. The solidarity of those students at the anti-war strikes with our program and our speakers bodes well for the future of the revolutionary youth in America.

The Y.P.S.L. is now preparing to rally all sincere anti-war fighters to march in the demonstration of the S.W.P. and the Y.P.S.L. on May Day to express student solidarity with labor.

WANTED: Comrades to share bungalow on Lake Hopatcong, New Jersey. Good swimming, boating, fishing, hitchhiking easy. Answer F. H. c/o Socialist Appeal, 116 University Pl.

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