# Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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### **Madrid Checks** Italian Drive

#### Caballero Seeks French **British Aid To Exploit** Moroccan Resources

THE Spring Drive against Madrid has begun with two new features distinguishing it from its predecessors. It is, first of all, a brazenly unconcealed Italian offensive, as to troops, armaments, and strategy. Non intervention, plus the Anglo-Italian agreement, mean absolutely nothing, so long as international imperialism, democratic and fascist, sees the workers armed. On the government side, the military experiences of the past eight months have aided in holding off the attack and even succeeded in the preparation of a counter-offensive.

Largo Caballero announced in an interview with the Daily Mail that Spain will always be a bourgeois democracy, and that the real aim of the people's front government, which he heads, is to reach an agreement with Great Britain and France for financial and other help in the "exploitation of the rich resources of Morocco.

No longer does this bourgeois government make any pretenses at its imperialist aspirations. Its sole hope and goal is to convince the reactionary imperialisms of Britain and France that it hasn't the slightest intention of breaking the world capitalist front, and thereby foolishly thinks that England will cease its tacit and not so tacit aid to Franco. In this declaration are involved the Socialist and Communist Parties of Spain, who support and participate in the people's front government, and thus pre-pare themselves to support and participate in the imperialist exploitation of colonial Morocco!

LEON BLUM, no longer even making pretenses at carrying out a program of social reform, put thru his bill for financing national defense—voted for by both the Communist and Socialist Parties.

Typical of the methods by which French capitalism has always financed its military budget, the "defense loan," totalling some 10 billion francs, will be issued in the form of small bonds. A new twist was given in that the loan is subscribable in pounds, dollars, or francs. Thus not only can the French peasantry, urban middleclass and even some sections of the workers dig deeply into their well-worn jeans and aid French finance-capital in its plans for plunder, but American and English suckers are invited as well.

The only opposition to the government's plans came from the extreme right, which could not miss the opportunity to make political capital out of the shift in the gov ernment's financial policy.

Lacking completely in the pic ture was any sign of proletarian anti- militarism. Bound and gagged by the people's front policy, the socialist and communist deputies voted for the measure without speaking. The N. Y. Times Correspondent remarks: "There is little enthusiasm among them for the proposed measures, but there is no alternative for them but to support the projects their representatives in the Leftist People's Front have proposed." "Its "leftness" was at best a mirage, but today even that mirage is evap-orating. The workers' parties "were hurried to the region and without goal, without understand- suppressed the revolt."

#### TRYING TO HOLD THEM IN



William Green meets with W. Schoenberg of the United Cement Workers, and D. Williams of the Aluminum Workers. Green hopes to keep the C.I.O. out of these fields hence the sudden interest in "drives."

# Pardon

#### California Assembly By Wage and Hour Demands 45-28 Vote Supports Union's Resolution

The splendid campaign to free Toni Mooney, conducted by the California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, has resulted in the passage of a resolution granting pardon by the Assembly of the California Legislature. The vote was 45 to 28.

While the reactionary forces of the State presented long opinions on the unconstitutionality of the action, Rena Mooney, wife of the great labor martyr, sat in a cheering and packed gallery. The debate lasted two hours, being mostly taken up with the question of constitutionality. Representative Ritchie, introducer of the resolution, maintained that the Legislature has all powers not expressly denied. Decrying the bombing which took place at the now famous preparedness parade, he also considered that another atrocity had occurred at that time: "the arrest, frame-up, conviction, and imprisonment of Tom Mooney." He pointed cut the established falsehood of the "evidence" against Mooney. "We "evidence" against Mooney. "We wage increase of 5 cents an hour came one from vice-president go beyond the contention that and a maximum of 2 hours over- Ch. Zimmerman of the I.L.G.W.U. Mooney was never proved guilty," he stated. "We contend he has been proved innocent."

The resolution must also be adopted by the Senate to be effec-

ing, unwillingly and grumblingly, are voting away their class rights. relinquishing their revolutionary duties for the sake of the myth of the people's front.

REVOLT IN INDIA was buried in the pages of the capitalist press this week. A dissident religious leader in Northwest India, for thirty years an opponent of British Imperialism, roused his followers, once again to throw offthe British voke. He seemed to be unimpressed by the fact that Britain was a "democratic nation," or that a new constitution for India had just been published. "British "were hurried to the region and

### Vote Mooney | Subway Clerks Win Strike

### Won In Strike On Independent Line

A short but very effective strike was settled last Friday by a grant of pay increases and shorter hours to 300 news-stand clerks employed on stations of the city-operated Independent Subway System. The strike was called on Thursday by Local 906 of the Retail Clerks International Union to which the majority of clerks belong, and in one day spread to nearly all stands thruout the system.

Several workers locked them selves in their stands and remained there until they were forcibly ejected by inspectors from the Interborough News Co., operators of

Trouble between the clerks and the Interborough News Co. had been brewing for some time. The clerks received as little as 28 cents an hour and from this pittance was deducted the cost of any papers magazines and other merchandise that might either be lost or stolen

The settlement provides for a wage increase of 5 cents an hour 44 cents an hour. It like time at wise gives the workers an 8-hour day, 48 hour week, an hour lunch period, and union recognition. Employees who were discharged for organization activities will be reinstated and will receive half pay for time lost.

#### COMING IN THE **WORKERS AGE**

ARE SIT-DOWNS LEGAL, a discussion of one of the burning issues of today, will appear in next week's Workers Age. C.P.O. Units are urged to order their increased bundles imme-

GEORGE STREATOR, widely known journalist, labor organizer, and authority on problems of the South, will write a series of articles on the New South. To appear shortly.

# Chrysler Fights Union; GM Signs

Steel Company Unions Reject Frey's Craft Plan; Pose as "Independent" Organization; CIO Plans to Counter A. F. L. Splits.

SIGNED AGREEMENT between The United Automobile Workers of America and General Motors, was completed after four weeks of negotiations. Ratification by the union came after a long debate in a meeting of 220 delegates. William Knudsen signed for the corporation. Details of the pact are not available as we go to press, but it is understood that a minimum wage, and shorter work week have not yet been achieved.

The biggest sit-down to occur so far is still effectively holding up production in the Chrysler plants-60,000 workers are directly involved, while an additional 20,000 were laid off in Briggs. The latter is entering negotiations with the union this week. 100,000 workers, including 11,000 from the struck Hudson plants, are on strike in Detroit. Chrysler, who sailed along easily on his reputation for having actually dealt with the union in the past year, now arrogantly opposes the demands of the union for recognition as sole bargaining agent, altho it is well known, and proven by the strike action, that the UAWA has at least 90% of the workers in its ranks. The injunction proceedings are being answered by the most militant picket demonstrations in front of the court, and the refusal to cease in the slightest the vigilance of the strikers.

### 1500 Reo Men In Sit-Down

LANSING, Mich .-- Almost the entire working force of the Reo auto factory here is engaged in a sit-down strike demanding improvements in wages and conditions and recognition of the union

The 1500 workers engaged in the sit-down are under strict discipline, smoking only in smoking rooms and sweeping the plant twice a day. Liquor is being strictly kept out.

The large number of sit-downers has taxed the resources of the organization, but the Lansing Emergency Brigade, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Lester Washburn, is measuring up to all requirements. The men are being well fed from a restaurant set up across the street and manned by the Emergency Brigaders.

According to Lester Washburn president of the Lansing union, the men hailed and approved the settlement in GM and were sure that Reo would capitulate soon. Telegrams of greetings are coming in from all sides. On Saturday

### AUTO TYCOONS WEEP -AT OWN TEAR GAS

DETROIT-The debs and subdebs, the sporting young blades, the matrons and patriarchs, of Detroit's finest families got a whiff last Friday night of the tear gas intended for the workers they exploit.

It all happened at a very ritzy polo game. Everybody was there, my deah! But the Sunday before the UAWA had held a victory mass meeting in the same place—the State Fair Coliseum. Somebody had brought tear gas in the form of crystals that evaporated and spread when the building was heated. Well, it seems that some of the crystals were left over and when the building was heated for the polo game there was some more tear gas and all the society folk and the players and even the ponies had a very weepy evening.

Developments in the CIO organization drive and consequently in the controversy with the A. F. of L., were intensified to new levels

The Washington conference of leaders and organizers of the Committee for Industrial Organization reacted sharply to the splitting expulsion moves of the craft Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Green ordered the ousting of the CIO locals and unions from all state and city labor bodies in his blind and malicious drive to thwart organization of the millions of unorganized workers—for that is what opposition to industrial unionism means.

The conference decided to establish city and state units of the CIO in such places where conditions warrant. Altho the capitalist press was quick to seize on this move as a final and irrevocable split, interpretations of leaders of the CIO proved this to be premature. Lewis, in a statement to reporters, indicated that no rash moves would be made to erect these bodies wholesale. Rather would action be taken only in such cases where the A. F. of L. had taken action first.

Additional firms granted wage ncreases and hour changes equivalent to those in the agreement signed between the S. W. O. C. and Carnegie-Illinois, altho Republic refuses to sign with the union.

However, Carnegie-Illinois is not at all thru with its company union organization, and has made it "independent." Steps were first taken to interest the A. F. of L. thru John Frey in these weapons against the C.I.O. But Frey was too reactionary, wanting a craft form as he did, for even company unions!

#### DISCRIMINATE AGAINST **NEGRO STRIKERS**

Striking workers of the National Pants Manufacturing Company, led by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have run into difficulties in securing a hall for their strike meetings. The Workmen's Circle in Washington, D. C. refused to rent its hall because there were Negroes among the strikers.

# WORKERS DISCUSS LESSONS OF FLINT

### Minute Women of the Union -- The Emergency Brigade eral Motors, attracted the at-

By E. B.

On January 11th the call came in to the union headquarters asking that all available pickets be sent to Fisher Body plant No. 2.

The heat had been turned off at the people and the call from a sound car—"Go back to the Pengelly noon and food was kept out. A strong picket line including many women was formed. We demanded that the heat be turned on and that the food we had there be taken in. In reply we found ourselves suddenly surrounded by police with gas masks adjusted, carrying sawed off shot-guns, tear gas guns and service pistols. We were Chevy No. 4 ready to defend the unarmed, but realized we must fight or the Fisher boys would be evicted. We held the picket line until gas forced us to break our lines. Milk bottles and hinges further strikers. also coal, rocks, everything and anything we could lay our hands on went flying through the air at those policemen who were not only using gas and sawed off shotguns on us, but were breaking windows and shooting gas into the evict the Fisher No. 1 strikers.

What really saved us all in this upon to do picket and protection four-hour war was the fire hose duty. The Women's Auxiliary deused by the boys on the second clared Wednesday, February 3rd, floor of the plant. The water Women's Day in Flint as a prohelped to keep the gas down and test against the enforcement of shooting out to Fisher No. 1" as getting the full benefit of the demonstration was arranged for. water, and were handicapped. War Women from Lansing, Detroit, it seemed-shots, screams, men | Pontiac, Clio, Toledo and other falling and being taken away by nearby towns were invited to take other union men and women. Many part, and with their help we made were hurt but the police were fin- this Women's Day of the UAW a ally driven off and the boys in day to be remembered. Many hun-Fisher Body No. 2 had no trouble dreds strong we marched and thougetting food and heat from that sands demonstrated in front of the

night on thruout the strike. Birth Of Emergency Brigade Out of this fight came the Emergency Brigade-The Minute Women of the Union! A meeting of the newly organized Women's to have some way of identifying one another in action so red berets and red armbands with the letters

EB in white was decided upon. On February 1st a mass meeting was held at union headquarters to protest against the injunction hearings going on at that very hour. We were soon disbanded and sent out to Chevrolet Plant No. 9 to demonstrate against the fir ing of union members. The Emergency Brigade was standing across the street from the plant, singing Solidarity, when a union man came out of the plant shouting: "They're shooting and gassing the men, for God's sake do something!" A woman screamed. "Give them air, they're gassing our husbands!" All that could be done from the outside was to smash windows. We were there to help and air was in Flint at Fisher No. 2 and Chev-known as "Bulls Run". what those men needed! When we got thru no windows within our turned off the heat in Fisher No. to fight those union men who were

putting up such a gallant battle. We Face A Gas Attack Gas bombs were hurled at the pickets from the inside by the company thugs and shots were heard. Frenzied women jumped

car-"Go back to the Pengelly Building-Plant 4 is ours-Protect

Our next move was for Plant where we were to guard the gates while the sit-down strikers were erecting their barricades against any attack from the outside. night watch was arranged for Thousands were massed around National Guard trucks arrived and took possession of the entire area surrounding these plants. Martial law was declared

Stopping The Vigilantes

Then came the injunction to plant to force the strikers out. The Emergency Brigade was called Fisher Body plant 1. In that parade were seen the green berets of brigades were so new, they had no time as yet to choose their colors, maintain.

By JESSE SMITH

(14 years old)

Outside Pickets Aid

tention of the entire country. It was in the course of this strike that the full potential-

The articles on this page, who were actual participants in the great battles.—Editor.

isfied that we accomplished our purpose. The injunction was not

raids on Fisher No. 1, picked members of the Emergency Brigade were on protection duty in the strike kitchen across the street. How strange now to think that we danced and sang and thought nothing of it, even though we knew that carry out their threat to "come strike. them the privilege of carrying arms—privileges we did not enjoy. But we women did have peppertruly a woman's weapon!

"We're In This Fight To Stay" Our strike is now over. Our

AN AUTO WORKER'S SON SPEAKS

### The sit-down strikes in Pesign For Living During Flint, Mich. directed at Gen-An Auto Workers Sit-Down

By MARY FLINT engaged in carrying on a sit-down fifty of us realized the enormity discussing these problems, of the situation confronting us. To were not written by observers. us a sit-down was easy, the men or by reporters. They come and women simply quit work and sat down, let things take their from women workers, and in course until the company agreed one case from a lad of 14, to demands. The sitting down would be a novelty and on company time and property too. It every method, tall of the plants. looked an easy way to remedy the The next lesson therefore was the evils that were going on in the need of plenty of defense on the plants. Then, we learned something-that the sit-downers were hundreds and thousands of workenforced. But we still had the vigilantes—about 700 of them—to con- plant was taken the sit-downers found a task confronting them. to another great lesson. We had to The question of food, clean cloth- have some legal help. And the During the two nights when the vigilantes had threatened to make important of all — policing the policing the policing the several labor lawyers took plant. This meant keeping the over our battle in the courts. Leplant clean, preserving company gal tricks such as injunctions were property, resolving the men into shifts and picketing the plant against intrusion. In the face of inexperience the men inside accomplished this very well as was in and the danger existed of an 700 armed men might at any time shown during the duration of the armed attack on the strikers, the

being a cold night, the police were the injunction. A street parade and getting the full benefit of the demonstration was arranged for with the 700. And the law gave strike could not be won by these that saved them from the terror men alone. We learned something else. The sit-downers had to have food—and the food had to come pressure being applied by General from the outside, they needed Motors, Governor Murphy realized clothing, toilet articles, etc. The that the workers in Flint had to obvious way to supply these things be reckoned with. The court orwas by uniting all those on the ders were "requested" to be put outside into a smoothly working on the shelf. battle has been won. The next big body to supply these needs. A kitchen was set up where tons of and GM had to sign on the dotted

the Detroit women, red berets of to build, a women's auxiliary to food were prepared and sent fresh line before the plants were evacorganize, our youth to bring under and hot straight to the men at uated. Was this a lesson? And to the union's wing, conditions to meal-time. The work of the kitch- whom? Well, GM learned as big Auxiliary was called and the Emergency Brigade was formed as a unit of the Auxiliary. We had a unit of the Auxiliary. We had and down, to the front and to the UAW in the first lines when the great supply of food and help side of the north unit of Fisher crucial moments come. We're in needed, there were more units set No. 1 far into the night. Tired and cold though we were, we felt sat- our battle for a better day.

| not donated. Every person who ities of the sit-down were il
URING the first days of the came forward to volunteer had a job given him or her and did that lustrated.

Whother it was putting job well. Whether it was putting strike, I dare say not one out of on entertainment for a cash adwere plenty of people who proved themselves equal to the task

We Discover Our Strength But this was still not all of the machinery needed to win the outside. The call went out, and

The company-incited riots led us tried against our strikers and these were met by our attorneys.

In the last desperate stand of GM when the militia had been sent sit-downers themselves settled this

Another lesson - despite the

en was sub-divided, there were a lesson from the strike as we did.

The Union Above All We learned the value of a union,

union clean and honest from the men at the top to the men on the line. We learned the strength of men and women bound together by a union which grew out of the very evils and inhumanity of the force that was trying to break it. We learned that Solidarity is not just a song, but a force stronger than even love of home and children, for fathers and mothers said "we'll be seeing you" and left their children to go out to face learned at least the elementary was there, pictured in human sufthe fetters of those who would destroy our right to have our just rewards, enjoy the wealth that we produce, and hold up our heads and say to all "this is our country, it

Philadelphia

New Workers School 329 Pine Street, Phila. Classes in FUNDAMENTALS OF COMMUNISM CURRENT EVENTS Every Friday Night

## Dangers Of The Neutrality Bills

By WILL HERBERG

THE neutrality legislation now before Congress for consideration has as yet attracted slight attention in the labor movement and has evoked but little interest among the masses of the workers generally. This is hardly sur- ly believe that the United States prising for, in spite of all that has can be kept out of war by ingenhappened in recent years, the tra- ious legislative devices, by carefuldition of provincial isolation is still ly designed restrictions of one strong in this country among all sort or another? Countries do not classes of the people except per-haps top circles of finance capital. plunge into war in a fit of ab-sent-mindedness or thru oversight And yet the problem presented by or because of the thoughtless such legislation is a very serious "commercial entanglements"; so one that deserves careful thought, much, at least, we should be able especially on the part of the Marx- to learn from the last war and the effective leadership to the labor ed. Modern states join in war un-

#### The Bills Before Congress

There are many bills before Congress dealing with the question of neutrality in one form or another, but all the essential features of such measures are to be found in two that have emerged as repre-House and the Senate-the Pittthat seems likely to win the suptral. In case of war, internationan immediate and absolute embargo be placed on all arms, ammunition or implements of war, as well as a ban on all loans and credits to the belligerents. Ac cording to Senator Pittman's proposal, restrictions would also come into effect immediately on the export of all other articles or materials to the belligerent power so that only trade on a strictly "cash-and-carry" basis would be permitted—and such restrictions could be extended to an absolute embargo should the President think it necessary. A mandatory prohibition of American citizens travelling on ships of warring powers is also included. But, according to the McReynolds bill, such provi-President's discretion; should he only way to meet the menace of deem it necessary, a second proto put into operation any restrictions on goods other than muni-

tion in the McReynolds bill deal- of the people, can have the slighting with civil wars. "Whenever the est effect in staving off the outresident shall find that a state of break of world war at this time.

fects "American republics", that is, Latin-American states, provided they do not "cooperate with a sislation as the Pittman and Mcnon-American state in such a war." Reynolds bills is not merely futile;

There is more in this provision than may appear at first sight.

Futility Of Neutrality System Such is the way our representatives in Washington propose to keep America neutral in the next world war. But does any one realsent-mindedness or thru oversight

ist organizations striving to give years of "peace" that have followder the pressure of imperialist interests that do not depend either for their power or their direction upon war-time trade. All of the most ingeniously contrived neutrality legislation in the world will not amount to a row of pins once the dominant imperialist groups come entry into war; all of the fineman bill already approved by the spun "restrictions" will be brushlatter, and the McReyholds bill ed aside as so many cobwebs. The United States has emerged as a port of the former. The two dif- major force in world politics; fer on only one important point, it is in fact, the world's outstandon the mandatory character of the ing imperialist power—the tentacommercial and other restrictions cles of Wall Street reach into calculated to keep America neuthing we can be sure: let any al or civil, these bills provide that "great" war break out in Europe and Asia and the United States is certain to be involved in it sooner or later, despite the strictest 'laws "guaranteeing" neutrality that can be devised!

"preventing" war, this considerais futile in the actual prevention of war. It is a dangerous illusion that a country like the United States can be isolated from the res of the world, can be "protected" from the plague of war by a "cor don sanitaire" of neutrality laws. The capitalist world is so thoroly integrated economically and financially that once a major war breaks out anywhere it will hardly be possible to prevent its rapid spread sibility of legally receiving any asover Europe, Asia and America. All "big" wars are today world sions would depend upon the wars in their very nature, and the national anti-war movement of challenge imperialism in its very a revolt of fascist-monarchist briexistence. Only such a movement, proletarian and socialist at bottom Especially important is the sec- tho embracing the broadest masses

All legislation of this character

civil war exists in a foreign state | It should not be too readily as and that such armed conflict is sumed even that it is the essential of such a magnitude or is being purpose of neutrality legislation to conducted under such conditions keep America out of war. Towards that the export of arms, ammuni- the middle of January, a special "neutrality" law was passed alwould threaten or endanger the most unanimously by Congress to nist and Socialist Parties towards the peace of the United States, the prohibit the shipment or arms and question of neutrality. President shall proclaim such fact ammunitions to Spain. Can any and it shall thereafter be unlawful one seriously pretend that there to export arms, ammunition or im- was the slightest danger of war in plements of war . . . to any such volved in permitting the export of state or to any other state for such material to the Spanish govtrans-shipment. . ." Immediately, also, it would become illegal to requirements of international law? make any loan or extend any credit Are we to presume that there was or even "solicit or receive any con- really any likelihood of Italy or tributions" for either side in the civil war. A further proclamation declaring war upon the United would be necessary to place a ban States under such circumstances? on the export of goods of a gen- Obviously the "neutrality" law of eral character. The Pittman resolu- January 9 was nothing more than tion makes all these restrictions an effort to bring American policy mandatory but does not prohibit on Spain in line with the despicthe solicitation of contributions. able course sponsored by England. It is not without significance France, to make this country ar that the McReynolds measure accomplice in the strangulation of specifically exempts from its ef- the Spanish people in the name of

### CALL FOR CPO CONVENTION

The National Buro of the CPO has just issued a call for its sixth convention, to be held on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, May 29, 30, and 31.

There will be three reports: Betram D. Wolfe, on the international situation: Jav Lovestone, on the situation in the American labor movement and cur tasks; and D. Benjamin on organization problems.

Discussion in the organization and press will begin the first week of April and will continue

it is positively mischievous in its

effects and consequences. Such pose, may often be sponsored with of Mexico may take its place in the laws, carefully framed for the purthe aim of promoting certain special business interests or of advancing certain aspects of imperialist policy. It has been suggested, for example, that war-time embargoes may help American capitalism concentrate its efforts to capture the striven to create the impression foreign markets of the belliger- that the book is chiefly the Mexent countries, especially in Latin ican work of Rivera, with text by America, in preference to the more dangerous and "unsound" war trade. But of more vital import- their collaboration. The paintings to feel that their vital interests can ance to us is the notorious utiliza- emphasize the main features of best be defended or promoted by tion of neutrality legislation as a Wolfe's history. The history is, in pacifist cover for a reactionary turn, the first competent account of foreign policy, involving actual Mexico written from a Marxist support of fascism and direct men- viewpoint. Pictures and text are ace to the Soviet Union. In the next war, it is quite certain, the cial content of one and the revolu-U.S.S.R. will be fighting for life tionary analysis and understanding against Germany or Japan or both. of the other. What will neutrality legislation mean then? An embargo on all loans to the Soviet Union, on all or out of the "National Revolu- political paradoxes which has exports of munitions, perhaps even tionary" government is certain. on all exports altogether, including food and clothing! For us, to Communist Party, is equally cerwhom the guiding motive is the tain. To be understood too well is welfare of the Soviet Union and often less agreeable than to be misnot childlishly fantastic schemes

> tion is surely of decisive import Or take civil war. What neutral ty means in such a case can be een from the Spanish example. Whether mandatory or not, such of the day before. North of the Rio legislation necessarily implies that Grande, imperialistic politics and when the point is reached of open ignorance of historical method, sepwar against reaction, the forces of arately and together, have proanti-fascism and proletarian revo- vided us with the most contradic- powerful, lean-muscled, kinetic sistance at all from the working masses of this country. It is perfectly all right to ship arms and make loans to Chiang Kai-shek to enable him to drench all China in trenched than before. Or it emblood, but help to the Spanish government so that it may suppress dados, leaving the overwhelming gands aided and abetted by Hit- fore. Its officers make more and ity! Even more clearly than in behind a stronger bourgeoisie. The the case of war between nations, national government makes peace

Next week Comrade Herberg will \* Portrait of Mexico: by Diego Ri- savor of Mexican life, to live deal with the attitude of the Commu-

# "Portrait of Mexico"

a review

By MAC STUART

t is in reality two books, which though bound together, might each stand on its own. The one, by Bertram D. Wolfe must be considered as the first clear and comprehensive history in English of Mexico and its peoples. The other half of this work is a splendid collection of reproductions of the Mexican paintings, oils, water colors and frescos, of Diego Rivera. Is it, then an art book or a historical work? We do not know how the Dewey decimal system will solve this question for the librarians; but I think the reader will agree that Portrait front rank of written history, and that the paintings of the source material by Rivera form a rich and gratifying collection.

It is unfortunate that the publisher and the press notices have Wolfe. This does justice neither to the authors nor to the result of connected by the revolutionary so-

understood altogether.

#### Mexico As A Parodox

It has been Mexico's fate to re main inexplicable in spite of many explanations. Mexican history of one day annuls the interpretation ution will be deprived of the postory and confusing notion of our style that the reader is borne along,

The Mexican government expro- scriptions and incisive comments priates all foreign-owned mineral on the land, the people and their resources, with the result that life. Then begins the history of American capital is more firmly enbarks on a program of the hacenmass of peasants landless, as beler and Mussolini, that, very ob- more revolutionary speeches as viously is a violation of neutralthe neutrality system when applied with the Catholic Church, but the than three centuries in the space to civil war is nothing short of outright aid to fascism and re-the church doors. The state is pow-

249 plates. \$4.75.

Challenge"

by Will Herberg

| erless before the strike of the electrical workers, but curtly threatens the railway men out of a strike. One could thus list endless paradoxes, to no avail. Their arithmetical sum is zero. No wonder that even Mexican historians have renounced the task of threading the maze. Nothing becomes easier in the presence of a too complicated problem than to disregard terms so contradictory and derive answers that please one's self. "Mexico is anarchic. The Mexicans are an inferior race, and need civilizing and guidance from above"-that is, north of the Rio Grande. And so the history and the events of all the South American countries becomes the inferior order of history and events of inferior peoples.

The Communist who has lost his guide lines finds in Mexico the best type of People's Front in the Western hemisphere. The conservative on the other hand is often in fear of Revolutionary Mexico. The significance of these attitudes lies not in the fact that there is truth in them sometimes, but that just as often they do not represent the truth. Is there no higher mathematics, no calculus of history, so to speak, which can be applied to the problem for a solution

#### Marxism Untangles Snarl Marxists know that there does

exist the method, and Portrait of Mexico is distinguished by its ap-That this history will not please plication, resulting for the first the Mexican politicians, whether in time in untangling the snarl of hitherto been the general picture of That it will not please the Mexican Mexico. It is the special accomplishment of Wolfe to have created a book which takes its place with the best literature of Marxism in the English language. He has laid down the method and approach which all historians must use if hey are to write with sense and ntelligence about the Spanish peaking lands of South America. These are bold words, I know.

evertheless, a second reading of Portrait of Mexico leaves me con-The author has used so well a

gently at first, in the opening de-Mexican antiquity and the narrative of the class forces of the preconquest days that made it easy for the Spaniards to overwhelm the country. The reader is carried at an ever increasing pace through the story of the Conquest, the struggle for independence and the formation of the Republic until he has completed the journey of more

To experience the color and Covici, Friede, Inc. 460 pages, and betravais and then to finally emerge with a comprehension of Mexican affairs that lends intelligibility to its views in the bourgeois press--all in so brief a space -is the miracle of condensation which we term art. For Wolfe has written a history which is art, as Rivera has painted by his art a

history. When the reader has completed the journey by the written word, he may turn to the 249 full-page plates and repeat in a different medium the excitements of the trip. Because they are well-known, there is little need to say much concerning the Mexican paintings of Rivera. Some of these are reproduced for the first time: but all of them are a delight and a perpetual source of nourishment. These are the best of his works, great in conception and masterly in execution. fountain head of working-class and revolutionary significance.

### JUST OFF THE PRESS!

### TWO NEW PAMPHLETS

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WORKERS AGE 131 West 33rd Street, New York City

that food must be taken in to the sit-down strikers.

union people knew the strike would movement. The men were called not be won on cold bodies and back to work, working only two empty stomachs, so we all knew days a week. Many of the union men were fired and became dis-There was a call sent to head- had to be kept a secret because quarters asking that all the union GM had so many stool pigeons up to see what was going on in men and women get down in front around the union. The plan giv-What she saw there she will nev- in to the sit-in strikers, and that No. 4 they wanted to take, beer forget. As she expressed it, the heat be turned on. But in- cause it is the motor plant and union's principles and the great

outside were very much astonish- march to protest against the fired to find themselves surrounded ing of many union men. Gas and HAVE always been taught in by police with tear gas, with tear guns were again used by company school that the police were to gas guns, sawed-off shotguns, and police and company men who were protect the people. But when the strike took place I found that they protect private property instead armed picketers. My mother and against great numbers. These few of protecting the people. The work- other members of my own family men were very brave because they problems of the class struggle. It ers have no property to be pro- were among the pickets. Then, had a principle to fight for. Some the battle was on and our unarmed of them were badly hurt. The fering, for all to see and although The National Guard came in also pickets on the outside and the Emergency Brigade was called out the sight was not a pretty one, it to protect private property. The workers of Flint learned that the workers were stopped by one of our organizers who said "No property damonly protection they have is to Won what was battle No. 1 in Word was received that Chevy No.

Flint Chevrolet Avenue where 4 was sitting in the Union people izers who said, "No property damage we don't want trouble" We have a strong union. This they Flint. Chevrolet Avenue where 4 was sitting in the Union people day be free people unshabled by age, we don't want trouble." We have a strong union. This they rint. Unevroiet Avenue where there to help and air was have learned from the struggles that battle was fought is now left plant 9 because their purtage day be free people, unshackled by the fetters of those who would depose had been accomplished.

reach were left intact. The city police were called in. We formed our double picket line and saw that turned off the heat in Fisher No. 2 and would not allow food to be taken in to the sit-in strikers. The union people knew the strike would movement. The men were called couraged; again something had to be done. So a strike was planned for Chevrolet, the plans of which like to have. that plant. One was held up by of Fisher No. 2 to form a picket en out was to take Chevrolet No. to fight the police when we do have another Emergency Brigader. line to demand that food be taken 9 while it was really Chevrolet to go on strike.

The Lessons Learned

Through these experiences have learned that working peo- is granting us all a beautiful life, ple must organize into strong it is giving us all the just rewards unions to get better wages, bet- of our labor, to further produce ter working conditions and our the things our hands and our dads and mothers in Flint have minds are capable of creating." fought bravely to give us children more of the things we need and

We have got to clean out our city government so we don't have

"Hell could be no worse." A man's stead of GM allowing the food to cars cannot be made without mo- teaching my father and mother bloody, battered face appeared at the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the total cars cannot be made without into-the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the total cars cannot be made without into-the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the total cars cannot be made without into-the have given to me—a working man's cannot be made without into-the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the cars cannot be made without into-the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the cars cannot be made without into-the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the cars cannot be made without into-the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the cars cannot be made without into-the window calling for ambulances, turned on, the picketers on the cars cannot be made without into-the cars cannot be made without be made without into-the cars cannot be made without be made without be made without be made without be made with the cars cannot be made without be made with the cars cann Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

Saturday, March 20, 1937

### ROOSEVELT'S FIRESIDE CHAT

WHAT is the Supreme Court? Is it merely a judicial agglomerate of nine old men whose age and personal predilections make impossible the passage of social and labor legislation? Were this true, then labor's solitary interest in the present political dust-storm would not go beyond support of the President's proposals. But it is this very dust-storm which has been utilized by the Administration to blur labor's vision, to blind it to its program as a whole, directed against the reactionary powers of the Supreme Court as vested, institutional powers. Because Roosevelt suggests changes in personnel and not a radical solution of the problem, labor's support of this measure can be only a phase of its fight for a constitutional amendment.

Alexander Hamilton, who, perhaps, of all the founding fathers most clearly understood and expressed the reactionary nature of the Constitution and its implements, saw the court as the final, stalwart and uncorruptible defender of the rights of the "rich and the well-born" against "the Great Beast, the people". And right thru our history, this view has been vindicated. Under Marshall, the court was the trowel with which the ruling class built firmly the legal edifice in defense of private property; under Tawney it was the "city of refuge" of the reactionary Southern slave-holders; and, in the days of the great populist and radical agrarian upsurge, it was upon the rock of the Supreme Court that the anti-trust movement was broken.

In the face of the reactionary history of the Supreme Court, its role as the ever-faithful class instrument of reaction, the meagreness of the President's proposal become patent. Only insofar as it makes immediately practicable the passage of social and labor legislation can it be considered of value. Roosevelt is correct when he points out that years might be taken up with a battle for a constitutional amendment and that some remedial action is necessary now. That is why labor supports the proposal. But this argument does not diminish the necessity of a constitutional amendment, enabling Congress to enact social and labor legislation. Such an amendment would be directed openly against the powers of the Court as such, and this may, probably will, be necessary even against a court of Roosevelt appointees! While it may be that the justices make the Constitution by interpretation, certain it is that the Court makes and molds the justices by the weight of legal precedent, by its very role in the government. Was not Justice Butler appointed as a liberal? And then, even if the leadership of the labor movement today feels it can trust Roosevelt, can it have any guarantee as to the action of his successor who might be a Republican or conservative Democrat?

Just because the passage of an amendment may take a long time to achieve, labor must now formulate its demands and build its movement, not halting at Roosevelt's stop-gap measure.

### LESSON FOR LABOR

THE Child Labor Amendment has been decisively defeated in the New York Assembly. The Democratic Party members in the Assembly, cast a lican Party, true to its reactionary role, cast an almost unanimous bloc of votes against it. The pressure of the Catholic church and other forces of reaction proved too strong.

As against the actual and real slavery of children in industry the opposition could do no better than trot out mythical and fantastic dangers of child enslavement allegedly inherent in the Child Labor Amendment. The cry of "regimented legal slavery" is a sham behind which hide reactionary employing interests and their willing instrument—the Catholic hierarchy.

The adoption of the Child Labor Amendment cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered as a step in the direction of a fascist dictatorship. It is equally true that the non-existence of such an amendment is hardly a guarantee in itself against the rise of fascist dictatorship in our country.

The sham cry against the danger of fascism by the 102 Assemblymen is best exposed by the fact that at least 80% of the people of New York State expressed themselves in favor of the Amendment. What happens to the will of the people which our

### PARTY DEMOCRACY AND THE C.P.S.U.

lightly touched by the hand of tional. emocracy has been ordered introduced into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The reference is recent plenary session of the Cenral Committee of the CPSU providing for the election by secret ballot rather than the appointment from above of all lower functionries of the CPSU.

Any decision which extends the rights and privileges of memberhip in the Soviet Party is both velcome and long overdue. But this decision must be examined not uncritically. First and foremost it nust be stated that this decision eturns to the party membership a right which was theirs to begin with. The right to elect its funcionaries is vested in the membership by the statutes of the Soviet party. The surprise is not that this right should be granted now but rather that it was withheld so long. We recall to our readers that the Soviet party considered it as slanderous, perhaps even anti-Soviet, to say that there is insufficient demazement that such things could

ner-party democracy. The this decision is significant it

nust not be overestimated. The central problem involved is express one's disagreements with, or doubts of, the correctness the general line of the party, during the period prescribed for party iscussion by the very same statutes which the Soviet party has now rediscovered. Were that right to exist in the Soviet party the elecion of functionaries by open or secret ballot would be of little eturn to the form and structure of | tor dictating a change. nner-party democracy, its politial content is missing. The memers of the Soviet Party have re- to remedy, a task that the resoluright to discuss the correctness or is the return to those principles of ncorrectness of the policies being pursued by the Soviet party within the borders of the Soviet Union. and by the CPSU-dominated lead-

"democratic" system supposedly expresses? In this sense, does not the action of the 102 Assembly men, who shout against dictator ship, seem dictatorial?

The defeat of the Amendment also casts an interesting light on the Democratic Party. Tho loud in its promise of reform it has seen fit to align itself with the most reactionary forces in the state against such elementary and humanitarian legislation as the Child abor Amendment. It is also important to note that Jim Farley, onfidant and chief strategist for President Roosevelt, chose not to nterfere on this issue. Is there any loubt that a word from Farley would have sent the Democratic Assemblymen scurrying to vote

In the defeat of the Amendment there is a lesson for labor in the state. The American Labor Party must cut itself loose from any and all ties with the two parties of capitalism. Even the "more liberal" of the two capitalist parties in the president's own state has shown its true colors. The American Labor Party must prepare to wage an independent fight for labor and its interests, against both old parties in the state.

TEADLINES in the press, ership of the Communist Interna-

#### Why Now?

Why are these formal concesto the resolution adopted by the made now? Many ridiculous reasons are being advanced. Some fly in the face of facts and insist that there is a difficult economic situation for which the extension of democracy is a sort of compensation. Others insist that the party is seething with dissatisfaction over tension of democracy is a sort of bone thrown to the discontented. Both are wrong in point of fact and on the basis of reliable eyewitness reports.

> It was inevitable that certain of the changes made in the Soviet Constitution recently should sooner r later find their way also into the structure of the Soviet party which is the only party, the leader of the proletarian state.

There is hardly a doubt that the recent trials were a factor in the situation in a sense quite different than the friends of Trotsky would have us believe. It seems reasonnocracy in the CPSU. Today the able that the two trials involving 1. Soviet party admits it but in charlas they did, leaders which in the cteristic style expresses its bland past had held the highest positions n the party and the state some of ave been tolerated. The resolution whom had retained their members horrified at "the violations of the ship in the party up to their indictarty statutes and the principles of ment, should have caused considerable uneasiness and even distrust. The Soviet party and state apparatus suddenly began to disgorge elements which the Soviet state itnner-party democracy is the right self indicted as enemies and traitors. The institution of leadership was badly shaken. In addition the of this or that party policy or even party regime must have felt some of this reflected restiveness because

giance and was not responsible. This uneasiness, imposed upon onsequence. But that right does an inner-party situation in which ot exist in the CPSU today and narrow clique leadership was the herefore while there has been a rule for years, was a powerful fac-

appointments of functionaries were

These are the conditions which he plenum resolution is intended to victory. gained their right to elect lower tion may indeed meet to a certain BRITISH ARMAMENTS unctionaries but they still have no extent. The real solution however, democratic centralism which will permit the widest discussion of party problems and issues. But for this the resolution does not provide.

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### **EUROPE TODAY**

Trotsky Manifesto Attacks POUM-Blum Moves Further to the Right.

London, February 24th, 1937

NOT even the bourgeois press tries any more to conceal the fact that the new phase of the old game of international politics in Spain is just another swindle. It reached its climax with the decision that Portugal should, under British "supervision," enforce the "control." This simply means that England will aid Portugal in preventing the effective-

the Trotskyist Trials and this ex- ness of the control. In the French Senate, Foreign Minister Delbos announced that French policy seeks the return of volunteers from Spain and plans new efforts at "mediation." The fact that the Soviet ambassador to Madrid

was suddenly recalled indicates the complete failure of the Soviet Union's attempt to direct inner-Spanish policy along people's front lines, and the failure of the slander campaign against the POUM, the CNT, and the FAI. The Spanish working-class so strongly lisapproved of this campaign that even the left Republicans joined in protesting it.

Another indication of the failure of this policy is he demands raised in the manifesto which the F.A.I. (the anarchist organization) issued on February

- Elimination of the burocracy in the arym and the administration.
- 2. All arms to the front. This means dispatching to the front the newly created police, the armed workers to be used to guard the rear.
- Immediate change of the admiralty (this is directed against Prieto).
- Centralized military leadership, strictly controlled by the revolutionary trade unions.

Trotsky's manifesto on Spain is expressive of the bankruptcy of his policy. Trotsky attacks the POUM for participating in the Spring elections of 1936 and for having joined the Catalonian government. He finishes up by saying that the Spanish working class will doubtless be defeated, a statement which is not all from the top and the appointed exactly inspiring to the revolutionary fighters. This eadership looked to the apparatus is but another proof of the fact that the best destroyabove rather than the membership er of Troskyism is Trotsky himself. By attacking below to whom it owed no alle- the POUM he took the wind out of the sails of those who call it Trotskyite and deprived himself of whatever influence he may have had in Spain.

The reported facts encourage us to say that the bad effect of the People's Front policy may yet be overcome and the Spanish working class proceed on the road of proletarian revolution which alone leads

CONTRARY TO official reports, Great Britain did not increase her armaments so enormously for the sake of collective security, but in order to be able to defend her interests successfully against any claims that Italy, Germany and Japan might raise. In doing so she was guided by the idea that Italy, Germany and Japan would be far less able to stand the financial strain than the British Empire. However, this policy may have unexpected consequences. It is possible that the three powers will not wait before they are forever overtaken by Great Britain in the armament race, and will start a war at a much earlier date than is expected. The Labor Party opposed the defense loan but not

principle grounds. Only the Independent Labor Party voted against the loan for reasons of principle. All the blabber that war can be avoided by establishing collective security is nothing but so many words. The fact that Great Britain and France refuse to fulfill Germany's demands for colonies alone makes was inevitable. War will only be avoided if a proletarian revolution breaks out and puts an end to both the "satiated" imperialism of Great Britain and France, and the "hungry" and "aggressive" ones of Italy, Germany and Japan. The peace of the world can be assured solely through the victory of the revolutionary working class.

### LEON BLUM'S "RECESS"

IN A speech Leon Blum made at Saint Nazare he mentioned again that there will be a "recess" in the government's social program. This recess, he said this time, was necessary because a rise of the wage scale must, at times, be prevented, in order to enable the government to stop the rise of prices. In reality things look somewhat different. Statistics show that wholesale prices still exceed retail prices (Continued on Page 5)

### **CARDENAS AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY**

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

based upon the last chapter in his book "Portrait of Mexico." The present article, however, introduces material the title: "Whither Mexico"? -EDITOR) \* \* \*

CINCE Cardenas has been in Dower a great railroad strike has been broken by him at the behest of American interests, the Calles group of native capitalists has continued to grow with the addition of some of Cardenas's closest associates, reactionary governors have been imposed in a force there and carry out his orders and there number of states, peasant villages have been raided by wealthy landowners and even armed forces and agrarian leaders shot, the labor and peasant movements have been kept firmly, more firmly than ever, under the direct and open control of government agents, the President has dissolved the "left wing" of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, continues to rule the government of the nation as a personal boss, and carries out the financial provisions arranged by Lamont and Morrow.

The Equilibrium Policy On the other hand, he has favor-

ed the labor movement in strikes like that of the electrical workers t not directed against American capital, has distributed more land has given help to Spain within certain limits prescribed to him by the United States. In short, he has continued the equilibrium policies of Obregon and Calles. Like them, when bidding for mass support, he had to start with radical policies; like them he has used his mass support as an enabling prop which permits him to deliver the basic resources of the country to American capital and the secondary sources of wealth to the growing native capitalist class. As in the case of Obregon and Calles he merited a cautious, critical, conditional support from the Left at the moment of his rise to power because each of these men was threatened from the Right, and the revolutionary movement had the difficult and complicated, but necessary task in each case, of supporting him as against the extreme reaction, while at the same time seeking to aid the labor and peasant movements to become independent of him, see through his demagogy and social role, and overthrow him in time in favor of a worker-peasant government. In short, what was needed, was such support as the Communist Party gave Obregon and Calles in 1923, or Lenin gave Kerensky against Kornilov.

People's Front Mexico The Communist Party regards the Cardenas government as a sort of "People's Front," or, in the words of Gannes in the Daily Worker, "almost a Socialist regime." Joseph Freeman goes to Mexico and says in a public address that "there are three luminous spots in the world today: Mexico, Paris and the Soviet Union." The Party has ceased to run candidates of its own for office, limiting itself to supporting the imaginary "left wing" of the Cardenasbossed Senate and House, and the no less Cardenas-bossed National Revolutionary Party. They cover up, as does everybody else, the make them rely on this profesfact that there is no such party, sional army with an officership that there are no real elections, that has a record as black as that that the president picks party of Spain, and make easy and executive, governors, senators, pleasant the way of the Molas and deputies. Thereby, the Communist Party has virtually ceased to exist as a genuine political party, not to speak of a revolutionary one. | sociological terms of Cardenas's the press, etc.

When Cardenas delivered his an- him to name, perhaps even con-(Comrade Wolfe has been writing a nual message for 1936, El Machete, trol, his successor. Communist official organ, called for a demonstration in front of Congress to "support Cardenas." | capital, as the junior partner of The demonstration was reported not contained in that work. The final in the next issue as "the festival not contained in that work. The final article of his series on Present-Day Mexico will appear next week under the title: "Whither Mexico"? of a people that lives and ex-

live Cardenas! Long live the depu-They preferred to ignore the fact that Cardenas had just ordered the so-called "Left Wings" of Congress dissolved as a trimming no longer needed, and gave as his ground that all Congressmen support him fore there can be no left nor right. On the First of May 1936 the Party called upon the peasants "to strengthen the struggle for the land within the framework of the law!" It made me blush with shame to think that this was our revolutionary party and interna-

tributed some share, and that the editor of El Machete had once been one of my closest associates and in a certain sense a "disciple" or that had brought Hernan Laborde, the General Secretary of the Mexican Party, into the movement during the railroad strike of 1925. in and settle not merely disputes Calles and Obregon had always had with the employers but even facto reckon with Communist agitathan any of his predecessors, and up of the great estates and taking Obviously, this new respect for the agrarian law enormously simplifies matters for Cardenas.

tional, a party to which I had con-

The People's Army The Mexican army, which serves Cardenas today as it did Calles and Obregon yesterday, made up, like all armies, of worker and peasant recruits officered by ofalso undergone an amazing transformation in the minds of the pary leaders. On Independence Day, the walls of Mexico blazon forth posters such as this:

"The Mexican People's Front salutes the glorious national army in connection with the 126th anniversary of our independence." Hernan Laborde in October 1936 made a speech in the Central Square in which he declared:

"The Mexican army is a son of the people; it came out of the people and is bound to it: it was formed in the revolutionary struggles of 1910 and 1917 (How many of our Comrades, workers and peasants has it slaughtered since then, Comrade Laborde?) It liquidated and replaced the old and demoralized army of the pretorian Porfirians—as the militias of Spain replace today the facti-Franco and Mola. . . . In Mexico ought not and will not occur what is happening in Spain...

"It is necessary that here, when the time comes, the counter revolution will have to deal with a single front including the Government, the proletariat, the great masses of the people, and the National Army in the front ranks. (Great applause. Cries: 'Long Live the National Zeitung" published an article on Army.')"-From report in El Machete, Oct. 12, 1936.

The tragedy of such speeches outways their farcical side. for they mentally disarm the masses. Francos of Mexico.

Cardenas' Mexico If one seeks for a description in

Mexico, one finds the following: (1) A personal dictatorship of President Cardenas which enables him to name all governors, senators, deputies, the executive comnittee of the sole existing party, the Partido Nacional Revolucionario, and will presumably enable

(2) This government is

American capital. legislate on?

(4) Even the labor movement openly acknowledges his rule. Throughout the past year they have repeatedly asked him to step tional disputes within the organthe more loyal in carrying out governmental native capitalist and against John L. Lewis and the those decisions and which movement is the more loyal to him in volved. Supplementary measures do-permit them to retain their general.

itself without great difficulty strengthen the hand of the govthrough the army, backed by ernment agents in the labor and ficials from the upper classes, has popular and American govern- peasant movements, and corruption mental support. In recent rebellions or elimination (assassination and same ground. He insisted that they the United States has supplied deportation) of "incurable" opposimunitions to the Government and tion elements. Thanks to the embargoed them to the rebels, and present attitude of the Communist has set up generous emergency Party, Cardenas has not needed to credits for their purchase. Popular have recourse to those severer support is secured through radical measures.

primarily in the interests of native

the sole bargaining agency at some later moment. It encount-(3) The dictatorship is thinly ered a great difficulty, however, in that these company unions pings of democracy and constitutionalism. There is a Congress but presses itself with Liberty. Long ed by the president or by the Naties and senators of the Left!" Nacional Revolucionario. This sessions making resounding revopowers in the following fields: patents and trade marks, monopolies, income, credit, currency, banking, public debt. social insurance, labor legislation, pensions. public accounting, treasury and taxes. What else is there left to And right here is where the mas-

(Continued from Page 4)

The mass struggle of the workers

falling and arrest the rise of prices.

Since workers' organizations have,

under the influence of the People's

Front policy, become ineffective, the

felt. However, in spite of govern-

ment opposition and the passivity

of the people's front parties and

the trade unions, there are signs

that the resistance of the French

workers against the rising cost of

Under the date of February 15th,

the Moscow "Deutsche Zentral-

"The Necessity of Bolshevik Self-

Criticism." from which we quote

"It is only due to a complete or

almost complete lack of self-criti-

cism that the Trotskyite scum suc-

ceeded in doing damage to the work

The article also talks about the

necessity of eradicating "arro-

gance," "omniscience," and "syco-

phancy," and advocates practising

self-criticism in factory meetings

of socialist construction."

living is growing.

the following:

### TRADE UNION NOTES By George F. Miles THE A. F. of L. went in for some heavy master-minding last week and all it can show for it is a severe headache.

which it still controls to curb the growth of the CIO and to run interference for it in blocking out the CIO's attempt to become

overlaid with the phrases and trap- are discredited because of their continued battle, to this very day, against the growth of legitimate its members are in practice select- trade unionism. At this point Carnegie-Illinois got a bright idea. tional Committee of the Partido Why not utilize the schism in las ranks for its own purposes, year, as usual, it voted away its Why not call in the A. F. of L. to legislative powers to Cardenas take over its company unions after spending the period of its There would certainly be no seriious danger of the A. F. of L. be lutionary speeches and protesting coming a threat, and there might its loyalty to the President. At be something to gain if the A. F. the end of the year it voted him of L. label, whatever it may be "extraordinary," i.e. dictatorial, worth at the moment, gives the illusion of legitimacy to these comcommerce, cooperatives, mines, pany unions. Who knows, some oil, electricity, weights and meas- workers might be fooled into joinures, irrigation, land distribution, ing up. At least, they figured, it's worth a try. In due course of time therefore extended by the Carnegie-Illinois

company unions to William Green. ter-minding began. The council leaders were divided. Some argued, Green among them, that to confer with the company unions i phrase demagogy, which perforce deposits a growing sediment of tion against the agrarian law and ized labor movement. The Crom actual though meager concessions in favor of the peasants' breaking and the CTM have accepted his and reforms: government-controldecisions in their disputes with led but ever more inclusive organeach other without question and ization, intermittent and limited have vied with each other in the distribution of lands, support of indecent competition as to who is labor struggles when the rising industry—were they not fighting

The signal for beginning the

Lenin never hesitated to point

infallibility of the top leadership.

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(5) The dictatorship maintains sidies and appointments which be the laughing stock of the labor

**EUROPE TODAY** 

ing the level of wholesale prices. of the highest deity.

Trades Council. It was promptly accepted. It appears to us reasonble to believe that Frey did not io so without the knowledge of an invitation to a conference was Green and the others—unless the A. F. of L. is beginning to rip wide open at the seams. In any case, the strategy is clear. The metal trades were determined to secure for themselves a base in the steel industry from which to conduct a war against the CIO. To achieve this they were willing to take a chance on loss of prestige in some

a dangerous strategy and might

ead to loss of face even among

the craft unionists. Apparently

this position won out at the mo-

ment, for William Green called in

the press, pulled himself up to his

full stature, threw out his chest,

and declared haughtily that the

American Federation of Labor

would have nothing to do with com-

The company unions swallowed

he insult without batting an eye

and simply readdressed the same

nvitation to John P. Frey-mem-

er of the executive council and

head of the A. F. of L.'s Metal

oany unions.

It's a well known fact to all trade unionists that Carnegie-

llinois made desperate efforts to utilize the company unions

But Frey soon found himself in blind alley. He was ready and willing enough to extend the hand of comradeship to these bitter enemies of trade unionism in the steel American interests are not in- | CIO? But one thing he could not for control are government sub- plant organization form. He would movement if he sacrificed the interests of his craft unions while fight ing against the CIO on the very be broken up into the respective crafts claiming jurisdiction in the steel industry, and the company unions insisted that any such agreement would never be approved by any group of workers in the steel industry. "We couldn't see how we could apply the federation's organization to ours," is the way they put it. "We feel the craft form of organization in the steel industry would bring confusion."

And here is where the story ends. more than a half. But world struggle against these faults, must The A. F. of L. is seriously commarket prices are steadily mount- come from the top by abolishing promised by wooing these company ing and no government measure the Stalin cult. The cult of the unions and has suffered a severe can stop retail prices from reach- small gods stems from the worship setback. Oh, yes, we almost forgot Mr. Frey it appears did accomplish something. The company union alone can prevent real wages from out errors committed by the leader- spokesman said: "Our meeting with ship. Even the relative weakness Mr. Frey was very useful and he of the USSR at that time did not gave us a lot of good advice." He prevent discussion of these errors. did not say whether this advice There is no method of extirpat- related to the fight of the company

working class makes itself strongly and party apparatus except thru "Grandchildren cheer Green on birthday," says a headline in the the destruction of the theory of the press. And that's about all the cheering Green will hear for a long

> charter of the Columbus Federation of Labor charged that some of its members held radical political opinions. Green, like Franco in Spain, probably means that some of these members believe in strikes -perhaps even in the sit-down!

> The Cleveland Citizen hands Bill Green a left-handed compliment when it says: "Bill Green is not a Judas Iscariot for daring to question the Detroit (General Motors) agreement. . . . Like most humans, he doubtless has made mistakes. and perhaps-considering the position that he occupies—he talked out of turn."

increased pressure of the bourgeoisie on the government and the and "arrogance" from the state unions against the CIO. time to come. Green's letter aiming to lift the

### Blind Workers Sit Down | NEGRO LABOR

By MAX DUBROW

The press recently reported a sitdown strike of more than 100 blind men and women shop workers in Pittsburgh, having the support of CIO and its leader John L. Lewis.

The article printed below will shed some light on the conditions and needs of the institutionalized blind.—Editor.

MONG the blind there are to-A day two fundamentally different tactical lines fighting for recognition. The fermentation now going on and the movement that has grown out of it is a struggle to transform the existing organizations of the blind into effective weapons for independent action of the blind themselves in every field be they economic, social or political It is necessary for every wide awake blind to be quite clear as to what each tactical line leads to what results may be expected if one or the other is adopted.

The actual achievement of a United Front, the formation and appearance of the Joint Action Committee constitutes the most important step ever taken by the blind: it is both a challenge and a blow to the "Institutions."

The important thing about the Joint Action Committee is that it grew out of the actual needs of the independent organizations, instead of the usual attempt to create a brand new organization to take the place of and kill the old and tried organizations in existence for many years. It is in fact the only realistic approach to the question of guaranteeing at one and the same time full freedom of autonomy for all while uniting them into one common organization. This is the secret of its strength and popularity.

Its weakness lies in the complete absence of any program beyond the bill, around which in the first stage of its existence it successfully rallied all anti-institution sentiment. But, it will take more than mere opposition to the "Institutions" to negotiate safely the coming period of struggle. This neglect of program, during the first phase of its existence as an organization, is the direct result of the hesitancy and fear of facing facts, of perceiving the logic of its own position and

### Role Of Action Committee

What are the facts, what has been and must be in the future remain truly independent. It will the role of the Joint Action Committee of the blind? Without for a of the blind where now only a hand-

roots of the question, let, for once, the hated "Institutions" serve a useful purpose by furnishing us with our point of departure. The "Institutions," which for more than half a century have controlled the lives and thinking of the blind, operate upon the principle of segregation. A principle condemned by modern scientists as unsound both in theory and practice. Here, however, cur concern is solely with the application of this principle to the field of practical political organization and action. It is here that the role of the Joint Action Committee has been that of leading the blind to take the first steps in the direction of breaking away from their segregated existence, dominated from top to bottom by the "Institutions"; from their own little world isolated from their natural allies in the big world. But some, even of the best, seem unable to make a complete break with the past, still thinking in terms of the blind for and by themselves, they merely give a new coat of paint to the same old "Institution" plan of segregation.

Concretely there are but two roads leading out of this political no man's land. Either the Joint Action Committee fights for recog nition from the Greater New York Council of Agencies for the Blind and the State Federation for the Blind, or else it fights for recognition by the organized labor move-

#### Tie-Up With Labor Proposed

Recognition from the Council of Agencies and the State Federation for the Blind can mean only one thing namely: that the Joint Committee becomes a member of these organizations by open affiliation and with the right of both voice and vote. A voice and vote that will be snowed under at all times, by the united block of the silkstocking-vote-the Agencies. (In the case of the "Brooklyn Industrial Workers" experience it proved to be seventeen to one). This would be a step backward and a betrayal of the interests of the blind. Moreover, no Joint Committee is needed to lead the blind back to the sheepfold, to segregation even in this form.

Recognition from the labor movement is the only way in which the Joint Action Committee can guarantee to the blind that their newborn independent movement will instantly enroll millions on the side moment losing sight of the real ful can be found. It will at the

### ASSEMBLY IS **ORGANIZED**

About 200 delegates represent ing the largest and most important unions with substantial Negro membership attended the first ses sion of the Negro Labor Assembly March 12, at the Harlem Labor Center, 312 West 125th St. Frank B. Crosswaith, chairman of the

Negro Labor Committee presided Speakers who pledged the support of their unions to the building up of the N.L.A. included Bro. McLaurin of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Murray Baron, Suitcase and Bagmakers Union; Noah Walters, Int. Laundry Work ers; Ted Poston, Newspaper Guild; Weinstein, United Hebrew Trades and Louis Weinstock, Dist. Council No. 9 of the Painters.

The chairman in opening the meeting traced the development of the Negro Labor Committee, organized almost two years ago for the purpose of bringing the message of trade unionism to the masses of unorganized Negro workers, and, at the same time, to attempt to destroy any barriers which are preventing Negroes from taking their places in the organ-| ment that Caballero knew nothing ized labor movement. He drew an analogy between objectives of the N.L.C. with those of the United Hebrew Trades, the Italian Chamber of Labor and the Women's Trade Union League.

Crosswaith spoke of the increasing demand for assistance in organization coming from Negro workers in all branches of industry. The activities of certain racketeers who are operating among workers in Harlem were brought to the attention of the gathering by Crosswaith and other delegates from the floor. These elements were charged with attempting to undermine union standards with a view towards destroying the influence of the bona-fide trade unions and to build up organizations under their own domination. An effective campaign will be launched immediately by the NL.A. to rid the community of these elements

Meetings of the N.L.A. will be held on the second Friday of each month.

same time lead to the smashing; once and for all, of the policy of segregation and to the full and democratic participation of the blind themselves in the shaping of their own future and destiny. This would be a forward step. This way lies the hope of the blind and the future of the Joint Action Com-

Never before has there existed a genuine basis for tying up, organizationally, the struggle of the blind with the main stream of organized labor. Now for the first time both basis and form is present. The American Labor Party, as the expression of the trade unions on field, has already, in principle, pledged itself to the protection of all handicapped, or as its program puts it, the "incapacitated." Clearly the Joint Action Committee must win the confidence of the American Labor Party and jointly with it write into the program the practical details of the best method by which this protection can be realized. The Joint Committee must go much farther than that: it must seek and obtain open affiliation with the American Labor Party; taking its rightful place as a part of the labor movement, with all rights accorded every other affiliated body, in compliance with the party's constitution. The case of the Joint Action Committee of the Blind should be placed immediately before the State Executive Committee. Individual trade unions into one industrial blind should in the meantime fa- union; 10. For the full hearted supmiliarize themselves with this party's program.

### Caballero and the POUM

the attempt to suppress the Workers Party of Marxist Unification by the Madrid Defense Committee. To the extent that these articles speak up against the suppression of the POUM they are welcome but we must again\* point to certain discrepancies in the deliberate attempt to whitewash socialist premier Caballero and the Socialist Party of Spain of all responsibility in this matter.

The Socialist Call reports that Largo Caballaro, Socialist premier of Spain's anti-Fascist forces, has repudiated actions of the Madrid Government in attacking the Party of Marxist Unity as unauthorized by him. . . . '

Leaving aside for the moment the remark about Caballero's premiership of the anti-fascist forces—an attempt to becloud the fact that Caballero heads a people's front or bourgeois government—we come to the main question at issue. Is it true that the statement in reference to Caballero absolves him of all guilt in the blood-thirsty campaign against the POUM? Those who accept as plaus ble the state of the decision of Madrid to suppress the POUM must indeed be naive. Did not the socialist forces represented in the Madrid Defense Junta vote for the proposal to suppress the POUM? Did they do so without the knowledge of the socialist premier? Is the crime less serious even if they did not consult Caballero?

Besides, if we are to believe that Caballero knew nothing of the decision then we must also believe that he was not informed about an editorial that appeared in Claridad, of which he is the editor, on Feb. 1 Here is what the editorial said:

"How would we designate a person who daily, through the press, over the radio, in meetings and in the military organizations, strove for the application of the policy held correct by General Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, in order to come to power? We would say that

See Werkers Age of March 13

### Local 10 League Issues Program

At a regular and special meeting of Local 10, called for the purpose of nominating officers and convention delegates, held on March 1st at Arlington Hall, the Cutters Welfare League nominated its candi dates for the various offices and convention delegates.

The problems confronting the cutters at the present time in the Union, are in general similar to those on the other locals, with some specific and peculiar cutters problems. The Cutters Welfare League puts forth in the present election campaign the following platform:

1. When the current agreement in the dress and miscellaneous industries expires, to fight for the elimination of the three and four scales of wage; respectively; 2. To abolish the practice of temporary jobs; 3. For democratic conduct of the affairs of our Union; 2. To demand the establishment of a labor bureau on the expiration of the agreements in the Cloak, Dress and Misc. industries, and impartial distibution of jobs: 5. For increase in pay to offset the rising cost of living; 6. For the organization of the remaining open shops; 7. To wipe out the remnants of racketeering in our industry; 9. For the amalgamation of all the needle port of the C.I.O.; 11. For a Labor Party.

THE Socialist Call of March 6, those who work thus are agents of 1937 continues the discussion on fascism. If they appear under the fascism. If they appear under the Red Flag, then they are traitors. There is only one party in Spain now that does these two things unabashed. This party is the POUM. The Turin and Berlin broadcasting stations are completely in accord with La Batalla (official organ of the POUM) and the POUM radio station. And all this takes place with the knowledge and permission of the officials. The demoralizing effect of their propaganda cannot be measured by the number of their membership, but by their ill-will. The POUM-whether it calls itself Trotskyist or arch-revolutionary-acts as the best agent of our foe and must be treated as a foe."

Why did not Caballero denounce this editorial? Because it represents his point of view and was not printed without his knowledge. Furthermore the opinion expressed in Claridad appears to be the official policy of the Second (Socialist) International. We quote the following from an article by Pietro Nenni, a member of the executive Committee of the Second Internaional. The article appeared in the fficial organ of the French Socialist Party, Le Peuple of February 23, 1937:

. . . In a war like Spain's, in which the very existence of the nation is at stake, he who divides the people accomplishes the task of provocation and treason exactly as he who weakens production.

With the speech of Caballero we have entered a phase of the struggle in which the splitters of the people, the sabotagers of production, the "ultras" or the fascists disguised as "ultras" will see rise up against them a people already sorely tested, but ready for every sacrifice against the provocateurs, against the fascists by winning the war forced upon it and from which it will arise strengthened and re-

Thus, regardless of all pleas of ignorance, which cur extremely uncritical (where socialist opportunism is involved) Socialist Call is so ready to accept Caballero's own paper and the policy of the Second International place the responsibility for the attempted war of extermination against the most revolutionary elements in Spain, on socialist as well as offic al communist shoulders.

Once again we ask: How long will the so-called revolutionary Socialist Party of the U.S A. continue to whitewash and defend the very acts which it condemns with such poor grace in the case of the official communists?

Those who do not see or will not see the need for a struggle against opportunism in their own party, in their own international, cannot be taken seriously when they fulminate against the same disease in other working class parties.

G.F.M.

# Finger-Printing

At its regular meeting on Feb. 25, 1937, at Mercantile Hall in Philadelphia, the Philadelphia CIO Council sharply criticised the antilabor practices of Mayor Wilson and the City Administration of Philadelphia. An investigation of the practice of finger-printing and photographing of labor organizers by the Philadelphia Police Department was voted.

It was reported to the Council that an ILGWU organizer had been arrested while involved in a strike, and had been held incommunicado and treated like a common criminal even before a hearing of the charges before a magistrate was allowed. The accused was not even allowed to see a copy of the charges on which he was being held.

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