# Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## Hold May Day Conference

#### Trade Unions, Political Groups Prepare For **United Parade**

Four hundred and fifty delegates, representing, for the most part, New York trade unions, gathered in Webster Hall on April 3rd for the first meeting of the United May Day Conference of 1937. As in 1936, collaboration between the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and the Communist Party Opposition, was a driving force in activating thade unions.

The chairman of the conference is A. Phillip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters. The executive committee includes Charles S. Zimmerman of Local 22, Weinstock, of the District Painters Council number 9, Amter of the CP, Altman of the SP and D. Benjamin, representing the CPO.

Presenting the greetings of the Communist Party Opposition to this united May Day Conference, D. Benjamin hailed the latest military victories in Spain and expressed the hope that "the Spanish workers and peasants will march on to further victory, to the creation of a Socialist Soviet Spain!" Much applause greeted this statement.

Preparations for a special Mooney contingent and float are being made for the parade and demon-

Greetings were sent to class war prisoners in America, and to the embattled proletarians of Spain.

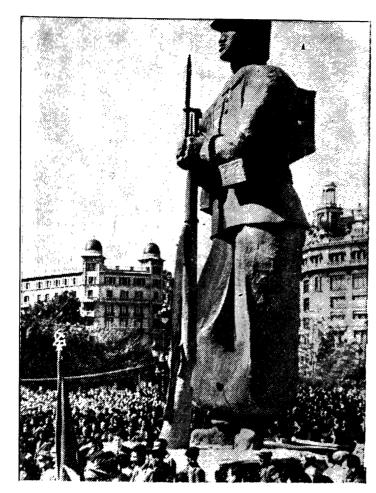
## **Madrid Routs Italians**

Decisive routs administered on all fronts to the rebels marked the week's military events in Spain. Its tremendous importance for Spain itself is equalled by its international significance—for the defeat was suffered by Italian troops. This collapse of Franco's foreign fascist aid accelerated discontent in the ranks of the rebels. Large scale disaffection is reported in Morocco, base of the fascist coun-

In the face of the Italian collapse, the Anglo-French entente for the diplomatic murder of the Spanish workers and peasants, was no whit abashed. Representatives of the mother of parliament and the land of the people's front met immediately after the rout and agreed on the following. 1) There had been no violation of the nonintervention agreement and the banning of volunteers todate; 2) Should there ever be such violation, both would act to end it; 3) Now was the time to work for a truce.

Thus the brazen audacity of the "democratic" imperialisms affords face-saving protection for Mussolini. and, further, prepares to intervene actively to mitigate the effect of the victories of the antifascist forces by calling for a socalled truce whose only purpose will be aid to the wearied troops of Spanish fascism!

TO ANTI-FASCIST HEROES OF CATALONIA



Catalonia erects its monumental memorial to the members of the workers' militia fallen in the armed struggle against Fascism

## COURT PLAYS "LIBERAL" GAME TO BLOCK REFORM

THE Supreme Court, whose members live in the abstract halls of justice unblemished by contact with the crudities of life in the raw, handed down three decisions of minor significance which have been publicized into major events. Apparently by mere coincidence, for the justices certainly are far above the filth of mere politics, the drive to reform the Supreme Court, because of its reactionary attitude towards social and labor legislation, just precedes the decision upholding semiprogressive legislation.

The Washington minimum wage law for women was declared constitutional. In June of last year, the New York Law, exactly the same in all known respects, was found unconstitutional. The Frazier-Lemke Mortgage Moratorium Act, found unconstitutional because it provided a fiveyear period of grace, was declared constitutional because the term was changed to three years. The Railway Labor Act, dealing with collective bargaining, was also up-

As regards the minimum wage decision, it must be stressed that this still does not give the federal government power to pass wage and hour legislation. It simply corrects the glaringly stupid position of the Court which had invalidated Federal laws of that type on the ground that this field was reserved to the states, and then proceeded to deny that right to the states. The Frazier-Lemke Bill, while of some, tho not much, practical value, is merely a legal recognition of a tragic fact of the agrarian crisis. The American farmer simply cannot pay his mortgages, and banks are too full of foreclosed mortgages, and incapable of running farms, to permit the situation to go on. Then, too, the act legalizes the semi-peonage of the once "independent" farmer, in that he is permitted to rent a portion of his land, said rent being used to pay off his mortgage, taxes and court

charges. Justice Brandeis, writing the unanimous opinion, also pointed out that the bestowal of such privileges were discretionary with the local officials and would probably not be too widespread.

These actions, carefully planned to take the wind out of the reform sails, are upon analysis no serious argument against judicial reform. Labor still must be assured that its right to legislation cannot be interfered with by the courts, nor be made dependent upon the whim of one man—as in the case of the minimum wage law, upheld as it had been previously defeated by a 5-4 vote, because Justice Roberts "changed his mind."

### JAY LOVESTONE

will deal with the "Social and Economic Implications of the Sit-Down Strike" in two articles. The first of these will appear in the next issue of the Workers Age.

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# Miners Win PayRise; Chrysler in Parley

First CIO Ford Strike Settled; Drive In Oil Fields Begins This Week; Texas Governor Threatens **Against Sit-Down Strikes** 

THE United Mine Workers of America, after weeks of negotiations in New York, reached an agreement for the softcoal industry, with the mining operators. The signed contract effects a wage increase of approximately fifty cents per day, totalling to eighty-five millions of dollars for four hundred thousand coal miners. The operators were balky and consistently refused to meet the union's demands. The union finally forced an agreement by calling an industry-wide stoppage for one day.

## Fight Splits In Councils

Green's Letter Passed In Chicago; Blocked In Wilkes-Barre

The Chicago Federation of Labor, meeting on March 21st, voted to concur in Green's demand to split the labor movement by declaring the CIO unions to be dual to the A. F. of L. After Green's letter was read, a motion to accept and concur was made and seconded. Representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the ILGWU took the floor but the discussion was cut short. A vote was taken and the motion was passed by 201 to 112.

Asked whether this means ex pulsion, Fitzpatrick stated that . . . in my opnion it is an invitation to them (the CIO unions) to withdraw if they won't subscribe to these declared principles (of the A. F. of L.)"

The Wilkes-Barre Central Labor Union held the Targest meeting in its history last week to consider Green's letter demanding the expulsion of the CIO unions. The fight against carrying out the splitting activities of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was lead by L. Markowitz of the AWU. He made a motion to table the letter until a convention of the A. F. of L. would meet and by a two-thirds vote decide the question. A representative of the Building Trades Council fought to uphold Green's

The letter was finally tabled, without the reference to the power | Oil by announcing that sit-down of the convention to decide. It is strikes would not be tolerated. expected that the fight will be reopened at the next meeting when Dallas within easy reach of the action will be taken on the East Texas oil fields, but, of course, credentials of the district of the United Mine Workers.

#### C.I.O. Battle Rages In Seattle Labor Council

SEATTLE (UNS)—The fight of reactionary forces of the A. F. of L. to break up organizing plans of the C.I.O. broke out violently in the Seattle Central Labor Council when a communication from William Green asking for unqualified support for the A. F. of L. against the C.I.O., came up on the

A delegate who asked if it meant unseating members of locals favoring the C.I.O., on being told that if we do this when William Green will be the only man left in the struct their delegates.

Parleys between the United Automobile Workers of America and the Chrysler Corporation are still in session as we go to press. According to announcements from Governor Murphy's office an agreement will probably be reached shortly. The settlement of additional strikes in Reo and Hudson is expected to follow such an agreement. One factor, rumoured to be holding up the agreement, are the Michigan elections, scheduled for Monday. The auto magnates, pursuing the same course as in the November presidential campaign, hope to cut in considerably on the New Deal vote by delaying a satisfactory settlement.

Extension of the organizing activities of the United Automobile Workers to Ford plants was recorded this week when six hundred workers struck in a Ford factory in Kansas City. The strike began as a sit-down, but changed to a walkout as soon as negotiations began. A victory for the union resulted, and a huge mass meeting celebrated. This first blow at Ford in the CIO campaign is not considered the prelude to an immediate wide drive in Ford. For the present the union is attempting to consolidate its forces.

Sit-down strikes, occurring in GM plants in Flint, were quickly settled when Homer Martin personally intervened. While GM raised the cry of refusal to live up to contract, the union announced that it was taking steps to make more effective its control of the member-

The opening of the drive of the Committee for Industrial Organization to organize the oil fields began this week with a conference in Texas. Governor Alfred of that state spoke his piece for Standard the organizational drive is not being so easily blocked. Allred also announced that he is prepared to use troops to enforce any court orders.

Harvey C. Fremming, president of the International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, is in charge of the drive. Threats from the American Federation of Labor to conduct a competing organizational drive, under the leadership of John P. Frey, were being talked of. Fremming discounted these as being "the least of our troubles."

A. F. of L."

It was considered a victory for the C.I.O. when the Council voted it did replied: "The time will come to postpone action until April 14, and allow local unions time to in-

By GEORGE STREATOR

(George Streator was born in Jim-Crow Tennessee; a printer's devil at the age of 12; employed in the optical trade and worked as a benchman in New York City, Jersey City and Chicago; leader of the greatest student uprising in the history of Southern Negro colleges; a school teacher in Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia; an organizer for the unemployed at the outset of the depression; a lecturer for the SP and the LID in past years; an organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers 

THERE are many ways to approach the South and its social and economic problems. But there is a necessary choice, and in this sentimental age, a bitter choice, to be made between romanticism and realism. Particularly is this true of the challenging work that must be done in this importan period of the great awakening in the ranks of labor. The important necessary choice finds the leadership of labor only half prepared for the South can not be left half free and half-slave. Either we will unite black and white or we will doom ourselves to stand at the biers of the two.

The Old South is rapidly dying. The New South arises on the ashes of an outmoded agricultural economy. But where the Old South emerged from its filthy beginning in chattel slavery, the New South blossoms forth in a rash of equally filthy run-a-way shops. The old regime rapidly gives way to the new, but the slavery of all labor, white and black, is increasingly oppressive, increasingly brutal, and increasingly threatening to the splendid beginnings in the advanced sections of the na-

There is little or no choice between starvation in a wasted land ruined by stupid and constant replanting of burning, destructive crops of tobacco and cotton, and the new starvation in the sweat shops. The South is more and more becoming to the nation's organized workers what depressed Poland is to the peace of Europe, or exploited, oppressed Moroccans to the lives of Spanish workers. The hunger of the South has given birth to the flood-tide of sweatshops in textiles, pants, shirts, and light industry. If one-half of the nation is to be drained to advance capital gain in the other, our find themselves wading knee-deep

Challenge of the South

to labor organization in its present lowed Mussolini whole is not drive to awaken slumbering South- evidence that they can digest him. ern workers. If we cannot organize But neither can Labor in America black and white alike, we will live digest the Southern lynchers. to see the continuation of the use Green's stooge, John P. Frey, being done in Spain. In India it is Negroes, Jews, and "foreigners" being done to British workers who down at filthy Tampa (where continue to cheer the kings and Negroes are shoved into the street a decent salary, white men will face of colored workers is not only If organized workers are beginpuppets, rather than extend their and native white men who protest be found eager to prove that white a defeat of the colored worker, it ning to protest the shipment of hand of friendship to the exploited the starvation of the masses are workers in Africa and the Orient. beaten to death by public ser-But it is not empty pledges but vants). But intelligent leaders signed some fancy term, say, fights side by side with white la- can protest the newspaper headactive organization that we need must act against oppression; not in America. If all the innocent so- postpone action until the birth of cieties who knit their fingers away another generation. while pledging support to various "heathens," and all the sentimental sections of the radical and reform for race prejudice. In Germany a we prepared to do about the Jimmovements who think their task is drop of Jewish blood (something Crow that penetrates every crevice done when they rise to cheer a which most Germans probably of the structure? Are labor lead- the headlines of the capitalist the colored workers appear as dramatic appeal, but end their have) makes a man inferior. In ers responsible for the deplorable press. Take New York crime. The "also in the strike." In reality, labor with a cocktail party and a America whether one is as white situation? Are we our brother's demented Major Green was head- they led it. There is a big job singing of pretty songs,—if all the lose ends of protest were driven as Jack Johnson, if he is a 'Negro,' We are our brothers keepers. In New York. Headlines brought in the South for a Heywood Broun. What he writes on Ethito a clear vision of the challenge there are rationalizations for op- White labor will not be emanci- terror to Negro workers. But opia is valuable, but what he will of the South, the stimulation would be twice as effective as our sobs profitable to somebody. Consider ed."

pressing him. Prejudice is always pated while black labor is enslaviated with hot be emancing the comes in peculiar ways. Negro porters and house girls who and cries over the important, but industry. remote. Not only must we sympathize with the world, we must South hire Northern whites for Island, a colored foreman of a have jobs, but if they read the Faces in the South," will follow



George Streator

will be too wounded to aid the world. This criticism is directed towards those who evade doing anything by pledging themselves to

The necessity of organizing

white and colored workers together n America is more apparent today than ever before. However, there are two major barriers to peace. They do not arise from the ranks of the workers primarily. but from those who have been entrusted with the task of carrying on the organization. Ancient "Bill Green is noted for his pledges of color of the man's face and the equality, but he sits now as he always sat down in the past: fat, comfortable, and cowardly when confronted with the race problem. The Committee for Industrial Organization must proceed now to build where Green destroyed. If American workers are split by Jim- have colored nurses, who, in this Crow for another decade, Poor day and time, pay the needed at-Whites and Negroes from the deep tention to the children of bourgeois South will be marched in the armies of reaction. Today we plan bridge and papa plays golf. McKay either our futures or our funerals. is right. Negro children play and Big Money is betting on the latter. fight with white children until the Where do we cast our lot?

Passing the Buck The first barrier is the weak ness of leaders who are weak enough to think that they can pass the problem over to the next gene-The firm stand against segrega-

tion against their fellow American workers must be taken by the leaders with the safe vigor and courage that John L. Lewis spoke out against Hitlerism. It takes courage money-grabbing investors will soon to speak out in New York against Hitler and Mussolini. There are in blood in search of their greedy Italians here, by the thousands, to whom Il Duce is a god second only to the sacred memory of Garibaldi But the South plants a challenge | That the young workers have swalf one to slaughter the other. It is waved the bloody shirt against

> Rationalizations for Race Bias There are many rationalizations

for the lower. Northern whites are likely to hold convictions of their ganda" has passed its third read- besmirched bureaucrats of the own superiority over Southern ing without any opposition, the Liberal Party had no idea. The throw a damper on the Southern the space of one or two weeks. worker was opened to new ideas whites. The Southern whites have been herded in from the mountains, ragged and as hungry as the characters in "Tobacco Road"; but in their minds they are superior to the "Niggers." The Southern blacks have left God to worship and an occasional foreign-born colored person to hate. In this dirty, criminal atmosphere, in this starvation area, mankind has slipped to a depressed level. And his regeneration is the thing for which labor must strive.

European - conscious Northern orkers have little or no knowledge of the Southern situation. Most of their timidity reminds one of passage in Claude McKay's recent book, "A Long Way From Home." In Russia, McKay encountered Radek, then at the height of his pent-house logic in approaching the race problem in America. McKay was shunned by the baby that Radek loved and had a right to love-it was his own child. McKay was sensitive. He was black and had been insulted in a thousand different ways by this mechanically advanced but emotionally retarded civilization. That Radek's baby refused to move tothousand causes. It might have had fear of things other than the texture of his hair.

Inculcating Jim Crow But Radek reasoned that ever

babies were afraid of strangecolored human beings. McKay reminded him that Southern children aristocrats while mamma plays latter "discover," through the tutelage of white adults, their "superiority." From then on, the children who in their youth were nursed by colored women, taught their alphabet by colored women, taught games by colored playmates-are taken over by Jim-Crow-minded adults in church and school, and eventually turned out first-class white ladies and gentlefrom the situation of the Poor

different. The white officials of cuse worthy of an emancipated als, etc. Only "Negro" or "color-Southern craft unions did not ob- leader. This is pure cowardice. If ed" criminals get such murderous ject to taking in Negro workers the trade union, organized with publicity. when the jobs were poorly paid. the faithful assistance of colored When the pay was low, no white workers, is not willing to fight lines? Are they members of the man wanted to be a fireman on a for their employment on jobs side Newspaper Guild? Who operates locomotive. The smoke and grime by side with white workers, the were considered dangerous to job is only half done.

Newspaper Guild? Who operates the linotype machines? Who casts white skin. If the Pullman com- Possession of a union card while presses which turn out racial premen make the best porters. is the defeat of the working class. armaments to the enemies of the Moreover, the work will be as- Some day the colored worker who international working class, they

are called "trainmen." ize industrial unions. What are moment.

# PROBLEMS OF THE NEW SOUTH QUEBEC PASSES DRASTIC

Now that the Duplessis "Act | faith to militancy, of this the Respecting Communistic Propa- short-sighted, pig-headed, graftwhites. That alone will serve to bill will probably become a law in mind of the French Canadian What, in essence, is the Act? How by the crisis and to the necessity does it intend to curb Communist of propaganda?

Section 3 of the Act says the ollowing: "It shall be illegal for and some even became members of any person, who possesses or occupies a house within the Province, to use or allow any person to make people's front ideology, it could use of it to propagate Communism have entrenched itself solidly or Bolshevism by any means whatsoever."

The words "communism" and 'Bolshevism" are purposely left undefined so as to give the Government a free hand to stamp out any trade of radicalism or militancy whatsoever. It is evident that henceforth a radical or progressive neeting or lecture may be prohibited on the grounds that it is communistic; and the strain and lifficulties connected with underground activity will once more be experienced by Quebec is militant workers.

Not only does the Act prohibit adical meetings, but it also deals a death-blow to any written or printed expression of Communism Section 12 of the Act states that "It shall be unlawful to print, to publish in any manner whatsoever Power Co. or to distribute in the Province wards McKay might come from a any newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, circular, document or writing whatsoever propagating or tending good-and cannot. It was all right to propagate communism or bolgives the power to any constable office. Now he must show that his confiscate literature, and the At- Liberals or he stands to forfeit torney General, i.e., Duplessis, is mass support for his government. the only person to whom one can And the Liberals played right into

the British Empire, and the most working-class sympathy-was the reactionary one, there are certain abolition of Section 98 of the immediate causes for the hurry in Criminal Code. This had been used

of the French Canadian masses. press. Section 98 has been repealed, That they lived in poverty even in and though replaced by an equally the hey-day of prosperity, all rigorous new section, the Duplessis knew, but that the long years of regime in Quebec uses the repeal depression would drive even the to "show up" the Liberal Party, staunchest supporters of Catholic and also to defend its own position.

amongst the French workers. As is, it has gained considerably n membership from this source. With such a fertile field for an Opposition Party to grow and deelop in, Duplessis and his Union Nationale outfit lost no time and spared no man. He immediately announced himself as the Leader, and issued a veritable deluge of promises and demagogy. He played on the feelings of the unemployed; he harped on strings of the starvation wages of the workers; and sold his program to the impoverished middle-class for a ong. While with one hand he

nammered away at the trusts and

the other he filled his campaign

chest with thousands of dollars

from the Montreal Light Heat and

romised a hydro commission, with

organization. Some became

active in unemployed organiza-

tions, some joined their unions

the Communist Party. Were the

C.P. not imbued with its suicidal

Now he is Premier and has to make at least some of his promises for him to denounce the Liberal shevism." Furthermore, the Act Party when he was running for to shut down halls and houses and program differs from that of the his hands. One of the planks of While it is true that Quebec has the Liberal Party in the last always been the darkest spot in Federal elections-aiming to rally which this Act was introduced and by the Bennett Government to imprison Communists, suppress meet-First and foremost is the misery ings, and free speech and workers

in brave hands and joined the | Far West, a boy child was mur-

"concierge." On the railroads in bor only to be shoved out by white lines and stories that stir up lynthe North, porters are white and employers, with no support given chings of colored Americans. by his union, will desert to the In Washington, D. C., the mem-But today we are out to organ- hand that feeds him, if only for a bers of the Newspaper Guild who

Or, take a look at the filthy racial prejudice preached through The newspaper workers are be- were thrown in the street by to the point! strive to save ourselves; or we management, Southern whites for newspaper plant took his future papers they will learn that in the this article."

strike of white reporters and dered by a white moron. In New men. Is this in any way different printers. Was the Typographical York, not one, but a dozen headunion ready to receive him? Yes line crimes have been committed White of England? Why all this and no. The excuse offered is an by white men of all varieties. The cheap "theorizing" on the "Negro old one. "The union is willing, newspapers have not pointed out but the employers do not want white criminals, Italian criminals, With labor leaders it is hardly colored labor." This is not an ex- English criminals, German crimin-Now who writes these head-

"covered" a strike in which colored workers participated, did their story in a way that made write in the future on the lot of Negro porters and house girls who colored workers will be far more

"What a Labor Organizer

On the Daily Worker's "Redefinition" of Our Political Line

## 1. Inconsistency of Principle or Revolutionary Marxism?

by WILL HERBERG

THE article by Milton Howard, "Toward What Is Lovestoneism Heading," in the Daily Worker of March 23 and 24, marks a new departure in Communist Party polemic—and a very welcome one, too! After the regrettable excesses of the "third period" (1929-1934) and the prudent silence of the last two years, the first effort at serious discussion on the part of the C.P. leadership is surely to be greeted. We have always emphasized that full and free discussion is the very life of the movement and we have not regarded as altogether wholesome our sudden "immunity" in recent times; we would have preferred, I am sure, the most severe polemic within the limits of constructive criticism. And that is why, altho we certainly cannot agree with Comrade Howard's arguments or follow him in his implications, we welcome his article and the opportunity it affords for a comradely discussion of the issues involved.

Comrade Howard is apparently motivated by a very worthy purpose: to "redefine" the "political status" of Lovestoneism in the light of the Moscow trials, to "determine" the "change" that recent events in world politics have worked in the "content of Lovestoneism." Somehow or other, however, his analysis soon turns into an indictment of the C.P.O. on three major counts: (1) our "sheer lack of consistency of principle"; (2) our support of the P.O.U.M. in Spain; and (3) our attitude to the Moscow trials. Let us examine these charges in a spirit at least as objective as that in which they are made—and with, perhaps, a little more logic and clarity.

On what ground are we accused of "sheer lack of consistency of principle"? Comrade Howard points his reproach as follows:

"We need only mention, as an example, that many of the tactics adopted at the seventh world congress were hailed by Lovestone as a welcome sign that the Communist International, at long last, was beginning to adopt his own wisdom. Today, one finds in the Lovestone paper vehement attacks on the tactics so fervently greeted last year."

#### THE SEVENTH CONGRESS AND THE SCRAPPING OF ULTRA-LEFTISM

We did, indeed, welcome many of the decisions made at the seventh world congress of the C.I. in the summer of 1935—for example, the liquidation of dual unionism in practise and in theory, the virtual renunciation of the suicidal policy of "social-fascism" and the readoption of the tactics of the united front. And we had good reason to express our satisfaction at the change of Comintern line, for had not the ultra-left madness ravaged the world communist movement like a dreadful plague for five years, and had we not fought against it under almost insuperable difficulties? Naturally we were a little gratified to see our views on these questions taken over by the Comintern, even tho not always in complete or clear form; and we were gratified not merely for our own sake but for the sake of the whole communist movement. We regarded it as a welcome development then and we still continue to regard it as such today; the best evidence of this is the cooperation that has fields of mass work.

At the time of the seventh congress, we welcomed also certain pledges of new methods that were to be inaugu- itary expenditures, for the war budget, and with the rated in the Comintern. We were told, for example, that blessings of Comrade Dimitroff, too? Or perhaps the (In the next issue of the Workers Age, Comrade Herberg serious self-criticism would now be encouraged in the France of the People's Front is no longer a capitalist will discuss the question of the P.O.U.M. as raised in ranks of the C.I. But was there any self-criticism, serious country?

or otherwise, exercised in the sharp turn away from cussion; everything was justified, the old policies of yesterday as well as the diametrically opposed policies of today, on the rather flimsy ground of "changed conditions." And then, again, we were assured, in the resolution on the activity report of the E.C.C.I., that the the soldiers in these words (August 29, 1936): Comintern would henceforth "avoid the mechanical transference of experience from one country to another and the replacement of concrete Marxist analysis by schematism and general formulas." But what happened? The moment the People's Front policy was inaugurated in France—for good or for ill, we will not now discuss it began to sweep the world like wildfire. Within a few months, there were People's Fronts of one sort or another everywhere, in every corner of the habitable globe, in China (as a block with Chiang Kai-shek), in America (as a labor party), in democratic England, in fascist Italy and Germany, in Canada and in Latin America, in Australia and in Denmark! We certainly rejoiced at the decision of the Comintern to do away with "schematism and general formulas." Are we expected to rejoice also at the fact that this decision has been allowed to lie a dead letter for two years?

#### THE SEVENTH CONGRESS AND THE NEW OPPORTUNISM

The seventh congress of the Comintern, Comrade Howard should know, did not exhaust its labors in scrapping the old ultra-left sectarianism and in outlining certain improved methods for the future: it also launched a new course of a most thoroly opportunistic character. On war, on bourgeois democracy, on coalition government (People's Front) and on related questions, the congress adopted a position that we criticized at the time in the severest terms. Never for a moment, then or at any period since, did we "welcome" this aspect of the new course of the Comintern; why, then, should Comrade Howard be so astonished that we do not welcome it today? Apparently he is under the impression that, because we applauded the abandonment of ultra-leftism, we are therefore duty bound to applaud with the same vehemence the adoption of outright opportunism; otherwise we manifest "sheer lack of consistency of principle." May I suggest that opportunism is not the only alternative to ultra-leftism—that there is such a thing as revolutionary Marxism, in the light of which neither the one nor the other deserves any special applause?

If we found certain decisions of the seventh congress unacceptable because of their opportunism, what shall we say, then, of the words and deeds of the official communist movement in the last two years? At the congress. Comrade Dimitroff laid down as one of the condiions of revolutionary unity "complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete rupture of the block of social-democracy with the bourgoeisie." Within a few months, the French Communist Party had sacrificed its own independence and had joined in a block with the bourgeoisie (with the Radical party) in the People's Front! At the congress, it was decided (section of the resolution on the report of Comrade Ercoli) grown up between the C.P. and the C.P.O. in many that: "The communist parties of all capitalist countries must fight against military expenditures (war budgets)." How long after that did the French C.P. vote for mi

At the congress, it was decided (report of Comrade ultra-leftism undertaken at that very congress? Hardly— Dimitroff) that it is necessary to "link up the army with the turn was carried thru mechanically and without dismittees for the defense of the republic and the constitution, directed against those who want to utilize the army for an anti-constitutional coup d'etat." Just about a year later the French communist paper, Le Conscrit, advised

> "The fascist officers sow division in the army. However, they are your superiors. You must obey them. Be disciplined, even under their orders," Which, Comrade Howard, are we to "welcome"—

the directives of the seventh congress or the words and actions of the French and other communist parties in the last two years? And, if we cannot "welcome" both simultaneously or, for that matter, either the one or the other, are we therefore to be convicted of "sheer lack of consistency of principle"?

Let me make it perfectly clear that I am not going into all this in order to prove that we have always been right or in order to pick a new quarrel. Comrade Howard has levelled the charge of inconsistency of principle against us; what I am trying to do is merely to show that his charge is thoroly unjustified.

#### "Inconsistency" or Revolutionary Marxism?

I cannot conclude this section of my remarks without suggesting that perhaps Comrade Howard ought to look elsewhere for inconsistency of principle. With some effort, perhaps, he could detect just the slightest trace of inconsistency in the curious course of official Comintern policy in the last nine years. From the "broad" policy of 1926-1927 to the ultra-left madness of 1929-1934 to the unbridled opportunism of 1935-?, and all without serious explanation or justification: is there not some lack of "consistency of principle" here? I am not particularly concerned with pressing this point any further but Comrade Howard might give it some thought.

As for us, the C.P.O., our position is clear and unequivocal. We take our stand on the tested principles and tactics of revolutionary Marxism, communism—and these principles and tactics we have defended with all the power at our command in the eight years of our existence. When, as in the "third period," the very idea of sound Marxist tactics was thrown to the wind, we did not hesitate to speak out in protest. When, as at the seventh congress, the whole system of ultra-leftism was scrapped, we were not lacking in expressions of approval. When, as today, some of the most fundamental strategical policies and even principles of Marxism are being gnored or repudiated, we cannot keep silent. This is not "sheer lack of consistency of principle"; it is the plainest form of revolutionary consistency.

Comrade Howard is surely in error when he charges us with trying to be an "opposition at all times and on all questions." It is not our desire or purpose to fabricate ssues nor are we interested in exaggerating any differences that may actually exist. On the contrary, we have always consistently striven to reduce to the very minimum the scope of our differences and to extend to the very maximum the field of our agreement and cooperation. It is not our alleged "oppositionism" that Comrade Howard and the C.P. leadership find so irritating; it is our inflexible adherence to revolutionary Marxism!

Comrade Howard's article.—Editor).

## WORDS OF WISDOM

member?) is all agog about por- words of alarm (March 31): nography in the capitalist press. have been publishing a good many of the country." pictures of the murdered model in various undress poses.

Now it's quite true that the capnography by the truckload for a Prosperity, and the American definite and obvious class purpose. Home.

The People's Champion of But our popular front crusader Liberty, Progress, Peace, and calls out, like a virginal voice in Prosperity, (Daily Worker-re- the lascivious wilderness, these

"The American newspaper has In connection with Gedeon mur- become a moral menace to the ders, it seems, the newspapers American home and to the youth And, of course, the Federation

of Women's Clubs "should be in the front line of attack." italist press shovels out por- pion of Liberty, Progress, Peace,

Members and sympathizers of our organization, Socialist and Communist workers, and progressive trade unionists are invited to contribute. Due to space ceed a thousand words, and should be less if possible.

#### **CPO Pre-Convention** Discussion

THE CPO pre-convention dis-L cussion will begin in the next issue of the Workers Age. limitations, articles cannot ex- pardoned. He quoted Judge Griftrial, as follows:

## TALKS FOR MOONEY

Assemblyman Paul Richie, of perjury, in light of its wilful prethe California State Legislature, sentation to the jury trying taking a leading part in the drive Mooney, and in view of the wilful to free Tom Mooney, spoke over suppression at the time, of all the radio in behalf of labor's evidence favorable to him, no fairmartyr, March 22nd. Mr. Richie minded person who will familiarize summarized the salient facts of the himself with the details of the frameup, adducing the collected truth of the Mooney case will now evidence of perjury to show that deny that Mooney is entitled to be Mooney is innocent and must be pardoned." fin, who had presided at Mooney's tion memorializing the Governor to

"In the face of this demonstrated semblyman Ritchie.

Support of the concurrent resolupardon Mooney was urged by AsEntered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Saturday, April 10, 1937

#### SIGNIFICANT STRAWS

THE report of Joseph Stalin to the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 3 is obviously of unusual political significance. In what it says and in what it implies, it seems to point to shifts of Soviet and Comintern policy that should prove highly welcome and of considerable benefit to the world communist movement. And the emphasis that has been placed upon this speech of Stalin's, both in the Soviet Union and in Comintern circles, seems to suggest its special importance as forecasting events to come. The point of departure of Comrade Stalin's ad-

dress-and its most weighty part-is the section dealing with the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist states surrounding it. A new note is struck here, a note that has not been heard in official Comintern pronouncements for nearly three years—a note of sober and realistic recognition of the fundamental hostility between the two worlds at war, between the socialist Soviet state and world capitalism. In plain and emphatic terms, Stalin outlines the basic character of this antagonism and the danger to which the first workers republic is exposed in the hostile world of capitalism. It is certainly in place to quote his words at length:

"They (our party comrades) forgot that the Soviet power has conquered only one-sixth of the world, that five-sixths of the world are in the possession of capitalist powers. They forgot that the Soviet Union is in the conditions of capitalist encirclement. It is an accepted thing to talk loosely about capitalist encirclement, but people do not want to ponder upon what sort of a thing this capitalist encirclement is.

"Capitalist encirclement—that is no empty phrase, that is a very real and unpleasant feature. Capitalist encirclement means that here is one country, the Soviet Union, which has established the socialist order on its own territory and besides this there are many countries, bourgeois countries, which continue to carry on a capitalist mode of life and which surround the Soviet Union, waiting for an opportunity to attack it, break it, or at any rate to undermine its power and weaken it.

"Our comrades forgot this fundamental fact. But it is that precisely which determines the basis of relations between the capitalist encirclement and the

"The question must be put: Why should the bourgeois countries be gentler and more neighborly to the Soviet socialist government than they are to bourgeois states of their own type? . . .

"It should be explained to our party comrades that no economic successes whatsoever, no matter how great they are, can annul the fact of capitalist encirclement and the result arising therefrom."

What is this but a blunt repudiation of the vulgar theory of the common front between the Soviet Union and the "great democracies"—a theory that has been carried in some quarters to the point even of denying any essential distinction between the land of the Soviets and the land of the People's Front? Of course, contradictions among the imperialist powers are ever-present in one form or another, and may be turned to great advantage by Soviet diplomacy in its manouvers. But such internal differences in the imperialist front are fundamentally far less significant than the absolute and deep-lying hostility between the dying world of capitalism and the rising world of socialism. Agreements, treaties, even military alliances, all have their place, and an important place too, in the armory of Soviet foreign policy, provided they are used with a sober sense of Marxist realism. One thing it is essential to recognize: Whatever may be its internal regime, whatever may be its temporary alignment in the constellation of international politics, however fervent may be its assurances of friendship, every capitalist state, as a capitalist state, remains at bottom the enemy of the Soviet Union, waiting, in the words of Stalin, "for an opportunity to attack it, break it, or at any rate to undermine its power and weaken it." The only reliable friend and support of the Soviet Union is the proletarian and peasant masses of the world.

The fact that the great body of the functionaries elementary in character, is a measure of the confusion that the opportunistic course has created | Comintern.

## TROTSKY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

themselves up as the champions of Marxian principles against the people's front policy of the communist parties. Trotsky writes article after article in which he sharply condemns the adoption of bourgeois democratic slogans by the communist parties, their program for defence of bourgeois democracy, etc. But, as usual, his indignation at the errors of the CI is scarcely becoming to Trotsky. He is the last one who has a right to accuse the CI of oppor tunism for its People's Front policy. In fact the "honor" of being the father, of the people's front policy goes to none other than Trotsky himself. In the articles which Trotsky wrote shortly after the avent of Nazi dictatorship in Germany he advocated the identical course which nowadays is followed by the Communist Parties as the people's front policy.

Back to Weimar In the year 1933, an article by cracy must become a "transition

request to convoke the Reichstag,

THE Trotskyites in the capital-, including all representatives previist countries are setting ously banned, might unite the workers with the masses of the lower middle class at a critical moment. If the crisis occurs later, when the memory of the Reichstag has faded, the slogan for new elections might obtain greater popularity. . . .'

Finally Trotsky turned on the CPO of Germany because it demanded the fight for democratic rights for the workers but rejected the bourgeois demand of equal political rights for all classes. About two years after this

article by Trotsky had appeared. the CP almost literally adopted front policy of the CP of Germany been anticipated by Trotsky. People's Front Government

But not only the "credit" for be ing the first to have asked people's front policy for a fascist Trotsky appeared in the Trotsky- country goes to Trotsky. He is also caption "Fascism and Democratic policy for bourgeois democratic demands that, in Germany, the ation in Europe," (La Verite, No. restoration of bourgeois demo- 180), shortly after the above mentioned article on Germany, Trotsky revolutionary party which en- vance yourselves further. Good. deavors to skip this initial stage So long as we cannot convince you will break both legs. . . . Assuming and rally you to our side, we are a very favorable and rapid de- ready to follow this course tovelopment of the fascist crisis, a gether with you to the end. But we (Continued on Page 6)

even in such a party. For this party and for the whole Comintern,

The second aspect of Stalin's report that deserves close considera- cratic coalition policy, it must be admitted that the tion is the unmistakable the indirect criticism it contains of the here- Mueller Government in Germany did not by any cult regime in the C.P.S.U. He refers scathingly to the "feelings of manner or means go so far in its capitulation to carelessness and self-satisfaction," to the "atmosphere of showy big capital as the Blum Government is doing. The triumphs, mutual congratulations . . . and loud self-praise . . . which Mueller government was forced to resign by the kill the sense of proportion and dull political instinct. . . ." And leadership of the reformist trade unions when the Pravda makes the reference even more precise by a vigorous condem- latter was called upon to vote for a slight reduction nation of "florid sentences, sugary reports and immoderate applause" in the unemployment insurance. If the French which "dull the edge of Bolshevist vigilance and lead people to sub- people's front government should go even further stitute drum-beating for daily work." "Servility follows the trail in betraying the interests of the workers and the blazed by conceit and carelessness," concludes Pravda very pointedly. | lower middle class, if the sell-out should proceed at

It is good that these evils, to which we have repeatedly called at- an even swifter pace, the reason for it will be only tention in the past seven years, are at last being recognized for what too obvious. It is the lack of criticism and opposition they are. It would be even better if concrete measures to eliminate, or from the Communist Party, and, instead its coeven to mitigate them, were clearly indicated. It should not be imagined, operation in this disastrous policy. This co-operahowever, as some overly optimistic Communist Party members are tion has also deadened any opposition from within likely to do, that these highly undesirable features of the inner life of the French Socialist Party itself. the C.P.S.U., and the hero-cult above all, can be wiped out overnight | The Communist Party of France has already voted by a speech or a decree. They were not called into being simply by for the war loan in the Chamber of Deputies and has carelessness or cunning on Stalin's part and they certainly cannot be decided to continue the people's front policy. Simulremoved by a mere word from him. They arose against the background | toneously it waxes eloquent as to how it—the CP of the almost insuperable difficulties of socialist construction in a land is upholding the people's front program, while as a isolated in the hostile seas of capitalism and they found a responsive matter of fact it is assisting in liquidating this proecho in the backwardness of certain section of the Soviet masses. They gram. Small wonder that when objections and opcan be reduced to a minimum, and ultimately even eradicated, only position are heard from the workers at all, they are thru a long process of patient re-education, sustained and reinforced voiced along decidedly anti-Marxist lines, and they by favorable developments in objective conditions in the Soviet Union are snatched up by anarchism and syndicalism. The and the world as a whole.

How far will the implications of Stalin's speech reach? We cannot discrediting of parliamentarianism, as well as the tell. Changes in Soviet foreign policy seem already to be foreshadowed. growing impotence and demoralization of the French A few weeks ago. Walter Duranty, who certainly speaks with semi- working class. official authority, plainly hinted at a shift in orientation of the kind | On the other hand the open capitulation of the implied in Stalin's address. Recent European developments, he reported people's front to big capital and the consequent (New York Times, Feb. 9), "have strengthened the conviction of the strengthening of the president's authority, creates Soviet Union that it must depend on its own efforts to resist German strengthening of the president's authority creates and Japanese aggression. . . . If France and Britain, it is argued, can very favorable circumstances for fascism to launch be tricked into allowing fascist control of Spain, which gravely a mass movement in the country, a feat it has been threatens their own interests, there is little chance of their aiding the unable to accomplish so far. Now the fascist danger Soviet Union. save by mild protests and pseudo-sanctions." But if a in France is really acute. shift in outlook of the character here suggested does take place, will The Communist Party of France has called a the Comintern be far behind, can the whole strategy of the People's meeting of its central committee for March 12th, a Front long escape ignominious collapse?

The reforms apparently contemplated in the hero-cult regime, of this meeting was preceded by the vote of the coma piece with the recent measures of democratization of the party ormunist fraction in the Chamber of Deputies in favor ganization, also mark a big step in the right direction, even the we of the war loan and the measures it entails. Excertainly think they do not go either far or deep enough. But such as pectations of any serious change in the attitude of of the C.P.S.U. could have "forgotten" truths so they are we welcome them and trust that they will prove the forerunner of a more radical and extensive reform of regime in the unjustified.

## **EUROPE TODAY**

Blum's "Recess" Is Surrender CPSU's Inner-Party Democracy

London, March 10, 1937

THE "RECESS" (as to demands from workers, wage-earners and the lower middle class) recently announced by the Blum Government, quickly revealed its true meaning.

The "recess" has become veritable capitulation before big business and finance, and surrender of the most important points in the People's Front program. The government has turned over full control of its fiscal and monetary policy to a committee which is nothing but a board of supervision conthis program for Germany. It cerned with the interests of big capital. Side by side came out for the restoration of the with the well known Prof. Rist, who recently ex-Weimar Republic, for the demand pressed himself against the 40-hour week, is seated of equal rights for all classes, and Mr. Rueff, erstwhile confidential agent of Laval. for a people's front to achieve Minister of Finance, Auriol, remains in office with these aims. Thus had the people's Blum but the high command is entrusted henceforth to this board of big capital's henchmen.

Six milliards of francs, previously appropriated, are to be "saved." This means abandoning the public works program, the establishment of an unemployment relief fund, of old age pensions, of insurance for peasants against crop failure. Subite press (July, 1933) under the the father of the people's front scribers of the armament loan are granted such advantages as no bourgeois government ever granted Slogans." In this article Trotsky countries. In an article, "The Situthern before. Just as the German Social-Democrats under Herman Mueller had recourse to the authority of Reichs-President Hindenburg in passing the addresses the socialist workers of Young Plan—first step of momentuous consequence . . . In the revolutionary the non-fascist countries with the on the road to autocratic government—so does the awakening of the masses demo- following words: "You expect. by people's front Government now bring into play the cratic slogans must unavoidably democratic means, not just to save authority of the President of the Republic in the form the first chapter. . . . Any what you have gained but to ad- armament loan—an unprecedented procedure in France—which can only signify the first step towards an autocratic regime.

The big bourgeoisie, relishing this victory, forthwith advances further demands: the Communist party and the trade unions must explicitly and formally ratify Blum's capitulation.

Confronted with the contention that the people's Stalin's words should come as a timely warning and a signal for change. front policy "is entirely unlike" the Social-Demo-

bourgeois coalition policy on one hand calls forth the

sure indication that its members are uneasy. But

(Continued on Page 6)

## **MACHINISTS UNION** AND THE C. I. O.

By OBSERVER

THE metal trades department of L the A. F. of L. is playing a very conspicuous role in the present controversy between the C.I.O. and the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. Mr. Frey, who is the spokesman of all the unions in the metal trades depart. ment, "offered his services" to the employers of the automobile industry to help them break the strikes which were conducted so valiantly by the workers. Mr. Frey even went to the extent of trying to reorganize the defunct company unions in the steel industry. It was no fault of his that even the company union representatives had to reject his proposal because the craft form of organization, which Frey offered them, could not meet the situation in the mass produc-

#### Division of Labor Between Frey and Wharton

It is very interesting to note that while Frey is doing his strikebreaking work in the crudest form possible, Wharton is pursuing the same objective in a much more refined and polished manner. The strategy of Mr. Wharton in the present situation is to try to meet the sentiment for industrial organization of a large section of his membership, by approving organizational drives in large machine and metal plants. The field organizers are now permitted to take in practically everyone working in the machine and metal shops, regardless of claims of those international unions of the A. F. of L. that have jurisdiction over some of the crafts involved, and that did not cooperate with the Machinists Union in its organizational activities. This explains the fact that Mr. Wharton approved of the organizational campaign in Northern New Jersey, initiated by a conference of 15 New Jersey Lodges of the I.A.M., under the directorship of Mr. Matles, Grand Lodge

However, it is quite clear that by this present move Wharton hopes to stop the inroads of the C.I.O. How else could one explain gle against the Todd Ship-building the fact that though the Milwaukee Convention, held in early Bethlehem Steel Company, and the October, decided to initiate an organizational drive in the big ma- help that they could obtain from chine-building centers, nothing was really done until the C.I.O. began Union. The General Executive its gigantic strides in organizing Board did not find it necessary to the auto, steel and allied indus-

Where some organizational work strike. is being done, it is carried on primarily by the local lodges themselves. The Grand Lodge provides neither funds nor organizers, and that strike left it in disgust. While of Wharton." places the entire burden on the Mr. Frey and Mr. Wharton may local lodges which are not equipped now speak of their jurisdictional financially or organizationally to claims in the steel, auto and ship- the local swallow the endorsement over to the Grand Lodge and dis- in the I.A.M. Because of the trict lodges in per capita taxes.

The greatest obstacle to organization by the Machinists Union is the fact that, though its leaders | Subscribe Now To will for the sake of expediency modify somewhat the craft union position, the difficulties of old line craft unionism still remain: jurisdictional disputes, non-uniform initiation fees, high dues, and the expectation that workers will come to the unions, and pay them tribute, before attempts are made towards improving their actual working conditions.

It is quite evident from the long editorial written by Mr. Wharton in the Machinists Journal, that he feels very sharply the pressure of the membership on the question of the C.I.O. He repeats the old argument of Mr. Green and the rest of the A. F. of L. Executive Council that the controversy does not

concern craft vs. industrial organization, but that the C.I.O has broken the decision of the San

Francisco Convention regarding the

jurisdiction rights of the Machinists and other unions of the

metal trades. The United Automobile Workers of America is charged with "invading" territory not assigned to it by the San Francisco Convention. The entire character of the article proves that Wharton is not trying to meet squarely, the problem of the organization of hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers in the machine and metal industries, but rather to find ar excuse for the strike-breaking acts of the metal trades department of the A. F. of L.

#### Who Will Organize the Machine and Metal Industries? The 1927 Convention of the A.

F. of L., held in Detroit, adopted

a resolution to organize the automobile industry. Nothing was done until the auto workers themselves. unable any longer to bear the exploitation and the miserable conditions in the industry, began to move. The Machinists Union missed many opportunities to organize the workers in the machine. metal and ship-building industries. When the conditions of the machinists, the tool and die makers, in such automobile centers as Detroit, Flint, Toledo, etc., were brought down to the lowest level possible and a spontaneous movement developed for organization at the end of 1932, the Machinists Union did not even send one organizer into the Detroit area. It was therefore not an accident that an independent organization (Mechanics Educational Society of America) was organized, having at one time over 20,000 members in its organization. The Machinists Union not only stayed out of the spontaneous strike movement in Detroit and Flint in 1933, but also did very little to help the strikes that took place in the ship-building industry in Brooklyn, Staten Island, Hoboken, etc. The workers in the ship-building yards were actually left to carry on the strug-Corporation, subsidiary of the United Drydocks with the meager the local lodges of the Machinists send in any organizers or money,

Little wonder then, that the greatest number of members who failure of the Machinists Union to

to make it possible to win that

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AUTO UNION CHIEF

help the workers, there developed the industrial union of the Marine from which we have suffered in the and Ship-building workers which past. These, Mr. Automobile Inhas successfully carried on strikes dustrialist, are your satisfied emin Camden and Staten Island, and ployes. These are the workers that has now well-functioning organizations in a number of important l ship-yards of the United States. which they have had to work. You, This Union later affiliated with for a long time, have been telling the C.I.O.)

cil of the A. F. of L. in the present now to the tune of 200,000 that they work and under which they struggle against the forward- you've been telling a damned lie moving section of the American for a long time. labor movement.

Endorsement of Wharton It was, therefore, quite a sur-Machinists Union when the Ex-Secretary-treasurer of the I.A.M. Mr. Wharton also received the enlocal lodge which previously had belonged to the Federation of Allied Metal Trades organizations, which transferred about a year ago to the I.A.M. This endorsement took place on January 22nd, precisely at a moment when Mr. Frey, in the name of the metal trades unions, was carrying on his open strike-breaking activities factory. The automobile workers against the automobile workers. then engaged in the most valiant struggle to break the fortress o the open shop, General Motors. It is certainly most difficult for any progressive worker to understand how it is possible for leaders who claim to be the most radical in the labor movement to put forward arguments in defense of Wharton as

"There is no better way to advance progressive trade unionism joined the Machinists Union during than to vote for the endorsement

The organizer of the lodge, in order to make the membership of trade unionism." The position taken by the lead-

lodge, the organizer raised the duction industries. battle cry of secession, referring Machinists union.

Nothing that those responsible for the endorsement of Wharton may now do can white wash their C.I.O. as the only forward moving in slavery by. I see a day when all endorsement published in the of- step in the development of a that is good and worthwhile in ficial Machinists Journal, (March), genuine mass labor movement in civilization shall be made for unless they publically renounce the United States.

## **Homer Martin Speaks**

Detroit, on March 23, 1937.

WE are very, very happy to be here this afternoon. We know that there are some people who are not glad to see us here, lives needlessly, and we are no but we're here just the same. First, I want to address just a

word to the former masters of this city. I want to talk to the General have taken the lives of our fathers, Motors Corporation, to the Chrysler Corporation, to the Ford Cor- lives of our children. We are going poration, and to all the automobile manufacturers and industrialists of the strength of intelligent, demothis city. I want to tell you that your slaves have declared their own freedom. We, as organized workers, are no longer going to tolerate the working conditions you so long have claimed were satisfied with the conditions under the world through your news-There can be no question as to papers, through your public ofwhere Mr. Wharton stands in this ficials and through your other present controversy. He is one of organs of publicity and control, the most able strategists of the that the workers didn't want to die-hards of the Executive Coun- join a union. We are telling you dastardly conditions under which

Last year one thousand men went to one hospital in the city of Detroit with lead poisoning from one factory here. The papers didn't prise to the progressives in the tell you about that. Nobody knew about that because you had no ecutive Board of Unity Lodge 416, organ, you had no organization lominated and led by C.P. ele- which could tell you that thousands ments, brought in a recommenda- of men and women have gone to tion to endorse Mr. Wharton as their deaths because of the damnpresident, and E. C. Davidson, for able working conditions in this open-shop haven, built by the automobile workers, but controlled by dorsement of practically every the exploiters of the automobile labor of this city.

There is one other gentleman 1 want to speak to, and that is to the great, heroic, wonderful, president-making, Henry Ford. Henry, you can't stop the labor movement You can't keep your workers from joining the union if you have a fink on every job throughout your of this city and of this nation are going to organize, and we are telling you industrialists now that that

is going to happen. The best thing for you to do, Henry, is to get ready to do business with your organized workers. So They Don't Like Sit-Downs

The condition of the automobile

their former stand and call on the

## Task of Progressives

up whatever illusions they may for the workers of the state? What have had about the progressivebuilding, industries, very few ma- added that "trade unionists must ness of Mr. Wharton, about the and a lot of them are sitting down thirds of their income is turned chinists in these branches are left know how to fight for progressive possibility of converting the I.A.M. on industrialists' cushions. Well, nto an industrial union functioning in the interest of the workers in those cushions out from under you ing C.P. people in the Machinists the mass production industries and if you don't get busy. Let's have Union is really astounding. At the in the large machine plants which some decent laws in this state. subsequent meeting of the local are subsidiaries of the mass pro-

While the progressives must conto those who consistently defend tinue their work and remain active day when human life and human the policies and practices of the in the Machinists Union in the rights shall be the most precious C.I.O. This argument of "seces- machine building and metal things in the world; when the life sion," which is usually the stock manufacturing branches of the of an automobile worker is worth trade argument of the reactionaries industry, they should put up the more than even an automobile. I against every proposal of progres- sharpest fight against the strike- see a day when the lives of little sives in the trade union movement, breaking methods carried on by children will be worth more than is now being used by C.P. spokes- Mr. Frey and his colleagues in the buildings and banks and brokers' men as a method of stopping the Metal Trades Department under coupons. I see a day when the inroads of the C.I.O. inside the the excuse of defending their juris- streets shall be made safe for the dictional claims.

the policies and methods of the men to live by, not for them to be

We print below several excerpts workers of this city is a national from the speech of Homer Martin, scandal and a national disgrace. president of the United Automobile All the automobile workers of this Workers, delivered at the gigantic city and of this state know that to mass meeting held in Cadillac Square, be true. The automobile workers of this city have suffered from insecurity and from low wages while their employers, such as Walter P. Chrysler, were paying \$6,500 for a case of champagne: we have suffered and we have given our longer going to do it. This is the reason we are organizing. We are out to stop the conditions that the lives of our husbands, and the

> cratic and militant organization. What we want, my friends, is what is our just due, nothing more. But we do want that and we serve notice publicly that we're going to get it. Let me insist this afternoon that those of us who have seen sit-down strikes know why employers don't like them. I'll tell you why. It's because they're effective: they're successful—that's the reason why. They are new weapons in the hands of labor and they're going to keep on being used until the employers and until public authorities and until this nation recognizes and deals with

to stop it by our own strength,

My friends, there is just one way for us to get what is our just due, and may I add that we can get that without hurting anybody, without tearing up anything that is good or decent or fine. We can get that, only however, by sticking together in our own labor movement, "Organize" is our word. Organize yourselves until every man in the factory is a member of vour union. Organize yourselves until this time next year, instead of just 300,000, we'll have 900,000 in our International Union. Let this be your by-word and password. There are just three words. The first one is "organize." The second one is "organize." And the third one is "organize." Organize every worker in the city, get them into your union, stick together as workers: don't let the bosses break you apart. Don't let anybody scare you, because there is nobody in this city that we're particularly afraid

There is one other thing; this is what I want you to do. We're building a labor movement here. We're asking you to work together, strike together, walk the picket line together. Now we ask that, begining this day, you resolve that you're not only going to strike workers to vote for the opposition together, but that you're also going to vote together. . . . Where are these guys that went from here The real progressives must give up there to Lansing to make laws are they doing? Sitting down, Yes. boys we're going to pull some of

The Future for the Workers Out vonder before us, I see the men and women who toil. I see a Every progressive must defend day when the sun shall rise for

(Continued on Page 6)

## **Police Terror** In Chicago

Extreme viciousness and brutality by Chicago police marked the second week of the strike in the Stewart Die-Casting Corporation. This strike, led by the United Automobile Workers, involves seven hundred workers, who demand union recognition, and a wage increase. The strike began as a sitdown, but a ruthless attack by police forced its conversion into a walkout.

Several strikers were hurt in an attempt to prevent strike-breakers from entering the plants. One striker was shot in the thigh by a company official who threatened to kill another striker.

Actual strikebreaking is being carried on by the police force of the city. They visit the homes of employes and ask to them to return to work. They help scabs load trucks. They block the entrance to the plant and both sides of the street, arresting union men if they happen to be at a tavern across the street from the plant. Union men are not booked when they are arrested, the result being that the lawyers' cannot get them out.

Despite this reign of terror the workers are solidly behind the union. Protests against this police thuggery should be forthcoming from the trade unions of the city

#### STRIKE IN ALGONAC

ALGONAC, Mich.-Six hundred workmen employed by the Chris Craft Boat Corp. here, who went on strike March 20th, are still holding their picket lines about the plant while company officials refuse to bargain collectively with them.

Employed under hideous working conditions and slaving for wages of from 25 to 70 cents an hour, the men first organized on March 18th. On the following day 30 of the men who had been most active in the formation of the union were discharged.

Men, wheezing from the devastating effects of mahogany poison ing, men crippled because of the lack of safety devices in the plant fell into the picket line and held

The company agreed to an election to determine whether the men should return to their jobs—BUT, the company insisted that every resident of Algonac, not just the employes of the plant, should be permitted to participate in the

The election has not been held.

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Spring Number Ready Soon:

## READ IT AND THINK

from the 13th Plenum of the Communist International, held in Moscow in 1934. We call special attention to the date-one year after the advent of Hitler to power. The attitude to democracy and to the support of one's own capitalist state is of great interest in the light of present policies of the Comintern. Change the words "social fascists" to social democracy and the characterization of the policies of social democracy leave little to be desired.

The policies expressed in these excerpts on the nature of democracy and the capitalist state are in violent conflict with the basic course of the Communist International today-the people's front course. They dramatize how far afield the Comintern has gone in its flight from Leninist principles. -Editor.

"The French socialists (as well as the social democrats of Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.) carrying out the 'sacred unity of the nation' under the slogan of 'defense of democracy' and 'defense against German fascism,' actively participate in the preparations for war against Germany.'

"Born in the womb of bourgeois democracy, fascism in the eyes of the capitalists is a means of saving capitalism from collapse. It is only for the purpose of deceiving and disarming the workers that social democracy denies the fascization of bourgeois democracy and makes a contrast between the democratic countries and the countries of the fascist dictatorships in principle."

> Thesis 13th Plenum Communist International (March 1934)

"The nationalist poisoning of the masses by the Social Democratic Parties and reformist trade union burocrats must be popularly and persistently exposed as service to the capitalist class. To everyone who imbues the proletarians with

About 25 per cent of the men employed in the corporation, which was founded by Chris Smith, onetime business partner of Gar Wood, are either crippled or suffering from mahogany poisoning, according to a survey made by Gilbert Clark, organizer for the United Automobile Workers of

WE print below some excerpts the idea of national duty, to every one who calls upon them to make sacrifices for the sake of national interests, we must reply: the first, the only and real duty of the pro letarians in every capitalist country is to fight against their own bourgeoisie right up to its complete overthrow and abolition as a class. This is the only road to emancipation of the toilers from all exploitation and all oppression.'

> "There is no other road to power for the toilers except the road of proletarian revolution. We must explain that all the "roads to power" recommended by the social fascists have for their goal the preservation of the shaken rule of the bourgeoisie. We must smash and not perfect the bourgeois state, which with its military burocratic apparatus, even in the most democratic republics, cannot be anything else than a machine for the class oppression and suppression of the toilers. THE SLOGAN 'THRU DEMOCRACY TO SOCIALISM' IS THE SLOGAN OF POLICE 'SOCIAL-ISM' AND OF POLICE "DE-MOCRACY.' There is no road back from fascism to democracy.'

Report of Kuusinen, 13th Plenum Communist International. (March 1934)

## **EUROPE TODAY**

(Continued from Page 4)

"THE FRENCH border is closed but the Portuguese border remains thus states Peri in "l'Huopen.''manite" (6/3). The transport of German and especially Italian troops and war materials into Spain continues uninterrupted. The fraud is so blatant that even the CP of France cannot overlook italthough it does not allow this to interfere with its support of the Anglo-French policy in Spain. Even its philanthropic drives in behalf of Spain have become a thing of the past.

In England the ruling classes have now dropped their reticence about making it known that they are counting on a victory of Franco. Delegations of the Board of Trade already negotiate officially with Franco. . .

But the Spanish working class, with a bold stroke, may yet upset the accounts of the French and English capitalists.

THE SOVIET press has published a resolution of the plenum of the central committee concerning the report of Comrade Shdanov (Feb. 27) on preparations in the party for the coming soviet elections, provided for by the new Soviet Constitution.

The main point of this resolution is the demand for establishing de-

mocracy within the CPSU. All officers, excepting only those on the central committee, are to be newly elected, by secret ballot, as individual candidates instead of on a straight party ticket. Criticism and self-criticism within the party is invited.

This resolution corroborates our criticism of the internal regime of the CPSU in connection with the Radek-Piatakov trial. This regime had become untenable. Apparently the reaction to the trial among the members of the party has borne this out. Windows had to be open-

The resolution does not at all mean that—after years of a regime stifling the internal life of the party-democracy within the party will become a reality tomorrow. This will require a considerable period of time during which the rank and file of the party members will have to speak their piece.

But the fact that such a resolution has been formulated now signifies, in any event, that the need for democracy within the party has become urgent. It stands to reason that, no matter how, this need will finally assert itself.

It is evident that such a resolution and its eventual realization must have a decisive effect on the life of the Soviet Union and, in the long run, on the Communist International as well.

We shall content ourselves here with pointing this out.

Incidentally, the resolution also refutes the allegations of Trotskyites and Mensheviks that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is "dead." Such a resolution as this implies very lively reactions among the rank and file of the party towards events of the past few years and the past few months.

## TROTSKY AND PEOPLE'S FRONT

(Continued from Page 4) demand that you wage the fight for democracy not merely with words but with deeds. Everyone realizes-each in his fashion-that under present conditions a "strong administration" necessary. S Therefore you must force your party to open a serious struggle for a strong democratic state. Towards this end, all remains of the feudai state must first of all be wiped out. All men and women, including soldiers, must have the right to vote. Absolute concentration of the legislative and executive powers in the hands of a unicameral body of representatives must be achieved. Let your party start a militant campaign for these slogans; let it rally millions of workers and, supported by the masses, take over power. That, in any event, would be an honest attempt to fight fascism and war. We Bolsheviks would reserve for ourselves the right to point out to the workers the shortcomings of the democratic slogans; we could not take political responsibility for a social-democratic government but we would sincerely support you in a struggle for such a government. . . . Furthermore we would pledge ourselves not to incite any revolutionary actions overstepping the bounds of democracy, (of "true" democracy), so long as the majority of the workers are not consciously for a revolutionary dic-

tatorship. With the very same arguments the CP inaugurated the people's front policy. The endorsement of a "strong democratic administration" -what else is that but the current policy of the CI and especially the CP of France? The pledge not to incite any revolutionary actions overstepping the bounds of democracy, as volunteered by Trotsky -how does it differ from the current official CI formulation that a proletarian revolution is at present not a burning issue and that the working class today must choose between fascism and bourgeois democracy?

#### Unprincipled Opposition

If today Trotsky indignantly flays the people's front policy it simply proves, once again, that he possesses a remarkably bad memory for his own political utterances. The conception which Trotsky advance in 1933 shows

that he does not object to the people's front policy of the CI from a standpoint of Marxian-Leninist principles. Trotsky's struggle against the CI is completely unprincipled. Such it was formerly, such it is today.

When, after the open letter of 1925, the CI came out for the United Front, Trotsky was against it and aligned himself with Maslov and Ruth Fischer. When the CI adopted the ultra-left course. Trotsky suddenly discovered it was necessary to employ a United Front policy. In 1933, when the CI was still adhering to the theory of "social fascism," Trotsky propagated what today is called the people's front policy. Today he is against the People's Front policy.

Trotsky's behavior shows that his political vociferations do not depend on whether the CI is right or wrong but that, due to his antibolshevist attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU he is constantly striving to say something which is as much in contrast to the policy of the CI as is possible. The result is that his conclusions contradict themselves at least as much as the diverse turns of the CI. The fight of the Trotskyites against the people's front policy has a very different content from the fight which the ICO is waging against this policy. The Communist Opposition, unlike Trotsky, is fighting in the interests of the Matter is that the people's of the Soviet Union and the CI, front policy is something the CI for a reform of the CI and a return | borrowed from Trotskyism.

## MARTIN'S SPEECH

(Continued from Page 5)

humanity. I see a day when every worker shall have a good home, every worker's family shall have decent food and decent clothing. I see a day when every little kid that walks the streets of Detroit shall be well-clothed and fed, comfortable and happy with their heads up, looking the world in the face. I see a day coming when those on relief shall no longer be on relief, but will have jobs to work and earn an honest living, and they too shall have homes. I see that day, but my friends, I also know and I also see that this will never be possible, that this will never come to pass until the workers organize into one great labor movement.

to communist principles. What has been said here also proves that it is ridiculous slander if the leadership of the CI and its sections tries to brand as "Trotskyites" all communists levelling criticism at the People's Front policy. The truth

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