Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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House Passes Gavagan Bill

Southern Congressmen In Solid Block Against Bill

The Gavagan anti-lynching bill, this session's form of the Wagner-Costigan bill, was passed by the House of Representatives with a substantial majority. Lined up in solid opposition to this measure were the Southern Congressmen who ranted against this "interference with Southern institutions." All professed their great love for the Negro (in his place, of course) but declared the proposed legislation would lead to social chaos. What they meant was that it at least begins to recognize that lynching exists, that it therefore threatens the unchallenged rule of the reactionary planter-coal-steel baron oligarchy.

It is interesting to note that Speaker Bankhead, Democrat of Alabama, and, therefore an "outstanding leader" of the New Deal party of the Roosevelt administration, voted with the block of the Southern reactionaries. Thus it becomes clear that the actual enforcement of such a law and the elimination of lynching depends primarily on the strength of the organized workers and poor farm-

Brooklyn Unions Form Council

Brooklyn and Queens trade unions were called upon to assist in the formation of a committee whose purpose will be to act as spokesman for labor in those boroughs and to serve as a clearing house in assisting unions engaged

The call was issued in a letter signed by representatives of six unions organized as the Provisional Brooklyn and Queens Labor Committee. Unions with locals in Brooklyn and Queens were asked to send delegates or observers to a conference Saturday, May 22, at the offices of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, 765 Broadway, Brooklyn.

The purpose of the proposed committee would include defense of unions against repressive tactics gle." This suggestion met with such as those allegedly used by prompt and enthusiastic support the Brooklyn Chamber of Com- from the French Foreign Office. merce. It would also assist in mobilizing public opinion against unfair methods of handling labor disputes by police, judges and other officials of Brooklyn and Queens.

The Provisional Committee met at the offices of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union on Wednesday and elected Charles Rivers, district representative of the International Association of Machinists, temporary chairman, and Nat. Einhorn, treasurer of the New York Newspaper Guild, as temporary secretary. Louis Nelson, Manager of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union presided. The letter forwarded to other unions today was also signed by H. Strassman, district representative of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.; Mario Arcario, President of Local 217, Journeyman Barbers Union; and Samuel Freeman, Secretary-Treasurer of District Council No. 18 Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

The Wagner Act Ruling

an editorial -

THERE is more cause for Labor being alert and vigilant than for being overjoyed and smug because of the Supreme Court verdict on the Wagner Act.

It would be idle to deny the fact that to the average American worker the Supreme Court decisions will mean that the federal government is for Labor's organizing. Regardless of whether this is true or not, the very notion or illusion should and will prove a powerful force for stimulating trade union organization.

One might then appropriately ask: how come that the Supreme Court should or could make such a

decision as will, even in a slight measure, be conducive-in effect if not in intention-to the welfare of labor? Have these nine young men of Wall Street suddenly switched class allegiance? And is the Wagner Act an unmixed blessing? In the answer to these questions lies the real significance of the

At the outset, we hasten to underscore the fact that neither Hughes nor Roberts has performed "a miracle" in rendering these verdicts. Hughes has completely ignored his own line of reasoning in the Guffey Act and the Schechter case. This

(Continued on Page 4)

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP **NEW DANGER IN SPAIN**

Imperialist Forces of England and France In Plot To Replace Caballero Government By National Cabinet Under Miaia Rule

OW that Franco's Italian troops have been decisively defeated by the Spanish anti-fascist forces, the imperialist cliques dominating the Foreign Offices at London and Paris are busily at work setting into motion operations calculated to rob the Spanish masses of the fruits of their victory and to tighten the stranglehold of capital over that country. In a United Press dispatch of April 15, Frederick Kuh reports a "new plan to end the Spanish war at the expense of the present leaders of both

rebel and loyalist governments. The plan calls for the establishment of a military dictatorship composed of Spanish generals neutral in politics, under the leadership of General Jose Miaja, loyalist commander-in-chief in the Madrid area. . Under the plan Premier Francisco Largo Caballero . . . and General Francisco Franco . . . would resign. All foreign troops and advisers would be withdrawn and a nonpolitical government of 'republican concentration, appeasement and reconstruction' would be formed." In some quarters, it is even said that President Roosevelt may take formal steps to initiate negotiations leading to such a "compromise solution" of the Spanish civil war.

In the House of Commons on April 14, Winston Churchill, with the express approval of Anthony Eden, Foreign Minister, vigorously urged the formation of a "compromise government" in Spain "by elements that have not been involved in the ferocity of this strug-

This scheme of a government of "national concentration" is obviously aimed at preventing the triumph of socialism that would naturally follow the decisive victory of the anti-fascist cause in Spain. The establishment of such a bourgeoismilitary dictatorship in that country would mean the disarming of the masses thru bloody civil war, the dispersal of the workers militia, the suppression of the militant labor organizations and the annul ment of whatever steps towards socialism and agrarian reform have already been taken. It would mean a counter-revolutionary crusadesupported by the "great democracies," France and England-in order to reestablish the status-quo and to reenslave the Spanish peo-

Careful observers have forecast Workers Age sounded a clear note denounced all schemes of arbitra-of warning four months ago (Jan. tion and "compromise" and insisted tember, was "a cheap artifice by membership.

16, 1937):

"Suppose Franco should be defeated on the field of battle. . Then it would be England and France-seconded, of course, by Germany and Italy-who would take decisive measures to block the emergence of a socialist Spain under a proletarian regime. Then it would be England and France, working thru the bourgeois liberals in Spain itself, who would attempt to force upon the country a counter-revolutionary military dictatorship, . . . who would strive to set up a 'national concentration' government, embracing the conservative elements of the present regime together with some of the more 'reasonable' fascist chiefs."

Such a course is but the logical consequence of the despicable diplomatic course followed by Tory England in alliance with People's Front France for the last year; the way for it has, moreover, been opened by the whole policy of the People's Front as practised by the government parties in Spain. The persistent and shameful denial that essential aim of the Spanish masses in the present struggle only facilitates the reactionary manouvers to "save the country from socialism." At the same time, the efforts of the People's Front regime to dissolve the Workers Militia into a "non-political" bourgeois army is bound to paralyze the effectiveness of mass resistance to any counter-revolutionary crusade in the future. Nor can it be ignored that the People's Front, thru the protection it affords to bourgeois liberalism, is actually fostering those treacherous elements who may tomorrow go to make up the "government of republican concentration, appeasement and reconstruction"—that is, the government of bourgeois counter-revolution.

In an official address a few weeks this danger for some time. The ago, Largo Caballero vigorously Workers Age sounded a clear note denounced all schemes of arbitra-

MILITARY DICTATOR?



General Miaja

on the continuation of the war to victory. But the United Press reports that "left wing political quarters" are involved in the plan for a military dictatorship. A diplomatic correspondent of the London Daily Herald asserts that the plan for the Miaja dictatorship has already "been outlined discreetly to loyalist and rebel army leaders and that their first reactions to it were favorable." "It is suggested," the report significantly concludes, "that if the military men on both sides agree, political leaders would have to accept the plan."

The danger is great and imminent. The "great democracies," England and France, together with a section of the Spanish People's Front, are preparing to collaborate with Franco's forces to drive the is now beginning to act a role Spanish people under the yoke of which ostensibly strongly pro-lacapitalism once more. Will they bor, in reality plays right into the succeed in their nefarious plot? hands of GM. Both cases illustrate The answer to this can be given the necessity of labor keeping such only by the Spanish workers and politicians at arm's length and repeasants—and by the labor move- placing them by trade unionists ments of England and France!

Pact Blocked By Hepburn

Hall Tries To Provoke General GM Strike By Auto Union

The General Executive Board of the United Auto Workers Union opening its sessions in Washington last Monday was faced with the Oshawa strike still deadlocked and demanding action. Proposals for a general strike were being weighed carefully altho there was no doubt in anyone's mind that General Motors had double-crossed the union after agreeing to meet with an Oshawa Committee of the union. President Martin stated that GM had really broken the contract with the UAW when it refused to meet with CIO representatives in

Feeling in the plants in the United States is running high. Workers consider it as a blow against their gains secured thru strike action here. As a result there are reports that in many plants production is being slowed up as a protest against GM's trickery.

Premier Hepburn has extended his saber-rattling to include other unions. In an abusive statement against CIO leaders he expressed the fear that the CIO might attempt to organize the gold fields and warned that Lewis "and his gang will never get their greedy paws on the mines of Northern Ontario." In the Oshawa developments the hard-boiled anti-union attitude of the Premier has gone a long way to strengthen the opposition of GM to a settlement of the issues in-

Also the so-called pro-labor Mayor Hall is complicating matters by utilizing the strike for his own political advancement. He is attempting to force the hand of the UAW by demaning a general strike in all GM plants in the U. S. A. and threatens to call on the workers to withdraw from the CIO union if that is not done.

The roles in the strike of both Hepburn and Hall are of interest in the sense of illustrating the unreliability of the so-called friends of labor. Both Hepburn and Hall were considered as pro-labor liberals. Of Hepburn's liberalism nothing remains. He stands exposed as a blatant nationalist and an open tool of big business. Mayor Hall going along with the workers, for his own political interests, thru Labor Party action.

A. L. P. Hits Tammany Trick

Tammany Hall and its allies the local Democratic machine to try were bitterly attacked this week in a statement by Alex Rose, Secretary of the American Labor Party, for "beginning the Municipal Mayoralty campaign, this early in the season, with their usual political chicanery and underhanded methods." He declared that a bill introduced into the State the American Labor Party's nomi-Senate by the Bronx Democrat, nations, rejecting the wishes of the Julius S. Berg, requiring the Labor majority of workers and progres-

to seize hold of the ALP nominations."

The Berg measure, according to Mr. Rose who is the Secretary-Treasurer of the United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers Union, would enable thousands of "Tammany ward healers" to vote upon

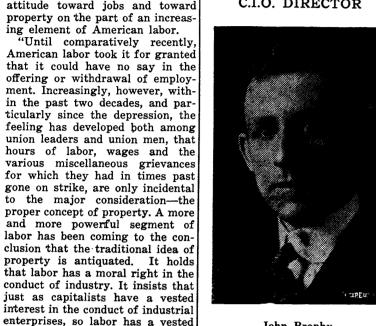
Labor Moves to New Property Concepts | In the worst underpaid mass distributive and mass production industries. Thru the sitdown these hitherto non-unionized

By JAY LOVESTONE

AGUELY, blindly, not always consciously, has labor begun to grope for new rights. In the process of this groping it bigoted open-shop propagandist is developing, again not always consciously, new attitudes, new Russell B. Porter could not desist conceptions of property. The "Financial Observer" of February from saying in the New York 9. 1937—during the General Motors strike—was quick to see Times of April 4, 1937: this significant phenomenon:

"That this new technique is important and that it is illegal is not open to question. But it is not the real issue in this strike. The real issue grows out of a new

C.I.O. DIRECTOR



interest in its jobs in such enter-

prises. It is its conclusion, there-

fore, that if it is to protect this

after the election successes scored

by labor. Such a situation we now

have in the U.S. after Roosevelt

scored a smashing victory primari-

"A society organized as a poli-

to tolerate an industrial aristo-

cracy. As soon, then, as the masse

come to feel that they really con

trol the political machinery, the ir

responsible power which the few

exercise in the management of in-

dustry will be limited or destroy-

Given the capitalist system

given the changes in the structure

in the organic composition of

private property, a whole raft of

problems arise from the fact that

labor power is a commodity. The

right to a job under such condi-

tions can very appropriately be

considered by the overwhelming

propertyless majority of the popu-

lation as the only property to

which they can make some claim,

intangible as its form may appear

ed . . . " (p. 308).

relatively unimportant."

John Brophy

Why the Sit-Down Now

vested interest, industry must be It is no accident that this new strikes." unionized. In comparison with this conception of labor arises after a necessity, grievances of workers great economic crisis in which mil- dress before the Third Annual who have lost their seniority lions of workers were thrown out Eastern Law Student Conference, rights, and the issue of shorter of employment, were forcefully at the School of Law of the Cathhours and increased wages are disemployed, torn out of industry olic University of America, disand thrown into the arms of played real foresight when he said, In a sense, the outcome of the miserable relief agencies. It is no on March 20th: last election is bound up with the accident that this new conception present strike wave. The workers of property develops in the ranks the advancement of a new claim to feel they have won and General of labor in a period of so-called take measures that will effectively Motors, U. S. Steel, General Elecprosperity-when many millions prevent all production until griev tric and their like have lost in the last election. From a fundamental class point of view this feeling is unfounded-only an illusion. However, even illusions or unfounded notions are sometimes stimuli to ation we had in France last June, said:

industrial slavery—the life-sapping property right of the worker's devise new concepts and mechancontrol of labor-with what he job, which is, in our opinion, the isms to meet the needs out of thinks is his new political freedom, most sacred and the most vital which this type of economic with his supposed control of the property right in America."

political machinery. The latter, he Permanent mass unemployment believes, he has won at least to or organic, chronic mass unemploy- denounce the sit-down (or the selfthis complicated inter-relationship sit-down is, in one respect, an in- ment to abolish the lockout would stinctive answer by the workers today be considered constitutional. gathered in the mass production However, in a class society, in a tical democracy cannot be expected industries to the threat of the tem- society dominated by the capitalporary and permanent lockout.

Nor is it an accident that the sitdown has been resorted to so often amongst the unorganized workers.

The latter are gathered in great

"This wave of tremendous force, rising from the submerged depths of workers who regard themselves as undernaid overworked and hadv treated, has swept the country, but nowhere has it broken with greater force than here in the sitdown capital of the nation. Hotels, department stores, five and ten stores, many varieties of retail stores and small manufacturing plants, and even public relief of fices. as well as the mammoth auto factories, which dominate the center of the motor industry . have been forced to close."

Strategic Value of Sit-Down

In the "sit-down," workers lock themselves in or sit in by the thousands in order to ward off a boss lockout in the raw. Here is an additional strategic value inherent in the sit-down strike technique. Mr. T. C. Thompson, special correspondent of The Financial Post of Toronto, well said on February 13th, in the course of the General Motors strike, that: "The answer to a strike is normally a lockout, but that measure is relegated to the past in the light of the new technique of 'sit-down'

And Mr. Landis, in his noted ad-

"In recent months we have seen are still disemployed—in a period ances are satisfied—action that in which is really an interlude, a its economic effects is the counter moment of transition, between one part of the lockout, but because of crisis and another. Homer Martin, the absence of any relationship President of the United Automobile such as the lockout possesses to Workers of America, put the case property, finds itself with doubt actions by the masses. Such a situ- for labor very clearly when he ful traditional legal justification.

"The eventual outcome of such a "It is our contention that the sit- claim will depend in part upon the down strike as such is a strike in emphasis that law will give to the Day Strike of 400,000 Miners ters, bakers, bookkeepers, governtended to stop production. The concept of property and its in- Ended." The item reads in part: ment employes, teachers, newsstoppage of production through violability in its industrial and corly because of solid labor support. strikes has been recognized for porate setting to economic pres- an increase amounting to fifty The average American worker can- years as legal in the United States. sure of this type—and in part, pernot associate or combine the old This right to strike involves the haps, on the capacity of our law to pressure has been born."

While lawyers may rush to believes, he has won at least to some extent; the former he must eradicate.

J. Allen Smith in his instructive volume, "The Spirit of American Government", put his finger on this complicated inter-relationshin of the seminated inter-relationshin or organic, chronic mass unemploy denounce the sit-down (or the self-lock-in) by labor, no really respectable well-paid corporation law-pectable well-paid corporation law-pectable well-paid corporation law-pectable well-paid corporation law-pectable well-paid corporation law-per would ever dare to denounce the sit-down (or the self-lock-in) by labor, no really respectable well-paid corporation law-per would ever dare to denounce the sit-down (or the self-lock-in) by labor, no really respectable well-paid corporation law-pectable well-paid corporation law-pectable well-paid corporation law-per would ever dare to denounce the sit-down (or the self-lock-in) by labor, no really respectable well-paid corporation law-per would ever dare to denounce the same front page but in the leading column five appears an item captioned: "Miners' Union Brands Lewis As 'Insincere'." The first paragraph in that item reads: "Terming John L. Lewis 'absolute-lock out of the A.C.W., sixteen to the in the leading column five appears an item captioned: "Miners' Union Brands Lewis As 'Insincere'." The first paragraph in that item reads: "Terming John L. Lewis 'absolute-lock out of the A.C.W., sixteen to the in the leading column five appears an item captioned: "Miners' Union Brands Lewis As 'Insincere'." The first paragraph in that item reads: "Terming John L. Lewis 'absolute-lock out of the A.C.W., sixteen to the interpretation of the A.C.W., sixteen to the interpretation of the A.C.W., sixteen to the interpretation of the A.C.W. and item captioned: "Miners' Union Brands Lewis As 'Insincere'." The first paragraph in tha (Continued on Page 6)

Challenge"

by Will Herberg

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WORKERS AGE 131 West 33rd Street, New York City

TRADE UNION NOTES by George F. Miles

WE hate to be a kill-joy but honestly a lot of the exuberance over the Supreme Court's OK'ing of the Wagner Act is a workers are organized on a mass little intemperate. It wont be long now before the high-pressure basis, as it were—almost on a corporation attorneys tear into it and then lo and behold we'll whole factory basis instead of on discover not only cracks but gaping holes thru which the openthe old one-by-one basis. Even the shoppers will walk nonchalantly.

> and that even the first draft did not represent labor's full program. shows an increase since September after the Senator he began a series August 31, 1936." of modifications to the right which eft a number of essential clauses extremely vague and subject to L. has made up for the loss (thru lmost any interpretation. We will low witness an increasing number f weird interpretations.

The Wagner Act will undoubtedprove of some value to labor. on labor's own strength, its he has todate. mobility and fighting capacity. See editorial for comment on Supreme Court ruling.)

THE capitalist press has lately to the company unions in steel, regone in for smearing the CIO. sorting to open strike breaking in Every strike situation is being the auto strike, and now stepping written up with the idea of pictur- in to aid the oil interests in fighting the CIO supporters as rioters, ing the CIO drive in that industry, thugs, etc. This was true of the John P. Frey expressed his in-Hershey strike, the Oshawa strike dignation at a letter from a worker and much more so of the recent calling him a louse. We agree with shootings in Galena, Kansas. First Frey. It is a gross understatement reports sought to create the im- of his work to attach to him the pression that the CIO supporters name of a mere domesticated had opened fire upon the non-CIO animal—the louse! smelter workers without any provocation on their part.

A careful reading of the story, however, proves that it is a simple capitalist press sought to create be any bail." the impression that it was the CIO which resorted to unprovoked CRAFT union delegates to the

of April 10 it carries a front page gates withdrawing represented item on column one entitled: "One machinists, paperhangers, carpen-"It (the agreement) provides for papermen and seamen. cents a day for those paid by day THE Chicago Federation of Labor rates; 9 cents a ton for those voted 201 to 112 endorsing Green's working on a tonnage basis; 70 expulsion order but no attempt cents a day for loading machine was made to expel the delegates operators; 10 per cent for yardage from the CIO unions. . . . The and dead work, and time and a half Maryland Federation of Labor for overtime."

ly insincere,' officials of the Progressive Miners of America at Gillespie, Ill., on April 3 charged workers left the A. F. of L. and the agreement between the United organized themselves as an inter-Mine Workers of America and coal national union with affiliation to original)

Now which is it? And since when does the Chicago Federation of Local B752 of the Electrical Work-Labor recognize the scabby Pro- ers Union, composed of utility gressive Miners as the "Miners A. F. of L. and is now chartered Union"?

FRANK MORRISON has just made public some figures on the membership of the A. F. of L. "The affiliated unions," says he, labor union and become a local of the United Automobile Workers in federal labor unions, AND NOT Milwaukee, Wisc. AL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS THAT STAND AUTO MATICALLY SUSPENDED SINCE SEPTEMBER 5, 1936,

Labor should recall that what became law is a far cry from the first bill proposed by the Senator from New York

When the National Manufacturers' 1, 1936, of 308,937 paid and report-Association and the spokesmen for ed members over the average memthe Chambers of Commerce got bership for the fiscal year ending

Let's get this straight. Does Mr. Morrison claim that the A. F. of suspension) of about one million members and has gained more than 300,000 members over and above that in the course of the last twelve months? If he does he will The degree of its usefulness depends have to bring much more proof then

> AFTER taking leadership in a campaign of slander against John L. Lewis, giving aid and comfort

AFTER accusing John L. Lewis of seeking to become "economic and political dictator" of the United case of a company mob, well armed States and Canada, Premier Mitwith clubs and guns, breaking up chell Hepburn proceeds, in a very a mass meeting called by the CIO dictatorial manner, to warn Lewis and later attacking its head- or "any of his gang" that if caught quarters. Under the circumstances committing a "single overt act" the CIO workers could do nothing they would be put in jail "for a else but fight back. Yet the whole good long time, and there wouldn't

violence. Are we witnessing the Philadelphia Central Labor Union preparations for framing up some handed A. F. of L. Commissar CIO workers in an effort to halt Hines a big surprise when some successful unionizing work of the 95 of them withdrew from the meeting after 85 delegates representing CIO unions had been ar-STRICTLY impartial is the Chi- bitrarily kept out. The surprise cago Federation News. In its issue was even greater because the dele-

dropped from its rolls 29 local Not bad, Eh? But in the same unions, eight of them belonging

TWELVE thousand aluminum operators as 'Deplorable and Disappointing'." (emphasis as in Distilleries workers (1500) voted to transfer their federal local from the A. F. of L. to the CIO. . . . as Local 1212 United Electrical

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO **WORKERS AGE**

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

3. THE "RUSSIAN OUESTION" AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS

cussing the problems raised by Milton Howard's article, statement on the trials as "filthier than anything DAILY WORKER of March 23 and 24.—EDITOR.)

By WILL HERBERG

WHEN he comes to the Moscow trials, Comrade Howard's agitation at our political sins quite overcomes him. He seems unable to draw any logical conclusions from his own contentions or to grasp the significance of his own implications. The clear meaning of the documents to which he refers escapes him and he has no difficulty in reading into them what is not there. Twice he mentions "an article signed by Lovestone" on the Moscow trials although a mere survey of recent issues of the Workers Age would show that there just isn't any such animal. Aside from a news item or two, the only material to appear in the Workers Age on this question was a discussion article by an anonymous writer (February 6 and 13, 1937) and an editorial statement (February 20, 1937), neither of which was signed, or for that matter written, by Lovestone! To what article Comrade Howard refers thus remains a mystery. This is but one example of the curious fog in which all of his remarks on the Moscow trial seem to be enveloped!

And yet our position on the Moscow trials is so clear that it can surely penetrate any fog of misconceptions. We start off with the fundamental proposition that such acts as are described in the charges at the Moscow trials (assassination, terrorism, sabotage, etc.) are not only quite compatible with the political logic of Trotskyism but are, in fact, actually implied in it. In the vast multitude of charges and allegations thrown up at the two trials, we find a number of "discrepancies, contradictions, even sheer impossibilities," but we are emphatic in insisting that, "after such material is discarded, there still remains a substantial bedrock of fact: that efforts at assassination and sabotage were indeed made by some of the followers or former followers of Trotsky and Zinoviev" (Workers Age, February 20, 1937).

Now all this is plain, open and above-board. Where, then, can Comrade Howard discover any trace of equivocation on our part? Is not the unclarity of which he complains a product of the mental fog with which he has succeeded in investing everything he says on the

Since we are interested in really understanding what is happening in the Soviet Union and not in merely repeating set formulas, we make an attempt at a basic historical analysis of the problems involved in the Moscow trials. Apparently Comrade Howard agrees with Henry Ford that "history is all bunk," for he sneers at our "donning the robes of history." That is his privilege but surely he cannot refuse us the right of trying to learn from the past. Incidentally, it might interest him that, in their effort to explain and justify the Moscow trials, the Soviet press as well as the official and unofficial C.P. press in France, has shown not the slightest hesitation in utilizing exactly the same historical parallels that Comrade Howard finds so objectionable in the columns of the Age.

THE FUNDAMENTAL AND PARAMOUNT CONSIDERATION

No one who has given any serious thought to the problems connected with the Moscow trials can fail to come to the conclusion that all questions concerning the validity of the particular charges or allegations "important as they are, are still secondary to the fundamental one. When objective judgment is passed on the Moscow trials, it must surely be done primarily on the basis of the all-absorbing question: Is it Stalin or the Trotskvist opposition that, by and large, represents the basic interests of the socialist revolution in Russia, that is the bearer of the fundamentally sound policies of socialist construction?" (Workers Age, February 20, 1937). Let his opinion of historical analogies be what it may, can Comrade Howard deny that this is the primary, the paramount question and that all others are secondary? Of course not!--only let him ask himself what he would think of the trials if he were convinced that Trotsky was right and Stalin wrong on the basic questions of socialist construction.

It is curious that our position on the Moscow trials seems to be just about as obnoxious to the Trotskyites as it is to the official C.P.

A prominent adherent of Leon Trotsky let it

"Towards What Is Lovestoneism Heading," in the that has appeared in the Daily Worker," while Comrade Howard finds in it a "perilous coasting" towards Trotskyism. There must be something in our position that gives rise to this queer harmony: it is our critical objectivity, our refusal to take anything for granted on anybody's say-so, our suspicion of all gospel truth handed down by revelation, our determination to hammer out a sound position by independent thought and free discussion. Neither the Trotskyites nor the official C.P. leaders relish such an attitude on our part; the former because their false principles and practices will not stand critical examination, the latter because free discussion and independent thought are fatal to the stifling regime that has grown up in the official commu-

With carefully calculated effect, the author saves his best argument for the last. At the very end of the article he deals his most telling blow:

"What can workers who love the Soviet Union, whose hearts are with the anti-fascist struggle everywhere, think of the fact that Trotsky's host and sponsor in Mexico is Diego Rivera, the associate and co-worker of Bert Wolfe, lieutenant of Lovestone? Is this an accident or has it political significance?"

Well, if you ask me, it's just possible that the hypothetical worker in whose name Comrade Howard makes this touching appeal might say that Diego Rivera must be a pretty sociable fellow if his circle of acquaintance stretches all the way from Leon Trotsky to Bert Wolfe, who has penned more than one denunciation of Trotsky. Or he might say that it's all a bunch of damned Goolishness! And he might be not far from right, at that!

A PLAIN CASE OF POLITICAL FALSIFICATION

But what's at the bottom of this Daily Worker article after all? What political aim is it intended to serve? Comrade Howard gives the secret away when he writes: same basic ideas find expression: "Lovestone (he means the C.P.O., of course.

--W. H.) is seeking for a formula that will be consistent with his past criticism of Trotskyism but which will, at the same time, permit him leeway for any possible developments at the coming trials of Bukharin and Rykov, the fountain-heads of the Right Opposition in which Lovestoneism had its origin. . . . Is Lovestoneism preparing itself for the coming trials of its god-fathers, the Right Opportunists, Bukharin and Rykov?"

Involved here is a piece of political falsification that does little credit either to Comrade Howard or to the Daily Worker. To both it is well known that our relations with the Bukharin-Rykov group in the Soviet Union are not exactly as described in the words quoted above. As far back as the end of 1929, over seven years ago, in fact, at the very outset of the independent existence of the C.P.O., we made our position on this question so crystal clear that only the wilfully blind could possibly fail to see and understand. In an official declaration we stated (Revolutionary Age, Vol 1, no. 4, December 15, 1929):

"Our struggle has never been nor can it be an appendix to any individual or group in the C.P.S.U., victorious or defeated. . . . Our struggle has never been based upon or associated with the line of Comrade Bukharın on these (Russian) questions. . . . Our struggle is based exclusively upon the task of overcoming the present crisis in the Comintern and of restoring it and our party to the Leninist line."

The fundamental idea contained in this statementthat we neither have nor have ever had any connection, political or organizational, with any group or tendency in the Soviet Union and, in the nature of the case, cannot have any such connection—we have repeated in every official document dealing with the socalled "Russian question" from that day to this. Just as frequently have we emphasized our endorsement of the general line of socialist construction of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., as against criticism from both the left and the right. Comrade Howard and the Daily Worker editors know all this perfectly well if they know anything at all; there is no excuse for ignorance or misunderstanding here, no excuse for irresponsible references to the "god-fathers" or the "fountain-heads" of Lovestoneism. But, after all, what are facts that they

(This is the third and last of a series of articles dis- be known recently that he regards our editorial should be allowed to interfere with ingenious political construction? Did not the omniscient Walter Duranty inform an astonished world only a few months ago (New York Times, February 7, 1937) that Lovestone had "engineered the split" in the American C.P. under instructions from, and for the benefit of, Leon Trotsky?

THE I.C.O. AND THE "RUSSIAN QUESTION"

Why do we place such emphasis upon our complete dissociation from any Soviet tendency or group? Surely not out of mere caprice or philistine indifference to "Russian" questions. We do so because we believe that, in the very nature of the case, there can be no legitimate parallel between political conflicts in the U.S.S.R. and those in the communist movement of the capitalist countries, and that any attempt to create such a link between the two is bound to result in a seriously distorted view of the situation outside the Soviet Union.

Almost exactly seven years ago, within six months of the organization of the C.P.O. as an independent group, we formulated our attitude on this question quite plainly in an official declaration (Revolutionary Age, April 7,

> "Precisely because of this gap, the crisis is not manifested in the same form in the C.P.S.U. as in the capitalist countries: neither the political issues nor the factional groupings are the same. In no sense is the international opposition movement based upon the issues or groupings in the C.P.S.U. nor does it find its counterpart in any of these groupings. In fact, the attempt at mechanical extension of the factional struggles and groupings in the C.P.S.U. is one of the manifestations of the crisis in the Comintern."

A year later, in a resolution that constitutes a landmark in the ideological development of our group ("The General Line and the Inner-Party Course of the C.P.S.U.", Revolutionary Age, May 16, 1931), the

"In rejecting all opposition to the general line of the C.P.S.U., we again reject all efforts to make our group a tail to the kite of any C.P.S.U. group. . . . Precisely because of the gap between the conditions of the Soviet Union and the conditions in the capitalist world, the differences in the Comintern do not manifest themselves in the same form in the C.P.S.U. as they do in the communist parties of the capitalist countries: neither the political issues nor the factional groupings are the

We do not hesitate to say that it is precisely to this realistic and truly Marxist conception of the specific and "exceptional" character of our problems and tasks in this country, as they are necessarily specific and "exceptional" in every country of the world, that we owe the effectiveness of our efforts as a communist tendency in the general labor movement. It is to this attitude that we owe so much of ideological independence and political strength, our ability to formulate policy on the basis of actual conditions and the real relation of forces, without regard to extraneous factors and considerations. It is to this fundamental conviction that we owe our very existence as an independent communist force, in this country as the C.P.O. and internationally as the International Communist Opposition

Comrade Howard's intentions in bringing up the whole Bukharin matter are, of course, obvious. Speaking on behalf of the leadership of the C.P., he wants to warn us to be careful and not "go wrong" on the coming Bukharin-Rykov trial. And, in order to give his warning point and meaning, he already in advance builds up a political bond between us and Bukharin. ready for use in case of future necessity. Well, we thank Comrade Howard for his kind warning. But let us assure him that, when and if Bukharin and Rykov are put on trial, we will judge their case as objectively and as much on its own political merits as we have done under similar circumstances in the past. Comrade Howard should know that we do not scare easily and that his remarks in this direction cannot impress us very much.

MAKING A GAME OF ANTI-TROTSKYISM

Comrade Howard is so free with his advice to us that I am tempted to reciprocate, although I fear that my efforts will not be properly appreciated. The advice 1 (Continued on Page 5)

WORKERS AGE

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The Wagner Act Verdict

(Continued from Page 1)

change by the Chief Justice was not an act of god: it was a simple act of simple Mr. Dooley. Had there been no CIO., had the United Auto Workers not been able to force General Motors and Chrysler to recognize the right of labor to organize into bona fide unions, had the United States Steel Corporation not been compelled to sign a contract with the Steel Workers Organization Committee, had Landon not been snowed under so badly, had the nine old men not been disrobed so completely in the present court controversy, Hughes, Roberts and their partners in blunder would never have rendered the Wagner Act verdict. Some winds from Main Street brought some fresh air-very, very little of it, at that-into the sanctum sanctorum of Wall Street

It was the challenging Lewis, the dynamic Martin, the resourceful Murray, the upsurge of the masses pouring into the triumphant CIO., the wave of dramatic sitdowns that made Hughes, Roberts and their ilk sit up and take notice of what was going on about them, of the powerful social forces at work. Not even nine Canutes can still the waves of labor organization today. For a change, a majority of the court thought better and decided upon some very slight concessions to labor as the better part of legal valor. Only under the mighty pressure of the masses did the Supreme Court's four become five and the five become four. It was the awakened worker learning his first lessons in class politics who taught the Supreme Court luminaries some sound arithmetic and practical jurisprudence. Therefore, it is not the judges who have become progressive. It is the army of labor that has been making progress. Hence, the legalization of whatever little there is of the progressive in the Wagner Act ruling.

Only those who have studied to be political idiots can hail these decisions as "a triumph of democracy in its series of tilts with an irresponsible capitalism." What "democracy?" Whose "democracy?" Honesty demands that we should be told that it is the "democracy" of Farley, Prendergast, and Arkansas Jo Robinson. And what's all this talk about "irresponsible capitalism?" What sort of a liberal fad or animal is this? The painful fact of the matter is that unless Labor is extremely vigilant the Wagner Act decision will be far more than the thin end of the wedge for the federal government's policing unions. While the illusion about the government being for unionization should, for a while, prove a boon to industrial organization, some of the provisions of the Act itself as well as the decisions are a bane to Labor's best interests. Note the momentum being developed—since the Supreme Court decisions—by the employers' campaign to paralyze labor's right to organize and fight effectively. Under the cloak of making labor unions "socially responsible," (legally liable for damages demanded by the bosses and fixed by their judges) the sworn foes of the working class are now demanding incorporation of the unions, government registration of their membership, and supervision of their finances. All of this, merely because unions as such are no longer to have an outright illegal status!

We know of no more dangerous road to fascism than that of government control of unions. Here is the menace of company unionism to the nth degree. This is the real nature of the teeth now to be proposed for insertion into the Wagner Act. The fact that a Taff-Vale decision or Danbury Hatters Case justice will not become the law of the land tomorrow does not mean that we should relax even a fraction of a second in a fight to the finish against all such vile anti-labor measures—cloaked in sweet phrases and wrapped in high-sounding promises. To meet this menace, Labor will have to turn to new and more inclusive agencies of struggle-to independent political organization. Unless labor hastens to organize itself politically, AS A CLASS, it will be totally unable to beat back the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and some "reformers" and New New Dealers who will go along with them to make labor organizations "more responsible."

If ever American Labor needed to speed up its building of a labor party it is today—after the latest Supreme Court decisions.

INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE

unity campaign in England, and the It stated in part: Moscow trials. Precisely because of the decisive role of British imtional labor movement.

The resolution introduced by the Labour party." the British Government shall lay period but that a danger was debited to their joint account. an embargo on the sending of arms created by its perpetuation in that and volunteers to aid the Fascist it might become an instrument for forces, and must urge that an embargo be placed on the exportation rather than serve as a transition of arms to countries known to be

supplying the Fascists." In his speech defending the resolution, J. Mcgovern made a plea among large sections of labor. for unity in the Spanish antisia, decried the attempt to ship the new Soviet Constitution as bepolitical domination over Spanish ing a step forward to a world class-

and the Communist Party, and the of anti-Soviet views. the workers and the bourgeoisie within the framework of capital- was passed.

THE annual conference of the 1sm. The resolution defended the Independent Labor Party of proposal for a Workers' Front, in-Freat Britain met at Glasgow this cluding all sections of the working year, to face such important ques- class. Inis resolution was passed tions as the civil war in Spain, the with but four dissenting votes.

"ine ILF deplores the opposition of the Labour Party Executive perialism in the plot to strangle the to this effort to secure unity and

Spanish struggle. Hitting the role trials. The National Council issued retention of burocratic power to socialism. It was further stated bewilderment and uneasiness

nunitions.

freedom and the possibility of a A Trotskyite branch proposed fuller happier life for the Russian Viewed from a military angle the situation is such tional Council dealt with the unity tee such as was proposed could powers in the Mediterranean. campaign with the Socialist League only be a platform for the voicing

Trotsky and the German "October"

'October legend" directed against communist movement, the present approved by the Executive."

f October, p. 23): demonstration of how it is possible ed theses thoroly vindicating the to miss a perfectly exceptional revolutionary situation of world-

historic importance." This was written in September 1924. Yet, a few months before, in January 1924, Radek had proposed to the executive committee of the

"The Executive rejects decisiveanti-Brandler faction.—Editor) to lines of factional expediency!

THE republication of L. D. | declare that the October retreat of Trotsky's "Lessons of October" helps to recall the ignominified and was indeed a betrayal. If ous, unprincipled role that this the party had, in October, declared self-advertised Gibraltar of Prin- the insurrection, as the Berlin ciple played in initiating and giv-ing currency to the so-called now be lying with a broken neck. .. The retreat itself corresponded the Brandler group in the German to the objective situation and is

'missing" the German revolution find, altho it casts little credit the organ of the POUM. hat "should" have taken place in upon Trotsky himself. At the we witnessed in Germany a classic Comintern. Therefore he championpolicy of the Brandler leadership in went on it became clear that

Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

Italian Desertions In Spain; French Anarchists and Clichy

THE FACT that Italian soldiers and officers con-I tinue to desert to the Republican side and. Spanish workers and peasants urges that the membership of the furthermore, that the Italian divisions were withstruggling against fascism the attitude of the ILP on this question should concentrate on reversing sufficiently proves the Italian defeat has significant aroused interest in the interna- the decision of the executive at political causes: the hostility of the Italian troops une next annual conference of the to the fascist regime, and their resentment of Italy's imperialist venture in Spain. This is a fatal blow to National Council of the ILP The closing session of the con- the international political and military prestige of stressed the class character of the rerence dealt with the Moscow Italy. The Abyssinian laurels have wilted in Spain. The value of the Italian army as a tool for the importing Franco, the resolution question which declared that the "In Britain the National creation of an impartial investigation the defeat in Spain. And thus a crushing blow was Government stands in the way of ting committee was imperative. dealt to the black-mailing international methods of the provision of assistance to the Delegate Carmichael submitted a fascist Italy. And that is not all. The fascist regime Spanish workers, and, while claim- resolution in behalf of the Council, of Germany was also given a crushing blow. True ing to be neutral, is in fact con- declaring the proletarian dictator- enough Hitler's troops did not suffer a defeat like stantly assisting the Fascists. We ship was temporarily necessary in that of the Italians, but neither did they achieve the must intensify our demand that Russia during the revolutionary victories expected of them. The Italian debacle is

> After this defeat two courses are open to Mussolini: either he will hurl even larger numbers of regulars into Spain to wipe out the stain of the defeat, or he will speedily and completely pull out that the Moscow trials had created of the Spanish venture in order to save what still can be saved.

It seems as though he were set on taking the first Delegate Huntz moved an course. Two new Italian divisions are to be sent into fascist ranks and, while welcoming amendment referring back this Spain. The Italian delegate to the London Committhe support given by Soviet Rus- part of the report and welcoming tee openly declared that Italy will not withdraw her troops so long as the civil war in Spain continues. policy, together with the arms and less society, giving even greater This is a flagrant violation of the non-intervention

an amendment declaring the masses. He further stated that the that, in all likelihood, even two new Italian divisions actions of the Soviet Union to be ILP would be committing a grave will not be able to alter matters for Mussolini but, "determined by the actions and de- error if it participated in what most probably, disintegration will spread to them as mands of the capitalist states." could only be a political demon-well. A possible chance for success exists for Italy This was defeated by a substantial stration against the Soviet Union. only if she now hurls her fleet into action also. This was defeated by a substantial majority and the resolution of the National Council was adopted.

Stration against the Boylet Chief.

How, he asked, could there be a completely impartial investigation without grave damage to their own prestige as naval.

The imminent question is whether they will tolerate the flagrant violation of the non-intervenpopular front. The strategy of the Despite the arguments of other tion agreement as perpetrated by Italy. And that people's front was opposed on the delegates along these lines, and a will depend decisively on the pressure brought to rounds that it aimed at combining proposal to suspend judgment, the bear by the English, the French and the rest of the resolution of the National Council international working class. The London Foreign Office seems disposed to be rather lenient in the

The international working class, however, must face another possible alternative now, that is the English and the French bourgeoisie's attempt to do business with the Valencia Government. In other words an attempt to effect a capitalist restoration in Spain with the aid of that government. Among the Spanish leftist republicans of the People's Front government, the tendencies for a compromise with the fascists, backed by France and England, are ever increasing. The Valencia Government's infamous offer of last February to cede parts of Spanish Morocco to France and England reveals a great deal German Communist Opposition. These theses were not accepted along these lines. On the other hand, however, the According to this bit of political by the E.C.C.I., which preferred determination to carry on the revolution is growing fiction, the then Brandler central the version later embodied in the among the masses of the working class. A good incommittee of the Communist Par- "Lessons of October." But how dication of the sentiment of the proletarian masses ty of Germany was responsible, come that Trotsky changed his thru its opportunistic policies, mind so rapidly and so completely hru its political cowardice and between January and October recall—four days after it had been issued—its decre thru countless other sins, for 1924? The answer is not hard to for the suppression of the newspaper "La Batalla."

October 1923. Here is what Trotsky beginning of 1924, Trotsky had AFTER THE MASSACRE AT CLICHY

wrote in September 1924 (Lessons hopes that, thru Radek, he might THE ONE and only French newspaper which said get the support of Brandler for his what was to be said from the standpoint of the "In the latter part of last year, faction in the C.P.S.U. and the workers, after the massacre at Clichy, was the paper

In a proclamation, issued by the anarchists imthe October days. But as time mediately after the events at Clichy, we read:

"It (the people's front government) fully deserves Brandler would not join the Trot- that invective once hurled at the Clemenceau adsky faction because he disagreed ministration: A government composed of assassins fundamentally with Trotsky on the —certainly there is nothing left for which it needs questions at issue. Thereupon Trot- to envy the German Social Democracy, save its com-Communist International, then in sky very cold-bloodedly made a plete downfall. It now has its own Noske, its own Communist International, then in session, draft theses on the German events, signed by himself, Trotsky, Piatakov and others, read-international, then in session, draft theses on the German events, signed by himself, tack the Brandlerites for what he himself had emphatically justified be restored."

The power is in dependable hands. 'Confidence' will be restored."

Apparently the principles of this The novel and unheard-of aspect, in a comparison ly the demand of the leaders of the Gibraltar of Principle are quite with the developments in Germany, is that even the Berlin organization (the ultra-left, flexible, being fashioned along the Communist Party of France is shielding the gov-(Continued on Page 6)

THE C.I.O. TURNS TO TEXTILES

ed from the April issue of terms of the structure of the in-ADVANCE, official organ of the dustry. Textiles are divided into Amalgamated Clothing Workers. | fourteen major divisions. The

sm into 48 states raising to a any manufacturing industry in the finishing, with 66,000; rayon country challenging complete poli- proper, with 52,000; woolen, with tical dominance of thousands of 48,000, and carpets and rugs, small communities—bringing stab- housefurnishings, cotton small ility to one of our country's sickest wares, cordage and twine, bags, industries-rebuilding the lives and felt goods and jute. the liberties of a million Americans and the millions of their depen- tertwined. Silk mills make rayon,

way, the scope and the magnitude parative ease. of the latest endeavor of the has appointed as the head of the committee Brother Sidney Hill- ings. man, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Amer- paying to its officers the highest

of every trade unionist in Amer- ers the lowest wages of any large ica, to command the loyalty of manufacturing industry. every man and woman who earns; his living in the factories of the annual wage averaging \$850; avernation. Its success will have wide- age wage, not a minimum wage. cumstances of their industrial situspread effect on our labor move- Even during the NIRA a fifth of ation the textile workers unions

hundred thousand workers in tex- week. tile mills of the United States. dents. and we have over three mil- work was scarce, the ten-hour day lion Americans whose lives are tied and the 55-hour week were found to the spindles of the industry, in some textile centers. whose welfare depends upon textile

There are mills in every state of towns. Many a textile worker was the union. There are 144,000 tex- brought into the world by the comtile workers in Pennsylvania alone, pany doctor; given scant education 134.000 in North Carolina. Loca- at the company-controlled school; ting the workers over the map we spent his textile wages at a comfind 250,000 in New England, 64,- pany-owned store; worshipped in a 000 in New York State, 200,000 in company-financed church, and final- they will be appointed to work on and at home, and a new liberty is record as opposed to fascism but the Middle Atlantic states, 73,000 ly, died prematurely and was in the upper South, 320,000 in the buried by the company undertaker. deep South, and 40,000 in the mid-

There are well over 6,000 to signing the Emancipation Proseparate textile mills in the coun- clamation for the first time in

The following article is reprint-| The job is equally complicated in -EDITOR largest is cotton goods, employing about 380,000 people; knit goods THE organization of one mil- takes in nearly 190,000; silk and lion workers—carrying union- rayon about 110,000. Other divisions in order of importance are decent level the lowest wages of worsted, with 78,000; dyeing and

These divisions are closely intoo: rayon mills also make cotton That represents, in a general cloth. Shifts are made with com-

The textile industry is one of the American labor movement, to or- oldest in the country, one of basic ganize the textile workers into a importance to our economic life. substantial effective, permanent Its policies on wages and hours and union of their own. The Commit- industrial relations have had intee for Industrial Organization has fluence far beyond its borders, aftaken this task upon its shoulders. fecting, one way or another, the It has assigned the carrying out wages of all other industrial workof the task to the Textile Work- ers. Whole communities, and secers Organizing Committee. And it tions of the country have been solely dependent on textile earn-

And the textile industry, while salaries of any corporate industry The job is one to stir the blood in the country, has paid its work-

In 1935 textile workers got an economic future of our country. half the workers in the South, There are a million and one were getting less than \$10 per

Low wages, of course, go hand Add to this number their depen- in hand with long hours. Though

Add to this the fact that the mills completely control the mill

Bringing union rights into the textile industry will be equivalent many mill towns of the South.

SIDNEY HILLMAN



President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Director of the TWOC.

the last half a century. Almost half rest were lost

In 1934 over 300,000 textile workers took part in a general strike to establish a union and get improved conditions under their industrial code. The strike was not successful. Under the difficult cirment, and deep significance in the the workers in the North, and over needed help from the rest of the labor movement. But this wasn't forthcoming in any real way until the rise of the CIO.

through to a successful conclusion.

The campaign will have national neadquarters in New York City, and regional offices in every important section of the industry. As many as five hundred organizers proach every mill in the country, of the North and South. and give every textile worker an opportunity to sign up with the ous. But American Labor, under ciety, links Woll as well as the

mittee. As workers join, mill owners

It is no wonder that the textile ndustry has had far more than its share of strikes, nearly 6,000 in of these have been in protest against wage cuts, or to secure wage increases. Most of the others were for union rights and recognition. About one-third of them resulted in substantial gains, another third in partial victories, and the

staffed.

Today, the CIO brings to the textile workers leadership, skill, money, and, what's of great importance, ability to direct a drive simultaneously in every center, with force enough to push it

FRIEND IN WOLL MATTHEW WOLL, vice-president of the A. F. of L., isn't happy unless he is rubbing shoulders with avowed labor haters. Having been unceremoniously knocked out of his leading post in the National Civic Federation by John L. Lewis at

he has found an organization suitable to his reactionary taste -the American Association Against Communism. A supposed enemy of fascism Matthew Woll did not hesitate to open defender of the fascist cause Guardia tussle—and the black re- La Guardia. actionary George U. Harvey of

UNION-HATERS FIND

the 1935 convention of the A. F. of L., Woll was lonesome for

the company of open-shop employers and red baiters. At last

will be approached and asked to sign collective bargaining agreements. In the words of the first Organizing Committee:

we are met in a responsible spirit by the employers, and to establish gateway that is open to everybody. the machinery for peaceful industrial relationships on a lasting basis.'

So far, seven regional offices have been set up and partially

In New York City a research and technical staff is working full naterial for organization work.

paigning, 15,700 textile workers ists) back to the station house'.' are now protected by TWOC union And Harvey's idea of a communagreements. The new union con- ist is a pretty broad one. Our ers in New York, New Jersey and munist organization. Pennsylvania; a thousand hat band Members of the A. F. of L. have makers in Paterson; 2,500 hosiery full right to question Woll's preworkers in Reading; and other sence among these enemies of la-workers in Rochester, N. Y; bor and fascist defenders. What

Aurora, Ill., and Louisville, Ky.

The job, of course, has just cuss the problems of the labor started. But textile workers are movement before this anti-labor coming into the great swing of organization thinly disguised as unionism. A new foundation is to be anti-communists? The American may be needed, it is estimated, and built under their lives in the mills Federation of Labor has gone on the job. These field men will ap- to be brought into the mill towns Woll's appearance at this meeting,

The task is enormous, momentup to what is needed.

Queens. The character of the auappear on the same platform with dience to which Matthew Woll the Liberty Leaguer Al Smith—an complained about the misdeeds of the communists in the A. F. of L. in Spain and an apologist for can be judged by the bitterly hos-Hitler in the recent Hitler-La tile demonstrations against Mayor

Al Smith who has been leaning rather heavily on religion now that politics has jilted him so mercilessly, ranted against the godless communists who misuse the privistatement by the Textile Workers | lege of fiving in statement by the Textile Workers | "given by God as a harbor of relege of living in this country fuge". He addressed himself to "The campaign will be conducted those "who don't like this counin an orderly, disciplined, and responsible fashion. It will be our walk. Finally Al broke out in a aim to avoid industrial strife, if typical July 4 peroration: "Ours is a land of opportunity and a The poorest man or the poorest woman can rise to places of the nighest distinction.

Borough President George U. Harvey made a speech calling for vigilante-terror campaign against communists. "I wouldn't heed any fancy orders," said he. speed preparing the necessary "I'd just say, Boys get about three feet of rubber hose and After only three weeks' cam- don't bring any of them (communtracts cover a carpet manufactur- readers will recall that Harvey reng company in Amsterdam, N. Y., fused to permit a meeting of the and Thompsonville, Conn., employ- American Labor Party in Queens ing 6,500; 3,500 dyers and finish- insisting that the A.L.P. is a com-

which was also sponsored by the International Catholic Truth So-Textile Workers Organizing Com- the new guidance it is receiving A. F. of L. with a movement supfrom the CIO, is sure to measure porting the forces of Franco in

The Russian Question

(Continued from Page 3)

want to give is this: Don't make a game of the political struggle against Trotskyism-don't vulgarize it-don't make it so ridiculous that it becomes self-defeating! Trotskyism is a very dangerous influence, but it is not going to be combated and destroyed by screaming the name at the top of your voice at every thing or person you don't happen to approve of. All you are likely to accomplish by such tactics is to discredit your whole campaign as nothing but a piece of factional fanaticism. perhaps even to arouse a certain sympathy for Trotskyism in ill-informed circles.

Thus, to take one example, when Norman Thomas declared himself in favor of the President's court reform plan as a measure of immediate relief, but also in favor of a constitutional amendment as a "real cure." the Daily Worker (March 12) discovers the baneful influence of Trotskvism! Is this not making a factional mockery of the whole thing? The Daily Worker editorial writer knows perfectly well that the Trotskyites are utterly opposed to any agitation for a constitutional amendment as a piece of gross opportunism, so that whatever Norman Thomas's sin on this head may be. it certainly is not Trotskyism. What good does it do to plaster the same label on everything, to brand everything you don't like as "Trotskyism" without rhyme or Howard sets himself a big task: to "redefine" the "poli-

It is not out of any tenderness for Trotskyism that I

make this point. Quite the contrary! Isn't it obvious that, when the charge of Trotskyism is flung around in this reckless and unreasonable manner, it ceases to have any definite meaning and becomes no more than a mere term of abuse? How is it possible to fight real Trotskyism under such circumstances? How is it possible to convince socialists and class conscious workers generally that Trotskyism really is a dangerously false political system, if you brand Norman Thomas's advocacy of a constitutional amendment (to supplement judicial reform) as Trotskyism? Aren't you actually playing right irresponsible tactics?

It is the old curse all over again! Once upon a time, everything to which you objected was fascism or "social-fascism"; today it is Trotskyism. Has not the C.P. learned at least this much from experience of the past that such methods simply will not work, that they are bound to prove a boomerang?

It would be unfortunate, indeed, if in the excitement of the Moscow trials, the Communist Party were again to lose its bearings and revive some of the worst practices of the late and unlamented "third period"!

WHERE IS "REDEFINITION" NEEDED?

In the opening paragraphs of his article, Comrade tical status of Lovestoneism." But he ends his article without doing any such thing; he ends it, in fact, with

the same question with which he started. And it is inevitable that it should be so, for there has occurred no "change in the content of Lovestoneism" in recent times, either because of the Moscow trials or for any other reason. Our fundamental political position, laid down in its essential features at the very outset of our independent existence as a group, elaborated, corrected and developed in the course of years of activity, reorientated with the shift of Comintern policy from extreme left to extreme right, has stood the test of experience quite weli on the whole. The recent developinto the hands of the Trotskyites by resorting to such ments of profound historical significance in the labor movement, culminating in the formation of the C.I.O., found us well prepared; we had foreseen the course of events and were able to play a clear and constructive role, where other organizations had more than a little difficulty in readjusting themselves. And, to pass from one half of the world to the other, just about the same is true with the Moscow trials. The attitude on the so-called "Russian question" that we had developed in the course of previous years proved quite adequate in this emergency; no "changes" or "redefinitions" were at all necessary!

If the theoreticians of the C.P. really feel themselves called upon to engage in political "redefinition," why don't they turn their attention to a more promising field? Why not undertake a real study of the "change of the content" of the official Comintern program and policy under the new dispensation of the People's Front? It might prove most instructive!

White Collar "Lefts" Ignore C.I.O. In Conference Call

By STATIST

An amazing call for a conference to be held in New York City has been issued by four white collar organizations for Saturday April 17th. We quote below the most significant section of the call: "Certainly no American Federa tion of Labor Union of white collar and professional workers can refuse to seriously consider the possible assistance it may render to ward increasing the prestige and strength of the A. F. of L. among other white collar and professional workers." At a time when the A F. of L. is attempting to disrupt the C.I.O. unions, at a time when the A. F. of L. is denouncing the sit-down strikes, at such a time these "left" unions call upon the white collar workers to increase "the prestige and strength of the A. F. of L." The following unions signed the call: American Federation of Musicians, Local 802; Bookkeepers', Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646; American Federation of Teachers Local 5; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, A.W.P.R.A. Council. Lest anyone attribute the call to

an oversight, it is necessary to relate the actions of the C.P. majority in the Executive Board of the BS&AU, one of the signers of the conference call. When the call was read at the April Executive Board meeting of the BS&AU, Albert Epstein of the Progressive League strenuously opposed the above-mentioned section of the call He proposed that the BS&AU delegates be instructed to present the pro-C.I.O. position of the union at the conference. President Merrill ruled the motion out of order. Brother Epstein, refusing to discuss technicalities, then proposed that to the resolution on the organization of white collar workers passed at the Tampa Convention of the A. F. of L., the following be added as instructions to the BS&AU delegates to the New York "Whereas, John L. conference; "Whereas, John Lewis, in a radio address delivered on December 30, 1936, called for the organization into trade unions of white collar and professional workers, therefore be it resolved that this New York Conference of white collar and professional unions call upon the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. to aid us in the organization of the white collar and professional workers."

The motion was defeated by Lewis Merrill and his supporters It is clear from the above decisions that the call for "increasing the prestige and strength of A. F. of L." is not accidental, but is inspired by the Communist Party's doubtful stand on the C.I.O.

Another test of the attitude of in relation to the forthcoming Eastern Seabord Conference of I. office Harry Fox of the Progressive League moved that the BS&AU delegates be instructed to work for the postponement of the con ference in order to avoid a split on the C.I.O. vs. A. F. of L. issue. He argued that it is inadvisable that the first conference of office workers should result in a split. He said that a sharp clash on the C.I.O. question is inevitable because of the active participation at the conference of William Collins. A. F. of L. organizer who is scheduled to deliver one of the main reports. Upon the defeat of the above motion, it was moved that our delegation present a pro-C.I.O. resolution to the conference. This was also defeated. A motion to give the C.I.O. unions equal recognition with the A. F. of L. at the conference by inviting a defeated. Finally, Albert Epstein ness. For example, we find the of working class struggle.

man, General Manager of the Joint Board of Dressmakers Union be invited to speak at the conference. made a motion that Julius Hoch-This was adopted after much opposition by leading administration board members. Even after Lewis Merrill came out in favor of this proposal, Anne Robbins and Morris Yanoff argued against it. And Anne Robbins showed her opposition to the very end by casting the lone vote against the motion.

It is not enough to favor the C.I.O. within the confines of the Executive Board. Far more decisive are the public declarations that one makes.

The workers must be made aware that only the C.I.O. is capable of organizing the unorganized white collar workers. Reliance upon the A. F. of L. means that this section of the workers of this country will remain unorganized forever. In short, no pussyfooting on the C.I.O.

LABOR MOVES

(Continued from Page 2)

ists, there is law and law-law against labor and law for capital. That is why Justice Miller of New York could very well thunder: "The court won't recognize any property right in their jobs. Absolutely not."

William Allen White has recently done a little thinking on the larger aspects of the sit-down strike. Some of his observations we will discuss in a subsequent article. At this point, it is necessary, however, to emphasize that Mr. White is all wrong when he talks about workers getting hold of Mr. Chrysler's "tool." American economic life has long ago passed from the "tool" stage to manufacturing and from manufacturing to mass production. Socially as well as economically, there is all the difference in the world between a tool and a machine and between a small and medium machine shop and the huge plants employing tens of thousands of workers.

The growth of the demand for enlarged rights for labor is almost parallel to the growth of industry itself. The evolution of industrial development is clearly reflected in significant changes in the organic composition of capital. The sitdown may today be used in small scale production units, that is, in small plants, or even in offices. But, as a problem, it grows out of the relations of mass production. Its social and economic implications assume significant dimensions only in that stage of capitalist economic development in which the mass production industhe C.P. forces to the C.I.O. came tries predominate. Labor is awakening in 1937. Labor was beginning to wake up in 1837. But a Towards A Sound Labor Movement hundred wears ago had no in or sit-down strikes as problems challenging frozen conceptions and ruthless ruling class authority.

The use of the sit-down obvious ly has nothing to do with the degree of progressivism harbored by the workers or their leaders. In recent weeks, members of the most conservative A. F. of L. unions have been scoring quick successes by sitting down. It is because of the economic roots and potency of the sit-down strike that conservative as well as progressive unions are beginning to resort to it. That is why the opponents of judicious use of the sit-down strike are strike-breakers in effect. This is sit-down legal through its practical true whether they get paid as editors of trade papers or as president of the American Federation of Labor. It is because of Chrys- help lay the foundation of a sound ler's role in the war against the labor movement. Here we have all speaker from the Textile Workers sit-down that he is now being hail- the justification we need for hailing Organizing Committee was also ed as a new Messiah of big busi- the sit-down or any other weapon

LABOR LEADERS ON WAGNER RULING

JOHN L. LEWIS, President of the United Mine Workers and head of the CIO: An astounding judgement. The quibblers of ancient Greece were intellectual sluggards as compared with our Supreme Court. Apparently the destiny of our republic and the well-being of the population depend upon the legalistic whims and caprices of one man.

Yesterday the Guffey Coal Stabilization Act was struck down. Today the Wagner Labor Relations Act is sustained. If today the Court is right, then understand the decision today, the

is upheld. . . .

Wagner Law, as applied to steel

the trend of the times. It definite-

ly establishes the SWOC in the

steel industry. We are delighted

beyond words at the impetus this

decision will give to the campaign,

but we should like it known re-

gardless of the decision our cam-

paign had gone so far that com-

SIDNEY HILLMAN, President

Amalgamated Clothing Workers:

These decisions demonstrate the

desirability of the present court

proposal. In the present situation,

the interpretation of the Constitu-

tion with respect to labor prob-

lems depends upon the state of

mind of the members of the court.

There is no difference between coal

mining, held beyond the regulatory

powers of Congress, and the manu-

DAVID DUBINSKY, President

Workers Union: The decision des-

troys the efforts of predatory,

open-shop employers to perpetuate

sweatshop conditions, economic

slavery and the company union.

Labor will now advance to its

rightful position as a real partici-

pant in industrial democracy. The

wave of union organization cannot

GUSTAVE A. STREBEL, Ex-

ecutive Director American Labor

Party: The decision is a great vic-

tory for progressive government.

It opens the doors for the orderly

adjustment of labor problems, for

the settlement of the many in-

justices in effect thruout the land.

This to us is the modern 'Missouri

This is not the time to stop our

insistence upon the enactment of

President Roosevelt's imperative

plans for court reform. Our judicial

system must be reorganized! Never

again must there be the grim

Court on a sit-down strike, hold-

ing the nation's future in peril be-

cause of its dilatory tactics. Never

again must the nation's safety be

endangered by a gamble, as in the

Associated Press case, of one

judge's whims. Five to four deci-

CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, man-

ager of Local 22, ILGWU: The decision of the Supreme Court, if

properly used, can be a weapon in

the hands of the labor movement.

However, the trade unions must

not rely upon the law alone to

achieve their aims. In the final an-

alysis it is our organized strength

that will decide the issue

sions must go.

Compromise' held valid.

Garmen

facturing of clothing.

wave of uncommon be stopped.

International Ladies

plete success was inevitable.

The decision is consistent with

yesterday, forsooth, the Court was wrong.

The Court is as variable as the winds, and the people wonder how long they are to be victims of its instability. Obviously the situation needs change. The President's court plan is the immediate answer.

HOMER MARTIN, President United Auto Workers: Had the Act been effective a few months ago the strikes in the automobile industry would never have happen-

Beginning immediately, the international union will start a concerted drive among Ford workers. Henry Ford is not bigger than the United States Government. The Supreme Court has given its decision and the law will act. Henry Ford can do but one thing-recognize and deal with the union even at the price of changing his mind. Others changed theirs including the Supreme Court.

CLINTON S. GOLDEN, regional director for SWOC in Pittsburgh: The decision to our minds does the following things: Brings to an automatic end company unions in the steel industry because, as we

following by Chris Sinsabaugh in the Automotive Daily News of March 27, 1937:

"But one thing seems certainthe sit-down frontal attack, labor's greatest asset to-date, seems to be on the way out and Walter P. Chrysler is the man of the hour, the head of the corporation which has stuck by its guns and which has refused to yield an inch its determination to hear everyone in a labor squabble regardless of affiliation.

"Maybe this present labor controversy, which has had the sitdown for its foundation stone, has been a blessing in disguise for the country as a whole. Emboldened by its success in tying up production in General Motors and Chrysler plants by the kidnapping process, unions have tried similar tactics in other cities and towns throughout the United States, producing an epidemic of sit-downs, a machine-gun that mowed down all resistance."

This same issue of the Auto motive Daily News features Chrysler's picture with the caption: "He ate the canary."

It's folly to look upon the down" as a passing fad or as a mania. The job of every worker, the job of every labor organization, the task of the working class as a class is to make the Chryslers and the Sloans, the Freys and the Greens eat crow in their opposition to the sit-down precisely because it is an effective weapon of labor rooted in the soil of the economic life of the country, in its present stage of development. That is why we cannot repeat too often: let no one ask "is the sit-down legal?" Rather, let all workers in the big industrial plants of the country act and organize so as to make the widespread and effective use. This will aid the primary interests of the workers as a class. This will

EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 4)

ernment which bears the responsibility for Clichy. The Communist Party has done and is doing everything in its power to soothe the justified anger of the masses and to placate them.

The general strike, called by the leadership of the Paris trade unions, was forced upon it by the spontaneous movement of the workers in a number of plants. The leaders of the Paris trade unions finally took command in order to check the tide of mass action, true to customary reformist practice. In this they succeeded admirably. The general strike of half a day's duration petered out as a result of this leadership. The leaders of the Paris trade unions declared emphatically that the strike was not aimed at the government, limited it to half a day, and waived the pressing of concrete demands upon the government by this strike, stifling all agitation for economic gains suggested by the workers in the plants.

The leadership of the Paris trade unions is virtually in communist hands.

Further developments will depend on whether the anarchists succeed in obtaining a real mass influence and whether they will be able to consolidate and organize it. The anarchists have learned a great deal, primarily from the events in Spain. While the official Communist Party, day by day, keeps trampling under foot the fundamental principles of communism-(today even the framework of the party is predominately composed of reformist elements which have swelled its ranks under the banner of the people's front)—the anarchists, on the other hands, are moving towards communism.

The anarchist proclamation says among other things: "We can only marvel at the solicitude in behalf the 'democracy' evidenced by the cardboard-Jacobins of the Oeuvre (organ of the left wing Radical Socialists) when they write: 'Just look and see-it's got to be pointed out-what we have gained by our intolerance which is bent on claiming all liberties for ourselves while denying them to others!' We can only reply with the famous remark of Robespierre, a true Jacobin: 'There is no liberty for the enemies of all liberties'."

It is obvious that this viewpoint does not coincide with the old anarchist doctrine.

If the people's front policy in France is to be carried on after the massacre at Clichy and after the spectre of a reactionary Supreme surrender to big capital without any serious opposition from the working class-what will be the result?

Unrestricted liberty for propaganda and agitation by the fascists while the working class renounces all action of protest. Simultaneously the surrender of the government to big capital and exploiters of industry will drive large numbers of recruits into the arms of fascism. The petty-bourgeois elements, in ever-growing numbers, will furnish a rich source for fascism, exposed as they are to the ever-growing exploitation of big capital and left without recourse by the people's front government and through the constant decline of action of the working class. The behavior of the Radical Socialist Party indicates that a change of sentiment among the petty-bourgeois elements is already beginning-a change in the direction of fascism.

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