# Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 18.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1937.

5 Cents a Copy

# DEMONSTRATE MAY FIRST!

#### No Pasaran!



# May Day and American Labor

MAY DAY—and in this lies its true significance—is no mere day of commemoration; the tradition of decades has made it the day on which the decisive events of the previous year of class struggle are reviewed in retrospect, the forces of the working class and of the other classes in society critically surveyed, and the prospects for the future realistically estimated. Utterly alien to the true spirit of May Day is the high-flown rhetoric, empty boasting and tawdry ballyhoo that only too often disfigure the occasion; the spirit of May Day is the spirit of militant realism, of responsible analysis and self-criticism, of the unconquerable determination to

The past twelve months have been truly a "wonderful year" in the annals of American labor, a year crucial in its far-reaching significance. For this year constituted one of those critical turningpoints in history where the labor movement shifts abruptly to a new basis in order to meet new problems and fulfill new tasks. Such an historical turning point marked the transition from the Knights of Labor to the A. F. of L. fifty years ago; today it marks the rise of the C.I.O. as the dominant force in the labor movement. In the course of the last year, the C.I.O. emerged as the recognized leader and spokesman of labor in this country, marking out the channel in which the main stream of the labor movement will flow in the days to come.

Under the inspiration and leadership of the C.I.O., organized labor has stormed hitherto impregnable strongholds of big business. For the first time in our history, labor organization has reached the great basic industries of the country, the industries of mass-production and modern technology. A steel workers union with 300,000 mem'ers and recognition from United States Steel, an auto workers union with almost 300,000 members and recognition from General Motors and Chrysler, a powerful electrical workers union-it is not easy to appreciate what this means to a labor movement for decades limited to a few "sheltered" positions in the less developed sectors of the industrial front!

At bottom what the C.I.O. did in the past year was to help organized labor catch up, necessarily by forced marches, with the rapid progress of modern

industry. Business and government years ago adjusted themselves more or less thoroly to modern industrial conditions. Trusts, monopolies, and overhead control thru holding companies and other financial arrangements, are obviously the answer of the business interests to the new situation in industry. From the other side comes the New Deal, with its abandonment of the doctrine of "rugged individualism" in favor of a program of federal regulation of economic life. But until recently labor lagged far behind. The leaders of the A. F. of L. simply refused to see the handwriting on the wall; paralyzed in the grip of craft fetishism, they blindly opposed every effort to bring about the necessary changes in the organizational strategy and general philosophy of trade unionism. This is the immense task that has fallen to the C.I.O. as its great historical mission, and the past year has shown that the C.I.O. leadership is not only thoroly aware of its responsibility but is fully determined to live up to it.

The last twelvemonths witnessed an upsurge of labor in this country that is virtually without parallel. In practically every state and community, in practically every trade and industry, great masses of workers, hitherto indifferent or even hostile to the call of unionism, are awakening to the vital meaning of organization, are acquiring the first and most rudimentary elements of class consciousness, A new spirit of militancy and self- confidence is pervading the ranks of labor; new and more effective forms of struggle, such as the sit-down strike, are arising and spreading like wildfire. The air is electric, vibrant with hope and action-gone at last is the oppressively heavy, stagnant atmosphere of the first years of the economic crisis!

So mighty is this upsurge that it has flowed over into the political field as well. The past year witnessed what is exceedingly rare in our history: a simultaneous advance on the economic and political fronts. On the latter, progress has, of course, been much more elementary, uncertain and hesitating, but only the willfully blind can fail to see the great significance, as stages in the development of independent political action, of the emergence of Labor's Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party of New York and even of labor's mobilization for court reform. Progress does not always take the

(Continued on Page 4)

#### Civil Rule in Madrid As Victories Relieve the City

Hard on the heels of unsubstan-| feats around Madrid and near Cortiated A.P. dispatches reporting widespread arrests and executions of anarchist opponents of the people's front policies in Madrid, comes a report now that General Miaja has been relieved of all authority in Madrid proper and a civilian municipal body composed of representatives of the parties of the people's front is being set up as the civilian government of Madrid.

This step is most probably intended to bolster the morale of the victorious anti-fascist militia and also to dramatize to the civilian population the fact that the military command considers Madrid as definitely relieved.

The fascists are trying despermorale resulting from crushing de- the most necessary supplies.

doba. Their answer has come in the form of a determined advance in the direction of Bilbao and in unrestrained bombardment of Madrid proper. Hundreds of civilians -women and children mainlyhave been killed in the recent shelling.

The triumphant anti-fascist militia, encouraged by their victories and seeing the possible end of this bloody war in sight, are fighting with renewed heroism. Battling now in territory held by the fascists since the gates of Madrid were beleaguered, their progress is necessarily slow. The lovalists are also advancing on the Cordoba front and are about to close the pincers around Teruel.

The defense of Bilbao has been seriously hampered by the Francoately to rehabilitate a crumbling British blocade which has shut off

#### MARCH WITH THE CPO ON MAY FIRST

The C.P.O. column of the United May Day Parade will form on 36th St. between 8th and 9th Aves. Friends and sympathisers are urged to turn out early.

C.P.O. members are asked to report at headquarters, 131 West 33rd Street, at 10 A.M. for special work.

### ||Employer Terror Fails To **Break Militant Strikes**

strikes are in process now in various sections of the country. The attempt to suppress the CIO supported strike of shoe workers in Maine by means of military rule is failing. If anything it has aroused the fighting spirit of the workers. A meeting of 5,000 strikers, with hundreds of others not admitted by troops, defied the injunction and the troops and pledged to continue the fight.

In Stockton, Cal. the strike of agricultural and cannery workers, during which the employers resorted to vigilante-terror resulting in the wounding of many strikers, has entered a new phase. Apparently yielding to employer demands, the State A. F. of L. has split up the strikers by chartering a separate organization of cannery

The Brotherhood of Railway and deliberate misrepresentation.

A series of bitterly fought | Steamship Clerks threatened a strike of 25,000 workers in New York. Federal intervention, it was expected, would delay strike action. In Richmond, Cal. the United Auto Workers succeeded in signing up the Ford plant which had been tied up by a sit-down. Guarantees against discrimination of union men and seniority rights were se-

> Contrary to the anti-union campaign of the entire capitalist press Oshawa auto workers consider the settlement of their strike as a victory for themselves and the CIO with which they are affiliated. At a mass meeting attended by several thousand workers a resolution pledging unqualified trust and confidence in the United Auto Workers Union and the CIO was unanimously carried. The meeting attacked the anti-labor press for its

# Our National Convention

aiding the Comintern to return

on only one condition—the restora-

tion of party democracy thruout

events since the Seventh Congress

the gap between us and the Comin-

People's Front line, the manner in

which the ultra-left line was drop-

munist outrageously reformist

practice of social fascism and

union-splitting, the increasingly

policies of the CP, the combination

features of the old line of ultra-

sections everywhere.

scarcely swept, the full text of all the resolutions adopted was impossible for such collaboration not yet available to us, and the new "general line" laid down for to materialize. In fact, it has been, the various Communist Parties could only be seen in its congenerally speaking, only in those tours. We did not hesitate to greet the signs of a break with unions where the CPO forces were leftist sectarianism. Likewise, we did not hesitate to point out strong enough to insure collaborathe extremely serious dangers inherent in the new turn-to- tion that the CP has permitted or

wards the far right. Since those sultry days of 1935, the line of the were so anxious to do everything extent. Seventh Congress has been fully in our power to check the ultraunfolded. We now have months of right course and to do our share in experience as well as years of theory and practice to aid us in our finally to a sound Leninist stramore definite evaluation of the tegic course that we spared no pain

dispose of a few so-called secondary phases of the main question say secondary not because we con- gret we must state frankly that sider these elements unimportant, but merely because many do not see their direct relationship with the primary, with the basic ques- tern. The very nature of the

Many comrades and readers will ped, the evolution of the un-comrecall that we have repeatedly emphasized that a political party of course replacing the theory and the working class can not have. for long, a false political line without sooner, much rather than later, harmful effect of the People's adopting a wrong trade union line. Front line on the new trade union Furthermore, we have gone out of the way, time and again, to stress of some of the most reprehensible that the ultra-right line of the Comintern and its sections is in itself even more harmful to the Communist parties and, therefore, to the labor movement than was the differences between us and the CI now fortunately demised ultraleft line. That this is so, is clearly evident from the fact that to day, in the "People's Front" period the C.I. is subject to considerable rightward pull from mass organizations to the right of it. On the other hand, the "Third Period," when the C.P. was ultra-left crazy in its tactics, when it branded bona fide unions as company unions, when all those who refused to do homage to Stalin and his shadows were at best "social-fascists," there were no mass organizations of labor to the left of the C.I. to pull it still further to the left.

#### Widening of Gap

It is in no small measure on this score that we sincerely warned fer mechanically tactics from one that, nevertheless, none of these against the line of the Seventh country to another, to break with malpractices of the CP-malprac- state convention last week. The Congress being carried out to its the practice of seeking to dominate; tices which grow out of the very supporters of the A. F. of L. withlogical conclusion as a break with and domineer mass organizations nature of the line of the party as drew and set up a dual organizathe principles of communism in re- thru intrigue and manipulations. well as the very nature of its inner tion. gard to the Marxist-Leninist teach- We do not regret a single step we organization regime—should make

Fraternal Greetings

to American labor on May First in celebration of

the great gains and far-reaching progress in

organizing the unorganized and ex-

ploited toilers of this land.

DOLL AND TOY WORKERS

UNION

A. ESPOSITO, Manager

E. DIANA, President

A. F. of L.

tolerated it to some satisfactory

In the auto situation, in the enitgoods workers' ranks, in the work among the unionized teachsignificantly inspiring development Congress to seek communist unity ers, among some building trades sections, we have been treated to painful proof of the fact that the CP cannot for long continue to have a wrong political line without falling into a messy trade union have widened and not narrowed situation. It would be neither palatable nor advisable to recite details in regard to the above-mentioned organizations and their problems. The workers who are members of these unions have painful knowledge of the truth of our contention. Carrying the line of the People's Front into the unions, CP members have desperately but systematically sought to form blocs with all sorts of unsavory elements, with rankest reactionaries -so long as they endorsed some party auxiliary or so long as they were ready to play ball in such a fashion as to aid CP members or followers win or get union posts. Only to the exent that the progres-

continue their attempts to transings about the state and imperialist have taken in this direction. Our us waver for one moment from our war. Moreover, it is because we convention should confirm this course of seeking collaboration on the basis of a correct program of strengthening and building militant unionism with all forces in ican, import of the CIO as the workers involved. This has been

#### Face the American Scene

As to our future relationship with the Comintern, as to our at- theoretical approach, practical and titude towards the social demo- flexible in our tactical practice, and vice-president Nagler have cratic parties and their Second In- free from dogma, devoid of all opened negotiations with the emternational, I believe the draft blind loyalty to the fetishism of ployers for an agreement covering resolution adopted at our last na- person or premise, we cannot but 45,000 cloak makers. Demands intional conference should be finally make ourselves more effective clude: 20% wage increase and the endorsed. The events in Spain and workers in helping lay a sound 30 hour week. . . . The New York France, the debacle suffered by the class conscious forces of labor in movement. This is the big need of Workers Union, suspended by our last presidential election have the entire American working class. President Mara of the A. F. of L. further confirmed its essential This is the big job for those who affiliate, have now resorted to soundness. The main problem with want to be worthy of being (as court action in an attempt to which our convention will have to well as being called by themselves secure reinstatement, . . . Brooklyn grapple is the new and evermore and others) communists. Here is union painters are celebrating the in the American labor movement. the pivotal point of our coming arrest of Bugsy Goldstein, gang-Here we will deal primarily with convention and of the future of ster, racketeer, who has plagued

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

THE drive against the Wagner Labor Relations Act has begun with amazing speed, along two lines: first to invalidate certain features which might operate in the interest of labor, and secondly, to so interpretate other phases of the Act as to make it a burden upon labor. A number of small strikes have been enjoined because the unions could not prove to the satisfaction of an unwilling judge that they represent a numerical majority of the workers involved. In Maine, the

Wagner Act has been used against | labor and the CIO. The National all trade unions by means of re-Manufacturers Association has ports to the state authorities. This come out with a statement insisting anti-labor bill was opposed by orthat the Act does not outlaw ganized labor. "plant unions"—a nice name for company unions.

"No legitimate organizations," says the N.A.M., "confined to the plant or any freely chosen employee representation plan is outlawed. If the employees prefer an organization can best be seen by organization confined to the plant the following remark of its foundfor the purpose of collective bar- er: "Capital has been responsible gaining, it is their right to form through the years; it is time that one and deal with their employer labor did something to bear its

Hopes that the Wagner Act will s recruiting energetically.

The executive council of the A. F. of L., in session in Washington has taken one more step to estrange itself from the decisive sections of American labor. It denounced the CIO to the manufacturers and the government as 'steeped in the cesspool of illegal- extremely humanitarian except for ity and irresponsibility," and laid plans for a conference in Cincinnati on May 18 where plans for a workers engaged in work in this "stop the CIO drive" will be dis- or similar fields. Besides, it des-

Questioned about the admission sense that it makes it difficult to into the A. F. of L. of the infa- make their organized strength efmous "blue card" organization (a fective by strike action. company mob) of mill and smelter workers in Galena, Kansas, Green backed water on a previous positive statement and pleaded ignorance. n the Times of April 20 Louis Stark dispels all doubt about the character of this organization by stating that the "union" is "alleged by conciliators of the Department of Labor to be a company

I cannot emphasize too strongly Federation of Labor, which in the majority supported the CIO at its

tical belief or affiliation of the growth of the consciousness, mili-

Objective and critical in our

An example of union "respon-

sibility" was provided by the state

of Michigan which issued incor-

poration papers to "The American

Labor League,, a so-called labor

organization. The nature of this

share." The founder of this com-

pany outfit, like Mr. William

Green, is opposed to the sit-down

and hates communism. In fact the

sit-down, he said, gave him the

idea of a responsible incorporated

union. President Homer Martin of

the UAW refered to this organ-

ization as "an implement in the

hands of the employers and of anti-

union groups to defeat the labor

Seventeen hospital workers, of a

roup involved in a sit-down, have

the lives of patients," which sounds

the fact that it dooms to a condi-

tion of involuntary servitude all

troys their right to organize in the

The labor movement must be

aroused against this ruling which

may have far reaching effects also

The press brings reports that in

Maine Powers Hapgood, William

Mackesy and Ernest Henry were

arrested in the course of a shoe

strike, and that John D. Nolan

defied an injunction. The arrest of

Hapgood is news neither for him

nor for us. We know him of old as

a courageous scrapper for labor's

cause, but the sight of Mackesy and

Henry in a jail cell is an interest-

ing picture indeed. Unless the

writer is very much mistaken this

is the first time in the last three

decades that the union leaders in

question have shown a spark of

If the CIO was able to get these

boys into a jail cell then it cer-

tainly ought to be able to put the

on other unions.

militancy.

movement.

through it."

automatically outlaw company unionism will prove as ill-founded as in the case of the NIRA. Under the interpretation of the N.A.M. Loft's has just established a company union thruout its chain and

Even as Green was mouthing 'unity" talk his man-Friday Dilon was busting up the Georgia

defeated the Wadsworth Bill which called for financial accounting of

shoe bosses in their place. the unions regardless of the poli- foundation of a new stage in the Senator Julius S. Berg arose in tancy, and prowess of our working the state senate to defend his bil the policy of our group since its class. Here there may be involved which would restrict the A.L.P., inception. This policy assumes ad- more than one challenge to one and argued that far from suppresditional importance especially be- fetish or another which some or all sing minority parties it would serve cause of the confusion of and gyrations by the CP in its attitude pressed by at one time or another honest minorities." Tammany in towards and evaluation of the CIO. in the course of our activities in the role of a defender of minorities the labor movement. There is much is something new, incongruous and to re-examine as well as examine. rather humorous.

I.L.G.W.U. President Dubinsky the international, as well as Amer- our organization and movement. them plenty.

# TWOC Contracts | MILITANT TRADITIONS OF

New York.—As 50 organizers of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee left Atlanta, Ga., to Gulf, T. W. O. C. headquarters in

The 15,000 were included in contracts with the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Co. of Amsterdam, N. Y., and Thompsonville, Conn., (6,-Reading, Pa. (2,500); Schlegel Dyers & Finishers of New Jersey, ous result is attained." New York and Pennsylvania, 23 But Sylvis died long before this concerns employing 3,500 work- resolution became a potent factor ers; and others.

Strikes were reported to have workers out, and Ballston Stillwater Knitting Co. of Ballston Spa, N. Y., with 1,000 out.

Sidney Hillman, director of the the first of his planned visits of inspection to the various textile areas on April 11, when he will leave for New England.

#### UNIONS HIT HARVEY FOR STRIKE RULING

The hostile labor attitude adopt ed by Supreme Court Justice Mit- throughout their jurisdiction that chell May and Queens Borough they so direct their laws as to con-President George U. Harvey in form to this resolution by the time recent rulings and utterances in named." the strike of the American News- This daring step by an organpaper Guild and the Etched Prodin the two boroughs.

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

PITTSBURGH, PA

Downtown Unit No. 1

New York

Downtown Unit No. 2

New York

By GEORGE F. MILES open the southern unionization drive from North Carolina to the drifting back to the first May First ever to be celebrated New York announced that over anywhere and by means of a general strike, too! No, it wasn't Knights of Labor jumped from 15,000 textile workers have already been covered by T. W. O. C. the Czars," the one would think so to hear our reactionaries tell the flush of a consumptive, a harabout it. No, it all began right here in the good old U.S.A. even binger of an early doom. The tho labor's leaders later frowned on it and sought to deny it. Knights began a precipitate decline

The first convention of the National Labor Union (1866) under the leadership of the far-1

500); Rosedale Knitting Co. of a resolution which said in part: "The first and great necessity of Mfg. Co. of Rochester, N. Y., the present, to free labor of this with Gompers' organization and (800); Louisville (Ky.) Textile country from capitalist slavery, is Co. (800); Oakbrook Hosiery the passing of a law by which 8 Mills of Reading, Pa. (900); hat- hours shall be the normal working band manufacturers, 18 New Jer- day in all states in the American sey concerns employing 1,000; the union. We are resolved to put American Association for Hosiery forth our strength until this glori-

in the first great upsurge of American labor—the fighting days closed the Industrial Rayon Co. of 1886. It remained to the astute of Covington, Va., with 1,600 Sam Gompers to realize the power of this weapon, dormant almost twenty years. At the convention of the Knights of Labor. the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United T.W.O.C., was scheduled to make States and Canada (the forerunner the following form:

> "Resolved by the Federation of Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May First 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations

ization numbering a mere 50,000 ucts, Inc., were strongly censured was the making of the A. F. of L. in resolutions adopted by the Pro- and the final undoing of the visional Labor Committee, an in- Knights of Labor. For, while the itiate group of six labor unions former, under Gompers, sensed the formed to protect labor's rights rising wave of working class revolt, saw the constantly increas-A general call for all Brooklyn ing number of strikes, and also the and Queens labor unions to parti- increasing number of workers incipate in their work has been is- volved in these widespread movesued for May 22nd. The meet- ments of protest against intoler

ST. LOUIS, MO.

BALTIMORE, MD.

BOSTON, MASS.

**MICHIGAN DISTRICT** 

**MAY DAY GREETINGS** 

FROM UNITS OF THE C.P.O.

STRAWBERRY MANSION UNIT

Phila., Pa.

seeing William H. Sylvis, adopted almost 250,000, was extremely suspicious of the eight-hour day movement because it originated was rather lukewarm in its response. Gompers was too keen not to see his advantage and under his pressure the Knights of Labor finally endorsed the May First general strike publicly, but sabotaged t privately with great energy.

The resulting general strike, in which participated some 500,000 workers, many of whom actually did win the eight-hour day, ultimately was decisive in establishing the prestige of the A. F. of L. and in leading to the downfal of

Which brings us to the present situation in our own labor moveof the A. F. of L.) in 1884, the ment. Now as then, the main drive Sylvis resolution was revived in of labor is not for wage increases altho in the present situation these have not been rare as attempts to Organized Trades and Labor stave off unionization. Where the 8-hour day was the main issue then, the legalization of the trade unions and collective bargaining are the bones of contention today. Both movements came after an economic crisis with unemployment severe-chronic in the present case. The treachery of the Knights of Labor in the general strike of 1886 finds a striking historical counterpart in the A.F.L.'s knifing the sit-down strikes used by the Committee for Industrial Organization, and conspiring with the class enemy in the course of the during the days of 1886. The Wolls major strikes conducted by the and Greens and Freys have leveled

To make the picture complete

we have the underlying struggle CIO for radicals of all sorts. It is over structure and methods of unionization. At that time it was a fight between the historically proing will be held at 765 Broadway, Brooklyn.

Brooklyn.

Broadway, with a membership of knight between the historically progressive A. F. of L. battling to be held at 765 Broadway, with a membership of knight and a second secon build an economic organization as against the multi-class (non-workers were also admitted), hodgepodge Knights of Labor based on a program of middle class utopianism. Today it is a struggle between the craft-bound, ingrown, A. F. of L. organization basing itself main ly on the skilled, and the broad. industrial, Committee for Industrial Organization, basing itself on the mass, because mass-production industries rule the economic life of the nation, and resorting to the most modern strike methods and strategy. The A. F. of L. disarmed the Knights by means of the 8-hour day movement and its emtion, the CIO is downing the A. F. of L. by storming the very citadels of trustified wealth—the mass production industries, and by its resort to the industrial form of organization.

Then as now the heroic advance of labor swelled the membership of all labor organizations. The A. F.

Our union joins in celebrating a year of great achievements of American labor

THE JOINT COUNCIL **Knitgoods Workers** Union Local No. 155, I.L.G.W.U. and U.T.W.

Louis Nelson, Manager Albert Rosner, President

it occurred to me that we could aid our movement by an evpression of world-wide sympathy from that 1886 REVIVED BY C.I.O. congress." of L. increased its membership manifold but also the Knights of Labor grew. During the year of 1886 the membership of the

from which they never recovered

altho they lingered upon the labor

So it is today. The CIO has

breathed life into hitherto lifeless

organisms such as the Amalga-

mated Association of Iron, Stee

made a robust and fighting union

300,000 strong, out of the sickly

and insignificant auto workers

union inherited from the Dillon

days of A. F. of L. rule. In short,

it has already organized about

one and a half million workers is

bettering its hold among the initial

unions which numbered over a mil-

The A. F. of L. also claims

growth and it probably did grow,

even if its claims are rather im-

modest. But the coming few years

will tell the story, just as it did in

the case of the Knights. The A. H

of L. has grown in the past-re-

member the war period growth-

but it could not hold the masses

Organized as it is today it canno

be the medium for the retention of

any large groups of workers from

mass production industries. It is

particularly in this field-where the

largest and most decisive sections

of American labor are located-

that the CIO is showing its great-

Even in minor details the present

the charge against Lewis that he

has opened wide the doors of the

not without interest that the

Green's of another day could have

made the same charge against Sam

Gompers with much greater justifi-

cation. Sam was not above harness

ing the most extreme radicals of

his day behind his program when

he thought he had something to

gain thereby. He says in his auto-

"As plans for the 8-hour move

ment developed we were constantly

realizing how we could widen our

purpose. As the time of the meet-

ing of the International Working-

MAY DAY

from the

**National Committee** 

Brooklyn, N. Y.

biography:

est capacities for leadership.

lion when suspended from the A

F. of L.

mass production industries and

and Tin, which numbers 300.000. has

scene for some years.

And how can we close a discussion on May First 1886 without remembering those indomitable and heroic figures-the Chicago anar-Engel-who died upon the gallows for a crime committed by police provocateurs. The victims of the Haymarket Affair were in the forefront of the struggle for the 8hour day and were framed on the bombing charge for this very reason. The movement for the 8hour day had to be halted. The bomb outrage was the means of fanning into flames a veritable lynch campaign against militant abor. Unfortunately it succeeded. The leaders of labor, including Sam Gompers, refused to lift a finger in their behalf and permitted them to be hung without their protest.

men's Congress (Socialist Interna-

tional-GFM) in Paris approached.

May First this year will walk oldly into many a town and village where it dared not show its face in years gone by. For in these company havens the thug, the deputy and the stool-pigeon ruled supreme, and the worker walked the streets slightly bent forward, hardly daring to take a deep breath. Into these terrorized working class communities has come the CIO, smashing the company unions, driving the rats into their holes, organizing the masses of toilers. With a new courage the workers proudly walk the streets, displaying their union buttons, conscious of their collective strength. May First dawns upon the American workers on the march after so many years of deep if restless sleep. The workers everywhere are marching forward increasingly conscious of the need of independent political as well as economic action, fired by a feeling of insituation in the labor movement re- vincibility and determined to win calls some interesting sidelights a better day for themselves.

## WE GREET

the outstanding voice of progressive labor thought in this country. May First, 1937, finds the working class in this country marching forward towards progressivism. We know that the

WORKERS AGE will, in the future, as it has in the past, continue to educate and assist the working class in their forward march.

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# The Major Issue Facing

By JAY LOVESTONE

WHEN our last convention was meeting, the corridors of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern had been scarcely swent the full text of all the resolutions adopted with redoubled energy—despite the fact that all too often the CP has gone out of its way to make it

present course of the Comintern. or effort, right after the Seventh

But it will not be out of place to before arriving at a conclusion. We the sections of the CI. To our re-

LOCAL NO. 18230

#### Trade Union Opportunism

leftism with the mania of people's frontism—are all important factors accounting for the sharpening of sive forces have been strong Here it is necessary to point out enough, only in unions where we that, thruout the months which have had a sufficiently strong have elapsed since the Seventh cadre of CPO forces with a high-Congress, we of the CPO have done ly experienced leadership have everything possible to work to- the CP members been drawn into gether, in the most comradely man- some degree of effective collaboraner, on a common constructive program in the mass organizations of building. An example of this is the labor—particularly in the trade situation in Local 22. However, in unions. We hoped that such colthose unions where the progressive laboration especially in the trade forces, where the CPO ranks are unions would help remove some of weak, or where the CP members the bitterness that had been gen- or followers already have the leaderated in the preceding years of ership of the unions, there we find faction conflict; we hoped thus to help the comrades of the C.P. either no effective collaboration or learn how to discard their destruc- none at all. tive methods of work, how to dis-

The state legislature this week

# Now Cover 15,000

#### **WORKERS AGE**

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition). 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$.60 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$1.50 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879

Vol. 6. No. 18.

Saturday, May 1, 1937

#### MAY DAY AND AMERICAN LABOR

(Continued from Page 1)

course we may map out for it in advance in our own minds, nor does it always proceed straight to its goal; it is often necessary to probe a little beneath the surface to detect the inner meaning, the objective logic of events and ten-

In so provincial a country as ours, it is surely worth noting the increased interest in and understanding of world problems manifested in the ranks of labor in recent times. John L. Lewis's great address at the anti-Nazi meeting in New York is of far more than individual significance; it is the reflection of a movement. Nor can we ignore the splendid manner in which the more advanced sections of the labor movement in this country responded to the call of underground Germany, to the appeal of the masses of workers and peasants locked in a death struggle with fascism in Spain. Slowly but surely, American labor is rising to its own proper stature!

The past year has been one of vigorous offensive on the part of the working class, sweeping away all obstacles before it. But now the counter-offensive of the employing class is beginning to form. It would be a gross and suicidal error to imagine that big the joint action bloc, the C.P. business has already been defeated, or even that it is characteristically tried to place in full retreat. The American bourgeoisie is still the most powerful and most firmly entrenched ruling class in the world, while labor is only beginning to gather its forces and equip itself for effective struggle. A series of major encounters have indeed been won and a number of very important positions occupied—but the big battles are still ahead!

The growing counter-offensive of capital is apparently assuming a number of different forms. But most menacing is surely the drive for the governmental regulation of unions. Under the shabby, fraudulent slogan of union "responsibility," a concerted and well-planned campaign is now beginning to get under way in the states and in Washington to bring about the legal strangulation of the labor movement in some form or other, thru incorporation, financial control, registration, restriction of the right to strike or picket, even compulsory arbitration. It is hardly necessary to point out that such legislation, essentially an aspect of fascist "coordination," would lead to the destruction of the class independence of the unions and their emasculation as economic organizations of the workers. If labor is to beat back this grave menace, it must not make the least concession to the idea of government control or regulation; it must mobilize its forces for determined resistance now, without delay!

It is of great importance to note that the counteroffensive of the employing class bids fair to take form under cover of the Wagner Act. This piece of legislation is far from the new "magna carta" of labor that it is sometimes pictured as being. If properly utilized by a vigilant, aggressive and selfreliant labor movement, it may be made to yield considerable advantage: at the same time, however, it bears within itself serious dangers which we can ignore only at our peril. On the very day (April 12) that the Supreme Court validated the Wagner Act, Earl F. Reed, counsel for the Jones and Laugh lin Steel Corporation, somewhat maliciously pointed out that "the decision cuts both ways. Where the union is the minority group, it will have no rights to bargain, even for its own members." This was not only a forecast; it was also a program. Four days later, in St. Louis, United States District Judge Moore granted a temporary injunction, later set aside, to restrain the clerks, cooks and waiters unions from picketing the Kresge and McCrory stores, on the ground that, since (in his opinion) these unions did not have a majority of the workers in their ranks, such picketing was a violation of the Wagner Act! Less than two weeks later, on April 20, in Maine, Supreme Court Justice Harry Manser invoked the Wagner Act as ground for issuing a temporary injunction declaring "illegal" the strike of the United Shoe Workers against certain firms at Lewiston and Auburn. And this is only the beginning! Need we recall that the NRA, with its Section 7a, soon became the "National Run-Around" for the steel, auto and textile workers?

Another, even more subtle danger lurks in the (Continued on Page 7)

### THE UNITED FRONT IN GREAT BRITAIN

By JIM CORK

of the united front in England be-three parties affiliated to the Lasince the formation of the Communist Party of England in the days following the war.

struggle against the Tory Nation- on the same platform with the The crisis in the Catalonian Government is still that the unity desired was ". . .

unity inside the Labor Party." prior to the definite formation of the entire movement on a people's front basis, throwing forth the slogans of:

the fascist war instigators. 2. For democratization of th

3. For collaboration with the lib-

izations; unanimously, by the Cenervations as a condition of I.L.P.

1. "The I.L.P. has not been pre-

government, and its disagreement time until the battle is won. with the policy of the Soviet Government in these respects..."

by the other two parties.

Illusion"

by Jay Lovestone

The reaction of the official buro-THE history, character and tactical wisdom of the formation cialist League the only one of the perialist masters is more palatable

has found support amongst many formists. local labor parties, trade unions, In the period of negotiations central bodies, outstanding trade unionists and left wing intellec- THE NEW PHASE OF THE

In spite of this fact, it is the nitely wrong.

#### Questionable Tactic

out and a program stressing revolutionary action it will be imwas adopted. It was agreed fore revolution will be impossible. that the contracting parties In view of the peculiar character of bills on its agenda. have the right to stress their the Labor Party, an organization agreement). After these matters wing political organizations to were jointly agreed upon, they fight for affiliation with freedom tempt for the parliamentary form of government. were approved by the three organ- to criticize and to pursue their own independent policies. That was tral Committee of the C.P.; 56 to the perspective of Lenin in 1920. THE EXPULSION OF CRIPPS 38 by a delegated conference of That perspective is just as correct the Socialist League; and by the today. That the burocrats will recessful fight against them will undoubtedly be a slow painful propared to affiliate to the Labor cess. It must be carried thru nonenilitary pacts between capitalist this can reduce to a minimum the

> The left wing organizations un-(Continued on Page 7)

> > Challenge"

by Will Herberg

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#### **EUROPE TODAY**

English "Observers" Watch Italian Troop Go By; Repression In France

tween the Communist Party, Independent Labor Party and the Socialist Learne are questions of Socialist League are questions of Party decisions anent cooperation tinue, unchanged, even in case Mussolini sends adimportance for workers elsewhere. With "enemy" organizations, i.e., The matter uncovers basic issues

C.P. and I.L.P. A policy of supstand that he has to render his support to Franco a which have periodically agitated port and collaboration with the imand French governments does not become too difficult to the Attlees, Daltons, Bevins, and French governments does not become too difficult Citrines, than collaboration with in the eyes of their respective "public opinions" the left wing of the working class. in other words: so that the betrayal of the English The united front has now been Sir (!) Walter Citrine can speak and the French masses can be continued with imn existence for about three months. on the same platform with the punity. Grandi's behavior on the London Committee Its declared general purpose was Tory, Winston Churchill, in sup- is explicable only if we surmise that England's conto hasten working class unity port of the rearmament plans of sent to Italian intervention in Spain was part of the around a forthright program of British Imperialism, but to speak Anglo-Italian "gentlemen's agreement."

al Government. The joint manifesto which was issued stressed:

I.L.P. or C.P. merits expulsion!

The expulsion of the Socialist

The crisis in the Catalonian Government is still unsettled at the moment of this writing. It was observed by the projector of the country produced by the projector of the country projector of the country produced by the projector of the country produced by the projector of the country proj . unity of struggle against fasism, reaction and war, and against all the Tory newspapers and poli- syndicalists against the steady gains of the counterthe National Government, unity in ticians. The labor burocrats were revolution, and its purpose is to clear this resistance the struggle for immediate de- patted on the back for preserving out of the way. Whether this can be accomplished mands and the return of a Labour the front of the "... moderate de- remains to be seen. In any event the anarcho-Government as the next stage in mocratic element in British labor" syndicalists are becoming much more persistent in the advance to working class against the naughty extremists. On their demand that a stop be put to these everlasting power." It was specifically stressed the other side, the unity campaign concessions to the bourgeois republicans and the re-

#### PEOPLE'S FRONT IN FRANCE

1) The government is conducting raids and conopinion of the writer that, from a fiscations among the Anarchists and Trotskyites, ing of the unity campaign, at this etc., and the Socialist Party of France has taken 1. Defense of democracy against time and in this manner, was defi- measures to suppress opposition in its own ranks. Publication of the newspaper of the (left) Socialist Youth, "The Young Guard" has been suspended by order of the party.

There can be no short cut 2) The district leaders of the SPF have given to prosperity for the English instructions to curb all public demonstrations of any These proposed slogans were due chiefly to the opposition of the of the English proletariat is ercise of their democratic rights, while, on the other I.L.P. All references to peoples the Labor Party. Until the major- hand, the fascists can carry on without any interfront directives were stricken ity of the Labor Party is won for ference. One is justified in describing this as the

united front activity around immediate working class demands

possible to win the majority of the
mediate working class demands

English working class and thereiounited front activity around impossible to win the majority of the
and the majority of the iounities are incompared to the iounities and thereiounities around immediate working class demands

The senate, before going into its Easter adiounited front activity around immediate working class demands

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The senate is a senate in the senat journment, pigeon-holed a string of social-political

Thus a new technique in cheating the masses has own specific program, including containing the trade unions and been introduced. The Chamber passes bills and thinks the right to criticise the others other working class organizations nothing of it if the Senate sabotages them, or vice-(the the C.P. originally proposed on a federated basis, it is not only versa. And it looks as though this new technique in a non-aggression pact type of permissible but necessary for left cheating the people were founding quite a school.

Incidentally this practice will cause further con-

The first reaction to the Socialist League's campaign for a united front was that the leadership I.L.P. with the following two ressist with all the means at their of the Labour Party expelled the Socialist League as command is to be expected. A suc- a fraction from its ranks. Partisans of the Socialist League, however, were allowed to remain in the Labour Party as individual members. After this Party until democratization of its theless. The self-experience of the initial step, the leadership of the Labour Party sat constitution and structure has tak- masses gained under the impact back and watched the effect. And now it has boldly of world developments will decide proceeded and expelled from the Labour Party Sir 2. "The I.L.P. maintains its oppo- in the end. Until such time, the Stafford Cripps, the leader of the Socialist League, sition to working class reliance revolutionists must maintain tena- even as an individual member. A move which proves upon the League of Nations, the ciously what base they have inside that the endeavor of the CP, the ILP, and the Socollective system of peace and and seek to extend it further. Only cialist League to form a united front was a futile undertaking and left the rank and file of the Labour Party and trade unions quite cold. The campaign was doubtedly had correct ends in view an artificial one and started off on the wrong foot. These reservations were accepted in launching their unity campaign, Necessary preparations among the trade unions had been neglected.

#### THE ITALO-JUGOSLAV TREATY

This pact receives a peculiarly contradictory evaluation from the English and the French press. The English press approves of it unanimously. The French press partly claims that the treaty is breaking up the Little Entente, or else it finds it innocuous. This contradiction is explained by the fact that the treaty came about under the prominent guidance of English Diplomacy and complies with all its wishes. Under English pressure Mussolini had to make important concessions to Jugoslavia.

#### THE PAPAL ENCYCLICAL

Following the encyclical against communism the Vatican issued an encyclical against the violation of the concordat by the Nazis. This second encyclical, (Continued on Page 7)

# THE SPIRIT OF MAY FIRST, 1937

Unionization of the Mass Production Industries -

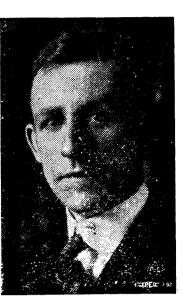
PHILIP MURRAY, a leader of the miners who did a remarkable job in organizing steel workers and signing up steel firms.



Right: John L. Lewis the man behind the great drive to organize America's unorganized millions. Left: Homer Martin, president of the powerful United Automobile Workers. Below: A meeting of 200,000 auto workers in Cadillac Square, Detroit, pledging to fight for their union.



JOHN BROPHY, Director of the CIO. Calmly he goes about building the foundation for a new, militant trade union movement.



SIDNEY HILLMAN, transfers his activity from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of which he is president, to the Textile Workers Organization Committee which he



DAVID DUBINSKY, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is ready with a helping hand, be it steel, textile, the labor party, or the cry of the Spanish workers for help.



Left to right: JULIUS HOCH-MAN, head of N. Y. Dress Joint Board and member of SWOC. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, president of Sleeping Car Porters, one of the youngest of international unions. CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, Manager Local 22 ILGWU and representative to Textile Workers Organizing Committee.





Below: Part of a huge crowd of workers enjoying their lunch while "sitting down." The sit-down proved to be a most valuable instrument in the drive of the mass production workers for unionization and union



The Law under arms in Flint. How the workers made them run!



HARVEY FREMMING, heads drive in the oil industry meeting stiff opposition from bosses



tacular sales to the dailies as well,

guage of a paranoic) is being

dressed for his last sensational

Advertising God

## The Problems Facing the Knitgoods Joint Council | the light for social and labor legislation. We became a part of the American Labor Party. We supported the CIO. Our delegates

Joint Council Knitgoods Union, the entire Progressive slate for Four candidates of the Rank and File Group for the executive boards, endorsed and slated by the Progressives are among those elected. In the elections over nineteen hundred workers participated.

The Progressives entered this election after a protracted period of internal discussion and sharp differences on the candidate for manager, Louis Nelson, who left the Progressive Group because of his disagreement with its wholehearted support of the C.I.O. He was opposed by many Progressives on that score as a candidate for reelection. However after no oth-smashed the attempts of the emer suitable Progressive could be induced to run as manager candidate, the P.G. endorsed Brother won a new agreement with the

on the basis of their accomplishments, as the administration of the union in the past two years. The reelection of the entire Progat a standstill and most workers were out of their shops is emphatic proof of the confidence the knitgoods workers have in their Progressive leadership.

Problems of the Industry What were some of the major

problems and accomplishments of the Progressive administration is the past two years?

During the past two years the knitgoods industry has gone thru one of the worst crises in the history of that trade. Due to a rapid introduction of labor saving ma- ment. Our union supported ma- complish these tasks. chinery hundreds of workers were thrown out of jobs. The change in style, away from the knitgoods YCL Expels Six Who Express Opinions sportwear in favor of the woven tailored garment, was responsible for the long slack periods and the all too short work seasons. Complease as well as part time unemployment was a most distressing plague of the knitgoods workers.

Under such circumstances our continuous against the war plans of all capulous succeeded in maintaining.

Their fear that our criticisms and proposals would strike responsive chords among the membership was against the war plans of all capulous succeeded in maintaining. Under such circumstances our union succeeded in maintaining a high morale among the membership. The few available jobs complimed into the union were distributed by the Labor Bureau in an important and iust manner, to the nartial and just manner, to the of the T.C.L. partial and just manner, to the satisfaction of the majority of the unemployed.

Another serious problem facing

of the Y.C.L.

We hope that these comrades will soon find their way to the C.P.O. for an effective struggle for the political and find the received will as the election of delegates to the "democratic" Y.C.L. convention were to be held. We were reformism and counter-revolution and counter-revolution

our union was the small degree line they defended and for which they of unionization in the industry were expelled.—Editor. with the large out of town centers. Cleveland, Philadelphia and the To the Editor of Workers' Age: Pacific Coast hardly touched by As the climax to a campaign of organization. To meet this prob-suppression of opposition to the and the right of disagreement with tem our union joined the Miscel- past line of the Y.C.L. during prelaneous Locals Out-of-Town Or- convention discussion, and violalaneous Locals Out-of-Town Organization Department set up by tion of democratic centralism, by "disruption" were raised. And all the International.

the Y.C.L. leadership, we, six mem-At the coming convention bers of the City College of of the International Ladies Gar- New York branch of the Y.C.L. Council delegation will again raise ization from one and a half to this serious problem and press for six years, were expelled on April of the basis of previous experience of the Soviet Union, and for the intensive and more middle of the six years, were expelled on April of the basis of previous experience further and a six years. intensive and more widespread or- 16, 1937. The action of Joe Cohen, Y.C.L., it seems, is graciously alganization campaigns in the un- a member of the Nat'l. Exec. organized knitgoods centers. In Comm., at the April 1 meeting, bethe metropolitan area over which fore any formal charges had been our Joint Council has jurisdiction raised against us, was typical. organization work has been going Cohen created a veritable lynch on continually. The permanent or- spirit against all those who voiced ganization department of our opinions differing from the present union has succeeded in unionizing line, shouting "storm troopers,"

scores of open shops. The problem of "run away" and "fifth column of Franco." unions for the class-collaboration and the Socialist Call.

shops faced our union most acute-In the recent elections in the ly in the months preceeding the 1936 general strike. Induced by in conjunction with the rest of the promises of cheap non-union lapaid officials, executive boards bor, free rent and moving expenand relief committee was reelect- ses some empoyers in an attempt ed as the administration of the to escape from the union moved union for the coming two years. away into small towns where organization work was most difficult. This trend, however, was May Day demonstration last year. stopped by the vigorous action of our union in following up these shops and striking them. Some of town, others went bankrupt in er industrial union in their role the struggle against the union, as opposition to a Progressive adwhile still others were forced to move back to the city and reem- in our union. Their opposition ploy their former workers under

union conditions. General Strike In August 1936 after the expiration of the agreement with the employers association, our union Nelson to head the ticket. At the employers which maintained and ministration in our union against same time the Progressives maintained their complete support of the CIO. The Progressive joint council of our union is pledged to continue our organization as a continue organization a council of our union is pieuged to continue our organization as a staunch adherent of the CIO Chamber of Commerce and pro-chamber of Commerce movement to organize the unorganized in the mass production inagencies were forced by the heragencies were forced by the herresponsible actions of the Rank dustries on an industrial basis.

The Progressives appealed to the knitgoods workers for their vote knitgoods workers for their vote the struck mills, to back down and the struck mills are struck mills. During the past two years the struggle to build our organization.

Progressive administration succedressive slate at a time when the ed in further unifying the ranks of knitgoods industry is practically the knitgoods workers. The former Industrial Union was liquidat- ministration does not intend to easily be converted into trade progressive trade union movement ed into the Joint Council and rest on its laurels of past accomthereby division in the ranks of plishments. The election results holders—because of the desire for a panicky attempt to whitewash the organized knitgoods workers are a clear mandate by the union permanency of job, etc. But, we their disgraceful conduct by an was eliminated. The Textile Trim- membership to the Progressive ad- send you into a membership meet- hysterical offensive in the columns ming workers were assisted by ministration to proceed with the ing of Local 453 to size it up. No of the Project Educator, official our union in their general strike building of the union, to improve and this formerly independent conditions in the shops, to organ-U.T.W. local in a closely allied ize the unorganized, and to contrade was also made an integral tinue with the Progressive policies part of the Joint Council.

to the Central Trades and Labor Council N. Y. State Federation of Labor and U.T.W. Convention progressives fought for progressive policies in these organization, so as to make them more effective in the struggle for labor's demands. Our union was an important force in establishing a united

Rank and File Opposition

The Rank and File Group headministration found few real issues was based therefore solely on narrow, factional group interests Spreading slanders and pure inventions were the usual weapons employed by these elements in their struggle against the Progressive administration. Only during the period of preparation for the general strike were these elements won over by the progressives for a forces within our union in the

Tasks Ahead The reelected Progressive adin our organization, as well as the Our Joint Council was establish- general labor movement. Active ed as a recognized Progressive support of the entire union mem-

notified of the charges but a few

the old line in a pre-convention

discussion period, the trumped-up

this in the pre-convention period,

when there is no question of being

for or against the official line, but

lowed to all those who agree or are

"confused." But for those who

clearly present a different position,

What policies did we "fascists'

1. Substitution of the united

expulsion is the reward.

propose?

### terially the anti-fascist fighters in Europe. We were a participant in the fight for social and labor WPA Teacher Union Heads **Bait Political Opponents**

of American trade unionism, but it of this theatrical project.

To record the neurotic record of comprehend the distinction between made the following motion: a political organization and a trade union, upon the part of Local 453 leadership and most of the mem- Labor Party to establish an Antibership, is too disheatening and War and Anti-Fascist movement in lengthy a tale.

ers, has been unable to win to the war and anti-fascist movement." Union any substantial number of This motion put the baby rulers workers, have never dwelt here.

force in the general labor move- bership will be necessarily to acciples of trade unionism occured for the exponents of Trotskyism,

at the rear. This means: setting up

peasants; workers control of pro-

The expelled from the Y.C.L.

trusted proletarians.

hours before the trial itself, and a soviets after the calling of a conrequest for written copies of the stituent assembly of workers, sol-

charges was summarily refused. To diers and peasants; confiscation of

screen the true issue of democracy all land and its division among the

Many strange and freakish the past and present conduct of events have occurred in the history Local 453. It seems that important membership meetings are invariremains our singular misfortune to ably concerned with what organizabe obliged to chronicle the strang- tion to aid in the fight against war, est sideshow in all American labor fascism and other social diseases. history. We give you Local 453 of At one of these routine sessions of the Teachers Union. Were it not harangue - April 17th - shunned for the fact that Local 453 enjoys by the alleged "thousands of Local status as part of the American 453 members," the union leader-Teachers Union and hence of the ettes attempt to steamroll an af-A. F. of L. no power on earth filiation to the American League could contrive to have us bestow Against War and Fascism. Despite of these shops were organized out ed by the leadership of the form- a moment of attention on a body some opposition to infuse life into of youngsters rehearsing for their an artificial movement created for own satisfaction a ludicrous per- the tea-sipping fellow-travelers of formance of an adolescent concept the Communist Party, affiliation of trade unionism. The fact, how- was secured. Socialist unionists ofever, that this grotesque bit of fered a substitute for affiliation comedy occurs within the confines consisting of adherence to the Oxof the labor movement, moves us ford pledge and approval of general to chidingly comment—not to the strike action in event the United actors, but rather to the producers States declares war. When a member of the CPO arose to present still another proposal, he was

riolent surges of militancy—many greeted with a refusal of the chair of them beyond reproach, and to- to recognize him while the majority boggons into outright fawning be- group attempted to drown him fore the WPA administration, and out. But his tenacity was rewarded ministration in our union, against the almost persistent failure to and conquering the sound and fury "That Local 453 aim through its

connection with the American New York; that we declare our Since its inception Local 453, support to the C.I.O. and look to omprising WPA educational work- it to become the base for an anti-

nilitant trade-unionism."

Our collective bodies bled in sorrow from every pore at the spect-In League's Pre-Convention Discussion leadership shuddering with horror promiscuity with Lovestonites and Trotskvites

> Let us amusingly assume that the reigning monolithic battalions unionism sanctioned attacks on union members because of their political affiliation? We direct this question not at our romping adoles cents but at the big sachems in their wigwam on trail thirteen Manhattan Isle. Where they are in a minority in a trade union, how eloquently they plead against reduction; and the setting up of a prisals against unionists because of workers' and peasants' army led by political affiliation! How they denounce this curse as Reaction! But once they assume power in some nook or cranny of the trade

> we will continue with greater vigor the fight for these revolutionary they become in denunciation of tactics, for the only true defense political opponents! (Signed) NAT ADAMS IRVING ROSENBERG JOE MOOR JERRY GRANT

HARRY LEVINE ED. CARTER A copy of this statement has of membership, and what its con-"Lovestonite - Trotskyite - fascists" front of workers' parties and trade been sent to the Daily Worker cept of waging struggle to improve

teachers who are not members of on the spot. Infuriated that they one or another working-class parwere shown-up to favor an organty. One might logically assume ization of pinkish intellectuals as that workers in such precarious oc- the basis of an anti-war anti-fascupation as that of WPA might cist movement rather than the unionists—and we don't mean card of sons of toil, they retaliated in matter how many fervent prayers local paper, the April 24th issue. to heaven you may offer,—brother, The opposition is accused of spare your eyesight, for Mary and "Hoodlumism" and of "a disgusting John, Average American WPA exhibition of anti-union demagogy which transformed a well attended A recent travesty of this body meeting that might (sic!) have against the most elementary prin- been significant, into a field day very recently. It epitomizes Lovestoneism and bogus Socialism -anything, in fact, but honest and

union movement, how arrogant

The fact that an official "trade union" and its publication have stooped so low in their practice of "honest and militant trade-unionism" as to convert both into instruments in political battles raging in Moscow's Kremlin, is in itself the most devastating commentary, by self-admission, on what Local 453 contains in the way the lot of WPA workers is,

# United Front | A SAINT IS ABOUT

(Continued from Page 4) viz: unity inside the Labor Party. The C.P.'s campaign for affiliation was gathering strength. That campaign is now interrupted. The Socialist League, the main base inside the Labor Party agitating for tically smashed. The control of the pelled as an affiliated organization from the Labor Party. The Socialist League has, in the process, also split, a minority refusing to go along with the unity campaign. The main base inside is practically lost and those inside still sympathetic to the C.P.'s admission are left leaderless. (The campaign for termination of individual membership of Socialist League and other adherents of the unity campaign is now gathering

Pressure from outside is hardly as effective as from inside. To the extent that the unity campaign now functioning outside the influence, to that extent will the split widen. The fact that the leaders of the left do not want it so, or that the split was brought about at the start by the conscious action of the burocrats makes no difference in the objective results. Small "unities" leading to bigger splits will not solve the problems of the British working class. History can-

full swing in the Labor Party.)

not be hurried! The end result of the unity cam paign will be about as follows. Some will be expelled from the Labor Party, and some will resign in protest or disgust. Both the C.P. and the I.L.P. will gain some members. The Socialist League as an organized force will be prac

> MAY DAY GREETINGS C.P.O. UNIT

Liza

Gold

CHICAGO, ILL.

# In England TODEPART FROM US gro Question, things that must be continually driven in to those who would "lead" the Negro to free-

By GEORGE STREATOR | the Harlem newspapers in search But correct ends can be defeated by impatient short-sighted means.

The CR's comparison for affiliation of the last phase of his spectrum of copy, rendered holy by the liberal press eager to cash in on the tacular (newspaper) career. Taken racket, and a cause of many spec- folk first! up from nothing by the zeal of

the C.P.'s admission, is now ex- burocrats of the Labor Party will hardly be shaken in spite of the dissatisfaction that may manifes itself in periodic ripples of protest In the long run the cause of working class unity will hardly have

What should have been done was for the C.P. to continue its campaign for affiliation from the outside, for the Socialist League to extend its campaign for unity from the inside, for those elements inside the I.L.P. who have the most tinted with the Peoples' Front psyrealistic grasp of the way to achieve unity to raise the question inside the I.L.P. for its reaffiliation to the Labor Party. Thus could ter salaries for school-teachers, the growing dissatisfaction among am for him!" But Father had lit Labor Party gains momentum and the rank and file be utilized in more effective fashion for the correct aims of working class unity without giving the burocrats an excuse for expulsion.

The effectiveness of the unity campaign in promoting the interests of the working class of England must be evaluated also in the light of its political massage. This the writer will do in a forthcoming

on labor's great international holiday from

The United Cloak, Suit, Infants and Children's Coat Operators and Sample Makers Union Local No. 117, I.L.G.W.U.

Louis Levy, Manager R. Zuckerman, Chairman

#### Individual May Day Greetings

G. Antonoce Kaplan Abe Rosenberg . Shapiro Victor Cibulsky Fred Pasche R. Zand R. Hulbertson Marie Roby Donald Wilkinson S. Mesnil Mary Mazzei Dave Spector Stieglitz Bella Gallagher Riddell A. Leponis Auto Worker Strunsky Sam Levin Sophie Zelicovitz M. Stewart Joan Miller Mazlavka George Roberts H. Hill L. L. Stahl Epstein S. Sandberg Ross Eugene Coeburn M. Anderman Joseph Goode Michael Robert Marberry A. Skolnik Michael A. Rashkov Macklin Hart Schneider . Jackson C. S. Zimmerman Reeda Joan Bail Lifshitz L. Cohen O. Cooperstein . Uchin Dr. Love D. Scheyer A. Altman Rose Love E. Lawrence D. Frumicin C. Callum Evelyn A. Sylvia Whitman H. Christie Harry Rothstein Tillie Baras . David S. S. L. Ida Ednick D. Moore Judie Simpson B. Turner Lily Weizer Dave A. Goldy Goldberg Garry Griswald R. Raymond Rose Lichtenstein A. Bell Zev Pressman Oscar Horowitz Camille la Fleure Mary Lewis I. É. Rose Jack Teitelbaum Viva Rojo Anna Goldberg Michael Leavick Moe Stine Sol Zucker Julius Stone George Halpern Sarah Dralick Rosita Maria Obregon N. Berlow Molly F. Brill Max Fishler Santiago Corroles M. Yablon Celina Viera Hyman A. Quintano Jack Roberts Fanny Maria Ramos S. Kass M. Krieger H. Spitalnik Shnider Rose Fisher Nell Edwards L. Rosenthal R. Cohen Laura Gage Lasky

Attention! Additional individual greetings will appear next week. of its gains and drive it out of the positions it has struggle for emancipation!

Lesson To Learn

Lesson I: When a Negro is

the Father (who talks the lanwith whites than he can with any River the most serious challenge other section of the people. In many it has faced in years at the first wavs the Father has political val- mass meeting of textile workers, ue; but to Republicans and Democrats far more than to "left" party River, Sunday, April 18. Over candidates. He can be bought, and 2000 textile and garment workers When the Father was at his in the last general election, sold answered the call of the TWOC height of manufactured holiness such as he had to all bidders. and power, the CP experts on re- (Senor Marcantonio please note). paper ads, and thousands of leaf-

ligion and the Negro Question voted to allot Father a full supply of up the Harlem section to make campaign in southern Massachurobes and dancing shoes, and shared more and bigger appearances in setts. with him a place in the Sun on the Father's demonstrations (study) Union Square. A sound Socialist the daily papers and their ability zealot, a school-teacher slightly to register the clenched fist among at Pawtucket, R. I., Joe Salerno, the Father's followers), it will be chosis, added one expression beta matter of a few months before TWOC, called on the textile workter, quite realistic and economic: the Father will have taken his "If Father marches in favor of betplace in history alongside of Ma and confidence in themselves and "Mack" and her daughter, Aimee Semple McPherson. The time is tle time to think of school probhardly ripe for an American scene lems. He never went in for "book in New York centered around prim- zki and Joseph Mayo, represenlearning"; besides, he had a flock to supply texts for "God," and a ple and the change-of-life zealots the R. I. TWOC, demanded that couple of "Saints" who knew the will be with us for a long time the Fall River workers rise up way of this world in doing his until we can clear the woods and extend our medical attention to all sections of the oppressed. But pub-Father was lifted to the heights as one of the "leaders" of the Har- lic education, even in the Tenth lem "Negro People." The Daily Avenue and Harlem sectors of op-Worker quoted him side by side pressed people will make it diffiwith the saintly sayings of Earl cult for primitive religion to lead Browder. Besides, every revolution the masses.

### the masses! The plain, bitter truth is found in the realities of the Neto Fall River

FALL RIVER, Mass.—"The CIO has come into New England to stay until every single worker in the faker, he can always fool his white folk first! tetxile industry is 100% organized!" Leo Kryczki, representative of the ACWA and the CIO, thus The Father can still do better gave the textile industry of Fall sponsored by the TWOC at Fall issued thru sound trucks, news-Unless the Daily Worker whoops lets to initiate the coming textile

> Backed by the recent victory over the J. & P. Coats company chairman of the Rhode Island ers of Fall River to recover faith win the same conditions here.

Citing the victories of the CIO in rubber, steel, auto, glass, Krycitive religion. The backwoods peo- tative of the U.M.W., serving on and win similar victories and conditions for themselves. The wholehearted cooperation of the local Textile Council, UTW, was expressed by Marianno Bishop, president, and Secretary Dooling.

The only negative aspect of the neeting was the absence of any representatives of the American Federation of Textile Operatives an organization unaffiliated with the Textile Council, which for some 25 years has remained aloof from the local labor movement, concentrating on the organization of the most highly skilled workers. Altho it failed to cooperate with the UTW in its efforts to organize the less skilled and in any of the struggle, including the 1934 general strike, which have stirred all Fall River workers so deeply, it was to be hoped that old nimosities could have been buried n this-the greatest organizational opportunity which New England textile workers have seen for a decade. As the textile drive develops here, inspired by the R. I. victories, all Fall River workers should strive for such cooperation so that at least loomfixers, dofferboys, and all the other crafts may present a united front to the booming textile industry, thus ending the friction which has

# EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 4) sions of the cabinet ministers.

This is a sorry compromise with first in that it quite definitely British Imperialism and a renunci-keeps the door, leading to a recondation of consistent revolutionary ciliation with the Nazis, wide open. opposition against it. Gandhi's in-It would therefore be a mistake to fluence has triumphed once morecherish any hopes that catholicism although Gandhi himself was not is about to take a fundamentally present at this meeting—while the and militantly anti-fascist stand.

A SORRY COMPROMISE

secretarial work.

THE COUNCIL of the Indian National Congress adopted a resolution to the effect that, if certain this compromise, despite the lack conditions are fulfilled, its members of fighting spirit it shows among will accept cabinet appointments in the Indian national bourgeoisie the six provinces where the party will yet lead to complications which won a majority of seats in the will ultimately refute it. egislature by elections held under The fact that England, in conthe new constitution.

acting president of the Indian National Congress, Nehru, opposed this compromise but was voted down in this question. Nevertheless it is possible tha

nection with her re-armament, has The most essential condition is extended vast orders of iron, etc., for the British Governors to waive to India undoubtedly had some in-their right of over-riding the deci-fluence on this decision. weakened local organization since the days of the great 1904 strike.

### May Day and American Labor

(Continued from Page 4)

same quarter. An insidious propaganda is now under way that, with the Wagner Act, the problems of The problems and tasks of the labor movement go to that "abomination," the sit-down strike. It is a deliberate and carefully calculated effort to disarm the trade union movement and leave it helpless before the onslaughts of the employers. And yet, as a matter of fact, just the contrary is the case—unless labor is militant, aggressive, well organized and selfreliant, unless it is ready and able to strike and strike hard when necessary, the Wagner Act will not only bring no advantage but will perhaps even prove did the NRA in so many cases.

Such, then, is labor's balance-sheet on May Day 1937. Tremendous achievements of really historical significance in the past year—the labor movement revitalized, reborn on a higher plane-industrial unionism making tremendous headway in the basic, mass-production industries—a new spirit of vigor. militancy and self-reliance sweeping the country on all fronts of the class struggle tho not uniformly. At the same time, dark clouds are gathering ominously on the horizon; the counter-attack of capital

won. From what the working class has shown itself capable of doing in the last year, we may draw the firm conviction that it will not fail to give a fitting answer to this new offensive of reaction as well!

labor are solved; no longer will it be necessary for far beyond national frontiers—especially on May the workers to resort to strikes, and certainly not. Day are we deeply conscious of the fundamental unity of interest and aspiration that binds the working masses of the whole world. And this year, American labor has more than formal solidarity to contribute to the international cause. This year American labor is one of the chief sources of inspiration and courage for the masses of every quarter of the globe. In underground circles in Berlin, Rome and Vienna, at numberless meetings in England, France and the Scandinavian countries, wherever workers a boomerang, resulting in confusion and havoc, as gather anywhere, there is enthusiastic talk of the great things their American fellow-workers are achieving under the leadership of the C.I.O. The Soviet Union, where a socialist society is being built despite all difficulties and shortcomings-Spain. where the masses of the workers and peasants are heroically fighting, arms in hand, against the hordes of fascism, native and foreign—the United States, where an awakening working class, tho politically still in its infancy, is beginning to show what the "American tempo" really means in the spread of unionism: these are the great pillars of fire to which -on May Day 1937-the oppressed of the world is beginning, aiming in devious ways to rob labor look for hope and inspiration in their long, hard

### Local 22's Progressive Role Hailed by Dubinsky

by President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to Dressmakers Union Local 22 before 6,000 dressmakers attending the huge installation meeting of the Local at the Hippodrome on Monday evening, April 19. In the course of a spir ited address, in which he recount ed the past achievements and the present struggles of the I.L.G.W. U., Mr. Dubinsky declared amidst thunderous applause:

"Local 22 is the true mirror of our International Union. If our Union represents aggressiveness, if our Union represents militancy, it is represented in Local 22. If our Union represents high standards, it is again represented in Local 22. If our Union represents efficient management, proper care for the needs of the membership, proper attention to complaints, it is represented in Local 22. If our Union represents no distinction between race or creed, no discrimination, equality of all groups and nations, it is truly represented in Local 22. If our Union represents interest in independent political action, and not only interest but initiative and activity and service, it is represented in Local 22. If our Union represents interest in the field of education so as to advance our membership to greater militancy and consciousness, a more developed membership and a more experienced leadership, if our Union is interested in classes, recreational activities, social activities, it is represented in Local 22 more than in any other local. If our Union is interested in new slogans, new ideas, you don't have to go anywhere else—you will find it in Local 22. If our Union is interested in organizing the workers in the steel idustry, in the automobile industry, you don't have to go anywhere for greater interest than in Local 22. If our Union is interested in aiding the victims of fascism, the victims of Nazism, if our Union is interested in helping those who fight for labor and sacrifice their lives, you will find this interest in our Union but you will find it in Local 22. In Local 22 you have everything our Union stands for. You may have other locals that are in the same situation, some to a greater degree,

An enthusiastic tribute was paid 22 is devoted to the whole program with all their hearts and souls. It is, therefore, a great pleasure to me to have this occasion to greet the administration of Local 22, to greet the membership of this splendid, energetic loyal, devoted and faithful local of our International Union!"

Just before the official installation of the new administration at the hands of President Dubinsky Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dressmakers Joint Board impressively described the upsurge of labor organization thruout the country and the active role that the dressmakers union was play ing in this great movement.

Charles S. Zimmerman, reelected manager of the Union, made the keynote address. He called attention to the effective manner in which the pledges made at the last installation meeting in 1935 had been carried out in the two years following-the achievement of some of the main demands of the Union in the new collective agreement without the necessity of a strike, the unification of the ranks of the Union as expressed in the newly elected administration, and the increasingly active role of the Union as a force for progressivism in the trade union movement.

Zimmerman then examined the new tasks facing the dressmakers in the coming period in their own trade as well as in the general labor movement. He paused with special emphasis on the necessity of rallying behind the C.I.O. and its wonderful work of organizing the mass-production industries, as well as on the duty of American labor to come to the aid of the Spanish people in their heroic struggle against the hordes of "Our immediate task fascism. right now," he declared, "is to help our Spanish fellow-workers who are fighting in the trenches against fascism. We have had several campaigns in our Union to raise funds to help the fighting Spanish fellow-workers beat the hordes of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. The war is still on. Today the army of the working class is marching on; Franco is suffering one defeat after the other. This was made possible as a result of the help given to them by the international working class. Our some to a smaller degree-Local dressmakers and the International

May Day Greetings

## JOINT BOARD DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION

OF NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION

#### **POUM** and the Middle Class

This article is reprinted from the | nance of any events of a social Spanish Revolution," English organ of the POUM. In view of the slogan Win the Middle Class," utilized by he reformists to renounce the program of the proletarian revolution, this discussion is of great importance.

IN our struggle for the revolution a factor of the utmost importance is to win the so-called middle class to our cause. In every country the conquest of this intermediate and oscillating class is attempted in the struggle between the capitalists and the workers. This is especially true in the concrete case of Spain, where the middle class is of great specific importance, where it is of a greater size than the working class. And it can be said in general, that the working class cannot triumph completely if it fails to win the middle class to its cause. That is, then, the problem in Spain. Nevertheless, how can we win over the middle class, how can we succeed in attracting them to our camp, how can we utilize them as an auxiliary force without falling under their domination?

The middle class is incapable of realizing an independent policy as can the capitalists and the working class. Their role in history has been reduced to that of an auxiliary agent, although an agent of primary importance. So they are either following the workers or supporting the capitalists. All their intentions of working as an independent force, all their attempts to restore a liberalism where free competition would guide economic policies and all their attempts to conciliate the two fundamental classes now disputing for power have been crown ed with more and more open dis-

Capitalism Must Be Smashed The most characteristic feature of the middle class is its repug-

are again beginning a campaign to raise funds for hospitals and food for our Spanish fellow-workers. At tonight's installation meeting many of the chairmen were notified that we would prefer that, instead of sending flowers, they should better send a contribution for our Spanish brothers and sisters. As a result of this, although no published appeal was made, at tonight's meeting we have already received an amount close to \$2. 500. The new administration not only wants to raise funds for Spain but we want to raise enough money to establish a Local 22 unit for a hospital in Spain so that we can help the Spanish workers beat fascism." Zimmerman's remarks were thruout interrupted by enthusiastic applause.

The meeting was presided over by Pearl Halpern, chairman of the outgoing Executive Board. The new chairman elected is Minnie an active vounce dressmak er, representative of the best forces among the newer membership of the Union.

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character which might be called disorderly or disturbing. All its policies can be reduced to the clamour for a state of order where there would be no signs of class conflict. The middle class does not understand that all of these disorders and disturbances are always the direct consequences of the economic chaos which reigns in our present society, that is to say, an immediate reflection of the anarchy of the capitalist system. For this reason one of the most immediate objectives of the revolutionary proletariat is to bring this class to see that as capitalism is a state of extreme chaos and economic disorganization, only socialism represents order. The order of socialism must be described as one based on a preconceived, planned economy, one where the established plan corresponds at any given moment to the necessities of the community, but not to those of a group or groups of capitalists who work solely for their private gain.

We must, then, win to our cause, to the cause of the revolution, the so-called middle class. How? We must make them see that faced with all kinds of solutions, more or less utopian, the working class has concrete methods for solving each and every one of these problems. They must be made to understand that the solution to their problems, that the order and social peace to which they aspire, can only be found through a change in the present economic structure, that is to say, by the way of the revolution. We must demonstrate to them that we, the revolutionary working class, are not going against their present interests, against their present ways of life, against their small shop or industry. The transition to socialism cannot be made suddenly, avoiding the necessary intermediate steps. For this reason the working class in power cannot precipitate an inopportune socialization without studying the problem, but at the first can take over only the most easily socialized and important industries. At this moment it can only go—and this is a more than sufficient guarantee of the revolution—as far as the socialization of the heavy industry, transportation, the large commercial enterprises and, above all, banking. Socialization of the small industries and shops does not interest us because it would result in economic damage and occasion much waste. Since it would cost more to socialize these small industries than to let them remain as private property, it would be better to incorporate them into the socialized sector when the time arrives by means of agreement and ernment: a Workers' and Peasants' by the example of a better way Government.

#### Railway Trainmen **Support Sit-Downs**

Cleveland, Ohio.-A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, in a telegram to President Roosevelt urged him to ignore attacks against sitdown strikes, especially the expressions of Lowell "and other reactionary Bostonians."

"Lowell never condemned lawless employers who maintain arsenals, spies and thugs to destroy labor's legal democratic rights, Mr. Whitney's telegram reads. "He did not protest lawlessness when employers' lawyers brazenly told employers to ignore the Wagner Labor Act."

Whitney denied that sit-down strikes have involved violence and violence and bloodshed. "Those are the very things these strikes avoid."

Stating the problem in its essence and in the light of Marxism, it would not be difficult to realize an authentically revolutionary policy which would attract the middle class to our cause. So far so good, but it is one thing to attract the middle class to the revolution, and another to form a coalition with them in the interests of the capitalists. That is why we were against the Popular Bloc and against the Republican parties, which, in general, have done little from April 1931 up to the present but betray the interests of the middle class itself. We oppose giving the middle class a decisive role as a governing force which would allow then to act as the agents of the capitalists, but we uphold their economic claims and the solution of their interests within the framework of the revolution. In this statement there is not the slightest equivocation or the least duplicity. And we interpret in this manner, not only the classical policies of Lenin, but also the sentiments of the working class in the interests of the revolution.

From this explanation which we have given of our policy respecting the middle class our objectives can be deduced: socialization of the heavy industry and the large commercial enterprizes, of transportation and especially banking.

All political liberties are nothing, and are doomed to disappear, if they are not guaranteed by social emancipation and economic guidance. For this reason the question of power appears again a stark necessity. Only a government of the workers, surging from their own revolutionary depths, can forge an adequate instrument; only this kind of a government can emancipate the working class and the middle class and only such a government can lead us to victory and to socialism. Only one gov-

J	ust	Off	the	pr	ess	!
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