Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Unions Unite To Aid Spain

Ch. Zimmerman, Rose and **Dubinsky Head Trade Union Red Cross**

Purchase of a full shipload of food and medicines for the beleaguered workers, women and children of war-bound Bilbao, Spain, was the first official act of the American Trade Union Red Cross for Spain, newly organized to coordinate and expand the work of Labor's Red Cross for Spain.

A cable to Walter Schevenels, secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Paris, France requesting the immediate purchase of the cargo, went forward this week, Charles S. Zimmerman, chairman of the trade union organization, announced.

Alex Rose, secretary-treasurer of the United Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, and David Dubinsky. president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, are, respectively, secretary and treasurer.

Mr. Zimmerman said that a call on the trade unions of the country for an immediate \$250,000 had been made. Additional appeals would be issued as long as the need continued, he said.

The money will be distributed through the International Federation of Trade Unions for medical and hospital supplies, ambulance units, food and other necessities, and care of refugee women and

The groundwork for the organization of the new agency, which will coordinate the work of the trade unions of America in Spanish relief and will not interfere with the work of other organizations, was laid last week, when Mr. Dubinsky received a cable from M. Schevenels acknowledging receipt of \$30,000 and pointing out that the need had multiplied by leaps and bounds.

A conference took place on Monday, April 26, at the office of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, attended by representatives of a group of Central Bodies and other organizations, including Phillip Kapp, for the Joint Board of the Dressmakers' Union, Morris J. Ashbes, for the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, Louis Nelson, for the Joint Council of the Knitgoods Workers. Morris Feinstone, for the United He-Anva Smith Rose. Mr. Dubinsky and Mr. Zimmerman were also present.

EIGHTY THOUSAND MARCH IN UNITED MAY DAY PARADE

May Day Demonstration marched 80,000 strong thru the streets of mid-town Manhattan this May 1st. Spain, and solidarity with the emtheir struggle against Fascism. Participating in the demonstration were Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Painters, the Knitgoods Workers, the Seamen, the Teachers, and many other unions. The three political groups, the Communist Party. Socialist Party, and Communist Party (Opposition) also marched. The parade began at 10 A.M. and lasted till well after 9 P.M.

After the multitudinous American flags carried by the Communist Party had been borne into the line, the red flag brigade of the Communist Party (Opposition) followed by a very well received "sit-down" float, and banners and slogans about the POUM and for a Soviet Spain, marched down to Union Square.

to the assembled workers were de- and Mussolini.

New York labor's second United livered by Edward Welsh. Workers Age has been informed that these greetings were called a "violation" of the agreement previously reachemphasizing support to anti-fascist ed by the United May Day Committee. To this topic we will return battled proletarians of Spain in in the next issue of Workers Age but can't refrain from saying that it is strange indeed for a May Day Committee to ban such slogans.

In addition to the parade in Manhattan, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union held a mass meeting in Randalls Island, where President David Dubinsky Vice-President Charles S. Zimmerman. Julius Hochman. Isadore Nagler and others spoke. In the arena were gathered forty thou sand dressmakers, to whom Dubinsky stressed the necessity of the organization of the vast masses of workers in the basic industries.

Charles S. Zimmerman, who has now assumed the chairmanship of the American Trade Union Red Cross for Spain, called for unstinting support to the heroic workers of Spain in their struggle against There, the greetings of the CPO fascist forces of Franco, Hitler

Spanish Masses Meeting New Needs of Struggle

Workers Age Correspondent Finds Rebuilding Of Madrid During Shell-Fire; Workers, Peasants Step Up Production

By ALBERT WILLIAMS

MADRID, By Mail (Delayed)-I have now covered over 2000 miles of Spanish territory in Catalonia, Castellon, Valencia, Cuenca and Castille. I have been in the front line trenches at West Park and University City, in tiny villages in the Catalonian and Valencian rear, in the great cities of Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid. And the thing that stands out above all else in my impressions of this brave and beautiful land, is that its resources, human and natural, are virtually un-

touched, and that it is only beginning, now after nine months of struggle, to rouse itself in earnest for the great effort of driving fascism, reaction and the foreign invader out of the land.

For days together I have travelled by every conceivable means of locomotion, small boat, wine truck, bus, train, auto and on foot, without being able to convince myself that I was travelling through a beleaguered land. True there were the twisted girders of a partially damaged railways bridge near the Women's Trade Union League, Irv- frontier and concealed batteries ing Potash, for the Joint Council | and trench lines on the slopes of of the Fur Workers' Union, David the Pyrenees facing the Mediter-Meyer, for the International Pock- ranean shore, places where the etbook Workers' Union, and Mr. train crawled because the railway line had been shelled from ship or bombarded from the air, and in

one town I would meet a shortage of bread, in another of tobacco, in a third a slight slowing up of the constant daily flow of liters of wine down Spanish throats, and everywhere union banners, party posters, war proclamations, varying degrees of worker or government control of industry and every conceivable kind of uniform, or rather ununiform, but it was not till I got to Madrid that I could really convince myself that a war was in progress.

Bumper Crops

In the Pyrenees the peasants were already gathering garden truck from their laboriously built up patches of pebble soil terraced by boulders against further erosion. and the vineyard stocks were sprouting the fresh green leaves of the new season. Then followed endless miles of olive trees, grape vines, orange trees heavy with the burden of already ripened and almond golden fruit, wheatfields already showing ears of grain, beans, potatoes, artichokes, cabbages, ample food for a nation. While I have been here the ripening crops and the growing organization of transport and internal productivity have visibly overcome shortage after shortage, till now it can be said that though there are annoying shortages, and, in the

(Continued on Page 4)

ILGWU Meet Opens; Employers Plan War

Garment Union Scores AFL Policies; Chamber of Commerce Plans Fight to Limit Picketing, **And Register Trade Unions**

THE convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union got under way in Atlantic City in the presence of over 500 delegates representing 243,000 members.

The highlights of the convention report revolve around the great growth of the organization and, of course, the inner situation in the trade union movement. The report of the General Executive Board reiterates its past attitude as one of intense desire for the unity of the trade union movement and

scores the executive council for its rule or ruin policy. The report also TOM MOONEY HAILS claims that the suspension of the MAY DAY RALLIES

unions was railroaded. Turning to the mass production industries the report claims that the results more than justify the fight for industrial unionism as the method of organization for those

industries. An interesting discussion of the CIO is expected with resolutions pro and con already in the hands of the resolutions committee John L. Lewis of the CIO has been invited to speak but no invitation was extended to President William

Chamber of Commerce Moves Against Labor

Green of the A. F. of L.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States adopted a resolution on labor-capital relations which throws some light on future events. The resolution calls for legislation against labor organizations which directly or indirectly "bring any degree of coercion thru economic channels upon the public or upon public authorities-legislative, executive or judicial"; restricting unions from making "political contributions," thus lifting a page from British trade union experience—the Taff-Vale decision, and emasculating the right to picket. The resolution would limit picketing "to giving information and should not be permitted to include any actions that will cause reasonable apprehension in the mind of any person that there will be injury to himself or any member of his family, personally or with respect to property, business or employment."

The resolution further calls for registration of labor organizations to secure protection against "irresponsible action in labor contro-

Packard Vote Sets The Pace

The first election under the Wagner Act in the Packard Motor Car Company to determine the agency for sole bargaining rights led to a smashing victory for the United Automobile Workers. The workers voted almost 12,000 to 2,500 for

the union. The agreement between the firm and the union has not yet been made public but it is expected any day since agreement has been reached on practically all demands of the union.

The vote fully justifies the belief of President Martin that the vast majority of the workers in the industry support the United Auto Workers, and will help in any future balloting to determine a bargaining agency for other sections of the industry. Union leaders expressed the belief that the results in Packard will speed up organization work in Ford.

Textile Drive **Makes Gains**

NTERNATIONAL greetings

of proletarian solidarity were

sent by Tom Mooney, from Jail

No. 1 San Francisco, to the May

Day demonstrations held here

"The labor movement in America," the greeting stated,

"is stirring with a spirit of uni-

ty and solidarity such as has

Mooney hailed the heroism of

the Spanish workers in the

trenches against Fascism, and

called upon labor elsewhere to

never moved it before."

and abroad.

The Textile Workers Organizing Committee is continuing its steady advance in organizing the more than one million toxtile workers in this country. During the past week, the first silk manufacturer in Pennsylvania Onondage Silk Co. in Easton, employing 500 workers, signed an agreement with the TWOC. According to the terms of the agreement minimum wages in the mill have been raised from \$14 to 18 per week.

The first agreement in the jute industry was also announced by Sidney Hillman, chairman of the TWOC. This contract was secured with the Hoover and Allison of versies." Xenia, Ohio, employing 500 work-Other agreements were consummated with the West End Thread Co. of Millbury and Waterhead Mills of Lowell, Mass., involving 400 workers.

The Plush and Velvet workers International Union, an independent union with a membership of 1,200 workers, including nine locals, has voted to affiliate to the TWOC, and will receive TWOC charters. An extensive campaign to enroll all plush and velvet workers in the union is now being planned.

The A. F. of L. representative in the South, George Googe has anrounced the launching of a drive "by Southerners for Southerners" and for "true Americanism" in an attempt to stem the tide of the Southern textile workers to the CIO. In this the A. F. of L. will prove as little successful as it was when Frey attempted to break the General Motors strike.

American Labor Party Calls State Convention For June

of the American Labor Party has party election between May 31st just issued a State Convention and June 12th. This action was an call for June 19th and 20th in nounced today by Luigi Antonini New York City. It was indicated State Chairman, and Alex Rose that the question of the American Secretary, of the party. Labor Party candidates for Mayor and all other offices of New York may be discussed.

The State Executive Committee to the membership and ordered

During this period, every branch of the Labor Party throughout the State will elect one State Commit-The Executive Committee also teeman for each Assembly District decided upon the first steps to turn one County Committeeman for each over control of the party machinery election district and local officers.

SOUTHERN LABOR AND THE HERNDON RULING

the chambers of the Supreme Court grabbed hold of the word "Negro" and gave birth to another 5-4 and beat it over his head like a decision. This time the legalists whirling dervish. He fixed his eyes who are living on "borrowed time" on "cracker" anti-Negro sections freed a courageous worker from of the people and wiggled through the courts of the State of Georgia, impressive legal ceremonies. He but they did not free the Southern started with the fear of the Negro Negro, nor for that matter, the and ended with the fear of the Southern whites, the Northern Negro. If any "experts" are still Negroes, or in any manner or looking around for theories of antiform, the working class. The freedom granted Herndon releases one man from the grasp of a back- For there's no sensible reason why ward state political system, but it a Supreme Court Judge, econodoes not change the law. Herndon will be arrested next time and ceit should run around leading packed away with ease. The three other gentle Judges, peeping Georgia Courts are already sweat- under the legal benches for lurking ing over a better law, and they Negroes who "pictured their conwill do better next time; for the dition as an unhappy one resulting Supreme Court of the United from asserted wrongs on the part States has told them how!

This country is still dominated by the forces of entrenched cap-other persons similarly convicted ital and the South is our social and are free under the decision. Hern- rights guaranteed by the constitupolitical backyard. And how it don has been taken from the maintains its New Jersey smell. shadow of a Georgia prison. No ask, "what's a constitution among But Justice Roberts, a kindly old German concentration camp is clever exploiters of Negroes and gentleman who is a sort of legal more filthy or brutal than a South- Poor Whites," but after all Mary Father Divine to many of the New ern "county farm." Sometimes it Fox did not create the impression York parlor revolutionists, must seems that it will become necessary that she considers the decision have had his tongue in his cheek to paint a sign and post it on the either tremendous, stupendous or with an eye on forced retirement. road to Warm Springs warning collosal. It is quite different with Said our American, peculiarly distinguished visitors not to get Mr. John P. Davis, the papierlegal spokesman in words that tangled in the coils of Georgia mache revolutionist who has enmust bring cheer to the Southern law. plutocrats and the Northern sweat- The reactions to the decision are Negro masses. Via East Twelfthers of labor who are rushing to varied. The timid Negro press has Street we get it that Herndon's the South:

vague and uncertain as to make Guide takes a double-column laugh is to say, the obvious is safe. criminal an utterance or act which at the behavior of our four great | Herndon is free. The laws of may be innocently said or done commedians. That a newspaper 1866 and 1871 are temporarily with no intent to induce resort to published in Norfolk, Virginia, can tabled. But a new piece of legislaviolence or, on the other hand, may free itself from the fear and tion will give Georgia courts ten be said or done with a purpose worship of Federal dignitaries times their present power. Meanviolently to subvert government, a conviction under such a law cannot be sustained."

Now Justice Roberts must not be called names. He is not a reactionary. He is not a Fascist. But he is not going to upset the applecart. He is a liberal. His right hand upsets every gesture the left hand makes. And his "momentous" decision does not end Jim Crow in over the forces which would deny What will take place through govthe United States, does not liberate Poor Whites and Negroes, does not Mary Fox was quoted (all quotes and other power projects? This is mere resolutions protesting against make it unnecessary to relegate are from The Times, April 27, not a subject that can be settled by the Supreme Court to the obscure 1937) as seeing the decision as part cliches. It is obvious, however, that sives expect a clear and decisive place in American life it deserves. Justice Roberts simply reminded more general struggle to prevent beginning of the end of bootlicking the State of Georgia that its all infringements upon the civil Negroes. particular piece of legislation is so the nerve to raise a voice against "the American way of doing things" are to be restrained and kept in their proper places.

But the other wise man, Justice Van Devanter! While the sense of liberality still pervades this con- Union, a part of the C.I.O., will the matter of color lines. We fused land, we must rush into print not tolerate segregation and will stand for the full protection of with the observation that of all the fight for the rights of Negro the Negro worker by the union in the cake. Said this relic of the A.C.P. slave regime:

that Herndon was a Negro member secretary, was in answer to an not been welcomed into the local only two factors involved in the counsel. And in fact it's damn good and organizer in the Communist inquiry concerning alleged separ- union and given full protection. In situation (and the A. F. of L. was advice. They should also have said Party and was engaged actively in in the Ford plant and alleged omisinducing others, chiefly Southern in the Ford plant and alleged omisis always welcome into the memunited Radio and Electrical Workif they would avoid compromising Negroes, to become members of sion of Negro Chrysler workers bership meeting without being ers Union, affiliated with the CIO, themselves. In answer to a question the party and participate in effect- from the seniority rule. ing its purpose and program." (my Mr. Martin flatly denies both pronouncements on this matter the company's own Employe Repre- the IBEW exposes its true role,

had been reading extracts from the mobile Workers. His letters in full union is open to the workers re- itself—it is said that Matty Woll Workers will never surrender the literature issued under the sig- follows: nature of James S. Allen. But the Big Four Dissenters do not know instances where the color line "In one instance, at least one Hence the hasty announcement by FIELD, THE PUBLIC WOULD that the line of Self-Determina- seems to have been raised in the of our local unions threatened to tion in the Black Belt has gone the U.A.W.A. let me say that in the go on strike when one Negro borate in erasing in the minds of THETIC STRIKES AND WE way of the winds. After Allen Chrysler Corporation seniority ap- worker had his wage rate lower- the workers of this country the THEREFORE HAVE NOT AND delivered himself of "The Negro plies to all employees regardless ed. The management acceeded to prejudice arising from race dis- WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN Question in the United States," it of race, color or creed, and the the threat of the local union and tinctions. Our program compre- SYMPATHETIC STRIKES IN was difficult to find anybody in the rumor that Ford Negro employees this Negro brother was restored hends the elimination of prejudice THE UTILITY FIELD."

By GEORGE STREATOR | Negro question. He answered all The nine old men lumbered into the questions. At the outset, he Negro feeling, they should confine themselves to judicial psychiatry. mically secure and elevated in conof white landlords.'

But Herndon and perhaps twelve

broken its shackles, however. The victory "confirms the wisdom of "And where a statute is so Norfolk (Virginia) Journal and the tactics of mass struggle." That points to the day when it will while everything depends upon the shake off its timidity on all labor advance of general civilization in

questions. from simple, racial cleavage. But mic advance in the South. Can Herndon too jubilantly sees the there be economic advance in the decision as a "surprising victory South without bleeding the North?

ANGELO HERNDON



tion." Of course, one can always trusted himself with the care of the

Southern American life. The rise of Herndon offers a sensible pro- a decent labor movement joining gram when he points out the needs | black and white in the same organf sharecroppers, Negro and white. ization is basic. Yet, there can be That too, is a great step forward no labor movement without econo-

old and so crude that it will have to be re-written if "agitators" with Auto Workers Union Fights Jim Crowism, Martin States

The United Automobile Workers | and pronounced in its attitude on

Mr. Martin's letter, addressed to

"With direct reference to the political affiliation'.

Negro locals.

vanter did a great job to settle the "The U.A.W.A. is very emphatic ization is very anxious to colla- our union."

TRADE UNION NOTES by George F. Miles

O^N the 17th of this month the fur workers international union gathers in what amounts to its first convention since its merger with the fur section of the former Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union. For this reason and also for reasons relating to the general problems which have kept the labor movement at the boiling point, the convention will be observed with keen interest. One of the questions which is causing considerable thought

union in the needle trades industry which has made no move in the direction of the CIO, the millinery, men's and women's garment fact that this organization is al- union in favor of the IBEW. This most completely dependent on its is not the case. According to the New York Joint Council lies in Potash. In the light of this incontestible fact it was somewhat jarring to friends of the CIO to discover the fur workers' delegates to the last A. F. of L. convention casting their ballots for suspension of the CIO.

The question now is-what will the convention do? This is in no small measure tied up with the question: what will be the policy sentatives in the company union of the Communist Party in this being more useful for the fight inside the A. F. of L. than outside? Will they, at this moment when the A. F. of L. is in full swing against the CIO, still argue that the unity of the A. F. of L. stands above all—thereby covering their "position" with a mantle of so-

called constructiveness? There are certain indications that the "lefts" intend to shout loudly for industrial unionism and throw second-hand bouquets to the CIO on its accomplishments. But what what will the "lefts" do about aligning the fur workers union with the CIO and throwing its moral, organizational and financial weight on the side of health and progress and yes, real unity? From freedom to the Southern Negro." ernment intervention in the TVA an organization led by militant "lefts" one expects more than an organization led by militant of a "fight which can help in the the rise of Herndon could mark the stand in favor of alignment with the CIO. It is much too late for transparent diplomacy or acrobatic

> "sell-out" so consistently in characterizing all the settlements secured which the A. F. of L. cannot by the CIO, that we wonder if it answer to the satisfaction of the has any voice left to cheer its men. In a leaflet issued last week, recent "victory" in the Consolidated the IBEW itself is forced to take Edison of New York.

To the outside world the an- leaflet, "did the company have a nouncement by Consolidated Edison | preference for the IBEW as a colblundering, prejudiced. antiquated pieces of furniture in our political life, Father Van Devanter takes president, in a letter to the N.A. life, Father Van Devanter takes president, in a letter to the N.A. life, Father Van Devanter takes president, in a letter to the N.A. life establishment of separate life very way. We also do not believe bargaining agency?" The lieve in, nor will we stand for, that it recognized the International lective bargaining agency?" The first sentence of the answer is most entered by consonidated Edison president by consonidated for its workers came as a distinct position to know any of the com-"There has not been a single in- surprise for people close to de- pany's reasons for anything." They "It should not be overlooked Roy Wilkins, N.A.A.C.P. assistant stance where Negro workers have velopments knew that there were probably wrote that on advice of segregated. I have made many which was growing very fast, and of going out "on sympathy strikes" rumors and states emphatically clarifying the constitution which sentation Plan—its company union when it answers: "The Interna-Of course, Justice Van Devanter the policy of the United Auto- states that the membership of the in other words. The IBEW injected tional Brotherhood of Electrical gardless of race, color, creed or put over the job—as a force cap- right to strike. HOWEVER, IN able of stopping the CIO union. THE UTILITY COMPANY

Communist Party who wanted to be god-mother for the opus.

But in one way Justice Van De
Was difficult to find anybody in the rather rather

is the attitude of this international to the CIO. The matter is not the company and the immediate without interest. This is the only mobilization of all company resources to bring pressure upon its

Some facts regarding this pact workers having been among the between the union and the manageinitiators of the movement. An- ment are not without some inother factor which mystifies the terest. There is some talk that the reader of the Daily Worker is the company scrapped the company New York branch and that the pact with the IBEW the union agreed to take in the company the palm of Ben Gold and Irving union as a whole, without any changes, and grant it charters. As a matter of fact the IBEW agreed to recognize the delegates or representatives elected last December in typical company union manner and promised that there would be no elections until December 1937.

Furthermore, the most trustworthy (for the company) represet-up have been given leaves of union? Will Gold and his delegates absence by the firm and are now (probably about 90% of the convention) continue to prate about was also agreed to prior to the "great victory" scored by the

In the various departments of

the company the foremen and straw-bosses were tipped to join early. Thus the company has quite a little group of trustworthy paid agents to begin with. Where the workers had succeeded in electing a representative, in the December election, who could not be bought the company transfered these to other departments where loyal company men are at the head. Thus the honest worker-representative lost his standing as an official. But with all this gerrymandering and great pressure the A. F. of L. is not signing up as fast as the company had hoped. Last week the controller of the company canvassed all General Council Members of the various departments (now A. F. of L. chiefs remember) raising hell at the slow recruiting and telling them in so many words "Tell the men the company wants them to join the A. F. of L."

The great anxiety of the com-The A. F. of L. has been shouting F. of L. is having just the opposite up the question "Why," asks the NEVER SUPPORT SYMPA.

What, no cheers?

POLICY OF "LEFTS" HURTS CIO GROWTH | Interpretation | Int

By GEORGE F. MILES

THE time is rapidly approachelements in the entire labor movepresent situation in the trade guaranteed to the machinists ment will have to weigh anew the union movement and on that basis determine whether any changes in ing forces—as between the A.F. of ed to the Council. L. and the C.I.O .- are necessary. Certain it is that there is entirely too much hesitation and vacillation today and that such pusilanimity gives aid and comfort to the craft union burocrats and hinders the successful development of C.I.O. campaigns in many instances.

While it is not my intention to discuss in detail the present position of each of the contending forces, it must nevertheless be said mild letter of repudiation was ther that the attitude of the C.I.O. need adopted. But the close working no longer be determined solely on agreement between the "lefts" and the basis of purely theoretical con- the extreme anti-C.I.O. right wing siderations as to the relative sup-still continues unbroken. The eriority of industrial over craft "left" slate for convention dele- in the past, in principle, carried unionism. The C.I.O. has accu- gates, elected in the balloting held on the most bitter struggle against mulated a body of experience in in the middle of April, still in any efforts to organize unorganizactual struggle, has already given cludes principled opponents of the ed workers outside the A.F. of L. birth to powerful young giants in C.I.O. the auto and steel industries, has brought recognition to these and many other unions in traditionally open shop industries, has wor widespread improvements in wages and conditions for many hundreds of thousands of workers, and has engendered a new hope and a feeling of invincibility in the ranks of the mass of Amer-

ica's toilers. Compare this to the recent developments in the A.F. of L. where the bitter and biased old men of the Council resort to every method of indirect strike-breaking, set up dual organization committees, in industries they never intended to tackle, only because the C.I.O. had entered the field, open negotiations with outright company unions (steel), admit to A.F. of L membership an outright company mob in Galena, Kansas, as a reward for its breaking up C.I.O. meetings and attacking C.I.O. headquarters, play the role of an insurance agency against legiti--witness the hurried recognition Consolidated Edison, when the consider the possible assistance it of the A.F. of L. replacing the C.I.O. union opened an energetic

seems to be so sharply drawn that professional workers." Every at- eration to replace the American no middle ground is to be found. Yet there are people. even of pronounced "left" hue who continue to cut a sorry figure in trying to bridge the unbridgeable.

der the heading of straddlers. The partment of the A.F. of L. and A.F. of L. for their policies." der the heading of straddlers. The difficulties are due to the raucous cries of loyalty to the C.I.O., recently multiplied because of the unbelievably infantile and dangerous policies pursued by these people especially in the auto industry. Still there is an average of the difficulties are due to the raucous cries of loyalty to the C.I.O., report to the A.F. of L. and altho claiming friendship for the C.I.O. Like a breath of strong, fresh, invigorating air comes a true Marxist class political movement—the approach of the C.I.O. Communist Party, of the leads. He went so far as to discover the key to the whole problem in as far as present "left" and altho claiming friendship for the C.I.O. Like a breath of strong, fresh, invigorating air comes a true Marxist class political movement—the approach of the C.I.O.'s drive to organize the workers,' said Coldwell, 'Unity is the watchword,' said Douglas. try. Still there is an ever increas- which had signed with the C.I.O. strategy in the trade unions is ing volume of practical evidence that points to much more than against the industrial union men, mere hesitation but also actions and even threatened to tie up the

to the C.I.O. and actually proposed | C.I.O. who wired Bridges: the endorsement of President A. the able lieutenants of John P.

of the A.F. of L.? And in Philadelphia Pa., a "left" leader of a ing when the progressive draw from the local C.I.O. Council draw from the local C.I.O. rights because the jurisdictional rights CIO for decision." tomobile Workers Union, affiliat

> Another case in point is the In ternational Fur Workers Union This organization is practically controlled by its New York organization which in turn is led by such well-known "lefts" as Ber Gold and others. Despite the strategic role of the "lefts" the furriers' delegation at the last A.F. of L. convention voted to suspend the C.I.O. unions. Under the pressure of the progressives

issue with our affiliate union rather than resort to policy of setting up picket line. Suggest pickmachinist local threatened to with- ets be withdrawn and leave questions at issue to future meeting of

Vacillation No Accident

Convention.

"... The Lovestone group, which leven when this was the only road The same policy of the "lefts" open, (he means our bitter strugis to be seen also in the field of white collar workers. A call for Communist Party-controlled indus-

The C.I.O. and "Unity"

66 T is true that the CIO may mean an end to the unity of the labor movement. Unity can, however, become a fetish blindly worshipped for its professed good. In the twenties the labor movement was completely unified. Even the dissonant cries of the I.W.W. and Communist barely reached a whisper. Yet we find it is a decade without progress, without a single permanent contribution to the cause or organization of labor.

"The C.I.O. is an attempt to broaden the base of organized labor, to strengthen its weakest sections, and to give it a more representative character. It is a recognition by a large mass of workers that one portion of labor cannot permanently improve its lot while leaving the remainder behind." Philip Taft.—The Problem of Structure in

American Labor.

may render toward increasing the Knights of Labor was a necessary of L. among other white collar and the labor movement, a new fed-

More important still is the open west coast-The Industrial Union union, condoned a reign of terror

The action of Harry Bridges "I am informed by Industrial

American Economic Review. March, 1937. conference of such organizations | trial unions, launched as part of n New York includes the follow- an international policy adopted by look as if the past struggles of time we had a Labor Party, to ing clause: "Certainly no Ameri- the Communist International.— the working class in Canada to protect the interests of labor." itself to the employers as a conservative and "cooperative" force can Federation of Labor Union of conservative and "cooperative" force can Federation of Labor Union of conservative and "cooperative" force can be conservative and cooperative can be conservative and cooperative can be conservative and cooperative can be conservative can be conservative. white collar and professional resolution in which it lays down own choice were to again become workers can refuse to seriously the thesis that just as the birth prestige and strength of the A.F. progressive step in the growth of (R.C.M.P.) to Toronto. The Com- part of the working class thru the tempt to secure an invitation for Federation of Labor is now neces-C.I.O. speaker, since an A.F. of sary for the labor movement to speaker had already been slat- make further progress. This estimate, which by the way, is not altogether correct, as far as the attack on the C.I.O. affiliate on the role of the A.F. of L., at that to defend the A.F. of L. as a mod- C.P. of C. should be fought bittime is concerned, is particularly el for union-conscious Canadian terly by all consistent Marxists To the casual reader of the of Marine and Shipbuilding Work-

concerned, an explanation, for the April 17, 1937,—"Mr. Hepburn's apparently contradictory policy of game is intended to entice Ameri-Oshawa; the fight for the democthe "left wingers" in the various can industry, hard hit by growing ratic rights of the people. These which too closely approximate opif he did not have his way.

In the various of a general strike wingers in the various can industry, naru int by growing unionism, to cross the border into unionism, to cross the border into show the C.C.F. and sections of show the C.C.F. and sections of show the control of the did not have his way. short, is as follows: In industries Ontario, the present haven of open show the C.C.F. and sections of where the unorganized are being shoppism. If this plan is to suc-"left" rejected a proposal to back called forth a sharp reprimand an opposition candidate favorable from John Brophy, director of the means we will see later). In indus- the standards now being won in carried over into the political tries where there are A.F. of L. our industries. President Martin field, in the shape of unity in elecunions in the field the Communist calls attention to this very condi-O. Wharton for reelection. * Need Union of Shipyard Workers CIO Party holds that the chief slogan tion when he says: 'Canada pays place in B.C. a renaiscence of lawe say that Wharton is one of Affiliate that ILA has established still is "unity" and maintains that such wages that I am almost ash- bor and the people will surely take the progressives can win the A.F. amed to talk about it-30 cents place." Frey in the Metal Trades Council

** Under pressure they finally yielded to the extent of securing a telegram of greeting from a C.I.O.

this policy.

** Under pressure they finally yielded to the extent of securing a telegram of greeting from a C.I.O.

(Continued on Page 6)

the progressives can win the A.F. and to talk about it—30 cents of L. for the policies which the border and sixteen hours a day. No wonder they get up in

picket line against their men where union agreement is in effect. This action will not help CANADIAN LABOR AFTER OSHAWA

By FRANK KING

proved conditions thru trade entary lessons, namely, that bay-These are but a few typical struggle won by the Committee for that one cannot establish an effeccases. Many more could be cited. Industrial Organization in this tive embargo against unionism Now, how is it that so-called "lefts" country—they have already won given such conditions as exist in should pursue a policy which is so recognition in Kitchener at the Oshawa, and that Oshawa striker far at variance with the needs plant of the Goodrich Tire & Rub- and Flint sit-downer are pretty of the situation? Are these people ber Co. But an important factor much the same under the skin and unaware of the proper attitude to that alarmed the forces of indus- their loyalties far greater to the the C.I.O.? Or is it purely an ac- trial capitalism and expressed foreign agitators John L. Lewis cidental blunder? It is neither thru the medium of Premier Hep- and Homer Martin than to Premier These "left" workers are carrying burn of Ontario and the Toronto thru the policy as laid down by Globe and Mail, owned by a repthe Communist Party itself. In the resentative of the rich mining in-Tovember 1936 Communist, the terests, was that it was the first Communist Party leader, Jack attempt to organize a large group appeals to the present mood of Stachel has the following to say of workers in the Automobile inin the course of an article on the dustry which had been disturbed of the UAWA, we commend as Problems Before the A.F. of L. and brought to terms in the U.S.A. follows,—"The roles in the strike quite recently with an exhibition of both Hepburn and Hall are of of militancy that rocked the found- interest in the sense of illustratations of American capitalism. The ing the unreliability of the so-callevent came right on the heels of ed friends of labor. Both Hepburn a statement by Hepburn where he and Hall were considered as proinvited U.S.A. industrialists to labor liberals. Of Hepburns' libestablish more branch factories in eralism nothing remains. He Canada and avoid the labor unrest stands exposed as a blatant nain their section of North America. It heralds a continued upsurge of the working class of America fol- with the workers, for his own lowing the example set by our political interests (crown attorney fellow workers in Flint and Lan- under former Conservative regime sing in building industrial unions in Ontario-Ed), is now beginning to meet the rising cost of living to act a role which ostensibly by collective bargaining with the strongly pro-labor, in reality plays bosses in the council chambers, and right into the hands of GM. Both militant strike struggles both in- cases illustrate the necessity of laside and outside the plants to back bor keeping such politicians at up labor demands. A move on the part of Hepburn

brought in the political issues that

have grown out of these struggles

on the Canadian scene. The first reaction was the A.F. of L. section | quarter-to quote from an article in Canada swinging in behind a in the monthly bulletin of Canadstrike initiated by the C.I.O. The | ian Local 35 of the Photo Engravpress all across Canada gave the ers' Union by past president Frank C.I.O. more publicity in two weeks Spear,-"The Tory government than it has had since its forma- was going to end unemployment, tion in the U.S.A., somewhat over made wonderful promises and did a year ago. The Liberal and Con- nothing. The Liberal government servative party representatives ex- also made wonderful promises. pressed their attitude to trade and what it has done I leave to union organization and it began to your judgment. I think it is about new issues. The Canadian Commonwealth Federation leader criticised the sending of federal troops pendent political action on the munist Party increased its efforts to show the working class of Can- based on the trade unions, the orada that the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. con- agnized economic weapon of the troversy was non-existent in the working class in their struggle for trade union movement here. The both economic and political emanspokesmen for the industrial cap- cipation. italists of this country hastened To the casual reader of the Daily Worker it will come as a great shock to hear that the Communist Party and those who follow its policies are here considered units policies are here considered units policies.

of Marine and Shipbuilding Worker are deficited in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the displayment in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the progressive cannot win the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the progressive cannot win the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the progressive cannot win the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the ment into its domain of "foreign agitators" in the present steaton. Daily Clarion, April 23, 1937—"M.

Output Daily Clarion, April 23, 1937—"M.

A For I Level a steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union movement. It assumes that the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union of "foreign agitators" in the present steaton. It means the abandonment of the unity of the trade union of "foreign agitators" in the present steaton. I filiate of the C.I.O. Like a breath rence, M.L.A. (C.C.F.-Provincial)

larms when they hear the Ameri-The struggle of the Canadian workers in the automotive industry, one of the basic industries of ers shows clearly that Mr. Hep-Canada, for their rights for im- burn is about to learn a few elemunion organization is not the first onets will not make automobiles. Hepburn, the native lickspittle of General Motors."

Another quotation from the Workers Age, April 24, 1937 which members of the Oshawa Local 222 tionalist and an open tool of big business. Mayor Hall going along arm's length and replacing them by trade unionists thru Labor Partv action."

Coming events cast their shadows before them from another crete evidence that the organized labor forces in Canada are beginning to sense the need for inde vehicle of a federated labor party The opportunist approach of the

To quote from Workers Age Father Graham speaking unoffi-

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WORKERS AGE

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Saturday, May 8, 1937

THE I.L.G.W.U. CONVENTION

trade unoin convention in a year such as this, A with the whole labor movement gripped in a crisis of growth, assumes a significance far beyond the ordinary. This is particularly true of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, whose twenty-third biennial convention is now in session at Atlantic City. For in a very real sense, the ILGWU has become a key organization of strategic importance in the clash of forces and tendencies out of which a new and revitalized labor movement is beginning to arise. The deliberations of the gathering at Atlantic City are bound to leave a deep impress upon the history of trade unionism in the United

States. To its twenty-third convention, the I.L.G.W.U. comes 240,000 strong, an organization great and powerful even in these days of mass unions in the steel and auto industries. This is proof positive that the International, which showed the ability to make such effective use of the NRA, was able also to weather the crisis of the collapse of the NRA, to fortify and stabilize its newly won positions, to advance to new gains. And how did it accomplish all this? By a consistent policy of militancy, not of phrases but of deeds-by a strategy of organizational self-reliance—by unremitting vigilance and aggressiveness! "The Supreme Court can nullify the NRA," was the spirited reply that the garment workers union flung back to the challenge of reaction, "but it cannot take away the economic power of the workers to organize, to strike, to prtect thru their organization work standards gained at the cost of untold sacrifice. . . . Meet with strikes every attempt by either individuals or groups of employers to weaken our organization or to reduce our standards in life and labor." Here the ILGWU set an example of vigorous trade union action that was later taken up and carried forward so splendidly by

With all its occomplishments in its own field, the International has never ignored its responsibilities outside. Its active interest in the general affairs of labor at home and abroad is well known but surely special recognition is merited by the readiness and generosity with which it has aided and is still aiding the anti-fascist forces in Germany and Spain.

Many and important are the problems facing the Atlantic City convention but surely none so important, none so fundamentally decisive as the question of the C.I.O. In the course of the last year, the American labor movement definitely shifted to a new base in order to meet new problems and accomplish new tasks: new channels were marked out in which the main stream of the labor movement will flow in days to come. In the light of its history and traditions, it is but natural that the I.L.G.W.U. should have been among the pioneers of the new movement and should have given unstinted support to the great organization campaigns in the steel. auto and textile industries. By officially endorsing the initiative thus taken by President Dubinsky and the General Executive Board, the convention at Atlantic City will materially strengthen the already powerful forces of growth and progress in the American labor movement.

We, who have followed the glorious rebirth of the II C W II with such active endeavor, heartily greet the delegates and officers at the Atlantic City convention confident in the conviction that the International will continue to march forward in the vanguard of American trade unionism

THE INTERNATIONAL **CLASS STRUGGLE**

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SPANISH MASSES MEET **NEW NEEDS OF BATTLE**

(Continued from Page 1) tion between war mobilization and big cities queues, for one thing social reorganization is a complicters of refuge to the utmost.

Peasants lean against the plow the soil between the rear lines of trenches already abandoned thanks lines of trenches only a few hunsion of small pieces they once ing back and demoralizing the rented or owned, feel that the war forces of reaction sent against is their war, and have actually extended the sown area by over ten percent in the loyal parts of Spain, eyes testified, producing bumper

Workers Run Factories

The factories too, where they are not handicapped by the lack between the abandoned trenches of raw materials caused by the and those in use is no exception. criminal blockade of the united He is a symbol of all the toiling front of fascist powers and "great people of this land. I have wandand friendly democracies," are ered, camera in hand, through the running at full blast. In Catal- ruined areas of Madrid. Already onia, an attempt was made at the they are piling up bricks, remov beginning to win the support of ing debris, filling in holes and rethe workers' organizations by pairing the still beautiful city, raising wages and shortening though from Mount Garabito the hours. But the workers themselves enemy continues to drop in fifteen contemptuously brushed the bone and one half centimeter shells at aside, took direct control of the random sometimes as frequently factories and said: "You are remarks one every ten minutes in varinants of a class that has failed ous parts of the city. The famous and a system that has brought us telephone building, Madrid's highto this pass. Henceforth this is est skyscraper has been hit thirty our land, our factories, our cause six separate times, its wounds and our fight." And taking over have been bandaged, its windows the machinery of production both stuffed with matresses and the agricultural and industrial, they telephone girls, the press censor nave voluntarily lengthened hours, ship, and the foreign newspaperkept wages down and sent the sur-plus of profit and of stepped up if nothing were happening. Indeed, production to the front. In other all Madrid has learned to behave parts of the country the economic as if nothing were happening. The situation is more confused, the loyal forces have been practically degree of intervention of the eliminated; but the shelling conworkers in industry less marked, tinues daily, serving only to irout everywhere there is discern- ritate the masses and keep their ible a feeling that with arms in determination up to a fever pitch, hand and a degree of organization but not to frighten them or de hitherto unattained by any work- moralize them at all. The Govern ing class in any bourgeois land, they will never let Spain return batants to evacuate the city: i to the old system of exploitation still seems to be a city of a mil and the feudal-monarchical-decaying-bourgeois political end economic system that begot fascism their homes stood, a few hundred and which the rebel generals and feet from the trenches, though their foreign managers are seek- they are already supplied with ing to restore. And everywhere the masses have responded in the city. Five of them trotted varying degrees but on an ever around with me one afternoon greater scale with increased prod-showing me the "choicest" ruins, the revolutionary war. The rela-

or another, that there is ample ated one, and I shall reserve it for food to feed the entire people and my next article. For the present, even to take care of the heavy it is sufficient to emphasize that burden of refuges that is strain- everywhere one sees hundreds o ing the resources of the urban cen- thousands of strong young men many already in uniform waiting for guns and marching orders, that turns the deep reddish earth others waiting eagerly for the call where yesterday cannon fire was to arms—a vast eager willing still plowing up the soil. North- army not of mannikins and pupwest of Tetuan on the edge of pets but with the high morale of Madrid I saw a peasant plowing men who know why they fight and are proud of the cause they serve because they know it is their own. to the victorious advance of the Again, were it not for the crimindefenders of Madrid, and the front al blockade, these hundreds and hundreds of thousands would aldred vards ahead, over which ready be in arms and at the front machine gun pellets, mortar shells and would roll over the fascists and rifle bullets were flying. The and conscript "volunteers" of Muspeasant drove against his plow in solini and Hitler with irresistible nconcerned calm, scarcely glanc- force. For Mussolini there is no ing up even when on occasion a arms blockade, and yet, with even big gun spoke in crashing tones. fair equipment, the high morale The peasants, here in collectives, of the masses acting on their own there in usufruct of individual behalf is overcoming the superiorparcels, or in undisturbed posses- ity of equipment and slowly push-

Reconstructing Madrid

Another striking feature of this and are everywhere, as my own great conflict is the swiftness and industry with which this determined people is rebuilding the reconquered portions even while the war is going on. The peasant plowing ment appeals in vain to non-comlion inhabitants. Children play around in the ruins where once homes in other and safer parts of uction and self-mobilization for and when I entered the trench sys-(Continued on Page 6)

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EUROPE TODAY

Britain Openly Supports Franco; Labor Must Block Credits to Hitler

London, April 14. 1937.

YN a special session of the cabinet, the British A Government decided that the blockade of Bilbao by the Insurgents is to be recognized as effective and, henceforth, it will refuse convoy to British freighters desirous of carrying foodstuffs into Bilbao harbor. Thus it openly aligns itself with the Insurgents. Consequently the German and the Italian fleets, with England's leave, can now set to work blockading Barcelone and the Eastern coast of Spain. The British Government justifies this move with its pledge of non-intervention. Simultaneously it is telling the world that it does not recognize the Insurgents as a belligerent power. With this assertion the British Government is refuting its own argument. A non-belligerent power certainly cannot impose a blockade which must be recognized as effective. While the non-intervention agreement—quite apart from the fact that it has been a fiction and a fraud from the very start—has nothing whatsoever to do with foodstuff shipments.

This step of the British Government, which does grave damage to British prestige, is explicable only if we assume that the British Government made definite commitments to support Mussolini and Hitler. It would not be the first time that a British Government secretly carries out a policy which is opposite to that which it professes before the world. One must remember Palmerston.

The Opposition in Parliament voiced a sharp protest. However, it cannot be expected that protests in parliament alone will influence the Government very much. It would be quite a different story if the workers were to show some militant action. And an open protest against this policy by the international working class would certainly not fail to pro-

In Catalonia no accredited government has yet been formed. The reason for this failure is the inflexible resistance of the CNT (anarchist) to all demands from the PSUC (communist) and the Esquerra (bourgeois republican) for further liquidation of revolutionary gains. This resistance is a sure sign that the masses of the Catalonian workers made up their minds, once and for all, to stop the liquidation of their revolutionary gains.

President Companys appointed a provisional government council. The PSUC announced publicly a forthcoming demonstration for the support of Company's personal authority. But Companys declined the offer. Such a demonstration would have resulted undoubtedly in bringing into the open the strong aversion of the Catalonian workers to any personal authority of Companys. Nevertheless the announcement of the PSUC indicates the appalling depth to which the party has descended already.

HITLER SEEKS CREDITS

THE other day, President of the Reichsbank, A Schacht, went to Brussels to obtain raw materials and credits to carry out Germany's rearmament program. A string of evidence establishes the fact that Hitler-Germany's supply of raw materials and foodstuffs is at a critically low ebb. Lately the situation has been aggravated owing to (1) rapidly rising world market prices of the most important materials for rearmament; (2) the simultaneous rearmament of Great Britain and her superior competition when it comes to procuring raw materials aborad, as well as her superior financial resources.

Rumor spreads from Germany that, in view of this situation, leading figures in the Reichswehr and in industrial circles prevailed upon "Der Fuehrer" to get some diplomatic action under way so as to obtain raw materials and credits. It was suggested that "Der Feuhrer" should "guarantee security" of the now existing frontiers of Europe. Advisors of "Der Fuehrer" pointed out—and rightly so—that such a promise can easily be circumvented at any time and that it is of no significance whatsoever. For that matter, even a restriction of armaments or a disarmament agreement entered upon with Hitler, would be of no significance. The only real guarantee of security is the overthrow of Hitler by a proletarian revolution which, at the same time, will wipe out the entrenched burocracy of the old administration.

Any credits extended to Germany are credits for the continuation of Germany's preparation for war.

In the CPO Pre-Convention Discussion

THE MOSCOW TRIALS AND THE C.I. CRISIS The position of the P.O.U.M. protests when you remember that the alter-protests must be seriously considered, for protests most indignantly against native to capitally the Congress that the reliev being consequence that the reliev being consequence that the congress that the relieve being consequence that the relie

By M. Y.

THE Moscow trials have exposed the crisis and rottenness in the Communist International more than any other single event. He who thinks that the recent trials are purely a Russian affair, reforming the C.I. did not bring opposed to the present ruinous

feats on the part of the C.I., con- alysis is no longer sufficient. trolled and dominated by the Something new has developed in C.P.S.U. headed by the "infallible" the last few years. leader Stalin. With the execution of the outstanding leaders of the forces in the labor movement that and healthy development of such justice rather than peace." October Revolution and the C.I. the Stalin faction is fashioning the the Stalin regime completed a policies and tactics of the various bloody circle. From misrepresenta- sections of the C.I. to the needs tion of issues of political oppon- of Soviet foreign policy, cannot so physical extermination.

of its struggle against all oppo- but it rather supplements it. This the S.U. sition forces has destroyed party statement may sound shocking and democracy. Healthy self-criticism may cause all sorts of accusations. was replaced by sickening confes- But facts must be faced, no mat sions and self vilification. The ter how unpleasant. recent confessions at the Moscow trials are part of a long chain of we criticized the Stalin-Laval decrecantations not taken seriously laration because it identified the by sane people. The latest state- C.P.S.U., which is part of the C.I.

Have all Oppositions in the CPSU Embraced Trotskyism?

trials and subsequent lynching and importation? If anything, it is the terror campaign is to pin the counter-revolution that has been charge of Trotskyism to all forces imported by Germany and Italy. not in agreement with its present | The S.U. has surely intervened, it took the form of upholding law sions as gospel truth, then we pursued. must conclude that all the former

a practical ideal suffered a tremendous setback.

Reexamination and Frank Discussion of Perspective

Our efforts and hopes of re-

having no connection with the po- the desired results. Instead of resition and role of the CPSII in forming the CI, the more reformthe C.I. is deluding himself. The ist it became. It is high time that revival and extension of the camp- we draw the necessary conclusion aign against all forces that are and speak frankly and act boldly. In the past we were correct in policies of the Stalin leadership stating that the chief source of bears out the above contention. | the mistakes of the Stalin regime The recent historic trials and lay in the transfer of tactics ap- a new center without the C.P.S.U. Catalonia, the Communist Party of subsequent executions are part of plicable inside the S.U. to the

The position advanced by some

We were entirely correct when

ments of the defendants fall in with the foreign policy of the Sothe same category. To accept viet government. We were again these as the full truth amounts correct when we leveled criticism to disregarding the demoralizing at the S.U.'s participation in the inner political life in the CPSU. | Neutrality Pact, adversely affect-The unsigned articles appearing ing revolutionary Spain. Were in the Workers Age of February 6 these incidental mistakes? I hardly School in Tennessee and active as and 13 "The Moscow Trials in Historical Perspective" may be an wrong political line, which led to interesting piece of research, but the suspension of the class strugshed very little light on the poli- gle; a line that gave birth to the tical implications of the trials. To Peoples Front; a line that convertfind a plausible answer to the ed the various sections of the C.I. bewildering situation created by into chauvinists of the type of the executions, one must not look the traditional Social Democracy, to the distant past, but must ex- as defenders of Capitalism. Can amine the more recent events and any one deny that the C.I., dominexperiences from an international ated by the C.P.S.U. is playing Kerensky role in Spain to-day?

We all agree that proletarian The strategy of the Stalin one claim that the present bloody regime as demonstrated at the civil war in Spain is a foreign

Communism as a philosophy and on and distrust stand in the way are abrogated or abridged, there

The position of Trotsky for a fourth international, calculated to serve the factional interests of his

it seems to be the only road open. our charge that the policy being conceivably be General Franco. It stands for the regrouping of pursued by the communist and so- Too often the argument as to what all revolutionary forces outsides cialist parties in Spain is only a is the best policy to be pursued the Communist and Socialist move- latter-day version of the course in Spain at the present moment is ments who are ready for a Marx- followed by the "compromising" conducted as if General Franco is ian revolutionary program, and socialists (Mensheviks and S.R.'s) not in existence, as if there was are opposed to the reformism of in the Russian Revolution of the two internationals.

not a matter of making a decision into deep water—one example is or setting a date for its forma- sufficient. On page 12, he trots ism that may prove of interest: tion. The problem confronting us out his prize exhibit, discussing to-day is one of perspective and the paramount problem—the quesorientation. We must be ready to tion of state power. discard our previous position that seems to me that the inclusion of the defenders of capitalist democthe C.P.S.U. with its present detrimental to the independence ation high religion will choose

BOOKS of the AGE

ICA, by James Dombrowski, Columbia University Press, 1936. are thinking and writing.

Reviewed by F. A. LIGGETT

This book by James Dombrow ski, dean of Highlander Folk a left socialist, is a carefully documented study of Christian socialism in the United States up to 1900. The survey begins in 1870, when Christian socialism emerged as a definite movement. After giving a comprehensive survey of the philosophy of social Christianity emphasizing especially its weakesses, Dombrowski sketches, in a ively and informative fashion, the lives of such leaders of the movement as Henry George, Richard revolution cannot be imported T. Ely, Henry Demarest Lloyd, from the outside. But will any George D. Herron and Edward Bellamy.

Dombrowski's critical approach s revealed by the following:

"When the good-will ethic was

translated into a practical strategy

policies. It is now abundantly but with what aim? It is hound-| and order and opposing all forms clear to everybody that the sup- ing and slandering the only revolu- of rebellion and revolt. The net pression and physical extermina- tionary force, the P.O.U.M., for result was that social Christianity tion of the opposition forces is not proposing and fighting for a So- was delivered into the hands of the limited to Trotskyites, for no one viet Spain. In using such harsh ruling class as one more instruwill honestly believe that Bukharin words I do not in any way over- ment for keeping the proletarian is a Trotskyite. The present cam- look or minimize the valuable ser- group quiescent. Here again the paign has far greater and deeper wices the S.U. has rendered in the meaning than the narrow faction fight against Fascism. These sermiddle-class origin and backfights of the past. If we were to vices are in mortal danger of be- ground. A bourgeois society alaccept the accusations and confes- ing nullified by the wrong policies ways emulates peace, harmony and good will and makes a virtue In face of such a situation, to of submission to authority. A proanti-Trotsky forces have suddenly cling to the idea of reforming the letarian group emphasizes justice, become convinced that Trotsky is | C.I. is senseless. If the political to the point of rebellion if need be, correct and Stalin wrong, that the conditions which, make the re- and regards revolt against tyranny Stalin regime has become so un- forming of the Labor and Social- and injustice as a higher ethical bearable that Trotskyism is pre- ist International impossible are standard than arbitrary resignaferable to Stalinism. This conclu- correct, then, we must conclude tion and meekness of spirit. It sion is as valid as the accusations that for the very same reasons makes much of righteous indignaand confessions. The truth of the the reforming of the Communist tion. A powerful ruling class matter is: the non-communist International is equally impossible. usually resorts to violence in suppolicies and tactics of the Stalin | The absence of party democracy in | pressing insurrection and rationregime necessitates the destruction the latter constitute even a great- alizes its abuse of a rebellious tion of all forces that are deter- er obstacle in the way of reform- minority by an appeal to the necesmined to stick to Marxism and ing it. Assuming, that our posi- sity of maintaining law and order. communist principles. In Russia, tion of reforming the C.I. is feas- It is not noted that behind such if the building of socialism at a ible it is entirely possible that be- an argument is a gratuitous ashigh speed necessitated the exter- fore we will succeed in reforming sumption that the interests of the mination of a generation of Bol- it, organic unity between the sec- ruling class coincide with the genshevik leaders, who could have ond and third internationals will eral interest; nor does it take into rendered invaluable service to the have been accomplished. The pol- consideration that no peace foundworld revolutionary movement, itical basis for such unity already ed on injustice can be enduring. then, indeed, a high price was exists. Only organizational diffi- Whenever the privileges or livelipaid. The prestige of the S.U. and culties-party democracy-suspici- hood of a considerable minority

Spain's "Right" Experts

Russian faction is both dangerous Now this would be no crime The position of the P.O.U.M. Left' Critics," I. R Campbell when you remember that the alter-1917. As long as he limits him- Spain, as if the fascists did not The organization of a new in- | self to incoherent indignation | already control half of the counternational center dedicated to the there is very little that can be continuation of the revolutionary said—but when he begins to pres-

"The United Socialist Party

burocratic leadership would be will be rebellion. In such a situ-

a center. The charge that such a From a Marxist perspective, the perspective amounts to an anti- book is unsound only to the extent existence, as if there were no im-Soviet Union and counter-revolu- that it implies that there can be a tionary position is ridiculous. The socially desirable 'high religion" ents to character assassination, easily be dismissed as completely contrary is true, the organization which has an intellectual and from character assassination to wrong. This position contains a and development of an independ- psychological contribution to make ognized the analogy? Perhaps by lot of truth. This position does ent revolutionary movement will in analyzing events and in estab- pondering his own words, he may The Stalin regime in the course not invalidate our original view, be the most effective defender of lishing a socialist society or in such come to understand what we mean THE EARLY DAYS OF CHRIS- In its interpretation, it is an ex- mocracy is not the real alternative TIAN SOCIALISM IN AMER. ample of what the disciples of to fascism—that there is such a

no fascist alliance intervening in

How interesting! Perhaps Comtraditions of Marxism-Leninism is ent arguments, he certainly gets rade Campbell will pardon us for a little piece of historical parallel-

"The Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries are accused by the Bolsheviks as being the defenders of capitalist (parliamentary) democracy. Now this would be no in it is both impermissible and im- Spain, and the Socialist Party are crime when you remember that the a long course of mistakes and de- other sections of the C.I. This an- possible. On the contrary, it accused by the P.O.U.M. of being alternative to capitalist democracy may conceivably be General Kornilov and the monarchy. Too often the argument as to what the best policy to be pursued in Russia at the present moment is conducted as if General Kornilov is not in perialist alliance intervening in Russia...."

Does Comrade Campbell rec a society, once established. How- when we say that the official comever, the book can be recommended munist party "plays today the as an excellent case study of the role which the Mensheviks played ideological revolution which is in in the Russian Revolution of rogress in some of the leading 1917!" Perhaps he may even come Protestant theological seminaries. to understand that capitalist de-Harry Ward and Reinhold Niebuhr thing as socialism-proletarian

Sadie Hoffman

Isidore Grossman

Individual May Day Greetings

Benny Antonoff Englestein Sam Loenthal M. Miller Wm. Mann George Pope Namiroc K. Sharp Max Cohen Zeldin Meyer (Pickles) A. Sandrin L. Exher H. Schlachter S. Sarlene Goldstein Bella Engels M. Yomanowitz Betty Young George Benton A Friend Lillian Holland Mike Birardi Esther Cohen Markowitz Klein Anna Frieman Anna Gasner William Anelo V. Temerario Jennie Kudrin Ida Bershadsky Y. Temerario Alla First Nickolas Bora Clara Lerner Pearl Halpern Fanny Lishner Lillien Elsen Frieda Birnbaum Becky Simonson Ora Wiggins Julius Betcher Tack Mandel Doris Lake Frieda Zweibon G. Lotgindise Morris Goldstein I. Greenberg E. Geltzer Pedro F. Campo Louis Salerman lack Taksen Eva Schlachter Jack Steinman Rose Stein Joe Fishtein B. Knauer A Friend from Ethel Atwell Local 66 H. Kaufman Reid Amelia Demiano Florence Bennett L. Parrish Rosenthal Ida Green

Philip Fleit Moe Freed Gene Schwartz Julius Zetlin Ann T. Aaron Cohen Max Zand Louis Cohen M. Ruffer Friedman D Gasner A. Deutch Silverman D. Halpern W. Himmelfart D. Rosen . Friedman Saby Nehama Max Pollack . Sperber Paul Heitner Max Kohlenberg Sarah Fanmemozlu Joe Axler Tillie Axler E. Eisenberg B. Atlas Hilda Koffler O. Himmelstein Harry Weinstein D. Rosen Francis Massow Isidor Blumer Philip Lessim Charles Kasmer Eva Smith

MAY DAY GREETINGS FROM WORKERS OF THE KANE & WEIL DRESS SHOP

R. Cohen

I. Buzel D. Hirsh M. Carlozzo H. Mansfield S. Hyman Shpater

[. Weinberger

. Fried

Leo Cohen

Ginsberg Sam Weintraub S. Silver H. Dratler Garfinkel H. Steinberg

H. Vogel A. Kaufman A. Schwerd M. Berger Ph. Dolgoff I. Laxer E. Hochberg

·~~~~~~~~~~ Attention! Additional individual greetings will appear next week.

Office Workers Reverse Stand; Ask Aid from CIO

In a sudden about face the administration of the New York local of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union abandoned its position of "increasing the prestige and strength of the A. F. of L." and endorsed a resolution the possible assistance it may which seeks the active cooperation render toward increasing the of the CIO in an effort to organize the office workers.

This welcome change took place between the night of April 19 and the morning of April 24. The Eastern Seaboard Conference of Office and Professional Workers Unions met in New York City on the week-end of April 24 and 25. In reply to a telegram of greetings from the CIO through its director John Brophy the Conference adopted the following resolution:

"The Eastern Seaboard Conference of Office and Professional Workers Unions greets with enthusiasm the encouraging message from the C.I.O. We know that it is the C.I.O. that has organized steel, auto, rubber and other mass-production industries. It is the C.I.O. which is now organizing the textile, petroleum, radio and electrical industries. We feel sure that the C.I.O. will be a tremendous force in aiding us to organize the office and professional workers. The Eastern Seaboard Conference looks forward eagerly to the active cooperation of the C.I.O. in our efforts to organize these workers."

The resolution was introduced by Albert Epstein of the New York BS & AU whose pro-CIO motions had been rejected only a few days before at a membership meeting of the BS & AU, local 12646. At this membership meeting the following proposals were re

- 1. That the New York delegation introduce a pro-CIO resolution at this conference.
- 2. That a representative of the TWOC be invited to address the conference
- 3. A motion calling upon the AF of L and CIO for assistance in organizing the office and professional

And ruled out of order was:

4. A resolution expressing regret at the inclusion in a call signed by the BS & AU of this sentence: "Certainly no AF of L Union of white collar and professional workers can refuse to seriously consider prestige and strength of the AF of L among other white collar and professional workers.'

What happened between April 19 and 24 to cause this 180 degree turn? The membership was not consulted. The executive board was not asked to reconsider its position. And yet a change took place. True, the change was necessary and welcome. But the fact remains that it was done against the expressed wish of the membership. What makes possible the exercise of such undemocratic procedure? The fact that a large part of the active membership is taught not to think but to follow the leader. With a section of the membership thus paralyzed and with another section absent from meetings, the road to burocracy with all its dangers is being paved. The danger can be overcome in two ways. The administration may stop treating its supporters as so many puppets. This is impossible for reasons that cannot be discussed now. The only real alternative is to stir the now dormant membership into activity, to interest them in the Union problems. The newly-organized members must be drawn into all phases of union life. Above all there must be an organized force of active thinking independent union members. Only when such a group of union members is developed will the BS and AU cease to be a puppet's paradise and become a proud member of the new labor movement now being born.

ATTENTION!

May Day greetings from individuals and organizations not appearing in this issue because they arrived too late, will be printed in next week's WORKERS AGE.

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by Abraham Edel

DIALECTIC AND NATURE by Sidney Hook

A MARXIST CRITIQUE OF THOMISM

by Max Raphael

PHILOSOPHY AND PHILOSOPHIZING by Franz Mehring

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Two-thirds of the Steel Plants

Total number of Disabling Injuries

1935

1,447 Injuries

12,175 Injuries

Injury Frequency Rate (number of disabling injuries for each mllion man-hours worked)

6.3 Injuries

21.55 Injuries

CP in Phila. Tries to **Block United May Day**

Some time ago a few Socialist | revolutionary movement which will and Communist Party members in Philadelphia, without first consulting the unions, issued a call for a May Day conference.

About a week ago the conference took place and "200 organizations" attended. It is interesting to note that the membership of the 200 organizations were not mentioned. There was nothing to be proud of-as among the 200 organizations were only 4 unions. Imagine, this is in Philadelphia The 200 organizations-outside of the S.P. and the Y.P.S.L., consisted, in toto, of the C.P. auxiliary organizations, such as separate branches of the I.W.O., Jewish I.W.O. schools, I.L.D., etc.

The conference call was sent out to all organizations—but by some "miracle" we of the C.P.O. were not invited.

On April 22nd we came to the conference arrangement committee and presented our credential-and 5 C.P. members voted against seating us and 5 delegates voted in our favor. The chairman, the Socialist leader, D. Felix, decided for us and we were seated by the skin of our teeth.

Then a list of 17 speakers for the demonstration were read offa speaker for almost every party auxiliary organization. I took the floor and in the name of the C.P.O. which was instrumental in bringing about united May Day demonstrations in New York and in other cities, and as a part of the

POLICY OF "LEFTS" **HURT CIO GROWTH**

(Continued from Page 3)

not contradictory for these well-meaning "lefts" to pronounce themselves staunch friends of the C.I.O. and at the same time fight against any mention of the C.I.O. in their own A.F. of L. because that is against the spirit of "unity" and might impair the possibility of their winning the A.F.

No Fetishism of Unity The policies of the Communist Party, inclusive of its trade union line, have been so consistlently wrong, that to have the present position collapse around is nothing new. And it has collapsed! Will the Communist Party insist that its campaign of "unity" has done more than to play into the hands of the craft leaders like Frey (west coast) and Wharton (machinists)? Is unity possible in the light of the new role of the A.F. of L.?If the "progressives" plus the C.I.O. unions could not 'win the A.F. of L. for their policies" is it possible for the "progressives" without the C.I.O. unions, to win the A.F. of L.?

The real progressives in the A.F. of L. have not given up the struggle for unity but carry out their task by means of the most energetic drive for, not against, the C.I.O. and its various organization drives now being conducted.

In the next article Comrade Miles discusses the role of the "lefts" in the auto industry.

have its speakers at the May day demonstrations in New York and elsewhere, we demanded a speaker here, too. Answering a question of the C.P. representative, Carl Reeve, as to whom we represented. I said that we do not ask the C.P. what influence in the Philadelphia trade union movement they have-which is shown by their 4 unions being present at the conference.

Here all the C.P.ites demanded the floor. Pat Tookey, the district organizer of the C.P., Glick, the district organizer of the Y.C.L. Carl Reeve, the representative of the C.P. and other C.P. members, and all of them sang the same song-no speaker for us at the May day demonstration—as it would be an insult to the masses coming to the demonstration. We were supported by the delegates from the S.P. and the Y.P.S.L. By a vote of 5 against 7, our speaker was voted down.

Characteristic was the attitude of the Socialists and the Y.P.S.L delegates-especially the attitude of Comrade Felix. Altho they supported us, yet in a true centrist manner they did not want to put up a real fight for us. Had they done so, I am sure the C.P. would have yielded as without the S.P. and Y.P.S.L., this would be a closed C.P. conference. Once more we were convinced that the C.P. leaders in Philadelphia did not learn and did not forget a thing in the last 8 years. Very characteristic of the people's front psychology prevailing in the C.P. circles is the leaflet published by the May Day conference (Read by the S.P. and C.P.).

No international Revolutionary slogans at all. No slogans at all about the defense of the Soviet union-nothing about the Soviet Union at all. Our C.P. leaders apparently are not sure whether the Soviet builds Socialism and should be defended by the international working class. Not a slogan about a Farmer-Labor party. Not one word about working class against capitalism in general but instead a call "To the Progressive People of Philadelphia"-no more classes-but people. But where were our revolutionary Socialists? Or were they not even consulted on that leaf-—H. BAIL

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Spanish Masses **Meet New Needs**

(Continued from Page 4) tem and bade them leave me because my war department press permit did not provide for an "escort," they were heartbroken. When a subofficial, believing he was showing a fraternal courtesy to a friendly foreigner, said one of them might accompany me, these five youngsters fought and argued for the privilege of going closer to the line of fire!

Nature of Struggle As to the roads that link Mad-

rid with its source of supplies, Valencia and Catalonia, they have been pretty well cleared. Where once shell fire swept them the enemy has been driven so far back that it is no longer in within shelling distance and road gangs are at work putting them into splendid condition and building up an excellent system of arkiliary roads. Here too the peasants were plowing their fields, the fruit trees and almond trees giving forth their blosoms and the early crops already offering an abundant harvest. The more I have seen of this brave and fruitful land, and of the morale and determination of its people, the more convinced I become that fascism can never dominate the masses of Spain. They are too well armed now, too deeply aroused, too inured to shell fire and bombardment, too well prepared. They are just beginning to stir and feel their strength. Even the politically indifferent and neutral have been moved by the wanton shelling and bombing of civilian centers of population and by the open invasion of foreign fascist troops. Only if the great powers should intervene on a scale hitherto not even dreamed of, could they again tip the scales in favor of fascism. And even then, fascism could not permanently hold its gains, for a foreign army of occupation large enough to terrorize this vast, determined, and mountainous land, could not be kept here permanently. The war, however, will at best be a long and a hard one. What the awakened masses need is arms and supplies, and assurance through their inner socio-economic-political structure that they are really fighting for their own future and not merely to return to a bankrupt and miserable past. The satisfaction of their first need depends upon us: the workers of other lands must smash the fascist and "democratic" non-intervention blockade. The satisfaction of their second need depends upon the relation of internal forces. And that shall be the subject of my next

We greet the Workers Age for its guidance in the struggle for a progressive, militant labor movement.

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