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# **AUTO CONVENTION BACKS MARTIN**

# CIO Sets Up **City Councils**

Boston, Mass.

The C.I.O. is consolidating its position in New England. Organization meetings have been held during the past week in Providence and Fall River for the purpose of establishing central bodies to coordinate the work of the local

Fall River is the fourth Massachusetts city to take steps toward setting up a local Industrial Union Council. Worcester acted first, in reaction to expulsion of C.I.O. unions from the Central Labor Union, early last Spring. After the action of the State Federation of Labor, expelling all C.I.O. unions on the eve of the convention, a month ago, the New England office of the C.I.O. began to take the initiative toward building permanent bodies. In Springfield and Lowell, Industrial Union Councils

The first step at Fall River was taken August 18, when representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, six T.W.O.C. locals and two I.L.G.W.U. locals met and elected a committee to work out plans for the local organization. Altho not present at the meeting, the National Maritime Union, which maintains a hiring hall here, will take part in the new organization. William Ross, district Manager of the I.L.G.W.U., Ethel Azaredo, secretary of the A.C.W.A. and Marianno Bishop, director of the T.W.O.C., are serving on the com-

Establishment of the Fall River I.U.C. should not only bring better coordination of organizational efforts of the three major unions in the textile and garment fields, where there are still thousands of unorganized workers, but should give leadership to organization of the miscellaneous trades, such as retail stores, and utility workers, heretofore completely untouched by unions. The usual reaction on the part of the A. F. of L. brought an indignant protest from the C.L.U. against C.I.O. "invasion" of the restaurant field. Having the interest of the workers more at heart local U.G.T. The action of the than any factional politics, the C.I.O. has adopted a waiting attitude to see what, if any, re (Continued from Page 2)

COMING

In the Next Issue:

INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALIZATION AND FASCISM

by LYMAN FRAZER

ON THE "LETTER OF AN OLD BOLSHEVIK"

by JIM CORK

# Labor Unity In Spain

The unity pact, entered into towards the end of July between the C.N.T., the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation, and the U.G.T., the socialist trade union body of that country, has already begun to show its vast significance for the future development of Spain. Not only has it united the forces of nearly four million workers (two million in the C.N.T. and over a million and a half in the U.G.T.) in trade union and economic activity but it has also created a common C.N.T.-U.G.T. political front arrayed against the reactionary front of the Stalinists, right-wing socialists and liberals.

It is important to note that this unity agreement constituted a big victory for the Caballero left wing in the U.G.T. and S.P. The pact was bitterly attacked by the Spanish official communist press, the Mundo Obrero of August 9 carrying an especially vicious fulmination. Frente Rojo, another Stalinist paper, had already, on July 10, venemously assailed the U.G.T. executive as "enemies of the people." In the United States, however, the Daily Worker, pretending that the U.G.T. was under Stalinist control or, at the very least, was backing the Prieto-Negrin regime, shamelessly "greeted" the unity pact, which its own brother organs in Spain were daily denouncing!

The political meaning of the pact soon became obvious. On the very day it was signed, in fact, the U.G.T. executive repudiated the Claridad of Madrid and Las Noticias of Barcelona and removed them from the list of U.G.T. papers; both had been captured by the Stalinists and had degenerated so far as to call for the persecution of the P.O.U.M. Even more significant was the decision to rexamine and reorganize the "regional federations" of Catalonia with a view to incorporating them into their proper national unions. In Catalonia, the Stalinists had set up a large number of small merchants and manufacturers organizations, called them "unions" and thru them, seized control of the U.G.T. executive, if carried out, means the removal of these foreign bodies from the trad ment and the breaking of the Stalinist hold.

The P.O.U.M. and other revolutionary elements in Spain have greeted the close cooperation of the two trade union centers. They are urging that even closer unity be effected and that the slogan of "a C.N.T. - U.G.T. government" issued.

That the persecution of the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T. and left socialists by the Stalinists under the Negrin government is being resented even by sections of the right socialists, is shown in the following declaration of El Socialista, right wing socialist organ:

"The attitude of the Communist Party towards all those anti-fascists who refuse to bow to its orders and whom it tries to place on the same level with spies and traitors, can be designated in only one way-contemptible!"

# President Martin's Report

(We present below important sections of the report submitted by President Homer Martin to the second convention of the United Automobile Workers, held last week at Milwaukee. The full report is to be found in the August 21 issue of the United Automobile Worker.—The Editor.)

ON THE C.I.O.

T soon became evident that, if we were to be successful in our efforts to organize the unorganized workers, we would have to look for strength and inspiration elsewhere than the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. We found this needed strength in the Committee for Industrial Organization which courageously took upon itself the task of bringing the message of unionism to the millions of workers untouched by the American Federation of Labor. Immediate steps were taken for the United Automobile Workers to align itself with the C.I.O. under the leadership of John L. Lewis. . . . It seems to us that with the success of the C.I.O. rests the whole future of organized labor in the United States.

#### JOHN LEWIS AND WILLIAM GREEN

E must at this time pay due honor to the great leader of the C.I.O., John L. Lewis, who with his aides gave us the fullest and most complete co-operation and backing. . . . Without the vigorous and militant backing of the C.I.O. our victory might not have been won.

It is quite significant that, at the same time that John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. were bending every effort to assist the automobile work ers in this battle of the ages, the leadership of the American Federation, thru William Green, not only failed to come to our assistance but actually, at a crucial moment in the negotiations, threw its entire weight against us. . . . The automobile workers of the nation will always remember William Green as a traitor and not as a friend because of the part which he and others like him played in attempting to defeat the struggles of the thousands of mass-production workers. . .

### SIGNIFICANCE OF G.M. STRIKE

HE signing of the General Motors agreement on February 11 proved to be the turning point in the history of the United Automobile Workers of America and of the Committee for Industrial Organization. With the victory of the union, a new spirit prevailed among workers thru the country. Workers in steel, rubber, aluminum and other industries flocked by the thousands into the C.I.O. . . . The General Motors agreement paved the way for the establishment of contractual relations between hundreds of manufacturers and their employees thru the C.I.O.

The victory of the United Automobile Workers in the General Motors strike was highly significant because it helped in bringing such corporations as United States Steel into line by signing contracts with the C.I.O. The General Motors strike helped to make strikes in other industries unnecessary. This should be borne in mind by all those who hastily criticized the United Automobile Workers for the strikes it participated in. The General Motors strike went far to estab-(Continued on page 4)

## The C.P. and the Question of Trade Union Unity

By WILL HERBERG

SLOGANS are not mere words to be judged in the abstract. The meaning of every slogan, of every proposal, is to be determined in its context and implications. This is especially true with the slogan of 'trade union unity' today. Of course, everybody is in favor of trade union unity—the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and all of the well-intentioned or not-so-well-intentioned these different meanings that are important.

In previous articles,\* I examined this unity question as it is seen by the A. F. of L. officialdom (unity thru the destruction of the C.I.O.) and by the right-wing socialists (unity thru disaster). The position of the Communist Party on this issue, especially as developed in recent weeks, is no less important in this connection, for the relative

\* See "The C.I.O. and the Problem of Unity," in the Workers Age of May 29, 1937, and "Peace' Thru Disaster," in the Workers Age of June 26, 1937.

political insignificance of the C.P. is by no means the measure of its nuisance power as an element of confusion and demoralization.

The C.P. For The A. F. of L.

march and April of this Communist Party was still agitating for "a stronger and more powerful A. F. of L." and was attacking us because we openly propeople in between and around. But claimed the split in the trade union the same words mean different movement to be inevitable under things to different people and it is the circumstances, historically necessary and progressive. It was the time when the C.P. was still straddling the whole A. F. of L.-C.I.O. issue, blowing hot and cold at the same time, advocating one policy in the A. F. of L. unions and an opposite one in the C.I.O. It was the time when the C.P.-dominated elements supported Wharton for president in the machinists union. when Bridges resisted any approach of the maritime unions on the West Coast to the C.I.O. It was the time when the progressives in the office workers and furriers unions were howled down for advocating affiliation to the C.I.O. As late as it did not comply with his order (Continued on page 3)

### Big Lead in Board Union Endorses Constitution

By GEORGE'F. MILES

Milwaukee, Wis.

The convention of the United Automobile Workers Union closed Sunday night, after a most impassioned plea by President Homer Martin to the opposition delegates for a show of real unity and cooperation had smashed thru their ranks depiste the most frantic efforts of the opposition caucus leaders to keep them intact.

The fight came over the delayed report by the Credentials Committee on granting eight additional votes to the 15 delegates from the Fisher Body Number One plant of Flint, Michigan, which backed the administration. The opposition fought desperately, believing that the outcome of this vote would determine whether the seven International Board members from the state of Michigan would divide four to three or five to two in favor of President Martin. They had the wind taken out of their sails by the declaration from the chair that the outcome of the vote would in no way change the results of the balloting for the Board members which had been held on the previous day. Martin appealed for the Credentials Committee ruling on the grounds of local autonomy and, on a viva voce vote, declared the ayes to have it. Pandemonium broke loose for almost fifteen minutes and was ended only when the opposition caucus leaders finally arose to throw in the sponge. They stated that they recognized they were licked and would abide by the decisions of the convention.

Earlier in the week, the convention had been addressed by John L. Lewis of the Committee for Industrial Organization, who dealt at length with the internal condition

(Continued on Page 3)

### Just about six months ago, in WEST VIRGINIA A.F.L. VOTES FOR C.I.O.

The West Virginia Federation of Labor voted unanimously, at its annual convention, to disobey orders of William Green, A. F. of L. president, to expel all G.I.O. unions. Passing the resolution was greeted with cheers by the 600 delegates.

John T. Easton, State Federation head, said that if the order had been obeyed, not enough local unions would have been left to "pour water out of a boot."

Such action would divide the workers in the Mountain State and "give our enemies the ammunition to divide us further," the federation declared.

Green announced at the executive council in session at Atlantic City that steps would be taken to revoke the federation's charter if Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
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### WHAT HAPPENED TO THE 75th CONGRESS

WHAT happened at the session of the 75th Congress just concluded is a most revealing object lesson in the class realities of American politics. The Congress that met at Washington last January was overwhelmingly Democratic and overwhelmingly New Deal, at least in profession. It had been elected on the Roosevelt slogan of "We have just begun to fight!" and it stood committed to the extensive program of reforms embodied in the Roosevelt campaign p edges. When the Congress addelay or mangle beyond recognition practically every -court reform, housing, wages-and-hours legislation, farm aid. It left behind it as malodorous a record of broken pledges, of reactionary sabotage, as is to be found in recent history. What had happened?

In terms of party politics, the answer is obvious. ting to flee!" A group of Democrats—conservative Southerners together with some turncoat "libera's"—joined with are the murderers? the Republicans to form a reactionary block against the New Deal and all its works. Whether this block facts can have the slightest doubt constituted a majority in the Senate (it certainly did as to who directed the machine not in the House) is uncertain but it was obviously guns that moved down Andres Nin strong enough to wreck the administration program in its most important aspects and to keep Congress for months in a state of do-nothing futility.

But let us look a little deeper. What brought about this startling shift of political forces in the federal legis:ature? Profound, deep-going shifts of mood Catalonian government. It was the employing classes of the country! For it is the beginning of wisdom to realize that American politics ramous agreement for panning the providence meeting, August P.O.U.M. and shooting its out. flection of the aims, interests and conflicts of these of Spain and the P.S.U.C. that up a temporary state organization, capitalistic classes, and will so remain until labor achieves its political independence as a class. In a and falsifications charging Nin and C.I.O. unions at the State Federamanner characteristically distorted by personal and other P.O.U.M. leaders with being tion of Labor meeting in October. partisan intrigue, official politics, under the twoparty system, is essentially a mirror of the crosscurrents and trends among the property-owning and higher incomes groups and it is in such terms that the realities of American politics are to be un-

In the dark days of the crisis, in the hectic months towards the end of the Hoover administration, big ter of Justice of the Negrin gov- state and director of T.W.O.C. for less profitable ones and to keep a reserve for the business was frantically on the look-out for something to stave off the collapse of the economic system, which it believed to be imminent. That is why it welcomed the New Deal program of active governmental intervention, liberal tho it was, and Stalin-Yezhov clique that directed naugh, Joe Sylvia, leader of the city, among the Africans, Malan certainly that is why it accepted without a murmur the early and inspired the C.P. of Spain and Olneyville section of the Providence makes progress with his propaganda for a South New Deal reform measures. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies! But, as the desperate sit- on Spanish soil that deliberately thus averting the threatened split. Empire and against the aliens, i.e., the Jews. In uation began gradually to pass, as recovery became prepared and carried out this asmore pronounced and profits continued to rise, as economic and social stability became more assured, as, moreover, the unexpected consequences of New Deal liberalism in the way of labor militancy began to manifest themselves, big and decisive sections of ment, who tolerated and permitted United Rubber Workers, treasurer. Africa to Germany. The struggle for this would be the capitalist class began to veer away from and to show active hostility to the administration and its

the reactionary terror against the Cludes representatives from T.W. the gold mines of Witwaterrand, which lie not far policies. The Democratic party remained intact officially but, in fact, it split; the conservative elements, who had been lying low and keeping mum for some time, began to speak out and organize. Finally, the point was reached where they quite openly joined with the Republicans to form what is virtually a single reactionary block. In European parliamentary geois democracy—a system which favored unlimited representation West Africa leaves no doubt as to their having cerpractise, such a reshifting of political forces would have led to the fall of the cabinet; in the United States, it found its logical result in the revolting spectacle of the recent Congress.

For labor, the obvious lessons is that, no matter how fair-spoken are the politicians and no matter how liberal their platforms, official politics remains let loose a counter-revolutionary standing membership must be obthe game of big business just as long as labor is not organized independently into its own party for ly they are determined to stop at the various unions. independent intervention in the political life of the country. It shows that, for all its vaunted liberalism, the Democratic party is not the vehicle by which the people of the country may progress to a solution of their pressing social problems. Such a vehicle can be found only in a Labor party!

# STOP THE STALINIST By Lambda TERROR IN SPAIN!

An Appeal Of The I.C.O.

Franco—unless the Spanish work-

and their agents in the ranks of

labor from shedding the blood of

the best champions of proletarian

Raise your voices in protest in

thousands of revolutionists in the

Organize international mass

Communist Opposition

COUNCILS IN N. E.

(Continued from Page 1)

clutches of the murderers of Nin!

protests!

or of the Stalinists!

August 9, 1937.

(We present below the main para- | democrat, and ended with Hitler, graphs of an appeal recently issued by the fascist. the Buro of the International Communist Opposition, to which the I.C.L.L. is affiliated.—The Editor.)

THERE can no longer be any doubt that Andres Nin, since hand of the bourgeois republicans the death of Joaquin Maurin the outstanding leader of the P.O.U.M., has been murdered....

the C.N.T., F.A.I. and Libertarian its own proletarian state power. machine guns which opened fire on Nin, to demand that the crime be formula? In the days of Noske in labor movement. Germany, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other revolutionists were also "shot while attemp-

Who are the guilty ones? Who

No one at all acquainted with the and his companions. It was the Communist Party of

Spain and the United Socialist Par- C.I.O. SETS UP CITY ty of Catalonia (P.S.U.C.) that had forced the removal of Nin as representative of the P.O.U.M. in the that, for months, carried on an in- these exploited workers would standing leaders. It was the C.P. 23, was for the purpose of setting deliberately propagated vile lies pending the probable expulsion of "spies" and "agents of Franco." It was the C.P. of Spain and the Director of the C.I.O., presided at P.S.U.C. and the "special police" the meeting, emphasizing the need under their control that had Nin for harmony in the state organizaand the P.O.U.M. leadership ar- tion, seriously threatened by an in-

ernment could not reach them.

responsibility for it.

doing the bidding of the Ebert-store clerks, etc.

capitalist exploitation and of the centive to renewal of the organiza-question, is simply reactionary. A serious left opoppression of the bourgeois state.

In Germany, the reactionary tershould result from establishment ist Party" was formed, including the communists. ror began with Noske, the social- of the state organization.

### **WORLD TODAY**

Special Correspondent Describes Conditions In South Africa

(We are devoting this week's column to a very interest-In Spain, the reactionary terror ing report by a correspondent from South Africa.—The that has begun with Jose Diaz. Prieto and Azana, will end with

ing class proves able to stay the HE seasonal dullness in trade is now accom-I panied by several failures on the Stock Exchange, caused by the uneasiness in the gold market. It began with the shipments of considerable amounts As Nin, together with other re- revolution, unless the Spanish of Russian gold to the U.S.A. Since then, one bankvolutionary prisoners belonging to working class proves able to set up ruptcy has followed another, interrupted by slight improvements. It is obvious at first sight that, with-Youth, were being removed from We call upon all honest revolu- out the diamonds of Kimberley and the gold of Witthe Madrid police jail, allegedly in tionists, upon all true socialists and waterrand, South Africa would still be an agriculorder to be taken to Valencia, they communists, to raise their voices in tural country with only a small white population. were met by an auto fitted out with protest against the assassination of Gold came first, then, with the miners, came the merthem and murdered them all. Im- fully brought to light and that chants and so it has been up to the present. The journed a short time ago, it had managed to defeat, mediately, the rumor was spread those guilty be properly punished. prosperity of the country rests on the miners £35 that Nin had "taken to flight." The murderers and their accom- and the native miners £6 monthly wages. The budget New Deal measure introduced by the adminstration "Shot while attempting to flee" plices must be overwhelmed with rests on the taxes paid by the mining companies. who does not remember this the indignation of the international Everything here depends on the gold price. The exploitation of other ores or minerals (copper, asbestos, coal) is, compared with the value of the order to save the hundreds and gold production, hardly of any importance. Apart from some negligible exceptions, industrial production is concerned with articles of consumption, the conversion of industrial products or the require-Down with the reactionary ter- ments of the mines (engineering firms which work on imported raw material).

The Buro of the International The building industry, which is important for its number of employees and the material consumed, is closely connected with the stability of the markets. Here, too, there is a marked feeling of uneasiness. This applies also to other branches of industry. In the motor industry, orders are being cancelled and instalments paid irreguarly. This is very important, as people have more cars here than flats (one car and sentiment in the ranks of the business and C.P. of Spain and the P.S.U.C. the new A. F. of L. concern for to every four white men). Well-to-do people declare that they cannot afford such luxuries as wireless sets, while others, with regular fixed incomes, are getting uneasy and are saving for the coming crisis -altho it will not help them very much as they are all entangled in some long-term hire-purchase obligations.

> If the demand of the world market for gold re-Mike Widman, New England mains approximately constant and the U.S.S.R. increases her gold production and disposes of it, it will mean a further fall in the gold price as well as the closing of some mines, the exploitation of which rested at Barcelona and sent to ternal situation within the T.W. was profitable during the boom. It is an open secret Madrid to be locked up in their O.C. John Cavanaugh, one of the that, during the prosperity period, several shafts of private jail so that even the Minis- most popular textile leaders in the well-paying mines were closed in order to exploit the Blackstone Valley, was nomicrisis. The political consequences are incalculable. It was the entire press of the Communist International and the Soviet Union that supported this infamous campaign. It was the infamous campaign the P.S.U.C. It was their agents T.W.O.C., declined the nomination, African Republic which is to be independent of the sassination. They are the chief cul- Robert Swift of the Dyers Federa- vised by the German Nazis and it is certain that tion in West Warwick, vice-presi-German agitators have been working among the Equally guilty are the right-wing socialists and the worthy liberal row Fabrics Local of the T.W.O.C.,

> republicans in the Negrin govern- secretary; Ralph Ciccio of the The Malanists do not intend to return South West O.C. locals, rubber workers, bakers, from the old South West frontier. But some price When the ex-Kaişer's officers, dyers, wool sorters, department has to be paid for Nazi help. A naval base on the Scheidemann regime, murdered Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Lenin on rules for the new organization of the sphere of action of the new cruisers showed how this awful crime laid appeared on the question of repre- would be incomprehensible. On the other hand, the bare the shameless lies of bour-sentation. The big textile locals increased activities of the Nazi groups in South turns into reactionary terror on the basis of one delegate for tain ambitions and their attempt to achieve them. The against the working masses the every hundred members. A move to South African Nationalists are realising that they moment it is endangered. Today it limit representation to ten for any need an alliance with a European power and that, is the degenerate communists who, local was led by Wm. Ross of in a critical situation, they will have to make conin the name of the defense of bourgeois democracy, murder the champosal was accepted, however, with pions of proletarian revolution and provision that certification of good- aimed directly against England and a breakaway terror thruout the land. Apparent- tained from the national offices of union with another imperialist power, i.e., with Germany.

> nothing in their efforts to smash the resistance of the revolutionary working class to the restoration of working class to the restoration of summer slack season, a powerful in-(Continued on page 4)

# AUTO UNION CONVENTION BACKS MARTIN Progressives Win Big Lead in General Board sisted in the work of the conven-

(Continued from Page 1) of the union and expressed the hope that the convention would end on a note of unity and coopera-

JOHN L. LEWIS



gressive caucus agreed to the reers associated with the opposition forces. It was thus that a unanimous vote was achieved for the reelection of Homer Martin as President, George Addes as Secretary

On the heels of agreements between the Textile Workers Organturers covering more than 45,000

has waived a hearing before the movement. It has correctly taken a way of settling the whole matter nas waived a nearing before the stand against any act which might but, once it is given a little thought, slogan: "Unity in and thru the and will interpose no objection to help to cause a split." the election. Elections are expected to follow in the other mills of the

The American Woolen Company accounts for about 20 per cent of the woolen and worsted industry, with 27 mills located principally in 28.000 workers.

Sidney Hillman, T.W.O.C. chair- they ask? man, after a series of conferences with representatives of the American Woolen Company, said that he expects the workers will choose the agency and thereby lead to an lightning right-about-face turns at ter of the emergence of the C.I.O. American labor movement will flow agreement with the American which the C.P. is so adept. The as a new federation of labor. in the days to come; to achieve Woolen Company.

### Silk Strike Effective

dents: Richard T. Frankensteen, R. tion. With this in mind, the Pro- J. Thomas, Walter N. Wells, Wyndham Mortimer and Edward Hall. However, when it came to the re election of International Board members, the opposition refused to back the proposal for the re-election of the old Board. It was therefore thrown into district meetings where the administration carried all but one district, the latter being Ohio, where the opposition took the three board members. The International Board, including the general officers, now stands sixteen to eight in support of President Martin. For days, the actual relationship

of forces in the convention was alleged to be in doubt, both sides claiming a majority. After four days of conventioning, the opposition blundered into a roll call vote, which definitely showed a majority of over 300 votes for the Martin administration but even this ma-



jority was an inchoate mass, most thing, it was the bitter factional-

Frankensteen deserve unstinting praise for the masterly manner in which they led the convention, in the face of the blatant factionalism and deliberate provocations of the opposition caucus.

The results of the convention are

of great significance for the labor novement as whole and for the C.I.O. in particular. The U.A.W. is the first of the newly born C.I.O. giants-the largest of them in fact to show its ability to stabilize its organization thru the development of its own leadership out of the ranks. That this was achieved under the abnormal conditions of unscrupulous and unprincipled factionalism and self-seeking, makes the significance even greater. Needless to say, the leaders of the C.I.O. aided materially in bringing about this welcome result. The presence of John L. Lewis and his desire to see peace in the organization were of great value. Most praiseworthy was the fine assistance and aid rendered to the union by David f them attending a labor convenism of the opposition which finally Dubinsky, President of the Intertion for the first time. Moreover, fused the administration forces national Ladies Garment Workers the leadership on the floor, as well into a efficient fighting machine. Union. Leading spokesmen of the as the national leadership, found One could see almost before his union expressed their profound election of the three general offic- it difficult to handle a determined, eyes the emergence and beginning appreciation for these services. noisy, obstreperous opposition such of the crystallization of a national Union leaders had words of great as this one led by a handful of com-leadership in the United Auto-praise also for the work of Ora nunist and socialist party mem- mobile Workers. President Homer Gasaway and Ray Edmundson of bers and their supporters. If any- Martin and Vice-President Richard the United Mine Workers, who as-

The results of the convention can

be summarized as follows: 1. The Martin forces now have majority of the officers of the organization. In the past, they were

DAVID DUBINSKY



handicapped by a majority of oppositionists.

2. The administration now has a comfortable majority of two to one on the Board and has carried all but one geographic area.

3. The convention adopted a new constitution which centralizes the organization and the responsibility of the union. The new constitution also provides for biennial conventions, thus giving the Martin administration two years in which stabilize and build the organization until the next convention at Toledo.

4. The powers of the President have been greatly extended under the new constitution. In addition, the convention has gone a long way to prove Martin not merely a great orator but also a leader of sterling qualities. His prestige in the organization was never greater.

5. The powers of the International Secretary were limited and more clearly defined, making impossible overlapping or duality of

6. The opposition has been robbed of all its "issues." The convention was conducted in a thoroly democratic manner and the opposition was given every opportunity to express itself. It was licked fair-

7. The convention itself was a great education for the 1,200 delegates and for the leadership itself. Out of it is emerging a new, capable, honest and progressive leadership, worthy of the union it re-

# The International Class Struggle

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# T.W.O.C. IN POLL AT The Communist Party and the Question of AM. WOOLENS Trade Union Unity in U.S.A.

(Continued from Page 1) izing Committee and silk manufac- May, that is, only three or four months ago, the C.P. could still out of a total of 58,000 workers in the industry, following a twoweeks' strike, comes the announcein the Wood and Ayer Mills at 1937 issue, "altho it has not af-Lawrence, Mass., employing about filiated to the C.I.O., in order that and railroad unions." it may more effectively fight for the unity of the American labor the simple-minded, a glib and easy

Scheme

It should not be difficult to see that this policy of lack of policy,

that this unprincipled system of short-sighted and self-defeating "expediency," was the best sort of aid and comfort to the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. in New England, and employing about their crusade against the C.I.O. "For a stronger and more powerful

The bulk of the silk workers re- The office workers and furriers turned to work two weeks after unions affiliated altho a few weeks they had gone out in their first before it had been "disruption" to effective general strike, gaining a suggest the invitation of C.I.O.

called by Governor Earle.

on "The Road to Trade Union the workers is the worst possible Unity" in the Daily Worker of disservice to the C.I.O.—that it is August 5, 1937, William Z. Foster the deliberate cultivation of demofollowing terms:

At first blush, this may seem, to the scheme begins to appear C.I.O.!" The C.I.O. is here to stay positively ludicrous—and danger- as a new labor federation, as the

What sense is there to this fantastic idea of a "broad unity convention"? What connection has it course it is essential to bring the with reality? If such a "unity con- railroad unions into more direct vention" to include the C.I.O. and connection with the movement as a A. F. of L. unions were at all prac- whole. But these aims can be acticable—even "eventually"—there | complished—are being accomplishwould obviously be no ground what- ed—only in and thru the C.I.O. and A. F. of L.!"—what more could ever for the present division in the no hare-brained schemes of alllabor movement, that is, for the embracing "unity conventions" very existence of the C.I.O. To talk | which couldn't possibly embrace about such a "unity convention" anybody are necessary. In the year with any degree of seriousness is and a half of its existence, the SUBSCRIBE NOW A New Hare-Brained "Unity" expects the workers will choose the Then, just about the beginning T.W.O.C. as their sole bargaining of May, came another of those necessary and progressive character of the doubt the the d

idea of building and strengthening Otherwise, the slogan is no more real unity means to bring the the A. F. of L. was given up and, than a piece of irresponsible various streams of trade unionism at last, the C.I.O. was "recognized." demagogy. A Dangerous Mirage The notion of a "broad unity new status in the industry. With speakers, not to say affiliation. This convention" is not merely a utopian that the "broad unity convention" ide about 14,000 workers covered by was a move in the right direction fantasy, totally out of relation with is heartily endorsed by the New agreements reached prior to the insofar as it is possible for the reality; it is positively harmful. Leader, the organ of the right-wing walkout on August 9, the majority C.P. today, caught in its own net What does it mean to hammer of the silk workers won their de- of unprincipled cliquism and trick- away at "peace and unity" at the mands in the briefest and most ef- ery, to move in the right direction present time—and to hold out the fective strike in the history of the at all. At the same time, however, prospect of a "broad convention" the C.P. press began to raise the as the road to unity? It means to was introduced in the form of a re-The windup of the strike at the unity question in an entirely new proclaim the C.I.O. as merely ten-solution, the New Leader hails it as close of the second week came way, giving it a new twist unex-with a dramatic climax, when representatives of the T.W.O.C., head- the May 1 issue Jack Stachel laid perhaps, but destined to be liquiresentatives of the T.W.O.C., head-ed by Sidney Hillman, met with down the line in a special article dated ultimately, to be "dissolved" bers are beginning to demand peace and are going to press their demand", ed by Sidney rimman, met with down the fine a special at detail and are going to press their demand", repesentatives of large Pennsyl- and, in subsequent days, the idea into the new, "broad" organization while "most of the very high officials repesentatives of large repeated in every conto come. Is it not obvious that to of both factions have reached the ceivable connection. In his article foster such a state of mind among point of scolding like fishwives . .

presents the magic formula in the ralization, of lack of confidence in the C.I.O. and its future? What-"This means that a big struggle ever be the intention behind the ment of elections to be held in American Woolen Company mills, split." "It (the American Federative the New York of the New Yo tional Labor Relations Board. The fight for industrial unionism," de- take the form ... of a demand for hands of the unscrupulous "peace"elections are scheduled to be held clared the Communist in its May an eventual broad unity convention mongers of the type of Matthew to include the C.I.O., A. F. of L. Woll, who are perhaps even more dangerous at the present time than the Hutchesons and Whartons!\*\*

labor federation of the future. Of

course the unity of the trade union

movement is vitally necessary; of

to flow into this channel and to

unite into one mighty torrent of

\*\* It is not without significance

socialists, notoriously nostile to th

C.I.O. Commenting editorially in the

August 7, 1937, issue on the recent

convention of the Massachusetts Fed-

eration of Labor where this proposal

militant organization!

As against such misleading fanauthority. tasies, we take our stand upon the

ly and squarely.

### President Martin's Report

(Continued from page 1)

lish the Committee for Industrial Organization as a union movement which must be recognized and dealt with by the employers.

#### ON THE STAY-IN STRIKE

THE stay-in strike was beyond a doubt the only method by which the workers in the automobile industry could have forced the employers, who were determined to disregard the law of the land, into entering into real collective bargaining relationships. The stay-in strike was not only significant because it brought about collective bargaining in the automobile industry without loss of life but it was also significant because of its singular effectiveness in stopping the very heart strings of industry. The stay-in strike will remain an effective weapon against employers who refuse to recognize the moral and legal rights of the workers to collective bargaining. In my opinion it will remain labor's most effective weapon against the autocracy of industry.

#### THE SWEEP OF VICTORIES

T would be impossible to describe or even mention all of the strikes that we have conducted in the automobile industry this past year. The number runs into the hundreds. Our record has been one of practically a clean sweep of victories. We have not lost a single strike which has been authorized. Those that were lost or where the workers received a temporary setback were directly traceable to the fact that in these instances the workers, at the time of the strike, were unorganized and would stop work spontaneously without first being able to obtain much needed advice and assistance from the International Union and would launch themselves into a strike at such time, place and under circumstances which, from the very outset, precluded the possibility of suc-

As a result of negotiations with and without strikes we now have signed agreements with over 400 automobile and parts manufacturing companies, together with aircraft and some miscellaneous manufacturing plants. By June of 1937, we had signed an agreement with every single manufacturer of automobiles in the United States, with the single exception of the Ford Motor Company—and let me say that we have working agreements with some of the outlying plants of the Ford Motor Company. We have carried on successful strikes against some plants of the Ford Motor Company, proving that Ford is not different from the others and that Ford workers want organization and the rights and privileges of unionism just as other automobile workers

### ON CONSOLIDATION AND RESPONSIBILITY

BY the beginning of summer the wave of strikes had more or less subsided. We had attained a membership of more 350,000, of which 200,000 were in the city of Detroit. With such a vast number within our folds we faced a new problem. . . . to consolidate our gains and stabilize our organization in order that we might fortify ourselves for future struggles and protect ourselves from loss of what we had already achieved. One of the most dangerous problems which confronted us at this time was the recurrence of unauthorized sit-downs and stoppages of work.

Never under any circumstances has it been the policy of this organization to encourage or promote unauthorized strikes. Individuals within our ranks, including organizers and other paid officials, who have been guilty, do not represent the policy of the U.A.W.A. We have not hesitated to repudiate any practices on the part of certain individuals or groups within our organization which either directly or indirectly encouraged wild-cat strikes. . . . Union officials guilty of such practices failed completely of their responsibility and forfeited any right to act as leaders of organized labor. Demagogic appeal and a willingness to sacrifice the future of the labor movement for a temporary personal popularity with the workers by posing as a "militant" are the chief traits of such individuals. I should like to emphasize at this point, however, that such behavior on the part of a handful of the officers and members has served to blind the public to the fact that the vast majority of our membership have earnestly endeavored in good faith to fulfill their obligations and shoulder their responsibilities. . .

In the General Motors Corporation the unauthorized strike situation was more acute than elsewhere. . . . Altho we realized that these unauthorized stoppages so widely publicized by General Motors and others were caused to a considerable degree by the reluctance of local officials to accept the spirit of the agreement between the union and the management, we were determined that, whatever General Motors might do on their part to bring their own managements into line, it was important for the union to do what it could to eliminate unauthorized strikes. . . . The General Motors workers of the nation responded and, since that time, we have had practically no unauthorized strikes or stoppages of work in any of the General Motors plants. We have proven our ability to exercise discipline and assume responsibility to the entire nation.

### ON STABILIZATION AND DISCIPLINE

THE stabilization of the International Union is not only dependent upon the elimination of unauthorized strikes and stoppages of work but it is also linked together with broader aspects of the problem, namely, the realization upon the part of the members of our union that we must have one policy which is carried out with authority. . . We must be welded together into a powerful, authoritative and responsible International Union. Only those who wish to divide and defeat us are interested in any other sort of program. The history of the United Mine Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is the history of growth of a powerful, authoritative organization.

One of the most dangerous situations we have to contend with as an organization has been the presence and possibility of sections of our organization acting as if they were small international unions within our organization. This condition is brought about when certain organizers and even higher officers, both of the locals and the International, refuse to abide by the decisions of the convention and of the General Executive Board and put into effect policies other than that of the International Union. Certain cliques which are greedy for control use portions of the organization as vehicles to advance their own interests. They act as if the labor movement was made for the purpose of promoting their own power and glory. . . . Individuals or groups who engage in such practices, help only the enemies of the labor movement . . . There must be unity within the International Union if we are

### The Economic Position of the Negro and Its Effects on the White Workers

By LYMAN FRASER

THE unusually oppressive eco nomic conditions under which Negro lives is an old story But it is a story that must be retold to nail down its significance It must be retold, especially as new material is unearthed, to explore the many-angled relation of the Negro to the American class strug-

Revealing new material is being unearthed in a study of family incomes and expenditures now being carried on by the United States Buro of Labor Statistics. The study covers the year 1935-36. According to the preliminary results in six cities, a staggeringly larger proportion of Negro families than white families are in the low income groups.

#### Percentage of Families with Yearly Incomes Below \$1,000

	Negro	White
Columbus, Ohio	78.7	26.6
Atlanta, Ga.	81.1	24.8
Columbia, S. C.	86.4	22.3
Mobile, Ala.	89.8	33.3
Albany, Ga.	92.1	27.9
Gastonia, N. C.	92.2	45.8

The proportion of Negro families with total family incomes from all sources (including relief) of less than \$1,000 yearly ranged from a low of 78.7% in the northern city of Columbus, Ohio, where the Negro is "better off" than in the South, to a high of 92.2% in Mo bile, Ala. For all six cities, 83% of the Negro families had incomes of less than \$1,000 compared with 27% of the white families.

No family, black or white, can live in cities under conditions of minimum decency where the total yearly income is below \$1,000. Still worse, seven out of ten Negro families must live on less than \$750 yearly. It cannot be done in the North. It cannot be done in the South despite the Congressional and other hypocrites who argue that low wages are justified in the South because God has made it possible to live more cheaply in those blessed regions. Differences in cost of living are small; if workers in the South live on less it is because they live less.

The income figures clearly reveal, not only the poverty that grinds down the Negro, but the special racial exploitation to which he is subject since low incomes

two to four times as numerous as 5% of Birmingham's white populaamong white families.

It must be recognized that the terrible racial exploitation of the Negro helps to move many white families to higher income levels. This is not only true of the upper classes. It is also true of the petty exploiters of labor, industrial and commercial, who want low wages, and of many middle class families who hire Negro servants for a pittance while the lady of the house plays the grande dame.

#### Effect On White Workers

But it must also be recognized that the exploitation of the Negro primarily benefits the upper classes and that it helps to keep down wages, salaries and incomes generally among the masses of white people, especially the workers. While there is a large differential between the proportion of white and Negro families in the low-income groups in the six cities, the proportion of white families in the low-income groups is not much smaller than the national average.

In twenty-eight cities surveyed by the Buro of Labor Statistics the proportion of white families with incomes below \$1,000 was 32%. If one looks at the figures in the table one sees that in four cities the percentage of lowincome white families was not much lower than the national average, it was about the same in Mobile and 50% higher in Gastonia. For the six cities as a whole 27% of the white families had incomes below \$1,000 compared with the 32% national average. And it is significant to note that, in the six cities, the absolute number of low incomes in the two racial groups was about equal: there were 13,750 white families getting incomes be low \$1,000 yearly compared with 13,926 Negro families. The condition of those "poor whites" was not improved by exploitation of the Negro.

The terrible meaning of those low incomes to the Negro people is illustrated in the blighted slum areas of Birmingham. In those slum areas, where the population is mainly black, the infant mortality is 20% higher than the city average, reportable diseases are higher and deaths 36% 65%higher.

Yet one out of every seven persons living in those blighted slum areas is white; that one is mulamong Negro families are from tiplied to include 7,500 persons or

Inter-

tion. And there are slums inhabited exclusively by whites.

#### Toilers Have Common Enemy

The recoil of Negro exploitation upon the white toilers appears most clearly on the farms. Negro exploitation is undoubtedly a major cause of the backward condition of Southern agriculture. Independent white farmers, except the minority of substantial owners, are not much better off than Negro farmers. That is still more true among the share croppers: a recent government survey revealed that in North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi and Georgia, 64% of the white croppers and 72% of the Negro croppers had yearly incomes of only \$250 to \$500. The differtial in favor of the white croppers is so small as to be practically insignificant; the important thing is that neither the white cropper nor the Negro cropper can live humanly with those incomes. The Negro suffers most, but the others suffer

Black and white are, alike, exploited in final analysis, by a system that uses racial prejudices and racial antagonisms to consolidate and preserve exploitation. The most elementary need of the class struggle in the South is realization by white workers, farmers and croppers that the enemy of the Negro is their enemy and must be des-

# World Today

(Continued from page 2)

In this party there are many intellectuals, some clerks, a few workers and even less Negroes. communists here are not a good type. The natives and colored people are more sympathetic, as a natural basis for opposition exists here. But it must not be forgotten that most of the educated natives are deeply influenced by the church and that many able natives, especially Zulus, are civil servants (army, police, etc.) and they stand with the Empire. The national and social problems of the natives are theoretically clear and not exceedingly difficult to deal with in propaganda. The problem of united action with the white proletariat is much more complicated. The proletariat here differs tremendous ly from the European working

class. It profits by the exploitation of the natives and shows an incredible race-snobbishness, particularly among the "down-andouts." To this extent, the situation is completely different from what it is in China or India. sions of the General Executive Board between meetings of the Execu-small minority of the natives live tive Board and to administer the affairs of the International Union. in towns and of these some remain The Vice-Presidents are responsible to the President who, together and get some kind of education. The rest live in the kraals or return there. The chief still directs their lives in the kraal. The government confirms or removes him and pays him. An alliance between proletariat (even the native proletariat) and the kraal is up against tremendous difficulties.

### means the division of power. Our membership must retain the power ON LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

to have a union. The power must rest undivided in the membership

and be expressed thru the convention. The convention delegates to the

General Executive Board the authority to carry out the policies deter-

mined democratically at the convention and to modify these policies be-

tween conventions, as circumstances make necessary. The convention

likewise delegates to the President the authority to carry out the deci-

national Union is organized in an industry which is characterized by

maximum participation by the members in determining the policies and

selecting the leadership of the International Union and in delegating

the authority to carry out these policies to a highly integrated, cen-

tralized body led by an International President. . . . To have a loosely

federated group of international unions within an International Union

Democracy within our organization is insured by allowing the

with them, is responsible to the General Executive Board.

the highest degree of centralization of control. . .

THERE is an ever growing tendency for union men and women to feel that there is something wrong in uniting in a powerful union to fight for the defense and advancement of their welfare against reactionary employers on the economic field and, at the same time, vote for the representative of these anti-labor interests on election day. If it is good for labor to unite economically, then why is it not also good for labor to unite politically? . .

There are growing indications that labor is becoming conscious of the necessity of electing its own people to office, people who it knows will not betray it. It is my firm belief that we will see a day when there will be a labor party in this country which is based on and rooted firmly within the ranks of the organized labor movement.

### TALL TIMBER

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