# Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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# FDR Ditches New Deal in Congress

Roosevelt Abandons Federal Housing In Order To Aid Private Building; Program Threatens Wage Levels Of Building Workers

cherished features of the New Deal in an effort to conciliate hostile big-business interests and get their "cooperation" in meeting the new depression, President Roosevelt last week placed before Congress a message on housing along the most orthodox Hooverian lines as well as proposal to cut appropriations for road building and other internal improvements in an effort to balance the budget.

The housing message carefully eliminates any suggestion of a federal housing program based on increased "spending"; on the contrary, it places the greatest emphasis on aiding private business and encouraging it to engage in housingconstruction activity by backing such enterprises with a government guarantee, by helping reduce financing costs and the like. The message also suggests that wage rates in the building trades be slashed as an "encouragement" to private construction and offers the workers the vague promise of a higher annual wage should there be a boom in the building industry.

The Presidential housing program immediately met with almost unanimous applause in the reac tionary press, which gleefully pointed out how closely it followed the well-known Coolidge-Hoover pattern. But it aroused sharp criticism in labor and liberal circles A few days before, John L. Lewis, in a newspaper interview, had

## **Detroit Section** Of LNPL Set Up

Detroit, Mich.

Labor's Non-Partisan League secured a new affiliate last Sunday when two hundred delegates, representing seventy-odd local unions mainly of auto workers and other C.I.O. unions but also including a few A. F. of L. locals, organized a Wayne County branch.

The conference adopted a politi cal declaration and resolutions on structure and finances. The latter two caused little discussion except for the provision that, for the time **being, no individual membershi**p organizations be set up, the League confining itself to trade unions only. The latter proposal, as well as the section of the main resolution providing for preparations for a state labor party based upon the trade unions, precipitated a heated discussion during which the supporters of the "unity" caucus in the United Automobile Workers Union split wide open. Communist Party supporters resisted the organization of a distinct labor party and proposed the inclusion of middleclass groups, while leading social ists and other "unity" caucus members lined up with the progressives in the U.A.W. to score Republican and Democratic anti-labor policies Carried was the proposal for a party of labor based upon the trade unions and guided by a labor plat-

The division affected even the (Continued on Page 2)

Rapidly discarding the most | urged a large-scale government housing program, with the socialsecurity reserves used to finance it. He also opposed very vigorously the idea of cutting wage rates in the building trades on the strength of the uncertain expectation of a higher annual income. Only the government, he pointed out, could guarantee an adequate annual wage for the building-trades workers. The wage-cutting proposals also met with sharp protest from leaders of the A. F. of L. buildingtrades unions.

> Mr. Roosevelt's request for Congress to curtail highway expenses for the sake of balancing the budget seems to have aroused considerable resentment in Congressional circles since this would mean increased expenditures for the states.

### IN MR. HOOVER'S **FOOTSTEPS**

"TT does seem as if, in dealing with the business recession, President Roosevelt is growing more like Mr. Hoover every day . . . Mr. Roosevelt's housing message might well have come from the hand of Mr. Hoover himself. . . . He offers the old reliable Hoover-Coolidge formula-stand behind business and help it go ahead with the job. . . . And he wants to balance the budget. That is becoming an obsession with him, as it was with Mr. Hoover in the early '30s. Thus, as you look at Washington now, you see Mr. Roosevelt playing the role created in 1929 by Mr. Hoover. The only difference is that Mr. Roosevelt plays it with a little more verve. The lines are the same, only brightened up with the Roosevelt personality." - Raymond Clapper, in the New York World-Telegram, November 30, 1937.

# AFL-CIO Talks End in Deadlock

Executive Council Refuses To Grant Free Entry To All C.I.O. Unions; Lewis Declares Status-Quo Prevails: Committee To Meet Dec. 21

A complete deadlock was the net | A. F. of L. spokesmen declared held last week at Washington be-Murray for the C.I.O. and Wm. the A. F. of L., for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of reunifying the labor movement. This small committee of four, including the heads of the two labor organizations, was set up after it had become clear that the larger committee of thirteen, ten C.I.O. and three A. F. of L., could not get any where, especially since, as far as the Federation was concerned, it seemed to lack the full and proper authority.

The issue upon which the Lewis Green conversations appear to have foundered was the same as had been in the forefront all along. The

result of the three conferences themselves ready to accept industrial unionism in a limited number tween John L. Lewis and Philip of fields-but even this they refused to put in writing. As for the Green and George M. Harrison for other C.I.O. unions, the Federation representatives would make no commitments except to suggest that special conferences be held to 'adjust" each situation separately. As a preliminary condition, they demanded the dissolution of the C.I.O. Fully realizing that the A. F. of L. plan would lead to the dis-ruption of the industrial-union movement, the C.I.O. spokesmen, on their part, demanded the free entry of all their affiliated unions into the A. F. of L., as well as the establishment of an autonomous industrial-union department within the Federation. Mr. Lewis emphatically declared that he would not 'betray" any of the unions in the C.I.O. or accept a "peace which means death."

A special session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. had been summoned for the middle of last week for the official purpose of considering wage-hour legislation. The meeting, however, natu-U. A. W. membership acted with rally discussed the "peace" nego-dispatch. A membership meeting tiations as well. Certain elements of 4,000 Chevrolet workers in of the council seem to have adopted Flint cheered Homer Martin's a somewhat conciliatory position slashing attack against the "unity" but the big craft-union chiefs who caucus's irresponsible tactics; a dominate the Federation leadership mass meeting of Lansing workers apparently would not yield an inch postponed all strike votes and de-upon any consideration. Inevitably. cided to abide by International therefore, the discussions came up union discipline; a record turn-out against a blank wall when the half-baked proposals and voted menting on the outcome, Mr. Lewis declared that, in the failure to reach any agreement, the situation had returned to the status-quothat is, a struggle for survival between the two labor federations, in which the C.I.O. has the great advantage of its modern organizational strategy and industrial struc-

A report of the futile negotiations in the committee of four will inflamed by "unity" caucus lead- December 21. Whether discusers, Homer Martin won them over sions will continue thereafter, is problematical.

> Responsibility for the virtual breakdown of the "peace" negotiations must be attributed directly to attitude of the craft-union leaders who hold the Federation in their grip. Placing their narrow jurisdictional vested interests above the interests of labor as a whole, they have hitherto stubbornly rejected the only sound basis for unity-a free and unhampered field for industrial unionism in the great mass-production and allied indus-

# EXPOSED IN AUTO UNION managers: By FREDERICK J. ARNOLD

STALINIST DOUBLE-DEALING

Detroit, Mich.

PONTIAC automobile shops resumed operations on Monday, November 22, after more than a week's suspension which began with that dramatic unauthorized sit-down strike. The opening of the plants, however, did not close the question or wipe out interest in the problems raised in the course of the anti-union rebellion. In fact, if anything, interest has been increased. From all sections of the country come queries to the International office of the United Automobile Workers for information about it. All questions indicate a keen appreciation of the fact that, in the Pontiac sit-down, the U. A. W. stood at the brink of destruction and was saved only by the determined stand of the majority of the Executive Board which stubbornly refused to sanction the

### The Issue In The Pontiac Sit Down

Involved in this sit-down in Pontiac was not the problem of whether legitimate grievances against General Motors existed; of that there appeared to be no doubt. What was at issue was the decision on how these legitimate grievances could be solved. The International insisted that, under no circumstances, would it permit any section of the organization to decide upon strikaction without first utilizing to the full the existing agencies for the settlement of grievances and that the International office was that agency which must decide when and under what circumstances strike action could be resorted to. The official organ of the union put it very well when it declared, in the course of an editorial dealing

"The fact that an employer wants us to engage in a strike ought to be sufficient reason for any union to resist being forced into a strike, which would only embarrass the union and really encourage the employer and give him an opportunity to smash and destroy the union altogether. . . . We will strike when and where we want to strike and not when and where the employer wants us to But this eminently sane advice

fell on deaf ears where the Stalinist-socialist "unity" caucus was concerned. Ostensibly in favor of unity and loudly denying any desire for a general strike or unauthorized strikes, they nevertheless organized a campaign in the ranks against the policies of the International office. It is not strange therefore, that the three danger points where wild-cat action threatened-Fisher Body in Pontiac, Fisher Body in Lansing, and Cadillac, in Detroit-leaders or supporters of the "unity" caucus stood at the helm. Hence the determination on tne part of the eight me the "unity" caucus on the International Executive Board to secure an approval of the unauthorized strike. After having fought to authorize and approve a disastrous wild-cat strike, Vice-President Wyndham Mortimer sees neither irony nor humor in his statement printed in the Daily Worker in which he declares that "there is and could be no difference of opinnion in the International Executive Board on the question of unauthorized strikes.

The U.A.W. Membership Acts

Aroused to the dangers involved with the provocations of the plant in the course being propagated by

the Stalinist-socialist caucus, the of Cadillac workers rejected all small committee reconvened. Comconfidence in its bargaining committee headed by Stuart Strachan, a leading Martin supporter in Detroit; resolutions from outlying local unions began to pour in pledging loyalty and support to national union policy. Strengthened by these actions, the Executive Board went into Pontiac, defeated the "unity" caucus inside its own councils and, after a heart-to-heart-talk with the sit-downers, who had been to his point of view and led them

out of the plant. This speedy turn of affairs caused consternation in "unity" caucus circles. The socialist wing, the uncompromisingly reactionary still speechless with amazement has said absolutely nothing. But the Communist Party section of the 'unity" caucus found no difficulty in doing a quick back-flip. In an editorial in the Daily Worker of November 23, one day after the evacuation, the Communist Party makes three points:

1. "It is also clear that the Communist Party is not in favor of these spontaneous, small strikes. They create a danger for the union.

2. "The company is looking for just such pretexts for refusing to sign a contract which will remedy

(Continued on Page 3)

# Jay LOVESTONE

"Auto Workers and the Crisis"

**DETROIT** 

SUNDAY, DEC. 12 2:15 P. M. Detroit Inst. of Arts

### FORM INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL IN PITTSBURGH

The Steel City Industrial Union Council of the C.I.O. was formed at a conference at Pittsburgh attended by some 350 delegates from 32 national unions affiliated to the Committee for Industrial Organization. The new council represents a total local membership of 150,000.

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### PHRASE-SLINGERS AMUCK!

THE situation confronting the labor movement is I growing more difficult every day with the deepening of the economic recession, the renewed offensive of the employers and the precipitate retreat of the Roosevelt administration from its New Deal program. In a situation such as this, only the most steady, realistic and responsible leadership can tide organized labor over the crisis, preserving intact the positions gained in recent years, and rallying its forces for a new advance on every front. Reckless demagogy, factional provocation and super-"militant" phrase-mongering, dangerous at any time, are today a positive menace in the labor movement.

Last week we had occasion to call emphatic attention to the criminal policy being followed by the Stalinites and their allies in the automobile workers union, a policy compounded precisely of such demagogy, provocation and phrase-mongering. Among these allies of the Stalinites are a number of socialists adhering to one of the several tendencies in the Socialist Party. In the past, these socialists seemed generally content to play the stooges to the Stalinist wire-pullers but now they have apparently decided to strike out on their own. The last issue of the Socialist Call, dated November 27, 1937, features a front-page editorial on "Wild-Cat Strikes" which. for sheer reckless irresponsibility, far surpasses anything the Daily Worker has dared to print. And the Socialist Call is the official organ of the Socialist

Wild-cat strikes, we are told, are, "of course, not the best kind of action." But they "will not be halted ... until the cause for these strikes is removed." And what is the "primary" cause? The "sniping" and "provocation" of the employers. But do not the profound theoreticians of the Socialist Call realize that this "primary" cause will never be removed as long as capitalism continues to exist? Where is there an industry in this country, no matter how "accustomed" it has become to unionism, in which the advent of severe economic depression has not let loose a flood of "sniping" and "provocation" on the part of the employers? The whole question is: How are such inevitable "sniping" and "provocation" to be met-with organized, disciplined and effective action or with reckless and self-defeating outbursts of frenzy? We condemn irresponsibility and unauthorized outbreaks of guerrilla warfare obviously not because they annoy the employers but because they discredit, undermine and demoralize the trade-union movement, without anything to show for it in the end. Even the editorial writer on the Socialist Call should understand so simple a proposition.

"A secondary responsibility for these 'irresponsible' strikes rests with a vacillating, much-too-trusting and timid trade-union leadership. . . . If the union leadership were now and then to back a couple of 'unauthorized' strikes and give them authority, then perhaps the employers would cut down their provocative behavior. . . . " If we did not know that these words are really the product of a state of acute mental indigestion brought about by the hasty swallowing of a few left-over scraps of "revolutionary" slogans, we would say that here was the company provocator speaking. For the U.A.W. to have legalized the Pontiac sit-down—as was actually proposed by the Stalinist, Mortimer, and the socialist, Walter Reuther, and as is now demanded by the Socialist Call—would have meant playing right into the hands of General Motors and would have been absolutely suicidal for the union. Such empty bravado is not militancy; it is the reckless phrasemongering of the adolescent swaggerer.

Beware of the demagogy and factional provocation of the Stalinites, we warned in our last issue. And now we add: Beware of the sophomoric, super-"radical" phrase-slinging of the Socialist Call!

One word more. In the Socialist Party, there must still be some mature and responsible elements who understand the problems of the trade-union movement. What do they think about the Call editorial? What does Norman Thomas, in particular, think of it? Is the Socialist Call speaking for him?

# WHAT IS TROTSKYIST VIEW ON SPAIN?

WHEN Marx penned his famous characterization of Front in France, Czechoslovakia, sect, he could hardly have had a Brazil or China. . . " ites today: "The sects seek their justification in their point d'honneur not in that which unites them uishes them from it."

and organizational manouvering, selves to it. . all bear the deep imprint of a sect psychology rigidly hardened by ber 1936 even went so far as to long years of habit-forming prac- declare "that the reactionary antitise. Today their special "point revolutionary process (the crushd'honneur," acea, is the Fourth International. er) . . . is being openly justified The evolution of historical events by the P.O.U.M. chiefs." The recand of individuals thus becomes a ord of the theoretical as well as very simple matter—one has mere- the practical activity of the P.O.U. ly to use the magical formula as M., is so clear on this, as well as measuring-rod. All who agree are on the other points, that it is harddoctrinally sound; all who disagree ly necessary to argue the matter

"Revolutionary elements must understand that there is no intermediary between the 4th Interna-

tional and betraval.' Nowhere perhaps has the face of rotskyism in all its sectarian terility, been as fully revealed as abstract and mechanical sloganizing, the lack of concern with the lieve in miracles. The position of basic problems and difficulties of the P.O.U.M. at the decisive mothe Spanish revolution in the ment must have been a simple conlight of the specific stage of tinuation of their position during events, as well as the interminable all the preceding period. . . . The ractional work—all these are strikingly in evidence in the Trot- skyites and fraternized with the skyite attitude on Spain. Most l sharply indicative, perhaps, of their false approach is their attitude toward the P.O.U.M.

From its very inception, the P.O.U.M., according to Trotsky's listorted and factional evaluation, was a centrist party bound to beray the working class. (Everybody, except the Trotskyites naturally, as non-believers in the Fourth nternational, are centrists and berayers.) The spleen was a little harper and more irresponsible than usual since it had to be vented against the ex-Trotskyite organization which helped to form the P.O.U.M., after the former had broken with the abstract and fetishistic shibboleths of Trotskysm. In an article, greeting the birth of the P.O.U.M. ("New Militant" Feb. 15, 1936), Trotsky castigated the former Left oppositionists, Nin, Andrade, etc., who "have turned into a mere tail of the left oourgeoisie." "The Party of Marxst Unity is merely slavishly conducting the same policy that the Seventh Congress of the Comin-

# **DETROIT SECTION**

(Continued from Page 1) C.I.O. representatives, Adolph Germer leaning to the Communist Party proposal while William Lamson. General Executive Board member tion! of the Transport Workers Union. aggressively supported the propo-

elected, consisting of the present nist masses elsewhere.' Political Action Committee, which conducted the recent labor camuressed by Regional Directo, to build it and extend its influence. Adolph Germer and by Myra Komaroff of the hotel and restaurant mployees who attended the convention as an observer. The body voted to hold its next convention proletarian dictatorship. Get a new in February of next year.

tern foisted upon all its sec

"For six years they (the P.O.U than that afforded by the Trotsky- M. leaders) have done everything possible to subject this energetic and heroic proletariat of Spain to the most terrible defeats and i with the class movement but in the spite of everything the ambiguity special shibboleth which distincontinues. They do not break the vicious circle. They do not rouse The attitudes and activities of the the masses against the bourgeois Trotskyites, their methods of work republic. They accomodate them-

> The Socialist Appeal of Decem their universal pan- ing of the organs of dual powagainst such a crude fabrication.

Trotsky does not even have to know about the actual position of the P.O.U.M. on this or that event. He just goes ahead using his revolutionary imagination. Writing about the recent May events in Barcelona, he says, in so many words: "We know nothing or alnost nothing of the real position n the recent events in Spain. The of the P.O.U.M. at the time of the insurrection. But we do not beelements that excluded the Trot-Brandlerists (Ah, there's the rub!-J.C.) . . . will definitely be tray the revolution by seeking the mercy and then the favor of the

Moscow burocracy." And events since! They have proven the criminal irresponsibility of such reckless, factional accusations. Let the murder of Nin testify to the manner in which he and other leaders and the P.O.U.M generally have sought the "favor

of the Moscow burocracy! Today, at a time when the P.O. U.M. as the only revolutionar communist organization in Spain is facing the repression of reactionary terror which unerringly senses where the chief danger lies. for it. Trotsky calls for the disruption and splitting of the P.O. U.M. and the formation of a new party! As a matter of fact, strictly in line with the splitting manial of Trotskvism, which by this time seems to be biologic in character. he expects, wants and works for

splits everywhere: "It seems very probable that this impressive experience (i.e. the Barcelona events—J.C.) will provoke a split in the P.O.U.M. \* All quotations, unless otherwise It is to be hoped, however, that ranks of the Socialist Party and the U.G.T. In this case it would be fatal to be confined within the cadres of the P.O.U.M., which will OF L.N.-P.L. FORMED be much reduced in the weeks to

Yet in the very same paper i which this is being written as a perspective, the Spanish Trotskyites ask for readmission into the P.O.U.M. as an independent frac-

And where will Trotsky find the material for his new proposed parsal for a distinct working class ty? "It is necessary to turn toward the anarchist masses in Catalonia, A temporary executive was toward the socialist and commu

Do not maintain the core of the only revolutionary Marxist organipaign here. The convention was ad- zation in Spain today. Do not seek No, rather split and disrupt it at a time when its struggle against counter-revolutionary terror is, in essence, the struggle for the

(Continued on Page 4)

By Lambda

# **WORLD TODAY**

Caballero Speaks In Spain; G.P.U. Hounds Ignaz Reiss To Death

N Sunday, November 17, Francisco Largo Ca-London, November 19, 1937 ballero broke his recent silence and delivered political address at a tremendous mass-meeting in Madrid. In his speech, Caballero came out for the unity of the communist and socialist parties but only on the basis of a revolutionary program. He protested against the unity proposals offered by the Stalinists to the Catholics and asked ironically whether the Communist Party would now insist, as it had done in the past, on a break with bourgeois parties as a prerequisite for unity. Towards the end of his speech, he stated that he was willing to make a truce provided the C.P. stopped its campaign of slander and vilification. This is very unlikely; as a matter of fact, the C.P. will probably start a vicious campaign to destroy Caballero and his following. Caballero took this opportunity to reveal that the Stalinists had offered to put him into the highest office provided he followed their line. Needless to add, he rejected their offers. In order to hamper Caballero's campaign, the Negrin government has now prohibited meetings of any kind.

It is interesting to note that, as a result of recent military defeats, particularly in Asturias, Prieto and the right bourgeois-republican wing have intensified their manouvers against the C.P. The plan of creating a military dictator for the purpose of establishing "order" in the state and, at the same time, "attracting" the fascist military elements has gained some popularity in these circles. This is the very same plan that Churchill laid before the House of Commons a few months ago.

The facts show that the counter-revolutionary activities of the Spanish republic have not made the desired impression upon British and French imperialism. On the contrary, England and France are drawing closer to Franco and are supporting him

Eden's most recent speech in the House of Commons, in which he stated that Franco's victory would not necessarily entail an anti-British policy on the part of the fascist government characterizes this tendency. In L'Oeuvre (November 3, 1937), Mme. Tabouris comments:

"It is generally felt that, from now on, England is definitely expecting Franco to win. Great Britain is evidently trying to sever the ties between Franco and Italy by offering the former certain concessions."

### THE MURDER OF IGNAZ REISS

Some weeks ago, the French police arrested a number of people who had a share in the murder of the Polish communist, Ignaz Reiss. Since the murder, the Swiss and French police have been looking for the political motives behind the case.

For years, Reiss was engaged in the secret service of the Soviet Union but outside its borders. The Moscow trials and the events in Spain induced him to direct a letter to the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. some months ago. In this letter, he broke with the Stalinist clique and declared he was unable to continue his work because the proletarian revolution was being betrayed. He also sent back his Order of the Red Flag which he received for special merit. He then joined the Trotskyist Fourth International. Since specified, are from the July, 1937, bulletin of the Fourth International duce fissures and splits in the tracked him down and murdered him in Switzerland. rorist organization" and his murderers were "fascist provocateurs." It has become so confused with its own lies that it now calls the G.P.U. a fascist organ-

The one thing that is clear is that, if Reiss felt it necessary to break the strong discipline to which he was subject as a member of the secret service for the sake of the proletarian revolution, it shows what a spirit of opposition against the Stalin regime still exists among the vanguard of responsible officials of the G.P.U. and other similar soviet institutions.

### CONDITIONS IN ITALY

CTARTING November 1, Italian bread will contain at least 5% corn and after December 1, at least 10%. This fact more than any other discloses the inner weakness of fascist Italy and the reason for Mussolini's bluff in international affairs.

As a matter of fact, the British Conservatives and the French People's Front government are making substantial concessions to fascist Italy in an effort to prevent a collapse of its government at home. Both France and England would welcome a weaker fascist Italy isolated from Hitler Germany.

# FIGHT UNION-STRANGLING LAWS!

 $= An \,\, Editorial \,\, Appeal =$ 

the country, as if in response to a that direction. Two days later, the concerted signal, has resumed its Hearstian New York Mirror takes drum-fire of agitation for the governmental regulation of trade unions. Taking full advantage of the will deny—corruption nere, undrum-fire of agitation for the governmental regulation of trade the will deny—corruption nere, undemocratic practises there, irresponsibility elsewhere. But these
evils can and will be removed by

New York Post, which is always
unionism is the best answer to the tiac, precipitated by a few irre- unanimity on this one issue is strikible individuals in defiance ing—and significant! of the union, the employing-class papers, of every shade of political opinion, have again begun to shout for legislation to hamstring and strangle the labor movement.

which the entire capitalistic press,

WITHIN the last few weeks, what further by suggesting the islative field.

the press in every part of amendment of the Wagner Act in That abuses

reactionary, are in substantial aim is, to deprive the trade union agreement. The New York Post, of their independence and freedom law for "breaches of contract", Act or to pass special "respons

We have repeatedly examined these columns the various plans and projects for the governmental avowed purpose of these schemes "responsible" but actually their effrom the most liberal to the most fect would be, as undoubtedly their representing the left wing of the of action, to cripple their effective-New Deal, calls editorially for ness for militant struggle, to sadlaws that would hand over to the dle them with legislative restraints government and the courts the su- that would nullify the great adbound to fail: it will strengthen pervision of union administration, vances labor has made in recent and consolidate the trade-union that would make individual workers years. Not a single one of the individually responsible before the proposals to amend the Wagner that would establish the category of "illegal strikes" determined by the whims and prejudices of the the point of view of their alleged law-makers. The very next day, the New York Herald Tribune, the be mere shams hiding a sinister chosen organ of "economic royal- anti-labor intent. They are the ism", enthusiastically endorses the Post program and carried it some- offensive against labor on the leg-

exist in the labor movement, no one will deny—corruption here, unthe unfortunate sit-down at Pon- editorial in the Herald Tribune. The the labor movement itself, by the intelligent action of the sincere and labor, as it is of the Herald Tri- ploying-class press. responsible unionists who constitute the great mass of the rank its rabid anti-labor bias: how else and file, and not by the governis to be explained the complete ment or the courts. The firm and identity of their editorial policy vigorous action recently taken by the leadership of the United Automobile Workers in repudiating the may succeed in this reactionary wild-cat sit-down strike at Pontiac campaign—that "public opinion" and bringing it to a close, despite frightened by the new depression the efforts of certain elements to and bewildered by the upsurge of

> movement, where legislative restrictions would weaken and undermine it. Labor is fully competent and in its present temper. quite eager-to clean its own house and establish its own responsibility. The frantic agitation for governmental regulation carried on by the ing "public opinion" that it is a the situation, only unimpaired

> That abuses of various sorts do up the middle-class elements to the masses of the people, that it is get it legalized, shows the way in labor and the division in its ranks, maintaining union discipline and may be stampeded into the worst responsibility under the most difficult circumstances. It will succeed us not forget that governmental where union-regulation schemes are control of labor and its integration into the new federal administrative apparatus, has always been a basic, if not always an immediate, objective of the New Deal.

> > The labor movement must awaken to this danger before it is too late. It cannot afford to let the initiative slip into the hands of the enemy, It must set about convinc- grounded in a realistic approach to

ion" against labor, that is, to stir | brings the greatest benefit to the

show no mercy to the demagogues linites provoke and incite unauthorized sit-downs in the auto industry and then try to cover up their nefarious work by sanctimonious editorials in their press, when the Socialist Call dares to justify, even idealize, wild-cat strikes, as it does in a recent issue, who benefits except the employers and the sponsors of antiunion legislation? Never have reckless demagogy and factional provocation been such a peril as they are at this moment.

The danger is great. Only a policy of constructive militancy.

Why had not George Method pur-

# Are We Prepared for the Coming World Conflict?

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(concluded from last issue) A number of years ago, we correctly sensed the danger in the in- day. We can lose them in two separable slogan, war-and-fascism, ways. Some of our people can go and when the American League the path of renegacy—even our Against War and Fascism was organization has no guarantee that formed, we instructed our delegates to raise the demand that this those who do not go this path will slogan be separated and one type of organization be formed to fight against one and another against the other, because otherwise we said Great Britain or France might use our key men are marked men once the slogan to mobilize its own a war begins. masses for its own objectives. We were. Did we follow it out and and-death question for ourselves wage a merciless ideological war and for the future of a revolutionon that aspect of the American ary struggle against war. As you League Against War and Fascism? | know, the non-conscription armies We did not and now we are paying are accustomed to have a large ofin some measure the price in the ficers staff—cadre of officers—but unpreparedness of our own organ- officers who, the moment a war

by the working class. No matter how skillfully we work, no matter | No Democracy For Revolutionists how successfully, we must recognize that, at the very best, we face a the one that faced us in 1917.

parations of our own country for American imperialist aims are war so that we can rearm ourselves

posts—all of them—in the labor novement if the situation in the slightest resembles what it does to-

that an imperialist power like case I believe will be the exception,

So that today, recruiting among Were we correct on that warning? the masses becomes literally a lifebreaks out, become the kernel of

You may think that perhaps we period in which we must learn again what we have perhaps foragain what we have perhaps for a time democratic pretenses. It is true petition campaign. In their very against the stream and that stream against the stream and that stream many during the last war to get tend to undermine the confidence of the workers in the C. I. O. moveing but we cannot count on any-We must begin at once to carry thing like that because the pretense on a sharper fight against the of democracy will not be extended tion. They should be opposed as a diplomatic, military and moral pre- to us. The excuse will be that those of a "holy war" and op- ment. and the working class in that ponents of American imperialism will be branded "agents of fas-Altho we do our level best, a cism" or "agents of the Mikado," to raging flood is coming and our or- whom no democratic rights need be tions of the same communist movezation must consider that. given. The Spanish government's is our situation in the labor treatment of the P.O.U.M. shows rement today? We are a cadre the technique and Browder's speech canization. We have for our size, in Massachusetts shows that there be communist. As it gets used to amazing number of key posts in are already applicants for the role its new tasks—its best elements labor movement.

of class treason. For that reason, will leave it on the road—it will be plant will discredit the U.A.W. I

of class treason. For that reason, our fight with the C.P. ceases to be (Continued on Page 4)

# "UNITY" PETITIONS DANGER TO UNITY

A dangerous "unity" campaign is now being pushed in various parts of the country by some socalled friends of the C. I. O. Under the influence of the socialist, Paul Porter, a movement has been initiated from Kenosha, Wisconsin, to acted correctly in refusing to aucollect a million signatures to a thorize the Pontiac strike." petition insisting that the C.I.O.-A. F. of L. negotiators remain in conference "until such time as they can establish a united labor movement capable of organizing still unorganized millions." In Cleveland, the Stalinites, controlling the C. I. In either case, and the former O. council, are circulating a peti- and in the ranks. This double-faced tion for "unity" without even mentioning industrial unionism. And, ation of the practice of duplicity so according to press reports, the In- thoroly perfected by the Commuternational Typographical Union, nist Party. Union leaders recall unofficially affiliated to the C. I.O., that, after the settlement of the has published post-cards addressed Chrysler strike during the early to William Green and John L. Lewis inscribed with the slogan: "Get together or get out!"

> misleading and dangerous. Misleadcraft-unionist A. F. of L. Danger- settlement. ous—because they are calculated to create the demoralizing impresmenace to the true interests of the C. I. O. and the labor move-

a family quarrel between two sec trades on the name but its line, its words and its deeds, have ceased to

Exposed in Auto Union admit I have made a mistake."

Stalinist Double-Dealing

(Continued from Page 1) ecisely the kind of grievance that caused the Pontiac sit-down." 3. "The General Executive Board,

These conclusions are completely at variance with the policies fought for by leading Stalinists and supporters of the "unity" caucus in the International Executive Board position is no more than a continupart of this year, members of the Communist Party bitterly assailed the pact as a "sell-out" and organized to defeat it. A few days All of these schemes are essentially the same—and they are all later, the Michigan head of the Communist Party, William Weining-because they all proceed on stone, issued a statement blaming Now, in this situation in which cadres which are filled out with the utterly false assumption that some insignificant and unknown we are now entering, we face cer- recruits into a gigantic army. We all you need for unity in the ranks radical sect—the Revolutionary tain enormous difficulties. Think of have reached the stage today when of labor is just a "reasonable" ap- Workers League—for the policies the persuasiveness of the slogans we must begin to expand our cadre proach, a willingness to negotiate, that had been proposed by the C.P. the "unity" caucus. with which our enemies are equip- forces on the same principle or we a spirit of compliance, that there It was not until some months later ped at the present time. We must will be absolutely impotent before really are no fundamental and that the Communist, official C.P. very carefully explain our stand the size of the task with which we and the necessary steps to be taken will be confronted.

the size of the task with which we deep-going issues dividing the industrial organ, admitted that C.P. members icitous lest G.M. get an excuse for dustrial-unionist C. I. O. from the lever wrong in fighting the Chrysler refusing to sign a contract. When

The quick right-about-face now is also an attempt to cover up a sion that the C. I. O. leaders don't | C.P. policy which has gone sour.

The C.P. now objects to "spontaneous, small strikes." But that is precisely the policy upon which the "unity" caucus has been operating these many months. That these policies "create a danger for the union" is true but it comes rather tion. They should be opposed as a late. Only a short while ago, it was argued that these strikes would bring General Motors to its knees and would be the making of the

> On Monday George Method, leading "unity" caucus representative in Pontiac, declared to the sit-

"Men, I am wrong. I led this

sued that policy before? Because he was working under other instructions, as was Wyndham Mortimer, Walter Reuther and other 'unity" caucus leaders. The change came after the Central Committee of the Communist Party had reversed its stand. If the statement of Method proves anything, it is that he led the sit-down strike upon orders of the "unity" caucus. The statement of Method also gives the ie to Carl Haessler, Communist Party publicity director for Walter Reuther. The former declared, in a dispatch to the Federated Press: 'Organizer T. N. Taylor of the A. F. of L. was busy in Pontiac thruout the hectic week. Active I.W.W.'s had aided in organizing the defiant sit-down. Pontiac as a former Black Legion center also presented its possibilities." Thus, Haessler's attempt to drag three red herrings across the trail fails miserably. The trail of responsioility leads directly to the front door of the Communist Party and

Equally shameless is the second statement in which the C.P. is solthe U.A.W. leadership pointed this out, it was made the object of the worst slander and abuse, in which the terms of "stool-pigeon" and company agent" were common. The answer of the "unity" caucus to the provocations of G.M. was not a careful and cautious approach to the problems involved but the counter-provocative slogan: turn the heat on G.M.! In such a slogan as this are implied all sorts of wild-cat strikes and unauthorized

Haessler Spills The Beans

That the C.P.'s extreme anxiety over the contract is a last-minute idea, is borne out once again by Carl Haessler, who seems to have missed all his signals in the course of this sharp change. In his restrike and believed I could win. But lease of November 22, he sees the I am now sure I have made a mis- restrictions on unauthorized strikes

# "PINS AND NEEDLES" BIG HIT

Ladies Garment Union, has literally startled Broadway by invading what has hitherto been considered its sacred territory—the musical show—with its production of "Pins and Needles." But Labor Stage undoubtedly is also causing murmurings and mutterings among the devotees of "proletarian art," the left-wing intellectuals who commute between Hollywood and New York, "dedicating" themselves to the cause, primarily as the latest party line envisions it.

"Pins and Needles", let it be said immediately and forthrightly, is a damned good musical, is fare for the lovers of political satire, and is the product of worker-actors. The tunes can match Tin-Pan Alley's (at the very least) while the lyrics devastate not merely the enemies of labor but the Sallies who live in that Alley. We recommend to your chuckling and hum-

ABOR STAGE, the workers ming attention "Sing Me A Song With Social Significance", "Doing The Reactionary" and "What Good is Love"

But even if you hear the songs (they will be published, it is reported) it will only whet your appetite for the show itself. No review can really catch this reviewer's genuine amusement at the excellent jibes at the imposition of "proletarian art" on the workers, as in the skit "Economics I", the howling humor in "Four Little Angels of Peace" (the fourth is Eden, please note!) or more, his equally genuine amazement at the technical proficiency of the workeractors, coming straight from the shops, and the finished smoothness of Harold J. Rome's music and

Labor Stage has brought something new and good to the labor movement: humor, rhythym, and vitality. Agitprop is dead, long live Labor Stage! M. S. M.

# Are We Ready For New War?

(Continued from Page 3) obliged to open a merciless fire on those who stick to their revolutionary guns, for there is nothing that renegacy fears and hates so much as reminders of its own revolutionary past. It will fight us with a fury which makes its past slander and frameup campaigns against us seem mere child's play. Already, in a number of unions, its spokesmen have become the chief Redbaiters, altho they do it surreptitiously so far, as men who are unused to their roles. Already, today they are making the C.P. program synonymous with bourgeois liberalism; the C.P. declarations on war are even now changing from those of liberal pacifism to the language of the recruiting sergeant. By the same logic with which they make their brand of "communism" synonymous with bourgeois liberal ism, they are forced to try to make proletarian revolution synonymous with fascism. Spain shows, Browder's speech shows, that they do not shrink from the logic of that fact.

We have one advantage in all this. If we make the turn on time, rearm as we should, make our stand clear, far and wide, then we will win to our side that great mass of aroused and disillusioned youth upon whom the main burden of war falls and we will see our ranks swell to a gigantic force in proportion as we live up to our duty

in the months facing us now.

### Our Tasks Today

This report is a step in the carrying out of our decision to open a discussion in the leading committees and the units on the theoretical problems and the practical measures involved in this turn.

The next phase will be to explain our position as fully, as carefully, as widely and as clearly as possible to the workers. For this purpose, we must make our weekly Age into a mass organ so that we can make our position more widely heard and we must speed the tempo of our recruiting in the mass organizations and the filling out of our cadres into a fighting force that will be equal to the task before us.

This is not a report which will be followed by a few brief remarks from the floor and then a summary closing of the discussion. This is a report intended to open a discussion in every unit and fraction of our organization, then in every section of the working class thruout the land. At this stage, every member of our organization has the floor.

### BALTIMORE

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# C.I.O. to Press Its Fight on Hague

Boss-ridden Jersey City, under the corrupt and reactionary regime of Mayor Hague, attempted to balk the organization campaign of the Committee for Industrial Organization by arresting 13 C. I. O. union organizers, sentencing six to five-day terms and releasing the others on bail of \$1,000 each.

The seething militancy of workers in Jersey City, as elsewhere, and their support of the C. I. O., have sent the employers into a frenzy of fear and Mayor Hague made haste to carry out their dictates. The courts, too, played their usual role, upholding the sentences and bail imposed despite appeal of the C. I. O. An attempt to hold a protest mass meeting was scotched by the united employers front, when a deposit on hall was returned with the statement that "the hall was not available".

The C. I. O., which entered the campaign to break Hague's antilabor grip, is well aware of the difficulties and will make a big fight to defeat this campaign of the courts, real-estate owners and the city administration. The organization drive will go on.

# The Stalinists in the Auto Union

(Continued from Page 3)
ployers. With dark foreboding, he adds: "A union that pleases the employer may be able to sign contracts, it is argued (he is here giving the position of the 'unity' caucus supporters in the General Executive Board.—F.J.A.), but may not be able to hold the membership, particularly in the face of competition from other labor organizations."

The Communist Party's approval of the General Executive Board's refusal to sanction the strike, will, of course, fool no one acquainted with the facts. For here again we have a case of complete distortion of facts. The Daily Worker lies when it insists that the decision was unanimous and again we have but to quote Carl Haessler to prove it.

it:

"It is understood," he says, "that the U.A.W. Executive Board in Pontiac, in special meeting, was almost evenly divided on whether to authorize the strike and then try to settle it or whether, as was actually done, to brand it as an outlaw strike and have nothing to do with it until the men evacuated the plant."

No, the decision was not unanimous and, what's more, the C.P. members and supporters were not happy about the sudden change. Another release of the Federated Press, this time unsigned, fails to muster the synthetic enthusiasm shown by the Daily Worker. It compares the Flint sitdown with the one in Pontiac and adds sadly: "The strike ended in disillusion November 22." And Wyndham Mortimer himself has taken the thing only as a matter of discipline. He says in his statement in the Daily Worker:

Tion to the proposed Barce ference called by the which unfortunately did off and whose purpose achieve maximum into support for the Spanisl tion? Did they concern questions in the main? Raise the Moscow trials!

"You must know what going to do at the confer It seems to me that the trials are the touchstone group that lays claim tionary principles. . . . 'that you can ask at the conference called by the which unfortunately did off and whose purpose achieve maximum into support for the Spanisl tion? Did they concern questions in the main? Raise the Moscow trials!

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"As far as the Board's decision with respect to the Pontiac strike is concerned, while many may be disappointed by this decision, it was made and must be abided by if we are to have an effective and disciplined organization."

Thus, on all points, it is seen that the Communist Party has here made a desperate attempt to cover its slimy trail. Upon the outcome of the Pontiac sit-down depended, to a large extent, the future of the U.A.W. and, to an extent also, that of the C.I.O. The Communist Party and its socialist allies did nothing to aid in this crisis—more than that, they were the prime movers in bringing it about and in driving it to the dangerous point it reached!

# **BROWDER HAILS SOUND SYSTEM**

'N the Daily Worker of December 2, Earl Browder has a very sprightly and amusing little piece on "The Present Economic and Political Crisis." Some of his remarks, we feel, would be of special interest to our readers. The present depression, he finds, is due to a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the capitalists-to a "sitdown strike of capital", as he neatly phrases it. "It is instructive to see in respect to this question," he continues, "how the renegade groups are rushing to the defense of capital on this point. This week, Lovestone published an extended article in which he 'proves' that this recession is not the fault of the capitalists at all; they could not help it, and the communists, when we speak about the sit-down strike, are rejecting Marxian economics. . . . This is a perfect alibi for the renegades to disarm the workers in their fight against the main

enemy.... President Roosevelt...
has adopted substantially a correct
analysis when he declared that the
underlying economic situation does
not justify the present recession."

We are really greatly relieved to

learn that Mr. Browder, after what must presumably have been a profound study of the present situation, in which he was undoubtedly assisted by that well-known economist, Mr. Alexander Bittleman, finds that our economic structure is fundamentally sound, as Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt have so earnestly assured us, and that this man Lovestone is to be severely reproved for attempting to undermine confidence in our industrial system. It is also good to note how emphatically Mr. Browder endorses the well-known formula of the Brookings Institution: "The trouble with capitalism is the capitalists!"

But, really, should not Karl Marx be lumped together and condemned along with Lovestone as a mere "renegade"? Was it not Marx—we seem to have read somewhere -who declared economic crises to be an inevitable feature of capitalism, generated by the inherent unsoundness of the system and therefore beyond the control of the inidividual capitalists? In fact. on more than one occasion, he seems to have gone so far as to ridicule the notion of a "sit-down strike of capital" creating a depression. Shouldn't this fellow Marx, too, be exposed as having written an entire book (it's called "Capital") in order to provide "a perfect aliba for the renegades to disarm the workers in their fight against the main enemy"?

# Trotskyism And Spain —

(Continued from Page 2) amalgam of hoped-for splitaway sections from the parties of official "communism" (!!), traditional reformism and anti-political anarchism. Destroy the party, the extension of whose influence is necessary if the revolutionary ferment already far developed in the S.P., U.G.T. and C.N.T., is to be carried to a point where the winning of these organizations for consistent revolutionary action becomes possible, without which result there can be no hope for the socialist revolution. This is the road outlined by Trotsky!

I cannot leavt Trotsky's evaluation of the P.O.U.M. without noting the disgusting lack of principle in now calling of Nin "worthy proletarian fighter," after Nin's death, now that there is developing a wave of sympathy and solidarity with the P.O.U.M.'s revolutionary position: up to the day of his death, Trotsky never ceased denouncing Nin as a betrayer and class collaborator. So much for the P.O.U.M.

### The Barcelona Conference

I choose in addition two concrete matters which serve further to illustrate the extreme sectarianism and adventurism of Trotsky. What were Trotsky's specific instructions to the Trotskyite delegation to the proposed Barcelona conference called by the P.O.U.M., which unfortunately did not come off and whose purpose was to achieve maximum international support for the Spanish revolution? Did they concern Spanish questions in the main? Hardly!

"You must know what you are going to do at the conference.... It seems to me that the Moscow trials are the touchstone for each group that lays claim to revolutionary principles... The least that you can ask at the conference is complete support for an international commission of investigation. If the majority refuses, it will be necessary to quit the conference demonstratively."

Acceptance of the specific Trotskyite proposals on the Moscow trials becomes a breaking point at a conference whose basic purpose was to support and extend the Spanish revolution. Need more be said?

### The Question of Soviets

The Trotskyites have repeatedly reproached the P.O.U.M. for not trying to capture power and erect the workers state. They have raised the slogan of soviets as an immediate slogan of action. At the

present time, this can only be a dangerous putschist slogan, if it means anything at all. Until there is a communist party which can influence and lead the majority of the working class around the basic revolutionary slogans, the conquest of power and the erection of the proletarian dictatorship is impossible. In Spain today, the majority of the working class is grouped around the C.N.T., the U.G.T. and the Socialist Party. Until the hammer blows of a developing revolutionary movement the anarchist workers wean of the C.N.T. away from their naive anti-politicalism, and wipe out reformism in the ranks of the U.G.T. and S.P., the direct struggle for power is not on the order of the day. A communist party consciously attempting to hasten this development by explaining the significance of events from a revolutionary viewpoint, pointing towards soviets as an objective, is a basic necessity. This the P.O.U.M. has been constantly trying to do. To concentrate on the slogan of soviets as an immediate practical task before the masses on the basis of their own experience have been won for it, is both shallow and dangerous.

Blue-print attitudes, moods of impatience, can bring only defeats to the Spanish working class. It becomes imperative, therefore, that the abstract revolutionism of Trotskyism be rejected. Fortunately, this will not be very difficult in in view of the lack of influence of the Trotskyites in Spain. The extreme self-delusion of these selfappointed guardians of world revolution ("the sole revolutionary nucleus which exists in Spain is the Bolshevik-Leninist cadre") is only an inverted self-confession of impotence, a trait psychologically characteristic of every hardened political sect.

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