

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Unions Unite To Aid Spain

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A conference took place on Monday, April 26, at the office of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, attended by representatives of a group of Central Bodies and other organizations, including Phillip Kapp, for the Joint Board of the Dressmakers' Union, Morris J. Ashbes, for the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, Louis Nelson, for the Joint Council of the Knitgoods Workers, Morris Feinstein, for the United Hebrew Trades, Anya Smith, for the Women's Trade Union League, Irving Potash, for the Joint Council of the Fur Workers' Union, David Meyer, for the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, and Mr. Rose. Mr. Dubinsky and Mr. Zimmerman were also present.

American Labor Party Calls State Convention For June

The State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party has just issued a State Convention call for June 19th and 20th in New York City. It was indicated that the question of the American Labor Party candidates for Mayor and all other offices of New York may be discussed.

The Executive Committee also decided upon the first steps to turn over control of the party machinery

EIGHTY THOUSAND MARCH IN UNITED MAY DAY PARADE

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

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

There, the greetings of the CPO to the assembled workers were de-

livered by Edward Welsh. Workers Age has been informed that these greetings were called a "violation" of the agreement previously reached by the United May Day Committee. To this topic we will return in the next issue of Workers Age, but can't refrain from saying that it is strange indeed for a May Day Committee to ban such slogans.

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

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

Spanish Masses Meeting New Needs of Struggle

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

By ALBERT WILLIAMS

MADRID, By Mail (Delayed)—I have now covered over 2000 miles of Spanish territory in Catalonia, Castellon, Valencia, Cuenca and Castille. I have been in the front line trenches at West Park and University City, in tiny villages in the Catalonian and Valencian rear, in the great cities of Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid. And the thing that stands out above all else in my impressions of this brave and beautiful land, is that its resources, human and natural, are virtually untouched, and that it is only beginning, now after nine months of struggle, to rouse itself in earnest for the great effort of driving fascism, reaction and the foreign invader out of the land.

For days together I have traveled by every conceivable means of locomotion, small boat, wine truck, bus, train, auto and on foot, without being able to convince myself that I was travelling through a beleaguered land. True there were the twisted girders of a partially damaged railways bridge near the frontier and concealed batteries and trench lines on the slopes of the Pyrenees facing the Mediterranean shore, places where the train crawled because the railway line had been shelled from ship or bombarded from the air, and in

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

Bumper Crops

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

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ILGWU Meet Opens; Employers Plan War

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

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

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

scores the executive council for its rule or ruin policy. The report also claims that the suspension of the unions was railroaded.

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

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

Chamber of Commerce Moves Against Labor

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

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

Packard Vote Sets The Pace

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

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

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

TOM MOONEY HAILS MAY DAY RALLIES

INTERNATIONAL greetings of proletarian solidarity were sent by Tom Mooney, from Jail No. 1 San Francisco, to the May Day demonstrations held here and abroad.

"The labor movement in America," the greeting stated, "is stirring with a spirit of unity and solidarity such as has never moved it before."

Mooney hailed the heroism of the Spanish workers in the trenches against Fascism, and called upon labor elsewhere to aid.

Textile Drive Makes Gains

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

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

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

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

SOUTHERN LABOR AND THE HERNDON RULING

ANGELO HERNDON

By GEORGE STREATOR

The nine old men lumbered into the chambers of the Supreme Court and gave birth to another 5-4 decision. This time the legalists freed a courageous worker from the courts of the State of Georgia, but they did not free the Southern Negro, nor for that matter, the Southern whites, the Northern Negroes, or in any manner or form, the working class. The freedom granted Herndon releases one man from the grasp of a backward state political system, but it does not change the law. Herndon will be arrested next time and packed away with ease. The Georgia Courts are already sweating over a better law, and they will do better next time; for the Supreme Court of the United States has told them how!

This country is still dominated by the forces of entrenched capital, and the South is our social and political backyard. And how it maintains its New Jersey smell. But Justice Roberts, a kindly old gentleman who is a sort of legal Father Divine to many of the New York parlor revolutionists, must have had his tongue in his cheek with an eye on forced retirement. Said our American, peculiarly legal spokesman in words that must bring cheer to the Southern plutocrats and the Northern sweatshops of labor who are rushing to the South:

"And where a statute is so vague and uncertain as to make criminal an utterance or act which may be innocently said or done with no intent to induce resort to violence or on the other hand, may be said or done with a purpose to violently subvert government, a conviction under such a law cannot be sustained."

Now Justice Roberts must not be called names. He is not a reactionary. He is not a Fascist. But he is not going to upset the apple cart. He is a liberal. His right hand upsets every gesture the left hand makes. And his "momentous" decision does not end Jim Crow in the United States, does not liberate Poor Whites and Negroes, does not make it unnecessary to relegate the Supreme Court to the obscure place in American life it deserves. Justice Roberts simply reminded the State of Georgia that its particular piece of legislation is so old and so crude that it will have to be re-written if "agitators" with the nerve to raise a voice against "the American way of doing things" are to be restrained and kept in their proper places.

But the other wise man, Justice Van Devanter! While the sense of liberality still pervades this confused land, we must rush into print with the observation that of all the blundering, prejudiced, antiquated pieces of furniture in our political life, Father Van Devanter takes the cake. Said this relic of the slave regime:

"It should not be overlooked that Herndon was a Negro member and organizer in the Communist Party and was engaged actively in inducing others, chiefly Southern Negroes, to become members of the party and participate in effecting its purpose and program." (my emphasis—G.S.)

Of course, Justice Van Devanter had been reading extracts from the literature issued under the signature of James S. Allen. But the Big Four Dissenters do not know that the line of Self-Determination in the Black Belt has gone the way of the winds. After Allen delivered himself of "The Negro Question in the United States," it was difficult to find anybody in the Communist Party who wanted to be god-mother for the opus.

But in one way Justice Van Devanter did a great job to settle the

Negro question. He answered all the questions. At the outset, he grabbed hold of the word "Negro" and beat it over his head like a whirling dervish. He fixed his eyes on "cracker" anti-Negro sections of the people and wiggled through impressive legal ceremonies. He started with the fear of the Negro and ended with the fear of the Negro. If any "experts" are still looking around for theories of anti-Negro feeling, they should confine themselves to judicial psychiatry. For there's no sensible reason why a Supreme Court Judge, economically secure and elevated in conceit should run around leading three other gentle Judges, peeping under the legal benches for lurking Negroes who "pictured their condition as an unhappy one resulting from asserted wrongs on the part of white landlords."

But Herndon and perhaps twelve other persons similarly convicted are free under the decision. Herndon has been taken from the shadow of a Georgia prison. No German concentration camp is more filthy or brutal than a Southern "county farm." Sometimes it seems that it will become necessary to paint a sign and post it on the road to Warm Springs warning distinguished visitors not to get tangled in the coils of Georgia law.

The reactions to the decision are varied. The timid Negro press has broken its shackles, however. The Norfolk (Virginia) Journal and Guide takes a double-column laugh at the behavior of our four great comedians. That a newspaper published in Norfolk, Virginia, can free itself from the fear and worship of Federal dignitaries points to the day when it will shake off its timidity on all labor questions.

Herndon offers a sensible program when he points out the needs of sharecroppers, Negro and white. That too, is a great step forward from simple, racial cleavage. But Herndon too jubilantly sees the decision as a "surprising victory over the forces which would deny freedom to the Southern Negro." Mary Fox was quoted (all quotes are from The Times, April 27, 1937) as seeing the decision as part of a "fight which can help in the more general struggle to prevent all infringements upon the civil



rights guaranteed by the constitution." Of course, one can always ask, "what's a constitution among clever exploiters of Negroes and Poor Whites," but after all Mary Fox did not create the impression that she considers the decision either tremendous, stupendous or colossal. It is quite different with Mr. John P. Davis, the paper-mache revolutionist who has entrusted himself with the care of the Negro masses. Via East Twelfth Street we get it that Herndon's victory "confirms the wisdom of the tactics of mass struggle." That is to say, the obvious is safe.

Herndon is free. The laws of 1866 and 1871 are temporarily tabled. But a new piece of legislation will give Georgia courts ten times their present power. Meanwhile everything depends upon the advance of general civilization in Southern American life. The rise of a decent labor movement joining black and white in the same organization is basic. Yet, there can be no labor movement without economic advance in the South. Can there be economic advance in the South without bleeding the North? What will take place through government intervention in the TVA and other power projects? This is not a subject that can be settled by clichés. It is obvious, however, that the rise of Herndon could mark the beginning of the end of bootlicking Negroes.

Auto Workers Union Fights Jim Crowism, Martin States

The United Automobile Workers Union, a part of the C.I.O., will not tolerate segregation and will fight for the rights of Negro workers in every way, according to a statement by Homer Martin, president, in a letter to the N.A.A.C.P.

Mr. Martin's letter, addressed to Roy Wilkins, N.A.A.C.P. assistant secretary, was in answer to an inquiry concerning alleged separate Negro locals being organized in the Ford plant and alleged omission of Negro Chrysler workers from the seniority rule.

Mr. Martin flatly denies both rumors and states emphatically the policy of the United Automobile Workers. His letters in full follows:

"With direct reference to the instances where the color line seems to have been raised in the U.A.W.A. let me say that in the Chrysler Corporation seniority applies to all employees regardless of race, color or creed, and the rumor that Ford Negro employees have been called together in separate groups seems to be entirely without foundation.

"The U.A.W.A. is very emphatic

and pronounced in its attitude on the matter of color lines. We stand for the full protection of the Negro worker by the union in every way. We also do not believe in, nor will we stand for, the establishment of separate Negro locals.

"There has not been a single instance where Negro workers have not been welcomed into the local union and given full protection. In addition to that the Negro worker is always welcome into the membership meeting without being segregated. I have made many pronouncements on this matter stating that the membership of the union is open to the workers regardless of race, color, creed or political affiliation."

"In one instance, at least one of our local unions threatened to go on strike when one Negro worker had his wage rate lowered. The management acceded to the threat of the local union and this Negro brother was restored to his former rate of pay.

"The U.A.W.A., along with the Committee for Industrial Organization is very anxious to colla-

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

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

One of the questions which is causing considerable thought is the attitude of this international to the CIO. The matter is not without interest. This is the only union in the needle trades industry which has made no move in the direction of the CIO, the millinery, men's and women's garment workers having been among the initiators of the movement. Another factor which mystifies the reader of the Daily Worker is the fact that this organization is almost completely dependent on its New York branch and that the New York Joint Council lies in the palm of Ben Gold and Irving Potash. In the light of this incontestable fact it was somewhat jarring to friends of the CIO to discover the fur workers' delegates to the last A. F. of L. convention casting their ballots for suspension of the CIO.

The question now is—what will the convention do? This is in no small measure tied up with the question: what will be the policy of the Communist Party in this union? Will Gold and his delegates (probably about 90% of the convention) continue to prate about being more useful for the fight inside the A. F. of L. than outside? Will they, at this moment when the A. F. of L. is in full swing against the CIO, still argue that the unity of the A. F. of L. stands above all—thereby covering their "position" with a mantle of so-called constructiveness?

There are certain indications that the "lefts" intend to shout loudly for industrial unionism and throw second-hand bouquets to the CIO on its accomplishments. But what will the "lefts" do about aligning the fur workers union with the CIO and throwing its moral, organizational and financial weight on the side of health and progress and yes, real unity? From an organization led by militant "lefts" one expects more than mere resolutions protesting against the suspension of the CIO. Progressives expect a clear and decisive stand in favor of alignment with the CIO. It is much too late for transparent diplomacy or acrobatic side-stepping.

The A. F. of L. has been shouting "sell-out" so consistently in characterizing all the settlements secured by the CIO, that we wonder if it has any voice left to cheer its recent "victory" in the Consolidated Edison of New York.

To the outside world the announcement by Consolidated Edison that it recognized the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as the sole bargaining agency for its workers came as a distinct surprise for people close to developments knew that there were only two factors involved in the situation (and the A. F. of L. was not one of them) namely the United Radio and Electrical Workers Union, affiliated with the CIO, which was growing very fast, and the company's own Employee Representation Plan—its company union in other words. The IBEW injected itself—it is said that Matty Woll put over the job—as a force capable of stopping the CIO union. Hence the hasty announcement by

borate in erasing in the minds of the workers of this country the prejudice arising from race distinctions. Our program comprehends the elimination of prejudice as well as discrimination and proposes to protect the Negro workers with the full strength of our union."

the company and the immediate mobilization of all company resources to bring pressure upon its workers to immediately join the A. F. of L. affiliate.

Some facts regarding this pact between the union and the management are not without some interest. There is some talk that the company scrapped the company union in favor of the IBEW. This is not the case. According to the pact with the IBEW the union agreed to take in the company union as a whole, without any changes, and grant it charters. As a matter of fact the IBEW agreed to recognize the delegates or representatives elected last December in typical company union manner and promised that there would be no elections until December 1937.

Furthermore, the most trustworthy (for the company) representatives in the company union set-up have been given leaves of absence by the firm and are now paid officials of the IBEW. This was also agreed to prior to the "great victory" scored by the IBEW.

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

The great anxiety of the company to push the men into the A. F. of L. is having just the opposite effect. There is growing suspicion which the A. F. of L. cannot answer to the satisfaction of the men. In a leaflet issued last week, the IBEW itself is forced to take up the question "Why," asks the leaflet, "did the company have a preference for the IBEW as a collective bargaining agency?" The first sentence of the answer is most enlightening: "We are not in a position to know any of the company's reasons for anything." They probably wrote that on advice of counsel. And in fact it's damn good advice. They should also have said less in answering other questions if they would avoid compromising themselves. In answer to a question of going out "on sympathy strikes" the IBEW exposes its true role, when it answers: "The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers will never surrender the right to strike. HOWEVER, IN THE UTILITY COMPANY FIELD, THE PUBLIC WOULD NEVER SUPPORT SYMPATHETIC STRIKES AND WE WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN SYMPATHETIC STRIKES IN THE UTILITY FIELD."

And now, fellow workers, let us rise and give three cheers for the great victory of the A. F. of L. What, no cheers?

POLICY OF "LEFTS" HURTS CIO GROWTH

By GEORGE F. MILES

THE time is rapidly approaching when the progressive elements in the entire labor movement will have to weigh anew the present situation in the trade union movement and on that basis determine whether any changes in their attitude to the main contending forces—as between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O.—are necessary. Certain it is that there is entirely too much hesitation and vacillation today and that such pusillanimity gives aid and comfort to the craft union bureaucrats and hinders the successful development of C.I.O. campaigns in many instances.

While it is not my intention to discuss in detail the present position, it must nevertheless be said that the attitude of the C.I.O. need no longer be determined solely on the basis of purely theoretical considerations as to the relative superiority of industrial over craft unionism. The C.I.O. has accumulated a body of experience in actual struggle, has already given birth to powerful young giants in the auto and steel industries, has brought recognition to these and many other unions in traditionally open shop industries, has won widespread improvements in wages and conditions for hundreds of thousands of workers, and has engendered a new hope and a feeling of invincibility in the ranks of the mass of America's toilers.

Compare this to the recent developments in the A.F. of L. where the bitter and biased old men of the Council resort to every method of indirect strike-breaking, set up dual organization committees, in industries they never intended to tackle, only because the C.I.O. had entered the field, open negotiations with outright company unions (steel), admit to A.F. of L. membership an outright company mob in Galena, Kansas, as a reward for its breaking up C.I.O. meetings and attacking C.I.O. headquarters, play the role of an insurance agency against legitimate, militant unionism by selling itself to the employers as a "conservative and cooperative" force—witness the hurried recognition extended to the A.F. of L. by the Consolidated Edison, when the C.I.O. union opened an energetic drive.

The issues between the two seems to be so sharply drawn that no middle ground is to be found. Yet there are people, even of pronounced "left" hue who continue to cut a sorry figure in trying to bridge the unbridgeable.

As to Theory and Practice

To the casual reader of the Daily Worker it will come as a great shock to hear that the Communist Party and those who follow its policies are here considered under the heading of straddlers. The difficulties are due to the raucous cries of loyalty to the C.I.O., recently multiplied because of the unbelievably infantile and dangerous policies pursued by these people especially in the auto industry. Still there is an ever increasing volume of practical evidence that points to much more than mere hesitation but also actions which too closely approximate opposition.

In the Machinists Union the "left" rejected a proposal to back an opposition candidate favorable to the C.I.O. and actually proposed the endorsement of President A. O. Wharton for reelection. * Need we say that Wharton is one of the able lieutenants of John P. Frey in the Metal Trades Council

of the A.F. of L.? And in Philadelphia Pa., a "left" leader of a machinist local threatened to withdraw from the local C.I.O. Council because the jurisdictional rights guaranteed to the machinists union by the A.F. of L. were being "violated" by the United Automobile Workers Union, affiliated to the Council.

Another case in point is the International Fur Workers Union. This organization is practically controlled by its New York organization which in turn is led by such well-known "lefts" as Ben Gold and others. Despite the strategic role of the "lefts" the furriers' delegation at the last A.F. of L. convention voted to suspend the C.I.O. unions. Under the pressure of the progressives a mild letter of repudiation was then adopted. But the close working agreement between the "lefts" and the extreme anti-C.I.O. right wing still continues unbroken. The "lefts" slate for convention delegates, elected in the balloting held in the middle of April, still includes principled opponents of the C.I.O.

The same policy of the "lefts" is to be seen also in the field of white collar workers. A call for

CANADIAN LABOR AFTER OSHAWA

By FRANK KING

The struggle of the Canadian workers in the automotive industry, one of the basic industries of Canada, for their rights for improved conditions thru trade union organization is not the first struggle won by the Committee for Industrial Organization in this country—they have already won recognition in Kitchener at the plant of the Goodrich Tire & Rubber Co. But an important factor that alarmed the forces of industrial capitalism and expressed thru the medium of Premier Hepburn of Ontario and the Toronto Globe and Mail, owned by a representative of the rich mining interests, was that it was the first attempt to organize a large group of workers in the Automobile industry which had been disturbed and brought to terms in the U.S.A. quite recently with an exhibition of militancy that rocked the foundations of American capitalism. The event came right on the heels of a statement by Hepburn where he invited U.S.A. industrialists to establish more branch factories in Canada and avoid the labor unrest in their section of North America. It heralds a continued upsurge of the working class of America following the example set by our fellow workers in Flint and Lansing in building industrial unions to meet the rising cost of living by collective bargaining with the bosses in the council chambers, and militant strike struggles both inside and outside the plants to back up labor demands.

A move on the part of Hepburn brought in the political issues that have grown out of these struggles on the Canadian scene. The first reaction was the A.F. of L. section in Canada swinging in behind a strike initiated by the C.I.O. The press all across Canada gave the C.I.O. more publicity in two weeks than it has had since its formation in the U.S.A., somewhat over a year ago. The Liberal and Conservative party representatives, pressed their attitude to trade union organization and it began to look as if the past struggles of the working class in Canada to organize into trade unions of their own choice were to again become new issues. The Canadian Commonwealth Federation leader criticized the sending of federal troops (R.C.M.P.) to Toronto. The Communist Party increased its efforts to show the working class of Canada that the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. controversy was non-existent in the trade union movement here. The spokesmen for the industrial capitalists of this country hastened to defend the A.F. of L. as a model for union-conscious Canadian workers and decried the encroachment into its domain of "foreign agitators" in the person of Homer Martin and Hugh Thompson, representatives of the UAWA an affiliate of the C.I.O. Like a breath of strong, fresh, invigorating air comes a true Marxist class political movement—the approach of the Communist Party (Opposition) in its official organ the Workers Age.

To quote from Workers Age—April 17, 1937.—"Mr. Hepburn's game is intended to entice American industry, hard hit by growing unionism, to cross the border into Ontario, the present haven of open shopism. If this plan is to succeed, Mr. Hepburn must keep wages and conditions far below the standards now being won in our industries. President Martin calls attention to this very condition when he says: 'Canada pays such wages that I am almost ashamed to talk about it—20 cents an hour in GM plants right across the border and sixteen hours a day. No wonder they get up in

The C.I.O. and "Unity"

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

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

Philip Taft.—The Problem of Structure in American Labor.
American Economic Review, March, 1937.

a conference of such organizations in New York includes the following clause: "Certainly no American Federation of Labor Union of white collar and professional workers can refuse to seriously consider the possible assistance it may render toward increasing the prestige and strength of the A.F. of L. among other white collar and professional workers." Every attempt to secure an invitation for a C.I.O. speaker, since an A.F. of L. speaker had already been slated, failed.

More important still is the open attack on the C.I.O. affiliate on the west coast—The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers—by none other than Harry Bridges, head of the Maritime Federation. Bridges is working closely with the Metal Trades Department of the A.F. of L. and altho claiming friendship for the C.I.O., argues that the C.I.O. union is infringing on the jurisdiction of the A.F. of L. unions he leads. He went so far as to throw a picket line around piers which had signed with the C.I.O. union, condoned a reign of terror against the industrial union men, and even threatened to tie up the port by means of a general strike if he did not have his way.

The action of Harry Bridges called forth a sharp reprimand from John Brophy, director of the C.I.O. who wired Bridges:

"I am informed by Industrial Union of Shipyard Workers CIO Affiliate that I.L.A. has established

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

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WORKERS AGE

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

With the whole labor movement gripped in a crisis of growth, assumes a significance far beyond the ordinary. This is particularly true of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, whose twenty-third biennial convention is now in session at Atlantic City.

To its twenty-third convention, the I.L.G.W.U. comes 240,000 strong, an organization great and powerful even in these days of mass unions in the steel and auto industries.

The factories too, where they are not handicapped by the lack of raw materials caused by the criminal blockade of the united front of fascist powers and "great and friendly democracies," are running at full blast.

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

Many and important are the problems facing the Atlantic City convention but surely none so important, none so fundamentally decisive as the question of the C.I.O. In the course of the last year, the American labor movement definitely shifted to a new base in order to meet new problems and accomplish new tasks.

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

THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE

American Labor Comes of Age—George F. Miles. The Roosevelt Social Security Act—Thomas Gregory. A Letter to the P.O.U.M. Four Years in Underground Germany. Recent Developments in the French Peoples' Front.

SPANISH MASSES MEET NEW NEEDS OF BATTLE

(Continued from Page 1)

big cities queues, for one thing or another, that there is ample food to feed the entire people and even to take care of the heavy burden of refugees that is straining the resources of the urban centers of refuge to the utmost.

Peasants lean against the plow that turns the deep reddish earth where yesterday cannon fire was still plowing up the soil. North-west of Tetuan on the edge of Madrid I saw a peasant plowing the soil between the rear lines of trenches already abandoned thanks to the victorious advance of the defenders of Madrid, and the front lines of trenches only a few hundred yards ahead, over which machine gun pellets, mortar shells and rifle bullets were flying. The peasant drove against his plow in unconcerned calm, scarcely glancing up even when on occasion a big gun spoke in crashing tones.

Workers Run Factories The factories too, where they are not handicapped by the lack of raw materials caused by the criminal blockade of the united front of fascist powers and "great and friendly democracies," are running at full blast.

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

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tion between war mobilization and social reorganization is a complicated one, and I shall reserve it for my next article. For the present, it is sufficient to emphasize that everywhere one sees hundreds of thousands of strong young men, many already in uniform waiting for guns and marching orders, others waiting eagerly for the call to arms—a vast eager willing army not of mannikins and puppets but who know why they fight and are proud of the cause they serve because they know it is their own.

Reconstructing Madrid Another striking feature of this great conflict is the swiftness and industry with which this determined people is rebuilding the conquered portions even while the war is going on. The peasant plowing between the abandoned trenches and those in use is no exception. He is a symbol of all the toiling people of this land.

The factories too, where they are not handicapped by the lack of raw materials caused by the criminal blockade of the united front of fascist powers and "great and friendly democracies," are running at full blast. In Catalonia, an attempt was made at the beginning to win the support of the workers' organizations by raising wages and shortening hours.

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

Lambda EUROPE TODAY Britain Openly Supports Franco; Labor Must Block Credits to Hitler

London, April 14, 1937.

IN a special session of the cabinet, the British Government decided that the blockade of Bilbao by the Insurgents is to be recognized as effective and, henceforth, it will refuse convoy to British freighters desirous of carrying foodstuffs into Bilbao harbor.

This step of the British Government, which does grave damage to British prestige, is explicable only if we assume that the British Government made definite commitments to support Mussolini and Hitler.

The Opposition in Parliament voiced a sharp protest. However, it cannot be expected that protests in parliament alone will influence the Government very much.

In Catalonia no accredited government has yet been formed. The reason for this failure is the inflexible resistance of the CNT (anarchist) to all demands from the PSUC (communist) and the Esquerra (bourgeois republican) for further liquidation of revolutionary gains.

President Companys appointed a provisional government council. The PSUC announced publicly a forthcoming demonstration for the support of Companys' personal authority.

HITLER SEEKS CREDITS

THE other day, President of the Reichsbank, Schacht, went to Brussels to obtain raw materials and credits to carry out Germany's rearmament program.

Rumor spreads from Germany that, in view of this situation, leading figures in the Reichswehr and in industrial circles prevailed upon "Der Fuehrer" to get some diplomatic action under way so as to obtain raw materials and credits.

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

In the CPO Pre-Convention Discussion THE MOSCOW TRIALS AND THE C.I. CRISIS

By M. Y.

THE Moscow trials have exposed the crisis and rottenness in the Communist International more than any other single event. He who thinks that the recent trials are purely a Russian affair, having no connection with the position and role of the C.P.S.U. in the C.I. is deluding himself.

In the past we were correct in stating that the chief source of the mistakes of the Stalin regime lay in the transfer of tactics applicable inside the S.U. to the other sections of the C.I.

The position advanced by some forces in the labor movement that the Stalin faction is fashioning the policies and tactics of the various sections of the C.I. to the needs of Soviet foreign policy, cannot so easily be dismissed as completely wrong.

We were entirely correct when we criticized the Stalin-Laval declaration because it identified the C.P.S.U., which is part of the C.I. with the foreign policy of the Soviet government.

The strategy of the Stalin regime as demonstrated at the trials and subsequent lynching and terror campaign is to pin the charge of Trotskyism to all forces not in agreement with its present policies.

Have all Oppositions in the CPSU Embraced Trotskyism? The strategy of the Stalin regime as demonstrated at the trials and subsequent lynching and terror campaign is to pin the charge of Trotskyism to all forces not in agreement with its present policies.

In face of such a situation, to cling to the idea of reforming the C.I. is senseless. If the political conditions which make the reforming of the Labor and Socialist International impossible are correct, then we must conclude that for the very same reasons the reforming of the Communist International is equally impossible.

The position of Trotsky for a fourth international, calculated to serve the factional interests of his Russian faction is both dangerous and unacceptable.

The organization of a new international center dedicated to the continuation of the revolutionary traditions of Marxism-Leninism is not a matter of making a decision or setting a date for its formation.

From a Marxist perspective, the book is unsound only to the extent that it implies that there can be a socially desirable "high religion" which has an intellectual and psychological contribution to make in analyzing events and in establishing a socialist society or in such a society, once established. However, the book can be recommended as an excellent case study of the ideological revolution which is in progress in some of the leading Protestant theological seminaries.

Spain's "Right" Experts

IN his recent pamphlet, "Spain's 'Left' Critics," I. R. Campbell protests most indignantly against our charge that the policy being pursued by the communist and socialist parties in Spain is only a latter-day version of the course followed by the "compromising" socialists (Mensheviks and S.R.'s) in the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The organization of a new international center dedicated to the continuation of the revolutionary traditions of Marxism-Leninism is not a matter of making a decision or setting a date for its formation.

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BOOKS of the AGE

THE EARLY DAYS OF CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA by James Dombrowski, Columbia University Press, 1936, \$2.50.

Reviewed by F. A. LIGGETT

This book by James Dombrowski, dean of Highlander Folk School in Tennessee and active as a left socialist, is a carefully documented study of Christian socialism in the United States up to 1900.

Dombrowski's critical approach is revealed by the following: "When the good-will ethic was translated into a practical strategy it took the form of upholding law and order and opposing all forms of rebellion and revolt.

In face of such a situation, to cling to the idea of reforming the C.I. is senseless. If the political conditions which make the reforming of the Labor and Socialist International impossible are correct, then we must conclude that for the very same reasons the reforming of the Communist International is equally impossible.

From a Marxist perspective, the book is unsound only to the extent that it implies that there can be a socially desirable "high religion" which has an intellectual and psychological contribution to make in analyzing events and in establishing a socialist society or in such a society, once established.

racy. Now this would be no crime when you remember that the alternative to capitalist democracy may conceivably be General Franco. Too often the argument as to what is the best policy to be pursued in Spain at the present moment is conducted as if General Franco is not in existence, as if there was no fascist alliance intervening in Spain, as if the fascists did not already control half of the country.

How interesting! Perhaps Comrade Campbell will pardon us for a little piece of historical parallelism that may prove of interest: "The Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries are accused by the Bolsheviks as being the defenders of capitalist (parliamentary) democracy. Now this would be no crime when you remember that the alternative to capitalist democracy may conceivably be General Kornilov and the monarchy. Too often the argument as to what the best policy to be pursued in Russia at the present moment is conducted as if General Kornilov is not in existence, as if there were no imperialist alliance intervening in Russia...."

Does Comrade Campbell recognize the analogy? Perhaps by pondering his own words, he may come to understand what we mean when we say that the official communist party "plays today the role which the Mensheviks played in the Russian Revolution of 1917!" Perhaps he may even come to understand that capitalist democracy is not the real alternative to fascism—that there is such a thing as socialism—proletarian dictatorship.

will be rebellion. In such a situation high religion will choose justice rather than peace." From a Marxist perspective, the book is unsound only to the extent that it implies that there can be a socially desirable "high religion" which has an intellectual and psychological contribution to make in analyzing events and in establishing a socialist society or in such a society, once established.

Individual May Day Greetings

- E. Dorf Benny Antonoff Sadie Hoffman
J. Englestein Sam Loenthal Isidore Grossman
M. Miller Wm. Moen Philip Fleit
George Pope Namiroc Moe Freed
K. Sharp Max Cohen Gene Schwartz
I. Zeldin Meyer (Pickles) Julius Zetlin
A. Sandrin L. Exher Ann T.
H. Schlachter S. Sarlene Aaron Cohen
Bella Engels J. Goldstein Max Zand
Betty Young M. Yomanowitz Louis Cohen
George Benton A. Friend M. Ruffer
Lillian Holland Mike Birardi J. Friedman
Esther Cohen I. Markowitz D. Gasner
Anna Frieman I. Klein A. Deutch
Anna Gasner William Anelo J. Silverman
Jennie Kudrin Y. Temerario D. Halpern
Ida Bershadsky Y. Temerario W. Himmelfarb
Alla First Nickolas Bora D. Rosen
Clara Lerner Pearl Halpern J. Friedman
Fanny Lishner Lillian Elsen Rose Cohen
Frieda Birnbaum Becky Simonson Saby Nehama
Ora Wiggins Julius Betcher Max Pollack
Doris Lake Jack Mandel J. Sperber
Frieda Zweibon G. Lotgindise Paul Heitner
I. Greenberg Morris Goldstein Max Kohlenberg
E. Geltzer Pedro F. Campo Sarah
Dan Telardi Louis Salerman Fannemozlu
Jack Taksen Eva Schlachter Joe Axler
Jack Steinman Rose Stein E. Eisenberg
Joe Fishtein B. Knauer E. Atlas
A. Friend from Ethel Atwell Hilda Koffler
Local 66 H. Kaufman O. Himmelstein
S. Reid Amelia Demiano Harry Weinstein
L. Parrish Florence Bennett D. Rosen
B. Rosenthal Ida Green Isidor Blumer
H. Weinberger Francis Massow Philip Lessim
J. Fried Charles Kasner Eva Smith
Leo Cohen R. Cohen

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

- I. Buzel Ginsberg H. Vogel
D. Hirsh Sam Weintraub A. Kaufman
M. Carozzo S. Silver A. Schverd
H. Mansfield H. Dratler M. Berger
S. Hyman Garfnick Ph. Dolgoff
Shpater H. Steinberg E. Laxer
E. Hochberg

Attention! Additional individual greetings will appear next week.

Office Workers Reverse Stand; Ask Aid from CIO

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

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

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

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

1. That the New York delegation introduce a pro-CIO resolution at this conference.

2. That a representative of the TWOC be invited to address the conference.

3. A motion calling upon the AF of L and CIO for assistance in organizing the office and professional workers.

And ruled out of order was:

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

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

ATTENTION!

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

Safety and Accidents in Steel

1935	Select group of plants with a safety policy (about one-third of the industry)	Two-thirds of the Steel Plants
Total number of Disabling Injuries	1,447 Injuries	12,175 Injuries
Injury Frequency Rate (number of disabling injuries for each million man-hours worked)	6.3 Injuries	21.55 Injuries

CP in Phila. Tries to Block United May Day

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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POLICY OF "LEFTS" HURT CIO GROWTH

(Continued from Page 3)

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

No Fetishism of Unity

The policies of the Communist Party, inclusive of its trade union line, have been so consistently wrong, that to have the present position collapse around its ears, is nothing new. And it has collapsed! Will the Communist Party insist that its campaign of "unity" has done more than to play into the hands of the craft leaders like Frey (west coast) and Wharton (machinists)? Is unity possible in the light of the new role of the A.F. of L.? If the "progressives" plus the C.I.O. unions could not "win the A.F. of L. for their policies" is it possible for the "progressives" without the C.I.O. unions, to win the A.F. of L.?

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

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

Spanish Masses Meet New Needs

(Continued from Page 4)

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

Nature of Struggle

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

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

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by Louis Hacker

RAILROAD STRIKES OF 1877

by Philip L. Slaner

THEORY OF CLASSES

by Abraham Edel

DIALECTIC AND NATURE

by Sidney Hook

A MARXIST CRITIQUE OF THOMISM

by Max Raphael

PHILOSOPHY AND PHILOSOPHIZING

by Franz Mehring

In addition there are Discussions and Book Reviews: The Pragmatism of John Dewey, by Corliss Lamont; Marx and Hegel, by Edward Conze; Philosophy of Aldous Huxley, by Eliseo Vivas; Social Significance of Biology, by Arthur Binsel; The Nature of Art, by Delmore Schwartz and Meyer Schapiro, etc.

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