

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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ILGWU Meet Backs CIO

Lewis' Speech Is Greeted With An Ovation For The CIO

By GEORGE F. MILES
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—The 23rd convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union closed here last Saturday after establishing a record for progressive action in the American trade union movement. Its progressive attitude stamped every decision beginning with the much-discussed CIO question, thru such issues as war and fascism, Spain and neutrality, labor party, social security and the Negro question, to such matters as support of Tom Mooney in his more than two decades of tireless struggle for freedom and the establishment of a labor college for training forces for the labor movement.

C.I.O. Endorsed

By far, the most discussed topic over which speculation was rife, was the question of the garment union's affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization. A careful observer could have seen with half an eye that the majority of the delegates to this convention would under no circumstances permit any step backward where the CIO was concerned. It was equally clear that the convention was in favor of putting an end to this unhealthy speculation as to the attitude of the ILGWU by taking an unequivocal stand. The reaction to the speeches of Charles Zimmerman and Julius Hochman at the first CIO caucus indicated that there was no lack of either loyalty to or fighting spirit for the CIO. The appearance of John L. Lewis at the convention and his stirring appeal settled whatever doubts anyone might still have retained. The delegates and visitors staged a most enthusiastic reception to this man who had done so much to arouse the best fighting qualities of American labor. The cry of "We Want Peace," coming from the peace mongers who had claimed to represent two thirds of the convention, was drowned out in a thunderous ovation for CIO lasting many minutes.

The speech of John L. Lewis and the following remarks of President David Dubinsky presaged a complete agreement on the matter. The unanimous adoption of the resolution on the CIO question was therefore a surprise to no one.

The following are the high lights of the statement adopted:

1. Approval of GEB action in initiating and affiliating to CIO.
2. Approval of activities of President Dubinsky and the GEB within the CIO.
3. Recognition that CIO has demonstrated the validity of the claims for industrial unionism in the mass production industries by its successful organization campaigns in which it organized over a million and a quarter workers.
4. Regret that CIO did not always utilize conferences with AFL for discussing peace but belief that AFL is "to a large degree responsible for the present division in the forces of labor."



At the ILGWU convention in Atlantic City, John L. Lewis is surrounded by (left to right) I. Nagler, Julius Hochman, President David Dubinsky and Luigi Antonini. Photo H. Rubinstein

5. Conviction "that recognition of the principle of industrial unionism for the mass production industries is the only basis for a lasting peace."

6. Provides for continued affiliation to CIO and urges GEB to seek to compose the rift in the ranks of organized labor.

Union Responsibility

The convention dealt in great detail with a number of other vital problems which affect American labor. Of course the convention approved the organization of a national labor party, as it has done many times in the past. It also endorsed the union's concrete steps in this direction in helping to found the American Labor Party in the State of New York and in participating in Labor's Non-Partisan League.

The Social Security Act came in for considerable treatment. Quite a number of resolutions analyzed this act and pointed to numerous shortcomings proposing improvements to extend labor's rights and privileges under this Act. These amendments were approved and GEB was urged "to exert all its influence and power to the end that the Social Security program include the various amendments."

Of considerable interest is a unanimously adopted statement defining the union's position on governmental regulation of trade unions. Challenging the very purpose of this movement and objecting to its implications the statement says:

"... In order to encourage investment at the time when capitalism was growing, the state issued special charters to business enterprises, which granted their owners the privilege of 'limited liability' in case of bankruptcy. In other words, as applied to business, the principle of incorporation means limited responsibility. In the case of incorporation of trade unions, however, its purpose is exactly the

opposite—an attempt to increase responsibility."

The statement goes on to challenge the cry of irresponsibility of trade unions, considers registration as a step to incorporation and concludes with the statement that "the proposed legislation is vicious, and is intended solely to hinder and hamper the effectiveness of union organization."

Aid To Anti-Fascists

The assembled delegates listened to the reports on the activities of the organization against fascism in the form of the collection of large sums to aid the victims of Nazi terror, and also the more recent drives to assist the workers and peasants of Spain in their heroic struggle against fascism. For this generous aid the convention received the expression of gratitude from Spain's Ambassador Fernando de Los Rios.

The delegates approved the launching of the Trade Union Red Cross for Spain and also expressed themselves in resolution against

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PLAN SPEAKING TOUR TO AID IN MOONEY CAMPAIGN

A great state-wide speaking tour in California in behalf of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, world famous labor prisoners, will begin on May 20 and continue through until June 5.

The purpose of the speaking tour is to present to the people of California the facts and issues of the Mooney-Billings case. Speakers on the tour will include George T. Davis, San Francisco counsel for Tom Mooney; Assemblyman Paul Richie of San Diego who led the fight in the current Legislature for an immediate full and complete pardon for Tom Mooney; and various Assemblymen and labor leaders in the cities where meet-

CIO Gains in Steel, Shoe and Transport

Election In Jones and Laughlin Will Bring CIO Recognition; Maine Shoe-Workers Back Shoe Union; Ford Drive Mapped

THE Committee for Industrial Organization, now entering "the second phase of its organizational activities," as John L. Lewis stated at the ILGWU convention, achieved important victories in steel, shoe, and transport this week, while its affiliate in the auto industry, the UAWA, prepared for the drive to organize the Ford plants.

After weeks of negotiations, and attempts at negotiations, with independent steel corporations comprising 192,000 of the

570,000 in the industry, the SWOC, under the chairmanship of Philip Murray, forced Jones and Laughlin to its knees, and prepared to force Republic, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Inland, and Crucible steel companies to sign a contract with the union. These independents are being threatened with a strike. That the SWOC means business was shown by the thirty-six hour strike in Jones and Laughlin. That the

steel firms have not suddenly entered an era of blissful "reasonableness" was shown by the immediate use of tear gas against the strikers. All the "labor" acts, and Senate investigations have done nothing to actually eliminate the arming of the employers against the workers. Only the actual unionizing strides made by the CIO have been able to halt or lessen the use of this outrageous violence against labor in its struggle for unionism.

The contract with Jones and Laughlin, calls for an election under the NLRB, and guarantees the right of sole bargaining to the SWOC if it is a majority in that election. This is expected to occur.

In the Maine shoe area, three of the nineteen factories voted for the CIO. Under terms of the agreement, negotiations will begin between the employers and the United Shoe Workers of America, on wage and hour issues.

The Transport Workers Union, which affiliated to the CIO last week, won a sweeping victory in the referendum held on the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. Although full details have not yet been made public, it is estimated that the Transport Workers Union received over 90% of the vote.

Valencia Cabinet Shifts Planned

The aftermath of the events in Catalonia has been the creation of a more right-wing government there, and a new cabinet crisis in Valencia, not yet resolved as we go to press. At present writing, Caballero's resignation in order to form a new cabinet has met with a new snag in the opposition of the Spanish Communist Party to his holding both premiership and war ministry in the new cabinet. Press reports state that they would prefer someone like Prieto, formerly leader of the right wing of the Socialist Party against Caballero, when there were differentiations in the Spanish SP.

Caballero resigned apparently to go thru the formality of having confidence in him restated, after the Catalan events. No attempt was made to exclude a representative of the Anarchists from the new government, altho of course, these might represent the section of the FAI-CNT opposed to those who participated in the armed protests in Barcelona.

Ford Police Beat Auto Organizers

Three organizers of the United Automobile Workers of America were beaten by Ford's Special Police, when they distributed union leaflets at a Ford plant in Chicago. The three are: Irving Brown, regional director for the UAWA, Charles Kane, and John White. The company police had tried to provoke a fight a few weeks ago, but the union had smoothed things over. The attack, which resulted in fractured jaw for White, a former Ford worker, a possible ruptured kidney for Kane, and a rupture for Brown, came immediately upon their arrival at the plant gates. A company policeman slugged Kane, and in going to his aid, Brown and Kane were attacked by others.

White, who was discharged for union activity a week ago, was ordered to "get out of town" by Ford's thugs. The Chicago police force, when informed of the brutal beating, took no action.

The union is seeking John Doe warrants against three guards and in addition will file suit against Henry Ford for \$225,000.

BERTRAM WOLFE
will speak on

THURSDAY
MAY 27
8 P. M.

CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN
CENTER HOTEL, 108 W. 43rd St

IS THE THIRD REICH READY FOR WAR?

By A. ALEXANDER

AFTER the World War, the German Reichswehr leaders were firmly opposed to any policy which would bring Germany into an alliance with the "West" against the revolutionary "East." One of the main lessons Germany had learned in the 1914-18 experience had been to avoid trench warfare entailing great waste of material. Such a war of attrition was considered by the German general staff as the unavoidable consequence of a war against two fronts.

Germany, in her position between Poland and France, was forced to maintain the best possible understanding with Russia. Von Seeckt, the founder of the Reichswehr and its most capable and influential military expert, came to the conclusion that this pressure of circumstances would remain, no matter what one's opinion of the present regime in Russia and its perspectives. This policy would save Germany from having to fight another war on two fronts.

Versailles' Limitations

The small army, the limited equipment, the insufficient resources of raw materials and the difficult geographical position of Germany, forced the generals to follow that policy from the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo up to 1932. Knowing that German militarism could not again stand a war of attrition, another type of war had to be developed. French warfare, a strategy of "defensive attack," was disfavored and a new form of mobile attack was offered. Explaining the new tactics, Von Seeckt wrote about "the next war":

"It will again be a question of mobilising all the manpower at our disposal, of accumulating the largest replenishment and of throwing masses against masses. It will again be decisive on whose side another America takes up position and improved technical equipment will to an increasing extent exterminate human beings. . . . The decline of the quality of the troops and the simultaneous increase in man-power and war material leads to trench warfare and therefore to the end of a strategy aiming at quick and decisive victories. . . . The aim of modern war strategy will be to bring about a decision with highly mobile and quick striking forces before masses can be mobilised and put into action."

Destruction of material in a new war would be incomparably larger than in the last war. The German Reichswehr today would in case of war need at least three times as much ammunition as in 1918. In the last war, one infantry division had five heavy machine guns. Today one infantry regiment has twelve heavy machine guns, one company of mine throwers, one anti-aircraft gun. After 1932, however, new strategical possibilities turned up as a result of the practical abolition of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Other problems had to be solved. The new strategy had to find its expression in important changes in the army staff of the Reichswehr.

Von Seeckt left Germany in 1933 for China. Von Schleicher was assassinated in June 1934. Blomberg, who had worked in close collaboration with Hitler, became the commander-in-chief of the Reichswehr. But one should not attach too much attention to these changes. Blomberg comes from the same military school from which all postwar leaders of the Reichswehr have been recruited, from the most intelligent members of the general staff of the German army during the World War. At that time, Groener, later minister of War of the Republic, Von Schleicher, his friend, Von Hammerstein, Blomberg and his friend Von Reichenau (who is one of the most influential of the present Reichswehr leadership) all worked together on the old German

general staff. After the collapse of 1918, Blomberg, like all other members of the former chiefs of the Imperial Army—with the exception of Ludendorff—became a "good republican," but he backed Hitler before the others did and won his confidence. Blomberg could not do away with the old principles of the Reichswehr leadership. On the contrary, former leaders of the Reichswehr, in particular Von Seeckt who returned from China, again entered the service of the Reichswehr in a responsible position. During von Seeckt's absence German militarism passed through a period of great risks. The Versailles Treaty was openly broken without having at the same time proper means of defense against a new occupation of the Ruhr. The French army staff saw this weak point of German militarism, but

This would most certainly be the case for three decisive reasons:

1. The Franco-Soviet pact will force Germany to fight on two fronts.
2. Finance and supply of raw



Nazi Troops March Into the Rhineland as the Third Reich Rearms.

could not come to a decision. This saved Hitler. Blomberg won his case against von Seeckt.

Rearming of the Reich

In the past three years Germany created the biggest and best equipped standing army. The exact figures of the German air force are unknown, but a rough estimate is possible when one knows that more than forty factories have been working during the last three years day and night to produce military aeroplanes. One of these factories, Junkers at Dessau, employs about 20,000 workers. In the spring of 1917, 72 aeroplane factories with 125,000 workers were, according to official statistics, able to raise the monthly output from 1,000 to 2,000 machines. Therefore, keeping in mind these record figures, the monthly output since June 1934 cannot be under 350 aeroplanes.

The present number of bombing and fighting aeroplanes which are ready to start at a moment's notice is at least 9,000. Tens of thousands of flying officers and ground staff

have been trained. Hundreds of open and underground aerodromes are ready for use. No other country in Western Europe has such modern military weapons and means of transportation with the exception of heavy artillery and tanks. During the World War, Germany only managed to make full use of her industrial capacity for war production about 18 months after the outbreak of the war. Today, in times of peace, the state is prepared to switch industry to the production of war materials in a few days. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce is in possession of all figures regarding the capacity and the demand for raw materials of very factory in Germany. The industrial "corporations" have been organized in such a manner that the "leaders" of the various industrial branches can become overnight directors of State trusts which are in full control of the whole industry.

In the event of a war against one country alone, Germany would be in a position to overwhelm any other European power in a few months. If, however, that war became a long lasting one with great destruction of material and human beings, German militarism would fight without a chance of ultimate success.

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2. Finance and supply of raw

materials are worse than in 1914. Although the size of the army has grown tremendously, it is still inadequate.

The Reichswehr itself has 300,000 well-trained professional soldiers, everyone of which is a technician and capable of shouldering the responsibilities of an O.T.C. (petty officer) in an increased army. Since the introduction of universal conscription another 500,000 to 600,000 have come under arms. These men, however, were not called in until this summer and their training will require at least one more year. In the spring of 1937 another 400,000 will join the existing forces making up a standing army of 1.2 to 1.3 million men. For the time being, however, only 300,000 men are actually available for war. This would not be nearly enough for a war which would have to be fought on two fronts. The situation regarding the supply of raw materials is even worse. Old stocks of imported raw materials are exhausted. Imports have increased in the last three years but the figures of 1935-36 did not on the whole

exceed those of 1929. The production of substitutes has been launched on a large scale but is not sufficiently developed.

Anti-Soviet Strategy
The Reichswehr generals are conscious of the weaknesses in German rearmament. They are not inclined to stake all their chances on one card without good chances of success. The Nazi leaders who were prepared to risk a premature war have been removed from influential positions. We recall the fate of Roehm who was going to risk a world war by marching the S.A. into Austria, and Rosenberg's disappearance from the political scene. The Reichswehr and Schacht made it a condition of their consent for the reoccupation of the Rhineland that Hitler immediately withdraw the German troops in the event of French mobilization.

The new rearmament has relieved German militarism from the pressure of the West and made it possible for the army staff to take up the anti-Soviet strategy. The old principle of avoiding a war on two fronts, however, has not been given up. They are not inclined to start a war against the Soviet Union while French army might threaten the Ruhr. The Reichswehr wants far more extensive safeguards in the West than they have at present before they would enter a war campaign against Russia. The annulment of the Franco-Soviet pact would not be sufficient although it would certainly be an important tactical victory. Instead of pacts, they prefer to rely on material protection by carrying out immense schemes of fortification in Western Germany. They minimize their dependence on foreign raw materials by the extension of production of chemical and substitute products.

This, however, would not make Germany independent of foreign raw materials and foodstuffs. The problem could be solved to a large extent by the economic penetration of South Eastern Europe. The dominance of Germany in the Balkans would assure its hegemony in Western Europe. In South Eastern Europe there is an abundance of grain which would make imports from overseas unnecessary. There are raw materials, such as oil, copper, silver, tin, manganese, which are almost completely lacking in Germany. Hitherto French and British interests have predominated in those areas. German imperialists have made the "peaceful" conquest of these regions the next aim of foreign policy. In this connection it is worth quoting the following extract from an article in the "Muenchener" Neueste Nachrichten" of June 17, 1934 concerning Dr. Schacht's visit to South Eastern Europe:

"Raw copper is one of the most important exports of Yugoslavia today. The copper is mined mainly by "Bor" one of the concerns controlled by French capital. The position with regard to zinc and lead is much the same. These are obtained into an area of exploitation. But Germany wishes to obtain access to these materials through the delivery of necessary machinery and tools which could be paid for by delivery of ores."

Reichswehr Moves Cautiously
Such an economically self-sufficient German militarism dominating in South Eastern and Central Europe would not be a satisfied power, but on the contrary would use its greater economic and military influence for further expansion. Certain French generals and industrialists would like to see Germany wage an early war against the Soviet Union. The German army staff will not fulfill their wishes if they can help it. They will first take what they can get cheaply and with less risks. Hitler is continuing his anti-Soviet campaign while German foreign policy is concentrating on the penetration of the Balkans. Hitler wants to re-assure the British government that the increase of German military strength will only be

The I.L.G.W.U. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)
"non-intervention" and "neutrality" which, they said, are aiding fascism.

Some Differences

But not on everything did the delegates see eye to eye. There were three questions on which differences arose. The first on reduction of per capita taxes was defeated after a particularly witty and effective summary by President Dubinsky. A proposal for proportional representation to future conventions was very ably championed by Julius Hochman but was voted down on a hand count 356 to 86. A proposal by President Dubinsky provided for a study of this question by the GEB and a report to the next convention. The third debate occurred over the existence of groups or clubs in the union. The report called for the abolition of all groups, except prior to elections when such were to be legalized for electioneering purposes.

Charles Zimmerman of Local 22 was the leading speaker against this proposal. He stated that such a proposal, even were it possible to carry out, would result in the development of cliques for purposes of job seeking. It is natural, he argued, that there should be differences of opinion in large organizations as to how best to conduct the union's work, as to policies and strategy. These expressed themselves in the form of groupings which were not an unmixed evil. He warned against any rash action which might "create many criminals."

"I think," said Zimmerman, "that in this country we have had experience with prohibition laws. We know that when a law was introduced and passed as an amendment to the Federal Constitution and it was not applicable, neither the army nor the navy, nor the special officers maintained by the Department of Justice and by all the forces of the Government could enforce that constitutional amendment. It was a prohibition law that could not be enforced; it only took many good citizens and made criminals out of them. I am afraid that if this provision should be applied as provided for in the Constitution now, it would create many criminals within our Union."

The report of the committee was finally adopted after President Dubinsky amended the report by providing that "this convention should empower the incoming General Executive Board to enforce, suspend or amend this provision, as situations may require."

Leadership Relected

The unanimous reelection of David Dubinsky to the presidency set off an enthusiastic demonstration led by cutters Local 10 of which Dubinsky is a member. Luigi Antonini of Local 89 was reelected first vice president. All members of the old General Executive Board were returned with the exception of Kurtzman of Local 9 who was replaced by Max Cohen of Local 60.

put into action against the Soviet Union. It will never touch British interests. Similar assurances were by the Japanese government when Manchuria was occupied and the British government was only too ready to accept these promises. It was unpleasantly surprised when the Japanese used their increase of power in Manchuria in order to invade China with no respect for British interests. The Balkans are a bridge for German militarism which can lead into two directions, into Turkey-Bagdad-Asia Minor where British interests predominate or into the Ukraine. What assurances has the British government that German imperialism will not follow its traditional pre-war policy?

In August of 1936, the executive council sitting at Washington, without warrant of the constitution and without legality in law, suspended the ten organizations composing this C.I.O. from membership in the executive council, effective as of the fifth day of September in 1936.

Branded as being a dual organization, as having objectives not constant or consistent with the policies and laws of the A. F. of L. a million men and women comprising ten great international unions were ejected from the American Federation of Labor and deprived of their privilege of attending the following convention to be held in Tampa in the month

Lewis' Speech at I.L.G.W.U. Convention

The following is a slightly abbreviated text of the speech delivered by John L. Lewis at the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Atlantic City, N. J. - Editor.

I come primarily here today to address you as the representative of that great group of American workers who have assembled themselves together and are now marching forward to the destiny of labor in America under the banner of the C.I.O. (Applause)

Just a little over one and a half years ago in this very convention hall, the issues within the councils of the A. F. of L. were joined and those leaders of that movement who felt that the labor movement of America should render a greater service of increased opportunity to America's working men, stated their position to American labor and to the American people from this platform.

The majority report and the minority report of the Committee on resolutions to the 1935 convention of the A. F. of L. were debated from this platform, and the fateful decision of the A. F. of L. through its delegates, was rendered from that floor. And from those seats and from that moment, when the A. F. of L. decided officially that it preferred to dwell in the past and take the easy way rather than modernize its practices, than progressive workers in a mass, has come the great movement which had its beginnings at that time.

Just a day or two after that expression of the convention, the small group of men met in the hotel just up the boardwalk a few yards and took counsel each with the other. Your organization was represented by your distinguished president at that informal meeting in the city of Washington, when their Committee on Industrial Organization formed, its declarations and objectives set forth and announcements of its personnel were made to the public.

From that time on, the work has gone forward; from that time on, the unorganized workers of this country were encouraged to organize; from that time on, progress has been made, and from that time on, the C.I.O. and the men who form that committee and the organizations who compose it, have been subjected to a continuous, bitter degree of criticism and opposition.

We expect that criticism and that opposition, because great movements with great thoughts breed great opposition and so it has been with our movement. In January of 1936, after the C.I.O. was formed in November of 1935, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Florida, without summons or hearing, by resolution adopted by the executive council, declared the C.I.O. to be dual in character to the A. F. of L. and put upon it the brand of being an outlaw among men.

Whenever the newspapers of this country blazoned upon their headlines that some one proposed peace with the A. F. of L., down would go the list of applications from the field workers because the workers in the steel industry had no confidence in the A. F. of L. They had lived too many years in economic misery and exploitation in the steel industry while the American Federation of Labor looked on. They didn't want to belong to a union that they thought might become reinstated or reestablished with the A. F. of L.

But let the newspapers blazon to the public that prospects of peace were dim and that they had been dissipated and up went the lists of applications in the steel industry and our organizers reported enthusiasm among the workers. They believed in the CIO but they didn't believe in the A. F. of L.

Three hundred thousand of these workers have now joined the CIO (applause). A great union has been formed in the steel industry. Wage contracts have been negotiated upon a broad scale and more

of October. Those million men and women were not represented in that convention and had no part in the decisions of that convention and the convention ratified the previous action of the executive council.

Since that time the A. F. of L. has consistently opposed, criticized and denounced the C.I.O. What for?

Two weeks before the executive council suspended ten international unions in the month of August, 1936, President Green of the A. F. of L. asked to see me and I met him. And he said to me substantially:

"Is there any way in which this dispute can be settled?" I said to him substantially: "Yes, on the basis of your recent declaration to the members of the American Federation of Labor sent out by official circular letter from your office namely, that there is room in the American Federation of Labor for both the craft and the industrial type organizations. (Applause)

"If it be true," quoth I to President Green, "then I suggest, and the C.I.O. empowers me to suggest, that we identify the industries in which industrial organizations would be sponsored, fathered and protected and chartered by the A. F. of L."

"What are those industries?" asked President Green. I replied: "I could write a list of those industries in one minute." (They were so obvious and so well known and so recognized that everyone was familiar with their identity. I could write such a list in one minute.)

"But, before I write such a list," President Green, let me ask you: If I just write one industry down, and make that the steel industry, will the A. F. of L. accept a settlement on that basis?"

The conference ended. That was the attitude of the A. F. of L. two weeks before they suspended these million men and women in August of 1935. Since that time nothing has happened to indicate any change of policy upon the part of the A. F. of L. but much has happened to indicate that the rank and file of workers in the mass production industries have lost confidence in the A. F. of L. and are no longer desirous of being members of the A. F. of L.

During our steel campaign of organizing the workers in the steel industry, the applications for membership formed a perfect barometer of the sentiment of those workers.

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Vice-President Charles Zimmerman congratulates John L. Lewis after his brilliant address. Photo H. Rubinstein

wage contracts will be negotiated in the steel industry. The workers in that industry want to belong to a modern and progressive labor movement and not a labor movement that will subdivide them and weaken their strength and turn them over to their common foes and prevent them from achieving their destiny as workers.

The CIO in other industries has been eminently successful in organizing tremendous numbers of workers and the enrollment is going on. New unions are being formed, charters are being issued and the CIO is entering upon what might be termed the second phase of its organizational activities. Regional offices are being set up in the major industrial centers and charters are being issued to workers in miscellaneous industries as contrasted with our policy of concentrating for some time our efforts in certain basic mass production industries.

The CIO has caught the imagination of the American workers. It offers him hope for the future and he is lending that committee and the organizations enrolled in it, the strength, his fealty, his service and his influence.

Why is that so? For many long weary months, while the steel campaign and the auto campaign were being prosecuted, the executives of the A. F. of L. from President Green down went about this country whispering to all whom they met that the CIO campaign was a failure, that in the steel industry it was a flop, and whether they talked to representatives of the workers or whether they talked to the representatives of industry they whispered the glad tidings that the CIO couldn't organize the steel industry. That they were fools to think so and that all that any one needed to do was to be quiet and patient, and time would show that the CIO could not establish a union among the steel workers of this country, and if they did establish a union among the steel workers, it was unreasonable to expect such gigantic corporations as United States Steel and others would ever deal with that commit-

tee. Three days before the contract was signed with the United States Steel corporation for its subsidiaries, President Green was whispering around the lobby of the Hamilton Hotel in Washington that the CIO steel campaign was a flop.

Peace in the labor movement? Who created war? The C.I.O. did not withdraw from the A. F. of L. They dedicated themselves to the proposition of organizing unorganized workers and bringing them into the A. F. of L. If that be a crime and if that be treason, let the federation make the most of it—and they have.

In July of 1936 the C.I.O. made an arrangement with the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Iron and Tin Workers, a little struggling organization in the steel industry, which was one of the original founders of the A. F. of L., to organize unorganized steel workers and put them into the Amalgamated organization, one of the five that founded the A. F. of L. 50 years or more ago. That was in July when they started in that way. In August the ten organizations were suspended. All the crime of which they had been guilty of up to that time was organizing new members in that union affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Well, what has changed since that came about? Has the Federation changed its policy? Has any union in the Federation changed its policy? Has any announcement been made that the policy of the federation on industrial unions declared in this proposition has been changed from its previous expressions? The answer is "no."

that G. M. not make a settlement with the C.I.O., although among those 200,000 men on strike William Green did not have a single man organized. That isn't only treason, that is moral turpitude. And be it on their own conscience.

And do you think that there is one single man among the 300,000 members of the United Auto Workers, who have recently won for the union collective bargaining contracts, who would want to be a member of the A. F. of L. or pay dues to support a crowd guilty of such acts? You can take my word that it is not so. They don't want any peace with the A. F. of L. And neither do I want any peace with the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor did the same thing in the Chrysler situation. Mr. Arthur Wharton wrote a letter to Chrysler, Mr. Wharton being president of the machinists union and Mr. Chrysler being president of the Chrysler Corporation, asking him to make a contract for his plant with his organization on the ground that some time in his life Chrysler had worked in a machine shop. They telegraphed, all of those organizations, to the Chrysler Corporation while the conference was going on in Lansing, Mich., protesting against a contract being made with the United Auto Workers and the C.I.O.

The affiliates of the A. F. of L. are making a practice of that proposition now. You have heard of the contract recently signed with the Edison Company in New York. Negotiations have been held with various other corporations asking those corporations to permit the executives of the A. F. of L. to introduce the craft organizations into their plant on a basis something like a company union.

Peace in the labor movement? Who created war? The C.I.O. did not withdraw from the A. F. of L. They dedicated themselves to the proposition of organizing unorganized workers and bringing them into the A. F. of L. If that be a crime and if that be treason, let the federation make the most of it—and they have.

In July of 1936 the C.I.O. made an arrangement with the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Iron and Tin Workers, a little struggling organization in the steel industry, which was one of the original founders of the A. F. of L., to organize unorganized steel workers and put them into the Amalgamated organization, one of the five that founded the A. F. of L. 50 years or more ago. That was in July when they started in that way. In August the ten organizations were suspended. All the crime of which they had been guilty of up to that time was organizing new members in that union affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Well, what has changed since that came about? Has the Federation changed its policy? Has any union in the Federation changed its policy? Has any announcement been made that the policy of the federation on industrial unions declared in this proposition has been changed from its previous expressions? The answer is "no."

It is true that there are men in the federation who are now more concerned with the future of the federation than they were. It is true that they suggest that there ought to be peace. It is true that they now suggest that lack of unity in the labor movement is a bad thing, something that they didn't know a year ago. But I don't know that it is such a bad

(Continued on Page 6)

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition), 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

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Vol. 6, No. 21. Saturday, May 22, 1937

C.I.O. GOES FORWARD

THIS has been a good week for the Committee for Industrial Organization. On many industrial fronts and in the inner labor relationship it has succeeded in strengthening itself.

The decision of the 23rd convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in affiliating with the CIO after a period of hesitation and "straddling," as it was referred to at the convention, destroys completely the hopes of the craft unionists that the CIO block can be dealt a serious blow thru the disaffection of the I.L.G.W.U.

But the greatest force operating for the CIO is our untiring efforts in the industries of the nation, defying obstacles and continuing to organize.

He speaks slowly and steadily. His words are of more value than all the articles written in the newspapers or the heroic declarations over the wireless. The thousands of Andalusian workers and peasants who have been shot by the Fascists or who have had to leave their families and farms, speak through his lips.

"Whenever I refer to the treachery of Malaga I must do so without giving many details because they would appear unbelievable. If anyone heard them and believed them, he would take his gun and not wait for the rest of the story.

"On Sunday the 7th of February, at about six in the morning, when the workers were beginning to leave their homes for their day's work, we began to hear the cannons with a hitherto unknown intensity. I, who had risen earlier that day than usual, heard the booming of the artillery and saw how the streets of the old red quarters of La Trinidad were swept with shrapnel.

"I asked some comrades what that noise was that sounded so near Malaga and they told me that it was made by the militias that were practicing. All the inhabitants of the town were in the same ignorance of the situation and the danger of the town.

PITCH IN FOR SPAIN

THE organization of the American Trade Union Red Cross for Spain is a most welcome development in that a national attempt is being made to involve the trade unions of this country in an international action in behalf of the trade unionists fighting against fascism in Spain.

We appeal to all our friends and sympathizers to get busy in the matter of aligning their trade unions with this organization. As workers and as trade unionists, as individuals and as members of organizations, we must give immediate and energetic support in the drive to extend this organization and raise substantial funds for immediate aid to our Spanish fellow-workers.

Treachery at Malaga

The following is reprinted from The Spanish Revolution, English organ of the POUM, dated April 21, 1937. In connection with the fall of Malaga, the Governor of Almeria, Gabriel Moron issued a press release, stating that: "Without going into an analysis of the causes and antecedents of the Malaga rout I can flatly state that the fall of Malaga was due either to an iniquitous sellout or to unqualified treason. I am so certain of the treachery from data of great interest which is now in the hands of the government."

The commanding officer, Colonel Villalba is said to have falsified the time of entry of the fascists into the city. When, last December this same colony operated on the Aragon front the Anarchists arrested him as a fascist. However, the popular front government intervened and he was transferred to Andalusia.—Editor.

ANTONIO RUIZ is a real Andalusian. As a peasant in the village of Almojia, near Malaga, he has lived the tragedy of the fallen city in all its intensity. A fugitive now, he arrived in Barcelona a month and a half ago. His comrades of the Andalusian battalions of the Lenin Division have given him the painful job of getting their families together in Almeria or at least to find out how many of them were dead. He is an old man. Worn out by tilling the land, having participated in the protest movements in which the peasants of Malaga always figured in the front ranks, Antonio Ruiz uses his time writing, between one letter and another, simple articles on the great episode of his life, the fall of Malaga which—he says—he will never understand and never forgive.

He speaks slowly and steadily. His words are of more value than all the articles written in the newspapers or the heroic declarations over the wireless. The thousands of Andalusian workers and peasants who have been shot by the Fascists or who have had to leave their families and farms, speak through his lips. His voice, filled with curses and cries, has an extraordinary force. It must weigh on somebody's mind, like an awful accusation.

"Whenever I refer to the treachery of Malaga I must do so without giving many details because they would appear unbelievable. If anyone heard them and believed them, he would take his gun and not wait for the rest of the story. Malaga cannot be forgotten. When we who saw it fall remember it, we are overwhelmed with madness and a thirst for revenge that will be hard to quench.

"On Sunday the 7th of February, at about six in the morning, when the workers were beginning to leave their homes for their day's work, we began to hear the cannons with a hitherto unknown intensity. I, who had risen earlier that day than usual, heard the booming of the artillery and saw how the streets of the old red quarters of La Trinidad were swept with shrapnel.

"I asked some comrades what that noise was that sounded so near Malaga and they told me that it was made by the militias that were practicing. All the inhabitants of the town were in the same ignorance of the situation and the danger of the town. The destroyer of Malaga was standing on the threshold of the city gates. Seeing the people in such a state of ignorance was heart-breaking. How could such ignorance be understood when the enemy was a few miles away and the menace was in the very skies?

The Malaga Of The Workers And Peasants

"In meetings and press reports the civil authorities had convinced us of the absolute security of the city. Why? It was not with a desire of not alarming us, because if the workers had known of the danger they would have pulled themselves together and the Fascists would have felt the effects of their enthusiasm.

"General Queipo was able to take Malaga thanks to the unjustified confidence that was sown in the minds of its citizens.

"When the Italians entered they set about pulling off the walls posters which read "Malaga is invincible," "Trust your Chiefs," "The Fascists will never tread the streets of Red Malaga"; and the sad part of it all is that this could have been true if the truth had not been kept from the workers and militiamen.

"Seeing this danger ignored, and not thinking of the danger of being taken for an alarmist, I shouted out to everybody I met that the Fascists had taken Almojia, my home town thirty-six kilometers from Antequera, having covered that distance in about six hours, finding no resistance and passing the Boca del Burro, a position which could have been held by two armed men against a whole nation. So the Fascists were twenty-two kilometers from Malaga in the morning and in the evening they had taken the town.

"The city was under enemy fire. News of the previous day's failure was beginning to circulate and during the first half of the day we saw no defensive preparation being made.

"During the night, the Italians crossed Boquete de Serrafalla and the Boquete de Cauche further north unhindered. Communication with Almeria was cut. Motril was taken immediately while Queipo's ships were tormenting Malaga with their firing.

"On Monday the 8th, the Marbella front broke, their rear guard in the hands of the Fascists, and the militiamen left for the mountains in groups. And they must still be there defending themselves with their guns. Some have been able to reach our Andalusian positions, but others have fallen. Those who were not able to escape on Sunday were made prisoners and now probably carcasses.

Whose Is Responsibility?

"In their name we must ask whose is the responsibility.

"We were all travelling along the road to Almeria: women, children, peasants who left their homesteads—ours only for a few months—guards and militiamen. The airplanes showed us the way in shrapnel. We could not, however, go back to certain death. There was a possibility of escaping by going forward. . . .

"The National Guards that had left the town returned again with their three-cornered helmets to receive the fascists. In this way Queipo had them all together. He had them taken to the bull-ring and there a machine gun manned by Moors sprinkled them over the sand. Not even their three-cornered helmets saved them. And if they had escaped, the workers would have made them pay dearly for their treachery.

"That was how Malaga fell. Those of us who saw how it was given away ask that responsibility be determined, that no one be pardoned, no one excused. Malaga is now a fascist city. Our poor Malaga.

"Our Malaga, the Malaga of the workers and peasants that had made of it Red Malaga. Perhaps that was why Malaga fell."

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EUROPE TODAY

Blum Disbands the "Revolutionary Left"; Exiles Talk Peoples Front

London, April 21, 1937.

THE news about the British blockade of Bilbao harbor is confirmed by two facts. 1) British warships and not the Insurgents prevented Captain ("Potato") Jones' boat from getting into Bilbao harbor. 2) The statement that the mines in the harbor bay made the presence of British ships necessary, proved to be a lie.

In this case, it was so obvious that Great Britain aided the rebels, that even the English working class began to stir. Bourgeois public opinion also showed signs of agitation. The bourgeoisie doesn't, of course, worry about the fate of the Spanish Republic. It is concerned with the prestige of the British merchant marine, the rate of profit from, or cost of transportation for, imports from Spain. British imports from Spain include ore.

The British naval blockade of Bilbao also proves anew that the bourgeois democratic facade, which the sponsors of the peoples' front are so anxious to erect in the supposed interest of Soviet foreign policy, isn't worth a straw.

The Basque country has a strictly bourgeois and devoutly Catholic government, but this doesn't prevent British "democracy" from blockading Bilbao nor the Pope from supporting the rebels against the Basques.

A new government was finally formed in Catalonia. What makes it new is solely the fact that another Cabinet post, that of the Ministry of War, was filled with a CNT representative. The gain however, is merely illusory. Now, as before, the bourgeois leftists and the PSUC, that is, the Republican reformist coalition, forms the majority in the government. To hold the post of the Minister of War in a government which is not founded on the political power of the working class doesn't mean very much for the revolutionary labor movement.

HITLER READY TO ACCEPT FOREIGN CREDITS

The statement Hitler made after his conversation with Lansbury simply means that Germany would accept foreign credits. In that whole statement there wasn't a word which implied that the Reich did not intend to use foreign credits for armaments. But even if Hitler had given or should give such assurance, it would mean absolutely nothing.

To supply Germany with raw materials for the armament industry and with food stuffs has become a very serious problem. She needs not only iron, copper, etc. but also grain. This is the reason why Hitler deigned to declare that the Reich is willing to accept foreign credits in the form of imports. In order to get them he will make many promises and carry them out when it suits him, that is, never. Lansbury and his pacifist backers were merely taken advantage of by Hitler, who plays with them only because he wishes to gain time and money for the completion of his armament program.

Credits can only come from England and America. In both countries the working class and all anti-fascists must consider it their duty to stir up public opinion against the granting of credits in any form to Nazi Germany.

FRENCH S.P. DISSOLVES "REVOLUTIONARY LEFT"

At the last convention of the Conseil Nationale of the French Socialist Party (SFIO) a resolution was passed that the "Gauche revolutionnaire," the group of which Marceau Pivert is the best known representative, should liquidate or, in case of refusal, be expelled. This measure was considered necessary because this left group had publicly attacked the Blum administration after the Clichy shootings. Such attacks can't, it seems, be tolerated any more. The government received a vote of confidence. Max Dormoy, the Minister of the Interior, openly came out in defense of the police. He accused the 200 members of the revolutionary left, who had participated in the demonstration, of having attacked the police and thus forced it to act in self-defense.

Compared with the fight which the left wing of the German SP had waged on similar occasions, the attacks of the revolutionary left of the SFIO were, we wish to emphasize, very mild. Pivert, himself, declared in the Conseil Nationale that he would give up his position against the government. Personal weakness alone doesn't account for this. The revolutionary left was not only attacked by the right wing

(Continued on Page 5)

In the CPO Pre-Convention Discussion

The C.I.O. and Canada

By K. KALMEN

FROM THE vantage point of theoretical deliberations, from the position of a younger member of the family, trying to extend help and advice to either one of the warring factions, the Canadian labor movement, is now forced to descend to realities, to face the C.I.O. problem as affecting its own existence and further development.

Should therefore organizational work cease in Canada? Shouldn't we capitalize on the great sentiment for organization created by the C.I.O.? Surely it would be sheer folly to adopt such an attitude. The organizational work must be carried on. The Steel Workers Committee, the Textile Workers Committee, the U.A.W.A., and other C.I.O. affiliates must extend their operations into Canada. The tactics though, to be employed especially in regards to the A. F. of L. unions must be different from those in the U. S. and for a number of reasons non-existent in the States.

Special Canadian Problems

We of the C.P.O. have always prided ourselves, since the birth of our group, in refusing to follow blindly, in a given situation, the beaten path, the ready made pattern, already tried and accepted under a different set of circumstances. We are "exceptionalists." And it is from this point of view, that we must approach the problem of the C.I.O. in Canada. Not that we accept the formula, that the policy in Canada must be different from the one followed in the U. S., but we must insist that if circumstances and the peculiar conditions surrounding the Canadian Trade Union movement warrant such a change of attitude, that we would do a great injustice to this movement if we allow ourselves to be carried away by our enthusiasm and our policy in the U. S., and take the same stand in Canada.

Let us therefore consider the actual situation in Canada and arrive at some concrete conclusions on the basis of this analysis. The Canadian locals of the unions affiliated to the C.I.O. are in a considerably weaker position than their respective unions in the States. The main-stay, the driving force of the C.I.O., the United Mine Workers Union, has a membership of about 15,000 in Canada. But the union is not strategically situated to be of great help to the unorganized in the mass production industries, whose base is in Quebec and Ontario. The membership of the U.M.W. is divided between the coastal provinces—part of it in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the rest in Alberta and British Columbia. Secondly, the Union has just come out from a period of splits and disruption and is now facing the task of consolidation and reorganization.

The I.L.G.W.U. has its hands full at the present time organizing the dressmakers in Montreal. Time and material resources will be required to solidify the ranks of the workers and to build the Union. The I.L.G.W.U. cannot, therefore, at present, be counted upon as a factor in the C.I.O. in Canada.

The same applies to the A.C. W.U. Active in the three Canadian clothing centers, the Union faces a number of serious organizational problems and the bitter hostility of the Catholic syndicates and the government in Quebec.

Which Road?

Considering therefore the strength of the C.I.O. Unions in Canada, whose total membership amounts to about 30,000 it must be realized that if these Canadian unions were to set up a C.I.O. committee, their combined strength would be far from sufficient to face the enormous odds against them. Such a premature attempt could only end in disaster.

In the CPO Pre-Convention Discussion

Problems of the A.L.P.

By LARRY DAVIS

The formation of the American Labor Party opens for us a new and fruitful field of work, bringing in its wake new problems and difficulties.

One of the most immediate and most serious issues we will have to face is the danger of the A.L.P. being swallowed by liberal "friends of labor," and by Tammany elements.

While the "Old Guard" socialists, who dominate and control the A.L.P., stand in dread fear of Communist infiltration, a bulletin is circulated thru the A.L.P. assembly district clubs gleefully proclaiming the signing of ten Tammany captains. In a private conversation with an executive member, he writer voiced his apprehension of this policy, but was assured that these ten Tammany captains were bona fide trade unionists. Certainly these elements are no credit to the organization. They can only do it harm, bringing with them the atmosphere of the corrupt parties of capitalism. Since they are unionists and cannot be excluded, progressives must stress that recruiting for the A.L.P. cannot find its main source in Tammany. We

towards the solution of the C.I.O.-A. F. of L. problem in Canada may spell disaster to the Canadian Trade Union movement, torn asunder by warring factions, faced by the Catholic Church and a clerico-semi-fascist Government. The Committee for Industrial Organization is essential to the growth and development of the Canadian Trade Union movement. But its birth and activities, the tactics to be employed by it, and the slogans to be used, must be shaped by the peculiar Canadian conditions. Otherwise, its development and growth will be stifled from the start, and instead of bringing hope and faith into the hearts of the hundreds of thousands of the unorganized, it may turn into another running sore on the already ulcerated body of the Canadian Trade Union movement.

Maintenance of Unity

The very weakness of the Congress will serve as a splendid argument in this endeavor for Unity. Not having the jurisdictional and organizational powers of the A. F. of L., being only the legislative spokesman of the economic and social aims of the International unions in Canada, the Congress can serve as the unifying factor in the movement for the meantime at least, as the buffer between the two factions.

Any false move, any hasty step

Toward Further Independence

The same bulletin states in connection with the Berg bills: "A true confession by Tammany and her allies of their error at the A.L.P.'s growing strength and an attempt to prevent the election of a genuinely labor-minded liberal mayor, by boring its way into the A.L.P."

Now the A.L.P. in the nature of the case cannot have the ideological clarity found in our own group. From the top leadership down to the lower ranks, every illusion and prejudice poisoning the minds of the workers finds expression. If every issue were to be challenged one would soon become obnoxious indeed. Comrades will have to cultivate reserve, restraint, and friends.

The tendency in the A.L.P. is still very strongly towards the support of liberal capitalist politicians, rather than responsible and trusted labor elements. We must work in the A.L.P. to root it in a healthy labor base. We must resist the nomination of LaGuardia. We must point out to the members that the program and principles of the A.L.P. stand above the individual and therefore that the nominee must be responsible to the party for the carrying out of its program. This is the surest safeguard against its capture by Tammany.

Every Assembly district will present different problems, depending upon the type of leadership and the composition of its membership. Bring your problems to and seek their solution with the A.L.P. committee. In this connection, an article in the Age on La Guardia would be very useful right now.

Organized A.L.P. Work

Since many of our comrades are involved in trade union work only, there has been a tendency to slight political activities. As a result unit attendance has suffered. Activity in the A.L.P. will stimulate our political development. We will have to grapple with municipal, state and federal problems of government. Thus this tendency will be counterbalanced with favorable results for the Group.

With the training and the experience the comrades have received in the CPO they can soon gain important positions in the A.L.P. We must become a vital factor in guiding it towards complete political independence.

EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 4)

at a conference at the Paris Hotel Lutetia. The idea that the People's Front should be established in Germany was promulgated almost a year ago, but it could not be carried out. Even the members of the left be expelled. Strange are the ways of the almighty indeed! One of the principal rules laid down by Lenin in 1920 for the admission of Social Democrats into the CI reads that right wing Socialists and Centrists should be kept out. Today, one of the sections of the CI comes out against the Revolutionary Socialists and demands their expulsion. Small wonder then that the Radical Socialists feel ever more disinclined to protect the interests of the workers against the employers. In the resolution passed at the Carcassonne convention of the Radical Socialist Youth organizations, the People's Front wasn't even mentioned.

According to the Radical Socialist press, large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and many small merchants and manufacturers side with the fascists against the working class. The workers don't lack militancy, but since their own parties and the trade unions have left them in the lurch, they are without leadership or sound plan of action and apply incorrect anarchist tactics. That the petty bourgeoisie goes fascist and the workers revert to anarchism must be blamed on the People's Front policy. The advocates of the People's Front for Germany recently held

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Labor and the Law

This is the first of a series on Labor And The Law. Succeeding articles will discuss Clayton and Wagner Acts, trade union incorporation and British labor's experience with governmental regulation of trade unions.

By SAUL HELD

The law in its impartial majesty deals alike with rich and poor and prevents them alike from stealing bread or sleeping under bridges.—Anatole France

IT IS often in the midst of the greatest din that clear thinking is most imperative. Today, the trade union movement is shouting itself hoarse in approval of the Supreme Court's validation of the Wagner Act. The all too familiar appellation of "Magna Charta" appears in almost every oral or printed joyous outburst. On the face of it, one might assume that, by this time, labor might have become sophisticated enough to realize that if all the legislation it has hailed as "Magna Chartas" had in fact been such, it would have little need for a new one, the Wagner Act; indeed, it should have attained some seventh heaven of security.

It is to refresh labor's memory of travail endured after previous jags over "Magna Chartas" that the following snapshots of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and Clayton Act are written. Moreover, in the legal counter-attack now being forged by big business against labor's recent mighty advances, old laws, which labor has considered buried forever, will be exhumed and hurled against labor. The story of how labor fared under the old "Magna Chartas" will thus set the new one in proper historical perspective.

Labor And Sherman Act

Edward Berman, in a book which should be required reading in the labor movement these days ("Labor And The Sherman Act"), has given us this concise accounting of the Sherman Act's application:

"The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was passed in order to eliminate the evils of trusts and monopolies. That this was the primary purpose of Congress has been recognized by practically all writers who have discussed the law. The second instance in which the act was successfully invoked, however, was in connection with a strike of draymen in New Orleans. From 1890 until the Supreme Court, on March 22, 1897, rendered its first decision under the statute against a business combination, the lower federal courts had held in only one case that such a combination violated the law. On the other hand they had, during the same period, declared certain activities of labor unions to be violations of the act on twelve different occasions.

"This use against labor of a law intended to restrain business monopolies has continued to the present day. Approximately eighteen per cent of all the cases which have arisen under the Sherman Act have been brought against trade unions or their members. From 1890 to December 10, 1928, labor was the defendant in a total of 83 cases of which record could be found. Labor activities were finally held to have been in violation of the statute in 51 of these cases."

GREETINGS

Max Brown
Arnold Gold
Phil. Portnoy
Jack Littman
H. Eisenberg
A. Cutler

Greetings to

WORKERS AGE
from Hartford
LEO CAIAFA
BUDDY DUBROW

What was the intent of Congress when this anti-trust law was being framed and debated? An overwhelming number of Senators and Representatives declare the exemption of labor and farmer organizations from the Act's provisions and held that it was solely applicable to business organizations. In fact the Act's framer, Senator Sherman, spoke forth most unequivocally on this matter:

"It (the Act) does not interfere in the slightest degree with voluntary associations made to affect public opinion to advance the interests of a particular trade or occupation. It does not interfere with the Farmers' Alliance at all, because that is an association of farmers to advance their interests . . . (such organizations) are not business combinations. They do not deal with contracts, agreements, etc. They have no connection with them. And so the combinations of workingmen to promote their interests, promote their welfare, and increase their pay if you please, to get their fair share in the division of production, are not affected in the slightest degree, nor can they be included in the words or intent of the bill as now reported."

But, when in the famous Danbury Hatters Case (Loewe v. Lawlor), the Brotherhood of United Hatters of America was being prosecuted for alleged violation of the Act, the Supreme Court discovered the following to have been the "intent of Congress," a statement of interpretation delivered Feb. 3, 1908:

"The act made no distinction between classes. It provided that 'every' contract, combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade was illegal. The records of Congress show that several efforts were made to exempt by legislation, organizations of farmers and laborers from the operation of the act and that all these efforts failed, so that the act remained as we have it before us."

The Supreme Court was so class conscious that it had little use for qualms of conscience over elementary honesty. It's reasoning was simple: There can be no law working hardships solely on employers. If, however, a law is passed which does read that way, well, then, have it invoked against labor and let labor drown its Magna Charta joy in poison.

Section 1 of the Sherman Act

declared: "Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal."

When in 1894 the American Railway Union called a strike, Attorney-General Olney had his special attorneys secure an injunction based on the Anti-Trust Act and on the law prohibiting obstruction of the mails. The Circuit Court in Chicago granted one of the most sweeping injunctions on record. Eugene V. Debs, the president of the American Railway Union, its officers, and "all other persons whomsoever," were ordered absolutely to refrain

" . . . from any way or manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping" any of the business of the railroads entering Chicago, or any trains carrying United States mails or engaged in interstate commerce. . . .

"from compelling or inducing or attempting to compel or induce, by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force or violence, any of the employees of any of the said railways to refuse or fail to perform any of their duties as employees" in carrying mail or in interstate commerce. . . ." While the Sherman Act was not mentioned in the indictment, nor in many similar indictments arising from the strike, the courts declared the strike to be a violation of the law against restraints of interstate commerce.

In July, 1902, the Brotherhood of United Hatters of America called the workers of Loewe & Company out on strike after the firm had refused to operate under closed shop conditions. The union applied a secondary boycott thru advertising, asking unionists and dealers not to purchase the firm's product. Wholesalers were also approached. In a unanimous decision the Supreme Court held that the Union was "a combination in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States," in the sense in which those words are used in the act (Sherman Act). . . ." This decision in Loewe v. Lawlor derives its great importance because it stated explicitly (see first quotation from decision quoted above—S.H.) that the Sherman Act applied to labor combinations. In 1910 the jury awarded Loewe & Company damages of \$74,000. But according to the terms of the Sherman Act the original award must be trebled, and costs added. Total awards were \$232,000. After an appeal and new trial a judgment of over \$252,000 was entered. The company collected the last dollar in 1917.

John L. Lewis Speaks

(Continued from Page 3)

thing. There are a million and a quarter new members of organized labor who have come into the C.I.O.

There are a million and a quarter men and women, new members of the unions, most of them working under negotiated contracts, belonging to the C.I.O., marching with their brothers and sisters in the labor movement, going forward with the objectives of labor, for the attainment of its ideals. Why? Because the men who founded it and the men who supported the C.I.O. have the courage of their convictions and the loyalty necessary to adhere to a principle.

So these men who whisper across restaurant tables and other places that a serious situation prevails and that labor is disunited and that our adversaries may take advantage of it, merely ignore the fact that these hundreds of thousands of members have come into the union, that labor in America now is no longer weak, that labor under new inspiration is on the march and is going forward and that for the first time in the memory of most of us, we can see ahead a long vista of increased and enlarged opportunity, not only for the workers of America, but for all Americans.

I have no desire to interrupt that march or to bring further confusion into the ranks of labor by stopping the work or organization and attempting again to iron out our differences with the A. F. of L. If the A. F. of L. wants peace, it should issue some official statement that it is willing to concede the principles for which the C.I.O. was formed.

I want to say that I appreciate the opportunity of being here in your convention. Your union has achieved a proud position, a position of great strength and influence. The support of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the past has been profoundly and deeply appreciated. Your strength adds to our strength; your members, by and large and generally speaking, are overwhelmingly in support of the principles of industrial organization.

I would like to see the Ladies Garment Workers Union play an even larger and more important part in the work of our committee. We have people to organize. In the great textile industry of the

country, employing perhaps a million and a quarter people, we are now conducting an organizing campaign.

With respect to the yarn and the knitgoods industry, your union has been told by the committee to write its own ticket. We want your help in that work. You can do great work and I know we will receive that support.

We are going forward out of the textile industry into other industries. The C.I.O. is opening up a regional office in New York City and within recent days you may have noted that we have organized the transport workers in New York. We are going to organize a great international union of transport workers on the basis of this membership in New York City, and the C.I.O. is going to give full and complete support to that work of organization. But there is work to do in this country, my friends, and we do not have too much time in which to do it. We want to accomplish some of this work in your lifetime and in my lifetime.

Time is an element. It is known to all now that some of the great questions affecting the workers of this country have not yet been solved. Our unemployment question is one that still is a profound menace to the future economic stability of America. The very improvement in business in the increased volume of production, in sales expansions and margins of profits carry with it the seed of unemployment because as industry and business are able to increase their volume of business and their margins of profit, there will be continuous plant modernization and continuous increase of labor-saving devices and the utilization of energy by automatic and semi-automatic machines.

Already some of our economists are predicting the next economic collapse in America. But is it true, my friends, is it true and is that the best our statesmen have to offer us, that in a year or two, or three we will again have to be plunged into the depths of economic despair by another economic collapse in America? If that be true and if that is all our industrialists and our financiers and our statesmen have to offer us, the continuous cycle and a continuous chain through the years, of human tragedy and deprived opportunity if that be true, it is time for labor to organize and do something about it.

So I call upon labor to organize — to stand erect — to demand its rights — organize — organize here in America. And after we have organized, if someone wants to talk peace, we will talk peace.

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