

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## A.L.P. Speeds City Campaign

### Labor Party's Prospects Grow; Tammany Frauds Are Exposed

With election day two weeks off, the American Labor Party has entered the most intensive period of the campaign. With indoor mass meetings taking place in every working-class district and with hundreds of speakers addressing large crowds from street corners, the program of the party is being brought to the attention of workers and the issues of the campaign are being made clear on every point.

The enthusiastic response greeting the speakers during these meetings is a sure indication that the A.L.P. has a wide mass support and will go over the top in this election with a sweeping victory against the Tammany machine and its Red-baiting candidate.

Lacking any real issues against La Guardia and lacking a program which can appeal to the mass of voters who are determined thru this election once and for all to break the tradition that Tammany cannot be beaten twice in succession, Mahoney is involved in a frantic and hysterical campaign of denunciation of the La Guardia administration on some of the most fantastic grounds, such as the "demoralization" of the police force, the "hot-headedness" of the Mayor, etc. Feeling keenly that such rubbish will gain no votes from the ranks of labor and knowing that without the votes of labor, Mahoney will be badly defeated, the Tammany chieftains have struck upon a new plan. They have set up a new stooge organization which they call the "Trade Union Party." They hope by this device to confuse workers, who intend to vote for the American Labor Party, into voting for Mahoney. This fraud will get them nowhere, however, as the stump speakers of the A.L.P. are explaining to the workers from hundreds of street corners every night the real nature of this fraud.

Likewise, Joe Ryan, who previously endorsed La Guardia for reelection, was prevailed upon to transfer his endorsement to Mahoney. But this, too, will not have its desired effect. George Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, wired from Denver, where he is attending the A. F. of L. convention, that he will continue to support Mayor La Guardia on his record.

The latest step taken by Tammany in its attempt to invade the labor vote is the announcement that Senator Robert F. Wagner will stump for Mahoney at several meetings. The anti-Tammany campaign of the A.L.P. is effective, however, and no veneer of this kind will fool the workers, especially since the tin-box politicians were obliging enough at the very beginning of the campaign to illustrate what Tammany rule means in the scandalous attempt to appoint Jimmie Walker to a high post in order to save him a fat pension.

In the two weeks that remain before election day, the party

## "PEACE SEARCH" FINDS ARMS

The Associated Press reports:

LONDON, Oct. 8—London morning newspapers today published an unconfirmed report, described as a Wall Street rumor, that the United States would launch a \$2,500,000,000 armament program. The rumor caused a brisk demand for mental shares.

Such, apparently are the first fruits of the President's "active search for peace!"

## AFL Opposes Labor Slate

### But Federation Rank And File Will Support The O'Brien Ticket

Detroit, Mich. Prospects of A. F. of L. backing for the labor ticket here this coming November are decidedly slim. This has become almost a certainty in the course of the Denver convention of the A. F. of L., during which the matter of local labor tickets came up. Altho no definite instructions were issued, it was understood that A. F. of L. local union support for candidates sponsored by the C.I.O. would not be sanctioned. Frank X. Martel, head of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, has so far  
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## C.I.O. Names 10 to Meet AFL for Unity Discussions

### Reactionary Note Ends AFL Meet

In accordance with all expectations, the American Federation of Labor, continuing its sessions at Denver last week, adopted a resolution charging the National Labor Relations Board with having "attempted to destroy the validity of contracts" between A. F. of L. unions and employers, with "denying" collective bargaining and with "favoring" the C.I.O.; the convention also recommended an appeal to Congress to amend the Wagner Act "so as to prevent hereafter the usurped authority now being exercised by the board and its agencies." The adoption of this resolution followed hours of sharp denunciations of the N.L.R.B., its regional directors and employees by the heads of the craft union organizations.

The same day, the A. F. of L. adopted a resolution condemning Japanese aggression in China and urging a boycott of Japanese manufactured goods. On the wages-and-hours bill, the convention decided that, before taking a stand on any future bill of this nature, the Executive Council should consult the various Federation departments, the leaders of which are notoriously hostile to such legislation. Matthew Woll had attacked this and similar bills the  
(Continued on Page 4)

### Lewis States Industrial Unionism Must Be Basis of Any Agreement

A committee of ten, including Murray, Dubinsky, Hillman and Martin, was appointed by John L. Lewis, at one of the final sessions of the C.I.O. conference at Atlantic City last week, in order to begin preliminary negotiations with the A. F. of L. Lewis made it clear in his final address that there was no suggestion of a "return to the A. F. of L. fold" and that the principle of industrial unionism in the mass-production industries would under no circumstances be compromised in the negotiations. "The C.I.O. is here," Lewis declared. "It is here to stay. . . . The principles (of the C.I.O.) will not be sacrificed by the C.I.O. leaders at any time, at any place."

The closing day of the C.I.O. gathering was also marked by a decision to authorize the executive officers to call a national convention of C.I.O. affiliates as soon as may be necessary. This decision follows directly from Lewis's declaration that "the C.I.O. is here to stay."

Forced into action in the face of the C.I.O. initiative, the A. F. of L. leaders at the Denver convention finally agreed to begin conferences. There is no doubt that the great masses of the rank and file in the A. F. of L. unions are very eager for unity on the basis outlined by the C.I.O. but it is equally obvious that the craft union chieftains will resist to the bitter end any attempt to open the doors of the A. F. of L. to the industrial union movement and all that it implies.

Latest information is that conferences between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. will begin in Washington on October 25.

The National Labor Relations Board received sharp criticism at the hands of the C.I.O. conference, meeting at Atlantic City last week, for some recent decisions "permitting craft organizations to seep into mass-production and basic industries." The resolution adopted endorses the Wagner Act as "the most important federal

legislation ever enacted in this country in the interests of the workers" but, at the same time, points out that the N.L.R.B., "administering such act, has recently issued several decisions which constitute a most serious threat to the workers in their attempt to organize on industrial lines."

Another resolution adopted the same day strongly emphasized the determination of the C.I.O. unions to maintain full responsibility in carrying out their written contracts with the employers. In spite of some minor disagreements, this resolution, as well as the other, was accepted unanimously by the leaders of the thirty-two national unions attending the conference.

A declaration, embodying a legislative program, was approved by the C.I.O. gathering; some of the points included are the licensing of all business enterprises engaged in interstate commerce, federal wage-hour legislation, adequate W.P.A. and P.W.A. appropriations, extension of the social-security program and the like. A program of state legislation, embracing proposals for state labor relation boards, the limitation of the authority of the courts in issuing injunctions, the prohibition of eviction of jobless and strikers, the protection of civil liberties and the like, was adopted, together with a protest resolution on the Chicago Memorial Day massacre. A statement condemning Japanese aggression in China and proposing a boycott on Japanese goods, was also approved.

On October 10, the opening day of the conference, John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, outlined in vivid terms the tremendous progress the industrial union movement had made in recent months to the point where it has now "established itself as the principal labor organization of America." The following

## THE C.I.O. CHAMPIONS UNITY

an editorial statement

CONFERENCES between special committees of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. are to begin at Washington in a few days, with a view towards exploring the possibilities of reuniting the American labor movement. This step, authorized by the recent gatherings at Atlantic City and Denver, is itself a development of profound importance, no matter what the outcome may be; its significance is to be grasped only if it is viewed realistically in the perspective of the long-range forces molding the future of labor in this country.

The C.I.O. came into being two years ago because the further development—indeed, the very exist-

ence—of the labor movement demanded the organization of the great mass-production industries in the only way they could be organized, along industrial-union lines. This historical task, immediate, pressing and unpostponable, could not be accomplished within the official framework of the A. F. of L. because the craft-union chiefs dominating the Federation knew, and still know today, only one rule of life: the preservation at all costs of the vested interest of craft unionism! To allow industrial unionism the slightest room for development within the Federation—they were firmly convinced—would ultimately spell their utter doom as the dominant force in the American labor movement and would relegate craft unionism to the entirely subsidiary position permitted to it in the modern industrial scheme of things. And upon this conviction they acted at Atlantic City in 1935, at Tampa in 1936 and, in all essentials, at Denver in 1937.

Labor could safeguard its interests and serve its historical mission only by breaking thru the outworn and fossilized framework of the A. F. of L. This is what the C.I.O. did with courage, determination and spectacular success. The record that the C.I.O. has set in

organizing the great mass-production industries, such as steel, auto, rubber, textile and the like; the headway it has made in other important fields of industrial life, such as transport; the stimulus it has given to the self-confidence and militancy of the working masses; the tremendous repercussions it has aroused on the political arena—are really without parallel in our trade-union history. It is enough to say that, after hardly a year of active existence, the C.I.O. has become, in deed and fact, the main stream of the American labor movement!

From the first, it has been clear that the C.I.O. has implications of vast importance not only for the unskilled and semi-skilled for whom industrial unionism is the only avenue to organization but hardly less for the skilled workers of the craft unions themselves. For what chance of survival would these groups have as tiny islands in a vast sea of the open shop? No wonder, then, that the rank and file of the craft unions, animated by a sound class instinct, have been growing increasingly friendly to the C.I.O., as their leaders have been growing increasingly bitter and hostile.

At the very peak of its achievement  
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WORKERS AGE

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AMERICAN POLICY IN THE FAR EAST

THE international crisis in the Far East is growing more tense every day and the Roosevelt administration is driving ever more vigorously ahead with its new policy of an "active search for peace."

The United States is moving towards action in the Far-Eastern situation but not action on behalf of the Chinese people or world peace, as the administration press, including the Daily Worker, pretends.

The underlying objective of American policy in the Far East, and of the war which might well become its "continuation by other means," is not the emancipation of the Chinese people from the imperialist yoke but rather the substitution of the American for the Japanese, and even the British, yoke.

It is surely not the duty of the American working class to rally round "its own" big-business oligarchy in promoting the latter's imperialist designs in the Far East, even when this is done under the cover of an "active peace policy."

The workers of this country heartily sympathize with China in its efforts to beat back Japanese aggression; the more advanced sections of the American working class also understand that the Chinese struggle for national emancipation is a vital phase of the world struggle against the murderous system of capitalism, of which imperialist oppression is the fine flower.

FORECAST CABINET SHIFT IN SPAIN

(We publish below some paragraphs from a report by Fenner Brockway on the situation in Spain. The report is contained in the British New Leader of October 1, 1937.—The Editor.)

THE Spanish Government, whilst repudiating any proposal for a deal with General Franco, is prepared to give a commitment that there shall be no "bolshhevization" in Spain.

Senor Negrin, the Prime Minister, has recently made a declaration giving assurances that capitalism will be quite safe. His actual words are these:

"We have always respected the rights of private property. Any excesses that were committed at the beginning of the Revolution were the acts of disorderly individuals committed in spite of our regulations; but that brief period of confusion is long over. Our Constitution expresses our full respect for private property, and you may be certain we shall continue fully to respect these constitutional rights."

The first answer of the Spanish workers to the fascist putsch was to take possession of the factories, railways and the mansions of the rich. Apparently, these were "excesses" of disorderly individuals.

Reactionaries Return Another indication of the trend of events is the announcement that Spain's former Prime Minister, Valladares, who was head of the reactionary Government defeated by the Popular Front, and the Republican conservative leader, Canizares, who fled from Spain during the period of social revolution, have returned and that they are to attend the forthcoming meeting of the Spanish parliament.

Against all these tendencies, is the revolutionary spirit which still burns in the hearts of the workers and peasants of Spain. The mass membership of the two trade union organizations, the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., will resist to the utmost the restoration of private property and the peasants will not lightly give up the land of which they have taken possession.

New Government Likely There is dissension in the Spanish government and, within a

few days, it is probable that a new government will be formed. There are three possibilities. One is a government under Del Vayo, a Right socialist under Communist Party influence. The second is the return of Largo Caballero to the premiership, which would mean a turn to the left. The third is the constitution of a government under Martinez Barrio, a moderate Radical who is not, at present, under Communist Party influence.

The most likely of these three alternatives is the last. A Barrio government would almost certainly open the way for negotiations for a settlement of the war on the lines which the British and French governments want.

The P.O.U.M. Trial The trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders has been postponed to enable the defending lawyer, Senor Pabon (the C.N.T. Deputy for Saragossa), to meet accusations regarding the activities of P.O.U.M. leaders outside Spain.

A.F.L. REFUSES TO BACK LABOR SLATE

(Continued from Page 1) refused to make any definite statements.

The action of the A. F. of L. came as no great surprise to the labor-slate backers. Leading supporters of O'Brien stated that it had been feared from the first that Federation bias rather than the welfare of labor would determine the A. F. of L. position.

It is rumored here that, in exchange for a promised appointment, John W. Smith, the A. F. of L. choice for Mayor who failed of nomination, pledged to throw his support to Reading. This has naturally been denied by Reading supporters.

The regular session of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor, which was to have been held last Wednesday, was called off because of Martell's absence and the fear of an outburst of indignant opposition against support of Reading's anti-labor program.

There is dissension in the Spanish government and, within a

By Lambda WORLD TODAY Varga Exposes People's Front In France; Nyon And Spain

London, September 25, 1937. In his economic survey of the first six months of 1937 (Rundschau, August 18, 1937), Eugene Varga, the well-known Comintern economist, quotes the following remarks of the London Times (April 14, 1937):

"All in all, the capitalists had hardly a hair touched by the government of the Popular Front; certainly they did not suffer more under any other post-war government. But they were very much frightened by M. Auriol, a sheep in wolf's clothing. . . ."

Varga does NOT add that this is the government which the Communist Party of France recommended to the masses as a government of struggle against the "230 families!"

In his own report, Varga declares: "Bonnet has not deceived the confidence of the big bourgeoisie. . . . He is carrying thru a tax reform which any ordinary bourgeois government could have introduced, so favorable is it to big capital. . . . A government of bourgeois parties could hardly, under present circumstances, have introduced a proposal for tax reform more favorable to the big bourgeoisie."

Vargo does NOT add that Bonnet is the Minister of Finance in the present People's Front government of Chautemps, which the C.P. supports without reservation!

SPAIN, NYON AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The significance of the Nyon agreement to Spain was clearly indicated in the Manchester Guardian. We quote:

"One of the results of the Nyon conference was, therefore, to continue the state of indecision in Spain. . . . The general attitude here (London) is that such a solution (a purely Spanish solution) would be best for Spain as well as for Europe."

In other words, the so-called "democratic" powers, England and France, are primarily interested in continuing this "state of indecision" until such time as they can force both sides in Spain to accept their conditions of peace.

The fact that Spain was not reelected to the Council of the League of Nations indicates that Republican Spain is regarded as thru and that the way is left open for a "compromise" regime satisfactory to French and British capital.

As a result of the Nyon conference, France and England have suspended sea-patrol. This did not cause a stir in the French People's Front. Thus, the People's Front of France continues to guard the Pyrenees against sympathizers of Republican Spain while Italy is planning to send from 100,000 to 150,000 men to Spain in order to bring the war to a decisive close.

It is clear that the Nyon agreement was drawn up for the sole purpose of safeguarding the interests of England and France in the Mediterranean. Due to the firmness of these two powers in regard to their own immediate interests, Italy has agreed to participate in the Mediterranean patrol.

MASARYK'S DEATH AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Upon the death of T. G. Masaryk, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia published an official message of condolence which recalls, as no other document has ever done, its utter lack of principles or even self-respect. The Red trade unions also sent messages of sympathy. In these, Masaryk is represented as the friend and benefactor of the labor movement and the Communist Party as the champion of bourgeois democracy.

The Henlein fascist party, active in the German section of the country, has carefully refrained from participating in any demonstration of condolence for the late President. It is quite clear just who will benefit from the unprincipled position of the ex-Communist Party.

U.S. Youth Faces Permanent Crisis

By JOE ELWOOD

WHILE it is undoubtedly true that the return of a measure of material prosperity may better the conditions of the young people of this country, there are certain factors in American life which will tend to prevent them from obtaining a normal place in present-day society.

Youth, Unemployment And Relief

In the United States, there are approximately 20,100,000 young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, inclusive. Of these, 4,000,000 are estimated to be in schools and colleges; 500,000 are in school part-time and 7,600,000 are employed on non-work-relief jobs.

Statistical information available on the youth relief group shows that about 60% lived in cities and towns while the remainder were from farms and villages.

The Rise Of Educational Standards

A second fact of significance is that there is also a steady lifting of educational standards for employment in practically all vocations and also for entrance in the professions. Coupled with this fact is another, that there is also a con-

stant increase in the percentage of the high-school population (14-18) enrolling each year in high school. In 1915, 17% of this age group were enrolled in school. At the present time, this percentage is nearly 65%.

Let us consider briefly several of the factors leading to the present dilemma. First of all, it is a fact of very real significance that the ratio of youth 16 years of age to the adult population over 20 years is steadily declining. A recent report of the National Resources Committee states that, during the past century, there has been a constant decline in the percentage of children in the population, and that this decline has been notably accelerated since about 1920.

Who is this Mikhail Koltsov who dares speak in this way? Immediately after the Russian Revolution (November 1917) and thruout the civil war that followed, he was a steady contributor to the White Guardist counter-revolutionary press. His specialty was—"proving" that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "agents of the Kaiser!" Only after the defeat of Denikin did he become "reconciled" to the Soviet power.

In trying to frame up the P.O.U.M. Koltsov is merely following his old occupation—slandering the revolutionary Marxists in the interests of reaction. Only he is doing it today at the behest of a different paymaster—the Stalinist bureaucracy!

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Who Is Mikhail Koltsov?

By JOE ELWOOD

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THE Crisis In The Professions

Now, hold that picture in your mind while I place over against it another set of social data. For ten years or more, there has been an overcrowding of men and women in the professions, such as medicine, law, engineering and teaching. Medicine is a good illustration of the point I want to make. For ten years or more, the medical schools of this country have held their enrollments very constant thru a careful process of discrim-

Flint UAW A Keeps Amalgamated Form

By FREDERICK J. ARNOLD

THE International Executive Board committee in charge of the Flint local of the United Automobile Workers Union has put an end to speculation on the form of organization of the union by unanimously deciding to retain the present amalgamated set-up.

The question at issue was: Shall the Flint organization continue as one local union properly departmentalized and so functioning as to give adequate attention to the requirements of the various divisions, or shall the local be broken up making each of the large divisions—Chevrolet, Buick, Fisher, etc.—a separate local? The Board committee decided for the former, believing that, if properly organized, the amalgamated union can

function to the satisfaction of the various divisions. The following proposals are included in a study made by the Board committee for submission to the membership of the local:

1. Complete divisional autonomy in strictly divisional matters. No restraint by the amalgamated union delegate body.

2. Election by the division of its own officers—committeemen, shop stewards, delegates—to function within the division.

3. Each division is to elect an agreed number of delegates to compose the amalgamated union delegate body, to be known as the Joint Council of Local 156. This body is to have the right to legislate on matters affecting the entire membership of Local 156.

4. The local is to have three full-time officers—president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer—to act also as the officers of the joint delegate body.

5. Two subcommittees, coordinating and finance, to be composed of not more than three members from each division, will handle respectively recommendations from divisions and expenditures.

6. Drafting local by-laws to be approved by the local membership and the International Executive Board.

The International Executive Board committee in charge of Flint now consists of David Dow, Michael Taylor, Bert Harris, James Mangold and Regional Director Charles Madden. Michael Taylor is in charge of the administrative work in the local.

factory selection and by constantly raising the requirements for admission. Thus, we have a shutting down of opportunity at the top of our educational system while, on the other hand, there is an increasing surplus of candidates coming each year from our secondary schools. The result of the operation of these two social forces in recent years has been the squeezing out of from 4 to 7 millions of youth between the ages of 16 to 24 and, at the present time, there are about 5,000,000 between these ages who are out of school and unemployed.

There are approximately 2,000,000 who reach the age of employability each year and, under present conditions, our employment and our higher educational systems are able to absorb probably not more than 60% of them. Thus, our present society is confronted with one of the most significant social issues that it has ever been called upon to face.

Socialism As The Way Out We must, therefore, strive to find new ways and new agencies to provide more adequately for oncoming youth, who constitute 16.4% of the population. These new ways and new agencies, under our present social system, can only be obtained thru the general struggle of labor for its demands. It is not only the job of youth to follow labor but it is also the duty of the organized labor movement to organize the youth because, under unfavorable conditions, they may turn into a reservoir for strike-breaking and fascist demagogy. While the fight for immediate demands of youth, such as apprentice training, extension of relief and greater educational opportunities, is necessary, it is also important to recognize that these alleviative measures cannot solve the problem. They merely mitigate some of the more obvious effects. The root cause, which must be eliminated, is the capitalist economic system. A real lasting solution of vital youth problems is not to be found within the present economic structure. For that capitalism must be removed and a socialist system established.

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## THE CIO CHAMPIONS THE UNITY OF LABOR

(Continued from Page 1)  
ment, of which the Atlantic City conference was so vivid a review, the C.I.O. has decided to turn to the A. F. of L. with an offer of joint discussion of the possibilities of unity. It has made clear the grounds on which any genuine unity is at all possible: a free road to industrial unionism in the mass-production industries and the recognition of the C.I.O. as an equal with the status of an equal, not of a repentant sinner or a prodigal son. Driven into a corner by this unexpected move, the A. F. of L. leaders have been forced into formal acceptance of the C.I.O. offer altho, at that very Denver convention, they had just voted down a proposal to permit the issuance of industrial charters, thereby rejecting in advance the only possible basis for unity. But, at any rate, the conferences will begin. . . .

While sponsoring this move towards unity, Lewis has made it perfectly clear that there would be no cessation of work, that, on the contrary, the C.I.O. would extend and strengthen its organizational activities and consolidate its gains. "The C.I.O. is here," he declared in his closing address at Atlantic City. "It is here to stay. . . . There will be no diminution of its efforts." The proposal, enthusiastically adopted, for a C.I.O. convention "to consolidate the existing situation and to afford opportunities for continued organizational activities" is a clear enough indication of the course the C.I.O. leaders have mapped out for the future. And such a course is the one best cal-

culated to advance the cause of real unity for, since such unity can take place only on the basis of the principles and achievements of the industrial-union movement, the stronger the C.I.O. becomes, the nearer we are to its consummation.

Within a few days, the negotiations will begin at Washington. The C.I.O. is entering these negotiations single-mindedly and sincerely, since it has no interests apart from those of the workers in the industries. The A. F. of L. leaders, on the other hand, are coming to the conference with the manifest purpose of defending their vested craft-unionist interests; for most of them, the negotiations will be largely a series of sparring manoeuvres and manipulations with that end in view. Only unceasing, irresistible pressure from the rank and file of the A. F. of L. unions can give any real meaning to the negotiations on the part of the Federation leaders.

The great masses of the workers will follow the course of events at the Washington conferences with intense interest and serious concern, for the very future of their movement will be vitally affected by the outcome. Of one thing we may all be quite certain: In one form or another, whether in direct conflict with an A. F. of L. that has outlived its mission and usefulness or thru an organization absorbing the A. F. of L. freed of its reactionary, craft-unionist incubus, the great movement of industrial organization, embodied in the C.I.O., will go on. "The C.I.O. is here. It is here to stay. . . ."

## AF of L Ends CIO Names 10 Denver Meet For AFL Talks

(Continued from Page 1)  
day before as bureaucratic interference in the affairs of labor.

On Tuesday, the A. F. of L. gathering, by the vote of 25,666 to 1,227, authorized the Executive Council to expel the unions affiliated with the C.I.O. A ludicrous effort was made, in the resolution as well as in the speeches, to appeal to the rank and file of the C.I.O. unions "over the heads" of their leaders and to play off certain sections of the C.I.O., especially the I.L.G.W.U., against others, on the speculation of dissension in the industrial union body. When the C.I.O. offer for a parley came the next day, President Green immediately denounced it as "insincere." Later on, however, he was forced to change his tactics to the extent of making a counter-offer to the C.I.O.

At the same time, however, Green led the convention in rejecting a proposal of the street-car men's union empowering the Executive Council to issue industrial union charters. In the course of his remarks, he incautiously declared: "If you wanted to do that (issue industrial charter) two years ago, there wouldn't have been any C.I.O." It became clear, therefore, that the A. F. of L.'s counter-proposal to the C.I.O. was no more than a manoeuvre with not the slightest intention of making room in the Federation for the growing industrial union movement.

With the convention three-quarters over, final action was taken on the credentials of Charles P. Howard, of the International Typographical Union; after a sharp debate, he was barred by a vote almost exactly the same as on the C.I.O. question. The I.T.U.'s proposals for emphasizing the autonomous character of affiliated unions, were also defeated. On the other hand, a number of constitutional changes were made greatly

(Continued from Page 1)  
day, John Brophy made a detailed organizational and financial report, indicating that, within two years, the C.I.O. had grown from about a million to nearly 4,000,000. In addition to the thirty-two national and international unions affiliated, the C.I.O. already includes, according to Brophy's report, over 600 local industrial unions 82 city and state industrial union councils. C.I.O. expenditures for the last sixteen months had totaled \$1,745,968, raised mainly by contributions from affiliated organizations. Within the last few months, a per-capita dues payment system had been initiated. Reports by the heads of the most important affiliated unions followed, Philip Murray recounting the great progress of the S.W.O.C. in organizing the steel industry, Sidney Hillman describing the course of the textile campaign, Homer Martin outlining the tremendous advances made by the auto union in recent months and discussing the Ford campaign, etc.

The main document to emerge from the resolutions committee was a final offer to the A. F. of L. for a conference of 100 representatives of each organization to discuss ways and means of reuniting the labor movement. It was pointed out that, aside from insisting on industrial unionism for the mass-production industries, no conditions whatever would be placed. But on industrial unionism, the conference was firm. "We still insist," reads the report of the resolutions committee on this point, "that the policy with reference to the organization of the unorganized, our policy with reference to the creation of industrial unions,

increasing the power of President Green and the Executive Council over city and state labor bodies, international unions and federal locals.

## The Civil War in Spain

# ROAD TO COUNTER-REVOLUTION

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(Continued from the last issue)

### HIND SIGHT

On September 8, 1936, José Diaz, leader of the Spanish C.P., was to admit in writing that "the Azaña regime was very hesitating. . . . We knew that fascism could not triumph except through the military. The prime necessity was therefore to purge the army. . . . Unfortunately the latter (the People's Front government) did not realize that it would have to make sweeping changes instead of limiting itself to a shifting of officers if a catastrophe was to be averted. . . . The putsch of July 18th surprised no one. Preparations had already been completed before the elections. . . ."

But this amazing confession was made after the uprising at the high tide of mass initiative and revolution when Azaña had retreated to his monastery and the Largo Caballero government with U.G.T. and C.N.T. representation was in the offing. It did not prevent the José Diazes from provoking the crisis of May 1937 in which they persuaded none other than Azaña to return once more from retirement (a treachery thrice repeated is surely the limit of conscious treason!) and to demand the resignation of Largo Caballero, oust the representatives of the 4,000,000-headed organized labor movement of the U.G.T. and C.N.T. and set up, as the representatives of the "people," the miserable minority government of right-wing socialists, bourgeois republicans, and Basque Catholics, plus the C.P., with the ill-omened Azaña as the real boss once more! It is this government which has outlawed the P.O.U.M., murdered Andres Nin and is attempting to outlaw the C.N.T., the F.A.I. and the Caballero majority of U.G.T.

### THE COMINTERN DECIDES THE "LINE"

Long before the "People's Front" dispensation (back in 1933 when the situation was far less revolutionary), the Comintern had declared:

"The choice in Spain is between the dictatorship of the proletariat and fascist revolution."<sup>2</sup>

But now, in the face of the proletarian revolution already begun, it gives the Spanish Communist Party instructions to "defend and consolidate the democratic parliamentary republic which guarantees (shades of Marx and Lenin!) all the rights and liberties of the Spanish people." It instructs "the defending and consolidating of the republic of the People's Front in which the material basis of fascism will be undermined" and, though the material basis of fascism is the private ownership of industry and agriculture, the same resolution directs the Spanish C.P. to fight "against the wholesale nationalization of industry" and for nationalization only in the case of factories belonging to persons participating directly or indirectly in the rebellion." And it further endorses the "guarding and protecting of the property rights and interests of the small and middle owners. . . ." (All emphasis mine—B.D.W.)<sup>3</sup>

In the carrying out of this line, the Communist Party was more than zealous. In October 1936 it organized the middle peasants (kulaks) and rural bourgeoisie into a specially created "Peasant

<sup>2</sup> Inprecorr, Dec. 15, 1933, p. 1242.

<sup>3</sup> All the above quotations are taken from the "Decision of Presidium of E.C.C.I. on Work of Communist Party in Spain," published in the Daily Worker of Jan. 24, 1937. The secret instructions which accompanied and preceded them are not a matter of public record but that they went even farther on the road of counter-revolution can be seen by the actual conduct of the Communist Party of Spain.

should remain the same. We do believe that, if the A. F. of L. is prepared to accept that kind of a doctrine, we are then prepared to discuss with them plans leading to the unification of labor." The resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed by the whole gathering.

In his closing remarks, John L. Lewis warned against the advent of another economic depression and sharply criticized the administration for the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of its measures in meeting it.

Union" to fight the twenty-year-old U.G.T. and C.N.T. agricultural workers unions—on the pretense that the latter were forcing the peasants into collectivization against their will. The kind of rural elements that rallied to this focal point for the defense of landed property may be judged by the typical case of Jativa where the former head of the local civil guard, who had arrested Julio Fuster Miralles, local leader of the U.G.T. agricultural union scores of times, became president of the C.P. peasants union! And hardened socialist opportunists like Margaret Nelkin, who in 1932 had told Ilya Ehrenburg: "I find myself forced to use all possible means of restraining the peasants who want to revolt," hastened to join the Communist Party as more conservative than the Prieto-Negrin or Besteiro wings of the S.P.

### UNION CARDS FOR THE BOURGEOISIE

In the countryside it organized the kulaks, the police agents, the caciques, the rural bourgeoisie. In the cities it became the organization of the professional bureaucrats, the small business men, speculators and owners of small and even large factories and agencies. In Madrid the former owner of the General Motors Agency expressed to me openly his expectation that Franco would win, his hatred of the anarchists, syndicalists and P.O.U.M., his plans to escape the country if necessary with his hoardings, his stratagems to collect money undisturbed from his business as its "wage-earning manager" and responsible representative. Believing he was dealing with an ordinary American newspaperman, he offered to sell me rare masterpieces, including an El Greco, for smuggling out of the country. When I asked him how he got away with all this, he showed me his union membership card in the U.G.T.! When I asked prostitutes at the Hotel Florida how they could get food there when soldiers on leave from the front were turned away, they too displayed their membership cards in the U.G.T.

In Madrid that is an exception but in Catalonia there was virtually no U.G.T. when the civil war broke out. Here the C.N.T. had always had a virtual monopoly. But now the P.S.U.C. (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia, affiliated with the Communist Party of Spain) has taken up the cause of the Catalonian bourgeoisie with a will. Its numbers swelled in no time from a few hundred to many tens of thousands. Its membership are not, as they undoubtedly are in Madrid, made up largely of front-fighters. As in Madrid, they have the bourgeois republican bureaucracy, but in Catalonia the front fighters are overwhelmingly syndicalist, anarchist and P.O.U.M.ist. In addition to the bureaucracy, they have recruited countless small and even middle business men, office workers, bank clerks and bank "managers" (the old managers and petty usurers fitted out with union cards) and they have gained complete control of the brand new Catalonian U.G.T. sectors which they have organized to fight Largo Caballero in the U.G.T. and to fight the C.N.T., the workers' organization in Catalonia. It was this "U.G.T." that was paraded in the columns of the Daily Worker as having repudiated Largo Caballero. It was these P.S.U.C. members who, while they furnished but few fighters for the front, supplied the shock troops of reaction in the rear that invaded the telephone exchange and syndicalist and anarchist headquarters in May 1937, provoking a spontaneous uprising even while Bilbao was in danger, because they were determined to disarm the Catalonian workers. (Continued next week)

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