

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## TVA Ruling Is Victory For War Industry

After a long string of defeats, the New Deal emerged with a judicial victory when the Supreme Court upheld the Tennessee Valley Authority by a vote of 8 to 1. The case concerned the right of the government to sell by contract, surplus power derived from the maintenance of Wilson Dam (Muscle Shoals), essentially a war-time project to supply nitrates. The fact that the TVA was considered one of the most important cogs of the New Deal machine, plus the fact that not only did the Supreme Court uphold the government, but did so in two different opinions, makes this case the most interesting of recent decisions, and, politically, pregnant with rich implications.

The government counsel successfully attempted to avoid a decision on what both the Herald Tribune and Norman Thomas consider the "state socialism" of the Authority, and presented the case on the merits of Congressional right to construct dams etc. for purposes of navigation and national defense. As the Herald-Tribune put it: "The court could scarcely do otherwise if the vital authority of the national government to defend itself and its broad authority over interstate commerce were not to be weakened." Secondly, recognition of the federal government as an economic entity was achieved, by implication at least, since its right to enter contracts was upheld and even broadened. Hughes' decision read that the federal government has the right to seek wider markets, which, plus the right of contract, serves the purpose of giving a boost to state capitalism. Thus, the mobilization of American Imperialism for its next war was furthered by the Court decision.

How does it come about that there were two opinions for the decision, or that the conservative wing broke with McReynolds and voted to uphold this "state socialism"? First, it must be recognized, of course, that room has been left for further litigations on the question. The constitutionality of the project as a whole was not decided upon; already the utilities have announced that they will fight to have the whole Authority overthrown.

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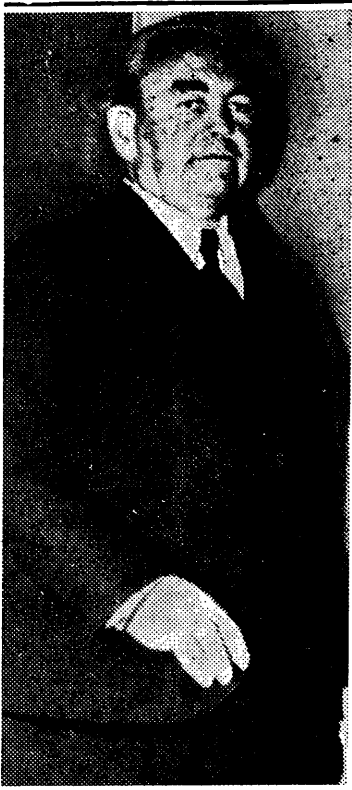
## ARMS FIRMS GET 207% PROFIT

British Imperialism, not so very different from "ours," announces with great satisfaction, that it has solved the crisis. And who could doubt it, when we discover that stocks of 13 firms alone have risen 207%?

These firms happen to be armament and aircraft companies, whose stocks have reached these heights since the National Government recently declared its military budget. An estimate was made by the Daily Herald (Labor Party organ) that an investment of 500 pounds five years ago judiciously distributed among five firms, would by today have made a profit of 900%. Twenty aircraft companies have had an increase of 66% in their shares. One of these firm's, Beardmore's, stood last year at three pence and today has risen to 9 shillings, an increase of 1100%!

Indeed as the gentleman said, "Peace is no business of ours."

PRISONER NO. 31921



Habeas corpus hearings in the Tom Mooney case have just been reopened in San Francisco. The Mooney Molder's Defense Committee, Box 1475, San Francisco, is appealing for funds to prepare transcripts.

## MINERS TO OPEN CLOSED MINE

SHAMOKIN, PA.—Unemployed miners numbering 640, formerly employed in the Enterprise mine, threaten to take over the mine within one week and operate it themselves. The colliery has been in the hands of a board appointed by Judge Albert Watson, after it closed down about a year ago leaving unpaid about \$100,000 due the miners.

Arthur Ogara, head of the local organization of the United Mine Workers is quoted as saying: "We have been patient for months, waiting for trustees, lawyers and the court to settle the Enterprise matter and bring about a reopening of the colliery. We are serving notice on everyone concerned that unless something is done about adjusting the muddle by the end of this week we are going to take matters into our own hands."

## Spanish Republicans Now Curbing "Lefts"

With about 100 seats still undecided and requiring a run-off election, the Republican-Labor bloc including bourgeois republicans, socialists, communists, and even syndicalists, has already won a notable electoral victory in Spain. It has carried 216 seats out of a total of 473, and will undoubtedly

win enough additional seats in the run-off elections to guarantee a parliamentary majority as long as the bloc holds together. However, the reaction is by no means out of the picture, for the extreme right has 123 seats clear, and its close allies of the right center an additional 37 seats, making a total of 160 seats, a figure which will grow still bigger with the run-off elections. More serious still is the fact that on all the major issues that will now face the Spanish masses, the bourgeois republicans in the so-called left or "People's Bloc" will side not with their Socialist-Communist electoral allies, but with the reaction. Thus the parliamentary and general political situation remain entirely unstable as they have been to varying degrees throughout the five years since the Republican Revolution of April 14, 1931 drove the military dictatorship and monarchy out of Spain and put the social revolution on the order of the day.

### Political Instability

Since that date Spain has had two parliaments, thirty cabinets, over 100 ministers, one reactionary uprising, a major proletarian revolt, seven minor anarchist uprisings, several attempted military coups, innumerable peasant movements of varying magnitudes, at least 10,000 strikes several of them of nationwide scope and many with political aims, five prolongations of the annual budget without parliamentary budgeting, and the suppression of over 100 proletarian newspapers. It has adopted a fantastic, "chemically pure" improved Weimar Constitution, on paper, which has never been, and doubtless never will be put into life, beginning with the priceless phrase "Spain is a Workers Republic of All Classes" and carrying on throughout in the same spirit. Clearly the fate of Spain still hangs in the balance, altho the swing of the last few months is favorable to the left, after many fearful months of right swing and savage clerical-fascist-military-agrarian reaction.

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## WAGE PARLEY IN ANTHRACITE

The agreements between the operators and the UMWA in the anthracite field will expire on March 31, and negotiations are now under way between the two parties for a new agreement. The miners are demanding an increase of wages while the operators propose a cut, on the grounds of the bad conditions in the industry.

The situation in anthracite is miserable for the miners after years of crisis. Many find themselves unemployed for seven or eight months out of the year. Out of this is growing the demand for at least the maintenance of the present pay scale with a seven hour day, present working hours standing at eight. However, many observers are astounded at the complete lack of preparation on the part of the UMWA for a general strike in case of failure of the negotiations. To meet the carefully planned opposition of the operators, the union should already be oiling its strike machinery. The recent victory of the ILGWU should serve as an object lesson in this matter. No matter how industrial a union, passivity in this instance means courting failure. The operators must be made to realize that the threat of strike hangs over them.

## GIRL WORKERS FORCED TO "DATE" BOSSES FOR JOBS

Low wages, long hours, and the necessity of "keeping dates" for immoral purposes with employers are rapidly becoming "normal" conditions in Connecticut's sweatshops, according to a report of Deputy Inspector William Fitzgerald of the state department of labor.

## 'Twere Best 'Twere Done Quickly

By JAY LOVESTONE

It does not matter at all who said it. The thing to do, is to have it done quickly.

What? What's it all about? What are we shooting at? Of course, it's the Five Thousand Dollar Drive.

Have you forgotten about it? From the looks of our accounts it would appear that way. But, rest assured we haven't. We can't—and we won't.

The rousing call from Belgium which we printed, in part, in our previous issue will not go unheeded. The growing demands which are pressing upon the Workers Age and our whole movement will not go unheeded. These are two

good reasons for your falling into line, for your letting Hitler hear from you—by letting the fighters against Hitler know that you are with them and for them in deed as well as by word.

Exactly, we mean the following: The Five Thousand Dollar Drive is lagging. Too many who have pledged have found too many unimportant things too important for them to keep their pledge, to make the contribution they undertook to make. Then, we know of quite a number of people who read our appeals regularly. Some of them have even told us they like our appeals. We appreciate such encouragement. But, we are prepared to forego them. It's action we want.

HURRY. What's the point in reading and doing nothing about it? Is it enlightenment for the sake of enlightenment or for the sake of grief all around?

If you examine seriously the appeals we have been making, the worthiness of the cause we have been advancing, the urgency of the tasks we, all of us, in the labor movement here and abroad, must meet, the ground we cover and the activities generated and directed, we are sure you will ask yourselves the following question: How do these workers do it all with such little money?

Shall we try to answer this questions? However, there would

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## USSR BALKS AT BORDER TALK

MOSCOW, USSR.—The Soviet Union declared that it has no objections to a mixed commission making a study of the border clashes which have occurred with increasing frequency but it is opposed to any consideration by such a commission of the fixing of new borders. These, between the Soviet Union and Manchukuo, have been fixed by the treaties of Peiping and Mukden.

In an official announcement in Izvestia the Soviet Union calls upon Japan to call off its White Russian agents acting as spies and terrorists inside soviet territory.

Elections now going on in Japan are being watched with some interest here. In the meantime Japan continues to strengthen its armed forces in Manchukuo, two more army divisions of Japanese troops having arrived in the trouble zone.



# TVA Ruling of Supreme Court Is Buttressing Of Present System

(Continued from Page 1)  
McReynolds' decision and opinion is very clear, and in a certain sense, is the only fundamental one delivered. He spoke from the viewpoint of the immediate interests of the private corporations, saying that the government defense was "a thin mask of disposing of property" (i.e. merely the right to sell surplus power) and, hidden under this, the "United States can enter the business of generating, transmitting and selling power . . . with the definite design to accomplish ends beyond the sphere marked out for them by the Constitution." And further, "under pretense of exercising granted power they may in fact undertake something not entrusted to them. Their mere ownership, e.g., of an iron mine would hardly permit the construction of smelting works followed by entry into the business of manufacturing and selling hardware . . ." Thus, McReynolds sees, and quite correctly, that nationalization of public utilities is implied in the whole discussion, and rather than give the first leeway to such notions, as the government right to contract etc., he rejects the whole business. But, of course, he is thereby looking at things from the point of view of a section of the capitalists, the public utilities, rather than the interests of the class as a whole. The bourgeoisie as a whole is driven to support such steps by the inner logic of monopoly capitalism, plus its conscious need for an efficient industrial-political machine in this period of crisis which threatens war against its enemies at home as well as abroad.

Hughes and the other conservatives understand better the basis of their decision. The war character of the project (Muscle Shoals was first built under the National Defense Act of 1916), was not only made but deliberately stressed, as against any possible outcry of "states' rights" or "state socialism." Viewed from this angle, it is no longer a mystery as to why such a decision could be made. Here was involved no question of the sacred rights of the bourgeoisie to its money as in the case of benefits to farmers or unemployment relief, here was decidedly a question of the "good of the nation," i.e., of the capitalist system.

Particularly fascinating is the strange opinion of the liberals, Brandeis, Cardoza, etc. Their vote against the NRA was clearly an expression of the protest of the small businessman against the power of trusts. But here seems to be further trustification which logically they should be against. Let us consider the various aspects of this phenomenon. First, Hughes simply stated that he was not ruling on the constitutionality of the case, but Brandeis took on his shoulders the job of proving that there was no reason in heaven or earth for judging the constitutionality of this act. Anyone who reads the liberal opinion will be struck by the fact that easily three-quarters of the document is devoted to this. Secondly, the Brandeis-Cardoza opinion stresses that these preferred stockholders had no case and therefore no opinion should have been delivered at all. Under this heading they make the following point: the directors of a corporation decide the policies and unless you can prove actual damage (financial) no minority can dispute the rights of the directors to act as they see fit. Secondly, says Brandeis, if the court were to make rulings on constitutionality, when it is possible to decide the

case on other points, the principles of democracy would be undermined. He points out that every time an "interest" lost out in the legislature, it could then bring suit to determine the constitutionality of the legislation, thus making Congress not the final determinant of legislation but only a stopping-off place.

These two more or less technical points are undoubtedly consonant with the niceties of petty-bourgeois thinking. Thus the preferred shareholders stand almost as "bondholders to common shareholders," and in denying their right to such action as in the present case, Brandeis-Cardoza uphold the "small man," who presumably holds only common stock. The second point is, of course, fantastic. It is precisely to overrule any type of attack on the "vested interests" that the Supreme Court was established and this has always been its function and its achievement.

But a more cogent force than such legalism drove the liberals to their decision. The petty-bourgeoisie sees in nationalization a kind of "radical" salvation. Historically this was a demand of the democratic elements, and to day they repeat it mechanically—despite the fact that it plays right into the hands of the big capitalists, as shown above. Further, a government monopoly, or the fostering of such a move, superficially would appear as a weapon against private trustification, which crushes the little man. It seems, and only this, to be a weapon for the stratification of the system, and a tendency to eliminate huge corporate profits. It is this consideration which enabled, in a confused way, the liberal wing not only to vote for the government but to make the hardest fight against any attempt to judge the TVA on the basis of "constitutionality."

It should be clear, from this discussion, that the TVA decision, whatever its other implications, can have no effect on the struggle for a constitutional amendment. It has been purposely hailed as proof positive that the Supreme Court is "reasonable," is not prejudiced against the New Deal, is not a bulwark of reaction. Such a fantastic conclusion can only be reached if you begin with the premise that the New Deal was progressive, and that the previous decisions against the NRA, AAA, etc. were in themselves blows at progress. Labor's protest is not directed primarily against the dissolution of the NRA or the AAA as such but against the implied decision that Congress could not pass legislation of a social nature (farmers' benefits, relief etc.). Thus in sustaining the TVA as a step towards open state capitalism and as a part of the war preparations of the American bourgeoisie, the court did not depart one whit from its

traditional role—the buttressing and maintenance of reaction!  
M. S. M.  
**'TWERE BEST 'TWERE DONE QUICKLY**  
(Continued from Page 1)  
be no point in trying to reply by words. We are answering this question every day by working unceasingly, by plunging thru difficulties galore, by never playing with the word "sacrifice"—because we know of something higher, we know OUR CLASS DUTIES, and we realize that along side of our German, Austrian, Italian and other comrades, none of us here is in a position even to make any sacrifice. There is nothing that we can do, there is no sum that we can give, there is nothing that we can deny ourselves which will put us in the same boat with our heroic, poverty-stricken, hounded and hunted comrades over there.  
Eventually you will give. Why not now?  
Or shall we comply with a suggestion that came into our office in response to our call for help? We would like to get your opinion of the advisability of putting this idea into practice. A loyal reader who has sort of lost his patience because the drive has been lagging advises us to publish the names of those who have pledged but not paid and of those who can and should contribute but haven't even let us hear from them to the ring of a single copper.  
What do you think of this idea? Tell us soonest. Answer by action. Let your reply be substantial. If we fail, you fail. If you and we fail, we all fail. But failure is not in our vocabulary . . .  
Come now and come quickly. Put your name on the international proletarian honor list. It costs little and helps much. What do you say?

Have You Contributed To \$5,000 Drive?

# WEINSTOCK GETS WIDE SUPPORT

## New York Painters Try To Clean The Council of Racketeering

Continuing the struggle against the racketeer and gangster elements in the Painters Union, all militant and progressive forces will support the candidacy of Louis Weinstock for the post of secretary in District Council number 9, Manhattan.

Last week the Brooklyn district elected Freeman, progressive candidate to the secretaryship. For the first time in years the progressives were in a position to really oust the underworld, and on this issue the union members were mobilized for victory.

Now District Council 9 is faced with the same issue and must answer in the same fashion. Opposed to Weinstock is Bruno Wagner, who altho himself not part of the Zausner machine, is today the blind tool of these gangsters. His candidacy is being pressed by the Old Guard of the Socialist in a vicious factional frenzy against the militant elements of the union, which include official C.P. members, C.P.O. members and Militant Socialists. Thus once again, as in the Teachers Union, as in the case of Nemsler, the Old Guard supports the worst element in the trade union movement.

So important is this struggle that too much emphasis cannot be placed on the necessity of victory for Weinstock. By driving out the Zausner machine, the Painters will be able to prove to themselves and the rest of the labor movement, that the union membership alone, and not any Deweyes, can clean their own house.

Workers who believe that the Wagner bill—National Labor Relations Act—was another "Magna Charta" should examine carefully the ruling handed down by Dean A. G. Eberle, trial examiner, of the St. Louis Regional Board in the case of the Boot & Shoe Workers Union against the Shoe Company.

"He absolved the company of 'unfair labor practices' though he found that it had hired a candy butcher as a labor spy, and an 'industrial-relations counselor' who warned its workers the company had seven strikes but never recognized a union; that one of its foremen circulated an anti-union petition; and that the Salem police descended en masse upon the plant and broke up the picket lines shortly after the company officials informed a citizens' committee (which had subscribed \$125,000 to bring the plant to Salem) that if it were not for the strike the company could operate at capacity."

Officials Curb Militants  
Andrew Furuseth and Victor Olander respectively president and secretary-treasurer of the International Seamen's Union have taken further steps to curb the militants of the west coast. Amendments to the union's constitution just adopted provide: presiding officer of a local seamen's organization must post a bond of \$1000; all local books to be audited by the national office; no local organization can amend its constitution without sanction of the international executive board. Directed against Harry Bridges' fighting cohorts of the west, the amendments strengthen the grip of the reactionaries on the union. Bridges plays a correct strategy when he refused to be provoked into any rash act and continues to create throughout the national organization the progressive forces that alone can build the union.

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# On the LABOR FRONT

## Sub-zero weather cannot freeze the indignation of the stalwarts of Heywood Brown who are picketing the Wisconsin News, Hearst sheet of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 29 American Newspaper Guild members, out of a staff of 39, are out on strike demanding recognition of the Union. While the News building is packed with cops, stenographers are doing rewrites and outside heading the picketers, is Jonathan Eddy, national secretary of the Guild. News circulation dropped. Union sound trucks boomed the Guild strike story to crowds at busy corners.

Index: Trousers Shortage  
The low living standards imposed upon millions of American workers by prolonged unemployment and upon millions of employed workers by low wages and depleted purchasing power were pointed out emphasized recently in a lecture by Dr. G. W. Allison of the Edison Electrical Institute. In discussing the clothing supply, he said: "Only one pair of trousers for every three men and one overcoat for every 11 men were manufactured in the United States last year."

Poverty Stricken Teachers  
Statistics for 1935 show: 40,000 fewer teachers; 200,000 teachers earning less than \$750 per year, \$5,000 less than \$450, 45,000 less than \$300, and 40,000 are owed over \$4,000,000 in wages, according to the magazine Educational Methods.

Shoe Case Exposes NLRB  
Workers who believe that the Wagner bill—National Labor Relations Act—was another "Magna Charta" should examine carefully the ruling handed down by Dean A. G. Eberle, trial examiner, of the St. Louis Regional Board in the case of the Boot & Shoe Workers Union against the Shoe Company.

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# REVOLUTIONARY UNITY OR NEW PARTY

By WILL HERBERG

The real significance of the appeal for revolutionary unity recently issued by the C.P.O. becomes particularly clear when it is contrasted with the "new party"—"Fourth International" program of the Trotskyites. For between the two there are profound differences in political basis, orientation, aim and purpose. In fact, not only do they stand as diametrically opposed but they mutually exclude each other.

## United Party vs. a New Rival Party

What motivation lies behind our approach as distinct from that of the Trotskyites? Our appeal is derived from the belief that, in recent times, under the impact of the great historical developments of the last few years, there has taken place a significant broadening of the revolutionary base in the workers movement; the proposal of the Trotskyites is brought forward on exactly opposite grounds, because of an alleged narrowing of the revolutionary base. It is important to recognize this distinction. Our appeal declares:

"... a deep fermentation is under way in the socialist movement everywhere, achieving expression in a process of far-reaching political differentiation and, in particular, in a pronounced swing to the left among the best sections of the socialist workers. . . . This process of political reorientation now under way in socialist ranks creates the possibility for a broad extension of the basis of revolutionary unity. . . ."

For the Trotskyites, on the other hand, as they have assured us repeatedly, the fundamental political ground of their "new party" orientation is the "hopeless opportunism" of the socialist and communist movements both, making it mandatory upon the "genuine revolutionists" to organize their forces independently outside their ranks. Our position is predicated on the swing to the left in socialist ranks, which effectively extends the basis of revolutionary unity; the Trotskyite position is predicated on the swing to the right in communist ranks, which allegedly makes necessary a new split and a new party. We look upon the left socialists of the type of Pivert and Aufhäuser as the concrete manifestation of this broadening of the revolutionary base; the Trotskyites brand them as a menace whom it is necessary to "expose mercilessly as a cover for the social-patriotic leaders."

The same underlying difference reappears as an opposition of aim. The whole meaning of our appeal is the union, the fusion of all genuinely revolutionary, genuinely socialist, elements in the ranks of the working class. We are striving to achieve a single revolutionary workers party. But the Trotskyites are avowedly out for unity but for a split in the existing organizations, not for a united party but for a new, a "third" party as rival and opponent of both!

## Marxism vs. Sectarianism

It is hardly to be wondered at that such wide disparity in political basis, motivation and aim should be grounded in an irreconcilable difference in orientation and outlook. Striving to bring about political unity on a sound basis, we advance a program that embodies in irreducible form the fundamental teachings of Marxism and the historical experience of the working class, a program that grows organically out of the decades of proletarian struggle, a program that represents what is common to all revolutionary socialists. With

the Trotskyites the matter takes on another aspect entirely. Contentiously turning their back on the existing movement in the consciousness of their own superior virtue, they attempt to build up their new party along lines that are utterly and hopelessly sectarian. Long ago Marx defined the essence of sectarianism in these classic words:

"The sect sees the justification for its existence and its 'point of honor'—not in what is COMMON with the class movement but in the PARTICULAR SHIBBOLETH which DISTINGUISHES it from the latter. . . . Every sect is in fact religious."

It is in this spirit of pure sectarianism that the Trotskyites operate. The program on which they so generously invite the working class to unite is nothing more than a compilation of the sacrosanct Trotskyist dogmas. With them it is precisely their "particular shibboleths" that are elevated as their special "point of honor." Indeed, so far gone in their morbid sectarianism are they that they actually have the insufferable gall to offer their vicious anti-Sovietism as the basic plank in the program of a working class party! In the latest manifesto, entitled "For a Revolutionary Proletarian Party," issued by the French Trotskyites (La Verite, January 26, 1936), even the peripatetic of the defense of the Soviet Union is dropped. There we are told in so many words:

"The unconditional defense of the achievements of the October revolution in the U.S.S.R., un-

# A REVIEW OF RECENT EVENTS IN SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)  
The Right in Retreat

For the moment, the right is once more beaten, and in full retreat, though the retreat is far from a rout. As a first result of the election victory of the republican bloc, the amorphous made-to-order center government of Manuel Portela has been forced to resign, the permanent parliamentary commission which governs between sessions of parliament and which has a right majority has been forced by overwhelming mass pressure to declare a complete amnesty for over 30,000 political prisoners, including those who were framed up on accusations of common crimes. This decision was adopted unanimously by the reactionary-controlled permanent commission with the hope on its part of thus curbing the extra-parliamentary direct action of the masses, which, if continued, would represent a far more real danger to the propertied interests than does the unstable parliamentary election combination which has triumphed in the present election. For the same reason, the deeply conservative President of the Republic, Niceto Alcalá Zamora, has called for and received the resignation of his own tool, Premier Portela, and without waiting for the final results of the elections, has called into being a cabinet under the leadership of Manuel Azana and members of the Republican party. The strategy of the reaction is quite clear, and intelligent: to bend before the storm so as not to be broken by it, and to make whatever concessions are necessary to allay the direct action of the masses and reduce the battle for the time being to parliamentary shadow-boxing. If this maneuver succeeds, the republican socialist-communist bloc will soon break up on the issue of the sacredness of

property, and the reaction will once more have a majority behind its efforts for a constitutional transition towards a clerical-fascist-military dictatorship, if they do not succeed in engineering a military coup in the meanwhile.

For the moment the masses are in movement, and the reaction is somewhat demoralized and on the run. Juan March, wealthy monarchist-corporationist, who was imprisoned once before by the previous Azana government, has fled the country in spite of the fact that he was just elected deputy. Angel Velarde, bloody-handed Governor of Asturias who was in charge of the fury of the white terror after the defeat of the October uprising, has also fled in fear of the wrath of the masses, as have the two former ministers of the Interior Eloy Vaquero and Rafael Salazar Alonzo, whose department directed the "pacification" of the country and the suppression of the revolts.

## The Trotskyites and the Socialist Party

It is in the light of this analysis that the recent maneuvers of Trotskyites towards the Socialist party must be estimated. Here we must learn from France, for not only is the so-called "French turn" officially accepted as a model in orthodox Trotskyite circles but developments in France can give us more than an inkling as to what we can expect here in this country.

Some years ago the Trotskyites entered the Socialist party of France. It is curious to note what fantastic ideas have been spread as to the aims and purposes behind this step, in view of the repeated declarations of the Trotskyites themselves. It was their own hope-

less isolation that impelled them in the direction of the S.F.I.O., which they joined with the avowed purpose of splitting off a section so as to create a broader basis for a French section of the "Fourth International." They did not hide their intentions then and they emphasize them now. "The Bolshevik-Leninist Group and the Leninist Youth," they state in the manifesto already alluded to above, "entered the S.F.I.O. without the least illusion as to the possibility of regenerating the party. And we have had the opportunity . . . of enlightening the Socialist militants as to the same conditions."

Once inside the S.F.I.O., their course soon developed its characteristic features, flowing directly out of their basically sectarian orientation. It was a course of reckless factionalism, disruption and cliquism, to the point where they soon alienated left socialist elements, such as Pivert, whose sympathy they had originally attracted. They made it as their special mission to stir up anti-Soviet feeling and to oppose and obstruct every move in the direction of united socialist-communist action.

It was not long before they found themselves outside the S.F.I.O. again. But their maneuver had not been altogether fruitless, for in parting company with the S.P., they took with them a section of the socialist youth of Paris, headed by Fred Zeller. In fact, their recent manifesto is signed jointly by the Bolshevik-Leninist Group and the Revolutionary Socialist Youth! Now that they are outside socialist ranks, they feel that they can once more drive straight ahead

have undermined the economic basis of the clerical-fascist reaction, the Socialist Party, this time seconded, even pushed, by the Communist Party, and hesitantly trailed by a grumbling, doubting Maurin Party, entered once more into a coalition with the bourgeois republicans, on the basis of a program acceptable to the latter.

## A Bad Bargain

In place of a worker-peasant front, there was formed a People's Front. In place of mobilizing the masses thru parliamentary elections for the inevitable extra-parliamentary struggle, the battlefield, where the real issue will be decided, the coalition agreed upon a program including such planks as: "Strict maintenance of the principle of authority"; "independence" of the courts; opposition to expropriation of the land by the peasants themselves, or without compensation; omission of any proposals for nationalizing the banks, unemployment insurance, socialization of industry—in short, a democratic bourgeois program, calculated to leave the army and state apparatus untouched, the economic power of the landowners and big capitalists unbroken, and the basic forces of the reaction intact. The only demand of the People's Front truly in the interests of the proletariat was the demand for the release of political prisoners. In return, the Socialist and Communist Parties gave up all revolutionary demands—a good bargain for the bourgeois republicans! And Azana, the same Azana who when in power before crushed the peasant uprising, protected the landowners, failed to reorganize the monarchist army and civil guard, broke the general strikes by force, drowned the uprising of Casas Viejas in blood, that same Azana was rehabilitated by the

Workers Alliance gave them courage and a sense of power. The sanguinary reprisals of the frightened reaction kindled their resentment, and soon they showed readiness to take the offensive once more. But instead of preparing a working-class and peasant offensive, based upon peasant attacks on the great estates which would

Spanish revolutionary movements have a rhythm of their own. They are always stubborn and prolonged. Its political crises have run in cycles of from three to nine years each, with many ebbs and flows of the revolutionary tide before their issues were finally decided. The revolution which began in April 1931 is no exception to this rule. It might have been, with more conscious direction, since the classic Spanish movements of the nineteenth century owed their formlessness largely to the lack of direction by a conscious political party. But the revolution of April 1931 came as a surprise to all organized political movements, out of the deep resentment of the masses which suddenly found a vent in some minor municipal elections. The astonished monarchy fled; the astounded petty-bourgeois

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T. V. A.

THERE is no reason to light any bonfires in celebrations of the T.V.A. decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. Insofar as labor is concerned, there is nothing implied in this decision which is socially progressive.

By right to one of the highest courts of the land declared that it was not unlawful for the government to engage "in the construction of the war-time Wilson Dam" and in "the acquisition of connecting transmission lines."

Still, reality speaks louder than the most longed-for joy. Thru Chief Justice Hughes, the Court underscored that it did not pass upon the legality of the present or Roosevelt TVA act.

Mr. Wendell L. Wilkie, president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, saw these loopholes and gaps in the decision and hastened to declare that the private "power companies operating in the area could sell electric energy at least 25% under the TVA rates, if given the same subsidies from the Federal Treasury."

But why has the Supreme Court sidestepped these basic features, these fundamentals inherent in the TVA as an enterprise of the government? We hold that the forces making for this evasion are much more rooted in the political situation in the country than in the legal text of the case presented by the Republican attorney from Buffalo in behalf of the Democratic Roosevelt government.

There is another angle to this decision which is interesting and significant. Already many of the most timid New Dealers and New Deal proponents are raving with joy over this decision. They simply can't get over the fact that the Supreme Court passed up an opportunity to give them and their panacea a big black eye.

Labor should not be blinded or misled by any such judicial pussy-footing. In the coming months every working class organization should go out of its way to fight against the altogether too great powers vested in and usurped by the Supreme Court—as "the keeper of the conscience of the ruling class"—King Big Capital.

Dubinsky Stands By Industrial Unionism

The following telegram sent by David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, to John L. Lewis during the sessions of the convention of the United Mine Workers, has aroused considerable interest.

New York, Feb. 3, 1936. Deeply grateful to you and convention delegates for invitation to address convention.

Your progress is especially gratifying to us in view of the sincere bond of friendship and cooperation which has existed between our two

Manufacturers Association for renewal of agreement with strike machinery completed and ready to call out more than a hundred thousand workers. In my own name and in name of the membership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union congratulates you, your associate officers and fellow delegates on the great acquisition of numerical and spiritual strength made by the United Mine Workers of America.

Your progress is especially gratifying to us in view of the sincere bond of friendship and cooperation which has existed between our two

Browder, Thomas And Mooney

Why Not United Labor's Forces Behind Mooney for President?

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

In the Daily Worker of February 11, Norman Thomas is gently chidden. His offense: He is opposed to giving up the Socialist presidential ticket in favor of "a premature effort after a farmer-labor party."

Norman Thomas is charged by Earl Browder with not doing all he can and should to bring about a labor party by July 4, 1936. Earl Browder is charged by Norman Thomas with doing much that he shouldn't do if he wants to strengthen the movement for a labor party.

In this combat we do not wish to act as judges. But the labor party has been one of our main concerns for a number of years, both when we were in the leadership of the official party (with Browder in opposition to the labor party) and since our unjustified expulsion, when we upheld the banner of the movement for a labor party while both Socialist and Communist Parties were opposing it for their own sectarian reasons.

1. A labor party, or a farmer-labor party must be initiated by the trade unions. One of the basic reasons for its necessity, the basic reason, is the fact that the organized labor movement is tied to the capitalist political parties. A labor party is needed to make the American working class politically self-conscious, class-conscious, to separate the organized labor movement politically from capitalism, from the middle class and its class-

organizations over a period of many years and the help extended by one to the other during periods of stress and need. This traditional spirit of solidarity now manifests itself in the important work in which we are engaged along with you and other progressive forces within the American Federation of Labor to bring the message of unionism to the vast numbers of unorganized workers in the mass production industries. We believe that the very fact that the craft union methods heretofore employed in the attempt to interest the workers in the mass production industries in trade unionism have utterly failed justifies a reconsideration of tactics and policy on the part of the leadership of the labor movement if we want to see these millions of exploited and underprivileged men and women join the ranks of bona fide labor organizations.

We further believe together with you that in rallying these unorganized workers into the fold of the American Federation of Labor we are helping to remove the roots of dualism whether in company unions or independent organizations by furthering a policy within the American Federation of Labor that will enable these workers to enter on the only basis millions of them will accept, namely, industrial unionism. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union like the other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which are advocating industrial unionism is opposed to any splits or divisions in the labor movement. We do not consider the promotion of the principle of industrial unionism as dualism or

(Continued on Page 8)

less illusions concerning "the people" as a whole.

Seeds of Disaster

2. To confuse the labor party with the People's Front, to give it middle-class leadership, middle-class political figureheads as nominees, a middle-class program, and a leading committee of rabbis, ministers, liberals, petty-bourgeois politicians, with a sprinkling of labor leaders and maybe a Socialist and Communist leader or two discreetly in the background, would deal a possibly well-intentioned but inevitably fatal blow at the very essence and purpose of a labor party, which represents a union bourgeoisie on a program acceptable to the latter, as a Labor Party. He who peddles the People's Front, which represents a separation of the working class from the liberal bourgeoisie on an elementary but unmistakably working class program, is sowing winds of confusion to reap whirlwinds of subsequent disaster.

3. A movement made up of the C.P. and S.P. and C.P.O. with perhaps a few progressive unionists as a "labor front", would not be a labor party. It would be too "red" to enlist the support of the bulk of the organized labor movement and would actually short-circuit the slowly growing labor party sentiment in the trade unions, and thus tend to discredit and weaken the labor party idea.

4. There are two dangers to be avoided in the movement for a labor party. One is premature organization, on too narrow a basis. The other is needless delay, neglect of the tasks which will hasten the growth of labor party sentiment and organization. A labor party cannot be formed by an instructed calendar date, "July 4, 1936, with or without organized labor, with or without the Socialists." He who plays with the labor party movement in that fashion, hurts that movement. Neither can any stage be skipped. Mere impatience is no help. Intelligent, directed impatience is a help. It should work overtime, with restless energy at the difficult, distressingly slow job of winning the trade unions themselves to organize a labor party. In such a task, the united effort of C.P., S.P., and C.P.O. would be a help. Such an effort should seek every possible method and device to hasten the development of a labor party movement. Above all, it should realistically appraise the present situation and decide on the next possible step in furthering that movement, in stirring the trade unions, in getting them on record, in getting them into action for a labor party.

Now, let us return to Norman Thomas and Earl Browder. Earl Browder declares that we can have, and must have a labor party by July 4, 1936. Norman Thomas says that that would be "a premature effort." We must say that Earl Browder is keeping his eyes riveted (by instruction, perhaps) upon the seductive date, while Norman Thomas is keeping his eyes more closely on the less seductive situation in the country.

Strange to relate, the impatient Browder, who chides Norman Thomas for unwillingness to take necessary steps for the formation of the labor party, has actually refused to take the immediate next step himself. And that's where Tom Mooney comes in.

Where Mooney Comes In

The Socialist and Communist Parties and Communist Opposition together cannot masquerade as a labor party. But the Socialist and Communist Parties and the Communist Opposition working together can give a powerful impulsion to working class political

unity by launching a united labor ticket in 1936. That is immediately possible! And that would win much labor support.

Browder and Thomas, or Thomas and Browder on one ticket, would be better than Browder and Thomas on two tickets running against each other. But Tom Mooney for president, with some other labor leader or dirt farmer for vice-president would be still better. Tom Mooney's candidacy would electrify the American working class. It would unify the working class more than any other candidacy whatsoever. He belongs to the workers. He is labor's martyr and champion. Even conservative unions could be aroused to endorse him. It would be the most powerful stimulus to labor unity, solidarity, political class consciousness, so far developed.

On January 24, the Communist Opposition wrote to both S.P. and C.P. suggesting that they get together for a united labor ticket with Tom Mooney for President. What was the answer of the C.P. to this obviously excellent proposal? A miserable, sectarian, factional reaction. No direct answer to the C.P.O. No word to the militant workers who responded with a thrill of hope. Only a sneering, carefully anonymous response to a New York Times reporter: "We are not interested in any proposition coming from opposition communists." (See New York Times, Sunday, January 26.)

And another cynical sneer from Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, at a forum on February 16, in answer to questions. (It seems the workers are interested in the proposition!) Said Hathaway: "Who is the C.P.O. that it dares to propose Mooney or anybody else for President!"

The Daily Worker criticizes Norman Thomas for "waiting like Micawber for something to turn up, postponing action and not doing everything possible to build this urgently needed mass party of the people for the November elections." But the Socialist Party's National Executive Committee is polling its members on our proposal. We do not know what the decision of the Socialist Party will be. No doubt some of the N.E.C. members will chime in with Browder and Hathaway, even go one better: "We are not interested in any proposition coming from communists." (They will make no distinction between official tendency and opposition.) Right wing socialists have answered good proposals from the C.P. before with clique arrogance and cynical disregard of the interests of the workers in favor of the interests real or imagined of their faction. Does Browder care to be associated with them? Why is the C.P. silent? Any worker can see that the proposal is a good one.

What Is Your Answer?

Can it be, Comrade Browder, that you prefer a camouflaged C.P. calling itself a Labor Party? Can it be that you prefer such a party with perhaps a Marcantonio, to a united labor ticket with Tom Mooney? Have you a better nominee? A more inspiring standard bearer? One that would more readily win trade union support? One more free from factional trammels? A better symbol of the unity and fighting spirit of our class?

We urge the Socialist Party to act favorably. We urge the coming convention of the Communist Party to take this clear, urgent, necessary next step. We would like to hear from the unions, from the socialists and communists: We would like to hear from every worker: What do you think of a United Labor Ticket with Tom Mooney for President in 1936?

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

WE recently had an experience with which we desire to acquaint all our readers. In a nutshell it's the following:

The New Workers School arranged a symposium on the Jewish question. Among the participants scheduled to appear were Dr. Israel Goldstein of the Congregation B'Nai Jeshurun and Bertram D. Wolfe. The former was to represent the position of his Congregation and Comrade Wolfe was to present the viewpoint of Marxism, the position of the Communist Party (Opposition). Everything was well on the way for a clash of opinions, for a combat of opposite viewpoints, for a successful symposium when the New Workers School received a letter from Rabbi Goldstein. His letter of February 11th reads:

I must ask you to excuse me from participating in your symposium, as I was under the impression, when I accepted, that your school was the Workers School. Very truly yours, Dr. Israel Goldstein.

We promptly replied to the Comrade Rabbi thanking him for his frankness.

Interesting, eh? Has this swanky synagogue become so loyal to the line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern that it is unholy for its leader to appear on one platform with Comrade Wolfe? Is the line of the Workers School on the Jewish question so much like the line of the rabbi that the latter is prepared to speak on its platform and not on ours?

Really, we do not find it necessary to squander energy or time trying to answer or discuss these questions. We have a hunch this is merely another case of the "People's Front". There is some kinship between all revealed truth, whether it come via Jehovah, or Comrade Stalin, or Comrades Browder and Goldstein. We reject both. We cannot see any reason for the Rabbi being afraid to commit the sin of discussing with Comrade Wolfe on our platform.

Perhaps Comrade Goldstein would rather have Comrade Wolfe discuss the Jewish question with him and others on the platform of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun. We do hope the Rabbi has enough influence on the wealthy directors of this "temple of the Lord" to get them to hold the symposium under the auspices of the synagogue instead of the New Workers School.

At any rate, regardless of what reply this Congregation and its ultra-red shepherd will make to us, we believe we have done no wrong in letting the world know how the so-called People's Front operates. God bless the "people's front." It needs it badly.

A FEW weeks ago Mussolini made an "appeal to students throughout Europe." So far we have noted one band of students—a group of French Fascists in the Sorbonne—responding to Il Duce's cry for help. This gang of Fascist law students showed its high regard for Mussolini's great ideals by throwing around stink bombs in protest against lectures by Professor Jeze. This phase of the solidarity between Mussolini and the French fascist does not disturb or concern us in the least. But certain sections of the appeal are significant enough to merit reproduction. We quote from Popolo d'Italia:

"It is time to establish the responsibility of the blood-thirsty politicians who will not themselves fight. . . . If the satanic oppression of the imperialists and of the bloodthirsty sects of Europe have

their own way, Europe will inevitably fall into the most unjustified and terrible war that humanity has ever seen."

There is more truth than even bombast in this outbreak. The Negus might well ask the super-Capone of Italy for a personal appointment at the front in the Tarn-bien area. And the Italian working class might well accept the offer to lay its hands on "the imperialists" and "Bloodthirsty sects" closest to them.

But obviously there are no limits to the demagoguery of Fascism. We would do well to watch such manifestations at home. Their form may be different but their essential content is identical.

MORE than half the states now have the sales tax in one form or another. New York City's "progressive" mayor plastered a substantial tax on every-day needs ostensibly for the sake of insuring funds for "adequate relief." After the presidential elections many a vote-hungry capitalist politician will propose more relief measures of this sort.

And this is not all. Recent years have witnessed a definite trend away from direct taxes—taxes that people can see and feel—towards indirect taxes, towards taxes not obvious on the surface but nevertheless felt, taxes hidden or buried in the price of commodities. In other words all the noise by the big boys, by the Liberty Leaguers and their ilk about oppressive taxation on their lives and fortunes is just that much balderdash. In 1935 direct taxes, or taxes felt most heavily by the richer ones, by those who can pay, totalled \$1,409,400,000 of its own interests.

WITH THE LAWMAKERS

By LEE MASON

City, state, and federal legislative bodies are working overtime to hamstring labor in particular and the dispossessed in general. The lawmakers apparently work on the theory that the quality of mercy should be strained thin.

Consider, to begin with, the bill just passed by the Board of Aldermen. Disregarding even the most elementary consideration for the needs of human beings, these civic lights have ruled that non-residents of the city are no longer entitled to relief. For all the legislators care, out of towners who are unemployed may lurch off the garbage heaps. This measure with its retroactive clause and all bids fair to become law as the Board of Estimate has already passed it.

More serious perhaps, if only because of the limitless implications, are the anti-crime bills fathered by Governor Lehman and blessed by both houses of the state legislature. All of them are ostensibly aimed at the ordinary felon, but all of them can very easily be prevented to the injury of labor.

Senator John L. Buckley (D., Man.) had his finger in all these bills. The most vicious one of them all is the one which makes it possible for the police department to retain the fingerprints and photographs of those who, while acquitted of any given disorderly conduct charge, have once been found guilty of that offense. Strikers know what this means. Picketing becomes a major hazard if you have already been hauled in by "impartial" cops and convicted of disturbing the peace. For if you are caught picketing again, your bail will be immeasurably raised and you will stand less chance of acquittal.

To get the unionist coming and going the legislators have ruled that a revolver found in an auto-



Cornelius deah, listen how lovely—these are danger signals that must rouse the people to a new fight in defense of those liberties that we hold dear." (Sunday Worker Jan. 19, 1936.)

000. At the same time, indirect taxes or taxes paid in the main by the great majority of the population amounted to \$2,234,800,000. It is clear that those who can least afford to pay are being made to pay the most.

The workers and lower middle class folks should keep their eyes fixed on these significant trends. We emphasize this especially today, because the coming months will witness all sorts of crooked attempts, cleverly concealed, to reduce the already inadequate relief provisions. Watch Mayor La Guardia of New York. Watch the White House. We would be surprised not to hear them cry about their poor governments being too poor to continue such a huge relief burden.

It is high time labor took this burden off the hands of its "friends" and began to take care of its own interests.

mobile is "presumptive evidence of illegal possession by all persons found in the vehicle at the time the weapon is found." With this law on the books how easy will it be for the police to frame the famous flying squadrons of picketers!

Another bill that is up for consideration in the State Senate gives the magistrate power to punish any attorney who allegedly upsets the decorum of the court by insolence towards the judge. Very plainly, this is aimed at the mass defense of political and labor prisoners. The minute a lawyer begins making telling points in his client's defense the judge has the right to charge him with criminal contempt, disorderly behavior or an insolent attitude. Interpretation of the lawyer's conduct rests entirely with the judge. Anyone acquainted with the anti-labor Republican and Democrat judges knows what this means.

Police Commissioner Lewis Valentine brings back memories of the hated and dreaded General O'Ryan. Stealing a leaf from the latter, as well as from other reactionaries, the present incumbent has decreed that all leaders of parades, demonstrations, and picket lines are subject to "protective custody" until the "trouble blows over." The police do not even have to press charges against these men! They can pull them in at their discretion and release them without a test of the legality of their action.

The WPA workers come in for special attention of a kind they will not relish. According to the new manual of procedure, the police are ordered to obtain "information as to . . . identification number assigned and project on which employed" may be found. . . . "The chief police inspector will forward one copy of such report received to the administrator United States

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

In a recent issue of the Daily Worker, Clarence Hathaway as interpreted as having declared that the telegram of David Dubinsky to the convention of the United Mine Workers indicates a readiness to capitulate to the craft unionists. We believe that is totally untrue. The telegram (printed in full elsewhere in this issue) says in part: "The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, like the other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which are advocating industrial unionism for the mass production industries, is opposed to any splits or divisions in the labor movement. We do not consider the promotion of the principle of industrial unionism as dualism or an oppositional policy to the A. F. of L."

What's wrong with this? Or take the editorial in Justice of Feb. 15 which placing itself on the premise of trade union democracy, insists that "the Committee for Industrial Organization should not be deterred from continuing with its constructive educational activity in behalf of industrial unionism for the millions of toilers in the mass production industries. Whether it gains a majority for its ideas at the next A. F. of L. convention or not, its right to go on preaching its principles, if we are to remain true to the fundamental tenets of our movement, should not be tampered with or abridged."

Both excerpts may not square with some rash and poorly formulated remarks made in certain speeches at the miners' convention but they do square with the remarks of President Lewis, during the closing hours of the convention, when he warned against loose talk and stated he would fight against any effort to oust the miners from the A. F. of L.

These remarks certainly do not square with the "revolutionary" impatience of Hathaway and the Communist Party which urged in its first statement on the CIO, that it step right now from the field of education to the field of organization. In other words, that it read itself out of the A. F. of L. right now. With such opinions the telegram of Dubinsky does not agree. But it does meet the immediate requirements of the present situation in the A. F. of L.

On the contrary, we believe that the exchange of telegrams between Dubinsky and the miners convention begins a period of closer collaboration between the two in the Committee for Industrial Organization. And that is something to be welcomed by all friends of industrial unionism.

ESTIMATES on the number of unemployed miners engaged in bootlegging coal vary, but a more or less accurate figure would be:

Works Progress Administration for the City of New York. One does not need to be a Lenin to realize what both these regulations mean in terms of anti-union activity. So plain is the onslaught on workers' organization that no stimulation from above should be needed. The reaction should be instinctive and instantaneous.

As if the sales tax were not enough of a burden to the hard-pressed workers and declassed petty-bourgeoisie, State Senator Williamson has introduced a bill designed to make the poor pay for their own relief. Hitherto, those who had a gross income of \$1000 were exempt from the income tax. Now, if you make as little as \$20 a week you will have to pay a filing tax of two dollars a year. This is the (capitalist) system of taxation with a vengeance.

place it around 15,000 in the An-tracite coal fields. Mine operators estimate that the loss amounts to about \$32,000,000 (thirty-two million dollars), and incensed by the "helplessness" of the local police forces they (26 operators) approached Governor George H. Earle for state aid.

Governor Earle refused to send state police and went on to say: "You brought these people to these communities to mine coal, and you made lots of money from it. Now you abandon them and expect them to make a living out of thin air."

Earle undoubtedly has his own political calculations—some claim it reaches presidential proportions—but it is a statement that will win him many friends in the coal fields.

THE employers have not exactly made up their mind whether to laugh or cry at the recent development of a fighting industrial-union bloc in the American Federation of Labor. The idea of a trade union movement busy fighting internally, is certainly something to smile over but on the other hand they are a little worried over the outcome. If the industrial unionists were to win, things might be in a bad way for them.

Business Week of Feb. 8, 1936, reflects this attitude when it says: "With the battles lines drawn and the split within labor's ranks rapidly widening, many an employer sat back and chuckled as he read the headlines. Sober second thought, however, cut short the chuckles. The industrial union block, young and vigorous, may succeed in capturing a majority of the federation vote at Tampa next November."

"They didn't do badly last year—10,924 to 18,025, despite rules that kept their voting power less than their proportionate membership, and if the old craft unions lose control, the industrial plan will mean that a union shop's entire force will be welded into one group, seeing only one objective, striking as one man if the war comes."

This is a sort of left-handed recognition of the merits of industrial unionism. Will someone please show this quotation to Bill Green. Lewis has so far failed to convince him, maybe Business Week can.

FATHER DIVINE Progressive or Menace?

Does "International Righteousness" Mean Union-Smashing? A Symposium With . . .

- Dr. Ethelred Brown Director: Hubert Harrison Memorial Forum
● C. B. Jenkins Workers Alliance
● Edward K. Welsh Communist Party (Opposition)

MONTSERRAT HALL 207 W. 137th Street FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1936 at 8 P. M. Auspices: Harlem Unit; Communist Party (Opposition) ADMISSION FREE!



In the International Labor Movement

WHY NOT PEOPLE'S FRONT GOV'T?

By LEO

The convention of the Communist Party of France which met recently in the Communist municipality of Villeurbanne near Lyons passed a resolution on "The Communist Party and the Government Crisis" which said among other things:

"What do the people want? The people want the law for the protection of the Republic to be applied against the fascist leagues, the people are for peace, for the stabilization of the franc without lowering the standard of living of the poor, for immediate elections... The Communist Party declares that it would support the policy of a left government even if such a government would confine itself to dissolving the fascist leagues and guarantee normal elections. The main task in the present situation is the organization of the great masses of people into numerous committees. Herein lies the true guarantee of the defense of democratic rights and not in the proposals to participate in the government which are unfortunately being made by organizations calling themselves proletarian."

The last sentence refers to the Social-Democrats which declared on the occasion of the downfall of the Laval government, its willingness to participate in a People's Front government if one of the two other parties affiliated to the People's Front would take the initiative. (Radicals or Communists)

Blum Appeals To Logic

Leon Blum answered the refusal of the C.P.F. to participate in a People's Front government on a parliamentary basis with the following statement in Populaire, January 26, 1936:

"The CPF is obviously making a distinction between a People's Front government on a parliamentary basis, which may arise very soon but which it rejects, and an extra-parliamentary People's Front government based on a strong mass movement and mass

organizations which it accepts but which is yet too far off.

"But I am certain," he continues, "that the overwhelming majority of the people who belong to the People's Front, who crowd its meetings—workers and peasants included—look upon the People's Front government as an immediate problem. People's Front to them means vigilance against a possible attack of fascism, it means the will to rule and to rule immediately after a victory at the polls in order to do away with misery and injustice because it is precisely under conditions of misery that fascism flourishes. People's Front means a joint effort to prevent a renewed fascist attack which would result from the inability of the majority to rule. This is what the masses affiliated to the People's Front are honestly thinking."

"If the Party continues to wait until the time has come for a 'correct' People's Front government the masses will feel that they have been misled."

Duclos To The Rescue

Duclos, one of the secretaries of the CPF, answered Leon Blum in L'Humanite of January 28, 1936, as follows:

"There is nothing in our articles, our resolutions, our Party documents which may lead anybody to believe that the Communist Party might participate in a parliamentary government even if it were called a 'People's Front government.'"

He then cites the conditions which Dimitroff put up at the 7th Congress of the CI in regard to a People's Front government, and insists that "To speak of a People's Front government is to speak of a purely parliamentary government."

Duclos then recalls the experience of the German, Austrian and Spanish Social-Democracy—all of which speak against participation in a parliamentary government.

This discussion is very important and very revealing because it enables us to uncover the inner contradictions, the weaknesses and the political consequences of the slogan for a People's Front government.

Leon Blum and the French Social-Democracy want the CP to participate in the usual parliamentary coalition government, in other words, a left cartel embracing also Communists. It is obvious that such a government would not put into effect any measures to aid the proletariat in its struggle against fascism; that it would have the same disastrous consequences as the coalition governments in Germany, Austria and Spain in which the Social-Democratic parties of the various countries participated. How could such a government possibly lift the emergency decrees of Laval remembering that the Radical Socialists were a decisive factor in issuing the decrees, in maintaining them and in frustrating the first attempts at extra-parliamentary actions—the strikes in Brest and Toulon? Such a government holds out nothing but compromise for the CP and the SP. Fascism would be the ultimate benefactor. The CP is absolutely justified in rejecting participation in such a "People's Front government."

What Duclos Forgot

Duclos, however, characteristically enough, did not answer the serious objection of Leon Blum that the great mass of people belonging to the People's Front have the Socialist conception of a "People's Front government"; that they expect such to be formed now and not in the indefinite future; that the disillusionment of the masses will grow in proportion to the postponement of the formation of a People's Front government. The masses are disillusioned, their patience exhausted, if at every new government crisis they are given the hope of a People's Front government, only to learn that it has been postponed for an unknown period so that a "real" People's Front government may be formed. We do not mean to imply here that the CP ought to participate in a parliamentary People's Front government because the masses suffer from these illusions. The trouble is that the slogan of a People's Front government necessarily leads to such illusions. Why? Because the People's Front itself as it exists today is nothing but a coalition of parliamentary parties. The People's Front committees in France are not real mass organs—they are merely a reflection of the groupings of the various fractions in the Chamber of Deputies. There is actually nothing but a parliamentary base for a People's Front government. Consequently the illusions of the masses in regard to a People's Front government and their dissatisfaction with the unwillingness of the CP to form or participate in such a government inevitable. A slogan which entails such illusions is false.

Let us examine a People's Front government composed of Radical Socialists, Social-Democrats and Communists on an extra-parliamentary basis. We have already stated that such a basis is not evident. Moreover, such a base cannot be created until the present People's Front is dissolved. Why? Because it is the function of the Radical Socialists in the People's Front to prevent extra-parliamentary mass actions against the emergency decrees, etc. (Incidentally, they have succeeded admirably in their tasks). Real mass organs which would link the working class with the petty bourgeoisie on a revolutionary basis can only be developed if such organs presupposed a break with the bourgeois leadership of the petty bourgeois masses assembled in the Radical Socialist Party—in other words, a break with the Radical Socialists as a Party. Such organs can be estab-



PIERRE LAVAL—MOUNTEBANK OF FRENCH POLITICS

lished only if an attempt is made to link up with the working class those petty-bourgeois and semi-proletarian masses which are affiliated to the Radical Socialist Party, to have them break with their party and to lead them in the struggle against their Party.

Three Roads

This, however, is made impossible because of the existence of a parliamentary alliance with the Radical Socialist Party—because of the People's Front as it exists today.

The following alternative remains: First, the policy of the People's Front as a parliamentary coalition of working class parties with a bourgeois party, is carried to its logical conclusion and results in a People's Front government. In this case, the catastrophe which befell the Social-Democratic coalition governments in Germany, Austria and Spain is inevitable except that now the CP would be involved and the defeat of the working class would be all the more disastrous, the confusion all the greater and the possibilities for a resurgence all the more difficult.

Second, the C. P. declares that such a government must have an extra-parliamentary base and that it is impossible to create such with the present People's Front in existence. In that case, there would never be a People's Front government and the deepgoing disillusionment of the masses would benefit fascism.

Third, the CP might finally decide to enter a parliamentary government disguised as an extra-parliamentary one and thus bring about a catastrophe which would bring the greatest possible confusion into the ranks of the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.

There is another contradiction: What would a truly extra-parliamentary government do with the Herriots, Daladiers, etc?

The contradiction in the slogan of the People's Front government may be summarized as follows: If the Radical Socialists are to be included there cannot be anything but a parliamentary government. The Radical Socialist Party will not participate in a truly extra-parliamentary People's Front government. The People's Front government is possible only as a parliamentary government. An extra-parliamentary government of the working class, of the petty bourgeois classes cannot be a People's Front government.

This is the fundamental inner contradiction of the slogan for a People's Front government as shown concretely in the case of

France. The same is true of the slogan for a People's Front government outside of France. Furthermore, we are not dealing with a dialectical contradiction which would lead to a higher level of political development. We are dealing with a contradiction which will lead to the defeat of the working class and the Communist Party.

Danger Signals

The disastrous consequences of this policy are already becoming manifest: First of all, there have been no extra-parliamentary mass activities against the emergency decrees; no formation of anti-fascist mass self-defense organizations, no formation of real organs which would create the organizational basis for the establishment of soviets in France. Without the formation of such organizational bases the slogan for soviets remains an empty, ineffective phrase.

Secondly, the renunciation of the right to propagandize communist slogans and revolutionary transitional slogans among the broad masses of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie, and particularly among the poor peasants—slogans which show the revolutionary way out of the crisis and thus could effectively counter-balance the propaganda of the fascists. Instead we have a miserable reformist program of the People's Front—inadequate even from the point of view of reformism.

Thirdly, the maintenance and strengthening of bourgeois democratic and reformist illusions among the masses by this program.

Fourthly, the C.P. ignores all mass pressure outside of parliament and has gone so far as to promise support to a bourgeois government under certain conditions.

The future perspective of an extra-parliamentary People's Front government which is not feasible on the basis of the present People's Front entails a line so opportunistic, on the part of the CP and the SP as has never been witnessed in the French labor movement.

This is the situation in the CP of France, the model for all Communist parties in capitalist countries. Marcel Cachin stated at the Party convention that perfect harmony exists between the CI and the CPF. We have no reason to doubt it. Andre Marty, representative of the CI at this party convention, approved the policy of the CPF which is based on the decisions of the 7th Congress, and praised it as an international model.

January 29, 1936.

BOOKS of the AGE

LOSING THEIR CHAINS • • • • • by James Sand Big Bill Haywood

A FOOTNOTE TO FOLLY: Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse. New York, Farrar and Rinehart. \$3.00. 407 pages.

Reviewed by ELLEN WARD In this book Mary Heaton Vorse records the story of her life during a single decade, 1912 to 1922. She chose those years, perhaps, because they were her most active years and those spent closest to the labor movement. It is a checkered life she pictures, criss-crossed by great joys and deep sorrows, political as well as personal.

It is interesting to follow her development from childhood: her earliest years in schools abroad, and later in an atmosphere of the New England "intelligentsia." She herself tells us that:

"We in Amherst knew so little about those things (social strife in America—E.W.) that we might have been the original dwellers in the Garden of Eden. We sat on our shady porches, reading indignantly about the sufferings of the Siberian exiles. Almost everyone voted the Republican ticket and went to the Congregational or the Episcopal Church. Life was removed from the great forces that were forging America in workshops and steel mills. It was a little like living without the knowledge that there was such a thing as pain or death."

Her very first glimpse of social consciousness came from her reading the Russian giants: Tolstoy; Gogol, Dostoevski, Chekhov and Kropotkin.

It wasn't until her first marriage and her extended sojourn abroad that she literally fell upon the class struggle in a miners' strike in Italy. She saw then, for the first time, that labor had a grievance and she thrilled at its mighty solidarity. From that day on, her sympathies and her energies have been devoted to the cause of labor.

The most absorbing pages of this book are those that record the great strikes of her generation. They all march in a row—great battles, great names carved in the blood of American labor history: Lawrence, Paterson, Colorado, Mesaba Range, and the great Steel Strike of 1919.

It is significant to note that the IWW led all those strikes except the 1919 Steel Strike. Mary Heaton worked closely with them in those years and again and again we read her unstinted praise of the great ability and untiring devotion of their leaders. They are always the same: Big Bill Haywood, Carlo Tresca, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Giovantti and Andreychin.

In the conduct of the Steel Strike we get her picture of the capacities of William Z. Foster as a strike leader and of the up-hill battle he had to fight against tremendous odds:

"The strike died of slow bleeding. Neither terror nor violence could have stamped it out, nor could violence smother it. The indifference and treachery of industrial labor knifed it, and the formidable forces against it overwhelmed it."

The remaining chapters of the book are devoted to close-ups of the early war years and the post-war years in Europe; a stirring picture of the Sacco-Vanzetti international battle; a description of the early days of Soviet Hungary and of how Bela Kun was outwitted by Hoover on the outside and the Social-Democrats on the inside, and a brief sketch of a congress of the Second International held during the war. Of the latter, she has this to say:

"The hatreds and dissonances of Versailles were reproduced here in miniature. I have seen more true internationalism in many a strike meeting than was present in this

movement or out of it. But no man's toughness was more the result of capitalistic environment than his. On February 4th, 1899, William R. Haywood saw the light of day in Salt Lake City, Utah. Though that is only sixty-seven years ago, the social conditions existent at the time were totally different from what they are now. Then capitalism was in its raw infancy; it exploited without gloves and apologized afterwards. Haywood was only a child when he saw men shot down in cold blood on the streets as a form of retributive justice or revenge. He saw courts of justice established to give ideological sanction to what had been accomplished by force and bloodshed. He early learned that the ultimate recourse in the governance of social relations is the recourse to the military and the police by those wielding power. As a young boy he was bound out to a farmer as a helper; at nine he had already seen service in a mine as an aid to his stepfather. Most important for an understanding of his later insistence upon tactics of violence, his anarchistic attitude towards political action by the working class, and his "two-gun" manner of handling strikes and boycotts, is the fact that he saw Eastern capitalists come into the West and take away the hard-won land of prospectors and miners. Exploitation was not a logical concept to Haywood; it was a living, stark reality.

He suffered the loss of one eye through a boyhood accident, and that and his tremendous bulk distinguished him wherever he went. But he managed to see more of the rottenness of capitalism with one eye than many men have seen with two. He had no schooling to amount to anything, and his mind always lacked the discipline necessary to revolutionary leadership. He proved a successful leader only in those organizations whose collective temperament was compatible with his elementary revolutionary theory. Haywood was seventeen when his social consciousness was aroused by the Haymarket frame-up, and he says that that marked the beginning of his understanding of social questions. The story of McFarland and the "Molly Maguires" served to convince him of the necessity were to face a foe who had felt a trigger in his hand, the touch of steel against his body, and the daily imminence of violent death over many years.

The Western Federation of Miners had been formed in 1893, and three years later Haywood became a member at Silver City, Colorado. He was to leave an ineradicable impression on that organization as he later left upon every organization and movement with which he was connected. In 1900 he was elected to the executive board of the W.F.M. at Butte, Montana, and a year later he was given the most important job in the organization, that of secretary-treasurer. He held it until 1907 when the Industrial Workers of the World came to claim all his attention.

The Western Federation of Miners was no babe-in-the-wood organization when Haywood entered it. Faced by the armed forces of the mine owners' associations, and the cohorts of the so-called Citizens' Alliances, the men who worked below in the West were forced to armed warfare. When the miners struck, as they did on a large scale at Coeur d'Alene, Telluride, and Cripple Creek, a "bull-pen" was invariably set up and the strikers were herded into it by troops. In the strike at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, in 1899, Governor Steunenberg (of whom we shall hear again) succeeded in getting Federal troops, the bulk of whom were Negroes from Brownsville, Texas—a new form of intensifying the class struggle by race differentiation. To add to the peace and serenity of the situation Haywood tells of "one of the officers, a dirty white scoundrel," who "sent letters to the wives and sisters of the men in the bull-pen, asking them to entertain the soldiers, saying that they would receive due consideration."

The dissatisfaction with the craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor and its conservative policies grew to national proportions in the early years of this century. The Western Federation of Miners in 1898 had set up the Western Labor Union, which after 1902 became the American Labor Union. But the need for national organization along the lines of industrial unionism was becoming more and more prevalent. The W.F.M. found an ally here in DeLeon and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. A conference was called in Chicago on January 2nd, 1905, and the manifesto that was drawn up calling for the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World was signed by Haywood, Mother Jones, Trautmann, and Debs, among others. The first convention was held in Chicago on June 27th, 1905. Haywood called the convention to order as the representative of the W.F.M.

Banging a big stick on the chairman's table, Haywood announced to the assembled delegates, "This is the Continental Congress of the working class... This organization will be formed, based, and founded on the class struggle." The great task of the first convention was to draw up a constitution, arrange for active organizing of locals, and

international congress. . . . Words and vanity swamped the convention. All the weaknesses of Socialism were displayed here. One could understand why at the first call for mobilization, international Socialism fell to pieces."

The left factions refused to attend and "into the gulf between the left and the right fell the revolutionary movement of Europe." It is difficult to terminate this review without expressing regret that Mary Heaton Vorse stopped with 1922. She has participated actively in some of the great labor struggles since then, and the working class would have welcomed her account of those experiences.

Redfield's manner is that of the New Yorker cartoonists, but his matter is quite distinct from theirs. He has set out to make the "ruling class" laughable, to show up their snobbery, their contempt for the masses, their tawdry luxury and bad taste, their ill-mannered rude-

ness to maids and butlers, their exquisite tenderness with poodles and pups, the futility of their over-stuffed women, the labor-hating toughness of their cops and guards, and above all their essential lack of full human stature and parasitic superfluity in the process of production. His drawings have gayety, justifiable malice, and social point. Altho they are turned out daily, the number of successes are strikingly high. Beyond a doubt they are the most dependable feature of the Daily Worker as at present edited, and stand up well under the test of collection into a "whole bookful."

Harmony was achieved but it was short-lived. DeLeon succeeded in getting the political-action clause put in the famous preamble. The W.F.M. acquiesced for a time but ungrudgingly. In 1908 the direct actionists threw DeLeon and the S.T. & L.A. out, and withdrew the political action clause. Haywood was completely wrong on this question, and DeLeon wholly right. DeLeon set up the Detroit I.W.W. and promulgated an even stronger political action clause practically endorsing the Socialist Labor Party. Without the political action clause the Chicago I.W.W. was a voice crying in the wilderness.

But these years were to bring Haywood's name into every household in America. On December 30, 1905, ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho was blown to bits by a bomb at his home in Caldwell. Mystery surrounded his death and the murderer was sought by the authorities of the Western states. On February 17, 1906, Haywood, and Moyer and Pettibone, were arrested in Denver, Colorado. The Colorado police had no warrant out for their arrest, and no extradition papers had been signed. It was, as Debs said, a kidnapping job. Idaho justice was seeking to railroad the three of them to death in order to cover its own inability to trace the real murderer. To the Idaho authorities the three were guilty until they were proved innocent. They were therefore put in the death cells in the Boise penitentiary. That proved too much for even Western justice to get away with, so they were transferred to Caldwell, prison, and later a change of venue was executed (illegally) to Ada County jail. For almost a year and a half Haywood remained in jail before his trial came up on May 9, 1907. Meanwhile to show the working class's faith in Big Bill and to damn the justice of Western courts, the Socialist Party nominated Haywood for Governor of Idaho in 1906, and he received 16,000 votes.

Long protest at the frame-up had broken loose all over America. Well before the trial Teddy Roosevelt announced from the White House where his services in behalf of capitalistic empire had succeeded in placing him, that the three of them were "undesirable citizens." Roosevelt's charge infuriated Debs, and he let loose a tirade against the old Rough-rider over the proletariat. "Arouse ye Slaves!" he wrote in the Appeal to Reason. "Their only crime is loyalty to the working class!" Thousands paraded wearing buttons announcing, "I am an 'undesirable citizen!'"

At the trial Clarence Darrow was defense counsel. The State's prosecutor was today's upholder of American individualism, liberty and the private pursuit of happiness: William E. Borah, making a name for himself by trying to send innocent labor organizers to their deaths. A special labor jury sat in the audience. The state's case rested on a fall-guy, Harry Orchard. He said that he had killed Steunenberg, but that he had been impelled to do so by Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone. Haywood in his autobiography writes, "I had been charged with killing Governor Frank Steunenberg, a man whom I had never seen, who was killed in a place where I had never been. I was more than a thousand miles away at the time of his death. He had been killed by a man whom I had not seen for eight months or a year, and from whom I had never heard during that time."

The jig was up with Idaho justice, and Haywood was adjudged not guilty. Big Bill Haywood came to the fore in the labor and socialist movement. He had made an excellent impression on the stand by his courage, his intelligence, and his steadfastness. Borah was given to the United States Senate where he still sits. Haywood became a leading member of the Socialist Party for a few years.

He made several speeches with Debs on the "Red Special" in 1908, and found himself on the national executive committee of the S.P. for a number of years. Finally, in 1912 he was thrown off and out of the party for advocating sabotage on the job (a typical Wobly tactic) and for opposing political action. In 1910 he was elected as a delegate to the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen, but he was lost there. He had no foundation in theory on important questions such as war, coalition governments, etc. Ramsey MacDonald saw him there and later paid him the compliment of hating him, in his book, Syndicalism.

"He is the embodiment of the Sorel philosophy; roughened by the American industrial and civic climate, a bundle of primitive instincts, a master of direct statement. He is useless on committee; he is a torch amongst a crowd of uncritical, credulous workmen. I saw him at Copenhagen, amidst the leaders of the working-class movements drawn from the whole world, and there he was dumb and unnoticed; I saw him addressing a crowd in England, and there his crude appeals moved his listeners to wild applause. He made them see things, and their hearts bounded to be up and doing." (To be continued)

A DEADLY PARALLEL

We are submitting, for the edification of our readers, a kind of political jigsaw, that, without too much work, we've able to fit together. This the way it reads:

"When the NRA was declared unconstitutional you threatened to amend the constitution. The autocrats raised a howl and you completely retreated.

"With your tongue you lashed the autocrats, but will you now at least raise a finger to attack the forces of entrenched greed?" (Daily Worker, Jan. 11. A Call of the Communist Party)

"Our complaint against Roosevelt is that he is too slow, that he is not firm enough, that he does not approach the nation's problems from a more radical point of view." (New Leader, Feb. 15. Harry Rogoff)

"Mr. President, if you mean to fight autocracy, if you mean to protect the rights of the people against the 'greedy autocrats,' why don't you declare before the entire nation that you will repudiate the opinion of the supreme autocrats of the country? It has been done before, Mr. President!" (Daily Worker, ibid.)

"By their criticism of Roosevelt, Socialists seek to push him further to the left." (New Leader, ibid.)

"Step by step, Roosevelt has been yielding to the pressure and

program of the American Liberty League and the Republican Party." (Daily Worker, Jan. 27th. An editorial)

"We want to widen the gulf between Roosevelt and Smith, between the New Deal and the Liberty League. We want to separate Roosevelt and his loyal followers from the reactionary groups." (New Leader, ibid.)

What a strange political situation when two organizations froth at the mouth at the mere mention of each other, yet have a political approach which dovetails so neatly. It is time for the members of the Communist Party to question an opportunist course in which the premises of the party of Lenin find their logical and practical conclusions in the party of the Old Guard, of the Kautskyites!

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# Dressmakers Ratify The Victory Pact At Huge Garden Meeting

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union made history, last week when it announced the conclusion of agreements with four out of five employers' associations in the dress industry of New York and immediate vicinity. Even the announcement of the provisions of the agreements and their ratification were carried out in a unique manner. Joint Board Manager Julius Hochman, weary to the point of physical exhaustion, told 25,000 eager and enthusiastic dressmakers jammed into Madison Square Garden, that this

is the first time that the radio was being used to have an agreement ratified. He was referring to the members of the union gathered in the cities and towns in Long Island, New Jersey and Connecticut who were at that moment gathered in their own halls listening to Hochman explain point by point the sweeping victory which they had won without the necessity of resorting to the strike weapon.

Speaker after speaker stressed what the employers knew only too well—that the victory showed that the employers had been taught to have a wholesome respect for the strength of the union and the fighting qualities of the dressmakers.

The huge mass meeting was converted into a celebration rather than a ratification meeting. On the stage, covered with flowers sent by the workers from the shops, was a snappy band playing working class songs and in the pit the marching of the various local athletic teams and the chorus presented a richness of color rare in labor gatherings.

And in truth, there was good cause for this joy. The victory won by the dressmakers is phenomenal. One speaker expressed the opinion that the dressmakers themselves will not appreciate the full positive implications of this agreement until they see how it works out in their favor in the shops and, as President Dubinsky put it, "in the pay envelope."

Zimmerman, Manager of Local 22, stressed the improvement in conditions for the minority crafts which are usually given less consideration. The minimum scales for one of these crafts was raised outright. Zimmerman also spoke of the complete unity which now exists in the ranks of the dressmakers making this great victory possible. President Dubinsky pointed out that altho the same minimums for all other crafts remain as in the old agreement, that that constitutes a considerable increase, since many workers never got what was coming to them, due to the chiselling constantly resorted to by the employers. The terms of this agreement he pointed out make this much more difficult and will result actually in increased earnings for all the crafts. The main report was made by Hochman who went into considerable detail explaining the planks of the agreement. Other speakers included William Green, who made his speech of congratulation from Washington over the radio, and Mayor LaGuardia.

The appearance of LaGuardia at the meeting, only two days after his police commissioner Valentine resorted to the severest brutality in smashing a demonstration of unemployed and after Valentine lifted a page from Hitler by resorting to "protective custody" for Congressman Marcantonio and others, aroused great indignation among the progressive sections of the union. Besides, many workers felt that no matter what LaGuardia did, he was no decisive force, that it was the militant strength of the union which made victory possible.

## Terms of Pact

Altho about 80% of the workers are employed in contracting shops, all prices will be settled with the

jobber and will be enforced on all contractors working for him. Beginning with March 15 the jobber is made responsible for payment of all minimums and must make good on any underpayment.

Limitation of contracting will operate thru the designation by the jobber of the exact number of contractors needed by him to meet production requirements. Contractors so designated are to work for no other jobber. Promiscuous hiring and firing of contractors by the jobber is prohibited since that automatically means the firing of large numbers of workers. An Administrative Board will be set up to regulate these matters and all applications for changes in the number of contractors per jobber. Work is to be divided equally between inside shops and contract shops working exclusively for the jobber.

Minimum wage scales for cleaners and pinkers are raised from \$15 to \$16; to meet the problem of moving shops it is provided that no employer may move further than can be reached by a 5c fare; the 35 hour week is to be maintained; no workers are to be hired without a union working card.

Jobbers must register price ranges of garments; hiring workers thru private employment agencies is forbidden, thus saving many workers from racketeering agencies; new machinery is to be controlled so that workers suffer no undue hardships thru their introduction; all accessories in the making of the garment must be made in union shops. Child labor is abolished, working age being set at 18, as against 16 provided in the state law.

A number of other clauses in the agreement are too detailed to discuss here altho they all go to make up the victory which the dressmakers scored.

(In the coming issue of Workers Age we hope to carry an article dealing with the significance of this victory by the dressmakers by our comrade Charles Zimmerman, Manager of Local 22 I.L.G.W.U.)

## C.I.O. Upheld By Dubinsky

(Continued from Page 4) an oppositional policy to the A. F. of L.

The spirit of loyalty and desire to keep our movement intact however should not be used as a whip by the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and of the craft unions in particular to stifle for the sake of paper jurisdiction all rights the aspirations of the masses of workers in the mass production industries and thereby obstruct the growth of labor unionism in these industries by refusing to heed the organizational needs of these workers.

The two hundred and twenty thousand members of our International union greet you, Brother Lewis, and all the officers, delegates and members of the United Mine Workers of America as the champions of the cause of industrial unionism. We wish you success and progress at your great convention.

## PROGS PUBLISH "UNIONIST"

### Paper to Stimulate Progressive Movement In Unions

A new chapter in the development of the American trade union movement was signaled in the appearance just a few weeks ago of the *Progressive Unionist*, the monthly journal of the Council of the Needle Trades Progressive Groups. Marking the definite emergence of the only organized progressive forces in the trade unions, the *Progressive Unionist* denotes the growth of these forces, both as to their sharply defined trade union philosophy and their imperative urge to become articulate to every needle and other worker.

The first issue, February, appeared as a four page English paper with a four page Jewish supplement. This policy will be continued until such time as growth permits two separate papers.

The issue contains: "Dressmakers Face General Strike" by Murray Gross, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., editorial—"Why Progressive Center?"; "Progressives And The 'Lewis Committee'" by Will Herberg, a section of the resolution of Local 22 on "The Danger of War And Fascism" presented to the Cleveland congress of the American League Against War and Fascism; reviews of trade union literature and news on the progressives in Knitgoods, Fur, etc. A splendid first issue.

Coming issues will deal with Industrial vs. Craft Unionism, the Out-Of-Town Question, conditions in various industries, the Labor Party Question, etc.

The paper has a tremendous job. It must strive to speak to the trade unionists in a language as clear as its trade union philosophy. It must strive to interest and educate workers beyond New York's garment center. It must be packed full of news and thought. It has a difficult job—but the beginning bides well as to its hurdling all obstacles.

## TRADE BOARD IS ANTI-UNION

### Protective Custody OK'ed Want The Unions Incorporated

Calling for more bloody noses as the best guarantee for national defense, Percy C. Magnus, president of the New York Board of Trade, set the pace for the union-busting speeches made at the last monthly meeting of the body. The resolutions passed are in accord with the spirit of the talks.

"Let's have more power of that kind and let's hear less talk about Communist propaganda," he added. "The incident at Madison Square on Saturday last proved rather conclusively that something should be controlled here."

In line with this despicable treatment of a bona-fide demonstration of the unemployed the Board of Trade went on record as being for the limitation of the right of labor to strike. To this end, compulsory incorporation of trade unions and compulsory filing of financial records are advocated.

## FREE AND UNREGIMENTED U. S. A.

From Federation News, Organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Feb. 15, 1936.

It is found that in this land of the free and unregimented, during last year, no less than 13 Democratic and three Republican governors of state in the federal union have called out troops to stop workers who were trying to organize. Courts have given out injunctions right and left against the right to organize, the right to picket and the right of effective mass protest against farm foreclosures. Law enforcement agencies in many cities, counties and states have been effectively used for strike-breaking purposes.

## UMWA DECISIONS PUBLISHED

### Industrial Unionism Backed; Autonomy Fight Lost

The Feb. 15 issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* carries a digest of the decision of the 34th convention of the United Mine Workers held in Washington between January 28 and February 7. The four most important decisions in the order listed follow:

1. Reaffirmation of industrial unionism.
2. Endorsement of President Roosevelt and his administration.
3. Refusal to restore autonomy to the provisional districts.
4. Adoption of a Scale Committee Report.

The following are just a few of the other important decisions made: For old age pension system with taxes to be raised from those best able to pay. Opposed discrimination against Negroes and called on A. F. of L. to merge locals of white and colored workers. Against all sales taxes. Opposed to discrimination against workers 45 years or older. For organization of Harlan County (Kentucky) and all other unorganized mine fields. For federal investigation of spy systems being maintained against unions. Opposed to Dyer Bill which proposes deportation of foreign born workers as solution of unemployment. For organization of the captive and commercial mines now barred by steel trust. Favoring anti-lynching legislation. For government control of utilities. Denounced the National Manufacturers Association, American Liberty League and the United States Chamber of Commerce. For assistance to workers listed for deportation. For abolition of child labor. Protest against use of machine guns during strikes.

## Anti-Labor Drive Is Boss' Plan

The United States Chamber of Commerce, one of the principal motivators of the NRA program and now its bitterest enemy, will meet in April to lay down a program for a fight against social legislation and the trade union movement.

Among the items on the agenda we find: Increasing Employment thru Private Enterprise (Or, How to End All Relief); Regaining Foreign Markets (or, Imperialist Wars and How to Declare Them);

Needless to say, if enacted into law these demands would cripple, if not kill, every trade union. Labor must answer this challenge to its inalienable right to strike by increased unionization.

## The Republicans Curbing "Lefts"

(Continued from Page 3) Socialist and Communists and made the leader of the bloc, and now prime minister of the new "People's Front" regime. Thus another dangerous step was taken in the demobilization of the masses for extra-parliamentary struggle and in the discouragement and separation of the peasants from the working-class; a poor exchange, that of Azana and his handful of discredited Republicans for the peasant masses. In the hour of need, unless this is speedily corrected, the proletariat will come to realize how tragic was the bargain and how pyrrhic the victory. The victory so far, is a victory of a socialist-communist coalition with reformism, and bourgeois reformism at that, and on the basis of the program of the bourgeoisie.

### Hanging in the Balance

For the present, the preponderance of morale is on the side of the revolution. Extra-parliamentary mass pressure has already liberated the political prisoners. Largo Caballero apparently has begun to realize the shortcomings and dangers inherent in the electoral bargain. Azana is already issuing pronouncements in favor of law and order, parliamentary agrarian reform under the auspices of the propertied classes, a replacement of the generals who crushed the Asturian revolt by his own generals, who crushed the revolt of Casas Viejas and even betrayed him in his hour of need. In short, the strategy of the bourgeois government that the proletariat has put into power is to stop the revolution before it has even begun. The strategy of the proletariat must be to continue the struggle outside of parliament, thru strikes, mass demonstrations, winning over of the army, and above all, thru the unleashing of the class war in the village which alone can smash the power of the big landowners, and which alone can unleash the class war inside the army, without which the army will be a servile instrument of any military coup its officers may plan. The first post-election declarations of Largo Caballero are encouraging. The editorial comments of Pravda, enamored of the People's Front, which we must take to be representative of the Spanish Party line (in lieu of Spanish reports to the contrary so far), are far less so. Encouraging also are the comments of the Maurin Party, and the fact that the Syndicalists have for the first time participated in great numbers in the elections, and are participating in the extra-parliamentary demonstrations. Nothing has been decided yet. The elections merely close the stage started just prior to the October uprising, and open a new period of the Spanish revolution. If the Socialists, Communists and Syndicalists can correct their policy and unite on a program of struggle such as the situation requires, the Spanish revolution will triumph. In either event, the hour of decision is now close at hand.

B. D. W.

Pacific Labor Conditions (or Our Tasks in Building Company Unions) and Taxation (or Why the Poor must Pay).

Those in the Chamber itself who fail to appreciate Roosevelt's services to capitalism should ponder their recently published statement which declares: "Predictions that trade associations would decline following the invalidation of the NRA have not been fulfilled." The statement, which thus implies that the NRA built trade associations, shows that 114 associations increased their membership by 3.6%, while 60% of all associations held their own.