

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## STRIKES ANNOY PEOPLE'S FRONT GOVERNMENT

### Foreign Agitators Are Responsible, States Minister Salengro

Paris. — Many thousands of workers continued on strike and new industries were struck despite the energetic campaigns conducted by the Communist press against extending these strikes and in the face of sweeping orders by Socialist Minister of the Interior Roger Salengro against demonstrations and meetings of striking workers.

Recent government statements tend to clear up the question of who was behind these strikes in the first place. The first guess that the Communist Party as a party was behind the strikes has been disproved. These were spontaneous strikes, in which many individual communists no doubt participated, aimed at winning back some of the losses sustained in the course of the crisis. Leon Jouhaux, conservative head of the unified trade union movement, backed these strikes and denied that the Communists had instigated them. The Socialist government, however, took a leaf out of the book of previous bourgeois cabinets and stated that foreign agitators were behind it. A ridiculous claim in the light of the scope of the movement and the demands made.

Thruout France victory celebrations have been held welcoming the People's Front Government. The burden of the speech of Thorez, the Communist Party leader, was characteristic. He argued at great length to prove that Communists must know when to call off strikes. Clearly an indication that the C.P. is trying to halt the strike wave. Simultaneously the C.P. press does not fail to point out that the strike in the munitions plant leaves France at the mercy of Hitler.

## RAND STRIKERS FIGHT SCABS

By JACK WILSON

Syracuse.—Despite frantic efforts of the Remington Rand Company to break the morale of the union members, the strike in their factories is still on and the strikers show themselves just as determined to win as on the day they came out. The strike is in the third week.

After State Industrial Commissioner Elmer F. Andrews had spent more than a week trying to get the firm to meet the union with out success, he made public a letter to James H. Rand, President of the Company, placing the responsibility on Rand for the prolongation of the strike. After placing ads in the papers Saturday and Sunday offering a bonus of \$15 to any who reported Monday morning, less than a score went to work.

The next move on the part of the firm was an announcement that they had 500 out of town strike-breakers coming here on Wednesday. Twenty-three showed up and some of them are through

## Herndon Sentence Upheld By Court

THE State of Georgia has won the second, but not last, round of its reactionary fight to murder Angelo Herndon. The Supreme Court of that state reversed the decision of a lower court, holding that the Slave Insurrection Law of 1871, was constitutional and binding — and that Angelo Herndon, negro organizer of the unemployed, must serve 20 years on the chain-gang.

The International Labor Defense and the Civil Liberties Union announced that the case will immediately be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, and they have already entered a plea for stay of execution pending appeal.

## BOSSES ATTACK KNITGOOD UNION

### Employers Ass'n Refuses To Renew Agreement With Joint Council

The Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association, the organization of New York knitgoods manufacturers, has notified the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union that the existing collective agreement will not be renewed. This agreement has been in existence for two years and expires July 15, 1936. The notification of refusal to renew the agreement by the Association was preceded by a series of statements by the knitgoods manufacturers, the purpose of which was to justify this action of the Association in the eyes of the knitgoods workers.

Typical of the methods resorted to by the employers is a recent statement, signed by the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association, containing gross exaggerations and distortions of facts. They state there are "eleven hundred mills in the country producing knitted outerwear, that only a small percentage of these are unionized". The truth of the matter is that the eleven hundred firms mentioned in the statement of the Association are a heterogeneous lot, producing fabrics, berets, ladies' knitted hats, dolls' sweaters, braids, curtains, and even monkey sweaters. It is plainly seen that after deducting this type of manu-

facturer from the eleven hundred, the number of manufacturers producing knitted outerwear is considerably less than that mentioned in the statement of the Association.

Furthermore, the statistics prepared by the National Recovery Administration, Division of Review published in 1936, gives a total number of employees, including those employed in the type of mills mentioned above, as 35,000. There are no more than 25,000 employees directly engaged in knitted outerwear throughout the country. Of this number there are approximately 12,000 knitted outerwear employees in the City of New York. The Joint Council Knitgoods Work-

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now. In spite of police protection and tear bombs used against the strikers, a number of the strike-breakers were severely beaten by Syracuse workers.

In Tonawanda where the company has two plants, Sheriff M. E. Eberhardt has sworn in twenty additional deputies. These were not called for by either the mayor or Chief of Police but by officials of the company. In answer to an offer made by the ministers to mediate the strike, the firm answered, "What is there to mediate? There is no complaint as to wages, hours or conditions of work."

Eight persons have been arrested for distributing a leaflet in support of the strike.

At a meeting of the strikers, another demand was added. The demands are: 1. Reinstatement of seventeen workers who were discharged for union activities. 2. 20% increase in wages. 3. Closed shop.

## GREEN DEMANDS U.S. BREAK WITH SOVIET UNION

### Deportation Of Foreign Workers Included In Appeal To G.O.P.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has made public its "legislative program", which in accordance with time-dishonored and outworn custom, was presented to the Republican and will be presented to the Democratic convention. The adoption of this program will, says William Green, determine who is a friend and who is an enemy of labor.

Fifteen planks, with demands for social-security legislation and minimum wage-laws, are listed. However, on one of the basic legislative demands of the American workers, a constitutional amendment to allow Congress to pass social legislation, and federal regulation of working conditions, the program takes a stand of opposition. The Democratic Party's stand is thus foreshadowed, since the majority of the Executive Council are for the New Deal and support its party. And of course the Republicans, like Hutcheson, are also opposed to such an amendment.

From the past, they drag in the reactionary proposal to deport foreign born workers, guilty of subversive activities. Doesn't the A. F. of L. yet realize that union organizing is a subversive activity in America? (Or do they?)

And finally, the Council proposes that recognition of the Soviet Union be withdrawn! Like a voice in the wilderness came such a reactionary demand, since not even the Republican Party holds this recognition against the Roosevelt administration.

It is not easy to determine whether it is acceptance or rejection of this program that makes one a friend of labor.

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## WORKERS!

What Happened at the Conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties?

Find out from

**JAY LOVESTONE**

reporting on Monday June 29 8:00 P. M.

at Rivera Hall, 51 W. 14 St.

Attend this Important Meeting!

## Reaction Rallies 'Round Landon and Knox

### Full Western Ticket Aimed To Create Illusion Of Liberalism; Financial And Industrial Interests Fear To Show Their Hand

By JAY LOVESTONE  
(Special Correspondent Workers Age)

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—After four days of noise, bluff, praying, singing, and above all horse trading and wire-pulling, the Republican convention adjourned with Landon and Knox as standard bearers.

The convention was among the most spiritless political gatherings ever to convene in this country. The depths of depression gripping the convention could scarcely be measured. Striking evidence of this was the fact that it took so uninspiring and frozen an individual as Herbert Hoover to register the first sign of response and approach to enthusiasm. Of course, even the latter was in a large measure synthetic. This incident is symbolic of the condition in which the Republican Party finds itself, of the confusion which grips it, of the lack of faith which paralyzes its campaign.

The listlessness of the convention could not be broken by the volume of the noise, by the partisanship of the prayers, and least of all by the keynote speaker. Senator Steiwer of Oregon, who, for weeks prior to the convention was cracked up to be the man who put some vigor and breath, some life, into the Republican machine, delivered a keynote speech which was as flat as a cake of ice and as chilling. Everytime Senator Steiwer was on the brink of touching an important idea and taking a position on it one way or another, he was scared off and used such words as "America", "Americans", patriotism", etc. The speech was steeped in shibboleths and superficialities, to wit: "For more than three long years we have had a government without political morality." "The ten million unemployed shall at last get the consideration which they deserve—and with it the privilege of honest work." "This nation deserves a government by conscience." "Automobiles would not be of much use without gas stations." "The chief reason for the present unemployment in this country is the block of the progress of the American system by trying out plans and ideas borrowed from the poverty economics of Europe." "Taxation is a seizure of purchasing power from the hands of its owner."

When Steiwer made a half-hearted appeal for the war veterans, he forgot to mention the tanks with which Hoover greeted them. To the unemployed, Steiwer said, "The Republican Party will not turn its back on those in distress." Steiwer had a tough time explaining away some of his own votes for the leading New Deal measures, some of which have since been thrown overboard by the Supreme Court.

The speech of Snell, Permanent Chairman, was on a par with Steiwer's. It was negative, evasive and confusing.

Only Hoover attempted to raise political issues with some sharpness. In his characteristic monotone he spoke frankly of the struggle between various conceptions of relations in industry. He labeled the New Deal as "socialist" and thus gave the cue to the type of campaign the Republicans plan

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"Our committee has given very serious consideration to the question of making the most effective drive in behalf of Mooney and Billings in the coming weeks, culminating with July 27th National Mooney Day. We are prepared to work wholeheartedly with every labor organization towards this end. That is why we herewith offer to join hands with the Socialist Party and every other working class organization to pool all forces and resources for a tremendous and inspiring campaign towards the speediest and unconditional liberation of Comrades Mooney and Billings."

Both letters were dispatched on June 4.



# BLACK LEGIONS OF FASCISM

(This is the first of a series of two articles on recent manifestations of incipient fascism in this country. The second article will deal with the Townsend, Long and Coughlin movements.—Editor.)

By WILL HERBERG

In widely different quarters, events are now taking place which reveal with startling clarity the characteristic features of fascism in America and the real direction and character of the fascist menace. The meaning of these events and the lessons they bear should be studied now while they are still fresh before us.

It is easy enough but altogether misleading to dismiss the Black Legion, whose abominable activities are coming to light in the course of the current investigation, as the murderous mumbo-jumbo of some depraved morons and "subnormals." The men now facing trial in Detroit for the slaying of Charles Poole are obviously just about ordinary, average Americans and their atrocities can be paralleled in any one of the horrible lynch carnivals in the South, in which whole communities frequently participate. The Black Legion is indeed a pathological manifestation but it is symptomatic of the diseased state of the body politic rather than of the unhealthy mental condition of the individuals involved. It is an outbreak of that dread social disease of a decaying capitalism known as fascism!

In its composition, the Legion seems to be largely a lower class movement, a movement of "small people," of demoralized workers, of petty merchants and farmers, led by local business men and minor officials. In Detroit and other industrial sections of the Middle West, the society is apparently made up mostly of unskilled factory workers, recruited in the last decade or so from among the poor whites of the South. These backward, only partially proletarianized hill-billies, driven to desperation by the crisis, are just the material for any movement which, like fascism, knows how to play upon their traditional hates and fears. In fact, right down to the bottom, the Black Legion is essentially Talmadgism transplanted!

## Fascism And Its Scapgoats

It is of the nature of fascism that it serves to devitalize mounting mass resentment with intolerable social conditions by turning it against independent labor organizations on the pretense that they are responsible for all the disorders of society or against certain racial groups, chosen by historical circumstance for this tragic role of scapegoat. The ideology of the Black Legion is, in the first place, a fanatical exaltation of the native white American, along the lines of the Aryan cult in Nazi Germany. Bitter hatred of the foreigner, of the Negro, of the Jew and of the Catholic—these traditional "racial hatreds" of the degraded lower middle class American have been taken over by the Legion from the Ku-Klux-Klan at its very spiritual foundation. Such "racialistic" Americanism is naturally accompanied by virulent hostility to labor, to unionism, to socialism. The extirpation of communism is one of its principal objectives; the probe now under way reveals that the Legion has also functioned as an industrial spy and union-smashing agency, bombing active union headquarters, betraying active union leaders and even, it would seem, murdering them to get them out of the way. The great "paradox" of fascism crops out here with striking force; although itself essentially a lower class movement, it functions virtually as the hired bully of big business!

In its "industrial activities," the

Legion recalls the early Nazi or Italian fascist groups in the factories; in its secrecy, terrorism and murder, on the other hand, it brings to mind the Fehme gangs that played such an important part in the development of the Nazi movement. The orgies of sadistic violence marking the terroristic activities of the Legion are, in part, a calculated means to an end; basically, however, they serve as a morbid and collecting compensation for the demoralizing insecurity in which the "little man" finds himself in present-day society, for his degradation and insignificance, for his deep feeling of insufficiency, for his hopeless impotence in the face of the great impersonal powers dragging him down to utter ruin. Essentially the same forces are at work here as those that gave rise to the more pathological features of European fascism. But we should not overlook the specific American aspect. The mummy and mystical rigmarole of the fraternal orders, for which this country is so notorious, are again being turned to sinister uses, as they were once before in the Ku-Klux-Klan. The Legion's readiness with firearms, its easy resort to violence, is clearly to be traced to the traditions of the frontier with its vigilante bands, to the traditions of the cracker South with its lynchings and feud murders. The components are peculiarly American although the pattern which they go to make up is familiar enough everywhere.

The Political Aims of the Legion The political aims and activities of the Black Legion, what we know of them at least, fall in completely with its essential character. To "uphold the Constitution," to root out all "disloyal elements" and defeat all "disloyal movements," to take hold of the government of the

# G.O.P. WEARS A LIBERAL MASK

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to wage. He defended rugged individualism and utilized his time for making an inferential and outright defense of his stewardship in the White House. It simply marked the triumphal exit of Mr. Hoover from the dominant councils of the Republican Party.

As was expected by all, Landon was nominated. The dominant industrial and financial interests of the East who could at any time wreck the Republican Party have for some time been fully aware that the prospects for Republican success this year are extremely slender. With eyes on 1940, genuflection of the type of Snell, a tool of the power interests, Ogden L. Mills, Wadsworth, Bingham, Watson, and their ilk, thought it best to have a Mid-Western color and make some bows to liberalism in order to preserve and if possible strengthen the Republican Party organization in the coming election campaign.

The strategy of the Old Guard in taking a back seat at the moment, is fundamentally the following: "Let the others handle a lost cause. We will re-establish ourselves when times become more propitious for the G.O.P. Besides, we will then not have responsibility for what appears to be certain defeat." On this basis, Landon, who is now being touted as a "typical American," was, for months prior to the convention, "sold as 'the saviour from the prairies.'" On the same basis Landon was chosen by acclamation.

Fully aware of a strong trend, the vague and confusing, towards mild liberalism in the ranks of the followers of both of the big capitalist parties, the moving spirits behind the G.O.P. sees saw to it

United States in the name of all true Americans"—these are its avowed objectives, entirely in line with fascist aims all over the world. Behind such cover organizations as the Wolverine Republican Club, the Legionnaires carry on their "insurgent" politics calculated to advance their cause thru political intrigue and thru the more insidious process of infiltration. It is surprising to what degree they have already succeeded in permeating certain branches of the local and state administration. Good sections of the Pontiac and Lansing police force are said to be under order of the murder society and more than one judge, district attorney, municipal official—including even the governor of Michigan himself—has had his name associated with it. Nor should it surprise us that U. S. army officers are said to have aided the Legion in its military training; the relations between budding fascism and certain officers' groups are notorious from European experience. Entirely to be expected also are the indications that the Legion was secretly fostered and its activities aided by big industrial interests. These people certainly know how to extend a helping hand to so "promising" a movement.

The Menace of the Black Legion In short, the Black Legion is unmistakably fascist in character, even tho it is somewhat on the side of its development as a strictly secret society. The real menace of the Legion lies not so much in its alleged numerical strength or its terroristic activities or in its political connections as in its sinister portent as the most recent of the multiplying outbursts of native American fascism arising out of a soil that is becoming increasingly favorable to such monstrous growths!

that the platform should be studied with half-baked liberal formulas and trivialities. Thus, the platform dodges the question of social security while ostensibly tipping its hat to unemployment relief. In emphasizing the need for relief being conducted on a state basis, the present Republican leadership really proposes a reduction of relief. The farm plank is ambiguous. Whatever elements of definiteness it had in regard to soil conservation are practically identical with this latest Roosevelt panacea for soil conservation. On the question of national defense, the G.O.P. sees eye to eye with the Democratic Party. The proposal for ending reciprocal trade treaties is not taken seriously and is offered only as a campaign weapon.

The outlook is for Landon and Knox waging a vigorous campaign, carefully camouflaged to hide the reactionary substance of the Republican Party aims and plans. An interesting and instructive side-light on the proceedings was the selection of Ruth Hanna, daughter of Mark Hanna, corrupt Republican politician in the days of McKinley and notorious henchman of the monopolists, to second the nomination of Landon—on the ground that he is against monopolies.

This traditional party of centralization of government authority and concentration of economic power in the hands of a few, will, in the coming campaign stir the winds considerably with cries against monopoly and for state's rights.

The Liberty League was practically not in evidence during the convention sessions. We are reliably informed that Landon will choose a strategic moment to dis-

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

WE can't help but draw a comparison between Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky. Both are presidents of powerful garment unions, both are leaders of the Committee for Industrial Organization, and both have come out for the reelection of President Roosevelt, Dubinsky even resigning from the Socialist Party over this question. Yet, how differently each handled the question of Roosevelt!

With Hillman it immediately became a cabinet question. Every voice of opposition was made to feel the full weight of organizational pressure. The one lone dissenter in the General Executive Board—General-Secretary Schlossberg—was handled with bare knuckles. Strangely enough the same session of the G.E.B. that endorsed Roosevelt also decided on an age limit for general officers and altho Schlossberg has still a few years to go there is considerable talk in the ranks of the Amalgamated that the proposal constituted a broad hint to the courageous Schlossberg who has stood by the Amalgamated from its very inception.

Also at the convention the same attitude prevailed—the whole hinterland having been mobilized to tell Schlossberg, with a stamp of the foot and a menacing shake of the finger, that he should be the last one to attack President Roosevelt at this convention. Nor did Hillman consider it below his dignity to engage in some rather doubtful sallies at Schlossberg. Suffice it to say that had as these speeches sounded they must have looked even worse when spread upon the minutes of the convention, for all these remarks were carefully deleted from the record.

And all this campaign was let loose because of the opposition of one lone member of the G.E.B., whose position at one time constituted a serious threat to the plans of the Hillman administration. That, my comrades, is one way of handling differences of opinion in a leadership of a union which claims to be progressive.

Quite otherwise was it in the G.E.B. of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. In the sense that the proposal adopted supports President Roosevelt, even tho obliquely, we are as much opposed to it as to the flat and unequivocal endorsement of Hillman. But the manner in which it was done deserves comment. As far as we know opposition to this proposal either from the left or the right was not considered as treason either to the union or to its president. There was considerable discussion and also a considerable negative vote, which speaks

avow all relations with it. All reports to the contrary notwithstanding, the convention really didn't overcome deep-going divisions inside the Republican Party—divisions occasioned by fundamental social and economic changes developing and aggravated by the stinging defeats it has suffered in the last campaigns. The "unity" around Landon is at best skin-deep. Its leit-motif is "Stop Roosevelt". Failing to achieve this, the forces making for dissension, division and disruption in the Republican Party will be accentuated.

A tragic figure at Cleveland during the convention proceedings was, Senator Borah. He entered with a threat to storm everything. He departed as softly and as stealthily as a zephyr. However, despite his sweet words for the Republican platform, particularly in regard to its foreign relations section which makes an empty gesture to isolationism, it would be folly to conclude that Borah will be an active campaigner for Landon. He probably will wait for some time and then determine his course on the basis of developments in his own fight for re-election to the Senate from Idaho.

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rather well for the inner relations in the G.E.B. and for which, with all our differences on the Roosevelt question itself, we do not hesitate to credit to the account of President Dubinsky. He has shown another, a better way of handling differences of opinion.

## THE STEEL AGREEMENT

We do not hesitate to say that the breakdown of the opposition to industrial unionism in the Amalgamated Association and its affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization is of most far-reaching significance. For the C.I.O. itself it constitutes a signal victory which will go far in winning the backing of new layers of workers in the various international unions.

But the rose is not without its thorn. We refer to the nature of the agreement reached between the Amalgamated Association and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Even were a written and signed agreement necessary—which in itself is a debatable question, given the present extremely tense situation—it could have been drafted in a totally different vein. We believe that the agreement tends to play into the hands of the most rabid foes of industrial unionism who have raised against the C.I.O. the cry of bureaucracy and disregard for the autonomous rights of the international unions. Both issues can very well become battle cries of the industrial unionists against the craftists provided the C.I.O. guards its own methods of work and relations to international unions affiliated with it.

It is not an accident—that we know well—that for the second time in the last two decades, the Amalgamated Association is getting into an organization drive in the steel industry with its own organization as a minor and much submerged factor both in laying down policy for the drive as well as in the conduct of the drive. The reason for it is to be found in the Amalgamated Association itself whose leadership has proved in the course of many decades that it is incapable of meeting the requirements of such a situation.

But even this general situation requires greater participation of outside union forces in such an organization drive, the C.I.O. must do nothing to create the belief among steel or other workers that the autonomous rights of the union are being infringed upon or that a bureaucratic receivership over them has been established. Such an impression might hurt the general and well-earned prestige which the C.I.O. has won for itself, and, among the steel workers, it might result in a repetition of the infamous attempt of the Tighe leadership of the Amalgamated Association to open the strike front in 1919 by securing a settlement for itself without the knowledge or consent of the general strike leadership.

It is with this in mind that we believe certain errors have crept into the drafting of the document. The Committee for Industrial Organization can, however, do much to dispel such fears by the manner in which it will conduct itself during these trying days when it will pit the forces of organized labor against the most arrogant and best organized group of exploiters in the country—the steel barons.

# THE SOCIALIST RESOLUTION ON WAR

This is the fourth article in the series dealing with the Socialist Convention, which was covered for the Workers Age by Comrade Lovestone.—Ed.

By JAY LOVESTONE

In essence, the war resolution adopted by the convention seems not to "have been considered in relation to our modern turbulent world." (Thomas). All are agreed on the acuteness of the danger of imperialism war. Many, in the working class ranks, are beginning to realize the complicated problems and grave dangers confronting the international proletariat, especially in the event of an onslaught against the Soviet Union by Japan or Germany or any combination of imperialist powers. Reiteration of formulae, paying homage to threadbare shibboleths, dabbling in pious wishes—none of those offers a plan of struggle against imperialism war and in behalf of the defense of the U.S.S.R.

It is with great regret that we must declare that the war resolution adopted at Cleveland is, ideologically speaking, a hodge-podge of anaemic pacifism, half-digested Leninism, archaic reformism, and quite soured Trotskyism. For example, what could be more evasive and superficial than the following: "The treaties, the non-aggression pacts, the League of Nations, the sanctions, and the capitalist system of 'collective security' have not only failed to give a firm basis for peace but have in themselves become a source of friction and war."

Of course no one can or should have any faith in such treaties or instruments as positive preventers of wars. From this point of view, the problem is very simple. All we have to say is: Capitalism, and means breeds war. So long as you have capitalism, you'll have war. End capitalism and you'll end war. Let us suppose we do say this till Doomsday, so what? More than that, suppose we re-

peat with the platform the great truth that "Only when the workers take political power into their own hands in the great nations of the earth will the world have a sound basis for lasting peace" Then what? How about the working class also considering ways and means of delaying—while capitalism still exists—the imperialist onslaught against the Soviet Union? What strategy are we to employ here? And what, concretely, are we to do in the event we fail to delay or prevent such an imperialist war or any other imperialist conflict?

## Contradictions On Sanctions

The resolution, at the beginning, dismisses sanctions, with one word. It approaches the question of considering it as part of a whole anti-imperialist program of action by the working class. Yet, as one reads the resolution, he does find a bit later a demand for the "prohibition of the manufacture, transportation or sale of any war materials or munitions; prohibition of loans to other countries for war purposes." What is this but a proposal for sanctions—except that it is a proposal offered in a void—indiscriminately and promiscuously! Indeed, we are sure that President Thomas would not stand for the "prohibition of the manufacture, transportation or sale of any war materials or munitions; prohibition of loans" to the U.S.S.R. under attack. We hope that, as President, Comrade Thomas wouldn't deny such aid to China in the event of her waging a war of liberation against Japanese imperialism, merely because the U.S.S.R., where the working class already has power and has its own military forces, has done it for strategic military reasons. Thru such diplomacy the U.S.S.R. is able to utilize the divisions amongst the imperialist powers and prevent a united front against

the Socialist Republic as a temporary solution of their own antagonisms.

## The C.P.O. Position

We do not hesitate to say that the C.I. and its various sections are deviating dangerously from a correct position in such a war—in a war in which on one side are found the Soviet Union and one or more imperialist powers. However, pacifism and mechanical mouthing—often with tongue in cheek as is the case of Hoan—of Leninist doctrine in utter disregard of the objective situation is not the only alternative. The application of revolutionary defeatism, (assuming solely for the sake of argument that the Socialist Party stands for it to any extent at all) pure and simple in wars of the sort here mentioned is not Marxism-Leninism. At most, it is petty factionalism to discredit but not to correct the very serious social-patriotic Communist Party mistakes in this field. To the Socialist Party comrades we offer, instead, the following approach to a war in which the Soviet Union is involved:

"The basic Communist slogan of transforming the imperialist war into a civil war remains unchanged but assumes a new, concrete form for Communist parties in countries having an alliance with the Soviet Union. These Communist parties steadfastly continue to aim at the revolutionary overthrow of their own bourgeois state by the proletariat. They must declare war on their own bourgeoisie and organize the revolutionary struggle against them not only before such a war breaks out but also incessantly from the very first day of such a war. Once the bourgeoisie is thus overthrown in a particular country, the job of the proletariat taking power is not to stop the war immediately but rather to organize revolutionary warfare, to throw their full forces and resources on the side of the U.S.S.R. in a revolutionary war. "Under no circumstances can a military alliance between a capitalist country and the Soviet Union mean that the Communist Party in the bourgeois country is to conclude peace with the capitalist class when the war breaks out. Just the opposite must be the strategy pursued by the Communist Party in question. In order to de-

fect the Soviet Union and to help it achieve its revolutionary objectives in the war, the Communist Party must lead the workers in its country towards the overthrow of its own bourgeoisie. At best, the bourgeoisie, momentarily lined up on the side of the Soviet Union in a war, are unreliable allies of the proletarian dictatorship and would seek the first opportunity for turning on it. More than that. Only by the working class snatching power from their bourgeoisie and then launching a revolutionary war against the capitalist governments attacking the Soviet Union, can there be prevented the imposition of imperialist peace terms, partition, dismemberment, and annexations on other countries.

"In any war in which the Soviet Union is involved, the highest interests of the entire international proletariat are expressed in the complete victory of the U.S.S.R. waging a revolutionary war. The progress of the world revolution in other countries is organically bound up with such a victory by the Soviet proletariat. The best way to hasten and insure such a victory is the seizure of power by the workers or other countries and then allying themselves with the U.S.S.R. in a revolutionary war. This strategy holds just as much for the Communist parties operating in imperialist countries which have military agreements with the U.S.S.R. The task of such Communist parties is also to transform the imperialist war into a revolutionary war. The task can be achieved only thru the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, thru the destruction of bourgeois rule. Talk of peace with the bourgeoisie or voting for war, etc., is out of the question, is utterly impermissible for Communists in such countries as well as for Communists in other lands. Such a policy would be open social chauvinism no matter under what banner it would be conducted."—(C. P. O. Convention Thesis, Sept. 1935.)

## Abstract Defense

The Cleveland war resolution very appropriately recognized that "The Soviet Union, surrounded by capitalist enemies, is in constant danger of imperialist attack, and all class conscious workers must be prepared to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks." So what's to be done? What does the resolution mean when it says "Such defense, however, can only be a proletarian defense, independent of capitalist governments and their policies and independent of the diplomacy of the Soviet Union and carried out with the means that the proletariat has at its disposal."

All of this is more exciting than effective. Naturally, first and foremost comes independent working class action. Does this, however, exclude pressure by the militant class action—on the capitalist government for the purpose of getting some aid for the Soviet Union? And when we do make such demands upon a capitalist government—or for that matter any demands in behalf of the working class on the American or the Russian sector of the international labor front—does it mean we give a vote of confidence to this government? Nonsense. Of course, not. Concretely speaking, it is perfectly correct for us in the U.S., if the Soviet Union should be attacked by Germany, Japan or England or France, to demand, let us say, immediate extension of

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# FASCISTS AND JINGOES STRUT AT CANADIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

From the very beginning there were difficulties at the Canadian Youth Congress. The Church organizations—a formidable section of the gathering had to open with a prayer. The difficulty lay in the fact that different religious denominations had different prayers. A compromise was reached. It was decided to have a minute of silence, during which time each delegate would pray in his own way, in his own heart, to his own God, that the Congress may be a success.

Discussion on peace was on the agenda. Full support was given to the League of Nations sanctions with no discussion at all on the role of independent mass action against a warring nation. Everything was to be left to the League of Nations. One curious delegate inquired: suppose the support of League sanctions leads to war—should we support this war? "Why worry about a hypothetical question?" answered Bill Kashtan, Secretary of the Canadian Y.C.L.

French organizations protested that they had been discriminated against, that they had not been called to the Congress as readily as other clubs. These French Catholic organizations—the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne and La Jeunesse Patriote—are the backbone of reaction in French Canada, and they were present at the Congress with intent to smash it. Yet the chairman crawled on his belly in assuring these reactionaries that they were welcome at a Congress of Youth for "Peace, Freedom and Progress."

On Sunday night there was an open forum. Vincent Massey, an anti-conservative, took the floor. He declared his sympathies with the youth, talked of the misery of unemployment, the horror of war—"We all hate war," he told them, but if Great Britain is attacked every young man in this hall will take up arms for our motherland." The young church people, and the CCYMers greeted this statement with boos and yells. The YCLers were silent for a moment—unity had to be preserved. But then they also joined in the general denunciation of this agent of British imperialism.

chairman ordered the meeting adjourned and all further discussion ended, giving no opportunity to retaliate on this poisonous slander which should have been given no chance for expression in the first place.

Next morning, at the session of the Congress, a YCLer found a tiny leaflet on the floor. It bore the inscription, "OUT WITH JEWS—NO JEWS AT THIS CONGRESS." These leaflets had been left in the hall by the ACJC members, but the YCL refused to expose this organization which had spread this anti-semitic matter in the hall, and refused to take a really aggressive stand against this reactionary organization. Why? For unity's sake

As for the actual labour representation at the Congress—out of about 450 delegates, eight represented five trade union locals. That was the grand total of union representatives.

What stand was taken on the organization of youth into trade unions for bettering their conditions, one of the delegates was asked. "The congress as a whole did not adopt any resolution, but the Special Industrial Committee did something about it, I think." The delegate was asked what he thought of Bill Kashtan's article in the Young Worker, organ of the Canadian Y. C. L., where he states that:

## through voluntary association."

An uncomfortable silence on the part of the delegates greeted this question.

There is no doubt that the Canada Youth Congress not only failed to show a way out to the toiling masses of Canadian youth, whom it has not yet reached. It has sown confusion among those few it did reach. Entirely isolated from the labor movement, with free admission to any and all politicians, who care to preach their dogmas of patriotism and reaction, with weak and non-aggressive leadership, that is willing to compromise with the unhealthiest elements for the sake of unity, the Canadian Youth Congress may prove to be a barrier to the real advance of the working class youth. That advance can be made only when the trade union movement acts to better the conditions of youth. A conference composed mainly of trade unionists and gaining the support of the student and unemployed youth organizations and working with a perspective to get the working class youth to become part of the labor movement—such a conference can be a real beacon to the young Canadian workers.

J. M.



## G. O. P. WEARS A LIBERAL MASK

(Continued from Page 2)  
For the moment and on the surface, the Old Guard is out of the picture, but the Old Guard interests remain. The Republican Party, in spite of the gestures its banner bearers will make to liberalism, despite the sterilized liberal phrases grafted on to its platform, will wage the election campaign in behalf of capitalist reaction. Primarily, it will represent the plans and purposes of that section of the capitalist class which still believes that, despite the consequences of the World War, the world-wide economic crisis and the preparations for the impending war, there is still no need for any significant change in government structure, and in attitude towards even inadequate national social legislation in the realm of economics.

It is sheerest idiocy to carry over the pattern of European class relations to the United States and on this basis conclude that, in the coming campaign, the Republican Party will be the rallying center for fascist and potential fascist forces. Actually, the dominant ideology in the Republican Party today is that there have been no basic changes in the American economic structure and that, therefore, there is no basis for making any serious changes in the political structure or economic policy of the country. The so-called Old Guard in the Republican National Committee just elected are on common ground with that type

## BOSSES ATTACK KNITGOOD UNION

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ers Union has today a membership of more than 8,000 workers, which is more than two-thirds of the total number of workers employed in the industry in New York, so that it can be seen from this "that the small unionization" is purely a figment of the imagination of the employers.

This statement of the Association further lists thirty-four manufacturers that have either liquidated or removed out of town. The breakdown of this figure shows the following: Among the firms listed, four, the Claire Knitting Mills, Geist & Geist, Premier and Knitwear were never union shops. The Hirsam, the Knitwear, the Manny Morris, are at present and have been on strike for the last eight months and it is admitted by everybody in the knitgoods industry that these firms are not in a very healthy condition. Furthermore, is it so startling that in an industry going through an economic crisis such as the knitgoods industry, that thirty-four firms liquidate or reorganize in the course of two years? This is an average of seventeen mills per year, which is neither phenomenal nor unusual, especially when this is very easily negated by the number of mills brought into the Union through the Union's organization efforts in the same period of time. Of course, this latter fact is eloquently omitted from the statement of the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Associa-

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of liberalism symbolized by Borah, always looking backward for the restoration and continuation of the so-called "good old days", when they rave about maintaining the Constitution and its checks and balances completely unaltered.

Landon's readiness to declare for a Constitutional amendment giving the states the right to deal with such questions as minimum wages for women, etc., is an election manoeuvre to force Roosevelt into the position of facing the problem of constitutional revision or modernization frankly and honestly. Judging by the President's speech at Arkansas, he has neither the courage nor the conviction necessary for such dealings in politics. More than that, when Landon throws out this idea of handling national social problems on a state basis, he realizes that he is proposing something as impossible as it is impractical. To Landon and Bingham, to Hamilton and Wadsworth, the American government structure—as it was in the days of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover—is still sufficiently adequate. In striking contrast with this conception, it is to be noticed that the dominant group in the Democratic Party is of the conviction that in order to maintain the present socio-economic order, it is necessary to modernize somewhat government structure and the Constitution. This is so despite Roosevelt's pussy-footing and cowardly evasion.

The prospects of a Democratic Party victory in the coming elections have not been seriously disturbed by the decisions at Cleveland, both as to personality and program.

tion. They are trying to raise a bogey with which they hope to stampede the knitgoods workers into capitulating to their demands.

Another highlight in the statement of the Metropolitan is the shopworn complaint of their inability to compete with the open markets out of town. Cleveland manufacturers have admitted a decrease of 20% in business, and Cleveland is purely an open market. The purpose of all of the above exaggerations and distortions becomes clear when we see further that the manufacturers are appealing against being "limited to the thirty-five hour week and in addition paying high minimum wages."

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union takes this occasion to answer these statements of the employers merely to establish correct facts for the record. The real and decisive answer will be given by the knitgoods workers, on the picket lines if necessary, and at the special mobilization meeting of the Union on Thursday, June 18, 1936, at Cooper Union, when President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Luigi Antonini, First Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Julius Hochman, General Manager of the Dress Joint Board, and Thomas F. McMahon, President of the United Textile Workers of America, will be present to pledge the solidarity of these great organizations to the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union.

## BRADLEY'S .:. CAFETERIA

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## MURRAY LOCAL BACKS MOONEY

The proposal for a united labor ticket with Tom Mooney as presidential standard bearer continues to attract attention and secure support among working class organization.

The latest to discuss the presidential elections and to endorse the proposal is the Murray Body Local of the United Automobile Workers of Detroit. The following is the resolution adopted:

Whereas, there is a definite move of the organized workers away from the major political parties, and,

Whereas, there is a genuine desire of the workers to achieve unity in the face of the sharpest attacks on the part of the Liberty League and other agencies of the capitalist class against the social and economic conditions of the working class and,

Whereas, we, the members of Murray Body Local 2, United Automobile Workers of America, call upon all working class political parties to agree to endorse a candidate for president who would win ready success and friendly consideration in even the most conservative unions and,

Whereas, for this reason we think that Tom Mooney should be put forth as a presidential candidate on such a united labor ticket and,

Whereas, Tom Mooney stands forth as the dauntless champion against class oppression and class injustice and,

Whereas, a united labor ticket with Tom Mooney as the presidential candidate would serve in the most effective manner to clarify

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

(Continued from Page 3)

5 billion dollar credits to the U.S.S.R.—in the form of cash, supplies, munitions and technical aid. On the other hand, we must likewise bring maximum mass pressure to bear on the same Wall Street government not to give or lend a man or a penny, a bullet or a button, to Hitler Germany or imperial Japan.

Obviously such help from the U. S. would be of great value to the U.S.S.R. in beating back the Japanese or German attack. Obviously such help is not purely "proletarian defense", is not "independent of capitalist governments and their policies", is not "carried out with the means that the proletariat has at its disposal." Obviously no proletarian organization in the U. S., nor the working class as such, now has sufficient resources for aiding the U.S.S.R. in this fashion. Therefore, we must resort to the strategy of bringing to bear the heaviest pressure on the capitalist government, thru strikes, demonstrations, etc., to make it disgorge and give such aid to the U.S.S.R. This means that the S.P., as a working class organization, must be vitally concerned with the foreign policy of the ruling class and its government. This means that in the realm of foreign policy, as well as in the field of domestic policy, it is absolutely permissible and necessary for the organizations of the class-conscious workers to make immediate demands on the bourgeoisie and their government.

This doesn't in the least mean a cessation of the class struggle. It does mean the fanning of the flames of class warfare in behalf

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## LAWYERS ASK LIFE JOBS FOR JUDGES

The recent fanfare against the actions of the courts invalidating labor measures and its possible consequences have aroused the N. Y. County Lawyers Association to the defence of the reactionary role of the judiciary. A majority report of its Judiciary Committee urged that all State Court judges be appointed by the Governor for life. However, until that millennium arrived, the committee demanded the power to approve or disapprove all nominees before final selections.

## Boston Labor Backs CIO

Boston.—Strong sentiment for industrial organization of the mass-production industries was revealed in the Boston Central Labor Union, when the great majority of 125 delegates present sprang to their feet in support of a motion approving the efforts of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The action followed an attempt by the chairman to cut off discussion on the subject, after Joseph Salerno of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had pleaded for the right of central labor bodies to express their opinions on A. F. of L. organizational policies.

class relations and to strengthen class loyalty in a political situation that makes for so much confusion and demagoguery

Therefore be it resolved, that we call upon all Trade Unions, Fraternal Organizations and working class political parties to endorse Tom Mooney for President.

of the U.S.S.R. by putting forward living demands, practical proposals which can arouse the support of large masses of workers who would be ready to fight for such aid to the U.S.S.R. Clearly this means that we must give support to Soviet diplomacy, tho not rely merely on Soviet diplomacy. Certainly we must not rely on Soviet diplomacy as a substitute for, but must rather back it up as a supplement to militant working class policies in the capitalist countries.

### "Genuine" Neutrality

We hope that the S.P., despite this resolution, will work and vote for such material and financial aid to the U.S.S.R. when it faces the German and Japanese artillery, gas, naval and aerial attacks. But we fear and know our hopes will be shattered if the S.P. clings 100% to its war resolution's declaration: "Should a war break out in ANY part of the world, REGARDLESS OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED, Socialists will fight against American participation in that war in any form." (our emphasis).

Frankly, our policy is not "genuine neutrality", which the resolution emphasizes "is impossible for this or any other country so long as it is ruled by the profit motive." We reject such "genuine neutrality" not only under a capitalist dictatorship known as American democracy and "democratic"

## Books of the Age

THIS SOVIET WORLD, by Anna Louise Strong. New York, Henry Holt and Co. 1934. 301pp. \$2.00.

Anna Louise Strong says that in all her public lectures on Soviet Russia, Americans have always asked many questions about the Russian Communist Party, how it functions, what percentage of the population it represents, how its policy is determined and what the mechanics of Soviet government are. What about the life and strivings of the individual under the Soviet system? His chances for freedom of thought and expression?

This book is an attempt to answer these and many other questions in language so simple that any literate person, no matter how illiterate politically, may understand. It is divided into two main sections; the first dealing with the Communist Party, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the Soviet Union and the relations between them. The second describes the ways in which the Russian men and women work and live and dream. Among other topics, the book covers the history and development and growing power of the Communist Party; discusses the Proletarian Dictatorship, its meaning and its relation to working-class democracy in contrast with "democracy" under the capitalist system. She paints a graphic picture of conditions under which the component sections of the Soviet Union plan and live together, and concludes this part with a summary of the Soviet's struggle for world peace.

The second half of the book includes descriptions of how the factory and farm collectives function; the role of women in the new life; the democratization of the arts and the sciences; the treatment of recalcitrant human beings who for numerous reasons have been unwilling or unable to accept the new social order.

For those who have followed Russian affairs closely this book contains nothing that is new. It is not nearly as well written nor is it half as interesting as her intensely personal story "I Change Worlds" published last year. The average American worker, for whom this book was obviously intended, will find less pleasure in it than in her earlier contributions because in this one she has left out a great deal of material that should have been included to complete the picture of "This Soviet World."

—Ellen Ward.

institutions. We also reject such "genuine neutrality" under a proletarian dictatorship when the country is not "ruled by the profit motive." Why? Because, we would consider it our highest duty in case we had a Soviet America to come to the aid of the U.S.S.R. in the event of its being attacked; because, we consider it our duty to do our all to help the Soviet Union when at war as much as we possibly can, while we are still living under capitalist rule in the U.S. In fact, our desire and our duty to help the U.S.S.R. and not to play "genuine neutrality" are for us additional reasons for waging militant class struggle unceasingly during a war with a view of setting up a working class government, that is, a proletarian dictatorship, so as to insure unlimited help for the embattled U.S.S.R.

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