

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## BLUM PLANS TO BREAK STRIKES

### Communist Party Drags Along In Support Of Anti-Labor Move

The People's Front government of France has passed the early period of phrase-making, and in the past week has been forced to begin carrying out the demands of the bourgeoisie. Salengro, Socialist Minister of the Interior, under the pressure of a heavy barrage from the Right in the Senate, made the following statement: "The government intends to put an end to all disturbances from whichever side it comes. It is resolved to have respect for order. If tomorrow further farms and factories are occupied, the government will put an end to such action by all means at its disposal." This statement of policy, which means that the Blum government must now openly break the strike movement, was approved by the Senate by a vote of 230 to 1. However the opposing vote was not the Communist Senator Cachin's!

Thorez, leader of the CP found the statement of Salengro "not well inspired in letting it be believed that force can be used against the workers." Presumably, peaceful strike-breaking is permissible! Salengro outlined some such program stating that there would be first "persuasion" and then other measures such as "unarmed police". Which is not mere nonsense, but simply a preparation for armed strike-break-



JOHN L. LEWIS

ing, something which has to be done slowly by the Socialist government which is Communist supported.

The latest reports indicate that Thorez has changed the position of the party again and is now preaching that "workers must know when to end strikes", a shameful support of the anti-labor proposals of the government. So difficult is the situation that even the right wing leader of the S.P. Paul Faure has raised the question of the withdrawal of his party from the government.

## YCL and Churches Fight Labor at Youth Congress

The 3rd American Youth Congress, meeting in Cleveland last week, marked the completion of the anti-labor "front of the young-generation" program of the Young Communist League. Amid the most disgraceful exhibition of jeering, hissing and booing, the churches the Y's and the YCL "defeated" the labor elements present and forged their own unity of phrase-mongering and christianism.

The convention opened with a mass meeting, greeted by a letter from Franklin Delano Roosevelt who was sure that the Congress would solve "the mutual problems" of the youth groups. It is of no small importance that the American Youth Congress was originally founded by the Roosevelt Administration thru Viola Ilma, as a kind of "New Deal" youth movement. It is a fitting commentary that the organization and program has completed the cycle and Roosevelt can now greet the Congress openly—and receive a headline in the Daily Worker.

After the singing of "America" (by an audience composed, in the majority, of YCLers) the first convention business began with the election of a Presiding Committee for the congress. The retiring national council brought in a list of sixty nominees, of which about one-third were church and

Y representatives, one-third trade union, and the rest from settlement houses, etc. This was characteristic of the perspective of the YCL which saw no difference between trade unions and YMCA's — both being organizations, both containing "people".

### "Onward Christian Soldiers"

Previously, the YPSL had asked the YCL to place the name of Murray Gross, representing Local 22 of the ILGWU, on the praesidium. The YCL informed them that since Gus Tyler represented Local 91 of the same International on the praesidium, adequate representation had already been given to the ILGWU! No matter that Local 22 happens to be the second largest in the country or that it has been the lever setting in motion many progressive movements, that it is a model of progressivism—even the American Student Union had two representatives, but not a mere international trade union.

The nominations from the floor totalled fifteen. The churches and the YCL successfully fought an attempt to enlarge the praesidium to include these nominations. Hardly a principled question, but it was apparent that the YCL was determined to dance to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers".

(Continued on Page 3)

## STEEL TYCOONS ATTACK DRIVE

### Halls Refused To Union By "Company Towns" In Many Cases

Various steel companies, such as Republic and Jones and Laughlin, spent the past week holding so-called "elections" in their company unions to "prove" how contented all their workers are, and how little contact they wish to have with the Committee for Industrial Organization. The steel drive of the latter has called forth a volley of abuse from the steel trust who are already storing up arms to "persuade" their workers not to join a real union.

Jones and Laughlin, in Aliquippa, one of their company towns issued a statement signed "Your Fellow Workman"! This document was a vicious attack on unionism and openly threatened to withdraw all livelihood from anybody who joined the union. It called the C.I.O. "the Lewis racket" and dismissed the burning needs of the steel workers as fantasies of "outside agitators". Slyly inserted was a remark to the effect that Aliquippa could have had the new thirty million dollar plant the company is now building in Pittsburgh, if only there had not been labor trouble there. (The company unions got out of control and actually presented demands to the management in a common front with other company unions).

Phillip Murray, head of the organizational drive, announced that the spy system employed by the trust had been extended and intensified till the workers who were suspected of having contact with the union were trailed into their own homes. The hated "J and L men", that is the company police of Jones and Laughlin, had been increased by 150 men in the last few days, he said. In other towns, the local banks and company officers have refused to allow the renting of halls to union representatives. Many meetings, in the heart of the steel country, are forced to be held in open lots.

## -Next Week- MOONEY ISSUE

July 26th is the twentieth anniversary of the shameful frame-up of one of labor's greatest fighters—TOM MOONEY. On this occasion, to aid the fight for the freedom of Mooney and his fellow-prisoner, the Workers Age will issue a special 8 page edition, devoted primarily to the Mooney-Billings case.

Many special features and articles will appear. For example, Jay Lovestone, who recently was in San Francisco, will tell you of Mooney as he is today, of Mooney's extraordinary conversance with the present problems of the working class, in a special interview granted by Mooney while awaiting hearings on his plea for habeas corpus.

GET YOUR ISSUE OF NEXT WEEK'S WORKERS AGE!  
FREE MOONEY AND BILLINGS!

## AFL Council in Conflict Over Action on CIO

### Frey Leads Crafts Attack, Demands Expulsion Of Lewis; Green Talks Compromise After Industrial Block Ignores Summons

The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. issued its ultimatum to ten unions comprising the Committee for Industrial Organization with no effect upon these unions save to strengthen their convictions. The fact that the C.I.O. did not appear at the meetings, to "show cause" why they shouldn't be expelled has placed the Council in a position where expulsion or suspension would be so arbitrary an action as to place the entire onus of the split upon their own shoulders.

Within the Council, the group that seeks some formulation which can be the basis for a compromise seems to be gaining dominance. This group comprises Mahon of the Street Car employees, Tobin of the Teamsters, Harrison of the Railway Clerks, and Morrison, secretary of the Federation, all of whom are opposed to a split at this time.

Heading the die-hard craftists is John Frey who demands immediate expulsion of the industrial block. One of his complaints seems to be that since the steel drive nobody has joined the metal crafts, a department which he heads. In a six page document, he accused Lewis of merely using the organization of steel as an issue to get personal control of the labor movement—a viewpoint closely corresponding with that of the New York Herald Tribune, violent opponent of unions. Further he charges Lewis with having gained the support of the Communist Party together with other militant and progressive elements, a support which he believes is the beginning of a Moscow plot.

Green, who seems to be leaning towards the compromise group, proposed that a sub-committee meet with the C.I.O. to discuss the issue, a fact which means admittance of partial and temporary defeat of the crafts. While he believed that the C.I.O. had to be dissolved, this action could be referred to the next convention. Despite the fact that Green dismissed the protests of many state federations city labor councils, and unions, it is apparent that the crafts are not too sure of their strength and backing.

Playing important roles behind the scenes are both the Democratic and Republican Parties. The Republicans are represented in the Council by Hutcheson, the gentleman who went down for the count in a dispute with Lewis. These forces object strenuously to what they call "interference from the White House". Roosevelt, apparently supporting Lewis (and the administration prefers industrial unionism because it hopes to be able to set up a better government control over them) actually is simply putting all his power to avoid a split, which would be disastrous in an election year.

## UNION STRIKES RUNAWAY MILLS

Runaway knitting mills, inspired by the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association have discovered new means of abrogating agreement with the Union and evading Union conditions. The new method is to sign leases and install machinery in an out of town mill under an assumed name, ostensibly still maintaining the New York mill, but actually working with non-union labor out of town.

The runaway manufacturers are unable to obtain the necessary skilled New York labor when they establish sweatshops out of New York and break their agreement with the Union. For this reason they make a pretense of operating in New York under the collective agreement so that they might induce these New York skilled workers to work with them out of town.

The strikes against runaway shops in the knitgoods industry are being conducted by the newly established Miscellaneous Out of Town Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. This department, organized by the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, working with a fund of \$150,000, is at present also conducting strikes against other runaway shops the Knitwear Knitting Mills in Kingston, New York, the Manny Morris Knitting

Mills in Riverside, New Jersey. This department recently compelled the Jay-Eff Sterling Knitting Mills, removed to Allentown, Pennsylvania, to settle with the Union on a thirty-five hour week basis and with all other union conditions provided for in an agreement.

The Union will follow and will strike every shop that leaves New York to evade Union conditions and attempts to establish out of town, working under non-union sweatshop conditions.



# EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

## The End of Sanctions

THE decision of the British government to propose in Geneva the recall of sanctions against Italy, has caused a veritable storm in the ranks of the Liberals and the Labor Party. In order to understand this one must know that among the working class and the petty bourgeoisie of Great Britain the belief that the League of Nations is the best assurance of peace has become almost an article of religious faith. And now, overnight, this guarantee of peace has collapsed. The "reform" of the League of Nations proposed by the British, flows from the determination to stop worrying about the safety of her immediate neighbors (the French-Belgian-Dutch coast line) and to let the rest of Europe solve its own problems. This is the basic cause, in as far as England is concerned, for the speedy rearmament and its return to the system of alliances. After this operation the League will be little more than a loose aggregation within which mutual assistance pacts will be concluded.

Of course, the British government has again suffered a severe loss of prestige at home and perhaps also abroad, by the change of its sanctions policy. The vote in the lower house was not sufficient to cause the immediate downfall of the government.

The Labor Party must now prepare to come forward with a program of radical socialist demands and bold reforms, in the field of social and economic relations. But here it is being hindered by its dependence upon the Liberals and certain sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

## People's Front and United Front in Belgium

The broad strike movement in Belgium is basically a reaction to the lowering of the living standards of the working masses resulting from devaluating the currency. The strike wave in France as well as the Belgian elections constituted the immediate impulse for this movement. The van Zeeland government, in which the Belgian Socialists participate, sent gendarmes and troops equipped with armored cars and gas bombs against the strikers. The fascists will reap the fruits of this policy.

Under such circumstances the Communist Party of Belgium could find nothing else to propose except the "people's front" with the Liberals, Catholics and Socialists and to appear on the same platform with speakers from these parties. Instead of sharply differentiating itself from the government coalition parties, the C.P. policy is directed only at finding a place for itself on the leaking government-coalition ship. "There is method in their madness."

## Finance Program of the Blum Government

The programmatic speech of socialist finance minister Vincent Auriol in the Chamber of Deputies was received with joyous acclamation by the financial interests. It was a pleasant surprise for them; they never expected the finance program of the People's Front to be so tame.

Vincent Auriol declared explicitly his renunciation of any capital levy. Instead he considered in his speech the credit of the Bank of France and imposed a loan which aims at the mobilization of the savings of the small depositors. This will undoubtedly lead to disastrous speculation. Then when the government is in a jam the big financiers will come forward to dictate terms. One of these conditions will be the devaluation of the franc. The solemn declaration of the government that it will not devalue the franc is of no real significance. The government does not dare to resort to the only method that can save the franc from devaluation—a heavy, forced loan from property owners. But in the process of taking such a step one must be prepared to step outside the limits of capitalist economy.

The Communist Party of France was induced to support Auriol's program, i.e. the repudiation of any tax on the wealthy, by dangling before them the bait of the suppression of the fascist bands. But even this suppression will remain meaningless as long as its execution is left in the hands of the bureaucrats instead of making it a point of departure for mobilizing and organizing the workers to carry it out. Of the latter policy there is not the slightest sign. Instead the Communist deputies, Central Committee members, and Humanite-editor Vaillant-Couturier, remind the workers every day about "peace", about the "franc" and that "law and order" is the first responsibility of every citizen.

The strike in the Parisian department stores, conducted by the workers with remarkable perseverance, was concluded with a favorable award on the central issues. Now the strike wave seems to be spreading to the agricultural workers, bringing with it all kinds of difficulties for the parties of the People's Front. The rich peasants, and the strong middle peasants, against whom the strike is primarily directed, are an essential factor in the People's Front.

## The Barcelona Strike

The strike of the commercial employees in Barcelona, now involving some 100,000 workers, shows the Catalonian People's Front government in its true light. The government has resorted to mass arrests, and suppression of strike and union meetings.

London, June 24, 1936.

# BOOKS of the AGE

**MEN AND MOUNTAINS**, By M. Ilin. Translated by Beatrice Kinkead. Illustrations by N. Lapshin. Philadelphia, Lippincott Co. 326pp. \$2.50.

Those who have read Ilin's "New Russian Primer" and his stories of clocks and alphabets know that grown-ups get even greater joy from his pages than children do. The same thing can be said of his latest book "Men and Mountains."

It describes in genial, child language the miracles that can be wrought by the hand and brain of man as soon as the profit motive has been eliminated from human life—as soon as man has been set free to conquer nature for the sake of man and not for the sake of dividends.

Mr. Ilin draws upon his experiences in travel to illustrate graphically how man can reshape for-

# "BORN 160 YEARS TOO LATE"

By B. HERMAN

Historic facts and personages indeed recur twice, as Hegel once maintained. Just as Louis Blanc in 1848 paraded as Robespierre, and Louis Bonaparte farcically portrayed Napoleon I, so Earl Browder, disguised as George Washington, represented the Communist Party at the Farmer Labor Party Conference in Chicago, on May 30th. It is not only that the fight against the "Tories" is being repeated, as well as the struggle for "American democratic liberties". Comrade Browder, addressing the assembled hosts (numbering 70) of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party, the Townsend Clubs and Coxey of Coxey's Army fame (now with Lemke), declared that as George Washington and the Declaration of Independence. This speech will go down in history as marking, to date, the low point of Communist Party opportunism. Comrade Browder declared:

"It is true we Communists are revolutionists. That is our right, guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence. In this we follow the hallowed American tradition, associated with such names as Washington, Jefferson, Tom Paine and Lincoln. We differ from our forefathers in this respect, only in this—that we come 160 years later, and face a deeper crisis."

**Back To The Right Wing of 1776**  
"We differ only in this"—thus Browder explains,—"that we come 160 years later." All class distinctions have vanished. Browder feels himself akin to the conservative wing of the bourgeois revolution. Even the left bourgeois revolutionists, those representing the op-

ests and rivers to his own ends and how he can change the desert to the most fertile fields.

"The war with the desert went on for a thousand years in Central Asia. Now it is starting all over again. And we shan't count it in periods of a thousand years but in five-year periods. Plan and science will rule where people formerly worked blindly—ruining today what they had built yesterday."

There is a fascinating chapter on the expeditions of the Soviet scientists to the four ends of the earth in search of thousands of strange and exotic plants and fruits which they all brought back to Moscow at about the same time. And says Ilin:

"Why did all these plants gather in this congress? Why did our travelers make such an effort to collect them? Did they intend to dry them and put them in glass cases in scientific cabinets and museums? Not a bit of it. A quite different fate awaited these plants. They were to live, not die, to settle, with their children and grandchildren and great-grand children, millions of acres of land, to intermarry with the very best of our native plants."

The above are only two of the hundreds of magic illustrations Ilin gives of the Soviet's work to enrich the life of man.

The book is full of delightful whimsicality. Each page is covered with gentle persuasion that our capitalist way of life is altogether lopsided, and with gentle prodding, urging us on to go and change it all. Ilin is a thousand times more convincing than Anna Louise Strong in her picture of "This Soviet World."

"Men and Mountains" is enriched by a series of simple illustrations in color and in black-and-white. The translation is a good one and this column urges you to read it because we know how much fun you will get out of it.

—Ellen Ward

pressed and exploited sections of the population 160 years ago, those who fought to carry the revolution further in the interest of the poor farmers and debtors, revolutionists such as Daniel Shays, are never mentioned by this modern George Washington. With what fine discrimination, the aristocratic George Washington is thrown into a People's Front with Tom Paine, his bitter critic from the left! Thruout his address, Comrade Browder travels backward to the past—never forward to proletarian class struggle, forgetting the words of Lenin: "To keep the inheritance (of past revolutions—B. H.) by no means signifies that one must limit himself to what he has inherited." Unfortunately, Comrade Browder limits himself to less of our revolutionary inheritance than Communists can claim. Browder deliberately limits himself to the "respectable" right-wing or center of the first American revolution and of the Civil War and reconstruction periods.

**Democracy And Violence**  
But some people claim that "we (the Communist Party), 'advocate violence', that we are conspirators and terrorists, that we are against democracy". Browder answers: "That is not true. It is as far from correct as if those charges were made against Lincoln and Washington." Instead of a Marxian analysis—"against which class is the violence directed", "for which class, the democracy", Browder answers that he is as communistic as George Washington, and no more!

## The Peoples Front Approach

This striving for respectability pervades the entire approach of the C.P. The upper strata, the bourgeois elements of the People's Front, must be convinced that the Communists are really not different from them, and certainly demand no more—even less! Browder declares:

"Since Al Smith and Hearst declared that even the New Deal stands for the red flag and revolution, it seemed that we Communists should have become almost respectable. The campaign against Roosevelt has as little justification in fact as the campaign against us; he certainly is not Communistic. These are slogans of reaction, designed to confuse, divide and defeat the working population. If we want victory against reaction, then we must not look for excuses to divide it (excuses such as class antagonisms—B.H.), but rather all possible ways to unite."

Comrade Browder makes a parallel of the Communist Party and Roosevelt. The campaign against Roosevelt that "The New Deal stands for the red flag and revolution has as little justification as the campaign against us." Hearst, you slander us! Neither of us stands for the red flag and revolution! Both of us stand for democracy!

## Struggle for Democratic Liberties

In this striving for a classless respectability, Comrade Browder goes out of his way to prove that the Communist Party does not strive to go beyond a liberal democratic position. Not once is the working class mentioned. The nearest he comes to it is in one mention (boundless boldness!) of the "working population", which formulation even the Democratic Party could accept.

## Born Too Late

This speech of Browder shows to what depths of opportunism the Comintern line has sunk. Browder's motion to send a telegram of greetings to Townsend, the political playmate of Coughlin and Smith, was a fitting climax to his activities at the Farmer-Labor Party Conference. There is one thing we can be grateful for. Comrade Browder has contributed to the cause of enlightenment what he considers to be the matter with the leadership of the Communist Party—it was born 160 years too late. And that is a handicap nobody can be expected to overcome.

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tarism and imperialist aggrandizement. Browder answers to the masses who seek a way out of the misery they suffer under bourgeois democracy, that a Farmer-Labor Party will "preserve American democratic liberties." The struggle for the economic interests of the working class is not mentioned. The Farmer-Labor Party as a progressive step insofar as it is an instrument for breaking the working class away from the bourgeois parties, is deliberately avoided, it would smack too much of class consciousness. After all, the bourgeois varieties are not objectionable if they do not retreat before fascism, and if they fight to "preserve American democratic liberties."

**Democracy And Violence**  
But some people claim that "we (the Communist Party), 'advocate violence', that we are conspirators and terrorists, that we are against democracy". Browder answers: "That is not true. It is as far from correct as if those charges were made against Lincoln and Washington." Instead of a Marxian analysis—"against which class is the violence directed", "for which class, the democracy", Browder answers that he is as communistic as George Washington, and no more!

## A Less Painful Transition To Socialism

We are now handed another discovery by the Communist Party General Secretary. "We know that America . . . is FULLY ripe for a Farmer-Labor Party". Presumably, that is why most of the delegates in Chicago voted against a National Farmer-Labor Party in 1936, and why most of them are supporting Roosevelt in the coming elections. But this is not all, more revelations are in store for us. "Such a Party will not bring socialism, but it will greatly lessen the pains of a later transition to socialism". Shades of "Farmer-Labor-Communism"! This conception of the Labor Party is the sheerest opportunism. The inevitable failure of the reformist path in advancing the interests of the working class will convince the workers that they must resort to "painful" measures of revolutionary struggles and go thru a transition period—the dictatorship of the proletariat. The progressive feature of the Labor Party is not that it lessens the pains of transition to Socialism, which is nothing but a compromise with reformist ideology, but that it convinces the workers more quickly that the painful transition is necessary.

**On Bended Knee**  
The only justification for the existence of the "People's Front" and for its support by the Socialist and Communist parties was and still is the demand for a political set-up—bourgeois democracy—which would facilitate and legalize the struggle of the working masses. Absolute freedom of the press, which is a necessary corollary of bourgeois democracy, must be an immediate demand. Now and then "El Socialista" and "El Mundo Obrero" issue timid protests in a tone which seems to imply that if they were permitted to write more freely they would be able to make an even better defense of the government and the People's Front. El Socialista and Mundo Obrero are very anxious about the maintenance of the People's Front, hence, they are willing to put up with this strict censorship.

Aside from this, the C.P. issued appeals of the following character:

"To the workers of Madrid!  
"Rumors are being circulated that children will be poisoned. These rumors are being spread by fascist provocateurs and reactionaries to arouse your indignation and thus bring about clashes with the police.  
"We call upon all workers, particularly the Communists, to keep strict discipline, to act in a responsible fashion and to be on guard against such provocations. We call upon you not only to tell you not to participate in such activities which cannot serve our cause and are the work of the reactionaries, but to pledge yourselves to do your best to end this situation and to prevent the occurrence of a single fire (in reference to the incendiary fires of monasteries, churches, and the homes of reactionaries—Ed.) or any other action which at the moment might harm the cause of the anti-fascist people. Be on guard against provocations! The Communist Party is ever on guard against the maneuvers of the enemy of the working class who resorts to all sorts of provocations in order to break the People's

# Spanish C. P. Accepts Government Censorship

It is extremely difficult even here in Spain to get a good idea of the actual events now transpiring in this country, of the individual aspects of the present situation, of the relation of forces in the daily clashes between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces. This is particularly true of Catalonia. It seems that more accurate information can be gotten outside Spain, at least outside Catalonia. The reason for this lies in the strict press censorship which is being enforced particularly in Catalonia. Even the press of the 100% loyal government supporters has many blank columns. It is rather peculiar that even "El Diluvia," "Humanutá," etc., whose articles have been pro-Azana and Companys, should be so severely censored. Only those facts and events are reported of which the government approves. The newspapers are permitted to report and to discuss conflicts in which the cabinet appears in a favorable light. Critical remarks which call for positive changes and venture on a closer examination of such problems as the nationalization of the Bank of Spain, control of production thru workers' councils are censored. Dispatches from foreign press bureaus, particularly those from France, are cut without comment, or at best described as being exaggerated.

## Be Loyal To Gov't!

This appeal appeared May 5th in Mundo Obrero, the central organ of the C.P. of Spain. It is correct for the Party to fight against rumors of child poisonings. The first paragraph of the appeal would have been quite sufficient for the purpose. The rest of the appeal, however, calls upon the workers to be loyal to the government and to act accordingly and is a far cry from being a Communist answer to fascist terror. It is phrased entirely along the lines of Azana's policy—I mean to keep order, any opposition will be crushed by the police.

The same issue of the paper brings a picture with the following comment: "In the monastery of Paulus an enormous quantity of bombs, pistols, guns and ammunition was found. 90 monks were driven out by the population." An article informs us that on May 1st the priests fired on the May Day parade and that the provoked masses stormed the monastery and drove the priests out. One gets the impression that the editors are madmen. Why are Communists not permitted to participate in such activities? Why the plea against incendiary fires? Because the People's Front must be maintained at all cost.

On May 7th Mundo Obrero carried two illustrations. The first showed a dum dum bullet and skulls with the inscription—disorder, hunger, crime. Below the picture the following words: Reactionary politics—dum dum bullet. The second picture represented an industrial paradise with the inscription—order, work, bread, 1,000,000,000. And below the words: People's Front policy, 1,000,000,000 to reduce unemployment.

**Caballero Threatens**  
On the same day, the organ of Largo Caballero, Claridad carried a headline in heavy type, "If the composition of the government is changed, the U.G.T. will withdraw from the People's Front." Caballero states in his article

3 The Socialist controlled trade union center.

4 The syndicalist trade union center.

that the UGT had declared its readiness to support a government of the republicans. If any changes, such as are contemplated at the present, of drawing in socialists occur, this would constitute a fundamental change. The government would then no longer be a government of republicans. If representatives of workers organizations are drawn into the government, they can only do so on condition that the labor program is changed, and that the interests of labor must be represented in it. If this condition is not fulfilled, the UGT will, on the occasion of a change of government, withdraw from the People's Front in which it constitutes the largest force.

Compare this with the miserable position of the "omniscient" C.P.

## Control of Production

There is great confusion on the question of "control of production." Six tailors who had not been receiving wages for quite a few weeks reached an agreement with their employer by which the store was to be managed on a cooperative basis by the six workers. Mundo Obrero voiced strenuous objections. In another case, the workers of a Madrid brewery went on strike because the employers did not abide by the contract, refused to restate those workers who had been dismissed during the October revolt and to dismiss fascist elements. The board of directors sabotaged the negotiations. In an attempt to prevent the decaying of large quantities of prepared liquids for the manufacture of beer, the workers asked the UGT and the CNT to issue an order for expropriation. The workers succeeded in obtaining such permission and immediately proceeded with production. Trucks bear the sign of the Asturian revolt—U.H.P. (Union Hermanos Proletarios). The board of directors returned and share control of the factory with the workers council. This collaboration is a compromise enforced by the ministry of Labor.

The concrete possibilities of workers' control of production, especially in the field of agricultural machines and products intended for export, for Russia, should be discussed concretely. The consumers cooperatives should take a part in the discussion of this question.

This solution is of greatest significance to the new type of strike strategy, especially, in cases where negotiations are drawn out or sabotaged as they were in the most recent strike of the metal workers in Barcelona. The bourgeoisie is panicky. The new fascist terror is not the result of the will to fight but is born of desperate defense.

3 The Socialist controlled trade union center.

4 The syndicalist trade union center.

# YCL and Churches Fight Labor at Youth Congress

(Continued from Page 1)  
A second compromise motion was offered: to allow the fifteen to act as alternates, with a voice but no vote. For the defeat of this proposal the YCL found its ally among the Townsendsites. When the vote was finally tabulated all nominees from the floor, including a representative of the CYO, were defeated; even Gus Tyler of the YPSL, nominated on the prepared slate, just squeezed in. Thus the stage was set for "real united front activity".

**"Sabotage"**  
The presiding committee of the Congress had been informed before hand that a place on the agenda must be made for a discussion of the program the "Declaration of Rights". Apparently hoping to weaken and make as ineffective as possible any such discussion, the subject was allotted one hour at the various round tables. Thus, it might seem that one person at a particular round-table opposed the "declaration of rights", while the other tables had peace, freedom, progress, and unity, rather than that there existed among many of the participating organizations a fundamental opposition to this document. This was the well-planned scheme which not only failed of its purpose, but shamed the entire Congress, and particularly the YCL.

The opposition to the Declaration of Rights was centered around the Declaration Of Purposes, signed by YPSL, the CYO, and trade-union representatives, an opposition which believed that the problems of young workers, students, and middle class elements could only be solved thru alliance with the organized labor movement and not by vague phrases concerning peace freedom and progress.  
In the trade union round-table, Murray Gross, representing Local 22 was howled down when he tried to read the Declaration of Purpose, not being allowed to finish the document when he had only one paragraph to go. And it must be remembered that for the most part the local unions that attend the Congress send YCLers as delegates. This despicable scene reached its climax when a Negro representative from the N. Y. Teachers announced that "This (i.e. the introduction of a substitute platform at a round table called to discuss that very thing) was sabotage. We must recognize sabotage when we see it and stamp it out!"

**Browder Shows The Way**  
Such scenes went on in each section that devoted time to the discussion of this question. The question was not brought to the floor until the next day, in the form of a minority report from the presiding committee. In between came the political symposium at which all parties presented their "Youth Program". There had seemed to be certain signs that YCL was willing to compromise, in the sense of amending the Declaration of Rights in the direction of the labor-block's criticism. However that night, Earl Browder called the Declaration of Rights "a basic document"—that settled that. The signal was given to Gil Green and Mac Weiss that unity must be maintained with the churches and the Y's at all costs—and they carried out the line faithfully.

When the discussion of this matter came to the floor, only 15 minutes were allowed for open discussion, and then 4 speakers per side were chosen and given three minutes. When Al Epstein speaking

for the CYO arose, to participate on the discussion, he was greeted with boos and hisses. While this treatment was first reserved only for us, it soon became the accepted method of action in a united front, and was recognized greeting for anyone who dared to oppose the steamroller of the YCL and the churches.

It was not enough apparently, for the YCL to keep their friends by defeating the labor elements at the Congress; Gil Green, in support of the Declaration of Rights, stated that to adopt a pro-labor program would "Drive the most important youth groups away!" Thus, the youth question becomes one not of a proletarian youth movement winning youth of other classes to its side, but of acceptance of the bourgeois organizations, added to which are many phony groups, as really important and as basic no matter what their program!

The furtherance of the deal between the religious groups and the YCL was made clear when the amendments to the Declaration of Rights were brought in. Originally a motion had been made to amend the declaration by changing the general reference to unions to a specific endorsement of the A. F. of L. This was not brought in as one of the recommendation. On the contrary, the whole purpose of emendation was to move the emphasis of the document further to the right, to make further concessions to the bourgeois elements at the congress, so that nothing of a labor character remains! This was the unity the YCL wanted and this is the unity it has achieved.

**Further To The Right**  
In a most atrocious section, dripping with sentimental patriotism, there had been a sentence reading: "Because we love it (America) so dearly, we demand that it be turned over to the working and farming people of America." It should be noted that Gil Green arguing against the Declaration of Purposes had stated that "we are not ready for such a labor program". However the YCL did seem to be ready for a christian program—and openly endorsed the removal of this sentence from the document! This removal was openly asked for by the churches and the Y's openly supported by the YCL! However it was very obvious that even the YCLers present were not too enthusiastic about dropping this (just a "sectarian remnant"), so Mac Weiss took the floor to give the line and shamefully misuse the Russian Revolution. He announced that he supported the withdrawal of this sentence, and excused the YCL because "after all, we (sic) had turned one-sixth of the world to the workers and farmers". Demagogy reigned supreme.

The final nail was driven into the "front of the younger generation", when a Constitution and by laws were introduced for the Congress, a concept absolutely unknown to a united front movement. The constitution demands a per capita tax, gives the AYC a monthly magazine, and forces the membership to accept and fight for the "principles" in the Declaration of Rights.  
With the reading of the Constitution a motion was made to accept. From the floor a substitute motion was made to reject, by a participant in the labor block. After much disorder the chair ruled the motion out of order. Another motion was made to refer the Constitution to the incoming National (Continued on Page 4)

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# British Fascism Gains As CP Talks Democracy

By C. DREW, London

In the past two years Moseley and his British Union of Fascists have been making a drive to get a foothold in the East End of London. At first he was met with a storm of opposition, the street corner meetings were howled down and his pitches were stolen. It appeared as though there was no fear of any strong body being built in London at all. At this time he was strongly denying that he had any anti-semitic bias. His main successes were in the small seaside towns, where he was able to rally the petty-bourgeoisie, who are the greater part of the population of these places, but even this was only achieved by the expenditure of large sums of money and by establishing clubs of a social nature.

The January Club was one of his interests and prominent capitalists, such as A. V. Roe, Vickers, Beaverbrook, were associated with it.

## Moseley Becomes Anti-Semitic

The Imperial Fascists ("Blueshirts") who were the original body of fascists in Britain (once associated with Lady Houston) and who were the fascists who blacklegged in the General Strike in 1926 were bitterly opposed to Moseley on the ground that he was in the pay of the Jews. This gang was basically anti-Semitic and pro-Hitler and indulged in the practice of attacking and beating up the Jews.

Moseley began to see that his only chance of success in East London lay in accepting anti-Semitism and his first step in this direction was to swallow the Imperials as a subsidiary organization to the B.U.F. Then came Olympia and the September 29th demonstrations which created such stir, but even these turned out to be fiascos and were met with by terrific opposition and knuckledusters and police protection barely saved his skin and that of his supporters who were imported from all parts of the country.

Although there was, and still is no united front against him, in the localities and in trade union branches, anti-fascist bodies sprang up, and the I.L.P. and C.P. began to work together against him. After Olympia the public feeling against him made it impossible for him to run an outdoor meeting for months.

He was clever enough to "hold his horses" and wait for it to die down. Meanwhile his "blackshirts" impatient in inactivity spent their time in waylaying and attacking "Jews" and sometimes "Gentiles," beating them up and retiring before any assistance could arrive. The police did nothing to prevent these happenings, and although the matter was brought up in Parliament and the Home Secretary was forced to promise that steps would be taken, nothing was done, and the Police were regularly turned out in thousands to protect his meetings.

Knuckledusters are lethal weapons and are illegal in Britain, but they were and are openly carried by Blackshirts and the police closed their eyes to it. There has not been one arrest made by the Police of a Blackshirt for being in possession of such a weapon. Criminals, thugs, pimps, the dregs of the East End were included on the payroll of Moseley, but instead of coming under the eye and hand of the law they are now protected by it.

## Moseley and Free Speech

Moseley chose his meeting halls especially in places where there were Labour Party majorities on the Borough Councils. This was a

clever move because it split his opposition and discredited the Labour Party. Tory Councils refused his applications where they were made just as they refused Communists, but the Labour Party leaders true to their historical role in other countries allowed him on the grounds that they stood for "free speech" for everybody. They who had made every effort to stifle the voice of the C.P. and even the I.L.P. in the trade unions through the "Black Circular," and who had continually refused a united front, and who had opposed in the past allowing the Communists meeting places became very moral towards Moseley and stood for free speech for Fascists!!! In fact it is laughable that the first Anti-Fascist united front meeting in the Hackney Town Hall was arranged between the Tories represented by Marjorie Graves, John Lockwood, two local Tory M.P.'s at the time and the Labour Party represented by Herbert Morrison, F. Watkins, with representatives of the Church and Local Citizens included. The I.L.P. and C.P. were strictly kept out of it by the Labour Town Council!!!

But while all this was going on the C.P. was gradually breaking away from collaboration with the I.L.P. and pandering more and more to the Church, the Labour Party, but particularly towards the petty bourgeoisie. The I.L.P. was finding itself cut out from speaking at united front meetings while isolated so-called Anti-Fascists were allowed. The C.P. in all localities gradually took control of all united front activities, and practically pushed the I.L.P. out altogether so that although there was supposed to be a united front, in practice there was no such thing.

## Moseley Developing Strength

Moseley was quietly pegging away in the back streets and was roping in slowly more and more of the better type working class youth. Until suddenly it was realized that his strength in localities such as Bethnal Green, Hackney, Shoreditch, and other proletarian quarters was growing at an alarming rate. There were rumors that he had 500 members in Hackney alone, which is greater than the combined strength of the Labour Party, the C.P. and the I.L.P. in that locality.

On the 7th of June, 1936, Moseley held a Demonstration in Victoria Park in the East End. Various estimates of the strength of his march are from 2000-5000, (My own judgment 2500-3000), but actual figures of supporters cannot be given because there were groups of plainclothes fascists scattered about too. A counter demonstration run under united front auspices was there to greet him when he arrived, this was at least twice to three times the size of the combined forces of police and fascists.

He was protected by about 1000 foot and mounted police. Knuckledusters and knives were used on the crowd by the fascists, while the police made forays into the crowd and arrested 30 people, 9 of whom were charged and fined the following day.

The C.P. and L.P. speakers at the counter meeting spent their time telling the crowd to keep away from Moseley's meeting, but like King Canute they called in vain.

Later the Counter Demonstration marched away from the Park following closely Moseley's route. To the surprise of most of the workers, were met with hostility by people living in Green St. Bethnal Green, who spit on the workers and shouted at them. We

learned since that Moseley is very strong in this district.

The importance of the demonstration is that Moseley has broken into the East End and is strongly established, he is able to hold a successful meeting in Victoria Park and in two boroughs is at least a thousand strong.

Only a united front of the workers can stop it, but the C.P. is watering down its militancy to pander to the Church, etc. and talks about fighting fascism democratically. The ideological exposure of fascism is being weakened too and the position is very pregnant with danger.

We must call for unity of all workers organizations in active struggle against fascism.

## TOY WORKERS IN SOLID STRIKE

Entering its second week the strike of the stuffed toy workers under the leadership of the Doll and Toy Workers Union, Local 18239, A. F. of L. finds the picket lines solid, the spirit of the strikers determined and the industry closed down as tightly as a bank vault despite the fact that normally this would be the season's peak.

The stuffed toy workers, manufacturing such articles as teddy bears, Easter rabbits, and Mickey Mouse dolls, were up to three years ago among the most grossly exploited labor in New York. The organization of the union and the winning of an agreement brought some relief from sweatshop conditions. When the agreement expired on July 1, 1936, they prepared to strike to win new and improved standards, but on July 6 they faced a lockout by the employers. Immediately picket lines were thrown around the shops and strike headquarters established.

The demands of the strike include provision for a 20% increase or a reduction of the present forty hours to thirty five, a provision that no manufacturer employing less than eight cutters may use cutting machines which have recently been introduced and the guarantee that no manufacturer will move his shop outside the five boroughs.

At the same time the strike of the wigworkers under the leadership of the Doll and Toy Union continues. This group of young girls, many of them working for seven and ten dollars for a fifty and fifty-five hour week, has been on strike for three weeks demanding an \$18 minimum, a 40 hour week and a closed shop. In the face of energetic efforts by the employers to fill the shops with scabs the strike has grown from day to day until now it has all the factories shut effectively.

Alexander Ravich, secretary-treasurer of the union and chairman of the strike committee stated: "Too high a tribute cannot be paid to the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of the workers, most of them new recruits to the labor movement, displayed in both the toy and the wigworkers strike. In spite of the terrific heat picket lines have been maintained continuously at every shop, night patrols have been established, work-

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## CHICAGO LABOR OPPOSES F.D.R.

Chicago. — The Illinois Labor Party, at its July 4th convention, drew up a statement of policy for the 1936 elections, in which it sharply differentiated itself from the pro-Roosevelt stand of the Labor Non-Partisan League, and other open or covert supporters of the administration.

"As a Labor Party," the statement reads, "convinced of the bankruptcy and hostility to labor's interests of both old parties be it the Liberty-League-Hearst Republican Party or the Democratic Party, we cannot but disagree with this action" (i.e. support of Roosevelt). The statement expressed the hope that these forces would work for a genuine labor party and

## Youth Congress

(Continued from Page 3)

Council, on the grounds that no delegate was instructed how to act on this proposition. This motion was defeated by McNutt's cheap statement to the effect that "the delegates were intelligent enough to act on the issue". Mac Weiss of the YCL made a plea for passage of the Constitution so that "things could be done". When discussion was suggested, a member of the committee took the floor and said: "The committee spent the whole night discussing this constitution, and since they've come to an agreement, I don't see the necessity of further discussion."

## The End Of The United Front

As the hour for closing the Congress approached, Mac Weiss, who had opposed referring the question, made this very motion and this time it was passed! The "changed situation" being that the sections providing for a per capita tax and the publication of a monthly had been read and accepted.

The result of the extraordinarily bureaucratic methods used at the Congress, the despicable jeering used to drown out all opposition, was that none of the organizations rallying around the Declaration of Purposes accepted positions on the National Council. And this is full fruit and goal of the "front of the younger generation" the jun-

iors are being contacted at their homes and other unions are being visited to solicit aid. A union of veterans of a dozen strikes could not have done a more complete job. That the results of the solidarity will not be long in showing themselves I do not doubt. I confidently expect that the bosses will be forced to capitulate to the union within a very few weeks."

the Illinois Labor Party would not take a stand on the national elections but would confine itself to aiding the building of state and local labor parties.

The Lemke and Townsend movements were also attacked, the first as a dangerous concentration of reactionary pro-fascist forces. The Townsend movement with its proposal for a sales tax as the source of old-age pensions, it considers as an example of "the attachment of anti-labor proposals to apparently beneficial programs" Such movements "seek followers on the basis of special panaceas lifted out of the general program" and "tend in their nature to build up a political machine unchecked by democratic controls which can be used for the advantage of the few at the expense of the working people as a whole." Alliance with such movements was rejected.

for people's front: unity with the bourgeois organizations at the expense of unity with the labor organizations. It was what the YCL wanted and what it got. The N. Y. secretary of the Congress, Jeanette Feder, made this very clear when she had the audacity to question the "sincerity" of Local 22 and other organizations in signing this document, since "they did not help in New York." Actually in New York, the Congress crawled on its belly to get trade union support and was accorded the very full cooperation of Local 22 which mobilized many young dressmakers to march on May 30th!

With the establishment of the AYC as an organization rather than the United Front of youth groups to record on the debit side of the ledger, the break of the YPSL with the YCL with which it had held leadership, is a fact that must go on the credit side. It first makes possible the discussion and understanding of the "youth question" within the ranks of the YPSL.

For the YCL this Congress can only stand as a tragic triumph—a "victory" whereby the YCL broke with and antagonized the labor elements fighting for a labor program, and fused itself with the church forces on the basis of the latter's program.

M. S. M.

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