

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Knitgoods Strike Splits Boss Ass'n; 65 Mills Sign Up

Boss Violence Fails To Halt Mass Picketing; Many Arrests Made

The general strike in the knitted goods industry appears to be well on the way to successful conclusion having brought out practically all the workers in the industry and paralyzing production. Packed meetings of strikers are being held daily and mass picketing has been found to be most effective.

Altho Mr. Sylbert of the Metropolitan Association continues to prate about the solidarity of the employers, Louis Nelson, head of the union states that he knows better. The committee, he said, has been working steadily, signing up members of Mr. Sylbert's Association. At this writing more than 60 shops have already signed up with many more waiting to place their name on the dotted line. 85% of the shops which belonged to the Association have already been signed up.

A number of die-hard employers are getting a little panicky at the manner in which the union is sweeping the industry. In Brownsville an employer arrested two pickets on the charge of kidnapping a scab but he thought better of it and withdrew the trumped up charge. Another employer, this time of the Prospect Knitting Mills, hysterically fired six shots at an imaginary union committee. Despite all this attempted intimidation and terrorization workers continue to stream into the union. A signal victory for the union was scored when it finally succeeded in lifting the injunction which the Commodore Knitting Mills had secured two years ago and which made picketing extremely difficult.

Among the speakers who have addressed the enthusiastic workers are David Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU, Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, Joseph Greenberg, manager of Local 91, and D. Benjamin of the New Workers School.

BRITISH UNIONS IN CONVENTION

The sixty-eighth annual congress of the British trade unions will be held in Plymouth, from September 7 to 12. A good many of the resolutions coming in from the various unions seem to be concerned with the question of fascism, war and peace. The resolution to be submitted by the General Council follows the general outline of the resolution adopted at the recent congress of the International Federation of Trades Unions. It backs the League of Nations and places great weight on the collective peace system. (See "Workers Age," August 8, 1936). A resolution submitted by the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers calls also for the abolition of the private manufacture of arms and the nationalization of the armament industry. The Furnishing Trades Association submitted a

Enemies to the Death!



Left: Gil Robles, brains of the fascist revolt in Spain. Right: Largo Caballero, left-socialist leader, now fighting on the northern front.

Labor Party Organized By 300 Trade Unions

Roosevelt and Lehman Receive Endorsement; Only Labor Men To Be Run In The Future Says Chairman Antonini of State Party

"Today we endorse President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman for reelection but in the future I propose that only members of the American Labor Party be endorsed." With these closing words, loudly cheered by the delegates present, Luigi Antonini, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and chairman of the American Labor Party, answered A. A. Berle, City Chamberlain of New York, who had expressed the hope that the American Labor Party would also endorse Fiorello LaGuardia in the coming Mayoralty elections.

The occasion was the city convention of the American Labor Party held on August 13 at the Hotel Astor, attended by 427 delegates representing 18 international unions, 298 local unions, 8 Joint Boards, 7 District Councils, 18 federal locals and relief workers unions and one affiliated political party (the Old Guard Socialists).

David Dubinsky, introduced as one who "found it necessary to resign from his party (Socialist Party) in which he had belonged since his youth" spent the first part of his speech in an explanation of the

resolution asking the congress to oppose conscription either in the armed forces or on the industrial field.

The Distributive and Allied Workers and the National Union of Railway workers call on the congress to open "unity" negotiations with the Russian trade unions.

Other resolutions concern themselves with demands for vacations with pay (probably influenced by the June strikes in France); up-to-date factory legislation; revision of Workmen's Compensation Act; 40 hour week without reduced wages.

A resolution put forward by the Transport and General Workers asks the Trade Union Congress to approach the government with a view to bringing into being an all-inclusive scheme for all classes of workers, covering (a) unemployment insurance, (2) national health insurance, (3) pensions, including widows and orphans.

Whether or not the American Labor Party would survive the presidential elections Dubinsky did not know. It depended very much, he stated, on the showing made in the coming elections.

The keynote speech of the conference was left to Sidney Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Taking his point of departure the need for social legislation he made a slashing attack against the Republican Party and indirectly and by innuendo at the Supreme Court.

"There must be," he said, "limitation by law of the work day and the work week if millions of unemployed are ever to get back to work. The only effective way to do this is through federal legislation. State lines are non-existent as far as industry is concerned."

Speaking of the need for labor "to make its voice heard as a distinct political force," Hillman took to task those "who fear that the setting up of a Labor Party would lead to setting class against class" (See editorial "A LABOR PAR

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Spain Protests Embargo On Arms As Generals Get Aid from Fascist Powers

French Workers Resent Neutrality Stand; Unions Send Jouhaux To Investigate; Radicals Dictate People's Front Policy

The third week of the fascist civil war in Spain has ended with the better trained and infinitely better equipped fascist troops still holding large sections of the country. The bloody war in the mountains around Madrid appears to be a stalemate. The battle scenes have therefore shifted to the south, west, and north of Spain. In the south government battleships had carried out a most effective bombardment of Algeciras, threatening thereby to disrupt completely General Franco's transport of Moroccan troops to the Spanish

mainland. British intervention silenced Madrid's battleships and made it possible for Franco to re-establish his lines of communication with Morocco.

In the west a bitter battle still rages around Badajos for control of the city and province. The city is of strategic importance for the fascists since valuable assistance may then be secured from the pro-fascist government of Portugal. In addition capture of Badajos constitutes the first step in the final merging of the northern army of Mola with General Franco's command.

In the north San Sebastian and Irun have been under constant bombardment from fascist planes and battleships with both cities still in the hands of the workers. In the northwest the Asturias miners are dislodging the fascists from the munitions manufacturing center Oviedo after two weeks of siege.

The French proposal for a neutrality pact seems to have failed miserably precisely where it intended to count. It was primarily the outcry against direct military aid to the Spanish fascists by Italy and Germany that led France to make its proposal but these powers, having accepted the proposal in principal, continued merrily

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PRODUCTION HIGH BUT WAGES LAG

THE Council for Industrial Progress reports that an analysis of steel production from 1919 to 1929 shows that the yearly productivity of each wage earner rose from \$2,873 to \$3,718, an increase of 29.4%. In the same period the average yearly wage of the steel workers increased only from \$1,450 to \$1,568, an increase of 8.1%....

MILL MEETS AID STEEL UNION

The expansion of the activities of the Baltimore district of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is beginning to be felt here. This is shown not only by a rapidly developing response of the workers to the appeals of the Committee; it is also shown by the bee-hive activity of the steel companies and their stooges. Shells of company unions from the Bethlehem Steel and elsewhere have been dug out of their moth balls and given all kinds of injections to make them give the appearance of life.

Having carefully organized its apparatus, the Baltimore section of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee has now definitely launched the drive and has brought it to the doors of the steel mills. By means of a two-fold activity. First, there was the concerted distribution at the mill gates of 10,000 copies of the official organ of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, STEEL LABOR. The strong desire for genuine organization that prevails among the steel workers is in some measure indicated by the friendly reception given this paper.

Secondly, to bring the message of unionism and the purposes of this drive directly to the steel workers, a series of mill-gate and street-corner meetings has been arranged in which an especially equipped sound-amplifying truck is used. The first of these meetings was held at the corner of Eastern Avenue and Oldham Street on Monday, August 3. At this meeting approximately 500 workers listened for an hour to addresses by the State Director of the campaign, Senator Robert B. Kim-

ble, and I. Zimmerman of the local organizing staff. This meeting was followed by a similar meeting in front of the Tin Decorating Company Linwood Avenue and Boston St. at noon on Tuesday, August 4. The speakers at this meeting were J. Fred Rausch, a local steel organizer and former Executive Secretary of the Building Trades Council of Baltimore and Dorothy Rose who is business agent of the Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers, and Assistants Union, and who is also a volunteer worker in this drive. The third of this series of meetings was held at 3 P. M. on Tuesday, August 4 in front of the Continental Can Company on Riddle Street. This third meeting was addressed by J. Fred Rausch, Dorothy Rose and I. Zimmerman.

The two meetings last mentioned were in connection with a drive to organize the can company workers and workers in the other plants manufacturing metal products. This is an important section of the work of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and is being carried on simultaneously with the major effort to organize the steel workers.

Browder Broke Ground For Roosevelt Support

(The article was written by a member of the Communist Party who was a delegate to the recent convention of the C.P. The name Sam Adams is a pseudonym.—Editor).

By SAM ADAMS

After the close of the Ninth Convention of the Communist Party, which I attended as a delegate, I felt that a horrible crime had been committed against the revolutionary movement. Most everything that had been taught in the party schools and in the press about how communists ought to combat capitalism seemed to have been thrown out of the window.

Democracy—New Style

When the floor was open to discussion of the reports, especially the keynote speech of Comrade Browder, a number of delegates from various parts of the country thought there would be a real political discussion on some of the most burning issues, such as (1) the war danger and collective security and at least an attempt to show how the present policy dovetails with Leninism; (2) Exactly what part of the ruling class Roosevelt does represent, since Landon represents the most reactionary forces; (3) Is the Roosevelt administration the executive committee of the American imperialist bourgeoisie? If not, what kind of government does exist at Washington and what is its class base? (4) Since Landon is the chief enemy and must be defeated at all cost, isn't it probable that, when election day draws closer, it may become necessary to withdraw our own candidates and support Roosevelt in order to defeat Landon? (5) Since the election campaign program is "not a program of revolutionary overthrow of capitalism" (to quote Comrade Browder), is it not a deception of the masses to claim that it is at the same time a "program for democratic rights, for prosperity and peace"?

Other delegates and visitors thought some time should have been spent on a review of experiences, especially in the trade union field since the last presidential election campaign. Some of them were told that this question had been made perfectly clear when the new turn was made more than a year ago and there was no use going over it again.

Selective Discussion

But there was no discussion on any point. Not one who spoke saw fit to bring up any question or cast doubt on the present policy. At all costs the appearance of oneness had to prevail. The presidium selected the speakers and "organized" the reports. Each speaker began the same way—praise of the great leader, Comrade Browder—and then proceeded to show how present policies were producing great results.

I have never witnessed an old party convention, but from all reports the delegates are handled just like a puppet show, performing as the operators want them to perform. At our district convention, where our delegates were chosen, things were run very mechanically. Speakers were chosen by the district leaders; each speaker was assigned certain things to say about purely district matters; the delegates were chosen on recommendation of a committee selected by the District Bureau. Well, I thought that was probably due to the bureaucratic habits of the D.O. and his own little district machine, and hoped that things would be different in New York.

Attitude To Roosevelt

A month has now passed and I can see even now some of the effects of that convention. On every hand one hears the question raised of whether or not we dare criticize Roosevelt. Will not criticism weaken him? Will it not aid Landon? And at a number of meetings I have heard comrade delegates tell workers that if they cannot make up their minds to vote Communist they should vote for Roosevelt! Do me that means giving approval of the biggest war budget this country has ever had in peace time. It means abandoning the proletarian struggle against our own imperialist bourgeoisie for the program of "col-

York convention swung into action I realized that our local boys were just amateurs, doing the best they could to imitate their national leaders. At Manhattan Opera House even the length of time a demonstration was to last was gauged from the platform. Some of the speakers were to get just ordinary applause, handclapping, whistling and stamping of feet. We delegates and many visitors were always prepared for the big demonstrations. Word would be passed around to tear up paper and be ready as soon as the speech ended to start throwing it around. When Comrade Ford was reading his speech the delegates were paying no attention to him; all were busy tearing papers into small pieces, and putting them in huge piles on the tables in front of them. There was so much noise and disorder that only those at the front tables could hear what Comrade Ford was saying. Then, when the signal was given, the "spontaneous" demonstration got under way—the air was filled with papers, and a parade began, accompanied by every kind of noise and kept up until the platform decided it was time to shut it off. Every delegate and every other person who saw those four days at Manhattan Opera House knows this is exactly what happened. It got to be a standing joke and many cynical remarks were made by some of those who delivered the most enthusiastic speeches about the unity of the convention and its spontaneity.

Such an atmosphere was created that if anyone had dared get up and raise any one of a dozen questions bothering many of the delegates he would have been hounded down and declared a hopeless sectarian too dull to understand the dialectics of political "reality."

Then, as if to add a farcical finale to the whole thing, Comrade Browder, in his concluding remarks one-half hour before adjournment on Saturday afternoon, praised the wonderful unanimity of the convention, saying it showed a completely united Party, and then said that if anyone had any doubts about anything or any criticism to make, he would stop talking at once and turn over the platform to any such person. Well, it is not difficult to imagine what would have happened had any of the dozen or more delegates who I know had serious misgivings been so foolish as to try to voice even their doubts. Norman Thomas' reception by the Townsends in Cleveland was mild compared to what would have happened here.

Leaving New York in company with other delegates I tried to reconstruct what had actually happened. It seemed that those with whom I travelled were still pretending; they talked enthusiastically about the convention, as if trying to convince themselves.

Some comrades may think it absurd to say that it is not impossible that the Communist Party may come out openly for Roosevelt before this campaign is over. But if such comrades will carefully read Comrade Browder's report, they will see that he presents an "argument" even for that. He even quoted Lenin to try to support his argument. This is what he quoted:

"Can a class-conscious worker ignore the democratic struggle for the sake of the former? No, a class-conscious worker calls himself a Social-Democrat precisely because he understands the inter-relation between the two struggles. He knows that there is no other road to socialism but the road through democracy, through political liberty. He therefore strives for the complete and consistent achievement of de-

LENIN SAID:

THE proletariat alone can be—and because of its class position cannot but be—a consistent and complete democrat, a determined enemy of absolutism, incapable of making any concessions to and compromises with it. The proletariat alone can serve as the vanguard in the fight for political liberty and for democratic institutions, firstly, because political tyranny affects the proletariat most; for their is nothing in the position of that class that can in any way mitigate this tyranny; it has no access to the higher authorities, not even to the officials, it has no influence on public opinion. Secondly, the proletariat alone is capable of bringing about the complete democratization of the political and social system, because such democratization would place the system in the hands of the workers. That is why the merging of the democratic activities of the working class with the democratic elements of other classes and groups would weaken the forces of the democratic movement, would weaken the political struggle, would make it less determined, less consistent, more likely to compromise. On the other hand, if the working class stands out as the vanguard in the fight for democratic institutions it will strengthen the struggle for political liberty; for the working class will stimulate all the other democratic and political opposition elements, will push the liberals towards the political radicals, will push the radicals towards an irrevocable rupture with the whole of the political and social structure of present society. . . .

From—"Lenin on Britain."

lective security". As I see it, that is merely one of the slogans under which imperialist powers are bringing into existence realignments for the imperialist slaughter that is likely to break out at any moment. It means striving to define the aggressor among the imperialist powers—a thing Lenin taught us was nothing but the basest deception of the toiling masses. For the masses here, support of Roosevelt means accepting the \$19 to \$94 relief project doles as the standard of the American working class. Is not all this part of the preparation for imperialist war? And are we not now, by our whole policy in regard to "defining the aggressor" and "national defense" of imperialist powers that still retain the pretense of democracy, helping the war-lords, by throwing the masses off their guard? Does not such a policy actually divert the anti-war sentiments of the masses into channels helpful to the war-mongers? Those comrades who tell workers to vote for Roosevelt are not deviating from the line of the Party. They are following that line as laid down by Comrade Browder when he said in his report on July 24th:

"Thus we clearly and sharply differentiate between Landon and Roosevelt, declare that Landon is the chief enemy, direct our main fire against him, do everything possible to shift masses away from voting for him even though we cannot win their votes for the Communist Party, even though the result is that they vote for Roosevelt."

He then proceeds to say this "is not an example of the policy of the 'lesser evil' which led the German workers to disaster." But denying a thing doesn't prove the point. It is the policy of the lesser evil no matter what anyone says. To imagine such a policy will stop fascism is as bad as to have imagined Social-Democratic support of Hindenburg would stop fascism.

Some comrades may think it absurd to say that it is not impossible that the Communist Party may come out openly for Roosevelt before this campaign is over. But if such comrades will carefully read Comrade Browder's report, they will see that he presents an "argument" even for that. He even quoted Lenin to try to support his argument. This is what he quoted:

"More than any other man in America today, this man possesses those qualities which alone can lead America out of ruin to progress and happiness. For this man, more than any other in this country, has command of that scientific method and skill developed by Marx and Engels and carried to its world-determining victories by Lenin. . . ."

Well, if the quotation from Lenin regarding a bourgeois-democratic revolution used by Comrade Browder, is any indication of the Marxist-Leninist development of the national leadership of our Party, there are hundreds who have gone through our own schools who will not accept the judgement of Comrade Minor.

CP—Tail To Roosevelt Kite

What makes the convention seem so terrible is that its actions have taken from the American working class any possibility of carrying on an effective class struggle policy in this campaign. The working class has no Party in the field that is working toward working class unity against the sweep of imperialist reaction and the threat of imperialist war. The Party that ought to have been the vanguard of the working class is fast becoming the tail end of the Roosevelt parade, afraid even to state a clear-cut class policy for fear of endangering the fake "united fronts" that are set up with everything from anti-union religious outfits like Father Divine to Roosevelt and his Wall Street supporters. We have got to the point where we dare not remind the masses that the chief Roosevelt supporters are also lynch governors because it might weaken Roosevelt. We must not refer to the fascist assaults upon trade union organizers in Senator Robinson's home state, Arkansas, because he is Roosevelt's senate floor leader and it would embarrass both Robinson and Roosevelt. When speaking of hirelings of Hearst we must forget Roosevelt's son who works for Hearst and another engaged to a duPont daughter because otherwise workers might fail to see such a great difference between Landon and Roosevelt. And in the Party if one mentions such elementary facts one is in danger of being called an aide of Landon and Hearst because to criticize Roosevelt except in the mildest terms is twisted to mean support of Landon.

Oh, hell! One could go on with this for a long time. The whole thing is so awful, such a break with everything revolutionary, that a pamphlet, or a book, would have to be written to show just how this whole thing developed to where it is now.

What can be done to save the Party? I can suggest something that would save it, but I doubt whether the bureaucracy that manipulated the district conventions and the national convention would permit even the suggestion of it. That is to really have a discussion on the whole course of the Party over a period of time—say, during the world economic crisis—a discussion that would be conducted on the most open, democratic lines, free and frank, without fear of reprisals, victimization and expulsion. While talking so much about support of Roosevelt's brand of democracy, it might be well to set a good example by permitting proletarian democracy in the Party. That would clarify many things and would set the Party again on the road of proletarian internationalism.

Well, in a couple of schools that I know of conducted by the Party to train cadres, the very quotation was studied. It was studied in connection with the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution, when the next step in social development had to be the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In that sort of revolution the workers united with certain sections of the bourgeoisie and with the entire peasantry. But after the bourgeois-democratic revolution had been won, the proletariat then had as its allies only a part of the peasantry in a struggle against the whole bourgeoisie. If we, in America, had not yet realized the bourgeois-democratic revolution, then there would be some sense in Browder using the above quotation from Lenin. But certainly such a quotation, excellent as it is to depict class alignments before a bourgeois-democratic revolution, has nothing to do with class forces that must be involved in a struggle against the most powerful imperialist bourgeoisie in the world. Hundreds of us in section, district and national training schools have been taught these simple facts through the study of Lenin. I am sure hundreds who have studied Lenin's works dealing with such questions will think it is a big laugh that Comrade Minor, in nominating Comrade Browder, said:

"More than any other man in America today, this man possesses those qualities which alone can lead America out of ruin to progress and happiness. For this man, more than any other in this country, has command of that scientific method and skill developed by Marx and Engels and carried to its world-determining victories by Lenin. . . ."

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Meaning of French General Strike

By LEO

When the Blum government took office it was faced with the necessity of dealing with the strike situation. The strikes had started in the Paris metal industry whence it spread throughout the country. It was not confined to a few industries; the whole French working class joined in it. The best proof of this is the fact that working class groups that are, as a rule, not very militant in the defence of their rights, like the white collar workers in the insurance companies, department stores, and the hotel industry, came out en masse in full support of the strike.

Children of Revolution

In order to understand the spontaneous action of the strikers one must also consider the traditions of the French labor movement. It is rather difficult to make a French workman realize why it is important that he pay his dues regularly to the union and party, attend meetings, submit to union or party discipline, and take an interest in theoretical discussions. (Conditions are different in the North, once the stronghold of Guesdism, where the Belgian influence makes itself felt.) This lack of interest in the routine work of the labor organizations does not mean, however, that the French worker is indifferent or inactive. None other than Lenin pointed to the extraordinary political "sensitiveness" of the French proletariat. French workmen quickly grasp the political significance of a given situation. They are able to act upon their own initiative and show great skill in improvising the right organizational methods for their struggle. In their strength and in their weakness they are the children of the revolutionary traditions of their country.

The existence of the united front between the socialists and the communists, was also due to the spontaneous action of the workers themselves, proved to be their making. After the fascist uprising of February 6, 1934 united front committees of the rank and file sprang up over night throughout the country and the leaders had no other alternative but to recognize them in spite of the strained relationship between the socialist and communist parties. The workers in the Paris metal plants who had been steadily employed in recent times on account of armament orders, gave the signal that set the number of organized workers was very small as the employers made it their business not to hire any union men wherever they could avoid it. The whole metal workers' union of the Paris district of the CGT* had less than 10,000 members, a fact which emphasized the spontaneous character of the strike movement. The majority of the strikers who had previously not been organized now joined the unions of the CGT and authorized its leaders to negotiate with the employers.

Growth of Unions

Since the big strike the trade unions have more than doubled their membership which today counts 3,000,000. The metal workers union alone gained 100,000—new members. In the Paris district, the membership of the white collar organization rose from 6,000 to 30,000 and that of the chemical workers' union from 800 to 30,000. The new form of the strike, picturesquely called "the sit down strike" (la greve sur le tas) was ingeniously devised by the workers themselves. Workers in various other countries had resorted to the

* The reformist trade union center headed by Leon Jouhaux. The revolutionary trade union center (CGTU) has recently entered the CGT.—Editor.

sit down strike before, but on a large scale it was used for the first time in the French strike movement of last June. The strikers had various reasons for occupying the plants. First of all, they wanted to prevent the employment of scabs. This was very important in view of mass unemployment and the weakness of their organization. They also thought that the sit-down strike was an effective means to maintain the solidarity of the striking workmen, to keep the front of the strikers intact. It was no easy task to establish order and discipline among the Paris metal workers, the greater number of whom were unorganized. In some of the big metal plants the employers had even succeeded in luring workers into fascist organizations for the protection of capitalist interests. While the strike was on, trade union functionaries saw to it that the workers who occupied the plant received training in the fundamentals of trade unionism. This training did not consist of theoretical lectures but of practical demonstrations of facts and problems that concern union men.

The sit down strike confirms once more the ability of the French workers to act on their own initiative and to find new methods for organizing their struggle. Even that the reactionary press which had howled about "violation of property rights" had to recognize the discipline of the workers when they occupied the plants; and some of the employers stated that their shops had never before looked as clean as they did after the strike. The problem of accommodating and feeding thousands of workers in the plants was solved with the aid of the socialist and communist municipal administrations and the cooperatives. In this instance, too, self-aid proved to be most effective.

The new laws that give the workers right of collective bargaining, electing their own shop representatives and the 40 hour week are the results of the big strikes in June. Without the strike wave these laws would not have been passed and there would be no increase in wages.

Revolt of the Radicals

The government depends on the support of the radical socialists. What they think, however, was revealed by the senators who declared that they would vote for the new laws because the people wanted them, i.e., because of the mass pressure, but that they had very serious objections to them. The radical socialist senator, Jaquier, who had to report to the senate on the draft for the introduction of the 40 hour bill formulated the opinion of his colleagues when he said: "All speakers expressed the hope that this policy will be successful, although careful examination of the reasons had led them to believe that it would not be successful."

It would be wrong to assume that the views of the radical socialist party differ from those of the radical senators. The radical socialist party represents the interests of the petty bourgeois and moderately rich capitalists. It will never take the offensive against big capital or, as the French are now in the habit of saying, against the "200 families," because such an offensive would also threaten the economic and social existence of the small and middle proprietors. To believe that the Blum administration was solely guided by the will to meet the workers' demands would be fallacious. The government wished nothing so much as to bring the strike to a speedy conclusion. To serve its purpose it answered some of the demands the

workers had made. But this represents only one aspect of the government's policy.

In an interview given to the newspaper "Oeuvre," Salengro, the minister of the Interior declared on June 25th: "I wish to express my satisfaction with the fact that at the time over a million strikers had occupied the shops not a single act of violence was committed and no blood spilled. Imagine what would have happened if we had applied force, as certain people urged us to do. Do you believe that we would have been able to overcome the conflict without loss of life?" The "Oeuvre's" report of the interview continues in the following way: "This does not mean, however," said Mr. Salengro in rectifying his statement, "that we would not have applied any measures; we were ready to take them, and I must say that I don't understand the criticisms of those who reproach us for having, without much ado, stationed troops in the government departments,—without firearms as it were."

C.P. Is Uncomfortable

The "criticisms" Mr. Salengro referred to were made by the C.P. which, during the strike, had asked in a very cautious way,—for it supports the government of the People's Front—whether there was any truth in the "rumors" that Salengro had concentrated troops and police in the Paris district. Salengro's statements prove that the Blum government knew that it would have to make concessions to the workers in view of the tremendous strike wave, but that it would not have hesitated to apply forceful measures against the strikers if they had demanded more than the government was willing to give them.

When Blum declared in Parliament that he was against the evacuation of the plants by force, he added that he nevertheless considered the occupation of the plants as illegal. In point of fact, the sit down strike was not recognized as a legal method of trade union procedure after the big strike in June. The French employers are very anxious, of course, to make up for the losses they suffered through the wage increase. Prices are rising, and the government has promised to aid the employers by subsidies, reduction of the interest rate, and the lowering of taxes. Many French capitalists advocate inflation which they regard as a means of making the workers' gains ineffective. The fate of the franc is at stake. In any case we must expect a sharpening of class antagonisms. The confidence of the French workers in their own power has been strengthened again thru the victory they have won in the strike and they will certainly not permit the employers to cheat them of their newly won rights and gains.

What Next?

The big strike was not of a revolutionary character. When the workers occupied the plants they had no intention of expropriating the owners. Yet, tho their thoughts were not set on revolution, they felt during the sit-down strike that the plants belonged to them. Much will depend on the future development of the trade unions, the authority and numerical strength of which have grown tremendously.

The CGT is a unique organization. Its leaders are anxious to steer clear of any influence by the political parties of the working class. This independence of the CGT was stipulated in the new statutes when the trade unions merged. (In the years of the split the CGTU was closely related to the C.P.) It practically means that the CGT unions pursue a policy of their own. The CGT supports the People's Front, but it has its own program which is a French version

CGF BACKS DOWN ON EXPULSIONS

The fourth annual Convention of the Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth Federation held in Toronto August 3, 4, and 5, was relieved from the consideration of expulsions from its Ontario Section, a settlement being effected the day prior to the opening session. The expulsions were a result of several Ontario Units of the C.C.F. refusing to comply with the ruling of the Provincial Executive that participation in May Day was an organization was unconstitutional in view of the decision reached in a recent Ontario Convention of the C.C.F. against united front activities.

Two individuals accepted executive positions on the May Day Committee and no objection was voiced at the time, but later an edict was issued to withdraw or be expelled. They continued to serve on the Committee and carried on in this capacity, one of them serving as Chairman and the other as Treasurer of the Conference.

Several Units participated officially as C.C.F. Groups in the May Day parade and an order was issued on May 9 to expell them from the Ontario Section. The Units to which the offending executive officers belonged were ordered to let them out under pain of the Unit being expelled. They refused to carry out the orders and automatically found themselves outside the organization.

Immediately a conference was called and all C.C.F. Units in Ontario were circualized with the particulars. Public meetings of members were called which were well attended. Every avenue of publicity was explored including negotiations with the Ontario Executive. The latter proved futile.

A tremendous amount of sympathy and support was generated between May 9 and prior to the National Convention and rather than let the issue come before the National Convention the Ontario Executive made a last minute capitulation and re-instated the "offenders."

The task of consolidating the victory gained is the next step to be taken. The C.C.F. can be broadened out and strenuous efforts must be made to keep alive the militant and progressive spirit demonstrated during the struggle for re-instatement. The correct approach was indicated by the C.P.O. throughout the campaign.

It would be illusory and fatal to decide that the task of the leftward-moving element is finished because re-unification was secured. The gain must be extended and a progressive bloc formed to stay the hand of reaction and widen the mass base of the organization.

Now is the time to organize the progressives. The experience culled from the previous struggle can be used in helping offset those who bar the path to working-class unity.

of "Planism" a la de Man of Belgium. It is not likely however, that the policy of the CGT will meet with the approval of its millions of new members. The future of the French labor movement largely depends on what the workers who were the initiators of the big strike in June, will do next and on the political developments of the new trade unionists.

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SPAIN PROTESTS EMBARGO; ASKS AID AGAINST FASCISTS

(Continued from Page 1)

with their assistance to the fascists. Italy's aid to the fascists is well known but Germany continued to deny it until the discovery of many "new German planes" in Seville, which "the German Consul here privately admits (they) were flown by German military aviators".

"According to official German sources here", says Frank L. Kluckhohn in the "New York Times" of August 12, "the Nazi aviators will not fly the planes, but will instruct Spanish aviators how to use them." But he continues, "It is assumed this is merely official protection in case other powers question the acquisition of the new planes and it is generally believed the Germans will fly the planes themselves."

To continue to talk of neutrality in the face of these facts, which must be known to the People's Front government in France, is to play squarely into the hands of the fascist butchers.

Indeed, the very proposal is itself a blow against the Madrid government in the sense that it places the fascist rebels on a basis of equality with the de jure government of Madrid which was set up according to the best precepts of bourgeois democracy. Under the circumstances the neutrality pact, even if signed, would be little more than a transparent screen behind which the People's Front Government of France could hide its bankruptcy and impotence. It would under no circumstances halt the assistance which the fascist and "democratic powers" are extending to the fascist generals.

Thus, Great Britain warns its subjects against assisting "either side in Spain by land, sea or air" but cripples Madrid's bombardment of General Franco's terminals in the Mediterranean.

The United States, in the person of its president, raises its eyes in sanctimonious prayer for peace, pledges strict neutrality and says "We believe in democracy; we believe in freedom; and we believe in peace." But, the deposed King Alfonso prepares to return to Spain in an American plane, and Robert Neville reports ("Herald Tribune" August 15): "Jordain took a military airplane loaded with dynamite to Seville by permission of the latter in a plane piloted by the French Vicomte Jacques de Sibour"

Of the latter gentleman we have already heard. He is the Spanish representative of the Standard Oil Interests. But who is John H. Jordain? He is the manager of Socony Oil Company in Spain. While the former has been reported in a deal with the fascists the latter shows his bitter hostility to the "democracy" in which "we believe" by personally taking a plane full of dynamite to Seville, headquarters of General Franco.

And the United Press informs us (August 13) that the official organ of the Communist Party of Spain, Mundo Obrero, "called the policy (of the United States) 'energetic and valuable'."

Neutrality is a fraud which must be exposed.

The world is presented with the edifying spectacle of the Spanish People's Front government (supported by the Communists and Socialists) lodging a protest against the ban on war materials to Spain adopted by the People's Front government of France (supported by the Communists and Socialists). Says the report by James M. Minifie ("Herald Tribune", August 12): "The Spanish People's Front government protested today against the French ban on exports of war materials to Spain as DIS-

CRIMINATING AGAINST AN ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT IN FAVOR OF THE REBELS. The protest was communicated to Yvon Delbos, French Foreign Minister, by Alvaro de Albornoz, Spanish ambassador here." (Our emphasis). No more damning indictment against the whole People's Front policy could possibly be made.

But Socialist Premier Blum is having no easy time in executing this policy. Speaking before mass meetings of workers he was heckled with demands for planes to Spain. The temper of the French toiling masses at the treachery to the workers and peasants of Spain can well be gauged by some of the pronouncements of Foreign Minister Delbos (Socialist). He "made it clear that the pressure being brought to bear on Premier Leon Blum by his left wing supporters, who are infuriated by the delay in non-intervention negotiations and excited by constant reports of German and Italian aid to the Fascist rebels, could not be withstood much longer."

Of decisive importance however, is not the widespread dissatisfaction among socialists and communists with this policy, but the fact that the Radicals—the bourgeois partners of the People's Front—cast the decisive opinion. Again it is illustrated in life that when the Socialist and Communist Parties entered the People's Front with the Radical Socialist Party, they checked their revolutionary class struggle policies at the door; they surrendered leadership to a party of the bourgeoisie. Today they are prisoners of their own policy. A revolutionary policy of international aid to the Spanish proletariat means a break with the People's Front in France.

MINERS HELPING DRESS UNION

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—A promise that there will be no further police interference with the picketing of the Lesser Dress Co., the Pioneer Dress Co., and the Guzy Manufacturing Co. was exacted from both the Mayor and the Chief of Police by a delegation of 20 representing the I.L.G.W.U. Strike Committee and the General Mine Committee of the Glen Alden Coal Co., the latter of which has endorsed the local dress strike.

So brutal have the police been in their treatment of pickets that organized labor, as represented by the I.L.G.W.U., the original sponsor of the strike, Local 1407, U.M.W.U., and the Heights Branch of the Workers Alliance of America, has united in defense of its right to strike. The central grievance committee of the Glen Alden locals is not only sending men to the picket lines, but is planning to reprimand relatives of mine workers employed in the mills who have not yet walked out. The unemployed organization passed a resolution condemning police assistance to the manufacturers involved.

Arrests have been frequent and have not been restricted to members of the I.L.G.W.U. Frank Dorrance, a miner, and Simon Taresovich, a railroad track layer, were taken into custody after Officer Patrick Dougherty, cruising in the neighborhood of South and Main Streets, was hit in the head by a stone thrown by an unidentified assailant. Though both men denied in court that they had been disorderly, they were fined \$10 and costs.

The bosses have centered their

SPEAKERS AT CITY LABOR PARTY CONVENTION



Left to right: City Chamberlain A. A. Berle, guest speaker; Heywood Broun, President Newspaper Guild; Julius Hochman, Manager Dressmakers Joint Board I.L.G.W.U.; Sidney Hillman, President Amalgamated Clothing Workers; David Dubinsky, President International Ladies Garment Workers Union. At table, seated—Luigi Antonini, Chairman American Labor Party; standing—Alex Rose, Vice President Millinery Workers Union.

300 Unions Organize City Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

TY", New York Times, Wednesday August 12, 1936). They should know, he said further, that the industrialists began it. The National Manufacturers Association and various Chambers of Commerce have raised the question of a new party to represent their interests in a more direct manner, to establish their control over the nation in what is known as the fascist way.

Analyzing the record of Landon which he said "is a strikebreaker's record" Hillman branched off into an unsparing attack upon Norman Thomas. Without once mentioning him by name he spoke of "socialist spokesmen who send love letters to Landon," and of "one of the most idealistic simpletons who asks Landon will he beat up labor organizers." In a similar vein he sent a broadside in the direction of President Hutcheson of the Carpenters who has become the chairman of the Republican Party's Labor Committee, referring to labor leaders of his type as "fools or knaves."

The many speakers who addressed the large gathering of New York's trade unionists were somewhat hazy as to the type of party which was in the process of construction. Sidney Hillman's hope to "find all the liberal forces in this state marching under the banner of the American Labor Party" and A. A. Berle's belief that such a party might make it possible for the liberal forces in the state to "coalesce" with it, were merely

fire on the "foreign agitators" whom the I.L.G.W.U. has sent into the town. Thus Arm Landy, New York organizer and Harry Schindler, district representative, have been served with warrants which charge them with inciting to riot and assault and battery. Alderman Joseph Hender held Miss Landy in \$1000 bail on the first charge but dismissed the other one. Supposedly impartial, he also released a formal statement attacking the union for bringing in outside assistance.

echoes of Major Berry's speech made in Washington at the conference of the Labor Non-Partisan League in which he spoke of "the permanent establishment of a liberal party, if necessary, in the United States in 1940." Others placed much more emphasis on the labor character of such a party, the remarks of Luigi Antonini indicating this. There also appeared to be varying emphasis on the possibility of making this state organization permanent.

Heywood Broun, President of the Newspaper Guild, recently admitted into the A. F. of L., raised the question of the inclusiveness of the American Labor Party. There is no necessity, he said, to draw the line on the right. There is no danger of the duPonts rushing in. And, he continued, "I don't see how you are going to have an examination to see how radical a fellow is before you will work with him."

Telegrams and letters of greeting were received from Governor Herbert H. Lehman, George L. Berry and John L. Lewis, George Meany of the State Federation of Labor and Joseph Ryan of the New York Central Trades.

The conference adopted 4 resolutions: endorsing the candidacy of Roosevelt and Lehman; establishing the American Labor Party as a "permanent political organization of the wage-earners and all liberal elements in the population of our city"; authorizing solicitation of campaign funds from unions; approving minimum wage and maximum hour provision planks.

* * *

Dressmakers Union Local 22 I.L.G.W.U. has decided to affiliate

to the American Labor Party. Manager Charles Zimmerman explained the position of the union in a statement which we quote in part:

"The events of recent months together with the experience of decades of labor history, have clearly shown that independent organization on the political field in the form of a labor party is fully as necessary to the working class as independent organization on the industrial field in the form of trade unions. . . . It is true that the American Labor Party does not yet correspond to the formulas and conceptions that we may have had when the labor party was still a matter of the future. It is true also that there are differences of opinion as to the wisdom or propriety of certain steps already taken by the American Labor Party. But all of these things are secondary to the paramount consideration that a labor party has actually been formed, that it is the manifest duty of all unions, progressive unions especially, to join this labor party so as to help build it and enhance its class independence."

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