

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 36.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1936.

5 Cents a Copy

GARMENT UNION FIRM ON CIO

State Federation Takes "Hands-Off" Stand In Bitter Fight

On the eve of the expected order to suspend the organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union put an end to speculation as to its attitude in this gigantic struggle, by placing itself squarely on the side of the forces battling for industrial unionism.

In a letter to William Green, summarizing the decision of the General Executive Board, President David Dubinsky says:

"In the name of unity in the labor movement and in the hope that it is still not too late to avert a tragic division in the ranks of organized labor, we reiterate our request that the executive council lift this order of suspension and refer the matter to the next convention of the Federation, which is to be held only two months hence in Tampa, Fla., at which all the international unions may be fully represented, for full consideration and decision. Our international would regard a decision coming from the convention as a democratic solution of the critical controversy that is at present facing organized labor and would comply with its action."

The decision of the ILGWU makes it certain that the forces of the CIO will stand united come what may, and ends once and for all the hopes of a section of the executive council that the CIO would fall apart in the face of strong action by the council. However, the action of the ILGWU is not expected to change the course of the council and the suspension of the CIO unions is expected this Saturday.

The executive council has also conducted a campaign against Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union. In answer to the charge that he did not act in a democratic manner in failing to place the CIO question before his executive board, Howard countered with the demand for a general referendum to see where the A. F. of L. stands. He said: "If your Executive Council is desirous of learning the attitude of those who finance the A. F. of L. from their pay envelopes, I would suggest a referendum upon the question at issue."

The New York State Federation of Labor, meeting in Syracuse last week, adopted a hands off policy in the struggle now dividing the A. F. of L., despite the strong resistance put up by the CIO forces led by Charles Zimmerman and Luigi Antonini of the ILGWU. The resolution finally adopted reads in part:

"While your committee deplors the cleavage in the ranks of organized labor . . . it feels certain that the interests of our movement will be served best by the adoption of a hands-off policy on this or any other controversial issue of like nature that already has or in the future may be subjected to decision or action through the constitutional authority of the American Federation of Labor."

REMEMBER MOONEY ON LABOR DAY

Roosevelt Threatens Reprisal Against Madrid; P. O. U. M. Policy Praised As Revolutionary



The workers of Spain at the barricades in the fight against Fascism

STRIKE GAINS IN KNITGOODS

The General Strike of the knitgoods workers enters into its fourth week with picket lines and mass demonstrations continuing in full force. Mass meetings are held in the halls daily at 2 P. M. The Union Dramatic Group performs for the strikers and every meeting is addressed by outstanding labor speakers.

Picketing and demonstrations are being carried on in front of non-union knitgoods mills, outstanding among which are the Reitzas in New York City and the Commodore Knitting Mills in Brooklyn. Each of these mills employs approximately 300 workers and as a result of the demonstrations of the Knitgoods Workers Union neither of them are at present operating. The Union will continue the demonstrations and the struggle in front of these mills until they become Union mills and until their workers receive Union wages and Union conditions.

Joe Rapoport, Union organizer, reports 56 mills that have been open shop mills are now on strike. He also reports that the workers of these mills are picketing and demanding Union recognition and Union conditions before they return to work in the mills.

The spirit of the knitgoods workers remains at a very high level and they are determined that not a single shop will go back to work until the employers realize that they must settle with the Union conditions which include the 35-hour week, minimum wage scales, the right to the job, and pay for legal holidays.

The factual material recently issued on the General Strike in the knitgoods industry completely refutes all of the statements issued by the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association and Mr. Jed Syl-

CASEY RESIGNS FROM C. P.

JAMES CASEY, managing editor of the Daily Worker, announced his resignation from the Communist Party and the withdrawal of his candidacy for Congressman on that party's ticket. Casey, who had done a great deal to improve the Daily Worker (formally if not contextually) announced that the program of the party leadership "to swing the support of its membership and affiliated mass organizations to President Roosevelt," resulted in instructions to him to "be cautious of attacks on Roosevelt . . . he was to be chided gently as a blind to readers while all the fire was to be concentrated on Landon."

Browder, in the name of the party, replied to the press that: "Mr. Casey has put himself in line with Mr. Hearst, so that anything he may say is certain to fit the Liberty League program. . . . Mr. Casey was a minor editorial employee and never had anything to do with the formulation of policy."

bert its executive director.

Below is printed an excerpt from a letter sent by the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union to Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine:

"The 'Knitted Outerwear Times', organ of the association of knitgoods manufacturers, boasts of the most despicable methods used by employers to obstruct in an unlawful manner the unionization of the knitgoods industry. Headlines in the 'Knitted Outerwear Times' speaks of 'huge police dogs guard mills in Ridgewood area' and of 'large-size, fierce looking police dogs with a wicked and hungry gleam in their eyes.'"

A copy of this letter was sent to Mayor LaGuardia.

COMPANY UNION SPLIT IN STEEL

The company union of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, the largest subsidiary of United States Steel, split wide open as a result of the steel drive of the C.I.O. Five representatives demanded that the company recognize the bona-fide union (the Amalgamated), terming the company union plan "utterly futile". It is estimated that the pro-union group represents about half of the 80,000 steel workers employed by the company.

In addition, demands for a 25% wage increase and a universal forty hour week were presented, still thru the company union. One of the most interesting features of the list is the demand for a national wage-scale agreement and a national wage scale committee, which if enacted would completely overthrow the basic concept of company unionism. The latter is founded on the isolation of each plant from the other, lest a concerted movement of the steel workers result. These demands caused a split in the committee, some of whose members refused to endorse the Amalgamated Association.

Rumors were once again carefully circulated by the steel magnates that a pay rise for all workers was impending. It has become the custom of these barons, terrified by the spectre of unionization, to announce a pay rise everytime there is the slightest sign of "unrest" even in their own company unions. The rumor is started by the corporation's paid agents among the workers and the employers, to maintain the suspense, have "nothing to say".

REMEMBER MOONEY ON LABOR DAY

MADRID BOMBED IN AIR RAID

Henson and Chamberlain Return From Spain; Laud P.O.U.M.

Roosevelt announced that the attack on a U. S. warship would be sharply protested. He did not indicate what a U. S. warship was doing in Spanish waters, and its connection with U. S. "neutrality."

While rebel forces made very slight territorial advances in their drive on Madrid, they have been sending airplane squadrons ahead to bomb the city daily. An air patrol has been organized by the Madrid forces.

William Chamberlain and Francis Henson, directors of the Committee for Fair Play in Sports and members of the Socialist Party, praised highly the activities and program of the Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) in Catalonia. The success of the workers and peasants in defeating the fascist rebels thru the existing government was "about fifty-fifty. Even tho some important European observers whom we met believed that the government forces must win, and even tho some astute Americans think just the opposite, neither Chamberlain nor myself, said Comrade Henson, "could really predict victory for one side or the other. We feel there's always the possibility that necessity will force the workers' parties to break, not with the People's Front which practically doesn't exist and which certainly isn't conducting this struggle, but with the ideas, weak ones, of the People's Front. Revolutionary measures would ensure the success of the Spanish masses against the fascists."

Comrades Henson and Chamberlain had taken the American labor sports team to Barcelona for the Labor Olympics, and were met by the events of the fascist revolt. Most of their time was spent in Catalonia, where the situation is very advanced, primarily due to the existence of the P.O.U.M. Asked about the program of the Catalan Republic, especially regarding its relationship to "transition slogans" and its anarcho-syndicalist flavor, Henson pointed out that: "For the most part, you know, there is no Marxist tradition in the working class, and the anarcho-syndicalists, the F.A.I., have the preponderance of influence. When we were there they did not participate in the government, but recent reports to the effect that they are now in the government are not astonishing. The only one who is outside the government is the P.O.U.M. which has the nearest to a correct political program of any group. The United Workers Party, a merger of the Socialists and Communists, has affiliated to the C.I., and seems to be confused on the "line"—especially as regards government participation."

Chamberlain then took up the peculiar mechanics of the process of government: "The slogans of

(Continued on Page 4)

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition), 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8903. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.00 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" New York City.

Vol. 5, No. 36 Saturday, September 5, 1936.

THE RUSSIAN EVENTS

The trial and execution of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, and thirteen others guilty of active conspiracy to murder the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet Government has caused a profound stir, especially in the ranks of the class conscious labor movement. We are convinced that there is no adequate reason at hand to doubt the confessions made by the accused. We can see how there can be discussion as to the manner of the confessions, their grovelling character, but we do not see any reason to doubt the genuineness of the confessions.

Politically, the degeneration of Trotsky and his fading followers into an outfit dedicated to terrorism in the Soviet Union is no surprise and is entirely understandable. At the time of the assassination of Kiroff, when Trotsky forces were then only implicated and not yet fully involved, we declared: "Under the conditions that have accompanied faction struggle in the CP of the Soviet Union in the last decade every party opposition, whatever its program may have been, attracted a fringe of disguised anti-party and anti-Soviet elements. In addition, it must be remembered that for two years now the Trotskyites and other elements have been openly advocating the perspective of the violent overthrow of the Stalin regime in Russia, that is, of civil war. Between advocating an armed overturn and carrying out terroristic acts there is no difference in principle. The difference is only a technical one. The former is frequently transformed into the latter, once all hope of an effective mass movement is gone. Organized terror then seems to be the only way out."

The investigation made by the Soviet Government immediately after the Kiroff assassination revealed the hand of a foreign, a bourgeois government in all the plotting against the U.S.S.R. The further revelations made on the occasion of the last trial which was an open public trial at which the defendants had every opportunity to express themselves as fully and as freely as they wanted, showed still more clearly and established beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Nazi government had aided and abetted some of the Trotskyist terrorist conspirators. To some people this sounds fantastic, but if one considers the present character of the Trotsky program in regard to the Soviet Union there is nothing fantastic about it but only a quite natural and logical outcome of the entire evolution of Trotskyism. For instance, but recently Trotsky declared: "What perspective offers itself to us. Very probably a new revolution. It will not be a social revolution, but a POLITICAL one. The bourgeoisie also had great revolutions that were exclusively political developed on the already secure property basis. . . . The theoretical prognostications of Marx and Lenin did not foresee the possibility of a political revolution on the basis of property nationalized by the proletariat. But that was because they did not foresee the Bonapartist degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship."

On the basis of the above, which is a self-confessed break with Marxism-Leninism, it is quite obvious that the Trotsky terrorist center would have little qualms of conscience about co-operating with the Gestapo to dispose of Stalin and other leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. It is this fundamental political position, undoubtedly counter-revolutionary in nature, which affords the primary basis and paramount motivation of the conduct of Trotsky and his followers and collaborators in organizing terroristic activities inside the Soviet Union. That is why Trotsky had great difficulties in explaining his position in the whole matter during the trial. That is why he issued several contradictory statements. The Trotsky remnants were in a desperate position and were unable to offer even a lame explanation.

Even at the time of the assassination of Kiroff, Trotsky did not find it necessary to speak out clearly against individual terrorism as a method of struggle against the Party leadership in the Soviet Union. He then declared: "The subjective motives of Nikolajev and his colleagues are immaterial to us. The road to hell is paved with the best intentions." What is this but in fact a justification of the assassination of Kiroff? Nor does Trotsky help his case any when he declares as he did at the time of the murder of Kiroff that "individual terrorism is in substance merely a reflex of party bureaucracy" and that, "the Party leadership bears the responsibility for the murder. In this sense one can say with full correctness: Stalin and his regime are responsible for the murder of Kiroff." This reasoning is in line with the game played by the Nazis in which they always blame the murdered and never the assassins.

While condemning sharply the terroristic activities and complete degeneration of the Trotskyites yet we must state that we very seriously doubt the wisdom and tact of the Soviet authorities in inflicting the merited punishment of death on such personages as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, etc. Other and sufficiently adequate punishment could have been meted out without resorting to executions, and thus granting some recognition to the inestimable services once rendered by these erstwhile powerful figures in the ranks of the Bolsheviks. Furthermore, we do not hesitate to say that the bureaucratic regime of Stalin in the CPSU makes it extremely difficult for healthy, constructive critical opposition forces developing in the Party ranks. In fighting for a democratization of the system of Party leadership in the CPSU and in the Comintern as a whole we do so in the very highest interest of the proletarian victory already achieved in the USSR and yet to be achieved in other countries. We champion the extension of party democracy in the CPSU as well as in other sections of the Communist International precisely because we reject categorically Trotsky's theory of Thermidorean degeneration of the Russian revolution, precisely because we reject entirely Trotsky's evaluation of Soviet economic policy. Our sharp criticism of the Stalin leadership and lack of inner-party democracy and of collective leadership is the best guarantee for preventing the development of even the slightest

THE TEACHERS' CONVENTION

By JIM CORK

The national convention of the American Federation of Teachers, meeting in Philadelphia the entire week of August 17th, assumed significance in view of the fact that it was one of the first national conventions of a union meeting after the suspension of the C.I.O. by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. About 300 delegates casting approximately 400 votes met to consider their specific teacher problems as well as the broader problems facing the organized labor movement of which they are a part.

The question of the C.I.O. quite naturally dominated all other issues at the convention. A letter from Green to the convention and speeches by Louis G. Hines of the Metal Polishers International Union for the Executive Council and Brophy for the C.I.O. served as a prelude to the discussion of the question on the convention floor. Green's letter, conciliatory in tone, and offering full cooperation of the A. F. of L. (at the same moment that the Executive Council recommendation to revoke the charter of Local 5 was up before the convention) was an open bid for support by the convention of the Executive Council's action against the C.I.O. It was coolly received by the convention. Simi-lar was the reception given to Hines's echo of Green's familiar arguments on the suspension. Quite different, however, was the recep-

tion accorded to Brophy whose spirited attack against the undemocratic and unconstitutional action of the Executive Council was received with an enthusiastic ovation. The progressive stand of the convention on the C.I.O. was thus foreshadowed by the reception accorded to Brophy.

A resolution was adopted reaffirming the A. F. of L.'s support of industrial unionism, protesting the suspension of the C.I.O. as undemocratic and unconstitutional, calling up the Executive Council to rescind its action and thus achieve the necessary unity of the labor movement behind the drive to organize the mass production industries. Mention must be made at this point however of the dangerous argument indulged in by the rank and file tendency at the convention. The Progressives took the line that, in spite of our energetic efforts to prevent it, a split in the labor movement might occur, and regrettable as it might be, the eventually would have to be faced realistically, and preparation to meet it adequately made. As against this, the Rank and File adopted an ostrich, "hush-up" line—no recognition of the very real danger, no preparation at all for it, don't let's talk about it now. More amazing (and dangerous) was their criticism of Lewis ("he's too cocky") and the C.I.O. At a time when all pressure must be brought against the Executive Council for its action which threat-

ens to split the labor movement, this criticism of Lewis and the C.I.O. cannot but serve objectively to give comfort to the enemies of the C.I.O. It was no accident that the conservatives at the convention used the criticism of Lewis and the C.I.O. as a point of departure for a complete whitewash of Green and the Executive Council and for staying in the A. F. of L. at any cost. As one conservative delegate put it, "Suppose the C.I.O. is out? So what? The sun still rises and sets." The Rank and File criticism of Lewis brought grist to the mill of such attitudes.

The Local 5 issue, contrary to last year's convention where it took so much time, was handled with speed and dispatch. The recommendation of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for the revocation of the charter of Local 5, New York, was turned down decisively by a vote of 270-107.

On the question of independent political action, the Convention adopted a resolution for a Farmer-Labor Party, which included an evaluation of both Democratic and Republican Parties as parties of the employing class. The convention decided by a vote of 62 to 52 to cooperate with the American League Against War and Fascism. Coming as it did in the closing hours of the convention with almost two-thirds of the voting strength absent, it is doubtful if the motion would have carried before a full house. Strong resolutions in favor of the struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants against the fascist uprising, on academic freedom, and against Hearst were adopted.

Jerome Davis, outstanding liberal of Yale University, was elected President, and George Davis, militant progressive, was re-elected Secretary. The Executive Board chosen on the basis of regional divisions, was of a decidedly progressive cast. Notable in this connection was the election for the first time of a Negro to the Executive Board, Dr. Callis, of Howard University.

Appreciably stronger this year than last, and with further growth assured by the progressive outlook at this convention, the American Federation of Teachers will be prepared to play a more effective role not only in meeting specific teacher problems, but in the labor movement generally.

Whole report finally concurred in. A delegate asked about Mooney meeting, why no committee was yet working on the meeting. Also recommended doing something about Spain. Suggested working with Conference for Protection of Civil Rights to raise money.

A progressive, deploring the non-functioning of the anti-fascist committee, made a motion to send a cable to the Spanish trade unions extending fraternal greetings and our moral support, adding that the anti-fascist committee should figure out ways of raising money.

Amendment to leave it up to delegates to Conference for Protection of Civil Rights, defeated after it was pointed out that this was a function of trade unionism,

possibilities for such counter-revolutionary terroristic activities as those resorted to by Trotsky. This demand of ours is in no wise a justification of the anti-working class position and actions of those who degenerate to them but is on the contrary the best guarantee against them.

Finally, we would consider it extremely tragic and not at all in the interest of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Comintern if the Stalin leadership should, on the basis of its justifiable indictment and punishment of the Trotsky terrorists, seek to make still more impossible the development of healthy critical opposition inside the CPSU and the Comintern within the framework of Communist principles and democratic centralism.

Detroit Labor Council Notes

(These notes on the meeting of the Detroit Trades and Labor Council of August 19th, were compiled for the Workers Age by an observer present there.—Editor)

Special Business on Agenda—Report of Political Action Committee. Under Communications: Letter from Murray Body Loc., U.A.W.A., stating their intention of holding up per capita tax to Central Body until they are seated. Brother Martel stated that he had arranged a meeting with Homer Martin to discuss their seating and that of two other locals and Martin had not shown up.

Letter from Farmer Labor Party asking that Federation send delegates to State Convention, stating openly that there was a great danger of Lemke getting the endorsement. The matter was laid over till unfinished business. The Farmer Labor forces did not realize for some minutes what had happened to them. They squawked, but too late.

The Report of Political Action Committee consisted as in the past of lists of candidates recommended in the primaries on both old party tickets, depending on which kind of ballot the delegate prefers. Martel for the past two meetings has consistently sidetracked embarrassing questions as regards to the Labor Non-Partisan League. As was to be expected, some of the worst enemies of labor were recommended. Many had voted for the infamous Dunckel-Baldwin Bill. In spite of the low level of the meeting, this was too much for the delegates, and they added amendments that these people

not of the Conference. Motion passed over sarcastic comments of President Martel.

After Martel stated that Murphy and H. Martin would be the probable speakers for Labor Day, a delegate suggested that an out of town speaker be gotten, possibly someone from the garment workers who had been active in trying to free Mooney. Martel lost his temper, and asked the speaker whom he thought he was kidding, and to use a sense of proportion in this thing. The delegate replied that the motion passed the previous meeting called for a Mooney Day, not a Murphy Day. A motion was made to adjourn, partly because of this, partly because of the Farmer Labor Party business coming up. The vote tied at 19 to 19. Martel broke the tie, voting for adjournment.

Whole report finally concurred in. A delegate asked about Mooney meeting, why no committee was yet working on the meeting. Also recommended doing something about Spain. Suggested working with Conference for Protection of Civil Rights to raise money.

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REMEMBER MOONEY ON LABOR DAY

CAMP ARTEMUS BREWSTER, NEW YORK
Fare from Grand Central \$1.05
Rate: \$15 weekly
Improved sport facilities

Canadian Socialists and Pacifist Respectability

By PETE ROSS

During the week of August 3, the C.C.F. (the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation—read Social-Democratic Federation) held its fourth annual convention in Toronto. Before indicating just how important for the Canadian working class (as so repeatedly claimed by the C.C.F. leadership) were the results of the convention, it is necessary to make a few explanatory remarks to our non-Canadian readers.

Background of C.C.F.

The C.C.F. was organized four years ago on a federated basis, including Socialist party units, labor and farmer organizations, as a political party fighting for parliamentary representation. Because of its federated basis and its organic connections with the organized labor movement, the C.C.F. gave promise of becoming the base for a bona-fide Canadian Labor Party. However, about two years ago the present leadership ousted the labor sections of the C.C.F. and has since been changing from a federated basis to one resting on individual membership. The absence of trade union elements at this convention was painfully evident—even to the leadership. A large number of delegates were reverends, lawyers, professors etc. and the character of the main resolutions and the debate on these resolutions was representative of the middle class character of the delegates. Organized labor was not only not present but was not even outside looking in. In fact the Canadian Labor movement is quite antagonistic to the C.C.F. because of the treatment it received from the present leadership when the labor section was expelled.

Supports League

It is necessary to quote the sections on the League of Nations to show the absence of Marxian analyses. . . . It is, however, clear that a properly organized League of Nations can be of great help in organizing world opinion against war and in establishing a system of collective security to prevent aggression. (If any capitalist formula or organization can do all of that, then what happens to the theory that war is a result of the inherent contradictions of capitalism.) The present league has failed because imperialist governments have used it as a screen behind which to play the old game of power politics. (Is there any other game possible?) To be effective the League must provide machinery for the peaceful change of treaties; it must deal fearlessly with economic conflicts arising from trade rivalries and from the struggle for raw materials.—The C.C.F. will actively support any policy which aims at such developments in the League.

Wanted—Respectability

The opening address of the officers and of most of the leading members of each of the provinces represented, clearly indicated that also they talked much of socialism and much about the destruction of capitalism (by constitutional means) yet the C.C.F. was out to gain respectability. Thus in the debate on the advisability of having a united front with other political parties (especially the C.P.) fear was expressed that such an alliance would isolate the C.C.F., it would lose votes, the present membership would desert it etc., etc. In fact one of the reasons that the C.C.F. had nothing in its name to indicate that it was a socialist party was the fear that even the word "socialist" would frighten its present supporters and limit its appeal. One can understand such party, out to defend the immediate interests of the workers as a class within the bounds of the present system—but such arguments can not be accepted on their own merits from a leadership claiming that the C.C.F. is out to destroy capitalism (in a dignified orderly manner) and bring about socialism.

Pacifist Stand On War

The resolution on war and the one on relations to other political groups caused most of the sharp debates on the floor of the convention. As finally adopted, the resolution on war is nothing but the rankest kind of pacifism, based on the theory of Canadian isolation and strict neutrality. Tho every one recognized that war is one of the first items on the political and social agenda facing the international working class not one word was mentioned either in the resolution or in the debate regarding the historic task of the working class

League of Nations—which of necessity is a creature of the dominant imperialist powers—able to act in the manner indicated above. And this balderdash is offered as a solution to the problem of war.

On the question of neutrality the resolution has this to offer: "Until such organization (League of Nations—P.R.) is achieved the C.C.F. believes that Canada should remain strictly neutral in case of war regardless of who the belligerents may be." In the debate on the question of strict neutrality it was made painfully clear that this position would also hold when the government is under C.C.F. control. As one delegate remarked "I don't want to go to war at any time—even if it be in the defense of the U.S.S.R., Spain or France."

Attitude to C.P.

The other resolution that caused a great deal of verbal fuss was the one on relations with other political groups. When this resolution came up for discussion the C.P. leadership was down in full force (on the sidelines). On the eve of the convention the C.P. had issued an appeal for unity on both the political and economic front. However, in answer to this appeal, Woodsworth, national chairman of the C.C.F., indicated what would probably be the position taken by the convention—possible unity on the economic front but no unity on the political front. As quoted in full in "Daily Clarion" of Aug. 5, official C.P. daily, this is what he had to say regarding political unity with the C.P.:

"At the C.C.F. convention at Regina an amendment was offered along the lines advocated by Mr. Tim Buck, (Sec'y C.P. Canada—P.R.) a few days previously. This was defeated but it served to illustrate the lengths to which some are prepared to go. The amendment called for a United Front of C.C.F., Communists, Social Credit, Reconstruction, the Wheat Pool, Trades Unions, and other 'progressive organizations.' A new idea! Just why the Liberals, the Conservatives and the Manufacturer's Association—or at least the Retailers Association—were not included, I really don't know. When I think of Mr. Harry Stevens' (Reconstruction Party—P.R.) staunch support of capitalism or Mr. Aberhart's (Social Credit Party—R.P.) denunciation of socialism I wonder why the Communists should go out of their way to try to induce the C.C.F. to join forces with capitalist groups."

In answer to a plea that the C.C.F., C.P., Social Creditors, Reconstructionists, etc. organize a People's Front in Canada, David

Labor Day: A Call by Lewis

To all workers in the United States, whether organized or unorganized:

There is today a most vital question confronting you. It is a question upon which may hinge not only your destiny but the destiny of this nation. I refer to the organization of the workers in the mass-production industries of the United States, upon which organization of the workers in smaller industries and business must depend.

Organized labor in the United States numbers today a little more than three million men and women; this is, roughly, only one tenth of the workers who are eligible for organization. There are twenty-seven millions of persons in this United States who are devoid of the benefits of organization.

What can a strongly organized labor union do for its members? It can raise their wages, lessen their hours, and improve their working conditions. It can be made an instrument for expressing and securing the social, political, and economic needs of its members. A member of a labor union is no longer wholly at the mercy of his

British Labor's Utopia Of Peace Provokes War

Readers of the Workers Age have already been informed (issue of August 8) of the results of the recent Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in the August 8th issue. One of the major resolutions adopted on the war question called for the redistribution and reallocation of raw materials and colonies in order to prevent open conflict between the imperialist countries. This false approach to the war question is gradually gaining more and more support. Such an orientation impedes tremendously the development of the working class movement against war on a sound program. We are therefore presenting the following brilliant and incisive polemic of Nicolai Bukharin* against this policy which really flows from the pacifists, typified by the late Frank Simonds:

" . . . the late Mr. Simonds, after sharply (and to a great extent correctly) criticizing the League of Nations, draws the conclusion that foreign territory and raw materials are indispensable to Germany, Italy, and Japan; that any attempt to persuade these countries to the contrary would be absurd; and that the League of Nations must adopt the rule of economic parity and make an equitable distribution of the world's resources of territory and raw materials. This will avert a world tragedy. Indeed? But what will come of this plan objectively, i.e. apart from the subjective intentions of its authors? Let us analyze this plan of the new 'levelers.'"

"First, who are to be the SUBJECTS of this deal? Alas! These do not include such countries as Egypt or China or India. Nor do they include any of the small independent states like Czechoslovakia. The subjects of the deal

* An article appearing in Foreign Affairs, July issue.

Lewis, a member of the National Committee stated: "I do not care to discuss whether or not the People's Front tactic is or is not correct in France or Spain. It is not our business, but it is unmitigated nonsense to think that even if People's Fronts are correct all over the world, it is a correct tactic to be used in Canada."

Wunderschoen war diese Stute, Leider aber war sie tot. . . . It is just another utopia. The more powerful groups will not surrender their colonies for the benefit of their poorer relations. If Germany, Japan and Italy cannot be persuaded to abandon their expansionist policy, then there is just as little expectation of philanthropy on the part of Great Britain, the U.S.A. or France. As regards the workers of the U.S.S.R., they can see absolutely no reason for surrendering their common property to their bitterest class antagonists.

"Fifth, Capitalist states might ask themselves whether this leveling scheme does not have in it the germs of what Japanese diplomats would call 'dangerous thoughts.' For mankind is divided not only horizontally into states, but also vertically into classes. (By the way, this idea of a revision, and of a blow at the maxim 'Beati possidentes,' calls to mind the whole class which is made up of the 'possidentes.' Here, however, it is not a question of redividing the factories and distributing the machines among the workers, but of common ownership of the means of production, and this is the course which history will take."

Democratic Discussion Due to efforts made by members of the C.P.O. attending the convention a resolution, expressing solidarity with the attempt being made by the American Labor Movement to obtain the unconditional release of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, was unanimously approved by the convention.

This report can not be complete without giving credit to the leadership of the C.C.F. for conducting one of the most democratic conventions that I have had the pleasure to observe. Debate was unlimited, no ballyhoo, no prepared speeches, discussion was conducted in a comradely manner on the merits of each question up for debate.

** It was a beautiful horse but unfortunately it was dead.

A. L. P. Is Real Labor Party, Says Progressive

By Amalgamated Progressive

The birth of the American Labor Party a few weeks ago is an important historical event in the American labor movement. It is the first important step on the road to complete independent political action of the working class of this country. For many years, progressive elements in the labor movement have agitated for a labor party that should defend the working class politically as the trade unions do economically. Now, such a Party has been formed even tho, only in the State of New York. But there are good reasons to believe that in other states also such parties will be formed and in due time a Labor Party on a national scale will be organized.

In endorsing the American Labor Party, we must not close our eyes to some of its serious shortcomings, political and organizational. The new-born child is yet strongly tied up with one of the two old capitalist parties. On the Labor Party ticket in the coming presidential elections, there will be found at the head two leaders of the Democratic Party. This is, in my opinion, a grave political error, which it will be possible to avoid in the future, but which is, at the same time, a sign that the Labor Party is not yet politically independent.

In the Labor Party, there is as yet great confusion and unclarity as far as organization is concerned. A Labor Party must be built on the basis of trade unions and other working class organizations. The affiliated trade union locals are the branches of the Labor Party. Through these locals, the Labor Party is carrying on its work. This is how it should be. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case in all the affiliated bodies. In the Amalgamated, for instance, things are being done that could only damage the growing prestige of the Labor Party. Application cards are being brought by the Business Agents to the shops and the boss's office girl is being told to sign the names of all the workers on the application cards and to deduct fifty cents from the workers' wages as a yearly dues payment in the Labor Party. When, at a recent meeting of Local 25, a worker inquired about this method, a high official of the union answered, that "The end justifies the means. The workers," the official argued, "are not yet sufficiently class conscious and they do not en masse stream into the Labor Party—it is necessary

ROOSEVELT THREATENS MADRID; P. O. U. M. POLICIES PRAISED

(Continued from Page 1)

the P.O.U.M. are very popular with the masses so popular that the government accepts them almost automatically. The procedure is something like this; the P.O.U.M. issues a slogan which is accepted by the anarchists the next day, and thru them, is the official government policy of the third day. Of course, large sections of the population don't know the source of the policy, and to them the hero of the occasion is Companys, the petty-bourgeois Catalonian republican, now President, who is very popular."

Your correspondent was informed that the committee system, pyramids up to the "Anti-Fascist Militia Committee", which both observers felt was the real government, while Companys, despite all subjective ties and traditions was really a "shadow government". The Committee, based on others which are democratic and extend their roots into the factories, presents its demands in the form of a "request" and Companys must carry out the order of the council. "These Committees", Henson pointed out, "are, at least historically, the germs of Soviets. The major difference between Spain and Russia of 1917, and I'd like to emphasize this, is the absence in Spain of a Bolshevik Party which fights for the independence and supremacy of the soviets. The P. O. U. M. is extending its influence, but still exists primarily in Catalonia."

The seizure of factories, both agreed was a very sporadic movement without plan or guidance, and limited, with the consent of Communists and Socialists, to "military purposes". The Ford plant was seized as a symbol of anti-imperialism, and is now turning out armored cars.

to drag them into it." It goes without saying that such a method of recruiting members for the Labor Party must be immediately discarded, if the Labor Party is to be built on a healthy basis. Membership in the Labor Party must be a voluntary matter.

But despite these shortcomings, the American Labor Party is a genuine labor party, in the first stages of its development. Its membership and leadership is of a thorough labor character. Progressive workers should support and build the Labor Party. The American Labor Party must become a powerful political force which will be completely independent of capitalist parties, permanent in character and organizationally consolidated.

As for the peasantry, the bourgeois government has not yet taken radical steps to break up the estates, altho the Church lands have been turned over to the peasantry. One of the major moves to gain the sympathy of middle class elements has been the nationalization of pawn-shops, appreciated also by the workers. This was about the extent of "radical" social moves on the part of the government.

Henson noted that the attitude of the European press had changed especially on the question of the People's Front government. "Where before they'd call it a People's Front now it was 'Prieto's government' or the 'Socialist government'". Even certain important Communists admitted privately to us that 'the People's Front was dead' and expressed agreement with the policies of the P.O.U.M." "The nature of recruiting", Chamberlain added, "shows the growth of influence of the P.O. U. M. Recruiting is thru political parties, and regiments go to the front under the banner of the particular party. In the short time we were there, we saw the line of volunteers grow before the headquarters of the P.O.U.M. till they were far more than those signing up with the anarchists or the United Workers Party. The same applies to the commandeering of cars—a rough indication of strength and influence among the workers."

Your correspondent asked if they felt a decisive battle was being avoided, thru fear of proletarian revolution, by the capitalist politicians in the People's Front, and both Henson and Chamberlain readily agreed that such was there impression. "Even as regards the battles at Saragossa, important in the strategy of the Madrid government, it didn't look as tho co-operation were fully given from behind the lines. If the fall of Madrid is to be prevented, if the fascists are to be finished, a proletarian revolutionary government is needed."

BOOKS of the AGE

THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, by T. V. Smith. University of Chicago Press. 290 pages. \$2.50.

Mr. Smith is a professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago and a representative to the State Senate from the fifth district, and his book expresses the limitations, platitudes and absurdities of American politics, couched in philosophic language.

The author examines liberalism, fascism, communism, and "Americanism" from the point of view of how individualism fares and how much personal liberty each system affords the masses, (the right to vote in a bourgeois parliamentary election is taken to be synonymous with personal liberty.) Without a historical approach and any conception of the struggle between classes, there is precious little to recommend the whole analysis. In his discussion of fascism Mr. Smith points to some interesting aspects of a secondary nature about the psychology involved in the hero cult of fascism. But the social conditions that give rise to fascism and its ideology are not considered at all and for that reason the chapter isn't as revealing as it might have been.

The same fault is to be found throughout the book. Mr. Smith does not realize that he is making no remarkable discovery when he proves how unsuited the Soviets are to our capitalist system. And for the same reason he cannot understand why precisely the Soviet System is suited to working class rule. In his discussion of communism, Mr. Smith shows his training in American politics. Here is a country where classes are being abolished, where the old arguments about "incentive" and "you can't change human nature" are breaking down, and what does he say of the Soviet leaders? "We know that we ourselves do not live wholly on hope, and we disallow the claims of others to such disinterestedness". It is taken for granted in American politics that elected officials will turn public trust into private profit. Mr. Smith cannot understand that in

NEW TIMES, NEW LYRICS

THE INTERNATIONAL

(rewritten to suit the present C.P. line)
Unite! all people who love freedom
Unite! all foes of fascist rule.
Democracy is in grave danger;
We must defend this worthy school.
Traditions must not be forsaken.
Unite, and thwart the fascist spree,
That liberty may not be taken
From our great land, where all
are free.

CHORUS

'Tis the coming conflict;
So let all classes fight,
To save our bourgeois system;
Let everyone unite.

ALVIN ZALINGER
Boston Unit C.P.O.

changing class relations in Russia they are also "changing human nature". He cannot say that private property is being accumulated by the Communists in Russia so he finds that they are rewarded with prestige, power, even martyrdom. And this is supposed to equalize matters after the nationalization of the land and the factories!

One who believes that rugged individualism is a God-given trait of human nature is hard put to explain its transformation since 1929, but Mr. Smith does not shrink from the task. With the frontier gone and widespread ownership of private property a thing of the past, he finds a new base for individualism in the acquisition of the masses of culture to such a degree that the material things of life will not affect men's lives. Toward the end of the book the author tries to solve our social problems. His formula is the following: We must strive to build a nation of "good men". And what is a good man? One who is "skilled in some limited line of endeavor". Mr. Smith studiously avoids an answer to the obvious question, "What good does it do the thousands of skilled unemployed to be 'good'?" He does, however, come to the point in his conclusion that politicians, being skilled at politics, are to have a monopoly of political activity.

In this elaborate fashion, does he arrive at a conclusion that is the touchstone of the bourgeois parliamentary system. To make the masses politically active on election day and politically indifferent all year around. By its inability to analyze, or solve any of the real problems that confront us, by its crackbrained and fantastic solution, the decay of bourgeois science and culture is made clear. This is the real merit of the book.
—M. S.

Greetings

On this Labor Day, we want to voice our sorrow for our Spanish comrades who have so valiantly and courageously given their lives to save Spain from Fascist claws. We shout our cheer and courage to those who continue in this despairing struggle against the military bandit, Francisco Franco and his bloody gang!

Things are happening in the world today with a terrifying swiftness.

We, the workers in the United States, therefore must reaffirm our class solidarity. We must have this indelibly carved in our minds: That a united labor movement will not permit Fascist tentacles to reach out and stifle the voice of democracy.

A UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT WILL DEAL FASCISM ITS DESERVED DEATH BLOW.

We salute the International Labor Movement!

JOINT BOARD

Dress and Waistmakers Union

JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager

BEN EVRY, President

PHILIP KAPP, Secretary-Treasurer

Labor Day Greetings

FROM

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