

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## CIO Unions Suspended; A. F. L. to Build Rival Unions, Says W. Green

Will Take In Progressive Miners Union And Charter  
Federal Locals In Steel; Fight For Unity  
And Democracy Continues

The Executive Council of the American Federation has finally suspended 10 international unions belonging to the CIO, thus striking the first blow in what will undoubtedly become a war to the death. The endorsement of this decision by the Executive Council which meets on October 7 is a foregone conclusion. With President Dubinsky of the ILGWU out of the council, the vote may even be unanimous.

According to Green the suspension of these unions was a formal act, the international unions involved having withdrawn from the A. F. of L. by their refusal to withdraw from the CIO. This position is "thoroughly inaccurate" and "a distortion of the facts", hotly retorted David Dubinsky. He insisted that the internationals were suspended illegally. To withdraw, at this time, from the CIO while it is engaged in the great task of organizing the steel workers of the country would be "an act of sheer treason to the cause of labor."

Exactly what would happen at the coming convention of the A. F. of L. remains unclear. Green insists that delegates from suspended international unions would not be seated. However, the decision providing the maintenance of unity in city central labor bodies and state federations of labor provides the possibility of suspended members appearing as delegates from city and state bodies. Altho Green insists that such would not be seated, the question is still not settled. Also the CIO unions are not at all united on their attitudes toward the A. F. of L. convention. The miners have declared that they are not sending delegates. But many of the others are prepared to make a fight for being seated. In addition there are quite a few international unions openly sympathetic to the CIO and city and state bodies who are ready to make a firm stand against the splitting policy of the Executive Council, provided they are made to feel that such a fight is of some significance. The absence of any number of the suspended internationals from the conventions would tend to weaken such a fight.

William Green lost no time in announcing to the world that the Council would engage in active organization work "in all industries." Pressed for further details Green declared that the Council does not consider closed even those industries covered by the CIO and that unions may even be organized in the steel industry.

The following are the organizations affected by the suspension: Automobile workers; Rubber workers; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; International Ladies Garment Workers; Flat Glass Workers; Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; United Mine Workers; Oil Field, Gas and Refinery Workers; United Textile Workers. The Millinery Workers and the International Typographical Union were not suspended because Zaritsky and Howard were affiliated with the CIO as individuals. The organizations suspended count a membership considerably over one million.

LARGO CABALLERO



## Blum Refuses Help to Spain; New Cabinet Includes 2 Communists

Says Peace Is Major Consideration; Shift In Cabinet  
Makes Largo Caballero Premier; Fascists  
Defeated At Talavera

Pushed hard by the demonstrations of the Parisian workers, shouting "arms and planes for Spain", Leon Blum addressed a huge rally where he declared that "his heart bleeds at the sight of what is going on in Spain, but for France the guiding line must be peace. Certain countries desire to aid the rebels as much as we desire to aid the government elected by free and universal suffrage. Either we remain neutral or we provoke war." Thus Blum announced that under no circumstances would he change

the foreign policy of his government, and if that policy were to be changed, he would resign. Of course, Blum did not explain why the present "non-intervention" pact allowed "certain countries" to aid the fascists.

Two hundred thousand metal workers emphasized their demand that France aid Madrid, by holding a one hour protest strike against the government's foreign policy. However, the People's Front is based on the policy of the Radical Socialists, primarily of the pro-German Deladier, and not on the mass organizations and interests of the workers. A Spanish deputation headed by La Passionara, Spanish woman Communist leader, has been pleading for aid in Paris, on the basis of "saving democracy". Even this classless appeal has failed to arouse the Blum government.

Within Spain itself, a significant change has been made in the constitution of the government. Certain rights have been thrown out, Largo Caballero, leader of the "left" socialists has been made premier and minister of war, and two communists included in the cabinet. The basis of the shift lies in the inability of the government to really control and inspire the workers and peasants and secondly, reveals the necessity of steps towards socialism as the only method of fighting fascism. That the latter cannot be really carried out by this bourgeois government does not nullify the fact that the move reflects the instinctive demands of the workers, and the objective requirements of the situations.

The defection of the capitalist elements in San Sebastian has emphasized the basis of the Cabinet shift. Here the non-proletarian elements seek to compromise with the Fascists and give up the city, a proposal made without the consent of the workers organizations, who would "surrender" as did the defenders of Irun.

The pressure on Madrid has been lessened by the recapture of Talavera, where a smashing defeat has been inflicted on the Fascists. Talavera was the key to the northward route to Madrid, as are the Guadarrama Mountains the strategic defense on the other side. Madrid itself reports food shortages. Within the armed forces of the rebels, war-prisoners have indicated, much hardship exists in addition to mutual suspicion. At Sargossa, scene of the sharp battles involving the Catalonian workers, the rebel forces have been forbidden to carry arms within the barracks.

## THE C. P. O. CONFERENCE DECISIONS

### NEXT WEEK

A detailed report of the discussions, and the text of the resolutions of the conference of the CPO, will be printed in the Workers Age. Don't Fail To Get Your Copy

The conference of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition), held in New York, over Labor Day week-end, discussed the problems of the labor movement, in this country and internationally. The national committee included representatives from the needle-trades, auto, steel, coal and other industries, and geographically, covered the United States to the West Coast. Decisions were made on the CPO position in the 1936 election campaign, on the CIO-AFL crisis, and on the Labor Party movement. The questions of relationship to the CI, war, etc. were introduced as drafts for the basis of a thorough discussion thruout the organization for three

months, culminating in a national convention.

The conference, opened by George F. Miles, paid tribute to the comrades who had fallen in the past year: Moriarty of Canada,

Karras, of Czechoslovakia, Debus of Germany. To those imprisoned by capitalist class injustice, Comrade Roy of India and Jack Soderberg, waterfront leader, the conference sent resolutions of proletarian solidarity.

A greeting to the conference from Mooney and Billings was received with great enthusiasm, and a motion to contribute \$300 to their defense, made by Sascha Zimmerman, was passed by acclamation.

The conference then heard the report of Jay Lovestone. The danger of war, Lovestone warned, brought with it the transformation of the so-called bourgeois democratic states into open dictatorships of a

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## I.C.O. Letter to C.P.O. Conference Discusses Burning Issues of the Day

Dear Comrades:

Your conference takes place at a decisive moment in the development of the international labor movement. The entire world proletariat is following the heroic struggle of the Spanish workers with bated breath, knowing that the fate of the workers of all countries will be decisively influenced by the outcome of this struggle. Since the Russian Revolution of 1917 the proletariat of no other country outside the Soviet Union has advanced the cause of the proletarian revolution as much as the Spanish workers are doing today. In Spain, it is now a question of whether the toilers, under the leadership of the proletariat, will set up a soviet power, thereby giving tremendous impetus to the emancipation struggle of the working class in all countries, or whether the forces of the decaying capitalism will succeed in drowning the Spanish revolution in blood, thereby delivering a deadly blow to the entire international working class movement and intensifying the immediate danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union, increasingly isolated by this new defeat of the world revolution. The American workers also must do everything in their power to help their Spanish brothers, to prevent imperialist intervention on behalf of Spanish fascism and to assure a supply of arms to the anti-fascist forces in Spain.

The fundamental and tactical conceptions now at issue in the ranks of the international labor movement are undergoing an acid test in the fires of the Spanish civil war, a test such as only a revolution can provide which arouses the masses of the toilers to the last man. And this merciless test in a great revolutionary movement has shown that the policy followed by the CI and its sections in the recent period has come into direct conflict with the inter-

ests of the proletarian class struggle, that this policy is absolutely suicidal from the standpoint of communism in general and the security of the Soviet Union in particular. From the outset, the International Communist Opposition called attention to the opportunistic dangers arising from the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the CI and from the Peoples Front policy sponsored by this Congress. But our fears have unfortunately been surpassed by the reality. The CI has continued with its opportunistic policy—to the point of surrender of Communist principles. It is no longer content with hampering the proletarian class struggle; it has now passed over to openly opposing it. In Spain the official Communist Party plays the role of a mere adjunct and auxiliary of the liberal bourgeoisie. In a situation in which the revolutionary masses are everywhere creating their own organs of power, in a situation in which a dual power is arising, in a situation in which, to use Lenin's expression, the bourgeois revolution is "growing into" the proletarian revolution and in which the proletariat is beginning to take over practical control of economic life and the peasants are beginning to divide the large estates, in such a situation the official CP of Spain, with the support of the CI, is carrying on a propaganda against the expropriation of the capitalists and in favor of the bourgeois republic and "republican order"—a propaganda, that is, for the maintenance of the bourgeois state machinery and against the marvelous creative revolutionary activity of the masses dictated not by bourgeois law but by revolutionary right. The CP of Spain is today using the same rotten Menshevik arguments against the erection of the Soviet power that Lenin criticized so sharply in 1917.

(Continued on Page 3)

### Lenin Said:

TO class conscious workers, Socialism is a serious conviction and is not a cloak to cover up conciliatory middle class aspirations. . . .

Plekhanov uses Marx where he refers to the wars of 1813 and 1870. Kautsky likewise utilizes Marx's references to the wars of 1854, 1871, 1876-7 and 1889. Only men who are devoid of all Socialist conviction and conscience could seriously put forth such arguments. One cannot help protesting against such unheard of jesuitism, hypocrisy and general prostitution of Socialism.

Without illusions, the Basic manifesto lays down the correct attitude and duty of the Socialist Parties of all lands. That duty is to incite and stir up the working class to a consciousness of its deplorable position in society; not to lull it to sleep by means of jingoism. . . .

The most hackneyed apology for the betrayal of Socialism is the crude excuse of defense against "oppression". "We were attacked and are defending ourselves", therefore, it is argued, that "the interests of the proletariat demand that we oppose those who violate the peace of Europe." This is but a rehash of the declarations of every government and of the vapourings of the yellow press. "We must find the aggressor and make short shrift of him, postponing all other questions until a further occasion," says Plekhanov. . . .

As applied to wars, the fundamental proposition of dialectics, so shamefully distorted by Plekhanov to please the bourgeoisie, consists in that "war is merely the continuation of politics by other (namely by violent) means". . . . Such was always the point of view of Marx and Engels, who regarded every war as a continuation of the policy of certain interested powers—and of divers classes within it—at a given time.

From "The Collapse Of The Second International"

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

WILLIAM GREEN has just announced (September 1) that the executive council contemplates no changes in its threatened suspension of the 10 unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, and that the penalty for organizing the steel workers—suspension—would be carried out on September 5.

Altho the trade union movement has been aroused over this issue as over no other yet it is safe to assume that the seriousness of such a break in the ranks of organized labor is understated. Newspaper articles constantly repeat that the CIO includes within its ranks organizations with a collective membership of about one million and that this constitutes roughly a third of organized labor. This figure, as also the implications of such a split, are not evident from such statements.

It is true that the CIO totals about one million members, according to the membership figures given at the last convention of the A. F. of L. in Atlantic City. Here they are: Amalgamated Clothing Workers 100,000; International Ladies Garment Workers Union 160,000; Flat Glass Workers 10,000; Millinery Workers (no figure given); Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel 9,000; Mine, Mill and Smelter 15,000; United Mine Workers 400,000; Oil Field, Gas and Refinery 43,000; United Textile Workers 80,000; International Typographical Workers 74,000. (The Auto and Rubber workers had not yet been given an international union charter.)

But the membership of these unions is today greater than the figures listed. As a matter of fact what growth there has been in the A. F. of L. this year is due to a number of these organizations. The ILGWU, for instance, has increased its membership by about 65,000, the United Mine Workers is today probably the largest trade union in the world—its membership topping the half million mark. And the Amalgamated Association has grown by leaps and bounds since the CIO launched the drive to organize the steel workers. Certain it is that its membership is many, many times 9,000.

However, even these figures do not provide an accurate gage of the full strength of the industrial unions. There are at least 8 international unions with a membership of about 250,000 which stand ready to jump into the fray. These may not have affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization

for various reasons but the majority of them have left little doubt as to their position. Among the more outspoken supporters of the CIO are to be found the Brewery Workers and Hotel and Restaurant Employees. Such internationals as the American Federation of Teachers and the Fur Workers have expressed their sympathies and internationals like the Printing Pressmen and others will surprise a lot of people.

Even these do not exhaust the sources of support and strength of industrial unionism. If the Executive Council were finally to throw down the gauntlet to the CIO on September 5, there is every reason to believe that a number of the front line fighters for craft unionism such as Wharton, Hutcheson and Bugniazot would find sections of their membership going over to the hated "enemy". It would, for instance, be pretty difficult to restrain the thousands of saw mill workers in the north-west from leaving Hutcheson flat. The same applies to numerous "allied groups" which have been attached either to the machinists or the electrical workers for no good reason except to shut off their cry for a separate international charter.

This brief survey of the potential forces behind the fight for industrial unionism does not take into consideration a number of virile and extremely potent independent organizations—such as the shipyard and radio workers—which have been on the friendliest terms with the CIO.

It is clear from the above facts that the CIO is hardly the minority of one-third. As a matter of fact a referendum of the membership of the A. F. of L. would undoubtedly result in overwhelming victory for the industrial unionists. Green and his lieutenants will yet find out that when they cut loose the CIO unions they will have severed the

# THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN CHINA

By JIM CORK

The Peoples' Front tactic is being extended to China with a rapidity that can have only disastrous results for the future of the Chinese Revolutionary movement. If continued it can only prepare the ground for another defeat of the Chinese Revolution comparable with and even greater than the defeat of the 1925-28 effort.

The basic problem of the Chinese Revolution is one of determining the correct role to be played by the Communist Party in a bourgeois-democratic revolution developing in a colonial country, and therefore assuming a national anti-imperialist character. Nobody has ever denied the bourgeois democratic character of the Chinese Revolution. The problem of stages, however, must be carefully considered by a communist party in determining its tactics. It is not only permissible, but necessary for the revolutionary forces, in the early stages, to enter into a common broad national revolutionary bloc, inclusive of the national bourgeoisie. The C.P., however, must at all costs maintain from the beginning its complete independence in agitation and action, seek to extend the influence of the revolutionary elements inside the revolutionary bloc and throughout the country until dominance is finally achieved. This is a prime necessity so that when the disruption of the revolutionary bloc comes, as it inevitably must, due to different class outlooks as to the future road of the revolution, the working class elements, under the leadership of the C.P. drawing the mass of peasants and urban petty-bourgeoisie behind them, will be in a position to prevent the national bourgeoisie from utilizing the national revolutionary movement for its own class purposes. In other words, the central problem is one of who shall win thru to leadership in the national revolutionary movement against imperialism. If the bourgeoisie is allowed to maintain hegemony in the national revolutionary movement, it will mean the defeat of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it will lead to bourgeois reaction, with the national bourgeoisie coming to an understanding with imperialism for the common crushing of the revolutionary working class movement. That is why the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, utilizing the experiences of the 1905 and February 1917 events in Russia, insisted that the bourgeois democratic revolution in China, could be successful only if it were led by the revolutionary proletariat drawing behind it the mass of peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie, culminating in the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. This revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, Lenin further insisted, is only a temporary phenomenon. It must have as its chief aim the destruction of the power of the national bourgeoisie. Once this is accomplished

together with the defeat of imperialism, the basis will have been created for the transformation into the socialist dictatorship.

### Capitulation to Kuomintang

The mistake of the C.I. in the 1925-28 events in China was not in joining the broad national revolutionary bloc around the Kuomintang, but in the class policy, (or rather lack of one) it carried out inside the bloc. This policy was essentially one of class capitulation to the national bourgeoisie at the decisive stage of the fight. Instead of fighting for leadership, it allowed itself to become a tail to the national bourgeoisie under the slogan that the latter must not be antagonized, out of fear that the anti-imperialist bloc might be broken. The tragic result was inevitable. The national bourgeoisie had their way. The Chinese Revolution was destroyed. Chiang Kai-shek butchered the flower of the revolutionary elements. The military cliques became once more their devastation. The capitalists and landlords were free to exploit the Chinese workers and peasants. The inevitable compromise with imperialism guaranteed the further dismemberment of China.

Today the situation is not the same as in 1925. The fight can be waged on a higher level. The limitations of bourgeois leadership in a national revolutionary drive against imperialism are more apparent than ever before to the mass of Chinese people. The drive of Japanese imperialism to annex all China has fired the hatred of imperialism generally and Japanese imperialism particularly to a new high. The role of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang as tools of imperialism is crystal clear. The military cliques, the capitalists, the landlords have made clear on which side they stand. And then there is the Red Army and the Chinese Soviets. More than ever before is it apparent to the broad masses of China, that a real national defense against imperialism is possible only when the struggle for the social emancipation of the masses becomes the heart, the rallying ground of the struggle for national emancipation. This means that the struggle today must be waged not only against Japanese imperialism, but imperialism in general, against Chiang Kai-shek, the tool of imperialism, against the bourgeoisie and the landlords. But the line of the C.I. and the C.P. of China today is the direct opposite, thanks to the Peoples Front, Chinese model! The same tactics which accounted for the defeat in 1925-28 are being extended.

With Everybody Against Japan Just as in the western world, fascism is isolated as the chief enemy, and the differentiation between bourgeois democracy and fascism (two different forms of capitalist dictatorship) becomes more important than the fight against capitalism generally, so in China, Japanese imperialism becomes the chief, nay the sole enemy. The fight against imperialism generally is omitted as if no other imperialism had any interest in the dismemberment of China. More, friendly relations, no less, are to be maintained with other powers.

The new foreign policy of the C.P. of China is directed SOLELY (my emphasis—J.C.) against the Japanese invaders. For this reason the attitude towards representatives of other capitalist countries has changed to a certain extent. . . . (C.P.) maintains friendly relations with those peoples or states which are not supporting Japanese annexation". (Tan Shin

The British Trade Union Congress getting under way this week at Plymouth, will hear a report by its General Secretary, Sir Walter Citrine, boasting an increase in membership of about 200,000. At last year's congress at Margate, Citrine reported an increase of 100,000.

Citrine will also list the return of the previously affiliated Shipconstructors and Shipwrights Association, the affiliation of the General Union of Bedding Trade Workers, and applications from the Navigators and Engineer Officers' Union and the Association of Wireless and Cable Telegraphists.

She—"The Policy of the C.P. of China and the Chinese Red Army"—Impreccor No. 23—May 16).

English and American imperialism will naturally not support Japanese penetration into China for their own imperialist reasons. That makes them, by implication, the friends of the Chinese revolution! The dangerous illusions raised here as to the possible progressive role of other imperialisms, instead of openly proclaiming the struggle against all imperialisms, of uncovering especially the role of English and American imperialism, will bear its dead sea fruit for the Chinese masses.

Even Chiang Kai-shek, the butcher of the Chinese Revolution, the tool of imperialism, will be admitted if he so desires, into the anti-Japanese bloc!

"At the same time the Red Army issued a call to all troops and their commanders to form a united anti-Japanese army immediately. This call was addressed to Chiang Kai-shek personally as well—The C.P. and the Chinese Red Army would give him the opportunity of expiating his guilt before the people and China—". Wang Ming—"Struggle for Anti-Japanese Peoples Front in China"—Communist International—June 1936.

The sorry tale goes even further. Since it is desired to " . . . include the entire population in the anti-Japanese united front." (Tan Shin—"The Impreccor"—author's emphasis), nobody is excluded, not even capitalists and landlords, the two chief sources of exploitation of the Chinese masses.

"The Red Army which has entered Shansi province has adopted a new attitude with regard to landlords and capitalists in order to include them also in the anti-Japanese front . . . The new agrarian policy of the C.P. of China may be expressed as follows: there will be no confiscation of the land of those Chinese landowners who are not traitors to their country, and accessories to Japanese invasion" (Tan Shin She—Impreccor—May 16).

Soviets For The Bourgeoisie The Chinese Red Army, finally is to merge itself into a broad amorphous Peoples Army, and the Chinese Soviets are to be broadened out in social composition.

"Hitherto our Soviets have been organs of workers, peasants and Red Army Deputies, but now we want to make the Soviets democratic organs not only of the toilers of China but of all those who today are actively opposed to Japanese imperialism and stand for the salvation of the fatherland. Some of our comrades had doubts as to whether certain BOURGEOIS ELEMENTS (my emphasis—J. C.) could be drawn into our Soviet apparatus. We think that as things stand at present in China this can be done." (Wang Ming—Com. Int.—June 1936).

All Class Soviets!—The new contribution to revolutionary strategy by the Peoples Front, Chinese Model. It is a far cry from Lenin's revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

The Peoples Front line in China is now clear: submerging organizationally and politically the revolutionary elements in a broad amorphous people's bloc, at a time when the specific stage of development requires the more resolute pressing forward of their independent class position and conception. (Continued next column)

## THE C.P. JUMPS TO CONCLUSIONS

In the editorial review of the September 1936 issue of The Communist, the following question is addressed to the socialists:

"Will it (the Socialist Call) also realize that, by continuing its hostility to the People's Front, it assumes responsibility for Trotsky's collaboration with Hitler's Gestapo? The two are not separable, as is clearly evident today."

We sincerely hope and trust that this idea, to which a whole page of the editorial review is devoted, is merely a political slip of the pen, an absurdity begotten of polemical heat and to be "forgotten" with a return of sanity. Because, if we are to take it as representing the considered political attitude of the C.P., the whole matter assumes a far more serious aspect.

Trotsky is implicated as having relations with the Gestapo and Trotsky is against the People's Front policy—hence anyone against the People's Front policy must necessarily be an agent of Hitler and a would-be assassin of Stalin. Such is the brilliant political "logic" to which we are now being treated. This is not political discussion, not even political controversy; it is a contemptible piece of shabby political trickery!

In Spain, the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM), one of the most influential organizations in Catalonia, as well as the anarcho-syndicalists of the CNT and FAI, are against the People's Front policy; in fact, they refuse to participate in the People's Front. Are they also agents of Hitler's Gestapo?

In the United States, Germany, England, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, where the Communist Opposition have opposed and still oppose most vigorously the policy of the People's Front as anti-Marxist in principle and disastrous in practise—look at Spain and France! Perhaps we, too, are to be saddled with "responsibility for Trotsky's collaboration with Hitler's Gestapo!"

Does the Communist Party realize what this whole attitude amounts to? It is no more than the old, discredited and disavowed doctrine of "social-fascism," resurrected and tricked out in a new garb! It is making disagreement with the Communist Party on questions of policy or tactics equivalent to betrayal of the working class and espousal of fascism!

The old "social-fascism" struck out towards the right; it branded every other class tendency, whether it was really reformist or it simply disagreed with the C.P.'s "third-period" frenzy, as the "left wing" or "Siamese twin" of fascism, as "fascism disguised with socialist phrases." Today's variety of "social-fascism" strikes out toward the left; it apparently aims at branding every criticism of the gross opportunism of the C.P. as equivalent to "responsibility for Trotsky's collaboration with Hitler's Gestapo." The same vicious system—under different aspects!

Does not the C.P. leadership realize that with such "arguments" it merely discredits itself in the eyes of the class conscious workers and actually helps to spread Trotskyite influence among the socialists? In fact, the Trotskyites want nothing better than to be in a position to prove that the Communist Party is unable to defend its views in a responsible and constructive manner but must resort to extravagant abuse and wild charges of "fascism" at every turn. Is the C.P. leadership really determined to provide the Trotskyites with ammunition for their pestiferous propaganda?

We cannot believe that the declaration in The Communist represents a deliberate and well-considered policy on the part of the C.P. We appeal to the leadership and membership of the C.P. to call a halt to such reckless, irresponsible and politically suicidal methods before too much damage has been done. Let them recall the wreckage left in the wake of the "social-fascism" of yesterday before they embark upon another such adventure today!

# I.C.O. Letter to C.P.O. Conference Discusses Burning Issues of the Day

(Continued from Page 1)

In France, the policy of unconditional support of the Blum government has led the Communist Party to the point where it is no longer content with hindering the full development of strikes but has come out openly against the utilization of the strike weapon and the occupation of factories by the workers. The practical consequence of the policy of national defense on the basis of French imperialism, as advocated by the CI, has been that the CPF has now taken a position against revolutionary activity in the armed forces and in favor of the maintenance and defense of the French colonial possessions. From the Spanish events the CPF not only does not draw the conclusion that the Peoples Front policy is false, since it strengthens and encourages fascism; the French section of the CI now takes its stand for an extension of the Peoples Front towards the right, for an alliance with political figures who are the direct representatives of the French trusts and who have close connections with the fascist organizations.

This policy of the CI is sheer suicide from the communist standpoint. It directly involves the destruction of the communist organizations and an encouragement to the membership to pass over into the camp of the enemy under circumstances when sections of the CI face the task of opposing the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship and advocating the maintenance of capitalism (as in Spain), of opposing strikes and advocating the colonial interests of imperialism (as in France). Through this attitude on the part of the CI the Second International is being greatly stimulated and helped to assume a left color at the expense of the CI; this attitude too, is of assistance to the Trotskyites, the Anarchists and similar groups.

This policy is a direct menace to the Soviet Union, which finds its strongest support in the advancement of the proletarian class struggle in the capitalist countries. By serving as a hindrance to the proletarian class struggle, the CI helps to deprive the Soviet Union of its best means of defense and to isolate it in the case of an imperialist attack.

In such a situation the existence and policy of the ICO are more necessary than ever. Against the suicidal policy of the CI it is necessary to hold aloft the conceptions of the ICO embodying the principles of communism, so as to save the world communist movement and to defend the Soviet Union. For us it is a special satisfaction that in Spain, it is the oppositional communists united in the POUM who are today playing the role of revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat; who are today, through their revolutionary initiative, marching at the head of the Spanish workers; and who constitute the only organization in Spain advocating the seizure of power by the toilers under the leadership of the working class, the only organization showing

the way along which alone the Spanish workers can emerge victorious from the terrible struggle now going on. We can also note the positive fact that the members of the Communist Party of Germany have entirely rejected the opportunistic policy of the leadership and are refusing to carry it out, that, in increasing masses, they are embracing the conceptions of the CPGO and that today the CPGO enjoys far greater political authority in the eyes of the Communist workers actively engaged in illegal work than the central committee of the CPG.

The activity of the CPO in the United States, resting upon a basic understanding of the needs of the class struggle of the American workers and upon the model application of the principles of revolutionary internationalism and solidarity, convinces us that you will take the correct position on the new tasks facing us. In the face of the capitulation of the CP of the United States to bourgeois liberalism and its actual support of Roosevelt, it will be your task in the election campaign to do everything in your power that the vote for the candidates of the CP should be transformed from support of Roosevelt, as intended by the leadership of the CP, into a revolutionary demonstration for communist principles. If we support the candidates of the CP and then they withdraw in favor of Roosevelt, this will serve to make the communist workers recognize us as the champions of communist principles as against the policy of their leadership, so harmful and discreditable to the revolutionary movement.

Your trade union work is becoming increasingly important in view of the conflict on the question of industrial unionism.

We greet the correct attitude that you have taken towards the labor party in New York.

In recent years the American labor movement has made tremendous progress. In connection with the growing danger of a new imperialist war, the international role of the labor movement of the strongest capitalist country in the world becomes ever more significant. The CPO must grow and become constantly stronger so as to provide a dynamic center helping the members of the CP save the party from the destructive, actually anti-Communist policy of the leadership. Upon our CPO depends more than ever the future of the communist movement in the United States.

We take advantage of this opportunity to thank you, in the name of the comrades of the CPO working illegally in Germany, for the material aid that you have extended them. Your active solidarity is a valuable and indispensable support for the comrades of the CPGO in their illegal work.

We wish your conference the best of success in the interests of the American and international labor movement.

The Small Bureau of the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION August 22, 1936.

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## Labor Day Greetings

to the American working class

## WORKERS AGE

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## S.P. CONSISTENCY ON LABOR PARTY

THE Socialist Party, it is well known, is against the American Labor Party of New York. In the eyes of the socialists, the A.L.P. is no real labor party at all, merely a "company union outfit conceived in the mind of Jim Farley and organized by the administration's labor stooges," as one letter-writer to the Socialist Call so delicately puts it. And why?—because the American Labor Party has come out for the support of Roosevelt and Lehman.

Very good! But even such "revolutionary intransigence" should be consistent and thorough. Yet what do we find? In the August 29, 1936 issue of the Socialist Call we note with pain an item headed "Farley Plans Labor Party for America."

"Added impetus was given a genuine national farmer-labor party completely divorced from the two old parties and their candidates, when the representatives of the Minnesota Farmer Labor Party and the Wisconsin Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation held a conference here. . . . The importance of this conference can be judged by those who participated. Wisconsin was represented by Henry OHL, president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; Mayor Daniel W. Hoan; Representative George Schneider; Representative Thomas R. Amlie; Kenneth Hones, president Wisconsin Farmers Equity Union; Charles Goldamer, president Wisconsin Farm Holiday Association; and others. Among Minnesota representatives were Lieut. Gov. Hjalmar Petersen; U. S. Senator Elmer A. Benson; John Bosch, national president Farm Holiday Association; Howard Y. Williams, national organizer American Commonwealth Political Federation; and Al Urbibes, president Minneapolis Central Labor Union."

Thus runs the despatch from Madison, Wisconsin. Upon examining these names, we find that virtually all of them who are not members of the Socialist Party are vigorous supporters of Roosevelt! Senator Benson is, in fact, one of the sponsors of the "progressive conference" for Roosevelt soon to meet in Chicago. It is well known, of course, that the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party is for Roosevelt and so is the Wisconsin Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, altho in a peculiar "unofficial" way, by special arrangement. And the same is true of the other organizations mentioned!

Why, then, is the American Labor Party a fraud and the Madison confab an "impetus. . . to a genuine national farmer-labor party"? Can it be—but surely such a suspicion would be unworthy of the uncompromising revolutionists in the S.P.—can it be that the latter is thus purified and sanctified by the mere presence of that potent chieftain, Mayor Hoan? Perish the thought!

## BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

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## MICHIGAN C. P. CALLS FOR HELP AGAINST ITS FRIENDS

"Let's make that (the State Convention of the Michigan Farmer-Labor Party) the biggest demonstration ever held in Michigan. Let's serve notice that the common people of Michigan are behind Bill Lemke of North Dakota." This statement of Walter Nelson, attorney for the Farmers' Union and a member of the Executive Committee of the Detroit and Wayne County Farmer-Labor Party, at an outstate rally in Grand Rapids, August 2nd, coupled with the endorsement of Lemke by other leading figures in the Michigan Farmer-Labor Party and the Farmer's Union, the largest organization in the Farmer-Labor Party of Michigan, has thrown the Detroit "strategists" into a panic.

The growth of the Farmer-Labor Party in this state has been based on the Maurice Sugar vote rolled up in campaigns in which he has run for various offices, and the activity of the Communist Party, especially in Wayne County, where it has encouraged the Townsendites and Coughlinites to play leading roles in the local and state Farmer-Labor Parties. With the Farmer-Labor Party based on individual rather than collective membership, the Lemke forces are now taking over the very Farmer-Labor Clubs which the Communist Party was instrumental in building.

By its People's Front policy on the Labor Party question, the Communist Party has fallen into the trap that we of the Communist Party (Opposition) warned against, insisting that the Farmer-Labor Party must emanate from the trade unions, a warning which was rejected as "playing into the hands of the trade union bureaucrats". While on the national field criticizing the Lemke outfit (Coughlin - Townsend - Smith) as semi-fascist, the Communist Party of Michigan has played around with these very elements in an effort to win their following—but the Lemke group, too, has its bag of tricks.

Now the Detroit and Wayne County Farmer-Labor Party is compelled to make a frantic appeal for help to the trade unions who recently formed the Michigan Non-Partisan Labor League for support of Roosevelt's re-election and Murphy's election as Governor on the Democratic ticket and Couzen's return to the Senate on the Republican ticket. The local Farmer-Labor Party, in a communication to the trade unions, appeals to them to come to the State Farmer-Labor Party Convention, to be held in Owosso, Sept. 12th, to help defeat the elements who want to put Lemke on the ballot as the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party for President and to nominate a candidate for Governor to oppose the Non-Partisan Labor League in Michigan. (As it is too late for the Union Party to be put on the ballot in Michigan, the only means left is the Farmer-Labor Party).

At the Detroit Farmer-Labor Party Nominating Convention, held in Northern High School, August 8th, a thin veneer of harmony could not hide the whisperings of "all's not well". Though the Daily Worker report of the number of delegates and the membership of their organizations resembled a rising stock-market report, the number of delegate badges told just the opposite story. Trade unionists who were previously leading figures in the local

Farmer-Labor Party were conspicuous by their absence. Candidates for state and Congressional offices were nominated, including Maurice Sugar, resolutions broad enough to suit all the ragtag organizations present were perfunctorily passed, and the speakers harangued against Spanish fascism(!)

The Daily Worker was absolutely correct in stating of this meeting: "The Townsend Club represented cooperated fully for the convention decisions" for the

Townsend candidates for nomination on the Republican ticket were distributing picture cards and soliciting support in front of the building. Furthermore a leading local Townsendite who had been boosted to the high heavens by the "strategists" of the local Farmer-Labor Party, even being proposed as a candidate for Governor, now has them worried because of his endorsement of Lemke. The same person confided that Father Coughlin was a good fellow who had done a lot for the common people and that he would endorse some of the candidates of the State Farmer-Labor Party. And this big chief was one of those who spoke against Spanish fascism at the local meeting of the Farmer-Labor Party!

## C.P.O. CONFERENCE DECISIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

military or fascist nature. The demands of modern warfare make civil peace imperative to capitalism. Therein lay the basic fallacies of the CI's war position.

Developments within the Communist International had made a revision of our previous attitude towards it mandatory. Characterizing the policies of the CI on the war question and attitude towards democracy as anti-working class, Lovestone declared that it was the opinion of the National Bureau and of the International Communist Opposition that the CI had broken with Marxist principles on these two points. He pointed out however that the foundations of this opportunist course was in the revolutionary desire to defend the Soviet Union, sharply differentiating the CI from the Second International, and thereby completed excluding the possibility of the Trotskyist Fourth International. Comrade Lovestone concluded with a favorable estimation of the Soviet Constitution.

Preceding Herberg's report, a letter was read from a party functionary, known to the readers of the Workers Age as Sam Adams. The latter greeted the conference and pointed out that its decisions would be decisive in guiding the writer and many others in their struggle to restore the party and the International to Leninist prin-

ciples. Comrade Herberg showed that the labor movement was again faced with a split in the trade unions, but that the formation of a new trade union federation by the CIO is a necessary and progressive step for the American workers. Such a federation would not be dualist because its main purpose was industrial unionism, because, far from the attitude of such movements as the IWW or the TUUL that the A F of L was a capitalist organization, it declared that the crafts unions were ineffective instruments. Secondly it was a movement composed of bona fide unions, not splits against such unions.

The American Labor Party was accepted by the conference as a real labor party, despite its elementary character and its only partial independence from the capitalist parties.

The CPO position on the presidential elections was presented by Comrade Herberg as support of the candidacy of Earl Browder, but not on the latter's platform. Since the choice is still between the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, since the possibility of reform of the 3rd still exists, we can support Earl Browder. This support will be completely independent of the party's campaign and will be based on an appeal to vote for communism, and therefore for the Communist Party, which despite all deviations, is still the historical representative of communism.

## TEACHERS SLAP GOV. LANDON

The American Federation of Teachers took up Governor Landon on his recent Chautauqua address, wherein he, as part of the Republican policy of public dissassociation from such elements as Hearst, opposed the Ives Bill and other gag-laws, supporting the principle of academic freedom.

The letter, "congratulating" Landon on his general stand, demanded that he be specific concerning Federal financial aid to education. It was pointed out that, according to official figures, 7,000 Kansas teachers have been receiving less than \$10.00 per week; that nearly 500 schools have been forced to close in the Sunflower State; and that Kansas gives less state aid to education than any other state. Asking further, Landon's attitude to such bills as the Washington "Red Rider" or the Fletcher-Harrison bill providing \$100,000,000 for public schools, the statement expressed misgivings as to the sincerity of Landon's stand due to his gubernatorial record in Kansas.

## A.L.P. GETS NEW AFFILIATIONS

The American Labor Party, New York State affiliate of Labor's Non-Partisan League, ended its first month's activities with a paid-up enrollment of labor organizations with a total membership of over 300,000, according to a summary for August, made public today. In addition, the report indicated, applications for individual membership are reaching party headquarters by the thousands from all parts of the State.

Reports from the upstate counties announced the opening of headquarters in Rochester, Albany, Utica, Buffalo, Syracuse, Schenectady and other centers. At the same time, branch headquarters are in operation in the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn, and Manhattan.

Another step under way by the American Labor Party is the filing of incorporation papers with the State Industrial Board. This will take place within the next few days, Mrs. Herrick indicated. "The American Labor Party will

## KNITGOODS MEMBERSHIP MEET APPROVES STRIKE SETTLEMENTS

Two thousand knitgoods workers enthusiastically cheered the report of the accomplishments of the general strike given by Manager Louis Nelson at a membership meeting held at the Amalgamated Temple on September 3rd. These 2,000 knitgood workers, part of the many more who have returned to work with a union agreement providing for a closed shop spelled defeat for the plans of the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association to smash the knitgoods union.

Many of the employers who have signed agreements with the Union were formerly members of this association. The fact that they have signed with the Union and that their workers are back under Union conditions proves that the Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association is defunct and is no longer considered a factor in the knitgoods industry. The Union has come out of the struggle stronger and determined more than ever before to continue its organization work to organize all of the open shops in the industry.

Manager Louis Nelson in his report stated that "the battle is won," but the war is on. Organization work must continue and the

shops that have not yet settled will continue on strike until the employers of these shops come to the Union for settlements as the other employers have done."

Continuing further Nelson stated that several hundred workers who were previously unemployed were placed into mills that returned to work after the strike. "The thirty-five hour week," he stated, "reduces the army of the unemployed, but the demand of the employers for a forty hour week would increase the number of unemployed in our industry. The employers are not concerned with the unemployed, they are concerned with the additional profit that five extra hours a week would give them."

The membership meeting approved the action of the Joint Council in the support of the American Labor Party and confirmed the Council's stand for affiliation.

## TRUCK STRIKE PENDS PARLEY

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs presented demands for a five day forty-hour week at present wage scales which are based on a six-day week. The employers responded thru their association the Merchant Truckmen's Bureau, to the effect that such standards would be higher than those obtaining in other cities.

La Guardia immediately announced that such a strike could not be allowed under his administration and forced arbitration. The truckers voted for a parley instead of a strike. At present the strike is delayed and the Union is hopeful of reaching a satisfactory settlement.

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