

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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NAZIS BID FOR SOVIET LAND

Hitler Sharpens Relations With Russia In War-Mongering Talk

Hitler held out the prospects of Russian spoils to the international imperialists as a bait for a mutual alliance against the Soviets, and as pressure for colonial gifts from France and England, at the Nazi Congress being held in Nuremberg.

Facing the fourth year of increasing misery and oppression in the Third Reich, plus increasing opposition from the underground movement which slowly but steadily saps his monstrous regime, Der Fuehrer made the most provocative speech in the history of recent diplomacy. "If only I had", he blustered "the rich deposits of the Urals, the wheat of the Ukraine, the forests of Siberia, how soon would Germany swim in superplenty." From the assembled Nazi hordes there rose a roar of approval as he thus openly began laying the basis for a "Drang Nach Osten" for putting into practice the theory of expansion at the expense of the Soviets, which he had developed years ago in his "bible," Mein Kampf.

The party congress has been used primarily, if not solely, as an anti-bolshevik weapon. The major slogan has been "World Enemy No. 1—Bolshevism". For the entire week nothing has come out of the Congress save mad ravings at the working-class movement and the Soviets.

Ley, Goebbels and Rosenberg have contributed their bit to this gathering, the former assuring all that "the German workers would fight for the triumph of the Nazis in all lands." He did not explain why the concentration camps contained so many "contented" German workers.

PAINTERS GAIN NEW AGREEMENT

The strike of 12,000 painters of District Council 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters was settled last week by a one year agreement signed with the Association of Master Painters. The agreement will run to August 27, 1937.

A compromise was reached over the issue of hiring workers direct from union rolls, to prevent the "kickback" racket which, it is estimated, has cost painters \$2,000,000 annually. The union had demanded that 50% of the workers be hired direct from the union, the settlement compromise reached was for 25%. Secretary Weinstock announced that about 1,000 new members had joined the union and that 150 non-union shops would still be picketed.

The Brooklyn District Council No. 18 also signed a new agreement with the employers with the following provision: 50% of the workers shall be designated by the union; a 2 weeks trial period; equal distribution of work; recognition of the union's shop stewards to enforce union conditions on the job.

GET WORKERS AGE AT NEW RATES

FOR THE SOVIETS!



SOVIET ARMY MANEUVERS REVEAL GREAT STRENGTH

The annual Red Army maneuvers now going on in Soviet Russia have revealed the development of the armed forces of the proletarian state to a high degree of

efficiency. Among the more startling tactics have been the dropping of 1200 soldiers by parachute from planes, and the successful display of underground fortresses. The photo shows some Red Army men swimming with full equipment, as part of the maneuvers.

Zimmerman Asks Green Rescind CIO Expulsion

On Friday, September 4, Charles S. Zimmerman, head of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. wired a vigorous appeal to President Green of the American Federation of Labor urging last-minute action to prevent a split in the federation. The statement follows: William Green, Washington, D. C.

I appeal to you to pause before taking action threatening to rend the labor movement apart and to play into the hands of the open shoppers of this country. There is still time for you to prevent a split in the Federation. No sixteen men, no matter how great their authority, have a right to take the responsibility upon themselves of expelling over one million workers from the A. F. of L. You have repeatedly emphasized that the issue at stake is not industrial versus craft unionism but democracy. Would it not then be the highest form of democracy to have so grave a question as one involving the unity of the labor movement referred to the coming convention at Tampa? In the name of 30,000 members of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., I appeal to you and to the Council to rescind the suspensions against the ten unions and to refer the whole controversy to the Tampa convention which alone has the power and authority to deal with it.

Chas. S. Zimmerman

To this President Green promptly replied in the following telegram:

Chas. S. Zimmerman, New York City.

The appeal addressed to me in your telegram ought to be sent to those who organized and who administer the Committee for Industrial Organization. The Executive Council did not organize a new union, split the American Federation of Labor, create a breach and incite bitterness and hatred within the movement. It is those who left the Atlantic City Convention, where the movement was united, and organized a new union, creating division and discord, who are responsible for the breach which has been created. Appeals and treaties and sincere requests were made for them to desist and to meet with the Executive Council for the purpose of consultation and conference. These appeals and these requests were rejected. The ten unions who make up the Committee for Industrial Organization ought to occupy the same relationship to the American Federation of Labor as the other one hundred and two international unions affiliated with it. I suggest to you, if you desire harmony and solidarity in the American Federation of Labor, that you direct your appeal to those, who have decided to leave the Amer-

French C. P. Capitulates To Blum's Spanish Policy

Thorez "Reserves Right" To Ask Intervention But Refuses Break With Government; Basque Nationalists Weaken San Sebastian

In the course of the past week the military situation has taken a turn for the worse with the fall of Irun and the opening of the front at San Sebastian by the Basque bourgeois nationalists. The arrest of the anarchists, who are among the best fighters against

the fascists, and the subsequent retreat without a fight stands in sharp contrast to the heroic resistance at Irun which retarded and slowed up the concerted drive against Madrid and gave the Madrid government time for additional preparations. Despite premature reports to the contrary, Huesco, Oviedo and the Alcazar have not yet been taken. In the Estremadura region a bitter battle is raging near Talavera de la Reina.

* * *

Also internationally the Spanish anti-fascist fighters have suffered a setback in England and France. In the former the Trade Union Congress backed Great Britain's policy of neutrality and in the latter, the powerful movement among the French workers for aid to Spain was throttled by the open opposition of the Blum government and the duplicity of the Communist Party which considered peace with its bourgeois partners in the People's Front of greater importance than assistance to the heroic Spanish proletariat.

Particularly the Communist Party played a reprehensible role. From Socialists of the type of Blum little if anything could be expected, but much was expected when the Communist Party placed itself at the head of the masses of workers dissatisfied with Blum's neutrality policy. "Maurice Thorez, secretary general of the Communist Party, answered today Premier Leon Blum's plea for tolerance with the demand that the arms embargo be lifted so war materials could be sent to Madrid." So reported Herbert Matthews in a dispatch to the New York Times dated September 8.

Blum replied with the threat of convening Parliament and overriding the opposition of the Communist Party. This he could, indeed, have done, for (to quote former Premier Sarraut) "adequate support" would come "from the moderates and other groups," meaning of course the extreme right group, even the fascists. In the face of this threat the C.P. vacillated and Leon Jouhaux spoke up in the name of the 5,000,000 members in the C.G.T. to the effect that he "had no intention of removing France's foreign policy from control of the Parliament." Almost at the same time the People's Front bloc in Parliament convened to discuss this crisis and unanimously proclaimed its "attachment to the People's Front and its confidence in the government to apply its program." Ironically James M. Minifie refers (Herald Tribune, September 10) to the "ritual declaration" of solidarity with the anti-fascist fighters.

What happened to the opposition of Thorez and the Communist Party? It disgracefully capitulated without a fight. "Maurice Thorez," says the same report, "addressed the delegation and promised continued support to the government in Parliament, although (tongue in cheek) reserving the right to con-

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EVERY DuPONT HAS A GOLDEN LINING

THE Senate Campaign Investigating Committee has uncovered heavy flow of dollar bills into Maine from the Liberty League crowd. \$51,000 was contributed by 13 members of the League to "rededicate Maine to the cause of good government", just as Landon decided to take a week-end trip into Maine. Among the "good governmenters" were listed the Du Pont family, the Rockefellers, Morgans, Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, and others.

ican Federation of Labor, to leave the rival movement which they have created and serve in the creation and development of a united solidified aggressive labor movement within the American Federation of Labor.

William Green.

Taking up the issue presented by Green, Zimmerman addressed the following letter to the president of the A. F. of L.: William Green, Washington, D. C. Dear Sir and Brother:

Your telegram in reply to my appeal to the Executive Council to help preserve the unity of the labor movement, only emphasizes, in my opinion, the unfortunate attitude that you and the council have taken in the present critical situation, an attitude that has been so largely responsible for aggravating the crisis to the point where over a million workers are being summarily driven out of the folds of the A. F. of L.

What is the situation confronting the labor movement today? At the Atlantic City convention, where, as you point out, the movement was still united, a considerable proportion of the delegates urged the federation to revise its old and outworn organizational

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BUKHARIN, RYKOFF ARE EXONERATED

Nikolai Bukharin and Alexei Rykoff have been completely exonerated from complicity in the terroristic plots that recently resulted in the trial and execution of Zinoviev and Kamenev. Bukharin retains his position as editor of Izvestia and Rykoff as Comisar of Communications.

The testimony of Reingold, one of the defendants in the trial had implicated them and Karl Radek. Investigation showed that no case existed, at least against Bukharin and Rykoff. No word has as yet been heard concerning the status of Radek.

Lenin Said:

KAUTSKY'S argument amounts to this: "When a war begins the political relations between nations and classes, evolved historically, cease to exist, and quite a different situation arises! There are simply those who attack and those who defend themselves." The oppression of a whole series of nations, which form more than half the population of the world, by the Great Imperialist Powers, competition between the bourgeoisie of these countries arising out of a division of the booty, the attempt of capital to split and crush the labor movement—all these facts have suddenly vanished from Plekhanov and Kautsky's field of vision, though they themselves, in the course of decades before the war, outlined a policy based upon these facts.

Slanderous references to Marx and Engels constitute the "chief" arguments of these two leaders of Socialist jingoism. Plekhanov recalls the national war of Prussia in 1813, and of Germany in 1870; Kautsky proves, with a learned mien, that Marx weighed the question as to which bourgeois side was more desirable in the wars of 1854-1855, 1859, and 1870-1871. Kautsky also proves that the Marxist reflected likewise regarding the wars of 1876-1877, and 1897. The method of all sophists, at all times, has been to quote examples which unmistakably refer to cases different in principle. The former wars pointed out to us were a "continuation of policy" pursued during many years by the nationalist movement of the bourgeoisie against foreign oppression by some other nationality and against absolutism (Turkish and Russian.) Apart from the question as to whether the success of one or the other bourgeoisie was preferable there could have been no

other. There was no reason why Marxists should not have appealed to nations beforehand to take part in wars of a similar type by inflaming national hatred, as did Marx in 1848 and, later, in the war against Russia, and as Engels incited the national hatred of the Germans in 1859 against their oppressors Napoleon III and Russian Tsarism.

To compare a "continuation of the policy" of the bourgeoisie struggle against feudalism and absolutism—the policy of the bourgeoisie which is liberating itself—with the "continuation of the policy" of a decrepit reactionary imperialist bourgeoisie which has plundered the whole world, and which in close alliance with the feudal elements crushes the proletariat is like comparing yards with hundred-weights. It is like comparing Robespierre, Garibaldi, and Zhelabov who were "representatives of the bourgeoisie" with Millerand, Salandra and Guchkov, who were also "representatives of the bourgeoisie". One cannot be a Marxist and fail to cherish the deepest regard for the great bourgeois revolutionaries who had a historical right to speak in the name of their bourgeois "fatherlands", which were raising new nations—comprising millions and tens of millions of men—to a civilized level of existence and sending them to battle against feudalism. And one cannot be a Marxist without feeling contempt for the sophistry of Plekhanov and Kautsky, who speak of "national defense" in connection with the throttling of Belgium by German imperialists or in connection with the deals of the imperialists of England, France, Russia, and Italy concerning the plundering of Austria and Turkey.

From—"The Collapse of the Second International"

MOONEY GREET'S CONFERENCE

County Jail No. 1
San Francisco, Calif.
September 2, 1936.
Greetings of proletarian solidarity from this tomb of the living dead, where I have spent a score of years in defense of the working-class struggle.

Our long crucifixion is the result of labor's weakness. If there was militant unity in the workers' ranks, we could never have been framed or imprisoned for a score of years. The great fight we have made with the aid of the left-wing element in the working-class, has served a good purpose. It has prevented many a militant worker from being framed as we were. I hail your group, as I do every group of workers, in their struggle for the working class. I cheer you in your onward march to complete working-class victory.

Let no stone remain unturned to accomplish that whole-hearted, genuine, militant, working-class unity which will defeat every foe and win our every fight, to the end that complete working-class victory will crown our efforts and a new society will be born, where labor will receive the full reward of its efforts and a greater and higher civilization will result therefrom.

The greatest inspirational example before the workers of the world today can be found in Spain, where the workers and peasants are laying down their lives on the altar of struggle in the interests of their class. I envy them. I urge you to do everything within your power, by word and deed, to encourage them in the fierce battle they are waging.

That fight will come to our door before long, as the whole capitalist structure is now in a state of

rapid decay, and in its dying agony make a last desperate stand to preserve its existence and identity, and will resort to every brutal terror to prolong its hideous system.

Again, from the depths of this fighting, proletarian heart, I exhort you to strike seriously, earnestly and fervently for complete working class unity, to the end that the workers will be victorious finally.

With my warmest comradely greetings of proletarian solidarity,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) TOM MOONEY, 31921

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL OPENS FALL TERM

The fall term of the New Workers School opens on October 5th. Continuing its fine record of past years of basic Marxian instruction, the school will introduce new departures in the methods and courses to be taught. Such outstanding instructors as Will Herberg, Jay Lovestone, Lewis Corey, James Sand, Jim Cork, B. Herman, Jesse Lane, and Joseph Brown will teach. The curriculum includes the following list of subjects: Fundamentals of Communism, Jesse Lane; Marxism-Leninism, Joseph Brown; Marxian Philosophy, Jim Cork; War and the Labor Movement, Will Herberg; American Philosophy and the Class Struggle, James Sand; Fascism, Democracy and the Peoples Front, B. Herman; Our American Proletariat, Lewis Corey. Current Events Series, Jay Lovestone.

Registration is open until October 5th for all the courses.

Draft Resolution of the CPO On Relations to the Comintern

The following draft resolution was approved by the National Conference of the Communist Party Opposition, held in New York City, September 5-7, 1936. This resolution is therefore submitted to the membership for full discussion. A final vote on it will be taken at the coming national convention of the CPO to be held at the end of this year.

1. The Labor Day National Conference herewith proposes the following resolution as an outline of the course to be pursued by the International Communist Opposition towards the C.I., and by the C.P.O. of the U.S.A.—as a section of the I.C.O.—towards the Communist Party of the United States.

2. This resolution is proposed to the membership for consideration and action. The final decision on the policy involved herein is to be made by the National Convention to be held at the close of the year—after an intervening period during which there is to be organized a thoroughgoing group discussion.

3. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, though marking the definite collapse of the ultra-left course, was deficient in many respects. Yet, the International Communist Opposition and its sections declared themselves willing to reenter the C.I. and its sections and to submit to Communist discipline, provided inner party democracy were re-established.

4. Up to and immediately after the Seventh World Congress we were of the opinion that the differences between us and the C.I. were only of a tactical nature. In spite of their shortcomings, the resolutions of the Seventh Congress still left a possibility for adhering to correct communist principles in action. The Seventh Congress was historically for the present ultra-right course what the Sixth Congress was for the old discredited and discarded ultra-left line. In both congresses the resolutions were ambiguous, contradictory and inadequate. However, they afforded the possibility of formulating either a correct communist policy or in the case of the Sixth Congress an ultra-left and in the case of the Seventh Congress an ultra-opportunist course.

5. Hence, immediately after the Seventh Congress, we offered, on the basis of a restoration of democratic centralism, to return to the C.I. and to the best of our ability and in a disciplined fashion help ward off the danger of opportunist deviations and to work out and put into practice a communist program that is adapted to the concrete conditions and peculiarities of each country. But the ECCI saw fit not to reply directly either to our criticism of the Resolutions of the Seventh Congress and proposals for correct communist tactics or to our appeal for sound communist unity. Despite the proposal on paper for party democracy the ban on democratic centralism was rigidly adhered to in life.

6. As a result of this situation, the resolutions of the Seventh Congress have been translated into a definite course of action leading to opportunist deviations far in excess of our strongest warnings and worst fears.

7. Thus today the differences between the C.I. and the I.C.O. are not only of a tactical nature. The I.C.O. continues to adhere to communist principles and to apply these to the concrete situation in each country. The C.I.—outside the Soviet Union—has, however, abandoned communist principles on two vital fields (struggle against imperialist war and fascism and attitude towards bourgeois democracy). This break with communist principles by the Communist Parties outside of the USSR is revealed crassly in their identifying themselves with the policies on war programatically advocated by Comrade Dimitroff, the Peoples Front policies pursued by the French, Spanish and other C.P.'s. A crude, vulgarized expression of the latter type of abandonment of communist principle is to be found in the character of the present election campaign and platform of the C.P. in the U. S.

8. Until recently it was a matter of tactical dispute over ways and means of fighting the bourgeois state, of defeating fascism. However, with the support of the bourgeois (democratic) state in war and peace, communist principles have been abandoned. We, therefore, declare that our re-entry into the C.I. and its sections can now be effected only on the following conditions:

(a) complete re-establishment of inner party democracy

(b) return to communist principles.

9. Where communist principles are violated or where communist principles do not exist we cannot pledge ourselves to party discipline. As always, we

are willing to co-operate with the C.I. and its sections wherever the question of principle is not involved—as, for instance, in the trade unions, in the fight for immediate working class demands, against fascist terror, etc.

10. Under the existing conditions, the I.C.O. and its sections set themselves the task of helping the Comintern return to communist principles. It is possible to achieve this because the Soviet state has retained its proletarian character and the C.P.S.U. has not abandoned communist principles although it has brought about their abandonment by the other communist Parties, as a result of its harboring the illusion that this is an effective defense policy of the Soviet Union. The fact that the other parties have also acted in the belief that they are benefiting the Soviet Union is sufficient reason for us not to identify their line with the policy of the Second International during the war which delivered the working class into the hands of the imperialists. Whereas the Communist International has abandoned communist principles by adopting the Peoples Front policy and a policy of national defense in bourgeois democratic countries on the basis of its false estimate of how to defend communism in the Soviet Union, the Second International definitely and irrevocably deserted socialism. The Third International, however, for the reasons above stated, has only gone astray and that is why we consider it our duty to do all in our power to bring it back again.

11. For these reasons we do not advocate a new communist party nor a new international. To establish a new international without the C.P.S.U. is utterly impossible.

The Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. rendered invaluable service to the international and communist working class movement. They rendered a tremendous contribution in founding the C.I., thru which they acquainted the working class outside of the U.S.S.R. with the principles of Communism, in which they, up to a certain point, helped the various Parties to work out their tactical and their strategic program. The Bolsheviks rendered their most permanent contribution thru the application of tactics for the realization of the seizure of power—an achievement which is being undermined by the present course of the C.I. Today, only the I.C.O. continues to adhere to these principles.

The Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U. today continue to render certain invaluable services to the international working class thru the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and thus creating the most powerful force for liberating the international proletariat.

12. The Comintern, regardless of its best intentions, can only seriously jeopardize the possibility of developing effective communist parties in the capitalist world so long as it will adhere to the impossible task of alone deciding the policies of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries without consulting the respective parties or taking into consideration their specific conditions and needs. This attempt necessarily ended in failure. First of all, events proved that the ultra-left course was wrong. Now the ultra-right course which has led to a break with communist principles will prove to be infinitely more dangerous. Nobody could be more concerned about the situation than we are. We helped found the C.I., worked within it for many years, fought the ultra-left course, and even after we were expelled still considered ourselves a part of the C.I. In setting ourselves the task of bringing the C.I. back to communist principles, we are working in the interest of the Soviet Union, and attempting to arrest the further decline and collapse of the C.I. If our effort should be in vain, we will do our best to re-establish it on a new basis to make it a vital communist force, an historically progressive instrument of communism and world revolution.

13. We also wish to prevent the Trotskyites from taking advantage of the crisis in the C.I. for the purpose of promulgating their anti-bolshevik theories. The policy of the Trotskyites is revolutionary in words and counter-revolution in deeds. We further underscore the following differences between us and the Trotskyites:

a. The Trotskyites maintain that the Soviet Union is not a socialist state ruled by the working class. We have at all times considered the Soviet Union a working class state where socialism is being built.

b. The Trotskyites advocate the slogan of revolutionary defeatism, even in countries allied with the Soviet Union. While strongly condemning the social

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

LABOR DAY, in the past, was a day on which labor leaders made very patriotic speeches extolling our great American institutions, labor papers applied high-pressure salesmanship upon the manufacturing and business people in the community and mailed out to their members enormously swollen labor day editions, and the workers at large paid scant attention to either. But this labor day was decidedly not a usual one. The wide rift in the trade union movement between the craft and the industrial unionists, the intensity of the election campaign in which the two parties of capitalism are desperately bidding for the labor vote, the first glimmerings of independent political action among our trade unions—all have contributed to arouse the keenest interest not only among the widest sections of working people but also among the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie.

Thus our New York Times views growth of independent political action sentiment with great misgivings, and remarks (September 6): "This would bring an entirely new element into our public life. It would break with our long tradition and practice of American organized labor. It would emphasize and tend to perpetuate a class distinction which has never before been thought to be congenial to American politics."

The editorial closes with the hope that "much larger number of Americans" will back one of the two major parties which embrace "many classes and interests and neither of them disposed to exalt a single class over the whole community."

And the Republican Sun follows right behind the Times but being considerably more low-brow it speaks right up about foreign agitators and European philosophies, where the Times merely insinuates. Thus the Sun sees "Mr. Lewis advocating with all his energy the formation of the unions into a political group, European style, a movement hitherto obnoxious to American workmen who, while willing to entrust their pecuniary fortunes to the labor leaders, reserved the ballot to their individual judgments. . . . It reminds him (the workman) that there is no tariff wall against the foreign radical thought that has brought most of Europe into distress or dictatorship."

The charge of "foreign radical thought" and perpetuation of "class distinctions" in an effort to arouse prejudice against working class action, recur with monotonous regularity. Yet the real basis for labor's aroused interest in independent political action are not hard to find.

"Automatic machinery, the device of corporate ownership and management, the monumental accumulation of capital, these are some of the factors that have made it necessary . . . to look at men and measures from a new point of view, seeking new means for the restoration of equality of opportunity." These words of President Roosevelt (letter of August 3 to Labor's Non-Partisan League) place the question well. Labor is becoming increasingly convinced that the "restoration of equality of opportunity" cannot be secured thru the two parties of capitalism and that the "new means" is the organization of their own class power. In other words the birth of a Labor Party is the belated recognition that class lines had become fixed.

14. What we consider necessary is that communist parties be established that are not only formally but actually on an equal basis with the C.P.S.U.; communist parties that are able independently to work out and carry through a communist program for each individual country and that can orientate themselves in the field of international working class policy, and make their influence felt.

15. Today, the most effective way of hastening the Communist International's return to communist principles and democratic centralism, of laying a sound foundation for a victorious international communist movement is in building a strong and influential I.C.O. Hence, we strongly emphasize the need for redoubling our efforts to strengthen our position, particularly in the basic mass organizations of the working class.

16. We realize the difficulties and the historical significance of our task and we call upon the members of the Communist Parties to help us strengthen our cadres, to work with us.

We appeal to them to see to it that all problems pertaining to the position on war be discussed by the membership, that they organize the struggle against the abandonment of principles and that they choose functionaries who are capable of defending the party rank and file against the bureaucrats. Whatever differences of opinion there are apart from this question (old faction struggles and issues) should be brushed aside in the face of this urgent task, on the achievement of which depends the fate of the Communist Parties and the Comintern.

communism should compel even the most critical to throw their weight in back of a program which looks definitely in the direction of closer understanding (between the craft and industrial unionists)" From the above statement it appears not impossible that Woll belongs to the center group in the Executive Council which still seeks a middle road to solve the present conflict. John P. Frey, however, runs true to form. In the Machinists Journal he attacks the "men, ambitious for personal power, (who) have boldly challenged the democratic principle of government by the decision of the majority." He concludes with the statement—"One or the other must surrender!"

The statement of Secretary Knockles and President John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, we examine in vain for a word on the living issues in the A. F. of L. What we do find is indirect and has meaning only by implication. Independent political action, the not mentioned, appears to be repudiated, by a failure to criticize the "stand by labor's friends and defeat its enemies" policy of the A. F. of L. which is mentioned. The "internal strife within the ranks of organized labor" Fitzpatrick attributes to "labor haters and baiters". These are astonishing opinions coming from a man who stood in the forefront of progressive trade unionism a few years ago.

SUIT CASE WORKERS WIN
The strike of 1,000 suitcase workers, members of Suitcase, Bag, and Portfolio Workers Union, was settled by a one year agreement with the Leather Goods Manufacturers Association. The settlement as announced by Murray Barron, union manager, provides for a forty hour week and wage increases as follows: 8 1/2% increase on piece-work rates, \$2.50 for mechanics and \$2.00 for helpers. Minimums established gave \$29.50 to mechanics, \$22 to helpers and \$16 to apprentices.

Without developing the ability for independent political orientation, without analyzing the revolutionary tasks under the most difficult, complicated and rapidly changing circumstances and without a maximum ability of revolutionary initiative in all sections of the Party, the Communist Parties will be completely at a loss.

In order to help the Communist Parties solve their revolutionary tasks, the Communist Opposition has made its most permanent contribution in training cadres, nationally and internationally, that are able to work out independently the tasks of communism. This contribution will become of decisive historical importance for the future of the international communist movement, for their return to communist principles.

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17. In local situations in which there is no genuine labor party in the field, we choose between C.P. and S.P. candidates on the basis of the demands of the situation, although, of course, the choice of presidential candidate is a factor of great weight.

18. Our decision on a presidential candidate cannot be determined exclusively or primarily by the character of the campaign appeal or the election platform; much more fundamental is our basic attitude towards the socialist and communist movements as such, in this country and internationally. As long as we retain our conviction of the possibility of reform of the Communist International, we must continue to look upon it as the main embodiment of international communism despite the disastrous and uncommunist policies of its leadership, while the socialist movement must be regarded as the representative of international reformism.

19. Another consideration of vital importance in this connection is the political meaning of each party to the workers who have to choose between them. In spite of the grossly opportunist line of the C.P., its general program and tradition are such that, to the mass of the more advanced workers, it remains the party of revolution while the S.P. undoubtedly retains its character as a "mild" or "moderate" workers party. Voting for the communist ticket is thus equivalent, by and large, to support of the revolutionary tradition and program of communism as against the discredited program and tradition of reformism.

20. These aspects of the question are basic and decisive, outweighing whatever conclusions might otherwise be drawn from a comparison of campaign appeals and election platforms. For this reason, we decide to support the Communist Party and the candidacy of Earl Browder in the presidential elections.

21. But, while we thus support Browder in the elections, we do

C. P. O. Appeals for a "Vote for Communism"

(Resolution adopted at the National Conference of the C.P.O. held in New York City, September 5-7, 1936.)

1. On the basis of a thoro analysis of the situation, the National Committee of the C.P.O., at its plenary session held in February 1936, emphasized that the main problems before the working class in the election were political class unity and political class independence. In line with this orientation, we appealed to the Communist and Socialist parties with a proposal for a United Labor Ticket headed by Tom Mooney for president. Altho the merits of this proposal and its effectiveness in meeting the demands of the political situation were strikingly obvious, it was rejected by C.P. and S.P. alike for purely partisan-factional reasons. Nevertheless, the Mooney campaign has already proved of the utmost significance to our group as a phase of our struggle for working class unity on the political field.

2. Even the proposal of the C.P. for a joint socialist-communist ticket and election campaign was rejected by the Socialist Party convention in May, also largely for inner-political and partisan reasons. Both of the workers parties are therefore in the field today, each with its own ticket as against the other.

3. The general appeal of the Socialist Party in the elections is for working class independence against both Landon and Roosevelt. A great deal of the value of this sound approach has, however, been destroyed by its shallow and abstract form ("Roosevelt or Landon: It makes no difference!") as well as by Norman Thomas's specific disavowal of its revolutionary implications ("In this country, . . . we want no revolution!"). The socialist presidential platform, moreover, is a confused combination of vague socialism, outright reformism, liberalism and utopian panacea-mongering (the Commonwealth Plan). The class value of Thomas's appeal has been further vitiated by the extraordinary attitude exhibited in his letters to Landon and by his insistence on making hostility to the American Labor Party a dominant element in his campaign.

4. The Communist Party, on the other hand, has adopted an election policy that amounts to unofficial support of Roosevelt. In its appeal, there is very little class character, not to speak of socialism or communism; the general note of a kind of degenerate populism characteristic of the People's Front ideology. Its program too is an unwholesome mixture of threadbare populism, class reformism, pacifism and general confusion.

5. In this election campaign, the workers side is represented by the S.P. and C.P. nationally and by these as well as by the American Labor Party and other labor parties locally. On the basis of our general attitude to the various political tendencies in the labor movement, we outline the following election policy:

6. We support all genuinely labor candidates of the A.L.P. and of any other genuine labor party locally, no matter what the S.P. or C.P. may do.

7. In local situations in which there is no genuine labor party in the field, we choose between C.P. and S.P. candidates on the basis of the demands of the situation, although, of course, the choice of presidential candidate is a factor of great weight.

8. Our decision on a presidential candidate cannot be determined exclusively or primarily by the character of the campaign appeal or the election platform; much more fundamental is our basic attitude towards the socialist and communist movements as such, in this country and internationally. As long as we retain our conviction of the possibility of reform of the Communist International, we must continue to look upon it as the main embodiment of international communism despite the disastrous and uncommunist policies of its leadership, while the socialist movement must be regarded as the representative of international reformism.

9. Another consideration of vital importance in this connection is the political meaning of each party to the workers who have to choose between them. In spite of the grossly opportunist line of the C.P., its general program and tradition are such that, to the mass of the more advanced workers, it remains the party of revolution while the S.P. undoubtedly retains its character as a "mild" or "moderate" workers party. Voting for the communist ticket is thus equivalent, by and large, to support of the revolutionary tradition and program of communism as against the discredited program and tradition of reformism.

10. These aspects of the question are basic and decisive, outweighing whatever conclusions might otherwise be drawn from a comparison of campaign appeals and election platforms. For this reason, we decide to support the Communist Party and the candidacy of Earl Browder in the presidential elections.

11. But, while we thus support Browder in the elections, we do

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RESOLUTION ON COMINTERN

(Continued from page 2)

chauvinism of the Comintern today we hold that this slogan under such circumstances would play into the hands of the enemies of the Soviet Union.

c. The Trotskyites completely identify the present position of the C.I. on war with that of the Social Democrats in August 1914, and think that the C.I. has definitely broken with communist principles as did the Second International at that time with international socialism. In our opinion it is wrong to identify the present course of the C.I. with that of the Social Democrats in 1914 or to consider the C.I.'s abandonment of communist principles as final.

d. The Trotskyites agitate for the formation of a new communist party and a new international or join the sundry sections of the Second International. We are against such new organizations which would would become centers of anti-Soviet agitation and their policies would be directed against the C.P.S.U. We unreservedly condemn the return to social-democracy in any form.

14. What we consider necessary is that communist parties be established that are not only formally but actually on an equal basis with the C.P.S.U.; communist parties that are able independently to work out and carry through a communist program for each individual country and that can orientate themselves in the field of international working class policy, and make their influence felt.

The text of one of the resolutions of the Seventh Congress acknowledges the need of independent action of the Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union. In point of fact, however, they are less independent than ever. The monopolist position of the C.P.S.U. should be a thing of the past. Mere resolutions, however, will have no effect. The Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union must train cadres to help develop the next forward stage of the communist movement in the capitalist countries. The ability to act on their own initiative will become especially important in time of war when all

CIO SUPPORTED BY ZIMMERMAN

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practices in line with the realities of the new industrial situation and thus keep the federation a living, growing, vital organism, free from the danger of stagnation and decline. After the convention, the unions representing this standpoint banded together within the federation to carry on educational work in favor of industrial unionism and to encourage and promote the organization of the great mass-production industries along industrial lines so as to strengthen the A. F. of L. and extend its scope and influence. From the very beginning, the C.I.O. made it clear that it had not the slightest intention of invading the particular jurisdictions of the craft unions. It declared itself interested solely in saving the hundreds of thousands of workers in the mass-production industries from the menace of the open shops and company unionism and to organize them into the A. F. of L., the only way experience has shown they possibly could be organized. Is this so awful a crime, that, to punish it, the Executive Council is ready to go to the point of splitting the labor movement?

In the eyes of certain members of the Executive Council, perhaps, even such activity, constructive and praiseworthy as it may seem to most of us, may appear very reprehensible. This is neither the time nor the place to argue the merits of the controversy. But, in a democratic organization such as the A. F. of L. is supposed to be, there are established ways and means of dealing with such a state of affairs. For the purpose of handling fundamental problems and situations of such a critical character, the federation holds its annual conventions. Why could not the whole matter have been left to the Tampa convention where both sides could have freely presented their views before the most authoritative body of the A. F. of L.?

You, President Green, and the Executive Council, constitute the leadership of the A. F. of L. You have been delegated with the solemn responsibility of meeting every critical situation in the life of the federation in such a way as to serve its welfare and preserve its unity. Do you really think that you have lived up to this tremendous responsibility in the attitude you have taken on the C.I.O. question? Instead of allowing the democratic processes provided for in the constitution of the A. F. of L. to operate, you have proceeded to outlaw the C.I.O. and its constituent unions in advance, to convert the Executive Council into both prosecuting attorney and judge, to endow the council at the last moment with unconstitutional powers of suspension and then to oust ten unions with over a million members from the A. F. of L. in as offhand and indifferent a manner as if it were all a matter of mere

routine. Can you and the Executive Council stand before the bar of labor public opinion and say truly that you have well and faithfully fulfilled the responsibility that organized labor placed upon you when it selected you as its leadership? Was it not your plain duty to exhaust every channel of democratic procedure before allowing things to come to such a pass? Especially as you had right at hand ways and means of meeting the critical situation in a harmonious and constructive manner—by referring the whole controversy to the coming convention for thoro and impartial consideration!

I must stress this point particularly because you have repeatedly insisted—only a few weeks ago I heard you make the same plea at the New York State Federation of Labor convention—that the real issue at stake is not one of industrial versus craft unionism at all but one of democracy. Is it democracy, then, for sixteen men, no matter what their standing may be, to drive one million members out of the federation, just about two months before the annual convention of the A. F. of L., thus depriving them of representation at that convention? Why such unseemingly haste? Why the reluctance to submit so grave a matter to the only body possessing the constitutional power and authority to deal with it? I ask this especially in view of the voluntary offer made by President Dubinsky of our International to accept a convention decision based on a simple majority vote instead of the two-thirds vote to which we are constitutionally entitled, provided only that the suspensions are rescinded and all unions are freely admitted to the convention!

Of what use is it to pretend, as you do in your telegram, that the ten unions have not been suspended at all but have simply "decided to leave the American Federation of Labor"? Such quibbles certainly will not contribute to that mutual understanding which is necessary if any harmony is to be achieved. The ten unions have been suspended by the arbitrary action of the Executive Council and it would be, as President Dubinsky pointed out in his recent letter to you, "more courageous and more correct" for you to admit it and not to attempt to evade the consequences of your

FRENCH CP BOWS TO BLUM'S SPANISH LINE

(Continued from Page 1)

tinue to campaign before the nation for intervention in Spain."

A more despicable case of duplicity and double bookkeeping is yet to be recorded. Yet this step was not unexpected. Given the loyalty to the People's Front which the C.P. has shown it could under no circumstances split it for such a mere trifle as international solidarity with the Spanish proletariat and the possibility of beating back Spanish fascism. The People's Front hangs like a millstone around the neck of the international proletariat.

British Unions Uphold Gov't Policy on Spain

PLYMOUTH, England—The Trade Union Congress in session here on September 11 discussed a report opposing a united front with the Communist Party and voted approval of this report by a large majority. The fight against the united front was led by Sir Walter Citrine who recalled the abuse of the unions as pillars of capitalism. He warned that the aim of the Communist Party "is to capture the labor movement for Communist principles."

The British Trade Union Congress opened in Plymouth this week in the presence of over 600 delegates representing 214 unions with a membership of 3,614,551, an increase over last year of almost 226,000.

President Findlay opened the Congress with an address which officially had no standing since he spoke as an "individual" but which nevertheless indicated quite clearly that the official policy of the Congress was to be one of cautious conservatism. The united front with the Communists, for which there is a strong movement, he rejected as "out of the question". Committed as the trade unions are to the struggle against the fascists they will not, he insisted, combine with any organization out-

own act. Nor is it to any advantage to repeat constantly that the C.I.O. has started a "rival movement". Over one million members of the federation deny this charge and surely the only way of settling the question is thru the convention of the A. F. of L.

It is not yet too late, about two months remain to the convention. There is still time to save the federation from a disastrous split that will be of benefit only to the most bitter foes of labor, the open-shop and company union interests of the country. It is still possible to preserve the unity of the A. F. of L. if only the Executive Council shows enough sense of responsibility to subordinate all secondary considerations to the best interests of the movement as a whole. In the interests of a united struggle against the steel trust and the industrial barons generally, in the interests of united action against the acute danger of war and the rising menace of fascism, let the council act! Let the council immediately rescind the arbitrary suspension order directed against the ten unions affiliated with the C.I.O. and let these unions be guaranteed their representation at the Tampa convention. Then let the whole controversy be submitted to the convention for a full, fair and free discussion. At this critical moment, it is a question solely of saving the American labor movement from a split that may mean chaos and ruin to organized labor as a whole. If the Executive Council wants to lead the A. F. of L. away from the brink of the precipice to which it has been driven, there is only one way—real democracy!

Fraternally yours,
CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN.

side the labor party.

Discussing the foreign policy of Great Britain and the present situation, President Findlay held the Soviet Union to be a strong force for peace, warned against a new Locarno pact which would leave the Nazis free to attack the Soviet Union and urged a mutual assistance pact among Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

Altho there is a definite upturn in the economic situation, Mr. Findlay argued that "evidence is lacking that permanent factors of economic recovery are at work to sustain the present upward turn." A good share of the cause of this upward turn, he said, is due to booming arms industry. Carefully refraining from any attack against the increased armament drive, he nevertheless mildly chided the government for "bitter obstinacy of its refusal to find money for a bold public works program."

The Congress rejected with great indignation a proposal for a one day strike on the day of King Edward's coronation, as a means of protest against the Baldwin government's failure to provide satisfactory unemployment provisions. It would bring the King into politics, warned Sir Walter Citrine, general secretary of the British Trade Union Congress. "It would be absurd", he continued, "to do anything that would imply we held the crown responsible for the action of its Ministers."

Having squelched the opposition that desired to defile his Royal Highness by attributing to him a distinct class interest and bias, the Congress rose to pay its respects to the Spanish proletarians who died fighting against the return of the monarchy and against the fascists. This done the Congress defeated by 3,000,000 against 600,000 a proposal that Great Britain discard its neutrality and extend material aid to the Madrid government, thus making a mockery of their respect for the proletarian dead in the Spanish civil war.

The American Labor Party of New York cabled the following message of greeting to the Congress:

"The American Labor Party representing hundreds of thousands of trade unionists and other progressive citizens in New York State sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the Trade Union Session at Plymouth. We are happy to be able to apprise you that organized labor in the United States, too, has taken its first important steps towards independent political action through the formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League nationally and the formation of the American Labor Party in New York State. The experience of British Labor in the political field has served as an inspiration to American workers in meeting the forces of reaction and greed that would destroy our living standards, deny our security and undermine our organizations. We are watching your proceedings eagerly confident that we can profit from your deliberations and leadership."

RADIO WORKERS IN FIRST MEET

By W. F.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

The First Convention of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America came to an end here today (September 7) after four days of serious study and discussion of the affairs of the infant organization.

Throughout the convention, the question of industrial unionism was foremost in the minds of the delegates and the actions taken reflected this interest. Speakers from several unions affiliated to the CIO assured the convention of continued support and the convention reciprocated by passing unanimously a resolution condemning the action of the A. F. of L. Executive Council in splitting the ranks of labor. This resolution carried additional resolves calling for support of the policies of the CIO and for affiliation to the A. F. of L., for an industrial union charter, thus indicating the desire to carry the fight into the ranks of the A. F. of L., if possible.

Another resolution, pertaining to Mooney and Billings, called for the "unconditional release of these labor fighters."

A resolution endorsing Labor's Non-Partisan League was passed without discussion but shortly after the remarks of Ed Hall, Vice President of the United Automobile Workers, in reference to the need for a Labor Party, were warmly received.

Other important resolutions passed dealt with organizational policies, the formation of social and sport bodies, and a boycott of the Hearst press.

James Carey, youthful leader of the union, was re-elected President without a dissenting vote. Julius Emsfak, Secretary-Treasurer, was likewise unanimously re-elected. Twelve vice-presidents must be confirmed in their offices by a referendum vote of the union members in their districts.

Though the union has experienced a phenomenal growth in the last five months, the organization is still confined to a few centers and the necessity exists for the complete organization of the industry if the benefits of industrial organization are to be enjoyed to the fullest extent. The delegates seemed aware of this and abundant evidence of the determination to accomplish the task was everywhere available as the convention closed.

Next year's convention is to be held in Philadelphia.

ELECTION RESOLUTION

(Continued from Page 3)

so in complete dissociation from his platform and election appeal, which we condemn without reservation. Our call to vote for Browder is a call to vote for communism, for a movement and principles that the C.P. alone represents in these elections, despite its present uncommunist policies; for a movement and principles that rise above the reckless opportunism dominating the C.P. today.

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