

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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USSR Hits Neutrality As Spanish Fascists Batter Madrid Forts

Expect Soviet Union to Leave London Committee
for "Non-Intervention"; Spokesmen Say
It Helped the Spanish Fascists

In the face of the open disregard of the so-called "neutrality agreement" to bind the European powers to non-intervention in the Spanish civil war, Soviet Russia declared that she would soon withdraw from the London Committee. The USSR only accepted the position of neutrality because People's Front France refused to take a militant stand and was bluffed by Hitler's threats. Now, when the fascist countries aided unofficially but actively by England, and helped by the impotence of France, have established an effective line of transport to Franco's supply headquarters, the Soviet Republic declares that non-intervention is a farce, because of the duplicity of the fascist countries. This very important step means first that the Soviet Union no longer permits its foreign policy to be completely dominated by its alliance with France, in view of the latter's cowardly and capitulatory policy, and secondly, that the consequent aid to Spain may serve to stem the tide of the onrushing fascist forces.

Coincident with Russia's turn came the first declaration from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made by Stalin, to the Spanish Communists, in which it was stated that the struggle against Spanish Fascism is an international struggle. While the declaration was colored by the People's Front phraseology, now ruining the revolutionary movement, nevertheless its importance is obvious, and its publication is to be welcomed.

* * *

All energies of the Spanish government have now been turned to the defense of Madrid, where the proletariat will fight with its back to the wall, holding off the last rush of Franco's cutthroats. The fascist armies have enveloped the capital in a pincer-like vise, daily

A.L.P. ENTERED ON BALLOT

The American Labor Party, was entered on the ballot when petitions bearing more than 60,000 signatures were filed with the Secretary of State on October 6th. A record was made on this occasion—60,000 being the largest number of signers on state-wide petitions in the history of New York State.

Under the law, 12,000 signatures are sufficient to put a new nominating party on the ballot. In filing more than five times as many as required, the newly launched political organization of the trade unions and progressives of the State have made a striking demonstration of the strength of their movement.

With the filing of the petitions the new party, incorporated on September 14th as a permanent

bringing both lines closer, making the angle smaller. As we go to press, only one railroad, running east, is still open.

ARABS' STRIKE ENDS; SECRET GAINS HINTED

After a six months general strike of the Arabian masses against British Imperialism, especially as it reflected itself in Jewish immigration, the High Committee called off the strike. Publicly no announcement was made of any concessions to the Arabs whatsoever. England hurried some troops to Palestine, muttered of martial law, and apparently the Arabs capitulated.

However, the ease with which the highly inflamed nationalism of the Arabian masses has been subdued leads us to suspect the existence of a private agreement, (probably restricting Jewish immigration) representing a concession to the Arabs, while thus maintaining the face of British Imperialism.

The Manchester Guardian, organ of the British bourgeoisie, as far back as September 4th, hinted that a settlement in favor of the Arabs would be reached without any "crudities". Their estimate at that time is almost a stenographic report of the events that took place only a few days ago!

Britain had to capitulate, as she must in the face of any single colonial crisis. It is obvious that concessions to colonies are better than the complete finish of the whole colonial system. Given the present situation in Europe, the longer the Arabian General strike was carried on, the worse it would be for Britain. Secondly, there has been a dangerous infiltration of the influence of Italian fascism (and German) among the Arabs. Kaouji Bey, a military leader of the Palestinian Arabs, declared that: "We Arabs will revolt and fight the British with the help of Italy and Germany". Personal admiration for the tactics of Mussolini is reported to exist among circles of the Arabian leaders. England could ill afford to jeopardize, by her own actions, the remaining power she has in the Mediterranean—hence her conciliatory policy.

political body, took its last technical step in founding a party which many political observers regard as the rallying point for a labor party on a national scale in the near future.

* * *

The International Fur Workers Union, with a membership of 15,000 in New York State, has affiliated with the American Labor Party.

KNITWEAR UNION BLASTS BOSSES

Denies Charges of "Red Riots"; Says Bosses Incite Violence

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, American Federation of Labor, the organization leading the strike of the Textile Trimmers, denied the charges made by the employers of the American Brand Trimming Co. and the Louis Hornick Co. in the press of Wednesday, October 14, 1936, with reference to "communist riots," "communist strikes," "intimidation," "coercion," etc.

Louis Nelson, Manager of the Joint Council, in a statement said that "these charges are a smoke screen of the employers to hide the real issues involved, namely, the abolition of sweat shop conditions and the establishment of a Union shop, with the 36-hour week and guaranteed minimum wages." Manager Nelson further stated that "the attempt to obtain indict-

(Continued on Page 2)

BELGIUM ADOPTS "NEUTRALITY" BREAKING FRENCH ALLIANCE

Victory For Nazis May
Only Be Temporary
In Character

With Belgium's abrogation of her military alliance with France there was torn a gaping hole in the post-war security system so carefully prepared and so patiently built up by Paris.

The significance of the Belgian declaration lies not so much in a narrow military sense as in its political implications. It is the height of silliness to believe that Belgium could really stay neutral in any good-sized respectable war, that is, in any war involving the big powers. Likewise, there are not the slightest possibilities that in the next war Belgian imperialism will be in a different line-up, that is, will be on the side of German imperialism. In fact, this new policy will serve as a driving force for Belgian heavy and rapid rearming. In this respect, the total military weight that Belgium will be throwing on the side of imperialist France in the next war will actual-

PROGS GAIN IN COUNCIL VOTE

The progressive forces in the Central Trades and Labor Union in New York made an excellent showing in the recent elections for the Executive Board. Charles Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. and Bella Dodd of the Teachers Union, were the two progressive candidates. Each polled 156 votes as against 85 last year and 45 in 1934. Altho neither was elected the vote was considered satisfactory by the progressive forces.

The method of voting whereby a full slate must be marked, if the ballot is to be counted, makes it difficult for an opposition candidate to break thru.

AFL Backs Roosevelt; Council Refuses CIO Bid for Reinstatement

Hutcheson of Carpenters Resigns From Council;
Committee for Industrial Organization Wants
Complete Reinstatement

The tense AFL-CIO situation was temporarily adjourned during the sessions of the Executive Council in order to take up the question of an endorsement of President Roosevelt. The result was a document backing the candidacy of Roosevelt and, resulting from it, the resignation of William Hutcheson of the Carpenters Union from the Council.

The latter, who heads the Labor Committee of the Republican Party, found it rather embarrassing to sign his name to an endorsement of the Democratic Party candidate and resigned from the Council.

There is also considerable speculation as to additional motives for Hutcheson's action. It is known for instance that he is one of the die-hards who has refused to consider any talk of peace with the CIO forces. His attitude is known to have aroused the opposition of many in the Council.

* * *

In the meantime the much discussed peace-plan of President Zaritsky of the Millinery Workers, and of sundry middle-of-the-roaders in the Council have received an airing and altho much time was spent in talking and writing letters no progress whatever has been made in the achievement of unity between the industrial and craft forces in the A. F. of L.

Plans which called for seating the delegates from CIO unions with full rights at the next convention in Tampa were turned down by the Council, while other proposals which would leave the CIO unions in their present state of suspension were turned down by CIO forces with equal emphasis.

The only plank in the Zaritsky proposal which was accepted was the one calling for continued talks between sub-committees of the Council and the CIO. The Council appointed a committee consisting of Vice-Presidents Woll, Knight and Harrison which in turn announced itself ready to meet at any time. However, no meetings materialized since Lewis insisted that lifting of the suspensions was the first consideration and the first precondition for conferences.

In addition the CIO requested clarification of the attitude of the A. F. of L. on immediate reinstatement. The Council replied in the form of a letter to President Zaritsky in which it again protests its keen desire for unity and states that upon agreement on the main questions at issue the Council would be happy immediately to reinstate the CIO unions to full rights. Despite the extremely pacific nature of the letter it meant that the Council was not ready to grant reinstatement.

President Zaritsky declared that altho his conferences were conducted in an independent capacity, he does not believe that peace can be achieved thru independent action by a single union.

It is difficult to see where the common ground for peace is to be found. Despite the peaceful nature of the Council the questions at issue have not been bridged. The Council is just as firm in its position as is the CIO in its belief in industrial unionism as the means of organizing the mass production industries.

tend to speed up the piling up of armaments, hasten the coming war, shatter still more reliance on treaties as roads to peace and security, and sharpen everywhere class relations in the capitalist countries—a most crucial moment in the life of Europe.

KNITWEAR UNION BLASTS BOSSES

(Continued from Page 1)

ments on the charges of conspiracy and coercion is part of a scheme of the employers to frame up and have arrested the leadership of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, thereby hoping to break the strikes of the knitgoods workers for better conditions. Any methods of intimidation and coercion used in this struggle were entirely on the side of the employers who unhesitatingly employed strike breakers, thugs and gangsters to attack the peaceful picket lines of the Union and to terrorize the strikers into returning to work under sweatshop conditions.

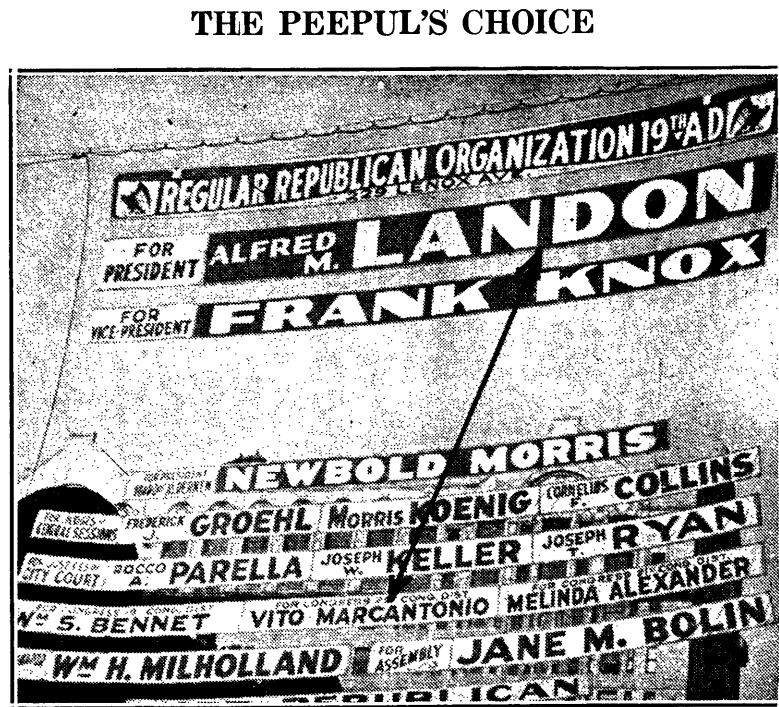
Brother Nelson stated his willingness to appear before the District Attorney to answer these charges. "Our organization," he said, "is not a conspiratorial organization but is a legitimate trade union."

A meeting of the striking employees of the American Brand Trimming Co. and the Louis Horisk Co., held at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place, New York City, on Wednesday morning, October 14, 1936, was invaded by detectives from police headquarters without warrant and without cause. These detectives proceeded to disturb the meeting and started a cross-examination of strikers present. They singled out strikers from the American Brand Trimming Co. and demanded an answer from them as to whether they were there voluntarily or were forced to be there by the Union. Despite the illegality of this questioning, the workers stood up and replied that the charges were false and that they were on strike and at the Union headquarters of their own free will.

U. S. GAINS IN NEW GOLD MOVE

The new gold standard is neither new nor a gold standard, in the traditional economic meaning. The tri-partite agreement reached by the United States, France and England comes close on the heels of the first agreement concerning the rate of French devaluation. The two agreements represent as a whole the almost complete disintegration of the gold standard which in former years acted as an "automatic" instrument for the regulation of the out-flow and in-flow of gold and of capital movements throughout the world.

The agreement, ostensibly, is for the purpose of hitching together the "stabilization and equalization funds" of London, Paris and Washington to prevent "wide fluctuations of exchange". The U. S. government, through its Secretary of the Treasury, has made the interpretation that the agreement is directed against "private international speculators". Actually, the first agreement represented the combined interests and pressure of the American and British governments to prevent the French from devaluing to an extent that would break out in an open, cut-throat currency war of depreciation. Having accomplished the first monetary maneuver, the Americans have gone still further to achieve the present agreement, most likely with the active aid of France, to prevent further devaluation by Great Britain as a move against the U. S. with close to eleven billion dollars of gold, "sitting on top of the world". The result is a temporary period of monetary stabilization—a war of the currencies "under wraps."



A new method of fighting fascism has been discovered by Vito Marcantonio, famed "anti-fascist", who occasionally lets his name be used for aid to the Italian Red Cross and other Mussolini outfits.

THE SOCIALISTS TAKE THE PATH TO GREATER ISOLATION

The Socialist Party seems to have lost its head in this campaign. It took a fatal false step when it made hostility to labor's first halting efforts towards independent political action in the form of the American Labor Party a dominant note of its election appeal; since then it has succeeded only in getting deeper and deeper into the morass of sectarianism. And the logic of sectarianism has overwhelmed it. In order to justify an altogether unjustifiable position, it has been forced to resort to methodical, unpleasantly reminiscent of the old "third-period" days. The result can be seen in the columns of the Socialist Call.

In the New York section of the Socialist Call of Saturday, October 10, a leading article is devoted to an attack upon the American Labor Party. Attention is called to the action of the Utica and Rochester unions of the A.L.P. in endorsing Democratic Congressional candidates as well as to Joseph P. Ryan's efforts to get the New York Central Trades and Labor Council on record behind the whole Democratic ticket. Now it is perfectly proper and entirely necessary to criticize the A.L.P. organizations in the two upstate towns for conduct unbecoming a real labor party, while Joe Ryan's actions surely deserve the severest condemnation. But what does the Socialist Call do? It gives these incidents an altogether perverted significance; it carefully ignores other pertinent facts and aspects of the situation; and it does not hesitate to present matters in false light so as to "improve" its case. A few examples will suffice.

Somehow the American Labor Party is held responsible for Joe Ryan's conduct in steam-rolling an endorsement of the Tammany slate thru the New York Central Trades Council—because Joe Ryan is a "prominent" member of the A.L.P. But we are not told what is surely of some importance, that it was precisely Charles S. Zimmerman of Dressmakers Union Local 22 and Bella Dodd of Teachers Union Local 5 who led a vigorous fight against Ryan's proposals on the floor of the Central Trades Council meeting—and these

JAY LOVESTONE
Admission 25 Cents

THE PEEPUL'S CHOICE

EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

WE, WHO are concerned with France and its government, do not hesitate to state that the situation which developed in the past two days is deplorable. We are not inclined to sharp criticism of those who are the leading figures in French politics and whom we support; nevertheless, we must say that the past two days remind us strongly of the terrible days of Laval. The government is engaged in the same childish maneuvers and is yielding to force.

Thus wrote Peri, the expert on foreign affairs of the Communist Party of France in "Humanite" on the recent events in Geneva.

Let us examine the situation. Mussolini demanded the exclusion of the Ethiopian delegation from the sessions of the League of Nations or else he would leave the League and sabotage the Locarno conference. The Secretary of the League had already made an agreement with Mussolini to that effect. The French and British governments had agreed. But the matter was not quite so easily disposed of in Geneva, for the smaller states, particularly, Belgium and Czechoslovakia, refused to soil their hands. They were painfully aware that the fate of Ethiopia might be theirs in the near future.

Litvinoff, the representative of the Soviet Union also voiced his opposition to this scheme. The Soviet Union attempted to stiffen the resistance of the British and French government to the new and scandalous maneuvers of Mussolini and Hitler. This turn of policy in Geneva was obviously motivated by the knowledge that Mussolini intends to put up unreasonable demands at the coming Locarno Conference and in all Mediterranean matters.

Peri has finally discovered that the foreign policy of the Blum regime is a "return to Lavalism." Not only is that the case now, but that has been the case since the very first day of Blum's rule. Blum's policy differed from that of Laval only in words. The C.P.F. is responsible for this policy and has supported it all along. We are faced with the peculiar situation in which Soviet diplomacy is more progressive in a Communist sense than the foreign policy of the Communist Party of France and, therefore, of the Communist International. Such are the results of the People's Front.

Is it not true that the Quai d'Orsay, under the control of Blum and supported by the C.P.F. is making more concessions to the demands of Hitler, Mussolini, the French big bourgeoisie and the English Die-hard's?

But even this little trick of "calculated omission" does not satisfy the editors of the Call; they find it necessary to launch an open attack upon Local 22, accusing it of political inconsistency because it has been forced to resort to methodical, unpleasantly reminiscent of the old "third-period" days. The result can be seen in the columns of the Socialist Call.

The editors of the Socialist Call know quite well that Local 22 has made no secret of its sincere conviction that it was a big mistake for the A.L.P. to head its ticket with the banner-bearer of one of the big capitalist parties. In its very statement of affiliation, Local 22 called attention to the existence of "differences of opinion as to the wisdom or propriety" of this step. But differences on this question did not blind the union leadership to the "paramount consideration that a labor party has actually been formed, that it is the manifest duty of all unions, progressive ones especially, to join this labor party so as to help build it and enhance its class independence" (Local 22 statement on affiliation). All of these things the Socialist Call knows very well but prefers to ignore, simply to score a factional point against Local 22 and its leadership!

The political ethics of the Socialist Call appear in an even more peculiar light when we recall that, just about the time that the article under consideration was being written, the American Labor Party issued its full program, an important document in which the A.L.P. already differentiates itself from the

two old parties. "The American Labor Party," declares the preamble, "will provide leadership and direction to the overwhelming majority of Americans whose interests the old parties, by their very nature, cannot adequately represent." No comment at all on this document in an article devoted to a "criticism" of the A.L.P.!

It's a pity that the Socialist Call should have to go in for this kind of thing. But it seems to be the penalty of a sectarianism that becomes daily more impossible!

"Balance Sheet of Soviet Foreign Policy"
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23rd at 8:30 P. M.
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL, 51 West 14th Street

* This was written before the Soviet Union took the lead in the fight against fake neutrality.

Southern Tenancy Is Capitalism's Dead-End

By MARY AUSTIN

Fundamental to any consideration of the labor movement in the South, and the economic conditions upon which it depends, is the problem of cotton production and the dissolution of the plantation-tenancy system. The first indication on the part of a Southern administrative body that such a transition is actually taking place and that the interests of Southern capitalism must seek new techniques of control, more in keeping with the policies of NRA and AAA, was manifested at Hot Springs, Arkansas, September 21-22, at the meetings of the Farm Tenancy Commission appointed by Governor J. M. Futrell of Arkansas to discuss the possibilities of a "farm-tenant-uplift-movement."

The composition of this Commission furnished a blatant example of the inherent contradiction between the social scope of such a problem and the narrow class interests of those who claim the right to dispose of it. The members may be divided into four groups. The largest and most important of course is the representatives of the large landholding cotton, lumber and oil interests; second the political bosses, publishers and lawyers; third—the liberal "front" of "kept" state educators, well intentioned clergymen, federal administrators and clubwomen; and finally: two tenants, handpicked for their role. Most obvious of the "kept" liberals was J. B. Watson, Negro director of the A.M. and N. College for Negroes at Pine Bluff, who combined a Democratic campaign speech with a eulogy to the governor and the state of Arkansas, concluding by stating that "Arkansas offers the best opportunity to down and out Negroes who are honest and industrious, of any state I have lived in."

J. H. Chambers, tenant from a county in N. E. Arkansas, where the union has no organization, shows clearly why he, also a tenant, was allowed to be present. After speaking highly of his own landlord, he praised the work of the commission, stating that it had inspired him to go home and become a landlord himself. (In private conversation, Chambers admitted that if he didn't become a landlord mighty quick, he knew he'd become a day laborer.)

Background of Commission. One need not seek far to discover the political and economic background of this Commission, hailed by liberals in the South as an epoch-making progressive step. The nation-wide publicity evoked by the heroic struggles of the sharecroppers since 1934 in their effort to build an organization, the exposure of the violation of all civil liberties in Arkansas by prominent liberals who attempted to investigate local conditions, the protests following the unprosecuted murder of several members of the Union and finally the success with which the Union was able to present the curse of the tenancy system to the Dept. of Agriculture combined to focus national attention and political pressure on state administrations which tolerated such conditions. More than one member of the Commission was forced to admit, reluctantly or bitterly, that the Union was responsible for the conference.

The consideration of the Bankhead-Jones Bill by the Senate Agricultural Committee during the last Congressional session indicated that the national administration felt the pressure sufficient to

require legislative action. For the state of Arkansas to be caught unprepared would have been political folly and would have furnished embarrassing proof of the allegation that the government of Arkansas was unable to care for its own citizens. The recent visit of the President to Arkansas and the repeated assertions by Wallace and Bankhead that something must be done about the sharecroppers indicate that national pressure had been exerted upon the state Democratic machine.

Later, in the discussion, when a too-insistent minister demanded that the protection of the weak by the strong, in the spirit of "noblesse oblige" be enforced in the state of Arkansas, the governor made it clear that no power was given him to enforce law in any county, "unless they holler for help," that no state officer could be sent into a county respecting any question of civil government, and that it was not possible for the Governor to remove officers even if they failed to do their duty since they must be indicted by a circuit court.

Most every speaker stressed the difficulty of helping the tenants due to their illiteracy and lack of education, yet the Governor cynically replied to the Union's demand for better educational facilities by saying "there are some people you can't do anything about—they are mentally inefficient, even educating their children won't do the job, for nature has already cast the die." As tho to make sure that nature left no child unblighted, the state of Arkansas limited the amount of money expended per white child for education in 1930 to \$38.15 and \$13.02 for a Negro child. (The average for the entire country was \$99.00).

The underlying assumption of all discussion of the tenancy problem by members of the ruling class is the charge of shiftlessness and incompetence. The administrator of a Rural Rehabilitation Colony at Dyess, Arkansas where several hundred families were taken off relief and given work and a home, stated that practically 100% of their cases were found to have malaria or some other energy-sapping disease, and after a few weeks treatment had almost invariably recovered their energy and interest in work. Yet, the same day, Futrell stated in a press interview that "the worthless tenancy problem may have to be solved by breeding out bad stock. I would favor sterilization of incompetents who pass into the care of state institutions. . . . Even tho a man has a bright mind, I think he should be sterilized."

Union Kept Out. In contrast to these willing spokesmen of the planters' interests, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, the one organization which represents the interests of the sharecroppers and tenants themselves, was refused representation.

This fundamental contradiction was reflected in every aspect of the Commission. Ignoring the growing problem of the day-laborer, Futrell stated at the outset that "the compensation that such employees receive, generally depends and SHOULD DEPEND on the ability of the employer to pay, but THIS IS A MATTER THAT CANNOT BE REGULATED BY LAW UNLESS THIS CLASS ARE MADE WARDS OF THE STATE." (emphasis mine—M.A.)

Also the denial of civil liberties in Arkansas has been one of the most persistent charges against the state, also a federal grand jury turned in an indictment of peonage charges against a county official, almost simultaneously with the meeting of the conference, when a question was directed from the floor to the manager of the Poinsett Lumber Co. at Truman, in the heart of the terror region, Chairman C. E. Palmer, publisher of a chain of state newspapers and an important political influ-

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

BELIEVE IT or not, but after all this hectic running hither and thither by William Green and President Zaritsky in frantic search of that elusive formula which was to bring peace in the A. F. of L., we are exactly where we started from. Green refuses to pledge the seating of the suspended unions prior to the opening of negotiations with the sub-committee of the CIO and Lewis very properly insists that there is nothing to discuss as long as that promise is not given.

Nevertheless it is worth spending a few lines on the "peace plan" which, we were assured, would carry them all off their feet but somehow never itself got on its feet. Here are the proposals: 1. The Council was to bring a conciliatory report to the A. F. of L. convention in which charter-lifting isn't even mentioned. 2. Convention approval of Council action in dispute. 3. Seating suspended union with voice but no vote. 4. A special committee to arrive at an understanding. 5. Reinstatement of all unions after such understanding. 6. Joint organization committee (craft and industrial unions) to conduct drive in steel and other mass production industries. 7. Organization to proceed along industrial lines with skilled workers having option to affiliate with their craft unions.

These proposals were doomed for one main reason—they dodged the question of the high-handed, unconstitutional, and abrupt suspension of the CIO unions on the very eve of the convention. Why? Because the voting strength of these unions is sufficient to defeat any proposal by the Council to lift charters for either advocating industrial unionism or for assisting in organizing industrial unions.

Any proposal which asked the CIO unions to sanction this unheard of procedure whereby they were to be cut off from the A. F. of L. was bound to fail. In addition the middle-of-the-roads fail to meet toe to toe the question of industrial unionism itself. Members of the Executive Council must run fairly low in their I.Q.'s to believe that the CIO unions would accept such a shabby proposal as the one giving skilled workers the right to choose a craft organization. To call this "organizational unionism" is to mock the whole issue.

It is possible that any number of new fantastic schemes will be thought up by well-meaning peace-makers but all of them will fail unless the issue of industrial unionism is met squarely and settled properly. The American Federation of Labor must make its choice—if choice it is. The A. F. of L. can

COMPANY UNIONS are having tough sledding these days. Following the widespread insurrections of the company unions in the steel industry comes now the report that Pennsylvania Railroad's clerical staff has requested—20,000 strong—and has requested the Mediation Board to designate the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks as their collective bargaining agency. This ends a 14-year fight to unionize Pennsylvania's clerks.

THERE IS TALK in steel circles that the employers are planning to give a wage increase in order to take the steam out of the CIO's organization drive. In addition to that the companies will find it difficult to cry about poverty with the profits for the third quarter outstripping the June returns. Steel workers will hardly be fooled by such transparent anti-union schemes. Wage increases can be taken away much more easily than given if there is no strong union organization behind the men.

BROOKLYN PAINTERS are rejoicing that Buggsy (Martin) Goldstein, gangster and racketeer, has been arrested and charged with conspiracy to maintain a "kick-back" racket on school painting jobs estimated at \$1,000,000.

One of these days the entire local labor movement will be aroused over this problem and then something may happen. In the meantime Brooklyn has become the most racketeer ridden and gangster infested city in the east. The normal life of every important union in Brooklyn is menaced by this festering sore.

AGAIN THE CRY for government control of unionism is being heard. This time it comes from a convention of civic associations and chambers of commerce of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Such a legal code, they argued, would protect competition, contractual obligations and the public welfare.

The moving spirit in the convention was Walter Gordon Merritt, of the New York Real Estate Board. This in itself is enough to show the vicious union baiting character of the gathering.

Following a referendum vote among its members, the Teachers Union of the City of New York, with a membership of 4,000 announced that it has affiliated itself with the American Labor Party. The vote, it was stated, was 3 to 1 in favor of joining the new party. The question of endorsing the American Labor Party was debated at the last regular meeting of the union, at which time it was decided to put it to a referendum vote. The results, conveyed to party headquarters by Mrs. Bella Dodd, legislative representative of the Teachers Union, officially aligns this trade union with hundreds of others throughout New York State who have entered the party's ranks.

"Upsurge: Labor and Populist Socialism"
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23rd at 7:30 P. M.
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LEWIS COREY
(Third Lecture of Series)

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ROOSEVELT'S SYRACUSE ADDRESS

By WILL HERBERG

THE ADDRESS delivered by President Roosevelt at Syracuse on September 29 is one of the most remarkable political documents in recent years. It is not only superlatively effective as a campaign manifesto, particularly in burying the "red herring" that the Republicans have been so persistently dragging across his trail; it is significant in another and much more important sense. For in this address, Roosevelt undertakes a serious, class-economic analysis of the New Deal and the general line of his administration in contrast to the course advocated by the Republicans under Hoover and Lan-

don. It is nothing short of a miracle in our political life for a presidential candidate to speak in such terms instead of the empty and stupidly demagogic phrases that pass for "politics" in this country. Not that Roosevelt's pronouncements advance anything essentially new to us, although the *Daily Worker* and the *Socialist Call* might well profit by a study of them. What is really new and what is significantly characteristic of the new temper of the times is that such an analysis should be the burden of the presidential message to the Democratic state convention of New York!

UNITY OF AIM—DIFFERENCES OF WAYS AND MEANS

"There is no difference between the two major parties as to what they think about communism. But there is a very great difference between the parties in what they do about communism." Such is the fundamental idea which Roosevelt amplifies in all its implications throughout his address. Like his political adversaries in Republican ranks, he is concerned primarily with stabilizing and preserving the "system of private property and free enterprise"; all of his major policies are, at bottom, directed towards that end. Like the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover regimes before it, his administration has always functioned and continues to function single-mindedly in the interests of the economic and social system of capitalism and of the capitalist class who are its sole beneficiaries.

The great distinction between the two political camps first appears—President Roosevelt emphasizes—when we come to examine the ways and means each advo-

ces in the achievement of their common aim. The contrast that the president draws between the futile and self-defeating tactics of his predecessor and his own effective methods, is very striking indeed. He paints a devastating picture of the chaos, confusion and panic of the last days of the Republican regime. Hoover had attempted to meet the emergency of the economic crisis with a policy of "do-nothing" reaction and ruthless repression; the situation had grown worse—distress and misery were mounting—unrest, aching discontent, "radicalism", were gaining ground. "In the spring of 1933 we faced a crisis . . . made to order for all those who would overthrow our form of government." For the first time, fear and uncertainty were really beginning to grip the ruling classes, fear not so much of revolution, altho that was there too, but of the imminent collapse of the whole capitalist structure in chaos about their ears. "Do I need to recall the fear of those days . . . the impending upheaval?"

BIG BUSINESS SPONSORS NEW DEAL— THEN DROPS IT

Spokesmen of big capital were fast losing faith in the bankrupt policy of the Hoover administration, which they had lauded to the skies in the early days of the crisis and which Hoover himself was beginning to modify towards the end of his term. The air was full of all sorts of "plans" demanding "action" in meeting the crisis. The New Deal came as the expression of this mood and the synthesis of these "plans". Early in the campaign of 1932, Roosevelt struck the keynote of his whole policy: "To meet by reaction that danger of radicalism, is to invite disaster. The way to meet that danger is to offer a workable program of reconstruction. . . ."

Big capital was in panic. Roosevelt pointedly recalls the "powerful leaders of industry and banking who came to me . . . pleading to be saved." It was in response to their pleas that the New Deal was inaugurated as a policy of meeting the "emergency with emergency action". Before long, however, by the middle of 1934, it seems, the emergency was already beginning to pass—as far as big business was concerned, at any rate. Production and trade were fast approaching "normal" levels and profits were reaching unprecedented heights for the period of depression; of course, mass unemployment and starvation wages remained, but

such things could hardly be expected to disturb the newly regained self-confidence of the capitalists of industry. Had not the "dangerous forces subversive of our form of government" already been "turned aside"?

We are told that republics are traditionally ungrateful; what then shall we say of big business? Once the fearful crisis of 1932-1933 began to fade into the past and with it the panic of those days, some of the very same "powerful leaders of industry and banking" who yesterday had pleaded to be saved, now arose to assail the New Deal as "wasteful and dangerous experimentation". The neat parabola by which the president depicts his own role as well as the shocking political ingratitude of the big business beneficiaries of the New Deal surely deserves reproduction:

"In the summer of 1933, a nice old gentleman, wearing a silk hat, fell off the end of a pier. He was unable to swim. A friend ran down the pier, dived overboard and pulled him out, but the silk hat had floated off with the tide. After the old gentleman had been revived, he was effusive in his thanks. He praised his friend for saving his life. Today, three years later, the old gentleman is berating his friend because the silk hat was lost."

WHY NOT TAKE ROOSEVELT AT HIS WORD?

When Roosevelt himself goes to such pains to explain his own political role carefully and plainly, what excuse is there for the Communist Party to keep on repeating that he really has no policy of his own, that he merely "vacillates" and "hesitates" between the "people and the Liberty League", what-

ever that may mean? The self-cultivated political confusion of the C.P. is put to shame by the political clarity of President Roosevelt!

And the same word of criticism must be addressed to those progressive labor leaders who have lost their heads in their enthusiasm for Roosevelt, the "great hu-

A PROGRAM FOR A LIBERAL PARTY

In a sense more remote from the immediate political struggle, the Syracuse address may be regarded as a programmatic declaration for a liberal party of the future. It is a program for a party that will take as its paramount aim to bolster the endangered structure of "private property and free enterprise" by the systematic adaptation of the economic and political order to changing conditions and by judicious concessions to the working masses in order to retain their confidence and support. It is the aim of bourgeois liberalism, as the "truest conservatism", to make the socialist revolution unnecessary and impossible by so reforming capitalism as to render it humane and tolerable as well as efficient and workable. "We met the emergency with emergency action," President Roosevelt points out. "But, far more important than that," he hastens to add, "we went to the roots of the trouble and attacked the cause of the crisis. We were against revolution. And, therefore, we waged war against those conditions which make revolutions—against the inequalities and resentments that bred them. . . . The way to meet that danger

LIBERALISM AS "TRUE CONSERVATISM"

It is not only the past the Roosevelt has in mind in his argument but also the future. He stands on his record—he has succeeded in preserving capitalism in its hour of uncertainty and crisis, in "carrying us thru the crisis without impairment of our American system of representative government, without a clash between citizens, without disorder or violence, without the overthrow of a single institution. . . . But the crisis is not yet over—he maintains—or rather, it is implied, the very existence of capitalism spells a state of permanent crisis, to meet which a long-range and far-reaching policy of "reconstruction" is necessary, a policy such as is embodied in the New Deal. This is not radicalism by any means; it is the truest conservatism, for it is the most effective way of conserving, of preserving, the existing social order. "It is for that reason," he concludes, "that our American form of government will continue to be safest in Democratic hands. . . . Liberalism becomes protection for far-sighted conservatism."

This significant idea is made much of by the New York Times (October 1, 1936) in a long and intelligent editorial explaining its support of President Roosevelt's candidacy. "The New York Times," declares this editorial, "a conservative newspaper in its own sphere, believes that the public welfare will best be served this year . . . by the re-election of the president." Not only will "his second administration be more conservative than his first" but, "in a very fundamental way, the president's re-election will provide insurance against radicalism of the sort which the United States has the most to fear. . . . It would be blind not to recognize the necessity of adapting and ameliorating our political and economic structure to the changing circumstances of the modern world, and equally blind not to appreciate at full value and to wish to conserve for the uncertain years which lie immediately ahead, the unquestioned confidence which Mr. Roosevelt enjoys among the distressed masses who have been the worst victims of the depression." When the New York Times speaks in this way, surely no comment is needed!

In a recent periodical, Henry Pringle quotes Elihu Root as passing the following significant judgments on Theodore Roosevelt: "Where should we now be if Theodore Roosevelt had not restored to the plain people of the United States confidence in our institutions?" It is not altogether impossible that a future Elihu Root, perhaps a John P. Davis of today, may yet come to pass a similar judgment on Franklin D. Roosevelt!

LIBERALISM AS "TRUE CONSERVATISM"

TWO ROADS FOR LABOR

Everyone is aware of the talk now widespread concerning an imminent "political realignment" and the crystallization of a "new liberal party". All such talk centers around the possibility of the emergence of a labor party movement of the forces now gathered in Labor's Non-Partisan League and refers generally to a new political departure in the form of a fusion of this movement with the progressives of the LaFollette type as well as with the sincere New Dealers of the Democratic Party. Of course, things are vague as yet but it is already clear enough that the matter is one affecting very fundamentally the whole future of the labor party movement in this country. Yes—a far-reaching political realignment is on the way but what sort of realignment shall it be? Two roads lie open:

ONE ROAD—THE ROAD OF CONSERVATION

1. The labor party forces, now in the process of emergence, may organize themselves into an independent party on a national scale, into a party based on the mass organizations of labor and committed to a program of immediate demands on behalf of the working people of the country. It is to be expected that such a party would not be born completely free from all connections with capitalist politics; in its ranks would probably be found New Dealers and professional "progressives" aplenty. But all this is secondary; paramount is the fact that such a party would be in essence an independent political federation of trade unions and would develop towards militancy and class consciousness to the degree that the masses themselves moved in that direction.

2. The labor party forces, now in the process of emergence, may be absorbed into a liberal party, either an altogether new organization or a "reborn" Democratic Party, into a party dominated by the New Dealers and professional "progressives", into a party dedicated primarily to the preservation of capitalism by more effective means than the reactionaries are ready or able to use. In such a party labor would be a mere auxiliary, no matter to what exalted positions certain labor leaders might be raised; the workers would constitute no more than a support and reserve for the bourgeois liberals, with whom they have nothing in common in interest or aspiration.

* It is pertinent to recall how Hoover dealt with the problem of the "bonus army" in 1932. In order to "reassure every property-owner in the country", instructions were given to General Glasford to turn cavalry tanks and tear-gas upon the assembled veterans. President Roosevelt was also faced with a "bonus march" and he also wanted to "protect the system of private property" but how direct—and more effective—were his methods!

** Platform of the New York State Democratic Party (New York Times, September 30, 1936). Compare the curious and significant resemblance between what the New York Democrats have to say about Roosevelt's achievements and what Lew Blum has to say about those of his own People's Front (socialist) government. "France can cite her own example", he boasts in his recent statement on the beauties of democracy. "For three months, the government has been carrying out important social reforms. It has done so without a single clash between citizens, without order having been disturbed in the street a single time, without a single institution having been overthrown. . . . Is it not thanks to democracy," continues this spokesman of a Communist Party-supported regime, "that the United States has been able to bring about a prodigious economic renewal in a few years without compromising legal order for a single instant, without going outside the framework of the Constitution . . . ?"

PHILADELPHIA

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Member, National Bureau,
Communist Party (Opposition)

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Communist International And the War Question

(Concluded from last week)

The French peasant will fight whole-heartedly only if he is promised that the proletarian revolution will relieve him of his debts and taxes, of the oppression of trusts and big capital, will give him the land of the big landowners and will put society on a socialist, cooperative basis. This can be accomplished only by the proletarian revolution. If Jacques Bonhomme, the peasant, is to fight today as he fought in the Jacobin wars and even in the very first Napoleonic wars it cannot be under the banner of the bourgeois republic which represents to him the continuation of his poverty, but only under the banner of the French Socialist Soviet Republic which will break the chains of his slavery and open revolutionary perspectives to him; he will fight not as a soldier of French imperialism but as a soldier of the proletarian revolution in his own country. If, however, the French communists defend the bourgeois republic and become part of a bourgeois government (with or without portfolios) engaged in a war, the petty bourgeois classes of France are inevitably exposed to imperialist propaganda and will inevitably lead to France betraying the Soviet Union.

It would be easy to show the effect of the new line on the toiling classes of France and on other non-fascist countries. The question arises, what will its effect be on fascist countries which are considered to be the chief warmongers—the "aggressors"? Let us take Hitler Germany. Is it an accident that Dimitroff ignores almost completely the revolutionary perspectives in Hitler Germany? No, it is not, since Dimitroff looks upon collaboration of the French working class with French imperialism as the decisive factor in the maintenance of peace instead of realizing that only a revolution in Germany can stop war. Class collaboration can only have the effect of weakening the revolutionary forces in Germany and international solidarity in other countries on behalf of the German workers.

Return To Communist Principles

If the new line is pursued to its bitter end, it will cause the ruin of the Communist parties and the C.I. In time of war what would be the fate of Communist parties that hush up or abandon the class struggle and defend the bourgeois republic? One section of its followers would desert to the bourgeoisie, another would become disillusioned and become indifferent to politics. At any rate, only that small nucleus which follows its proletarian class instinct despite the instructions of the C.I. and its own Party bureaucracy would continue to exist.

What will become of the C.I. if the Communist Party of France—its only strong C.P. in capitalist Europe now that the German movement is defeated—collapses because of a basically incorrect policy in case of war? As a result of the collapse of the German labor movement, the Soviet Union is forced to increase its army in time of peace and to sacrifice its manpower in time of war. Who can foretell what sacrifices she might

have to make if the French labor movement collapses as a result of the continuation of the new line? It has become the task of the Communist Opposition to agitate for the return to the principles of Communism on the part of the Communist parties and the C.I. Such a struggle is by no means hopeless because, now as before, the Soviet Union remains a socialist state of workers and peasants and, moreover, the true interests of the Soviet Union and the international working class demand a Communist line of action on the war question. It would therefore be wrong to condemn the present course of the C.I. as another August 4, 1914. The Second International made a final break with socialism by giving up the working class and socialism in the interests of imperialism. In the case of the C.I., however, it is a false policy flowing from the genuine demands for the maintenance of peace and for the defense of the Soviet Union. Hence, it is not necessarily a final action.

National Defense

Now a few words on "national defense". In case of an attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler Germany, the French working class must see to it that the bourgeois government lends maximum military assistance to the Soviet Union. Does this task necessitate a program of "national defense", an appeal to nationalism and patriotism in bourgeois France? Not in the least! This task can be accomplished under the banner of the defense of the international fatherland of the workers—the Soviet Union; not in the name of bourgeois patriotism and nationalism but in the name of proletarian internationalism.

The risk of a possible momentary weakening of war operations as a result of the class struggle waged inside a capitalist country is part of the bargain; it is the price that must be paid for the transformation of the imperialist war into a revolutionary war of defense alongside the Soviet Union. The risk is far greater if the revolutionary class struggle is abandoned, because in that case the bourgeoisie would sabotage, betray, or attack the Soviet Union and huddle the proletarian revolution in Germany.

We Take Up The Fight

The International Communist Opposition is ready to take up this struggle on its own basis. We reject the Trotskyite position of revolutionary defeatism under all conditions, their denial of the socialist character and rule of the workers in the Soviet Union, their appeal to form new Communist parties and a Fourth International.

We appeal to the members of the Communist parties to fight together with us for the return to Communist principles, for a genuine discussion of the Communist position on war, for a free election of functionaries whose views are those of the membership and who will defend the members against the Party bureaucracy.

Union Men of Underground

Germany Aid Spanish Workers

The following letter was transmitted by the International Communist Opposition to Andres Nin, leader of the POUM.

Berlin, August 15, 1936. To the Foreign Committee of the CPG-O:

Dear Friends: One of our sympathizers is going abroad and we are taking this opportunity to send our modest contribution to the Spanish workers.

The leaders of our underground metal workers' group discussed ways and means of how best to express our sympathy for the heroic Spanish workers fighting against the Fascist counter-revolution. Since we only had two days' time we made collections in two factories and obtained the sum of 30 marks. The bulk of the money was collected by a comrade of

In The C.P.O. Pre-Convention Discussion

The Support of Earl Browder Is a Mistake

By M. Y.

The purpose of the pre-convention discussion is to achieve a maximum of clarity. At no time has the labor movement, and we as a group, faced a more complicated and confusing situation. It is not sufficient merely to criticize; but the decisions we are making must be in harmony with our criticism. The opportunism of the C.P. and the sectarianism of the S.P. in the present election are aiding the most reactionary forces of the ruling class. At the same time the roles of the Communist and Socialist parties are strikingly different. Our group, because of our numerical weakness, is not in a position to put forward its own candidates; we therefore have the unpleasant duty of supporting either the Socialist or the Communist parties. In making our choice, we must base our decision on the issues involved. It is wrong to make an arbitrary ruling, to apply one kind of reasoning in local elections and another kind of reasoning in national elections. Workers, in voting for local labor candidates do so on the same basis as when they vote for national candidates. Of course the situation is different when a labor party candidate is involved.

Plenum Decision Is Confusing

The Plenum, on recommendation from the Bureau, decided to support the Communist candidate in the present election. This was not done on the basis of the issues involved, but on the basis of international affiliations and orientation, on the basis of the traditional principles of Communism and Social Democracy.

A Change Of Orientation On The Parliamentary Field Is Necessary

The cross opportunism of the C.P., the blurring of class lines and approach should impel us to change our orientation. The old basis of our support to the C.P. in the election has been destroyed. In the U. S. the situation on the parliamentary field—as well as in other fields—is exceptional. The S.P. and C.P. are very weak, and the capitalist parties are powerful. Fascism is not yet needed here to save Capitalism. Roosevelt does the job well. The basis or excuse for the Peoples Front is not yet here, though the C.P. ignores this fact. It is also true that Norman Thomas' opposition to the Peoples Front is only temporary. According to the S.P. banner bearer, should the S.P. in the U. S. face a situation similar to the one prevailing in France and Spain the idea of a Peoples Front would be acceptable. In face of what is happening today in Spain, such a statement casts light on what the role of the S.P. will be in a critical situation, that may arise in the future. This must not blind us to the position of the S.P. today.

Spanish counter-revolution. The fervor with which the workers militia, the backbone of the Spanish revolution, has fought from the very first day of the revolt has inspired the German workers who they are forced to read between the lines of the pro-Rebel Nazi reports. Workers are particularly interested in any news of the seizure of factories and their management and control by organs of the working class. They are animated not only by the desire for your victory but also by the desire to learn from your struggle.

Long live the struggle of the Spanish proletariat!

Down with Fascism!

The Berlin Committee for the formation of underground trade union cadres (Metal Workers Group)

a decision because it recognized that, unlike Social Democracy, the false position of the C.P. on War and its defense of Bourgeois Democracy is only a matter of strategy and not of principle.

Unfortunately, in the present election campaign, the roles of the Communist and Socialist candidates have been reversed. The revolutionary party is supporting indirectly a capitalist candidate and carries on a campaign for liberal capitalism. The reformist party is fighting against all capitalist candidates. The C.P. is ridiculing the S.P. for even raising the issue of Socialism.

It is a deusion; the issue is not between traditional Communism and Social Democracy. The real issue is between pro-Capitalism and anti-Capitalism. Certainly we disagree with the basic program of the S.P., its evasive and unclear position on the question of achieving power and dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. But that does not change the general anti-capitalist character of the Socialist campaign in the election. Even this negative position of the S.P. is superior to the pro-capitalist campaign of the C.P. There can be no doubt where our support should be thrown. Our support of Browder does not correspond to our analysis of the role of the C.P. in the election—as the defender of liberal capitalism.

It is true that had we supported Thomas, such support would have been misinterpreted and misunderstood; but we cannot decide issues on the basis of what other people might think. Only through practical activity can we dispel all illusions and clarify our position.

Not only is such an approach wrong, it at the same time confuses the issues and makes an objective discussion mighty difficult. Taking sides in an election between two labor candidates is not the same as joining a political organization, or effecting organic union. The mere fact that the authors of the election resolution had to inject consideration of fundamental principles as the basis of supporting Browder indicates how false the position is—particularly when these principles are shamelessly disregarded in the campaign.

It must be admitted that the present situation—in which the elections take place—is an extraordinary one, which has no parallel in the history of the labor movement. An unusual situation must be met with unusual action. If we are unable to do that, we are far from being a Marxist-Leninist tendency of the Communist movement.

The Plenum made a correct decision when it decided to initiate a struggle to bring back the C.P. to its original principles. It made such

Spanish counter-revolution. The fervor with which the workers militia, the backbone of the Spanish revolution, has fought from the very first day of the revolt has inspired the German workers who they are forced to read between the lines of the pro-Rebel Nazi reports. Workers are particularly interested in any news of the seizure of factories and their management and control by organs of the working class. They are animated not only by the desire for your victory but also by the desire to learn from your struggle.

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We disagree with the S.P. position on the American Labor Party, with their evaluation of the Labor Non-Partisan League; that must not be a barrier in supporting that party on the question of Roosevelt. In doing so we can demonstrate that it is possible to oppose Roosevelt and work at the same time constructively for a Labor Party in the U. S.

NAZIS' COLONIAL BID QUIETED TO COURT BRITISH FAVORS

Last week the press brought conflicting reports about Germany's liquidation of its Colonial League—the agency through which the Nazis conducted their campaign for the return of the 3,000,000 square miles which constituted its pre-war colonial empire.

The liquidation report, giving the embarrassment of Germany's Ambassador to Britain, Joachim von Ribbentrop, as the reason, stipulates that this does not constitute a repudiation of Germany's demand for the return of its colonies but merely a postponement of the issue because the British feel extremely uncomfortable when the return of colonies are mentioned.

The report is indeed surprising since talk of return of colonies or the desire for new colonies has become a very popular topic. Thus Japan not only talked but went out and cut for itself quite an imposing slice of Manchuria and North China, with the end not yet in sight. Italy, not to be outdone, made Europe gasp by grabbing Ethiopia. And passing from those who did to those who would like to do, we find that the Little Entente Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, made it known that if Germany demands its colonies at the Locarno conference then the Little Entente, especially Czechoslovakia, must not be forgotten. (Manchester Guardian, Aug. 7). On July 31 the Polish Foreign Office issued a communique in which it said that it is the duty of the League of Nations to provide Poland with colonies "because later it may be too late". An obvious threat against Great Britain and France.

Germany has been quite persistent in its demand for its colonies. It is certain that unofficial conversations between Germany and England took place. Thus Mr. Anthony Eden discussed this matter in Parliament on July 27 and stated that while England was ready to provide freer access by foreign countries to raw materials it would not favor the transfer of any mandated territories. But some transfers must have been considered at one time or another because we find Oswald Pirow, Minister of Defense of South Africa, declaring on August 12: "In no circumstances can South Africa or Great Britain envisage the return of Tanganyika or Southwest Africa to Germany."

A very clear presentation of Germany's position was recently made by General Ritter von Epp, Governor of Bavaria and Head of the Colonial League which is now reported to be liquidating. He said in European Review, a German monthly:

"When Germany claims colonies she has solely her own colonies in mind which have been placed under League of Nations mandate. The German colonial movement desires that the seizure of the Ger-

man colonies shall be revoked and that Germany shall have the right to make use of her colonial possessions."

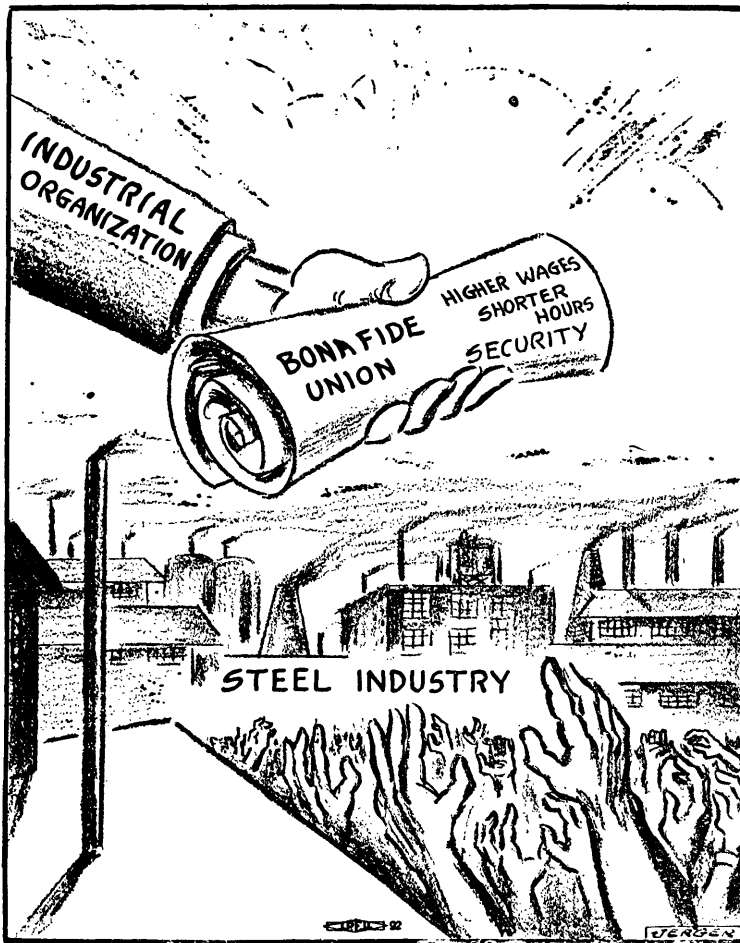
The same persistent demand was voiced in Hitler's manifesto read at the Nuremberg Nazi Congress on September 9. "Germany cannot renounce the solution of her colonial aims", said Der Fuehrer. "The right to live of the German nation is just as great as the rights of the other nations."

Why then the report, even though denied later, of the liquidation of the Colonial League? Some reports have it that it was an attempted maneuver, in which Germany yields in form in its colonial policy retains the substance, for the purpose of aligning England with Germany's objections to the Soviet's naval rearmament in the Baltic. This is not impossible, but far more than that: Germany would gladly silence the raucous voice of a von Epp for a time if she can thereby destroy a possible Anglo-Soviet alliance. Germany has by no means given up its hope of winning some of the first rate powers for an anti-Soviet alliance.

SAILORS VETO STRIKE VOTE

The Maritime Federation of the West Coast has apparently split on the issue of the Maritime Commission's powers. The latter was appointed by President Roosevelt to prevent the repetition of the 1934 general strike. While the longshoremen, under the leadership of Harry Bridges, have pushed for a strike vote, the sailors, marine tenders and firemen, have barred such a vote, announcing full cooperation with the commission. The present working agreement between the employers and the unions of the Federation expires October 26th, the date on which the Federation had asked is membership for the right to call a strike. Had the latter gone through and this is still possible, the employers of the Pacific Coast would undoubtedly be able to hear the union demands for increased wages and retention of control over hiring halls much more clearly. The partial defection of the two unions mentioned is certainly an aid to the employers.

HUNGRY HANDS



Courtesy Union News Service

EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 2)

the tasks of the C.P. in the new government, will confirm this. The program contains no mention of socialist measures. On the question of the army the C.P. of Spain supports the decree of the Giral government which called for the formation of a "volunteer army" of trained men beside the militia, i.e. the formation of a bourgeois class army which could be used against the militia if necessary.

The POUM demands the formation of a workers and peasants government composed of committees of workers, peasants and active fighters such as militiamen, Civil Guardists and soldiers.

The CNT (syndicalist trade unions) has asked the Caballero government and UGT (reformist unions) to set up a committee of national defense on the model of the central committees of the militia in Barcelona (which is composed of all workers parties and organizations) with full military and economic powers; to destroy the bourgeois state apparatus in the various provinces and to set up, in its stead, workers' organs; to socialize the land, the industries and commerce and to introduce workers' control of production in the remaining branches of private industry.

This is a demand to break completely with the People's Front

and with the bourgeois democracy though it is not as advanced as it might be and as the POUM has formulated it, namely, the establishment of a proletarian state based on the broad mass organs of the workers, the peasants and the soldiers.

It is quite evident that the next step in Spain will be a break with the People's Front and with bourgeois democracy, and, moreover, such a break will come sooner because the mass of revolutionary workers already regard the Caballero government as a hindrance to an effective anti-fascist struggle.

In this civil war there can be no marking time.

London, Sept. 23, 1936.

Send me more information about the C.P.O.

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Saturday, October 24, 1936.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1933.

Of Workers Age, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1936.

State of New York
County of New York.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Robert Macklin who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Workers Age and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations.

1. That the names and addresses of publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Workers Age Publishing Association, 51 W. 14th St., New York City; Editor: George F. Miles, 51 W. 14th St., New York City; Managing Editor: Jay Lovestone, 51 W. 14th St., New York City; Business Manager: Robert Macklin, 51 W. 14th St., New York City.

2. That the owner is: Workers Age Publishing Association, 51 W. 14th St., New York City; Jay Lovestone, 51 W.

14th St., New York City; George F. Miles, 51 W. 14th St., New York City; Bernard Herman, 51 W. 14th St., New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ROBERT MACKLIN, Business Mgr.
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1936.

MARY B. SAGARIN, Notary Public
My commission expires Mar. 30, 1938

OFFICE WORKERS HOLD ELECTIONS

The annual elections in the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union, Local 1264C American Federation of Labor, are scheduled for Monday, October 19. In this election, the progressive forces in the union have united to defeat the attempt of a small, factional clique, headed by Sam Baron, to dominate the union.

At this writing, there are all indications that there will be a huge turnout for the elections, and that, despite the use of administrative offices for election campaigning, the Socialist Group and Sam Baron will be overwhelmingly defeated.

The campaign of the Socialist Group, masquerading under the name of "Progressive Group", has been marked by red-baiting, by the raising of such dead issues as "dual unionism", and by threats to go to the A. F. of L. to have the elections postponed or nullified. The Socialists used a majority of five to four at the last Executive Board meeting before the elections—a majority which existed because one member of the Board was assigned to strike activity—to accept the declination of one candidate and arbitrarily refuse to have further acceptances for the vacant office, and also to empower Sam Baron with sole right to bring in a list of all members of the Union eligible to vote!

The campaign of the opposition slate, supported by the Communist Party, C.P.O., and large sections of independent progressives, has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the most active members of the union. These candidates have faced the real issues, of collective leadership and progressive collaboration within the union.

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