

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## CRAFT LEADERS ASK CIO OUSTER AT TAMPA MEET

### CIO Unions Stay Away; Legislative Program Is Announced

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The report of the executive council made public on the eve of the AFL convention called for the continuation of WPA and other legislation to assist the unemployed. In order to make possible for congress to legislate on federal labor regulations the council favored a constitutional amendment.

The report details the controversy with the CIO unions and urges the convention to take "appropriate action."

Altho the report lists favorably a number of bills, the Black-Conerly 30-Hour Week Bill is not even

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### HITS WAGE MANEUVERS



JOHN L. LEWIS

## Heroic Defense Halts Fascists at Madrid Gates

LOCKED in an almost continuous battle for eight days, fighting on land and in air with unprecedented energy and determination, the workers militia of Madrid, reinforced by veteran troops from Catalonia and an International Legion composed of anti-fascists of various countries, succeeded last week in hurling back the fascist forces from the bridges leading to the capital and in launching a counter-offensive that may well become a decisive turning-point in the four-month old civil war. A number of terrific air battles marked the course of the desperate struggle.

The lack of munitions and adequate equipment which hampered the republican forces so seriously in earlier days seems now well on the way to being remedied thanks to the vigorous action of the Soviet Union in partially breaking the "non-intervention" blockade. There has also been a great improvement in the spirit, discipline and organization of the government forces; while the morale and effectiveness of the rebels, on the other hand, seem to be considerably weakened by the operations of guerrilla bands in their rear and by the growing realization that the former isolation of the Madrid government has now been definitely broken.

In Madrid, real power is now held by the Supreme Defence Council, made up of representatives of the proletarian organizations, with the liberal republicans well in the background. The Caballero cabinet has transferred its headquarters to Valencia, very much as the French and Belgian governments did under somewhat similar circumstances during the World War.

Under the heavy blows of the crisis, the carefully constructed edifice of the People's Front is fast crumbling, giving way to what is virtually a worker-peasant regime in Catalonia and Madrid. It is now beginning to be widely recognized how damaging have been the consequences of the People's Front policy, with the blind dependence on the liberals that it involves—and how dangerous this policy still is insofar as it remains operative. Out of deference to the liberals, the republican regime has been

slow in taking those radical social and economic measures which alone can bring victory over fascism; out of deference to the liberals, no move has been made to liberate Spanish Africa so as to defeat Franco's intrigues among the Moors; out of deference to the liberals, the revolutionary socialistic character of the whole struggle has been shamefully denied and the attempt made to disguise it under the threadbare cloak of a discredited "democracy", much to the detriment of the spirit and morale of the masses.

Unmoved by the developments of the last few weeks and adamant to the insistent pressure of Soviet diplomacy, the People's Front regime of France still refuses to loosen the noose of the one-sided boycott, called the "non-intervention" pact, that is strangling republican Spain. The French masses may arise in indignant protest; the British Labor party, the Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions may all call for the end of the boycott; but the Blum cabinet, covering under the whip of its Radical masters, continues to play the reactionary game of Tory diplomacy, of Nazi and fascist aggression. Some obscure intrigues are now apparently under way between the French Foreign Office and self-styled "agents" of the Catalonian government aiming at a roundabout recognition of the Franco clique and the establishment of a "liberal" Catalonian state as a vassal of France. The Spanish ambassador in Paris has absolutely repudiated these wretched schemes and they are certain to meet with the same reception in Barcelona.

## Fear of Union Drive Forces Wage Concessions from Big Industries

### Labor Initiates National Drive For Social Legislation Program

#### ILGWU, ACW, And UTW Will Back Constitutional Amendment If Necessary; AFL Demands That Employers Pay Social Security Costs

ONCE again official Washington is agog with the pros and cons of a newly proposed NRA and even the demand for a constitutional amendment—which was spoken of in whispers during the election campaign—is now being shouted by a number of powerful unions associated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

There is no doubt that the re-election of Roosevelt has created a profound conviction in the ranks of labor that now is the time to push forward with its demands for labor legislation, to resuscitate those invalidated by the Supreme Court and to go forward to new achievements.

President Roosevelt was well aware of this general belief in the ranks of labor, for, addressing the third National Conference on Labor Legislation, he assured the gathering that "This coming year should be an outstanding one in the annals of labor legislation." Among the proposals he has in mind are: "Safe and healthful places of work, adequate care and support when incapacitated by reason of accidents, industrial disease, unemployment or old age, reasonably short working hours, adequate annual income, proper housing and elimination of child labor."

How this program—the new NRA—is to be realized is not yet clear. President Roosevelt is known to be studying the idea of a sweeping Federal Incorporation and Licensing Law, by means of which such a program is to be realized.

Labor is showing a praiseworthy impatience with the dallying processes of government. Meeting last week the General Executive Boards of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers took stock and discovered that wage standards had dropped and hours had been lengthened since the demise of the NRA. The ACW went on record for federal legislation regulating hours and wages in the men's clothing industry. The ILGWU proposed a little NRA for the women's garment trades, similar in intent to the Guffey Act. The time was now ripe, declared the ILGWU, "to unite all the forces in the industry behind a collective effort for national legislation similar to the NRA." A similar proposal for a little NRA in the textile industry was also suggested by the General Executive Board of the United Textile Workers.

These powerful organizations expressed the belief that it should be possible to affect such legislation

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**Jay Lovestone** is covering the historic Tampa convention of American Federation of Labor, for "Workers Age".

Read his reports and articles beginning with our next issue.

### U. S. SAYS NO!

In answer to the demand of the A. F. of L. that the employers pay the full amount and that the workers be exempt from payment into the Social Security fund, the administration has come out with a statement opposing the plan.

"To shift the whole burden on employers," says the administration, reviving an old myth, "would mean that workers would receive doles in their old age."

## FIND NEW PLOTS AGAINST USSR

The much talked of pact between Germany and Japan has become a certainty. It has become known that immediately after the Nuremberg Congress of the National Socialist Party in which Russia was the main target, a pact between Germany and Japan, aimed at the Soviet Union was drafted in Berlin. Altho the provisions of this mutual assistance pact are not yet known it is stated that these will be made public before the year is out.

In the light of this pact the movements of Japan in China assume increasing importance. The appearance of a strong Japanese controlled invading force on the border of Suiyuan province, in northwest China, is being interpreted as of strategic importance not only as pressure on China's central government, but also against the Soviet Union which can be threatened through Inner Mongolia.

Almost simultaneously with the report of the Nazi-Japanese pact came the details of discussions between Italy, Austria and Hungary, in which Italy is attempting to cement a central European block with the aim of also drawing in Germany. Altho announced details dealt with trade concessions in Ethiopia, a common position on the League of Nations, and the backing of Hungary's rearmament, it was learned that the real intention was to draw in Germany with the purpose of creating an anti-Soviet block for a push to the east at the first favorable moment.

These powers also discussed the situation in Spain and expressed their readiness to recognize Franco's regime if Madrid is taken.

### Labor Denounces "Cost Of Living" Clause In Steel Plan

After two years of solid profits under the New Deal, large industries such as steel, oil, and auto, were forced to grant qualified wage increases to their workers, while also seeing to it that dividends went far above the 1929 mark. A total of three billions of dividends will be handed out, while wage increases are estimated to reach only about 130 millions, an increase of about 5 to 10%. It should be kept in mind that during the depths of the depression wages had fallen off 60 to 70%, while dividends had maintained their average and had begun to climb the grade in the early part of 1934. Profits tumbled over themselves in very successful efforts to reach amazing heights. Under these circumstances, plus the very important factors of the elections and the CIO drive to organize the mass-production industries, the employers had to begin to make certain concessions to the workers.

The first announcement of increased wages came from the steel industry, at a time when, by a mere coincidence, the CIO was meeting in Pittsburgh, hearing a promising report on the Steel Drive among other things. United States Steel announced that, due to the increase in the cost of living, wages would be correspondingly increased, and that this method would be permanent. Secondly, the plan would be put into effect thru the signing of agreements with the company unions of the various mills.

The economic aspects of the proposal were immediately exposed as "freezing the workers to their present low standard of living," in a statement of John L. Lewis. This has been recognized by the workers in various mills and great discontent with the low amount of the wage "boost" has also been voiced. The rebellious, pro-CIO sections of the steel company unions have refused to sign the agreement, protesting against the cost of living clause. The steel barons had reorganized the company unions into the so-called District Council, precisely as a prelude to the wage rise; it is to bolster still further the company union plan that they insist on signed agreements, to make the company outfit appear as a real collective bargaining agency. Only partially have their plans succeeded. The valiant fight being put up by the rebellious company unions will help to expose their maneuvers.

While Chrysler and General Motors also announced 10% increases, the United Automobile workers denounced the affair as a "farce of sleight-of-hand performance." The Union pointed out that wages have decreased thru speed up, outright wage slashes and technological displacement, far below the level supposedly compensated for by the new increases and bonuses. Homer Martin, president of the Union stated that: "This action is but a repetition of the left-handed bonuses granted by General Motors a year ago when the same sort of reductions in piece-rates and in-

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# Blum Deaf to Protests Against Neutrality Sham

EVER more convincing becomes the present cry of the Soviet Union that neutrality is a sham, a screen behind which the fascist powers do their nefarious work of assisting Franco and Mola to establish a fascist military dictatorship in Spain. So crystal clear has this become even among social democratic masses that despite Leon Blum's stubborn refusals he has been forced to shift from his position to one which is itself a sham and a fraud.

Blum insisted previously that neutrality was necessary in order to avoid a new world war. Blum now adds that if England agrees he is ready to drop neutrality and come to Spain's assistance. What does this mean? Why the sudden readiness to "throw the world into a new world war"? Blum knows very well that England would not—and did not—agree to any such proposal. He had to find a scape goat upon which to center the widespread dissatisfaction with his policy of neutrality. Before, he could answer the argument of the communists by asking: why don't you also send your protests to the Soviet Union; but now that the Soviet Union has made a sharp change in its attitude to Spain, Blum was forced to pass the buck—this time to England.

Among the French workers Blum's circumvention of the issue has not had the desired result. The workers approach the question not from any deep knowledge of the intricacies and vagaries of bourgeois diplomacy—something that Blum seems to have learned all too well—but from the point of view of international proletarian solidarity with a working class which is being cut down and tortured to death by the well equipped fascist brigands. To them the answer of Blum appears to be totally mercenary. Blum, insists that Anthony Eden become the arbiter of proletarian internationalism! That the whole French proletariat become the tail end of the diplomacy of the British foreign office! Nothing more insulting has ever emanated from any socialist premier.

And where are the socialist leaders who in the past spoke in such revolutionary terms—to whom

Greetings to the  
**WORKERS AGE**  
In Its Fight for Communism  
ST. LOUIS DISTRICT, C.P.O.

Strawberry Mansion Unit—Philadelphia  
GREETINGS  
**WORKERS AGE**  
on its  
SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY  
FORWARD to the Building of a LABOR PARTY  
in the UNITED STATES

## WORKERS AGE

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(Blum's) whole policy toward Spain has revealed what the Communists have previously charged, namely, that it slyly follows British foreign policy," we say correct! But your sudden change of policy after the Soviet Union had changed its stand proves equally clearly that the Communist Parties blindly follow Soviet foreign policy. There is of course a basic difference—one is the policy of a capitalist class and the other of a victorious proletariat, but also the latter can be wrong! The Soviet Union's change of policy proves that it was wrong.

Which policy was Gabriel Peri defending when he wrote ("Inprecor" Sept. 12, 1936):  
"The Communists contributed to the (Brussels) Peace Congress their long experience in the fight against war, as well as their strong spirit of unity. They have made the greatest concessions in the interests of unity for peace. Fascism would have been pleased to be able to announce that the Congress was a 'Red Congress'. In order to rob it of this poisoned weapon, to make this manoeuvre impossible for it, the Communists agreed that the question of fascism and anti-fascism should not be discussed that events in Spain should not be mentioned." (emphasis mine).

The Soviet Union's break with its policy of neutrality must be hailed with joy by every proletarian. So also must we welcome the change by the Communist Party of France and here in the United States. But we cannot forget that both the Soviet Union and the Comintern share in the responsibility for this policy. When the "Daily Worker" asks of the socialists—how long, how long will you continue with the sham of neutrality, we recall that only about three weeks ago the "Daily Worker" still continued its policy of neutrality, echoing the articles and editorials in "Humanite".

When Harry Gannes writes (Daily Worker, Nov. 10) "... his

# LABOR BEGINS DRIVE FOR ITS LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 1)

under the provisions of the Constitution of the U. S. but if it should be found that the Constitution stands in the way of such labor legislation then they stand ready to set on foot an intensive drive for a Constitutional Amendment to give to Congress the right to legislate on such matters. For purposes of a national tie-up for the campaign for labor legislation the Labor Non-Partisan League has been made a permanent organization and is receiving wide support from Even William Green and the Executive Council have spoken up. The council called Landon's bluff by coming out against the contributing features by workers, in the Social Security Act.

The employers are disturbed but at the same time have adopted a new policy which they hope will

influence the administration in the direction of care and caution. The Magazine of Wall Street hopes that Roosevelt will "refrain from legislation or reform that will stem recovery" and it undoubtedly places his whole program of labor legislation in that category.

However, banking, commerce and industry have determined upon a new attitude to the government. The statement of leading Wall Street bankers to the effect that it now becomes their task to cooperate with and influence the government in their desired direction, is well known. More recently John D. Rockefeller, Jr., one of the heaviest contributors to the Republican campaign fund, sent a "hearts and flowers" letters praising the "statesmanlike" utterances of—of all people—Jim Farley. It is obviously an olive branch meant for Roosevelt.

Even more significant is the attitude taken by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. "Emerging from the shell shock" of the elections, as the Republican Herald-Tribune puts it, the CC decided that an attitude of open hostility to the administration, in the light of the election returns, would be sheer folly. It has, therefore, decided to declare "an armistice between business and the New Deal." Furthermore, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has accepted the invitation of Coordinator Berry to attend the Conference of Industry and Labor. Their intentions are summed up as follows: "Their hope is to apply in a friendly spirit and through reasoned advice a certain degree of breaks on

# EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

THE Soviet Union has finally regained its freedom of action by virtue of its declarations in London. The action was belated, but better late than never. The effectiveness of this step proves that firm action is the only correct policy to be pursued in the struggle against the intimidation and blackmail maneuvers of Hitler-Germany and Fascist Italy. Both Germany and Italy have since modified their attitude, furthermore, France and England have been forced to clarify their

position. Thus, Britain supports Portugal and indirectly Hitler, with France following in the footsteps of the British. The recent action of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, has had a most salutary effect on the British workers who are now acting on behalf of the Spanish revolution. The decision of the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International at its Paris session to lift the blockade against the Spanish government was made possible thru the representatives of the British trade unions and the British Labor Party which has refused to support the Blum government and the French Social Democracy.

All of which proves that the Soviet Union should never have agreed to a "policy of non-intervention."

The full efficacy of the action of the Soviet Union depends entirely upon the use the Soviet Union will make of its newly gained freedom of action. Not only would vigorous action on behalf of the Spanish workers be desirable in the interests of the Spanish revolution but it would also serve to enhance the international prestige of the Soviet Union.

THO THE German-Italian negotiations have not resulted in a definite pact or alliance between these two countries, there will be close collaboration on a number of issues, the main issue at present being the struggle against revolutionary Spain and the Soviet Union. As far as Spain is concerned, it is the intention of the Germans and the Italians to recognize the Rebels as the legitimate government of Spain as soon as possible (possibly even before the seizure of Madrid); then, to attempt to smother the Catalan revolution as a rebel movement against the "legally constituted" government of Spain.

Their strategy will be the same as heretofore. They will attempt to bluff, and threaten to provoke a war. Neither Hitler-Germany nor Fascist Italy, however, are ready to wage a war against a big power on Spain's account. Hence, their strategy ought to be exposed and laughed out of court. The official Italian statement on the Berlin and Berchtesgaden negotiations stresses the "national and colonial integrity of Spain," which can only mean that both nations are jealously watching over the fate of the Spanish colonies. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, Germany and Italy are eager to exclude the Soviet Union from the Locarno pact and to isolate that country completely. As a result of the new policy of Belgium, however, any future Locarno pacts have lost their value.

AT THEIR congress in Biarritz, the Radical Socialist Party set up certain conditions for the continuance of the People's Front which the trend toward government control. In the presence of these gentlemen, labor will do well to remember two things: watch its pockets, and keep its organizations ready for action.

THE COUP D'ETAT scheduled by the Fascist Rexist movement in Belgium for last Sunday failed miserably. No more than about 5,000 attended the fascist demonstrations. The expected number was about 250,000. The workers of Brussels in mobilizing against the Fascists were able to deliver a telling blow. This does not mean of course that the Rexist movement has been wiped out. As a matter of fact, the Belgian labor movement is characterized by extreme weakness and confusion. Proof of that is the recent congress of the Belgian Social Democracy which was dominated by the extreme right under the leadership of Spaak, the right hand man of Van Zeeland, and that even a Vanderveelde could be counted as a "left."

OUR READERS will recall the appeal of the C.P. of Italy in which the Party called for the "reconciliation" of the "left" or "opposition" fascists with the Communists and for the realization of the original fascist program. (Inprecor No. 38) The C.P.G. has issued a similar appeal. In the face of this latest opportunist move, the People's Front tactic pales in significance. Even Wels and Stampfer of the Prague leadership of Social Democracy appear as true Marxists in contrast with the position of the C.P. which closely resembles that of people like Otto Strasser. This move of the C.P.G. is an expression of the political and organizational bankruptcy of its leadership. The underground cadres of the C.P.G. have practically disappeared as an organized force. Hence, the analogy to the Italian C.P. is not accidental. London, Oct. 28, 1936.

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# An Estimation of the Machinists' Convention

(By Milwaukee Observer)

The nineteenth convention of the International Association of Machinists held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin September 21 to October 2 adds another page to the history of the American Labor Movement. Many progressives expected great changes at this convention but the proceedings proved conclusively to any impartial observer that the great dynamic changes which have taken place in the American labor movement in the last eight years had very little effect on the present leadership of the organization.

Of all the trade union conventions recently held, the Machinists Convention stands out as an outpost of reaction as far as its attitude is concerned to the general problems affecting the American labor movement. It seems that the Machinists Convention was made the rallying ground of all the craft union reactionary forces of the Executive Council of the AFL.

The essence of the speeches of Wharton, Frey & Green was a scathing attack on the CIO unions. They attempted to make the issue one of democracy rather than the question of the organization of the millions of unorganized workers in the mass production industries. In order to give strength to their arguments Wharton, Green & Frey referred to the fact that when proposals were made to merge all garment trades into one industrial union or to merge all the separate organizations in the printing industry the union leaders of these trades refused.

In line with the notorious so-called non-partisan policy of reward your friends and punish your enemies the convention deferred action on the Labor Party resolution. This action was taken rather than outright rejection in order to placate the strong progressive bloc favoring the resolution.

Force Anti-CIO Vote On the CIO question, however, the reactionaries showed no such "consideration." They adopted a surprise resolution approving the expulsion of these unions just before the adjournment of the September 23 session, and when the progressive delegates were out of the convention hall in committee meetings. In this underhanded manner they put over the resolution with few dissenting votes. In an attempt to counteract the effects of this resolution the progressives submitted a resolution which pointed out that only thru the united efforts of all labor organizations, including the CIO unions could the hundreds of thousands of workers in the machine and metal industries be organized and further, urged that the convention instruct its delegates to the coming A. F. of L. convention to vote against suspension or expulsion of the unions affiliated with the C.I.O. The resolutions committee magnanimously accepted the resolution making the following revisions: it struck out the words "including the CIO unions," and threw out the whole section calling on the convention to instruct the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to vote against suspension of the CIO unions.

Just as in the case of the CIO, the action of the convention on the question of the revocation of the Oakland Lodge charter reveals the high handed methods of the I.A. of M. leadership. After seven months of fruitless efforts at conciliation the Oakland Lodge finally came to grips with the California Metal Trades Association. The strike, conditionally sanctioned by the international officials, gained the support of the California State Fed-

eration of Labor, the Alameda Central Labor Council, Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and a number of Machinists Lodges.

With this support from organizations representing thousands of members, the Oakland Lodge conducted the strike successfully without "aid" from the International. The only demand they made on Wharton was that he withdraw from the field Grand Lodge Representative Nash whom he sent in to take charge of the situation. From the very beginning Nash aroused the ire of the workers through his shady dealings with the employers' association. The employers, however, through their spokesman Kilberry who had visited Wharton in Washington, charged that the lodge made no effort to avoid a strike, and further, insisted that the business agent of the lodge who had been the chosen representative of the membership for 16 years be removed and negotiations would be continued with Wharton's representative Nash. Wharton thereupon withdrew his strike sanction which was originally conditioned upon the exhaustion of all efforts at an amicable settlement, and that since the strike vote was not conducted in compliance with the Grand Lodge Constitution, the strike was illegal and that the penalty prescribed (expulsion) was in no way excessive to the offense committed! Wharton's decision was upheld by the convention.

The discussion on the revocation of the Oakland Lodge charter took up three full sessions of the convention. Adding the time consumed by the invited guests who delivered speeches, very little time was left for the discussion of the most vital question affecting the union, namely, the organizing of the large number of unorganized machine and metal workers.

This was especially surprising since Wharton himself stated that "we have initiated and reinstated approximately 112,000 men since 1928, and have retained about 60,000 net gain in the organization." We could expect that Wharton would be in favor of discussing the question which he himself raises: "It is difficult to answer why they did not stay, at least long enough to give us the opportunity to demonstrate that we can improve their condition."

The Balance Sheet Progressive trends at the convention were expressed on the question of the Farmer Labor Party where the progressives rallied 317 votes against deferring the question indefinitely to the 394 votes cast for it. The proposal to endorse the Frazier-Lundeen Social Security Bill received 89 votes to 131 against it.

On the question of broadening the jurisdiction of the Machinists Union, the convention did take a progressive step in recognizing officially the status of production workers in the organization and fixing their dues at \$1.35 a month. However, this decision was marred by "equalizing" the dues of the women, which in effect raised their dues from 85c to \$1.35 a month. The proposal of the Bunker Hill Lodge 634 for retaining strict craft lines was defeated. The organization now, as Mr. Wharton expressed himself, is at least semi-industrial. Resolutions sponsored by many lodges were adopted to concentrate on the organization of the unorganized workers in the machine building centers. The resolution on amalgamation which some progressives considered

as a very great step forward is actually a repetition of the one adopted at a number of conventions and incorporated in the platform for many years. The only change taken on this question was that the convention authorized the Executive Council to enter into negotiations with those unions which are ready to merge now, and not to defer action until all the unions are ready to merge.

This decision does not substantially change the situation because the leaders of the various craft organizations are not too anxious to liquidate their organizations, nor would a merger of this kind, if it could take place, be based on the proposition of organizing the majority of unorganized workers in the metal industry.

These mildly progressive steps were countered by the decisions of the convention on the basic problem facing the labor movement, the CIO question, the revocation of the charter and suspension of the officers of the Oakland Lodge 284, and the number of lodges asking the revocation of the ritual of the clause admitting only "white" machinists into the union.

To further illustrate the "progressive" nature of the convention, the delegates proceeded to uphold the action of the president and the Executive Council in suspending Harry Mayville from the organization for communistic activities. This decision rather contradicts the statement of Mr. Wharton that in his judgment, the Machinists Union is the most progressive organization in the A. F. of L. While a number of conservative unions, dropted their red baiting campaigns, the Machinists Union still sticks to the decisions of its 1924 and 1928 conventions.

It is also interesting to note the decision of the convention on the question of broadening the leadership of the organization through election of the Executive Council on the basis of districts and regions, thereby giving the membership an opportunity to elect people whom they really know. Mr. Wharton used quite skillful maneuvering to defeat this proposal.

### Basis of Conservatism

The vote on the labor party question and the Frazier-Lundeen Bill indicated that there was a substantial block of progressive delegates at the convention. However, when it came to the most basic question affecting the labor movement, the CIO, many of these progressive delegates sided with the administration of the union or were reluctant to put up a real fight on this issue. How is this to be explained?

The majority of the present membership is engaged primarily in those branches of the machine industry where skill is still retained to a large degree. Thus the delegates from the railroad shops, navy yards, municipal lodges, printing

# Czech C. P. Deep in Opportunist Crisis

The C.P. of Czechoslovakia is on the road to a serious crisis. The opportunist, reformist policy of the party leadership is meeting more and more active resistance on the part of the membership. When party leader Gottwald returned from Moscow shortly before the Seventh Party Conference he declared that the Central Committee of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia under the leadership of Slansky and Sverma had interpreted the decisions of the Seventh World Congress in an opportunist manner and that the Party had adopted a reformist position on decisive political issues. The Seventh Party Conference did not correct this opportunist line. Quite the contrary, on the basis of the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress and of the Directives of Dimitroff, the C.C. elected by the Seventh Party Conference, continued the policy of Slansky and carried opportunism to great extremes. The line of the Party is not merely characterized by a deviation from the tactical principles of communism, but by the beginning of a break with the principles of communism.

Instead of pursuing an independent revolutionary class policy on the question of war, the C.P. has assumed a thoroughly social-patriotic attitude. It leads the working class to believe that the interests of the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in the defense of the fatherland coincide with those of the working class.

On the national question the party has dropped the communist slogan for a struggle for self-determination of nations and is now fighting for "a democratic compromise for all nations." Here, too, independent class action has been sacrificed.

Lenin's theory of the state has been revised. The party is openly accepting bourgeois democracy and the capitalist state. Its readiness to form a left government with the socialist and supposedly left bourgeois parties and groups, that is, a communist-socialist-bourgeois coalition government, signifies a

and brewery establishments represent a consolidated unified block on issues of craft versus industrial unionism. The sections of the membership working in the machine building, manufacturing, tool and contract branches of the industry represent a minority confronted with a variety of problems as reflected by the different conditions in the numerous branches of the industry and find it more difficult to act as a unit on all questions.

past few weeks of such decisive importance to the world proletariat have not produced the proper reaction amongst the comrades in Komotau. A large section of these comrades have a completely indifferent attitude or else waste their time in fruitless discussions and criticisms. On September 17th, at a plenary session, Deputy Schenk made a report on the People's Front and the Moscow trial. In the discussion period various comrades denounced the People's Front policy, the neutrality policy in the Spanish civil war and voiced criticism of the Moscow trial. Schenk's answer was a violent denunciation which culminated in these words: "Anyone who criticizes the Soviet Union or the C.I. today, belongs in the camp of counter-revolution." The result was that three Party functionaries left the Party.

Pick, a representative of the C.I., vice-president of the "Friends of the Soviet Union" in the German section of the country left the party as a result of the Moscow trial. Helene Reiner, author, has also left the party.

One of the best known Party functionaries, Comrade Treschnak (Tomash), recently editor of the "Rude Pravo," teacher, writer and organizer, was expelled from the party. Treschnak was the only leading comrade who criticized the opportunist line of the party in a discussion article before the Seventh Party conference. Because of his difference on the war question, he was taken to the so-called "cadre committee" and expelled after a presentation of his views.

## WEST PHILADELPHIA UNIT—C.P.O.

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# THE 1936 ELECTIONS

By Jay Lovestone

Beginning with this issue, we will run a series of articles by Comrade Jay Lovestone dealing with the 1936 election campaign results. In this series of articles, there will be examined the situation in which the campaign was waged, the causes of the Roosevelt sweep, the consequences and significance of the results, the role played by organized labor in particular and the working class as a whole, and the perspectives for the radical parties of labor and the labor movement as a whole in the light of the new situation.

NO ONE questions the very great significance of the 1936 Presidential elections and their results. What were the causes of the Roosevelt landslide? What are the likely social, economic and political consequences of the Democratic avalanche? What new problems and tasks does the Roosevelt sweep place before labor?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it will not be out of place to clear the ground a bit by presenting a general picture of reactions to the election results, forecasts put forward as to its outcome, and an examination of the objective conditions prevailing at the time of the election struggle.

Therefore, let me, first of all, strike a sort of holy note by calling upon the "Commonweal," a Catholic "weekly review of literature, the arts and public affairs." In its issue of October 30th, Mr. Charles Willis Thompson made the following forecast: "The indications are for the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt by a greatly reduced popular majority and with the loss of many states that he carried in 1932—so many that, to a wise man, his re-election would carry at least as much warning as pleasure . . . Mr. Roosevelt is as aware as anybody of the probable slump in both his popular and his electoral vote."

A few months before, Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist International, took his place as a forecaster in behalf of the Communist Party, by making the following reply to the following question: "Then you are not presupposing that Landon would be stronger than Roosevelt in the elections?" Answer: "I am not assuming that Roosevelt has the edge in this election. I think it is anybody's election." ("Daily Worker," June 15th, 1936).

And the "Commonweal," in its issue of November 6th, has Mr. Thompson estimating the probable results of the elections in the following manner: "Now as to the general result of the campaign, it has restored the Republican Party to its former position, that of a major party coherent in form and harmonious in intent and purpose. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, is facing an ominous future. It, like the Whig Party in the 1840's and the early 1850's, is composed of elements not merely ungenial but hostile, hating each other more than the common enemy; or, to be accurate, hating only each other and having nothing against the common enemy except a natural preference that the latter should not hold the offices if it can be avoided. The Democratic Party has been split before, but not since 1860 has there been a split in it comparable with this. It is not manifest so much in spectacular facts, like the two last Democratic Presidential candidates on the stump for Landon, as in the waiting butchers behind the scenes, axe in hand and only suspending the cutting up until the formal election is over and Congress meets. The South is to be heard from. The welding of shattered Republicanism, beginning in the Cleveland Convention, was

completed by the course of the campaign." Life belied these prophecies and cast stinging ridicule on these prophets. Both the spokesmen of American Catholicism and official American communism were not able to judge and did misjudge totally the entire situation in which the election fight was waged.

Yet, everybody appears to be satisfied with the election results. The Pope has mastered enough strength to express delight, though his servant and radio crooner, Coughlin, got what was coming to him and more than he prayed for. The French Chamber of Deputies, with the Communist and Socialist members voting in the affirmative, unanimously congratulated Roosevelt on his great victory. Hitler is reported to have patted himself on his own back with delight over the extension of what he calls "the Fuehrer principle" thru the huge popular majority rolled up by F.D.R. Even Hearst has once again changed his mind; so he says. He now says that Roosevelt is a real Jacksonian, and hastens to declare that "perhaps Roosevelt, like Jackson, has given essential democracy a new lease of life and will establish it in fact for a generation."

For the first time in its history, the American Legion, thru its National Commander, Harry M. Colmery, has denounced "the use of force or violence or intimidation to suppress any group," and has further emphasized that he views "with alarm red-baiting and riding . . . martyrs on a rail." Finally, even Pravda could join the chorus of the articulate admirers and the obviously satisfied.

In a sense, we are also somewhat satisfied with the election, but only somewhat. In one respect, the election was a great laxative. It was a purge of the first order. It ran counter to the pleas of 85% of the editorial writers of the country. It put the Lippmanns and the Dorothy Thompsons, the Menckens and the Frank R. Kents, as well as the Literary Digest experts, in their proper places—outside the pale of competency as social and political observers. We still hope that all these experts will get a chance to get a piece of the red, white and blue victory cake Landon had prepared for himself!

One thing must be emphasized by us at the outset. This campaign, which was at least as bitter and as dirty as any Presidential election held in this country in the last four decades, was much more than the ordinary Presidential campaign of tweedledum versus tweedledee. There were serious differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties, despite the fact that these issues were not actually put forward sharply or honestly by the contestants. Substantially, the differences dividing the ranks of the American ruling class involve the following questions:

- 1. Has American economic life, has the American economic system, reached that stage of development at which it needs, for its own self-preservation, for the perpetuation of capitalism, active, continuous systematized government regulation and participation?
- 2. Has the time arrived to reconstruct the present government structure to a certain extent so as to help it serve more effectively as an instrument for stabilizing and perpetuating the capitalist system in the United States?
- 3. Has the time arrived for enacting some social legislation in order to choke off discontent in the ranks of labor in order to satisfy, in some measure, some immediate needs of the workers, so that they will not turn so soon to making sweeping demands, more fun-

damental demands? Regardless of the pussy-footing on the part of Roosevelt, in spite of the liberal camouflaging on the part of Landon, it must be said that in general the group dominating the Democratic Party during the campaign answered these questions in the affirmative and the forces dominating the Republican Party answered these questions in the negative.

Why is this so? What is the basis of these conclusions arrived at by the ruling class parties in this country? In trying to answer these questions, let me, before anything else, pose another question which will help us secure an understanding of the background of the whole situation, of the very period which America has just left. The first question that arises for us, therefore, is the following: What lessons can be drawn from previous election campaigns for this one? This logically leads us to another question: Which campaigns have any striking similarities to the 1936 campaign? We believe the election struggle of 1896 and 1912 should be examined in this light.

What was the situation in 1896? We then had the rising American imperialism. The first serious stand against big capital was then being made by the petty-bourgeoisie, who fought in order to preserve and continue their satisfactory social and economic status. In this campaign, we witnessed the brazen participation by biggest business under the leadership of Mark Hanna. It was a filthy campaign, even as far as American elections struggles go. It was the era of McKinley versus Bryan. What do we find today, as compared with 1896? In the last election struggle, American imperialism, despite momentary economic improvement, continues in deep crisis. We find big business playing as brazen and as frontal a role in the contest. The petty bourgeoisie are again in arms. But this time it is sort of a last stand fight. It is a fight in defense of a "position" most of which has been lost and the re-

## CANADIAN FASCISTS BREAK UP MEETING TO AID SPAIN

The Fascist rowdies in Montreal had a hectic and, sad to say, rather successful week end in this city. A mass meeting had been called by the local committee for medical aid to welcome a Spanish delegation. The affair was purely of a People's Front character; such respectable people as the former Minister of Education in the Spanish cabinet, the Spanish delegate to the League of Nations, and a Catholic priest were to speak for the embattled Communists, Socialists and Anarchists of Spain. Despite this fact, the meeting as far as the Fascists were concerned, was a Communist affair and they made preparations to disrupt it.

The police authorities, however, saved them the bother by prohibiting the meeting at the last minute—at the request of the reactionary student organization of the University of Montreal. In order to make doubly certain that the meeting would not take place, the organizers of the fascist hooligans instructed them to be present at the hall—ready for action. As a result, in the evening, the neighboring district resounded with shouts of "Down with Communism," "Down with the Jews," and bands of youngsters marched the streets, yelling themselves hoarse. A second meeting hall, fearing a threatened attack by the fascists, also

### FATHER COUGHLIN EXPLAINS THE ELECTIONS



A painting by Diego Rivera

mains of which are hardly tenable. There is mud-slinging aplenty. Its champion is one who has the advantage, from his own electoral viewpoint, of having the support not only of the overwhelming majority of the middle class, but also of the working class. More than that, he has won the support of important, though not very noisy sections, of big business—the so-called enlightened captains of industry and finance, who are able to view the situation more critically and more soundly.

Now let us turn to 1912. This year marks a wave of bourgeois progressivism, soon to be checked by the World War. It is on this wave that Wilson rode into office in 1916. It was only because of this

trend and the ensuing division in the Republican Party that Wilson had his chance in 1912. The Roosevelt challenge to the Republican Party was a challenge to the two party system which is the buttress of capitalist reaction in the United States. At that time, Lenin was very quick to note the inestimable historical importance of the undermining of the two party system insofar as labor was concerned, insofar as any serious movement toward independent working class action was concerned. It is very interesting that, unlike 1936, the 1912 campaign found the working class radicals, at that time crystallized politically in the Socialist Party, somewhat hit by the Roosevelt wave of progressivism, but still able to come forward vigorously and clearly as the champion of class-conscious workers, of working class radicalism against bourgeois progressivism. It is for this reason that the highest proportion of the total vote ever cast by the Socialist Party was in 1912 when Debs pulled close to a million. It is furthermore interesting to emphasize at this time, that it did not take long after the 1912 election for Roosevelt the First to betray the uprising of the petty bourgeoisie against trust capital.

## UNION DRIVE FORCES WAGE CONCESSIONS

(Continued from Page 1) increase in speed up actually resulted in a net loss for each worker of \$2 per week."

The fact that these moves came almost upon the very heels of the election and from these particular industries is a very different picture from the one painted in their campaign against the New Deal. Roosevelt doesn't seem to have done so badly by them, altho on the workers side of the fence it is quite a different story. Here the idea, even the false, that Roosevelt is labor's man, and that his re-election is a victory for labor, will, undoubtedly aid the growth of unionism and encourage stiff resistance to the attacks of the capitalists on their living standards. Thus the employers hope to make impossible the canalization of these moods into the field of organization. At best it could only be a temporary obstacle, and labor has already seen thru it.

## In the CPO Pre-Conference Discussion Political Implications Of Comintern Reform

By M. S.  
Since the beginning of the civil war in Spain last July, political commentators of every variety, except those of the official Communist Party, have remarked upon the analogy between the Spanish revolution and the Russian revolution. This analogy has been adequately discussed by Comrade Heberg in an article in the Workers Age of Aug. 13, 1936, in which he showed that the program of the CP of Spain is not the program Lenin applied under similar circumstances in Russia. But there is one aspect of this analogy that has been overlooked and it is of some importance to us in a discussion of our attitude to the Comintern.

What has been overlooked is the fact that the line of the Communist Party of Spain, unlike the line of Lenin, is very much a counterpart of the line followed by the Bolshevik party of Russia for the first few months after the February revolution, that is, before Lenin's return from exile in Switzerland.

Like the CP of Spain today, the Bolsheviks during those months be-

lieved that their revolution was exclusively a bourgeois one and that the proletariat therefore ought not step beyond the limits of bourgeois democracy. On their attitude to the Soviets and dual power, as well as other questions of the day, the Bolsheviks, in the absence of Lenin, had a practical position that was in no measurable way different from that of the Mensheviks. Just as the CP in Spain does today, the Bolsheviks during those months were pursuing a course, which, if continued, would have led to the destruction of the working class revolution and the victory of reaction. The analogy we can make to Spain has many limitations, a significant one being the fact that the Bolsheviks did not continue on the path of Menshevism but were sharply reoriented after Lenin's arrival in April 1917. But even with the limits which will be discussed later, this reference to the situation of the Bolsheviks in those days contains within it important lessons for us today.

We must face the questions: Why did Lenin consider it necessary to reform this party that had adopted a menshevik course? Why did he not call for its destruction and work for a "new party"? What made it possible to reform this party? From Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution (written before his "new party" and "new international" line) comes a most revealing answer. "In spite of its formula of a bourgeois democratic revolution," he asserts, "the party had, in its whole attitude to the bourgeoisie and the democracy, been for a long time actually preparing to lead the proletariat in direct struggle for power."

Trotsky continues, quoting Olminsky, a Bolshevik historian, with approval: "We were unconsciously steering a course toward proletarian revolution although thinking we were steering a course toward bourgeois-democratic revolution. In other words, we were preparing the October revolution while thinking we were preparing the February."

Trotsky here points out that in spite of the almost indistinguishable similarity in the programs of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks during those months there were other differences in basic orienta-

### ATTENTION

Articles printed as part of the pre-convention discussion of the C.P.O. do not necessarily represent the point of view of the C.P.O. or of the WORKERS AGE.

We ask our members and friends to participate in this discussion until its close at the end of the year.

—always with the unanimous consent of the leaders and members. Such parties, robbed of independence and initiative, have far to go before they can give determined revolutionary leadership.

These, however, are not arguments against the perspective of reforming the Comintern. They only indicate that the long duration of the crisis in the CI requires a more complete uprooting of the old system before the job will have been done.

Under conditions where every turn in Soviet foreign policy is reflected in a change of Comintern line we may well expect that the Comintern will be subjected to "left turns" or possibly to a new ultra-left course. But we shall not be able under any circumstances to consider that as a genuine reform of the Comintern though it may mean a correction of the present errors, as long as the criterion remains the artificial transfer of Soviet foreign policy. By reform we mean a complete overhauling of the system of leadership and organization in the Comintern which will make it possible to reduce the membership.

We approach this task somewhat differently today from the way we did seven years ago at the birth of our group as an independent force. We began as a faction that had to continue, from the outside of the Party, the struggle against the ultra-left line and the organizational methods that ushered it in. To the extent that we carried on independent work in the labor movement it was also from a limited point of view, i.e. to win enough support to force recognition by the Comintern. This corresponded to the needs of the situation at the time. Today, however, the whole movement, including ourselves, has a different appearance and our relation to the rest of the labor movement is different. The Comintern has suffered and is suffering the defeats and

the position of our group does not consist of a "campaign" to reform the CP or SP. It is rather inherent in every activity of the organization in the unions, and our general theoretical expressions. In the resolute conduct of all these activities we overcome the demoralization and opportunism that have infested the movement and thus lay the base for a re-formed and re-newed revolutionary party.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

A CABLE from London to the "New York Times" (Nov. 9) informs us that in the course of the last twelve months 539,000 insured workers had been absorbed by British industry and that the total number of jobs had reached the unprecedented figure of 11,103,000, exceeding by 787,000 the highest figure—10,316,000—reached during the boom days of 1929. The same report also states that the number of unemployed is now down to 1,611,810.

Keeping the above facts in mind and remembering that improvements in the economic situation usually lead to a rapid growth and extension of trade unionism we are not surprised to learn from a bulletin issued by the British Trades Union Congress that an intensive drive for "recruitment" is meeting a cheering response from every part of the country. Herbert Tracey, publicity officer for the Congress, points out that the recent growth will increase the membership considerably above the figures given by President Citrine at the recent conference.

Mr. Tracey gives some interesting figures on the strength of the demoralization that we predicted seven years ago. Left forces have developed in the Socialist movement but were not attracted to the official Communist movement. The revolutionary movement has become confused and diffused, while we have found a place for ourselves in the general labor movement as a consistent Communist group able to give leadership and be the representatives of Communism in the eyes of both Communist and Socialist Party workers. In this situation we cannot hold to the perspective of the exclusive reform of the CP as an end in itself, for the reform of the CP is a big part of our task of reforming the whole revolutionary movement.

The position of our group does not consist of a "campaign" to reform the CP or SP. It is rather inherent in every activity of the organization in the unions, and our general theoretical expressions. In the resolute conduct of all these activities we overcome the demoralization and opportunism that have infested the movement and thus lay the base for a re-formed and re-newed revolutionary party.

Comparison is made with the returns relating to 1913 and 1920 in detailed tables. In 1920, when Trade Union membership reached its highest point, there were 8,347,000 organized in 1,379 Unions; and in comparison with this the 1935 total looks, of course, extremely small. But taking the 1913 figures, it is shown that Trade Union membership at the end of last year was larger by 707,000, or 17 per cent whilst the number of Unions had decreased by 227 as compared with 1914.

"Since 1913 the woman membership of the Trade Unions has risen by no less than 76 per cent. There are 329,000 more women in the Unions now. Over half the total woman membership is comprised with the textile and teaching groups. In the years of recovery, however, the woman membership has risen more slowly than that of the men workers. As a matter of fact the male membership of the Unions, at the end of 1935, was higher than in any year since 1927."

Mr. Tracey goes on to discuss the present financial standing of the unions and concludes that the money reserves have almost reached the level of 1920 when the trade union membership was at its height.

"Financial recovery is all the more impressive," he says, "when it is born in mind that the Unions' total reserves of £15,861,000 (a pound is approximately \$5) in 1920 were reduced by over £5,000,000 in 1921, and fell to the low level of about £8½ millions in 1926 (the year of the National Strike). To have built up these reserves again to close upon £13 millions in seven or eight years of acute trade depression is a remarkable achievement especially when it is realized that within the same period the Unions spent \$44,693,000 in trade and friendly benefits—cash payments to members. Actually the "worth" of the Unions per member is higher than it was in 1920, when the movement stood at its 'peak' in membership and funds."

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## CRAFT LEADERS ASK OUSTING OF CIO AS AFL MEET OPENS

(Continued from Page 1) mentioned.

The AFL claims a paid up membership of 3,422,398, as of August 31. With the expulsion of the CIO unions, the membership will be cut almost in half.

The convention of the American Federation of Labor just got under way with cries of expulsion ringing in the ears of the delegates. These cries emanating from the die-hard Metal Trades and Building Trades Departments which accounts for a goodly slice of what's left in the A. F. of L. appear to indicate the direction which developments are likely to take at Tampa.

Another war-like move was the summary rejection by the executive council of the "arbitration proposal" made by Major George L. Berry. This is significant in that it illustrates the mood in which the majority of the council enters the convention. The proposal itself was of no real value and could not be of aid in bringing about that peace which everyone appears to desire.

Still other straws in the wind are—the discovery by the A.F.L. leaders that "principles cannot be compromised," and Green's discarding of the cloak of peace.

In view of the fact that the unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization are unanimous in their abstention from the convention the Council should have no difficulty in ramming thru whatever decision it has already made. Observers close to the scene report that two propos-

als are being discussed. The first proposed outright and immediate lifting of all the charters of the CIO organizations and the attempt, after the AFL convention, to set up organizations in the field against the CIO unions. The proponents of this plan seem to relish the idea of an open—and undoubtedly bloody—clash, which they are sufficiently experienced to foresee. This plan is predicated on the belief that the whole trade union movement is fairly clear on the issues and has taken a stand one way or the other.

The second proposal is based on the belief that there still remains a neutral section of the trade union movement and a "public opinion" which must be considered; that harsh, abrupt action against the CIO would tend to put the onus of a split in the trade unions upon the executive council. This plan would simply endorse the suspension of the CIO unions and let it go at that. The CIO, they argue, cannot long continue in its present form. If it remains suspended it will be forced to organize on a more permanent basis and then the Council can raise the cry of dual unionism with much greater justification and thereby win over whatever vacillating unions there may still remain.

From the standpoint of the future of the AFL it makes little difference which plan carries—for it would mean a split. No amount of astute political maneuvering by the executive council can change the facts that it arrogated to itself, in the most bureaucratic manner, rights and powers, which when used—as in the suspension of the CIO unions—resulted in precipitating a split.

The membership of the A.F.L. is now estimated at about 3,400,000 which represents an increase of almost 400,000 over the membership reported at the previous convention. At the moment details are lacking but it is almost certain that the unions associated with the CIO are responsible for the major portion of this increase. Other

## BOOKS of the AGE

VINCENT VAN GOGH. By Walter Pach. 20 reproductions. 6 in color. New York, Artbook Museum. \$1.00.

Walter Pach, a pioneer in art criticism, and one of the most sensitive in the field, has set down in this little book the most important events in the life of one of the world's greatest painters—Vincent Van Gogh. Among the reproductions he has included his most famous ones:

1. Self Portrait of the Artist.
2. Sunflowers.
3. The Loom.
4. The Potato Eaters.
5. The Miner going to work.

We miss in the book the letters Vincent wrote to his brother. In those letters we see reflected the man's philosophy and the difficulty he found living in this "best of all possible worlds." A complete set of these letters are to be found in the Van Gogh catalog published by the Modern Museum of Art, with many more reproductions and of far more excellent quality; but the catalog is \$3.00 while this excellent little book of Walter Pach's sells at only one dollar and it is well worth the price.

(The New Workers School Bazaar, at Irving Plaza, will have a special booth where excellent reproductions of the paintings of Van Gogh and others will be obtainable).

organizations which have reported increases are the Machinists, and various unions in the building trades.

On the basis of this membership the maximum possible card vote is about 35,000 but with the CIO unions abstaining about 25,000 is the maximum that can be expected. In order to secure an expulsion about 16,000, or a two-thirds vote, will be necessary. There seems to be no doubt that the council has control of that many votes. The building trades and metal trades unions alone will cast almost that many votes. This two-thirds majority was practically assured when the CIO unions were suspended by the council and thereby disqualified from voting at the convention.

## MOROCCAN QUESTION PLAGUES PEOPLE'S FRONT GOVERNMENTS

A WIRELESS dispatch to the New York Times, under date of Nov. 8, reports an agreement between the fascist General Franco and the Moroccan tribes "whereby Riff tribesmen are to receive autonomy along the lines of the freedom accorded Iraq by Great Britain."

Thus, what the revolutionary workers' parties of Spain should have insisted upon as a matter of international solidarity with an exploited and oppressed colonial people—complete freedom for Spanish Morocco—what the people's front government should have done if for no other reason than that of military strategy, was left to the butcher of Spain—Franco.

Needless to say what Franco will grant to the Riffs is not really freedom, but whatever temporary concession he may make today or merely talk about tends to strengthen fascism's base in Morocco, tends to give purpose and meaning to the Moroccans fighting against the workers and peasants of Spain. Squarely upon the shoulders of the Communist Par-

ty rests the responsibility for this failure. The CP feared to raise the demand for the freedom of Morocco because the bourgeois republicans would have objected against the "dismemberment" of its colonial empire, from which it profited.

The same danger now threatens France. There is no reason to believe that French Morocco will not become the base for a fascist concentration, that Moroccan tribesmen will not become the shock troops in a fascist attack against the people's front government of France. But here as in Spain the Communist Party is silent, its traditional policy of struggle for the liberation of the colonial people's silenced by the threat of split on the side of the bourgeois Radicals. The CP is pledged to maintain the "territorial integrity" of France's colonial empire!

The people's front administration in Morocco is no less distasteful to these colonials than the administration of any other bourgeois government of France. Already dissatisfaction is widespread, and Franco's negotiations with the Riffs will tend to arouse the French Moroccans against the people's front government. The dispatch to the "Times" goes on to say:

"If the Spanish decision is carried out the consequences, even from an internal point of view, may prove very serious for the French in Morocco, where even under the administration appointed by the Popular Front Government in Paris native Nationalists are already chafing under a sense of tutelage."

How can this danger be overcome? Can we win them by shouting "Moroccan Barbarians"? Can we disarm them with such an approach as that of Earl Browder who referred to them as "Mohammedan mercenaries who murder Christian men and women." ("Sunday Worker", Nov. 1, 1936.)? The Moroccans can be won for a successful revolutionary struggle against fascism but only by a most intensive struggle in France and Spain for their liberation from bourgeois rule. That this can be accomplished only by breaking the people's front speaks volumes on the oppressive nature of the people's front against the colonial peoples as well as against the proletariat at home.

## GRAND JURY TRIES TO PIN CRIMINAL CHARGES ON KNITWEAR UNION

The present Additional Grand Jury of New York County, on the basis of testimony supplied by some textile trimming manufacturers and by Assistant District Attorney Sullivan, issued information against four members of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union and charged them with kidnapping and coercion in restraint of trade.

The only result of this hearing and three others has been a study of the financial statements and an investigation of the activities of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, but no response to the request of the Union that the books and activities of the testifying employers be likewise investigated.

What is obvious in this whole matter is that certain textile trimming manufacturers, utilizing the Additional Grand Jury of New York County and the District Attorney's Office, are attempting to break the strike of the knitgoods workers by arrest and frame-up of its leadership. The employment of strike breakers is overlooked; the miserable conditions under which workers are compelled to work are ignored. The aforementioned bodies are proceeding in the attempt to establish criminal charges against the leadership of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union.

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