

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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SUSPENSION DIVIDES THEM



William Green and John L. Lewis

Madrid Takes Offensive; Nazi Pact Irks England

For almost a month General Franco has been held at bay around Madrid with conviction growing that Franco has been definitely stopped. The severest losses have been suffered as a result of punitive expeditions in the form of air raids which have taken a heavy toll in the number of women and children killed and wounded.

Madrid's defenders have put time to good use. Well armed fortifications around Madrid have been constructed and well equipped reinforcements have been brought up especially from Barcelona. The anti-fascist forces have even found it possible to take the offensive. In the North successful drives are in process against Oviedo and Burgos, the fascist capital. The fascists have suffered heavy losses. To the south, workers and peasant "phantom" columns continually harass Franco's lines of communications and have caused great losses in a well ordered raid on Talavera de la Reina, the fascist supply base.

Recognition by Germany and Italy emboldened Franco to announce a blockade of all Spanish ports under government control, and the threat to destroy the port of Barcelona, a position from which he was forced to retreat by Great Britain's pressure. The latter had taken a generally favorable attitude to Franco and his fascist backers but could not permit its shipping to be threatened. France continued its blind trudging after Great Britain in the field of foreign policy. Despite Germany's and Italy's recognition of Franco, the charged participation of German warships in an attack on Spanish naval vessels, and the fact that "foreign vessels" were used as a supply base for the air raid on Alicante by Franco's planes, France and England still cling to the myth of neutrality.

The Soviet Union continues to pursue an independent policy and has rendered invaluable aid in supplying Spain's most burning needs in meeting the fascist threat around Madrid. The Soviet Union is the only sponsor to Spain's pre-

pared protest to be lodged with the League of Nations "against the armed intervention of Germany and Italy." Both England and People's Front France are opposed to this move. Spain's protest makes it difficult for England and France to extend belligerent rights to Franco.

* * *

The military pact between Germany and Japan, as well as the negotiations now going on between Italy and Japan are considered as a direct threat against the Soviet Union. Maxim Litvinoff, addressing the special Congress of Soviets ridiculed the sudden red-scare as intended for "little children and big fools." Other speakers emphasized the readiness of the Soviet Union to meet the fascist threat both from the East and West. Litvinoff also charged that the present raids by Japanese troops in Siberia and the Japanese inspired drive against Suiyuan Province is to be traced to the pact with Germany.

As a direct result of this pact Japan has declared its intention of creating a continental army of equal size with that of the Soviet Union. Almost half of the 1936-37 budget approved last week by the cabinet, is for armaments.

Favorable opinion is swinging sharply to the Soviet Union. Even the Times of London which in the past had been strongly pro-Nazi in its orientation has now suddenly made an about face after the German-Japanese military pact. Says the Times: "It was Russia who proffered and Japan who rejected the idea of a non-aggression pact. . . . Japan may well regret the day when she became a chip of the new bloc (fascist bloc)."

* * *

The new Nazi-Japanese-Italian bloc has caused consternation in the foreign offices at Berlin, Paris and Brussels. Belgium, only recently announcing its independence from France and England, immediately rushed its premier on a good-will trip to England where he listened with a broad smile to

"Peace" Moves Collapse As A.F.L. Ends Hope of Lifting Suspensions

Craft Union Die Hards Hold Posts; Still Hope To Split CIO

TAMPA, Fla.—The convention of the American Federation of Labor came to a close with the re-election of the whole executive council and the fraternal delegates of the A. F. of L., according to the plans of the machine, which in certain spots worked none too efficiently.

The decisions of the convention in restricting certain of the rights of the lower bodies in the A. F. of L. and the re-election of the council places the leadership firmly in the hands of the die-hards, despite all talk of peace plans and compromises. The strategy of the council leadership now is two-fold. On the one hand to intensify and sharpen the fight against the Committee for Industrial Organization and on the other to develop still further the underhand drive to break the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Millinery Workers from the C.I.O. As part of this drive one hears with increasing frequency about the dictatorial methods of Lewis, and certain flaws in the strategy of the C.I.O.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union will convene its General Executive Board soon where the present situation in the trade union movement will be considered and a position taken.

NEWSGUILD WINS SEATTLE PACT

The three months strike of the Newspaper Guild against Hearst-owned Seattle Post-Intelligence, was settled with definite gains for the union. While complete and formal recognition of the Guild was not achieved, discrimination against Guild members was ended. Substantial wage increases, plus minimums for various categories and a forty-hour week are included. The latter point is for six days per week until March 1937, and for a five-day week thereafter. Vacations with pay and sick leave with pay are provided for.

Immediately after the settlement, it was announced that John Boettiger, son-in-law of Roosevelt, had been appointed publisher for this Hearst paper, apparently part of the new "rapprochement" of Hearst with the administration.

Anthony Eden's pledge of aid if Belgium is attacked. At the same time Eden announced that Great

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JAY LOVESTONE
will report on the
A.F.L. CONVENTION
this FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 4 at RIVERA HALL, 51 WEST 14 ST. Comrade Lovestone has just returned from Tampa, and his analysis should not be missed by any worker.

FRENCH UNIONS AID SEA STRIKE

Refuse To Unload Liner At Havres; Mexican Labor Also Aids

The shipping strike was given tremendous heart this week by the stirring display of international solidarity given by the French and Mexican longshoremen's unions.

Altho the shipping employers thought they had achieved a victory which would break the strike, in the sailing of the liner Washington, they were quite staggered when the French longshoremen refused to unload cargo at Havres. The Strike Strategy Committee had cabled for such aid. The American shipping interests immediately appealed to Blum's government and to Jouhaux of the French Confederation of Labor, who tried unsuccessfully to force the workers to end the sympathy move.

In Mexico, the employers were once again foiled. Ships were supposed to stop there in order to avoid the strike-bound West Coast ports. However, the Mexican Federation has ordered a boycott of all American ships arriving at national ports, including the Gulf of Mexico. Mexican chauffeurs will also refuse to drive passengers to such ships.

This splendid action of the French workers received a commendable answer from Joseph Ryan, president of the longshoremen's union here. He announced that, if this support to the American striking seamen continued his union would refuse to unload French ships—as if the issue were America vs. France! However, some conferences have been going on between Curran, leader of the strike, and Ryan. It is known that the latter is beginning to fear spontaneous action by "his" longshoremen.

Baltimore Strike Strong

The type of strike-breaking that has been the only activity of the international officials of the ISU has also been carried on in Baltimore by the local bureaucrats. In addition the president of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, Joseph P. McCurdy has aided the ISU in attempting to supply scabs. They were forced to close the union hall because it was controlled by the strikers, who are now 2,500 strong. From there, the officialdom moved to the Emerson Hotel, where their expenses are being paid by the shipping interests. The attempts to find scabs not being so successful, van der Staay, the representative of the ISU in Baltimore tried to get unemployed seamen from the Federal Re-Employment Agency. Labor and liberal groups raised such a howl of protest that this had to be stopped.

The next step of the-ISU officialdom was to apply for an injunction against the striking seamen, jointly with the employers! The injunction was immediately granted by Judge Stanton of the Second Circuit Court—despite the existence of the Kimble Anti-Injunction Act,

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Jewish, Negro Question Get Reactionary Answers from Frey

By JAY LOVESTONE

Tampa, Fla.—Far more than a mathematical majority for the Frey-Wharton-Green combination was revealed in the vote of 21,679 to 2,043 for sustaining the suspension of the CIO unions. Here was involved a situation, here came to the fore new problems which transcend in importance even the virtual expulsion of more than a million A. F. of L. members centered in the mining, auto, rubber, garment, oil, and textile industries. Here we deal with issues which are infinitely more important than the vast majority of the contestants themselves are aware of.

By this vote—the outcome of which was a foregone conclusion months ago—the old-line, craft union, A. F. of L. officialdom has registered its ruthless determination to dominate the whole course of trade union development over perhaps the next decade. As the roll call was being taken, as the miners, garment workers, automobile workers were ominously absent, as the younger delegates from the federal locals and the city and state bodies cried "no" and the hardboiled teamsters and building trades officials groaned "yes" to the resolutions committee proposals, one could clearly see that the old-time craft union leaders were merely trying to shut the door against a setting sun.

Specifically, Matthew Woll reported the following proposals in behalf of the Committee on Resolutions:

1. "That the convention approve of all actions taken, decisions reached and rulings made by the Executive Council, as herein before noted and referred to. We specifically recommend approval of the suspensions noted, and all actions and decisions and rules relating thereto. Lest there be fear that this recommendation may be interpreted to mean permanent suspension or complete severance, let it be understood that the suspension noted shall remain in effect until the present breach be healed and adjusted under such terms and conditions as the Executive Council may deem best in each particular case or in all cases combined.

2. "That the special committee appointed to discover a basis of settlement be continued with the full faith and confidence of the convention.

3. "In event that by action of the suspended unions they make the present relationship beyond bearing and create a situation that demands a more drastic procedure, that the executive council be authorized and empowered to call a special convention of the A. F. of L., at such time and place it may deem best, to take such further steps and actions as the emergency of the situation may then demand. We counsel this procedure and delegation of authority in the sincere desire to avoid any possible future and permanent severance unless such permanent separation

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Stalin Reports on New Soviet Constitution

Reporting to the special Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets on Nov. 25, Joseph Stalin hailed the new Soviet constitution as the recognition in fundamental law of the abolition of classes within the Soviet Union, engendered by the striking advances in industry and agriculture on a socialist basis. Hurling defiance at the "foul wave of fascism" Stalin declared that the extension of genuine democracy in the Soviet Union "will be a moral aid and real assistance to all those who today are fighting fascist barbarism."

Hits Bourgeois Democracy

Analyzing bourgeois constitutions, he declared, "They speak about equality of citizens but forget that real equality between master and workman, between landlord and peasants, is impossible if the former enjoys wealth and political weight in society, while the latter is deprived of both; if the former are exploiters and the latter are exploited."

In contradistinction to these constitutions the new Soviet law "not only proclaims the right to work, but ensures it by legislative enactment of the fact of non-existence of crises in Socialist society, and the fact of abolition of unemployment. It not merely proclaims democratic liberties but guarantees them in legislative enactments by providing definite material facilities."

Deflates Soviet Critics

Answering critics who charge a "renunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat," "a swing to the right," Stalin rebukes and annihilates them with the rhetorical question: "If they describe the legislative enactment of the victory of socialism, the legislative enactment of the success of industrialization, collectivization and democratization as 'a swing to the right,' then it is permissible to ask: 'Do these gentlemen know at all the differences between left and right?'"

Administering the same rod to the cynics and democracy-for-all classes-and-groups, to the prattlers of a mythical democracy devoid of class content, Stalin lashed out with: "There are grounds for only one party, the Communist Party, in the U.S.S.R. Only one party can exist, the Communist Party which defends the interests of the workers and peasants to the very end. And there can hardly be any doubt about the fact that it defends the interests of these classes."

"They talk about democracy. But what is democracy? Democ-

cracy in capitalist countries where there are antagonistic classes is in the last analysis the democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. Democracy in the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, is democracy for all. But from this it follows that the principles of democracy are violated not by the draft of the new constitution of the U.S.S.R. but by the bourgeois constitutions. That is why I think that the constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the only thoroughly democratic constitution in the world."

Weapon Against Fascism

"At the present time, when the foul wave of fascism is besmirching the socialist movement of the working class and trampling in the mud the democratic strivings of the best people of the civilized world, the new constitution of the U.S.S.R. will be an indictment of fascism, testifying that socialism and democracy are invincible."

The constitution is "a document testifying to the fact that what millions of honest people in capitalist countries have dreamed and continue to dream of has already been achieved in the U.S.S.R."

EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

THE defenders of Madrid have launched a successful counter-offensive and are displaying great initiative and courage. Future events will show whether the government forces can measure up to their tasks.

Then, too, there is the possibility that the syndicalists and anarchists will become a part of the Madrid government.

The attack delivered by Thorez at a membership meeting of the Communist Party (Paris) section against the Blum government, more particularly against its foreign policy, has had the effect of a bombshell according to the press. But the bombshell turned out to be a dud since there is no indication that the C.P.F. will withdraw its support from the Blum government. On the contrary, the C.P.F. stated specifically that it would continue to support the government which accounts for Blum's optimistic outlook.

Thorez is waging a sham battle. The Party leadership is making a quarter turn—such as was frequent during the ultra-left course—with out making any real change in policy. The intention is merely to meet the growing dissatisfaction of the membership and to give it somewhat of an outlet. One of the factors contributing to this turn is the general disappointment over

CORRUPTION IN QUEBEC EXPOSED

The recently elected Duplessis government in the Province of Quebec is washing a lot of dirty linen—of its political opponents. Although everyone knew that dirty deals and misappropriation of funds was part of the daily routine of the provincial government, some of the facts are, none the less, interesting. The brother of the former premier Tacheureau had pocketed 14,600 dollars in interest on government bank deposits.

Government work done for individual politicians, bills paid for goods not delivered, salaries paid to people not doing any work—and other scandals follow with regular monotony. Although the present Duplessis is so thoroughly exposing his political opponents, we are certain that he himself will not abandon the time honored tradition of dishonourable financial deals, which has become part of the daily political life of this province. We are certain that whether the Conservatives under Duplessis or Liberals under Tacheureau rule the province, a government of the politicians, by the corporations, for the bankers, will not perish from the province of Quebec.

French Workers Seek Outlet in Anarchism

By EDWARD CHAMBERS and JOHN WILLIAMS

(Concluded from previous issue)

THE TRADITIONAL doctrine of the anarchists is well-known. As they were, so are they now, strongly opposed to the Soviet Union and its foreign policy as well as the state in general. But, under the influence of the Spanish events, the anarchists have been forced to make some concessions to reality. In Catalonia the anarchist CNT and FAI, under pressure of facts and of the very active POUM (Party of Marxist Unification), pursue a practical policy which is completely in contradiction with the traditional teachings of anarchism. They now have even entered the Catalan government and thereby committed the most heinous of possible anarchist crimes. They have a persistent difficulty in reconciling their theory and their practice. The French anarchists of the Union Anarchiste are placing themselves on record for a united front of workers' organizations, first because of current Spanish experiences, and secondly, because since the time of the February riots in Paris all French workers have thought only in terms of united action. Anarchists still proclaim themselves adversaries of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as other forms of the state, but now—also largely due to Spanish experiences—Le Libertaire, French anarchist weekly, says that "the smashing (of the bourgeoisie) is one thing and dictatorship is another." And further, "If we substitute tomorrow a People's Tribunal for the magistracy, a militia for the army, workers' control for the prerogatives of the employer, collective property for private property; if we establish a workers' law which punishes and pursues as theft the withholding of wealth, which properly belongs to all, there will be no more state, no more dictatorship, but smashing."

This quotation demonstrates the profound embarrassment of the theoreticians of anarchism in the face of problems which have arisen during the fight against fascism and the Spanish revolution. Though against a workers' state and dictatorship, they ask for all the attributes of such a state and such a dictatorship. The existence of militia, tribunals, and legislation for the "smashing" of the bourgeoisie could, when realized, be nothing other than the revolutionary dictatorship which the anarchists have for so long decried. Furthermore, if duration be an attribute of a state, the anarchists can, in the light of the Catalan events, no longer speak of the smashing of the bourgeoisie as an affair of an afternoon rather than a whole period. The present doctrinal position

be voted down by their coalition partners. As a result, the C.P. will become ever more discredited in the eyes of the masses and also in the eyes of its class enemy—both convinced of the shallowness of the C.P. attitude.

London, Nov. 4, 1936.

of the anarchists, then, clearly shows that although they can easily criticize the present opportunist tactics of the Communists, they are obviously embarrassed in face of the basic principles of Marxian communism.

Trade Unions and Politics

The further development of the anarchist movement in France cannot be considered apart from the situation in the trade unions where, as we have already seen, conditions propitious for the growth of the movement exist. It must be remembered that the CGT has always jealously maintained its independence of all political parties, and has tried to formulate its own policy. Since the merger of the CGT and the Communist-led CGTU and in connection with the growth of the unified CGT, Communists have won posts of responsibility in several unions. In the Paris district, for instance, the most important unions—metal workers, building trades, and railwaymen—have Communist officials. This situation is scarcely agreeable to M. Jouhaux and his friends. Although Jouhaux has but little difficulty in persuading the Communist leaders of some of his unions to support declarations against strikes, he faces quite another problem with the Communist militants in the factories. This is a problem because the CPF, despite its discipline which seems effectively to suppress political discussion inside the party, still cannot completely subordinate the will to action of some of its rank and file to the exigencies of the support of the Blum government.

Some of Jouhaux's friends have recently founded a weekly, Les Syndicats. The official object of this organ is to teach the new members of the trade unions the doctrine of the industrial parties. In the second issue of this weekly, M. du Moulin, the trade union secretary of the Department du Nord—after Paris, the most important industrial district in France—demanded the dissolution of Communist nuclei in the factories, or, at least, that these groups cease to concern themselves with any questions regarding their industries. These questions, he maintains, are the province of the union alone. The article further insists that while political groups should have no attitudes on trade union questions, that trade unions should have their own opinion on political questions.

In the light of this situation, it is increasingly clear why Jouhaux speaks for the anarchists and supports their "Comité pour l'Espagne Libre" despite the violent anarchist criticism of his reformism. (At the Vel d'Hiv meeting he was received by the boos and catcalls of the anarchist workers.)

Jouhaux Plays Own Game
Jouhaux has a reputation as a wily political tactician. Among other things, he remains slightly aloof from the People's Front, although the CGT belongs to it, in

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WORKERS AGE

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Business Views the Elections

STEEL, NOV. 9.

"What we saw on election day was the initial success of a clever scheme to establish a class consciousness in the United States. To lay the groundwork for this plan it was necessary to find a convenient dividing line so that the public could visualize or imagine that a class distinction actually existed. The age-old device of the 'haves' and 'have not's' was resurrected. Repeated use of such phrases as 'economic royalists,' 'princes of privilege,' etc. helped tremendously to build up an effective wall of class prejudice and hatred.

"Citizens on relief, recipients of bonus checks, union labor members, public employees and other beneficiaries of the shift of power to the 'oppressed' class will be more vociferous in their demands.

"No matter how much industry will be disposed to deal fairly and liberally, it is almost certain that exorbitant wages, impractically short hours, restrictive working conditions and excessive taxes will be demanded as a reward for aiding the politicians in the winning party.

"Of course the only way out for industry is to win the confidence of the public. . . . the man in the street . . . not only of the type of people who fill in Literary Digest ballots, "At the same time industry will do well to muzzle a few of its old fogies who are addicted to saying the wrong thing at the wrong time, arousing unfriendly reactions."

THE ECONOMIST (LONDON) NOV. 7.

"In its capacity to ignore problems or to avoid joining issue on acknowledged problems, the electoral campaign (in the U.S.A.) . . . has been typical of its predecessors. As Wall Street sees it . . . the scope of Federal activity will continue its general tendency to widen. That is, the number of points of tangency between Government and institutional production and finance will be more numerous rather than fewer; and the problems of relationships will be more complicated rather than less complicated.

"The traditional American method of finding its administration is the spoils system plus a rather embryonic civil service . . . composed of amateurs. . . . In Wall Street, the question of creating a permanent civil service competent to handle 'professionally' the enlarged activities of the Federal Government, is one of the major issues of the time."

BARRON'S, NOV. 9.

" . . . it seems only fair in view of the victorious party's emphasis on the contrast between conditions now and those obtained when President Roosevelt took office to conclude that last Tuesday's vote was a vote for better times—better times for the average man, to be sure, but still better times . . . the election seems to reveal a pronounced increase in class consciousness in America.

"To the investor, increasing class consciousness means simply more for labor, less for capital. It expresses itself in increased pressure for social-welfare projects at the expense of the taxpayer, in decreased tolerance of large incomes and fortunes. But in so far as the election was both a vote for further prosperity and a vote for the economic underdogs, it seems reasonable to expect that such economic readjustments as are attempted in the next four years will be undertaken gradually enough not to upset business—at least not intentionally.

"It is too early to make long-range forecasts as to the road America has chosen to take. It may be that President Roosevelt or his nominee will be the conservative candidates in 1940, opposed by some representative of a new radical-labor party. Or it may be that increasing prosperity will bring increasing conservatism, as it so often has in so many times and places in the past. Possibly an economic collapse, or a world war, will decide the next election. Who can say now?"

MADRID IN COUNTER DRIVE AGAINST FOE

(Continued from Page 1)
Britain is well able to defend itself against aggression. Soon after came the echo from France, in the form of a declaration that France would rush to the assistance of England or Belgium in case of Nazi aggression.

The last pronouncement made unofficially is soon to be made the official government policy of France by a planned declaration from foreign minister Yvon Delbos during the coming debate in the French parliament. It is to be addressed to "potential European trouble makers."

This is an indication of the frantic efforts at reconstituting a so-called democratic bloc against the fascist bloc. Hope is expressed in Europe that the United States will ultimately be won over for such a bloc since Japan's aggressive stand endangers the position of the U. S. as well as England in the Pacific.

FRENCH WORKERS SEEK OUTLET IN ANARCHISM

(Continued from Page 2)

der not to be compromised when it fails. He is patently aware of the growth of the anarchist and has already indicated that will try to use their antipathy to the Soviet Union, Bolshevism, political parties in general, and in the Communists to the wall the CGT. This is one side of the coin. The other is that Jouhaux have to reckon with the fact the workers move toward the chists not because they want lay his game but because they fighting policy in the trade union.

formation of the People's Front was hailed by its advocates as means of enlarging and gthening the unity of the ng class. Present development in France indicate that the

People's Front politics, on the contrary, jeopardizes the unity of the working class by permitting and, objectively, aiding in the creation of new dissensions in its ranks. In the present instance it is resulting in the growth of anarchism, which—for a long time an unimportant sect—may now become a mass movement.

Paris, Oct. 27, 1936.

Greetings

to the

WORKERS AGE

from a Group of

W. P. A. Workers

Shrewd Machine Management Plus G.O.P. Blunders Aided Democrats

By JAY LOVESTONE

NEW to a brief examination of the fortunes of the various parties in the election campaign. First, the Democratic Party. It had plenty of cash—far more than usual. Being in control of the government machinery, it had countless resources. Besides, the Democratic Party was blessed with the best campaigner, President Roosevelt. So inveterate an opponent of the President as Bruce Barton could not but characterize the Democratic leader in the following manner: "The present occupant of the White House is pre-eminent among all men in public life in his ability to think in selling terms and to speak advertising language."



Nor can anyone exaggerate the weight of the improvement in the economic situation as a factor boosting Roosevelt's results in the campaign. However, it is not only this favorable situation which played its part. In general, the Democratic general staff pursued sound strategy through the election period. We need but cite two outstanding cases in evidence of this. We have in mind the deal consummated under Parley's orders with the Farmer Labor Party of Minnesota. It dealt a death blow to Lemke's aspirations after this Coughlin blotter got off to a flying start and threatened to disturb Roosevelt's chances in this state.

Then, let no one underestimate the role played by the American Labor Party in the New York landslide. Here the value of the Labor Party must be reckoned not only in the term of the 300,000 votes it polled for Roosevelt, but also in its lending still further impetus to the pro-Roosevelt movement in the ranks of labor unorganized as well as organized. It was a clever move on the part of the national Democratic machine to have seven A.L.P. electors chosen for the college. This was a very profitable gesture to all labor throughout the nation. In this sense, Roosevelt's letter to the A.L.P. the first one to be written by an American president to a political organization of labor, was a master stroke.

Except on one occasion, the Democratic Party maintained initiative through the campaign and waged an offensive fight at all times. The one occasion in which it did not have the initiative was towards the close of the campaign when the Landon outfit raised the Social Security issue. But even this turned out to be a boomerang for the Republicans. Farley's motto has for years

been the following: An ounce of organization is worth a ton of propaganda. However, Farley, because of the Democratic Party's being in power, because of the vast resources at its command, was able in this campaign to have tons of propaganda as well as organization.

G.O.P. Not Yet Dead
We cannot repeat too frequently that it would be fatal folly for anyone to write off the Republican Party because of the poor showing Landon made in the electoral college. Despite a weak organization, in spite of its having no accepted body of principles or plan of projects, the Republican Party managed to attract approximately 40 out of every 100 voters last November. A party having such vitality is far from dead. This comes all the more evident when one recognizes that behind the Republican banner there marched advocates of a so-called high protective tariff in arm with proponents of low tariff, extreme agrarians alongside of urban "consumers" who are really anti-agrarians. In the Republican fold there were even progressives further to the "left" of the New Deal having limited arrangements with ultra conservatives.

No doubt a major weakness of the Republican Party in the campaign was its being a heterogeneous opposition, without even a sufficiently strong negative factor, without its negative factor being as strong as that of the Democratic Party in 1932 when Roosevelt challenged Hoover. The Republican Party's being united on nothing, not even as to its attitude towards the New Deal, was reflected in the caution of its candidates, was revealed in the very personality of Landon himself. In short, it was an opposition seeking a least common denominator and getting nowhere for immediate practical purposes. This confusion within could only spell defeat without. Alf Landon was a synthetic candidate and a genuine liability. Here, much thanks is due to Hearst for his having discovered an independent oil operator who represents the interests of the great combines.

Realists in the Republican camp, like Vandenberg, long ago saw that the Republican Party had no chance this year. Here we must register the basic error of Hamilton's strategy: he developed amongst Republican campaigners and supporters the notion that the G.O.P. could really win the presidency this time. The Republican Party would have done infinitely better, particularly in the electoral college, had it, instead, waged the campaign with the idea of utilizing this struggle for building an organization to score successes in 1938 and achieve victory in 1940.

On a par with this stupidity was the overestimation by the Republican brain-trust of the role that Lemke, Coughlin, Townsend and their like could play in the campaign. This was a costly but barren investment. No one can estimate or even overestimate, the funds poured into the coffers of this trio by the financial moguls backing the Republican Party.

In line with this futile strategy was the game played by Hamilton's wire-pullers with Nazis, Fascist outfits and anti-Semitic battalions. I am sure that, before many months shall have passed a good deal of light will be shed on the filthy antics performed by Hamilton and his colleagues in this respect during the summer months. All of this, of course, fitted in perfectly well with the Hearst alliance.

The "red herring" drawn across the trail of the campaign likewise proved suicidal. The Social Security issue proved a dud and served merely to hammer more firmly the nails into the coffin of Republican possibilities during the campaign. The payroll tax argument raised by the Republican general staff will not be so soon forgotten by Labor. This is already clear from the American Federation of Labor's Executive Council report advocating the abolition of the contributory phase of the Social Security Act.

Labor in the Campaign

In a subsequent article we will discuss more fully the role played by Labor in this campaign. For the moment, it will suffice to say that no one can exaggerate the powerful forces in behalf of Roosevelt operating thru the Labor Non-Partisan League. In the same fashion one must approach the contribution made by the American Labor Party of New York. So overwhelming became the sentiment for Roosevelt in the ranks of Labor organized and unorganized, that Mr. Hutchenson, the lone member of the A. F. of L. Executive Council championing Landon, found it very "convenient" to resign from this body. We underscore this despite the fact that in contrast with the C.I.O. leadership, the A. F. of L. Council was not very active as a body in behalf of Roosevelt during the campaign.

The huge vote rolled up for Roosevelt by Labor in key places of the country is evident to all. One need not look at the decisive part played by John L. Lewis in insuring a crushing victory for Roosevelt in Pennsylvania. To a lesser but nevertheless significant extent, Dubinsky and Hillman were valuable Roosevelt allies in New York. Here we must not forget that for sundry reasons organized labor's fight for Roosevelt during the campaign suffered from a number of serious errors. We cite but one painful occasion when a branch of the A.L.P. of N.Y. turned to distributing an address by the Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, entitled "Roosevelt Safeguards America." This piece of literature of Father Ryan propagated the following: "However, let me say frankly that if I had to choose between Russian Communism and Italian Fascism, I should without hesitation take the latter because its despotism is less comprehensive. Italian Fascism exhibits less disregard for individual rights than Russian Communism, and it shows more consideration for humanity's dearest possession: that is, religion."

" . . . The devastating success of communistic and anarchistic doctrines in Catholic Spain presents a lesson and a warning to the people of America."

S.P. Much Weaker
The Socialist Party ended this campaign with a weaker organization than it has had in years. Its ranks were sharply divided and it was buried in a process of disintegration which is still far from completed. Its attempt to play left in order to capitalize on the ultra-right course of the Communist Party brought it only Dead Sea fruit. This attempt, inspired primarily by Trotskyist sectarianism, led it to stupid and criminal extremes. Thus, the S. P. generated sour and embittered hostility to the A.L.P. as such through the suicidal error was Thomas' strategy towards Landon. The Socialist standard-bearer here pulled boner after boner. No sooner had Landon

(Continued on Page 6)

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Social Classes	Number (in thousands)			Per Cent of Total Population		
	1913	1928	1934	1913	1928	1934
I. Proletariat (workers, salaried employees, engineers, technicians, other members of the proletariat)	23,300	26,343	47,118	16.7	17.3	28.1
Including: Industrial proletariat	17,300	24,124	41,751	12.4	15.8	24.9
Rural proletariat	6,000	2,219	5,367	4.3	1.5	3.2
II. Members of collective farms and handicraftsmen organized in cooperative societies	—	4,406	77,037	—	2.9	45.9
III. Peasants with individual farms (excluding kulaks) and unorganized handicraftsmen	90,700	111,131	37,902	65.1	72.9	22.5
IV. Bourgeoisie (landowners, lower and upper bourgeoisie in towns, traders, kulaks)	22,100	6,801	174	15.9	4.5	0.10
Including: kulaks	17,100	5,618	149	12.3	3.7	0.09
V. Miscellaneous (schools and colleges, army, pensions, etc.)	3,200	3,671	5,769	2.3	2.4	3.4
Total	139,300	152,352	168,000	100.0	100.0	100.00

This table was published for the first time in the report submitted to the Seventh General Congress of Soviets, by the President of the Council of People's Commissars, V. M. Molotov.

"Peace" Moves Collapse As A.F.L. Ends Hope of Lifting Suspensions

(Continued from Page 1)
comes as the choice of those who would permanently divide and bring warfare instead of peace and unity into the ranks of labor."

Meaning of Resolution
The why and wherefore of the strategy of these recommendations we have made clear in our dispatch of last week. The significance of sustaining the Council's action goes beyond the surface meaning of the proposals—far beyond the confirmation of the suspension of the CIO unions. In essence, the import of the above decision is:

1. A transformation of the organization structure of the A. F. of L.—from a voluntary federation to a centralized body, with tremendous power concentrated in the hands of the Executive Council.
2. A foundation is hereby laid for the Council, dominated by the craft organizations, to pop off one by one individual international unions organized on an industrial basis.
3. In this wise, the domination of the craft over the industrial unions will be continued.
4. Thus, the Executive Council can stop, hinder or so direct the organization of the mass production industries—even when the industrial form is nominally accepted—so as to insure continued primacy for craft over industrial union interests.
5. In this fashion and, in substance, the above decision really knocks the meaning out of any concessions that may be given to the CIO in regard to charters for industrial unions in the auto, steel, oil, rubber and similar mass production industries.

More than that: these are not short-time effects. They will last for quite a while. That is why there is little stock to be placed in all the rumors and efforts revolving around peace negotiations and maneuvers on the part of the weaker sisters in and around the CIO camp as well by the Council. That is why the issue at stake, the issue of whether the American trade union movement will be able to readjust itself to the new setup of industry in the U. S., will be settled far more by the outcome of the CIO's campaign to organize the steel workers than by bickering in hotel lobbies and dickerings around mahogany tables. Important as the question of the unity of the trade union movement is, vital as is the necessity to secure this readjustment with the maximum intactness of the trade union movement being maintained, still, the very life of the labor movement as an effective force revolves around the capacity of American labor to win a firm foothold in the mass production industries. This means the reorganization of the trade unions in such a manner as to make the industrial form dominant over the craft.

The Obstacle to Progress
It must not be forgotten that the A. F. of L. was built on the foundation of voluntarism and skill. Due to the changes in the organic composition of capital, to mass production dominating the capitalist economic process in the U.S. skill has been progressively disappearing as a foundation of unionism. In many cases this has been reflected in unions being set up on an industrial basis—despite the top leadership of the A. F. of L. Despairing at this foundation being undermined, the craft leaders, the heads of the organizations still clinging to skill as a basis of organization, are now dumping

voluntarism in order to cling desperately to the vanishing cornerstone of skill. Thus, the old-line officialdom is prepared to change the structure of leadership by transforming the A. F. of L. from a voluntary organization of autonomous unions into a body with a strongly centralized executive council. Simultaneously, it resists changing the structure of the membership's organization by fighting the acceptance of industrial unionism as the basis of organizing the overwhelming majority of the workers.

Clumsily, if not inadvertently, Vice-president John Coefield, head of the plumbers union and staunch supporter of Landon, recognized as much when he declared in the course of the debate on the resolutions committee report: "... There should be a change in the laws and procedure of the A. F. of L. I agree that the laws of the A. F. of L. should be modernized in order that they might conform to the evolution in the great labor movement, and more clearly in line with the laws of the international unions who are so successful in the conduct of their affairs, and the change that is necessary to put a few teeth in the law."

Naturally, no one could expect Coefield to admit that putting in a few such false teeth could come only at the expense of taking out such healthy teeth as the ten CIO unions.

What this course means to the future and life of the trade union movement was most painfully disclosed by some of the important decisions and the very nature of the debate over them in the convention. Let us take a representative half dozen for illustration.

1. The debate over the CIO convention. Here we saw the lowest ebbs of life in the Federation's existence. Except for the speeches by Zaritsky and Trotter there was practically nothing worthwhile said on either side. The Zaritsky did not propose concretely the immediate, unconditional lifting of the suspensions, though he did not present the facts to show beyond a shadow of a doubt that it was the Council that sabotaged unity negotiations at the very outset of the controversy, yet his speech in general was of such a nature as to make him tower over the convention debaters. We say this in spite of the fact that from a formal debater's point of view the summary address of Green was undoubtedly telling. But President Green swinging in his remarks from drops of tears to sparks of fire was really unkind of the salient facts of the controversy and was able to make a telling address only by concentrating on the weakness of CIO strategy in recent months, only by literally walking through the gaping holes in the CIO line of defense in regard to certain recent incidents. Indeed, in comparison with the big debate over industrial unionism at Atlantic City last year, this clash was on the whole a contest of pigmies.

Decay and Anti-Semitism
2. "The Jewish Question": Insistent as the Old Guard of the Federation has been that nothing new has not been touched or tried in the life of the A. F. of L., yet they did not hesitate to strike out on a new path and inject the "Jewish question" into the debate over the CIO. Here the target was the membership of the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The resolution on the CIO controversy, as first proposed to the convention, thus emphasized:
"As for the organizations

composed largely of Jewish workers, it can only be said, if we are to have the full truth, that we took them by the hand when there were few hands willing to greet them; and we have led them and builded with them and for them, and protected them. When some of their leaders steeped in the ideas of the Old World from whence so many of them had fled in mortal terror of their lives, used our platform to preach doctrines alien to our own beliefs and convictions, we still led them and protected them. They are our equals in every respect. The story of these persecuted people is too long to tell here, too filled with the gripping emotions of a half century of affectionate relationship, of helpfulness and co-operation. Let them think it over in their hearts and in their homes."

And commenting concretely on the ILGWU, the resolution read:

"It is inconceivable that a people so charitable, so appreciative, so understanding of the sufferings of labor, should now question the abilities and sincerity of action of those who have struggled with them and rejoice in the attainments now secured by them."

Zaritsky boldly and effectively dealt with this issue and flung the challenge into the teeth of the decadent old-liners who are struggling—to hold on to their positions—with the frantic but passing energy of spent swimmers. He told them he did not want to go home to think it over there but preferred to fight it out here. After this exhortation of resentment aroused by the section against the Jewish workers (insisted upon by Frey and Wharton), the resolutions committee returned after the dinner recess to withdraw the paragraphs under fire. I am reliably informed that the above paragraphs were already toned down by Woll.

They were much worse in the original formulation of Frey and Wharton. The latter have been particularly obnoxious in their anti-Semitic remarks privately expressed here. It is symbolic of all that regimes in decay and despair to turn to such issues as the "Jewish scare." Czar Nicholas and Adolf Hitler were pastmasters in this game much before the Resolutions Committee of the convention turned to it.

Randolph vs. Frey
3. The Negro Question: Indelibly impressed on the mind of the writer is the picture of that fine figure, the inspiring and intelligent Negro labor organizer A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters and of the convention on the Scottsboro case and prejudice against Negroes in the trade union. Randolph told in gripping terms of his own humiliation in Tampa proper right during the convention when he sought hotel accommodations. He told of the facts in the Scottsboro trials. Maintaining unbelievable self-control he related the horrors inflicted on the Negro masses in that "great democracy" of the U.S.A.

The written draft of the resolutions committee report recommended "non-concurrence with the resolution" advocating freedom for the Scottsboro boys. In his oral report, however, Frey backwatered again and proposed to refer it to the incoming council which was to be guided in this by the courts' actions. Here the convention reach its very nadir of its life. An Alabamian, J. F. Watkins of the Firefighters, had the gall to defend the Alabama courts and stressed that after all "the Scottsboro boys

CARRYING VALUABLE LUGGAGE



Courtesy Union News Service

were not members of A. F. of L." But it was left to Frey to sink to the very lowest level. He turned red with rage when he indicted the resolution introduced in behalf of the Scottsboro boys as being guilty of the nefarious crime of asking for "the unconditional freedom" of these Negro lads!

Dealing with resolutions relating to racial discrimination, Frey almost burst a couple of blood vessels insulting and abusing Randolph for his highly enlightening and effective speech. Frey was enraged because Randolph talked elementary class-consciousness and advocated labor solidarity. He raved that "the attitude of some Negro leaders was a most serious obstacle to overcoming race prejudice." This was a below-the-belt blow at Randolph, whom he further charged with stirring up race hatred by introducing such resolutions. Frey wound up his mud-slinging contribution by shedding crocodile tears over himself (even tho a white man!) not having had a chance to get the kind of higher education Randolph got (even tho a Negro!). Needless to say Frey did not try to explain why Randolph with his higher education and infinitely greater ability has not been able to get anywhere near as far as did Frey with his lower education and obviously less intelligence. . . .

"Capitulatory Democracy"
6. The Hearst Problem: The resolutions calling for action being taken by the labor organizations to defend themselves against Hearst's anti-labor policy met with short shrift at the hands of the committee and the convention. Here Green came to the fore, posing as chaste as an icicle and weeping in behalf of pure democracy and absolute freedom of opinion for anyone to express anything regardless of how much labor may disagree with it. At first, the resolutions committee recommended to refer the half dozen anti-Hearst resolutions to the incoming Council. Then Dan Tobin, who had been quite silent during the previous sessions, jumped to his feet and amended the proposal so as to recommend non-concurrence. Judging by the speed with which Frey accepted the amendment in behalf of the resolutions committee it would appear that it was all staged. At any rate, Hearst was given the fullest freedom of the press—in his anti-labor propaganda on the following basis: "The A. F. of L., from the beginning, has been an active champion of freedom of the press, the right of a newspaper to publish its views without censorship."

As the debate on this resolution was being concluded, it was announced that the Tampa police had slugged and arrested the president of a local cannery workers' union and held him for investigation because he had on his person the printed proceedings of the previous day's session of the convention. And while a resolution in behalf of Mooney and Billings was being adopted, the local police arrested some young ladies for distributing, outside the convention hall, literature dealing with the violation of civil liberties.

In summary, stormy and difficult (Continued next column)

U. S. and the members of the Congress of the U. S., again emphatically demonstrates the wisdom and the practical value of the non-partisan policy. . . .

We do not recount the oral arguments made by Frey against a labor party for fear that our readers would be insulted at such inaneities appearing in our columns—even when emanating from the bitterest foes of working class solidarity. Suffice it to say that reporter Frey was all himself when he burst into ignorance in discussing this question.

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In summary, stormy and difficult (Continued next column)

In The CPO Pre-Conference Discussion Can Marxists Urge Wars In Alliance with USSR?

By LEONARD SCHILLER
The fundamental mistake of the C.I. on war is the transfer of diplomatic strategy into the realm of revolutionary tactics. The C.I., in place of revolutionary tactics, relies on diplomacy, on pacts by the Soviets with bourgeois powers as the sole method of deterring the U.S.S.R. It subordinates civil war and revolutionary defeatism to mutual assistance pacts and collective security. The C.I. sees in these pacts the best means of defending the U.S.S.R. and it makes concessions in revolutionary principles so that these pacts may be consummated, strengthened and maintained.

The C.I. has come out for the defense of the bourgeois democratic countries because these countries are threatened by Germany—the main enemy of the Soviets at the moment—and can be counted on as possible allies against Hitler. Dimitroff states: "Other capitalist governments are interested at the present moment in the maintenance of peace. It is therefore wrong to depict all countries as aggressors." Further on in the same article he says: "It is not a matter of indifference . . . what foreign policy the government carries on toward fascist enemies of peace; whether this policy will help strengthen collective security or hinder it." And then he comes to what the revolutionary working class must do: "... the party of the proletariat must actively interfere in the foreign policy and in the sphere of the defense of the country." From this line of the Communist parties is clear, countries must be brought into alliance with the Soviets and the U.S.S.R.

The question of the defense of that country can be taken up, more, the Communists are urged to take the lead. What is confessed here is the inability of the C.I. to formulate an independent revolutionary foreign policy but merely to mimic and adopt Soviet foreign policy. Blinded by a super bureaucracy, aided and abetted by a coached messenger-boy leadership they mechanically transfer Soviet foreign policy as the international policy for all parties; making no distinction between policy of the proletariat in capitalist countries, Soviet foreign policy, and revolutionary tactics. Soviet foreign policy, international policy of the working class in Western Europe and revolutionary tactics are separate and distinct planes of action, each independent and at a different level of struggle. Yet they are each dialectically connected because they strive for the same objectives. To transfer these separate and distinct levels of struggle one into the other is to breathe the worst fumes of opportunism into the policy, as is now being blown with gusto into the

days are ahead for labor in the coming months, in the next few months of great opportunity for the working class. But let no one be discouraged. It is true the progressive forces at this convention were weak and few. Furthermore, except for the contribution made by the delegates from the agricultural field, these forces showed the visible effects of the confusion of the present "people's front" line of the Communist Party. But all these difficulties, all the shortcomings, all the mistakes in strategy are only momentary—natural to the period of the birth of a virile trade union movement, to the rebirth of our whole labor movement.

polices of the C.I. To the C.I. the answer is Soviet diplomacy—always. What can and must be shown is the compatibility between the maintenance of revolutionary principles and an active revolutionary independent foreign policy which would solve the problem of defense of the Soviet Union for the proletariat of Western Europe.

What are the problems raised in the field of foreign policy that make the solution of this question most urgent. Let us examine the question from two angles. International diplomacy has entered upon a new era. Whereas the past period was one of adjusting relations between the various powers and particularly between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist world; the present new period can be characterized as a period of disturbed relations and of the capitalist world trying to present a solid block against the U.S.S.R. The leader with this opinion is Germany which has just concluded an anti-Russian block with Japan and Italy. Russia on the other hand is trying to present an anti-imperialist front (the agreement with China) and maintain alliances with those capitalist countries that agreements have been signed. The fundamental underlying strategy of Soviet Foreign policy is two

fold: to form an anti-imperialist block and to break up and limit the unified imperialist front; thus alleviating the danger of a concerted attack against the Soviets. Let us now look at the problem in relation to the past two historical periods. In the first period when intervention and blockade were on the order of the day of the capitalist plans to defeat Russia, the world proletariat responded by declaring civil war to aid their besieged brother. The second period was one of adjusting relations with capitalist countries, of two different social systems living peacefully side by side. Then the slogan of "Recognition of the U.S.S.R." was raised. Along with recognition went trade pacts, credits, etc. Now whether these two systems can remain living peacefully side by side. Once again we must aid our class. We must break up any attempt at isolating Russia. We must propose alliances with her and break up any attempt to present Russia with a united imperialist block. I pose the question, if a war broke out and a country (let us say Poland) was faced with the question of

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.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

IT is still too early to make a well-rounded estimate of the A. F. of L. convention (it is still in session) but already it has said and done enough to brand it as downright reactionary. In its few days of life it counts the following accomplishments:

1. It has slammed the door on the 10 C.I.O. unions—all the soft-soap of Green & Co. notwithstanding.
2. It has laid the basis for a war against a union—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—whose charter has been entering the war on the side of Germany or on the side of Russia, how should the Communists vote? I believe this practical problem is the essence of the question. The C.P. should vote for entering the war on the side of the U.S.S.R. with certain conditions.
3. It has laid the basis for an active revolutionary foreign policy? We must fight for a Soviet Alliance. We do not declare civil peace on this account but rather we do continually expose our governments' inability to really aid the U.S.S.R. and the possibility of the U.S.S.R. by breaking the pact. The U.S.S.R. is interested in signing these pacts solely for military purposes of defense. In the case of the outbreak of war the working class of the capitalist countries should demand the continuation of these alliances and the entering of all countries on the side of the U.S.S.R. In our own country and to our "own" government we will raise a series of demands. These demands will contain elementary conditions for an effective defense of the U.S.S.R. In substance our (Continued on Page 6)
4. The convention turned its back upon the Spanish workers, bleeding from a thousand wounds and asking for assistance to beat back the fascist butchers.
5. Resorted to Jew-baiting in a vile and vicious manner, in a desperate attempt to lash some of the so-called Jewish unions (ILGWU, ACW, and Millinery Workers) into the craft union fold. Permitted an undercurrent of anti-semitism to pollute the convention throughout its duration. They beat a hasty retreat after Max Zaritsky's tongue-lashing.
6. Refused to take a stand on the Scottsboro case because a retrial is pending and the due processes of the law must not be swayed by passion or undue pressure.
7. Showed its cowardly fear of the open-shopper and war-monger William Randolph Hearst. Numerous resolutions were rejected because under the system of free speech Hearst has a right to express his opinions. As if that were the issue! The same principle of free speech also provides the right of a labor convention to express its opinion of the anti-labor, pro-fascist, sewer journalism of William Hearst. Rejection of the resolutions constitutes a defense of Hearst.

Box Score of the Executive Council = Zero

• The decision of the AFL convention on the CIO read out of the organization ten international unions with a membership of at least one and a quarter million. The following figures are supplied in the report of the executive council: United Mine Workers: 400,000; Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 120,000; Oil Field Workers, 40,500; Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, 15,000; International Ladies Garment Workers, 196,000; United Textile Workers, 100,000; Flat Glass Workers, 11,600; Steel Workers, 9,200; Automobile Workers, 19,000; Rubber Workers, 8,500.

• But, if the growth of local trades union and federal labor unions have been slowed up, the number suspended and disbanded proceeds apace. During the current year disbandment and suspension has accounted for 6 central bodies; 274 local trade unions and 134 federal labor unions.

No wonder the majority of the federal labor unions present at the convention voted for the CIO. To Green's charge of ingratitude leveled at them, the federal labor unions reply—"Thanks for practically nothing!" and the record bears them out.

The council report lists three organizations as having received international charters this year: United Rubber Workers of America; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and American Newspaper Guild. The rubber workers are now among the 10 suspended CIO unions and the Pullman Porters and Newspaper Guild were in the forefront of the fight for the CIO at this convention.

• By this time most people know that one of the very clever arguments dug up against industrial unionism by John P. Frey refers to the impossibility of determining where one industry ends and the next one begins. The same gentleman, being possessed of a keen eye and a fertile imagination, claims to have no difficulty in determining the line of demarcation between the various crafts.

Let us see therefore how he has helped solve the jurisdictional problems handled by the executive council.

1. Radio workers vs. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Solved by the radio workers leaving the AFL.
 2. International Association of Bridge and Structural Workers and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Tin and Steel Workers. Not settled.
 3. Flat Glass Workers vs. Glass Bottle Blowers. Not settled.
 4. Flat Glass Workers vs. Chemical Workers Federal Labor Union. Not settled.
 5. Neon Sign Glass Industry involving dispute among Electrical Workers, Painters, Flint Glass Workers and Glass Bottle Blowers. Not settled.
 6. Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Ass'n vs. Int'l Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union vs. Int'l Photo-Engravers' Union. Not settled.
 7. Int'l Brotherhood of Foundry Employees vs. Int'l Molders' Union. Not settled.
 8. Int'l Brotherhood of Foundry Employees vs. United Ass'n of Plumbers and Steamfitters. Not settled.
 9. Hotel & Restaurant Employees Int'l Alliance vs. United Ass'n of Plumbers and Steamfitters. Not settled.
 10. Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Int'l Seamen's Union. Not settled.
 11. Int'l Seamen's Union vs. Int'l Longshoremen's Ass'n. Not settled.
- When this report of the executive council was ended the delegates from the Brewery workers arose to ask why their dispute with the Teamsters' union was not reported on. How many more jurisdictional disputes were not reported?

At any rate, the executive council has a perfect score—not a single dispute was settled!

National Committee
LITHUANIAN
Workers Society
hails
**WORKERS
AGE**
For holding aloft the
banner of
revolutionary
internationalism!

CITY CHOPS RELIEF AND HOLDS FUNDS TO PAY BANKERS LOANS

By STUART FORSYTHE

We have reviewed the closing of cases on relief (6,100 more must be closed during November), the refusal to accept 50% of the relief applications, and the starvation budget given to those families who are getting relief. We may now ask how much all this is owing to a lack of funds to carry the burden of relief in this richest city in the world.

The Board of Estimate recently appropriated \$27,467,000 for relief for October, November and December, \$66,000 of which comes from general taxes. \$11,533,000 of this appropriation will be reimbursed by the state, leaving \$15,834,000 for the City to pay. The total amount paid out by the City from emergency taxes this year will be approximately \$64,177,300, or about \$5,350,000 monthly.

The City Affairs Committee, in June of this year, recommended that relief appropriations be increased to the limit of relief revenues. It is now estimated that these revenues will amount to at least \$69,000,000, or about \$5,000,000 more than the sum actually appropriated by the City. The people on relief are thereby deprived not only of this \$5,000,000 expressly collected from the tax payers for them but also of some additional 3 millions which would have been paid by the state as its 40% share.

For the Bankers!

Last year, the Comptroller saw fit to use current relief revenues to pay off bankers' loans borrowed before the emergency relief tax laws were enacted. Thus \$18,000,000 was repaid to the bankers in 1935. There is some doubt that the Comptroller really had such powers. But even assuming he had, there is no justification for such action at the expense of relief standards.

How much of the 1936 relief revenues will be used to aid the starving bankers? Will it be the extra \$5,000,000? For remember, the City has about \$69,000,000 to spend on relief this year, and it has only appropriated a little over \$64,000,000.

Although the 7 per cent increase in food allowances ordered last year has since been cancelled out by the rise of food costs and although that 7 per cent was about 5 per cent below the actual rise in food costs at the time, no move is being made to correct this so that 600,000 people may be properly fed. A 10% rise in the food budget would cost about \$4,200,000 a year, or, for the City alone, 60 per cent of this, or \$2,520,000.

This would still leave \$2,500,000 of tax receipts untouched. And in the face of this, Charlotte Carr, Executive Director of the E.R.B. dared to state in a news release on November 9th "The Bureau's minimum rental allowances are inadequate as applied to certain areas (most areas—S.F.) and relief families are thus forced to seek the rent level of the poorest type of tenement. We wish we could do something about improving the rent schedules, but the re-

lief program is as generous as the resources permit it to be."

The monthly rent payments by the bureau total \$2,225,000. Thus the City alone spends \$1,335,000 for relief rents. A 10% increase in rents would cost the City an extra \$1,602,000 a year. And there would be almost \$1,000,000 left for sorely needed clothing.

The City Holds Out

Not only is the City holding back money collected for relief, but worse yet, the relief administration is holding back part of the money actually appropriated. The Emergency Relief Bureau at the end of October had a balance on hand of \$1,600,000 in unexpended funds. What is going to be done with this money withheld from the unemployed after the Board of Estimate had ordered it paid to them? Has the E.R.B. perhaps been reading about the "generous" extra dividends the corporations are paying their stockholders? Is the E.R.B. preparing to emulate Wall Street and "cut a mellow" for the taxpayers?

The Bureau, in its weekly statistical report, praises the districts which close the largest number of cases. These, it says, are doing the best job. It does not say that about the districts which are giving their clients the best service.

Food prices are rising. Clothing is wearing out and winter is coming. But the E.R.B. and the City of New York have balances on hand. And the orders continue: "Staff, close cases, close cases, CLOSE CASES."

REVOLUTIONARY POLICY AND WAR

(Continued from Page 5) program will be of an anti-imperialist character. We will demand the giving up of all colonies, annulment of all imperialist treaties, no secret diplomacy and the demand that our government drop the imperialist aims that it may have in that war. On the parliamentary field our members would point out that our government is incapable of really defending the U.S.S.R., that it is continually violating this pledge, that only a proletarian dictatorship, for which civil war is necessary, can really defend the Russians.

What would such a program accomplish? It would, first of all, expose the predatory aims of "our" government, to the workers and lead them to revolutionary action. This would undermine and weaken "our" imperialism as well as international imperialism, thereby advancing the interests of the Russian revolution and also the interests of the world proletariat.

This new position, "Fight on the side of the U.S.S.R." is the necessary addition to our previous position on the war question. Our government fighting on the side of the U.S.S.R. is what we must strive for on the plane of foreign policy, in the realm of parliament we expose "our" government and the foreign policy which it carries out, in the sphere of extra-legal mass action we propose civil war and the continuation of the civil war into a revolutionary war on the side of the U.S.S.R. Thus do we really guarantee our government fighting on the side of the Soviet Union. Thus do we eliminate a section of world imperialism and weaken the imperialists block, throwing our strength, no longer fettered by capitalist limitations, on the side of the workers fatherland in a gigantic revolutionary war.

AT IT AGAIN!



Samuel "Chowderhead" Cohen

SHREWD MACHINE HANDLING PLUS GOP BLUNDERS AIDED DEMOCRATS

(Continued from Page 3) don made his acceptance speech in which he endorsed the open shopper's formula on labor organization, than Norman Thomas wrote him a sweet letter. The objective result of this letter, regardless of the motives animating it, was to show a way out for Landon. Thomas was, thru his letter, put in a position of helping Landon in his efforts to undo the damage accruing to him in the eyes of labor as a result of his acceptance speech.

In the same category must be placed another letter of Thomas in which he sought to counteract the idea that there were serious differences between Landon and Roosevelt. Desperately seeking to stem the tide of desertion of Socialist voters towards Roosevelt, Thomas turned to emphasizing that the strikebreaking role played by the National Guard in the Democratic state of Oklahoma was worse than that played by the strikebreakers in uniform in the Republican state of Kansas. In the eyes

ARKANSAN PLANTER FOUND GUILTY ON SLAVERY CHARGE

Paul Peacher, plantation owner of Arkansas, and town-marshal of Earle, was convicted by a Federal Jury on charges of violating an anti-slavery statute. Peacher had developed the following system of working his plantation. As marshal he would arrest for "vagrancy" poverty-stricken Negroes of the township. He would then bring them before the judge, his personal friend, who would fine them exorbitant sums. Being unable to pay, the Negroes would then be "allowed" to work out the fine in labor on Peacher's plantation!

It was thru the pressure and agitation of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union that trial was finally forced. Backed by this movement, five of the Negroes who had been so exploited, came forward to testify, marking a new day in the struggle of Southern labor.

of the average worker, Norman Thomas here appeared to be arguing that Landon was better than Roosevelt and that therefore Roosevelt should not get his vote. As the results showed, such arguments not only did not effectively weaken the equally fallacious position of the C.P. but even hurt fatally the S.P. campaign outcome. It is this strategy which almost completely cut off the S.P. from the unions, tho here we can say, in parenthesis, that the S.P.'s new Trotskyist trade union policies were decisive.

In summary, while emphasizing his loyalty to bourgeois democracy and fuming at all "dictatorship" in general, in the abstract, Thomas put the S.P. in the position of being all things to all men. When it came to counting votes, this policy meant nothing to anybody. It meant the S.P.'s polling the lowest proportion of the total vote it has been able to pick up in decades.

The character of the campaign waged by the Communist Party and the pathetic results it registered in this most significant election struggle will be examined in a subsequent article.

This is the third article in a series by Jay Lovestone, on "THE 1936 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN."

TEACHERS AID SPAIN

The Teachers Union announced to-day that it had collected \$2,000 for the purchase of food, clothing and medicines for the Spanish Loyalists, and that it expects to continue its collections indefinitely.

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BERGOFF-RAND SCAB ROLE TOLD

Rand Staged Riots Says Bergoff; "Chowderhead" Cohen In Again

Samuel "Chowderhead" Cohen, professional strikebreaker, lieutenant of Pearl Bergoff, testified at a hearing of the National Labor Relations Board on the Remington Rand strike, protested against the "indignities" he was subjected to in pursuit of his "honest living." Cohen is now involved in the strike of the seamen on the East Coast, having been twice arrested for strikebreaking activities.

Cohen claims he "worked as a nightwatchman" during the Remington-Rand strike, "not needin' no references." "A bunch of the boys got to work, that's all. You don't tell 'em nuttin'."

Additional testimony was given in the New York hearings by Pearl Bergoff, who revealed many of the methods used to break the strike, in accord with the orders of James Rand, president of the company.

Bergoff startled those present with the announcement that he was really engaged in "missionary work." His finks, nobles, thugs, scum of the earth, were merely out to "persuade." "I haven't sent an armed man out of my office in twenty years," Bergoff stated. The brazen lying of such testimony only partially characterizes the contempt in which such people hold these hearings. Defiant but unruffled they rest secure in the knowledge that the powers that be will protect them—and that no "liberal" hearings will end their nefarious trade. Only a powerful determined and militant labor movement can sweep out such garbage, such very "American" filth.

Women were used in this strike to work on the strikers' wives. The "riot" at the Tonawanda plant was shown to have been staged by Rand himself. The recently published "Labor Unions—A Racket" was bought to the extent of 1500 copies to be distributed among the striking workers. Williams of Bergoff's staff, who calls himself an "industrial diplomat" told of the "persuasive" work necessary:

"The union had kept them from getting a pay cut. We would confuse them about that and show that they were now losing a lot of work. We'd explain to them that the union leaders just are feathering their own nests and the members don't get anything but paying dues and losing a lot of work." "Did you believe what you said?" asked Charles A. Wood, hearing examiner.

"No," said Williams, when strenuous objections of the company's counsel had been overruled. "I didn't believe it."

FRENCH LABOR AIDS SHIPPING STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1) a state law prohibiting such action without hearings. The judge denied knowledge of this act, but under the pressure of a Citizen's Committee, composed of the Reverend Bruce MacDonald, Rabbi Israel, Elizabeth Gilman, Angela Bombace of the ILGWU, I. Zimmerman, and J. Fred Rausch, formerly secretary of the Baltimore Building Trades Council, and others, was forced to grant a hearing, which is now going on.

The case is being fought by trade unions and the Civil Liberties Union, in addition to the striking seamen. It is interesting to note that the Baltimore Federation, which jammed thru a resolution supporting the injunction, and the ISU, were in the forefront of the fight for the Kimble Act.

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