

# WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## A. F. L. MEET SHOWS WIDE DISCONTENT

### Miners Take Over Leadership of Opposition Forces

The Fifty-fifth convention of the American Federation of Labor is now a thing of the past and the bitter struggles that raged at that convention ended in the main in victory for the reactionary bloc of Green and Woll. Yet the mere recitation of the decisions would give one a completely distorted picture of the convention. One would expect that the progressive and opposition forces, having been defeated, left the convention subdued and discouraged while the forces of Green were flushed with victory. But nothing could possibly be further from the truth. The bureaucracy, tho victorious, is deeply disturbed over the extremely sharp division of forces and the importance of the organizations lined up on the side of progress and change in the federation. They looked as if they knew that it is a losing war they have begun, even tho the first skirmish has resulted favorably for them. The progressive forces, on the other hand, were jubilant. For the first time they had made themselves heard in a manner that will echo and re-echo in every central labor body, in every local union thruout the length and breadth of the land. They have but laid the foundation for a broader and more successful struggle in the convention of American labor, in the days to come. They know that the very developments in industry—life itself, is on their side.

#### NO RETREAT POSSIBLE

There was no question in anyone's mind as to who was the leader in the struggle against the reactionary bloc.

Gompers, in all his glory, was never the center of a convention as much as was John L. Lewis, of the miners. Never, since 1921, did a convention of the A. F. of L. present its problems so sharply—and then also it was John L. Lewis who challenged the leadership and policies of the veteran Samuel Gompers. Never, in the whole history of the A. F. of L., did it come to a physical encounter (Lewis-Hutchenson) indicating a tenseness and firmness which makes retreat for either side extremely difficult if at all possible.

#### FORCES INVOLVED

What forces were there involved especially on the side of the progressives fighting for industrial unionism? When we examine the voting we find that the backbone of the opposition was the four big organizations—United Mine Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the United Textile Workers. To these must then be added a large number of federal labor unions and the newly organized unions in the auto and rubber industries. What is there that all of these organizations have in common? The answer is that all of them without any exception underwent a tremendous growth and extension during the recent growth of the A.F.L. Indeed as far as the federal labor unions are concerned, they were born during this period. All of them then have, as a considerable sec-

tion of their membership, the newly organized masses of unskilled and semi-skilled—whether it be from the coal fields of West Virginia, the textile mills of the south or the garment factories in the small rural communities.

These forces, perhaps raw in a trade union sense, are nevertheless the bearers of an elemental militancy and fighting spirit that has gone far to revive and invigorate that paunchy body known as the A. F. of L.

It is these forces that refused to bend the knee to bureaucracy and fought Green to a standstill in the auto and rubber industries. It is these forces which having fought for trade union organization in their auto plants, rubber factories, textile mills, etc. cannot for the life of them see why they should be dispersed among a dozen or more different craft organizations.

It is the pressure of these forces for a new type of organization, and for democratic self-government that made itself much felt upon such men as John L. Lewis and determined them to break with the bureaucracy of which they themselves had been a part. Hence the bitterness, hence the sharpness and vituperativeness of this convention.

#### CONVENTION ISSUES

Needless to say, the most bitterly fought of all convention issues and the

one receiving the highest number of votes was the question of industrial unionism. At the very outset the Resolutions Committee was divided 8 to 7, with Matthew Woll heading the craft unionists and Charles P. Howard, of the International Typographical Union, representing the industrial unionists and making a minority report. On the floor the majority report was defended by John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., while industrial unionism received its defense from John L. Lewis. (See both reports in this issue). The vote showed that over one million workers had cast their vote for industrial unionism.

The Labor Party resolutions, coming toward the end of the convention, were not given as much attention as they deserved. However the chief defenders on the floor were Francis Gorman of the United Textile Workers and Isidore Nagler of the International Ladies Garment workers Union. The vote for these resolutions was not very high. It is significant that even such delegations, as that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, were split. Hillman objecting to the Labor Party while Schlossberg expressed his firm adherence.

The much advertised anti-communist amendment to the constitution was considerably modified after Lewis, Dubinsky, Hillman and others expressed themselves opposed to it. It was Lewis who

declared that he did not think it was the business of the A. F. of L. to become a red-baiting organization. This amendment would undoubtedly have been defeated. However, it was withdrawn and a new proposal introduced which calls for the unseating of communists from central labor bodies and state federations of labor. This was carried in the closing hours of the convention. The original proposal instructed the Executive Council to expel international unions tolerating communists within its ranks.

#### GREAT POSSIBILITIES

This convention has proved that large sections of the A. F. of L. do respond to the needs of the present situation. The discussion which will now begin in all local unions offers an excellent possibility for the progressive forces to deepen and broaden the struggle begun at this convention.

It was most encouraging to see at this convention a rather large number of delegates who could not be classed among the bald-heads or grey-beards that usually go to make up a convention. It is these new forces that must be harnessed in the struggle for progressivism, it is from these sources that any national progressive crystallization is to take place.

The Fifty-fifth convention has made a breach in the wall of reaction in the trade unions. The progressives in the unions must now intensify the drive to clean the unions of all the accumulated dry-rot, to begin the difficult task of building for complete victory.

—G. F. M.

## A. F. of L. Minority Report On Industrial Unionism

The following excerpts are from the Minority Report on industrial unionism, delivered to the A. F. of L. convention by Delegate Howard, President of the International Typographical Union. The report was signed by Charles P. Howard, David Dubinsky, Frank B. Powers, John L. Lewis, A. A. Myrup and J. C. Lewis. A seventh member of the Committee who had expressed his agreement with the Minority in the Committee failed to sign the report because, as Delegate Howard put it, "of the pressure that was put upon him by well known methods in this convention."

"During the existence of the American Federation of Labor and since the date many of the charters were granted to National and International Unions upon craft lines, the changes in industrial methods have been such that the duties of millions of industrial workers are of a nature that did not exist at the time many National and International charters were issued. This makes it ap-

parent that jurisdiction over these new classes of work could not have been anticipated and included in the jurisdictional outlines of charters issued to National and International Unions at a time when the work that is now performed by these millions of industrial workers did not exist.

"We refuse to accept existing conditions as evidence that the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor have been successful. The fact that after fifty-five years of activity and effort we have enrolled under the banner of the American Federation of Labor approximately three and one-half millions of members of the thirty-nine millions of organizable workers is a condition that speaks for itself.

"We declare the time has arrived when common sense demands the organization policies of the American Federation of Labor must be molded to meet present day needs. In the great mass production industries and those in which the workers are composite mechanics,

specialized and engaged upon classes of work which do not fully qualify them for craft union membership, industrial organization is the only solution. Continuous employment, economic security and the ability to protect the individual worker depends upon organization upon industrial lines.

"To successfully organize the workers in industrial establishments where conditions outlined herein obtain there must be a clear declaration by the American Federation of Labor. It must recognize the right of these workers to organize into industrial unions and be granted unrestricted charters which guarantee the right to accept into membership all workers employed in the industry or establishment without fear of being compelled to destroy unity of action through recognition of jurisdictional claims made by the National or International Unions.

"... The Executive Council is also instructed to enter upon an aggressive organization campaign in those industries in which the great mass of the workers are not now organized, issue unrestricted charters to workers organized into independent unions, company-dominated unions and those organizations now affiliated with associations not recognized by the American Federation of Labor as bona-fide organizations."

## Speech of John L. Lewis On Industrial Unionism

The speech of John L. Lewis, leader of the opposition at the A. F. of L. convention, on industrial unionism, is of great interest and significance for every class conscious worker. Limitation of space makes it necessary to give excerpts only.

#### A RECORD OF FAILURE

"For twenty-five years or more the American Federation of Labor has been following this precise policy (craft unionism), and surely in the absence of any other understanding of the question, a record of twenty-five years of constant, unbroken failure should be convincing to those who actually have a desire to increase the prestige of our great labor movement by expanding its membership to permit it to occupy its natural place in the sun.

"What is the record? Delegate Howard expressed it when he said that we laid claim to a membership of approximately three and a half million, out of an

organizable number of approximately thirty-nine million. There is the answer. If we know nothing else on the question we can at least read the results, and in reading the results we surely understand that our influence is less great, that our activities are more circumscribed, and that our power is more limited to achieve our natural and desirable and virtuous objective than it would be if we had those twenty-five million workers that President Green, in his public address in 1934, talked of organizing. Where are they? Where are those twenty-five million that in a moment of exuberance, we were going to organize? Perhaps President Green's arithmetic was wrong and he meant twenty-five thousand, because the total results are nearer the twenty-five thousand than the twenty-five million."

#### NEED CHANGE OF POLICY

"On that basis I submit it to be a reasonable statement that it will be a

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## REVIEW OF THE WEEK

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE FINALLY PATCH UP AN AGREEMENT; ITALY HALTED IN ETHIOPIA; JAPAN IN NEW MOVES AGAINST CHINA, MONGOLIA AND U.S.S.R.

### International Tension Eases As England and France Reach Agreement

During the course of the week the center of attention was shifted from the battlefield in Ethiopia—indeed it was almost forgotten—because of the extremely strained relations which developed between Great Britain and France. We have commented on the extremely equivocal stand of France and during this week equivocation was replaced by outspoken policies in opposition to those of Great Britain.

These differences developed along two lines. First came the discussion on sanctions in which France not only made it clear that it would not go along with any military sanctions but that even stringent economic sanctions would not be supported. Thus the British "Don't Buy From Italy" proposal was strongly objected to by France. The second difference arose over the strength of the British Navy in the Mediterranean. In answer to a tremendous concentration of Italian forces in Libya, thereby threatening Egypt, Great Britain grouped the major portion of its navy in the Mediterranean. France, apparently at the bidding of Mussolini, demanded the withdrawal of a number of ships, a demand which Great Britain flatly rejected.

It is along these two lines that tension between the two giant powers on the continent developed. On the one hand Great Britain insisted that its full strength was needed in the Mediterranean unless France promised assistance in case of attack by Italy. Great Britain gently hinted, that in case France

refused, other powers might be induced to cooperate—meaning of course Germany. The situation became sharply aggravated when Mussolini openly made a bid for French support by offering a military pact.

The situation was finally settled by an agreement that Italy withdraws a portion of its armed forces in Libya, this to be followed by the withdrawal of a number of ships from the Mediterranean. France pledges to come to the aid of Great Britain in the event of an attack in the Mediterranean while Great Britain pledges assistance to France in case of an attack. Thus was this controversy settled for the time being. There is no question but that it will recur in varying forms in the days to come. (Note that neither the controversy nor the solution involves Italian slaughter of the Ethiopians).

#### ITALY ADVANCES MORE CAUTIOUSLY

The Italian advance has been slowed down to a bare crawl. Italian military leaders in Ethiopia are feeling their way very carefully for fear of walking into a trap which might rival the defeat of Adowa in 1896.

Since Great Britain lifted its arms embargo great quantities of arms and ammunition have reached Ethiopia, according to press reports. Great concentration of forces have taken place in the region of Makale and large scale military operations are expected.

### DECISIONS OF A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

The Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor made the following decisions:

1. Condemned German and Italian fascism. Urged extension of Labor Chest. Urged boycott of Berlin Olympics.
2. Defeated the proposal to organize the basic industries along industrial lines.
3. Defeated the proposals to organize a Labor Party.
4. Carried a modified amendment authorizing the expulsion of communists from central labor bodies and state federations of labor.
5. In the waning hours of the convention, a proposed constitutional amendment barring the Supreme Court from interfering with social legislation, previously tabled, was reconsidered and carried by a surprise move of Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky and Howard.

### SOCIALISTS TURN DOWN UNITED FRONT

The Labor and Socialist International, has turned down the request of the Communist International for a united front struggle against Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Negotiations on this matter were conducted by Professor de Brouckere of Belgium and Adler of Austria. The representation of the Communist International included Cachin and Thorez. It appears that the two chief opponents of the united front with the Comintern were the British Labor Party and the Czechoslovakian Socialist Party.

### LIBERAL LANDSLIDE IN CANADIAN ELECTION

The Liberal Party in Canada, defeated in 1930 by the Conservatives under Bennett, have returned in the general elections just held to score the most sweeping victory ever seen in Canadian politics. The Party of Mackenzie King has taken 168 out of 245 seats reducing the Conservative representation from 113 to 41. The Social Credit Party secured 17 seats, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (socialistic) 7, Independent Conservatives 1, New Reconstruction Party (The Party of former Minister Stevens) 1, Independent Liberal 4, United Farmer Labor 1 and the Liberal Progressives 2.

King, now taking over the premiership pledged, during his campaign, to immediately nullify, if elected, the infamous "Section 98"—the Seditious law under which the Communist Party and other radical organizations were driven underground.

In his policy abroad Mr. King is expected to develop a distinct pro-American orientation. He is American trained and was for a long time connected with the Rockefeller interests.

The revolt against the Conservatives is being attributed to the reaction against the effects of the crisis.

### MONGOLIAN REPUBLIC GETS JAPAN THREAT

On almost every front in Asia, Japan is busily engaged in making hay while Europe is embroiled in the Ethiopian conflict. Representatives of Japan have

met with the spokesmen of the Mongolian Peoples Republic and have attempted to browbeat them into accepting Japan's plans for penetration. When objections were raised by the latter the Japanese threatened to resort to armed force. This has aroused widespread resentment thruout the republic and official protests have been lodged.

### NEW JAP PROVOCATIONS AGAINST SOVIETS

Once again Japan is resorting to its policy of provocation on the Soviet-Manchukuo border. Japanese troops have crossed the Siberian line and attacked Soviet Border guards. Casualties, according to Moscow despatches, have occurred on both sides. Protests from Moscow have remained unanswered by Tokyo, the military authorities in Manchukuo trotting out that old veteran of an alibi about the border not being clearly defined.

The Soviet Union is deeply disturbed by these events, fearing that Japan may utilize the European situation, with the British Navy tied up in the Mediterranean, to stage a sudden attack upon the maritime provinces of Siberia. Conversations relative to the conditions in the Pacific have taken place between the State Department and Ambassador Troyanovsky.

Under the heading "More Tension In The East", the Herald-Tribune of New York, sums up the situation as follows: "The militarists (Japanese) might be able to see that it would be poor policy to incur again the resentment of the whole Occident, as they did during the

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# Nazi Convention Cause Of New Terrorist Drive

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

In order to get a picture of the probable effect of the Nazi party convention on the broad masses, we cite the remarks of an observer on the occasion of the most recent collapse of a subway structure in Berlin. Under "normal" bourgeois conditions there is no attitude that a special report on the attitude of the people. But things were different in Berlin this summer. First of all, the population refused to believe the reports of the government on the extent and the causes of the disaster for the simple reason that they were issued by the government. As a result, Berlin was full of the most fantastic rumors. Secondly, the people suspect sabotage by the opponents of the regime in every disaster. Thus, fancy has its way.

This very same condition prevailed in Germany during the World War. The rank and file soldier at the front regarded every report on military events issued by the government as "blue" or "white" reports and heeded them. This was true to a large extent also of most civilians.

**MASSES DOUBT NAZI PROPAGANDA**

In all probability, there has never been such a "huge", all-embracing propaganda apparatus as that built up by the Nazis in Germany. However, the very energy and thoroughness with which this apparatus distorts the truth have speedily resulted in discrediting it in the eyes of the masses who reject propaganda as so much bunk. They consider that illegal reports and even oral rumors contain more truth than official reports.

Added to this are objective difficulties. Prices are rising, the embargo on foreign foodstuffs, the lack of fodder, the bad harvest, etc. Real wages are continuing to decline; the great mass cultural policy of the government since it is of benefit only to the large landowners. Urban artisans and dealers suffer as a result of the under-consumption of the masses. The introduction of universal conscription is regarded as an additional burden on the people, the "enthusiasm" generated at enforced parades is restricted to a relatively small section of direct beneficiaries—at best a few millions. Even a large section of the youth is disappointed and repelled by the military drills and the mental atmosphere it generates. The spell of the Messianic mission of National Socialism among the broad petty bourgeois masses who had been most receptive to it, has been broken. The contradictions and difficulties of the economic and financial aspects of rearmament are growing evermore. The capitalists stubbornly sabotage the financing of armaments, as a result, the necessary money is brought in thru compulsory loans from small bond purchasers. The latter, however, have not forgotten that the war bonds they bought in 1914-18 were never refunded.

**NAZI CONGRESS FOR INCREASED TERROR**

These objective conditions and the subjective mood of the masses determined the line of the Nazis at their convention. The liberal illusions gotten from Schacht's Koeningberg speech, the speculations about reduction of mass demagoguery and mass terror have once been shattered completely. The tendency at the convention was all in the opposite direction—towards intensified mass demagoguery and mass terror. Schacht made a speech at that convention which proved that politically he has nothing to say. The Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg, etc. struggle against the opposition, against "Jewish Bolshevism", against "priests who meddle in politics", against the "reactionary philistines."

The mass opposition against the re-

# Legal State Force Is Talk Of British Labor Party

By JIM CORK

The war question has always been the most searching touchstone by which to measure the political vitality and clarity of parties claiming to represent the interests of the working class. For this most fundamental of all questions involves all those other basic issues which since 1914 have sharply separated the Second from the Third International. Different attitudes on war inevitably flow out of the differing attitudes on the state, different evaluation of our own bourgeoisie, acceptance or rejection of revolution, etc. It was therefore, no accident that the split between the Socialist and Communist movements in the 1914-17 days had its basic roots in the difference on the war question. The abandonment by Social-Democracy of the internationalist class position on war meant the support of its own national bourgeoisie, the rejection of the Marxist analysis of the bourgeois democratic state as an oppressive class weapon, a rejection of the revolutionary necessity of smashing that state as a pre-requisite to the capture and maintenance of power by the proletariat and the subsequent possibility of ushering in a Socialist society.

**MUST ACT THE "BIG BROTHER"**

Today the Italian invasion of Ethiopia has created a situation where the international working class is more deeply in the throes of a discussion of the war issues than at any other time since 1914. How clearly history is repeating itself today. How inevitably do the same issues come up to the fore. How glibly do the present giants of international reform repeat the same old shibboleths of the German Social-Democracy which to ruin and disaster—our country, the holiness of democracy, the defense of constitutional order, the respect of the well-known ritual. Who, unless he had the knowledge of 1914 to test him right, could have the slightest suspicion that such language comes out of the mouth of would-be socialists.

**A DISCUSSION ON STATE FORCE**

I do not concern myself here with that part of Morrison's article where he waxed eloquent over the necessity of application of sanctions against Italy. The CPD has clarified its position on the question in recent columns of the Age. I direct myself rather to a consideration of the broader questions with which Morrison complements his discussion of sanctions, i.e. his attitude toward the state, democratic government, constitutional order, state force: shall it be used, if so, when, in defense of what and against whom? In the past it is said that Morrison, if a little muddled elsewhere in his discussion, is crystal clear on these questions. He says:

"I do not see how Labor can accept the view that in the absence of state force, organized force in its imperfect world may be a condition of civil peace and the maintenance of democracy."

# UNITED SHOE TAKES STEP FORWARD

By M. YABLON

The first bi-national convention of the United Shoe & Leather Workers Union recently concluded, laid the basis for the consolidation of the organization and the going away with the inter-district warfare in the union.

The bitter experiences gone thru during the last two years have convinced the membership that a loose organization, without the ability to serve the needs of the shoe workers. Only a centralized union democratically controlled by the membership will improve their living conditions.

This convention demonstrated the rapidly developing trade union consciousness of the smaller towns as well. Bringing them together and making them part of a single particular district will clear the atmosphere considerably, will make them realize that the problems they are facing are the same everywhere. Another decision made was to eliminate the smaller local units which can not maintain themselves and are unable to meet their obligations to the General Office.

In keeping with the above mentioned decisions the G.E.B. was instructed to work out a standard form of agreement to be adopted by referendum vote. This agreement when adopted will become binding on all organized districts and locals in the union.

A big stride forward was made by the unanimous decision to do away with grading of shoes—a powerful means in the hands of the manufacturers to cut wages, and set one district against another. These decisions will go a long way in the elimination of class distinctions between the districts, and friction with the general office. It will clear the road and make possible united action when the agreement expires at the beginning of January.

However, provisions were made for modification of the constitution form of agreement permissible only in unorganized places, where the union is weak, or where a union never existed before. But when such modifications are made the heads of the various District Councils must be consulted. The result of the district Council will form an Advisory Council, and will serve only in an advisory capacity. Full power remains with the G.E.B.

# PROGRESSIVE CHARACTER OF THE CONVENTION

The convention adopted, with very few dissenting votes, the following resolutions: for a Labor Party; against compulsory arbitration; against Supreme Court decision voiding the N.R.A.; and against the curtailment of the rights of Congress to legislate important laws. Other resolutions adopted were: against fascism, for Social and Unemployment Insurance, etc.

Despite the adoption of such progressive resolutions, it must be stated that some red-baiting sentiment was discernible, though it was weak, not openly expressed, yet, it was there. This fact must be recognized so that it can be effectively combated. It must also be stated that this sentiment in large measure due to the splitting and destructive course pursued by the Communist Party during the last six years.

# CONSTITUTION AMENDED

The delegates have recognized that many articles in the constitution dealing with the power of the General Executive Board and the rights of the various locals and districts were not clearly defined at the amalgamation convention less than two years ago. The constitution committee with the help of the delegates from the floor scrutinized every section and line of this document, and every flaw discovered tending to interfere with the establishment of a centralized organization was unceremoniously eliminated. The constitution was amended in such a way as to give necessary power to the G.E.B. on mat-

ter affecting the entire organization, without loss of autonomy to the locals and rights of members generally; and placed restrictions on the exercise of local autonomy. Only the G.E.B. is now in full charge of signing agreements, and regulating prices.

It was also decided to reorganize the present Joint Councils, which are converted into a single, unified, bi-national District Council which will take in other shoe towns as well. This decision carries far greater implications than appears on the surface because suspicion, jealousy and rivalry exist not only among the larger cities, but also among the smaller towns as well. Bringing them together and making them part of a single particular district will clear the atmosphere considerably, will make them realize that the problems they are facing are the same everywhere. Another decision made was to eliminate the smaller local units which can not maintain themselves and are unable to meet their obligations to the General Office.

# STANDARD FORM OF AGREEMENT

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# ROLE OF LEFT GROUP

For six months prior to the convention the rank and file group carried on a campaign to oust the present amend-

ing to play the part of a Great Power, in these days a great comrade among the nations shall we stink impotently into the shadows, impotent by our own choice, unfaithful to our solemn pledges, not a comrade, but a Judas among the nations."

This, in a plea for sanctions by Hugh Dalton, big gun of the British Labor Party at the recent Labor Party Congress. Imperialist governments which ought to be spokesmen of their people. Our country—we, Great Power—ought to be a comrade, no less, among imperialist nations. Verily indeed, to paraphrase the glowing sentiment expressed, "not a comrade, but a Judas among workers."

But after all these are mere trifles. The devil (i.e. Jim Cork) can obviously quote scripture for his own purposes. What have we here but a couple of nice sentiments by people itchy for sanctions. O. K. Let's get down to brass tacks.

For brass tacks we go to Herbert Morrison, or to be more exact to his resounding contribution, "The War and Peace" (New Leader, October 12). Now Morrison is no small fellow. A member of the Labor Party Executive, former labor minister to his Majesty, head of the labor group of London, it is rumored by many that he will soon succeed Lansbury as Parliamentary Labor Party leader and that he will jump into Labor Party chairmanship in the not too distant future. He is thoroughly representative of the thought which is so boldly and proudly following the road trod with such success by the German Social-Democracy.

# OPPORTUNIST DISTORTION IN TRADE UNION LINE

The tendency towards a sounder trade union policy is still in its earliest stages and yet it is already being largely vitiated by serious lapses into opportunism. The panic-stricken sectarian, sad experience teaches us, becomes the worst opportunist! The stifling bureaucratic regime strangling the Comintern and its sections makes impossible any real correction thru discussion and the careful analysis of experience. What ever correction does take place is bureaucratically imposed from above in exacting the same way as was the original false policy and is carried thru in the same mechanical manner. Instead of a conscious and clearly conceived return to a correct course, therefore, we have a swing from one extreme to another under the impact of external forces, overcompensating for one type of policy representing white state, which class, proletarian or bourgeoisie? Force in whose interests and against whom? Morrison is not hesitant in undeciding, if indeed we may have had any doubts as to where he stands.

"Every one of us who has been a Minister of the crown, every one of us who has exercised power in legal government, has been supported in authority by public opinion and collective official force, the police, with the army in reserve."

"If a fascist or Communist mob (!) was marching on County Hall for the purpose of forcibly expelling the constitutionally elected Labor majority of the London County Council from office, I should expect the police to disperse them. If necessary by force. Possibly heads would be broken and blood shed in the process. I cannot say."

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# WORKERS AGE

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# AMALGAMATION

The General Organizer J. Zimmerman in his report to the convention stated that the prospects of amalgamation were never as good as they are today. He informed the delegates that a constitution has already been unanimously agreed upon by the committees of 3 representatives from each union. This constitution will be presented to the memberships of the respective unions for approval. An education campaign to the G.E.B. on mat-

# NEW WORKERS SCHOOL DANCE & BAZAAR

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AUSPICES: NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

# C. P. OPPORTUNISM IN TRADE UNION POLICY

By WILL HERBERG

Within the last year the efforts of the Communist Party to influence trade union policy in the trade union field have been growing more and more decided. The very liquidation of the Red dual unions, at first undertaken tentatively and under all sorts of pretexts but finally assuming the character of a veritable rout, is a clear sign of this tendency. The new tone of the official Communist press in dealing with the labor movement, the abandonment of the offensively hostile manner that used to be the special pride of the Daily Worker and Freshet in the mad days of the "third period", is another straw in the wind. In some cases, even, the unfortunately too few and far between, C.P.-controlled groups in the unions are tending to drop their destructive "issue" mongering, their creation of false "issues" simply for the sake of opposition.

This new attitude received its official endorsement as well as its most authoritative formulation in the report of George Dimitroff at the recent congress of the Communist International. It is very instructive to compare what Pieck and Dimitroff each had to say at the congress about the former's attitude. Pieck justified the dismal record of the E.C.C.I. and to preserve whatever possible of the old course, the latter taking some tentative steps towards disavowing the past and striking out anew for the future. In a more forthright manner than ever, Dimitroff directs attention towards the wreckage to which the "third period" insanity has led and then formulates a general line of trade union policy that bears some relation to ordinary common sense and to the teaching of Lenin. It is a sad commentary on the utterly abnormal state of affairs in the Comintern that such conceptions, once accepted as the veriest axioms in Communist circles, had to be proclaimed as great original truths from the rostrum of a world congress of the Communist International!

# LEWIS'S SPEECH ON INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(Continued from Page 1)

long time before the American Federation of Labor organized those 25,000,000 workers that we are all so anxious to organize. There are others among us who believe that the record indicates a need for a change in policy. This convention floor is teeming with delegates from those industries where those local unions (federal labor unions) have been established and where they are now dying like the grass withering before the Autumn sun, who are ready to tell this convention of the need for this change of policy.

Those of us who have had experience in these mass production industries are ready to stake our professional judgment for what it may be worth and say that it is an absolute fact that America's great modern industries cannot be successfully organized and those organizations maintained against the power of the adversaries of labor in this country under the policy which has been followed for the last quarter of a century in dealing with that subject.

"There has been a change in industry, a constant daily change in its processes, constant change in the employment conditions, a great concentration of opposition to the extension and the logical expansion of the trade union movement. Great combination of capital have assembled great industrial plants, and they are strung across the border of the south land from the east to the west in such a manner that they have assembled to themselves tremendous power and influence, and they are almost 100 per cent effective in opposing organizations of the workers under the policies of the American Federation of Labor."

# CRAFT UNIONS DOOMED

"What are we going to do about it? There are some of us who say, let us take council, one with the other, let us put into effect a policy in these certain specified mass production industries that will enable the workers to stand together as a unit against these great commercial units that are exploiting industrial workers at the present time. And the great relief of the workers in these industries, as articulate as their own circumstances, as articulate as the American Federation of Labor in the form of messages and communications and resolutions to this convention and articles in the press, and in the liberal press, encouraging attention to that subject. Why do we hesitate? We hesitate, perhaps, because there are men here representing great organizations that have rendered a splendid service to their membership formed, and we are afraid that if we do such a policy would jeopardize the interests of their members and jeopardize the interests of their own positions. Their unions are already jeopardized and their membership is already jeopardized because unless the American Federation of Labor in the form of organizing these unorganized workers, it is extremely doubtful whether any of these organizations now so perfect, now so efficient, will long be permitted to endure and to function in a manner that is conducive to the well being of their membership."

# SECURITY AGAINST FASCISM

"There are great influences abroad in the land, and the minds of men in all walks of life are disturbed. We are disturbed by reason of the changes and the hazards in our economic situation and as regards our own political security. There are forces at work in this country that would wipe out, if they could, the labor movement of America, just as it was wiped out in Germany or just as it was wiped out in Italy."

"There are those of us who believe that the best security against that menace and against that trend and against that tendency is a more comprehensive and more powerful labor movement. We believe that the way should be paved so that those millions of workers who are clamoring for admission into our councils might be made secure in their jobs, that they understand and that they believe is suited to their requirements. And in consequence of that we are assembled in this convention with the eyes of these millions of workers upon this convention to decide upon this momentous question. Methinks that upon this decision of this convention may rest the future of the American Federation of Labor, because upon this decision will rest the question of whether the American Federation may be forged into an instrumentality that will serve the interests of the workers or whether the American Federation of Labor and its leaders will rest content in that comfortable situation that has prevailed through the years, where they are only required to render service to a party three or four of five million of the forty odd million wage workers of this country, who, after all, want to be union men."

# CONFUSION REIGNS

"I was one of those on the Executive Council who thought the action (of the Executive Council) was a breach of faith. I still believe that it was a breach of faith and a travesty upon good conscience. And in consequence of that I believe that the industry is filled with turmoil and caviling and confusion reigns, and these young men are in this convention asking for the granting of the kind of charter that they thought was going to be granted after the San Fran-

isco convention had taken the above-named action.

"So the question still haunts us as respects that industry, and we find that elements not friendly to the American Federation of Labor and its ideals and its objective are exploiting this situation. We feel that a policy of the American Federation of Labor in this convention has adopted or will adopt a resolution criticizing a clergyman because he dares to organize an independent union, contrary to the procedure recommended by the American Federation of Labor in the form of organization that it recommends for that industry. Rather should the American Federation of Labor condemn itself for its own short-sighted policy and for creating gratuitously a situation that will be a source of weakness to the well being of their membership."

# FACTIONALISM GUIDES C.P. UNION APPROACH

In its trade union policy the Communist Party stands today at a real parting of the ways. The old course, in all its traditional, frozen rigidity, is smashed beyond repair but the fragments still serve as sources of virulent infection. Hesitant and uncertain moves are being made in the direction of a sounder policy but the efforts are being vitiated by the heritage of the past, by new opportunistic excesses, by the narrow factional approach of the party leadership. The eyes of large numbers of progressive workers are on the C.P. If it proves, not merely in words but in acts, its readiness to make a clean break with the past and disavows its old errors in a frank and self-critical manner, so as to render impossible any future relapse into dual unionism; if it shows itself able to curb its dangerous opportunistic tendencies; if it meets a real effort to rise above factional considerations and act in the interests of the movement as a whole—then fruitful collaboration in the unions should be possible. But if, on the contrary, the hopes of those who have been waiting for a genuine trade union unity and a united progressive movement are now to be disappointed thru the political blunders or factional blindness of the party leadership, then the C.P. is heading for a situation even more disastrous than that brought about by seven years of the ultra-left madness. It now lies within the power of the party membership to determine which course it shall be.

# production industries. I want an answer from the convention of the America Federation of Labor, I represent a group that are not satisfied with the program from the Executive Council. When I get the answer in the form of a decision from this convention, then I will know that the question is settled, that then the question of the American Federation of Labor is not going to attempt to serve in any modern, practical way the needs and the requirements of the men in the steel industry and other industries similarly situated.

"The organization I represent has an interest in this question. Our people work in a great basic industry, basic in its service to the American people and the economic and commercial processes of the nation. They struggle against great odds and against great influence, and the intensity of their struggle and the weight of their burden is greatly increased by reason of the fact that the American Federation of Labor has not organized the steel industry and a few industries similarly situated."

"How long does any one think the United Mine Workers of America will stay satisfied with that policy. In Pennsylvania now, where the United Mine Workers of America is struggling, Sheet and Tube is trying to starve my people to death there is liable to be an extension of that conflict to take in other companies, and the United Mine Workers are calling now, and have been calling upon the American Federation of Labor, to put men and organizers and money into the iron and steel industry and to tell these arrogant steel barons to yield to the principles of collective bargaining in that industry."

"If you go there with your craft union they will now you down like the Italian machine guns now down the Ethiopians in the war now going on in that country; they will now you down and laugh while they are doing it and ridicule you. They will now you down, ridicule your lack of ordinary business sagacity in running your own affairs, because of the cavilling in your own councils and the feebleness of your methods."

# STRONG MUST HELP WEAK

"What are we going to do about it? Admittedly, men and women of labor, we haven't been successful. Admittedly, we have a year non-success in our burden, it has encouraged our adversaries, it has brought us into deep trouble. Then why not each make a contribution? The labor movement is organized upon a principle that the strong shall help the weak. That principle of the organization of America is American, that the strong shall help the weak. The strong man in many industries perhaps can get along comfortably without a labor organization to protect him, but for every privilege he arrogates to himself because of his strength, he deprives some individual less strong than he of that privilege, and he profits only at the expense of someone more weak than he is."

"And, whereas, today the craft unions of this country may be able to stand upon their own feet and like mighty oaks stand before the gale, defy the lightning, yet the day may come when this changed scheme of things—and things are changing rapidly now—the day may come when those organizations will not be able to withstand the lightning and the gale. Now, prepare yourselves by making a contribution to your less fortunate brethren, heed this cry from Macedonia that comes from the heart of the unorganized, the unorganized and in so doing you make the American Federation of Labor the great instrumentalities that has ever been forged in the history of modern civilization to befriend the cause of humanity and champion human rights."

# UNORGANIZED WEIGH UPON MINERS

"Consequently, the members of the Resolutions Committee who present to you this minority report are presenting their views in the hope that there will be a clarification of this issue, so that all and sundry may know the answer to the burning question in industry in America—the question of whether or not the American Federation of Labor is going to organize industrial unions in the mass

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## At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

A first class comic artist could do a swell job in preparing "funnies" based on "good neighbor" talks of President Roosevelt and his cabinet members. What struck us as particularly ludicrous in this respect was the speech delivered by Secretary of War George H. Dern at a luncheon in Japan, attended amongst others by General Araki the imperialist butcher of Manchuria.

This angel of peace, Mr. Dern, alighted in Tokio en route to the Philippines where an American General MacArthur has just taken over command of the Filipino armed forces. At the luncheon War Secretary Dern was all aflutter about the glowing friendship between the U. S. and Japan. But while Dern talks, his government is feverishly preparing the unavoidable conflict in the Pacific. Naval maneuvers are on daily. Small islands are being grabbed by Uncle Sam weekly, even under protest of Great Britain.

The silliness of Dern's ventures was thus immediately revealed by the official spokesman for the Japanese Minister of War Yasunuki Kawashima: We engaged in "purely friendly talks in which no serious problems were discussed." Apparently Japanese war preparations have already reached that stage in which cabinet officers can afford to speak a bit more frankly.

THE Conservative Party in England is playing smart politics these days in calling for a general election a year ahead of time. Recent months have seen an ebbing of the Labor Party tide. The latter, however, is due not so much to the clever strokes of the Baldwins and MacDonaldis as to the poor moves of the British Labor Party chieftains. The position of the Labor Party on the question of sanctions against Italy is indistinguishable from the stand of the Conservatives. This is especially costly to Labor in view of the primacy of the war crisis in the minds of the English people these days. Besides, in the realm of social and economic demands, the Laborites have been swinging to the right, becoming more feeble and futile. At the same time, the Conservatives have hypocritically begun to talk of "social services." "Don't swap horses in the midst of a turbulent stream" will probably be Baldwin's battletory.

Moreover we have a hunch that the top leaders of the Labor Party and the trade unions are really afraid of being elected to office just now. They would prefer being a numerically bigger opposition and thus be able to bargain with the ruling clique better. A more disastrous road than this Labor could not choose—especially in these distressful days and decisive hours.

BORAH'S attempt to line up the Republican branch of the Roosevelt family for an anti-monopoly platform in the coming presidential contest has so far failed. We stress so far simply because, ludicrous as it may appear for the G.O.P. to pose as an opponent of monopolies, there is still a likelihood that, in despair for an issue, the Old Guard may yield to Borah's appeal.

Moreover, the coming months will witness the acceleration and an extension of government efforts to speed up the trend towards concentration of capital. This will undoubtedly cause some resentment amongst the lower middle classes. Consequently, the Fletchers, the Millises, the Knoxes and Wadsworths should not be brushed aside as potential self-proclaimed salvationists of the ever more depressed middle layers of our society. All of this may be sheer hypocrisy, but from the point of view of vote-catching it might not be such had strategy, when one considers the low common denominator of political intelligence prevailing in the ranks of the middle class in the United States.

With what energy the Roosevelt administration is laboring to hasten industrial and financial concentration is revealed in the recently announced campaign of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, to eliminate "weak" banks from its membership as well as from the country's banking system. Thus, will the biggest banks be boosted and the smallest ones be legally wiped out. The very existence of American industry today demands such "sanitation" steps by the government. And in the execution of these steps the little fellow will pay increasingly and the biggest magnate will collect most heavily.

THE financial experts of the biggest metropolitan dailies and the outstanding editors of the best standing financial sheets have for the past two weeks been hunting for an explanation of why Morgan took a loss of 45 million dollars when the Van Sweringen interests "reclaimed" their railroad empire. Somehow we have the notion that these people are bluffing when they tell us there is no mystery attached to it. We have a hunch that the whole transaction was primarily bookkeeping in character to enable Morgan to save a pile of money in his income tax payments by chalking up a 45 million dollar loss.

## Books of the Age

By Bertram D. Wolfe

**SAMUEL GOMPERS**, by Roland Hill Harvey. Stanford University Press. 376 pp., \$3.75.

The social philosophy of Samuel Gompers is admirably expressed in a quotation in this book from the testimony of his close collaborator Ira Strasser before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in 1883. It is worth quoting in full:

QUESTION: You are seeking to improve home matters first?

ANSWER: Yes sir, I look first to the trade I represent; look first to cigars, the interest of men who employ me to represent their interest.

CHAIRMAN: I was only asking you in regard to your ultimate ends.

WITNESS: We have no ultimate ends. We are going on from day to day. We are fighting only for immediate objects—objects that can be realized in a few years.

CHAIRMAN: I see you are a little sensitive lest it should be thought that you are a mere theorizer. I do not look upon you in that light at all.

WITNESS: Well, we say in our Constitution that we are opposed to theorists. We are all practical men.

Therein lies the sum and substance of the hard-headed, pure-and-simple, craft-conscious, job-conscious, but in the deeper sense of the term class-conscious Gompers school of trade unionism. It explains the strength of Gompers: why he and his federation won out over the Knights-of-Labor and Socialist and Socialist Labor critics in the period when American political theory in the working class was largely middle-class reformism and subjection to it meant inevitable swallowing up by middle class reform politicians, when contempt for theory was indigenous, when the great monopolies in process of formation were crushing all organization in the basic industries but leaving petty, skilled craft trades like barbering, cigar-making etc. relatively unscathed, when monopoly and world expansion were causing a rapid upswing of American capitalism and conditions were unfavorable for the development of an indigenous revolutionary outlook. At the same time, it explains the lack of vision of the Gompers-inspired leadership, its fanatic narrowness, its inability to adapt itself to the period of capitalist decline and the beginnings of American mass radicalization, its opportunism and its inevitable decay until it was to find itself devoting more energy to fighting the development of a militant philosophy in its own ranks than to fighting capitalism, treacherously tying labor to the war chariot of imperialism in the world war, desperately fighting to preserve "American," i.e. capitalist, institutions and the capitalist system against the basic interests of its own followers and class, and bitterly opposing the most important needs of its membership, industrial unionism, solidarity strikes and independent political action, and the most important achievement of the working class in human history, the Russian Revolution. "Going on from day to day" with "no ultimate ends" inevitably means a failure to perceive the relationship of each step to the distant goal, to the line of march, a loss of the road, eventually steps in the wrong direction, inevitable opportunist blunder, corruption and decay. Seeing only the distant goal, not knowing how to take the first steps, provided the sectarian visionary De Leonite opposition current, the impotent opposite pole to Gompersism in the labor movement of the 90's and first decade of the 20th century. The difficult synthesis of each practical step and the line of march towards our ultimate goal, is only painfully being worked out today by the progressive movement and above all in the trade union line of the Communist Opposition.

Professor Harvey is a not unworthy biographer for Samuel Gompers. His biography is full, detailed, factual, pedestrian, in the main carefully documented, somewhat critical of the archaic in Gompers' political philosophy and craft unionism but with no less an ignorance of the real significance of the labor movement and the class struggle in the closing period of capitalism and the fundamentals of capitalist economics. Despite his minor criticisms he is essentially Gompers' apologist and defender, for major criticisms he is incapable of making. Therefore the book gets weaker and weaker as its hero deteriorates. But it remains well documented and factual to the end. It is the best extant biography of Gompers, and the Marxist reader will know how to supply the missing interpretation of underlying forces and the missing fundamental critique.

## British Labor Talks on Force

(Continued from Page 2)

help it . . . If the police could not handle the situation the military would have to be called in. If a Labor government and democracy was similarly threatened by unconstitutional revolutionary force, would it not be his duty to instruct the forces of the state to resist? . . . Democratic governments that will not defend their authority die."

How clear it all is, so clear because we've heard the same strain before. Has the abstract shibboleth of democracy ever been more viciously used to cover up the naked class content of the bourgeois state, nay more, to defend it, be its watchdog against the revolutionary right to smash it in the interests of those oppressed by that state who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population.

As to the German experience, Comrade Morrison, it is not quite true that the "democratic" government did not attempt to defend its authority. It did, against the workers. Remember how Zorgiebel shot them down in the name of the very same constitutional force which you now invoke? And that was quite logical because it was a bourgeois state whose dirty work he was doing against its hereditary class enemy, the proletariat. And you are advocating the self-same thing today. Curious, however, that the same unconstitutional force was not used against the Fascists when they were pressing forward to power. Yet perhaps not so curious seeing that the economic, the class interests behind the Fascist state and the bourgeois state are identical.

**WHAT'S GOOD FOR RUSSIA IS GOOD FOR US**

"Should Communist Russia disarm?" you ask. "I can hear Lenin laughing in his tomb at the very idea," you answer your own question. "The Bolsheviks are not going to resign their power to capitalism."

That's right. But why do you make use of this argument? Now I'll answer my own question. To prove that therefore our, i.e. your democratic-capitalist

Furthermore, it appears to us silly that even in these bargain days of American capitalism railroad empires should be secured for a paltry few million dollars. It is hard for us to believe anything else but that this puzzle unravels itself in the following manner: Any time the Morgan interests want they can grab back this empire. At the same time the Morgan crew actually cleans up a few million dollars thru the skillful fabrication of a bookkeeping deficit and legitimized evasion of heavy tax payment.

portunism and its inevitable decay until it was to find itself devoting more energy to fighting the development of a militant philosophy in its own ranks than to fighting capitalism, treacherously tying labor to the war chariot of imperialism in the world war, desperately fighting to preserve "American," i.e. capitalist, institutions and the capitalist system against the basic interests of its own followers and class, and bitterly opposing the most important needs of its membership, industrial unionism, solidarity strikes and independent political action, and the most important achievement of the working class in human history, the Russian Revolution. "Going on from day to day" with "no ultimate ends" inevitably means a failure to perceive the relationship of each step to the distant goal, to the line of march, a loss of the road, eventually steps in the wrong direction, inevitable opportunist blunder, corruption and decay. Seeing only the distant goal, not knowing how to take the first steps, provided the sectarian visionary De Leonite opposition current, the impotent opposite pole to Gompersism in the labor movement of the 90's and first decade of the 20th century. The difficult synthesis of each practical step and the line of march towards our ultimate goal, is only painfully being worked out today by the progressive movement and above all in the trade union line of the Communist Opposition.

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government (God save the King's crown) should also not disarm itself in the face of its enemies. And its enemies are your enemies. Thus it becomes clear where you stand and which state you are worried about. You cannot finally resist, the attempt to draw an ethical, religious halo around your position.

"Those who take the sword perish by the sword." (The shades of Lansbury still dance, too resignedly). Personally I'm a little reticent myself about applying biblical shibboleths to historical events. History has quite a rude habit of disappointing abstract expectations. If you mean by the symbol sword, revolution, well, perhaps. Revolutions aren't guaranteed success in advance. But if there's one thing that the German and Austrian events made clear it is that those are much more likely to perish by the sword who, because of abstract, ethical religious or democratic inhibitions, reject the taking of the sword when their enemies have no such naive inhibition. But after all, why talk about the lessons of history. If you could understand them you would not be where you are.

## United Shoe Union Makes Progress

(Continued from Page 2)

national campaign will precede the voting.

Murphy the head of the Brockton Brotherhood seems to be blocking progress by picking individual quarrels and by raising the red scare to cover his opposition to amalgamation. Lately, however, it has been reported that so great is the pressure from the rank and file that he is dropping his opposition and is falling in line.

The opposition to the A. F. of L. which existed among the shoe workers for years (because of the Boot & Shoe) was absent at this convention. On the contrary a strong sentiment is developing for affiliation with the A. F. of L. It is now up to the progressive forces in the union to utilize this sentiment and bring about unity of all shoe unions inside the A. F. of L.

**JOIN  
the  
Communist Opposition**  
51 West 14th Street  
New York City

## REVIEW of WEEK

(Continued from Page 1)

World War, by a too-greedy descent upon China; but who is going to resent any advantage they take of Soviet Russia? And who would come to her rescue? It is indeed hard to think of any answer to such queries that would be reassuring to the Muscovite or discouraging to the Japanese imperialist."

## JAPAN PLANS CAPTURE OF NORTHERN CHINA

While the Swatow incident, in which the Japanese refused to pay a tax on rice, is being settled in favor of the Japanese—judging by the number of Japanese war ships blocking the port—trouble now brews elsewhere.

In conjunction with the meeting of the leading lights of the Kuomintang Party, Japanese military authorities meeting in Dairen have worked out new demands upon Nanking. The cry of the Japanese is that the Nanking Government of Chiang Kai-shek is not cooperating sufficiently with Japan and with the bluntness which has become typical of Japanese diplomacy in China, the military chiefs have declared that if Nanking does not stop anti-Japanese agitation Japan will cause North China to secede.

There is always some talk of resistance to such announcements of the Japanese General Staff but since negotiations are about to begin with Chiang Kai-shek a "settlement" may be expected. The Japanese have found him neither stubborn nor unreasonable where selling out Chinese interests are concerned.

## FATHER COUGHLIN BOWS TO ROOSEVELT

It has become known that the numerous rumors following the Hyde Park conference between President Roosevelt and the Radio Priest that an agreement had been reached, were mainly correct. Father Coughlin has already given up his headquarters in Washington, D. C. and the liquidation of the League of Social Justice is under way. It is believed that the murder of Huey Long has had considerable to do with this decision since it made impossible the combination of the forces of these two arch-dema-gogs.

Of course the surrender of the Father is being accounted for in various ways, the most popular reason being that Father Coughlin was suddenly stricken with fear at the Frankenstein he created and has determined to hastily destroy it before it does any harm. However, hard boiled politicians, to whom a priestly cassock means little, have posed that short but ugly question: How much?

## RECORD GRAIN HARVEST IN SOVIET UNION

Soviet farmers are being hailed thru-out the Soviet Union for accomplishing a hitherto impossible task. A record wheat crop, estimated as Russia's greatest, of over one hundred million tons has been brought in and delivered to the State grain elevators a full month ahead of schedule.

This victory is being attributed, in the Soviet press, to the mastering of modern machinery in agriculture.

## SUPREME COURT SAY NO TO MOONEY, HERNDON

The Supreme Court continues its reactionary course in a large number of decisions recently made public. Among these was the refusal of the Court to grant Thomas J. Mooney a hearing, insisting that the case must go thru all the California Courts. It also turned down a plea for a hearing in the case of Angelo Herndon, sentenced to 18 years in a Georgia court for Communist activities.

While refusing to interfere with a number of laws rammed thru the Louisiana State Legislature by the late Huey Long to give himself dictatorial powers, and closing its eyes to protests against the reorganization of the Van-Sweringen-Allegheeny Corporation (in which the Sweringens came back to power in the railroad industry) by unconsulted and cleaned-out stockholders, it was quick to grant a hearing to companies interested in collecting on certain assets of Russian Corporations under the Czarist regime. Large amounts of Russian money are thereby held up pending decision.

## NAZIS HOLD STRENGTH IN MEMEL ELECTION

After weeks of speculation the vote for the Memel Diet has at last been announced and it turns out that the Nazis and the Lithuanians have fought each other to a standstill. Neither side gained in the balloting, the Nazis retaining their 24 seats and the Lithuanians their 5.

It is expected however that Nazi German, which has placed the return of Memel as its next task, will utilize the present disturbed situation in Europe for its own ends. It is believed that when the Diet convenes on October 28 it will express its lack of confidence in the present (Lithuanian) directorate, will demand the annulment of many Lithuanian decrees and will insist on its unrestricted operation.

## TRADE UNION NOTES

One would think, in the light of all that has happened in recent trade union developments that the C.P. brain-trusters would be more cautious in their pronouncements dealing with their past misbehavior. One would suppose that after George Dimitroff stated that the course of building new unions brought ruin and disaster to the communist movement the local moguls would take this broad hint immediately, but such is decidedly not the case.

## OLGIN STILL LAGS BEHIND

And so we find M. J. Olgin justifying dual unionism in the columns of the Jewish Daily Freiheit of October 17, 1935. Discussing the situation in the miners union, he goes on to say:

"We organized a separate miners union when Lewis expelled the militant miners from the United Mine Workers and brought the union practically to ruin with his policies of class collaboration. We needed the left miners union to show the masses how the struggle against the bosses should be conducted. But when 1933 came and we saw that 60,000 miners are striking against Roosevelt's 'New Deal' and against Lewis' wish and stand firm as a wall even though they do not accept a Communist program, this alone was enough to show us that we must be with the striking miners and we merged the left union into the United Mine Workers Union."

A complete justification of the whole suicidal course of dual unionism. And also please note the remarkable faculty of the Communist Party to feel the pulse of the masses—really something to write to Moscow about—it took only 60,000 miners to convince Olgin & Co. that the miners did not give a damn for the left miners union.

And now with Comrade Olgin's permission one or two little questions: (1) How many strikes did you win while showing the masses "how the struggle against the bosses should be conducted"? You might also mention how many workers were blacklisted and driven out of the industry as a result of your left miners union. (2) If the left union resulted from expulsions alone and not because of a general attitude towards the reformist unions are you then in favor of organizing dual unions in the future if the same conditions were to recur?

## MUDDLE ON A FRENCH SCALE

Now let's hop across the herring pond, as they say over there, and see how things have gone with the problem of trade union unity. We note for instance that the Congress of the C.G.T. (French reformist trade unions) officially took action on the unity question in the form of a resolution of which the first paragraph reads as follows:

"The Congress approved with satisfaction the agreement achieved by the delegation of the Federation, and declares in a formal and categorical fashion that fractions and the work of fractions in the trade union movement are to be condemned and that unity must be built upon the basis of complete trade union independence."

This was submitted to a delegation of the C.G.T.U. (C.P.-trade union center) which sheepishly proposed that "THE CONDEMNATION OF FRACTIONS AND THE AFFIRMATION OF TRADE UNION INDEPENDENCE SHOULD BE FORMULATED IN A LESS BLUNT FASHION . . ." (Both excerpts from the Daily Worker of Sunday October 13).

The meaning is clear—the C.P. recognized defeat and proposed that the resolution does not rub it in quite so hard. So far so good. But how amazed were we to read a Pravda editorial, as reprinted in the Freiheit of October 17, saying:

"The revolutionary trade unions of France and the French Communists have also agreed to the condition of the General Federation of Labor, that there shall be no Communist fractions in the new united trade unions. They have in this case acted not like scholastics, not like schematists, but like proletarian activists, like fighters of the working class, knowing that inner trade union democracy will assure the supporters of the class struggle a possibility of influencing the masses without a formal recognition of communist fractions."

Read once more the excerpt from the C.G.T. resolution and tell us whether you consider "without formal recognition of communist fractions" as an accurate estimate of the resolution. As if any trade union had ever recognized formally communist fractions. It is clear that it is an attempt to turn a defeat into a victory. Indeed, what Karl Marx once said of the bourgeois Democrats of his day applies with equal strength to the C.P. today. They seem to be able to emerge from the severest defeat with a look of triumph on their face.

If only Lenin were able today to see these puppets swaggering at the head of the various Communist Parties—the Olgins, Browders et al—he would repeat yet another remark of Marx—I HAVE SOWN DRAGONS AND I REAP FLEAS.

GEORGE F. MILES.