

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 3

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1936.

5 Cents a Copy

TOM MOONEY PROPOSED FOR PRESIDENT

General Dress Strike Possible As Negotiations Drag

Preparations for General Strike Must Go On, Says Hochman; Union Will Not Negotiate Too Long

Before an enthusiastic and impatient crowd of 5 000 shop chairmen packed into Manhattan Opera, Julius Hochman, Manager of the Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, pledged that no settlement will be concluded without the inclusion of the three main fighting issues: Limitation of contracting, Settlement on jobber's premises and the unit system for computing earnings.

Negotiations, said Hochman, were proceeding with the Popular Price Group (Jobbers) and with the Inter-State Association (Contractors). However the agreement is still verbal and the drafting of the agreement clause by clause is now in progress. Despite this it is still possible that even these may balk at the final formulations on which the union will insist. It is therefore mandatory that all strike preparations must go on so that we are not caught unprepared by the employers.

Hochman expressed the belief that if an agreement were to be signed with the Popular Price and the Inter-State, the possibility is that the remaining three associations would rapidly fall in line.

In the meanwhile he called upon the workers to stay in the shops, even tho the agreement has expired. He is confident, he said, that the dressmakers are disciplined and sufficiently alert to maintain conditions in the shops for the short time that there is no agreement.

"After all it is your strength and alertness which makes the employers live up to their agreements."

"The union plans to exhaust every possibility of securing an agreement without a strike. A strike is no picnic. But we will not delay matters too long. That's why we refused to extend the present agreement for two weeks. We want to have our hands free. If the employers continue to delay action then we will have a general strike."

Your job now, he concluded, is stay in the shops on guard against any monkey business by the employers and answer the call of the union.

President Dubinsky, reminded the employers of their sad experience in 1916 when they thought they could wipe out the union. With biting sarcasm he referred to them as "cockroach bosses" and "bedroom magnates." They, he said, want to establish the same relation between capital and labor as exists in the steel industry. Warning the contractors and jobbers that their arrogance may be costly to them he held out the additional threat that if necessary the union will resort to independent settlements in order to curb their stubbornness.

The meeting was a tremendous demonstration of the strength of the union. Dubinsky, Hochman, Antonini, Zimmerman and others received an ovation when they entered the hall. At the conclusion of the meeting the vote on the approval of the motion, to endorse the negotiations and to pledge to the committee that the membership is ready for action at any moment, was adopted with thunderous applause.

TELEGRAM SENT TO TOM MOONEY

Thomas J. Mooney
San Quentin, Cal.

Communist Opposition proposing to Socialist, Communist Parties, trade unions, united labor ticket 1936 election as step towards political unity of labor. We propose your candidacy for President on that ticket because of your heroic record, devotion to labor, because your case dramatizes need of labors political unity, because you alone free from factional ties and recognized and admired by all sections progressive and radical labor.

We hope you will show characteristic devotion cause of labor and agree to use of your name if adequate support forthcoming. Campaign would enormously aid in our fight for your release and compel all presidential candidates take stand on Mooney case. Wire your attitude collect. Comradely greetings,

Jay Lovestone.

Communist Opposition Places Proposal Before The Communist and Socialist Executives

"Mooney for President!" This is the essence of the proposal which the Communist Opposition released to all the papers this past Saturday, incorporated in a letter which the CPO was submitting for decision to the Socialist and Communist Parties. (See page 4)

"The sharp fight of the Liberty League and Republican Party against Roosevelt," said Bertram D. Wolfe at the press conference, "does not make the Roosevelt administration a champion of labor." Considering the endorsement of Roosevelt by the United Mine Workers

MINERS SUPPORT LEWIS IN FIGHT

Three resolutions of major importance were passed during this week of the UMWA convention in Washington. Swept along by the strong tide of the administration's proposals, the 1700 delegates of the miners voted to endorse the Committee for Industrial Organization, Roosevelt for President, and legislation curbing the powers of the Supreme Court.

The greatest support and the loudest cheering went to the resolution supporting industrial unionism. The sharpness of Lewis' attitude toward the executive council was sweet music to the delegates. In presenting the officer's report, Murray threatened a split if the A. F. of L. did not endorse industrial unionism, saying "the sooner we get the hell away from them (the A. F. of L.) the better." While these secession threats are of great seriousness, it must be realized that at present they serve better as a sword to hang over the head of the Council. The sentiment of the miners was indicated by the resolution empowering the officers to suspend payment of the \$48,000 monthly per capita to the A. F. of L. "when the situation warranted." This was passed, while another resolution asking that Green be withdrawn as delegate of the UMWA is still pending action.

Coupling the Supreme Court attitude towards NRA legislation with Al Smith's speech, Lewis let loose with a sweeping indictment of the Liberty Leaguers, Bourbons and Tories, and swung the convention

(Continued on Page 3)

MINERS REJECT GREEN PLEA

Wm. Green made a long, and clever speech at the UMWA convention, harping for the main part not on the issue of craft vs. industrialism, but upon dualism and the dangers of secession.

The charters of the crafts were "solemn covenants," Green maintained, and until a convention of the A. F. of L. voted otherwise he as president, was bound to recognize the craft unions. He took time to show how industrial unionism in the past had always been connected with dualism, and implied that the Committee for Industrial Organization, by its very nature, is an organization rivalling the A. F. of L. Above all Green stressed the necessity of abiding by majority decision, begged the UMWA not to split but to agitate for its position only at conventions. The CIO, he declared, must be dissolved lest the trade union movement find itself divided.

Green tried to convince the delegates that his record in the labor movement was spotless. From this he got the result he wanted. The resolution to withdraw him as UMWA delegate was killed.

Lewis responded in dramatic form. Accusing Green of presenting an ultimatum, he presented these questions to the convention. First, how many believed that the CIO should be dissolved? One delegate stood up. How many believed that the UMWA policies should be carried out? All the delegates arose, amid cheering.

FUR WORKERS TO RATIFY PACT

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Thousands of fur workers streamed out of the shops last Wednesday afternoon at 3 P. M. to make up one of the most impressive demonstrations of solidarity that the fur market has seen in a long time. The call came from the Joint Council Fur Workers Union which had worked out a list of demands to the manufacturers Association and was ready to submit these demands for approval to the membership.

Cooper Union, to which the workers were called was rapidly filled and Manhattan Lyceum had to be taken to accommodate the many hundreds of workers who continued to come. Speeches of Gold, Sorkin, Begoon and others outlining the strike demands were enthusiastically received and the

(Continued on Page 2)

WE ARE HEWING TO THE LINE

By JAY LOVESTONE

Last week we made a promise to you. We pledged ourselves not to beg you for money. We made our pledge on a practical basis. We did so, because begging did not get us as fast and as far as we wanted to, hoped to and expected to get. We hope to get better results by hewing to the line of practicability.

But what's the use of our talking about ourselves all the time. In the last resort, it's not we that count. It's you—it's the readers that count. It's you who hold the fate of the Workers Age in your hands. Now you have an eight-page paper. What are you going to do with it?

Are you going to maintain, to continue the weekly in its present size. Are you going to do your share towards its becoming a more effective paper. Are you going to pitch in to help make it possible for the Workers Age to give you the low-down, months in advance,

on the big and world-significant political battles now in the making in the U. S.? Will you do your bit to make sure that we should be on the job in the great and inspiring labor struggles ahead of us?

We feel that all we have to do is to pose these questions. There

is but one answer you can and will give. YES—YES—in capital letters many meters high and in a volume big enough to drown out our deficit with the printer, the landlord and others with whom we must have strict business relationships.

But some of you may think and say to yourselves: "Ah, what's the use? Suppose I give \$5 or \$10 towards carrying on the struggle inside of Germany and Austria against Hitler and the Heimwehr. That's so little that it means even nothing serious to me. Then, how could that little seriously affect the lives and struggles of the anti-Fascist forces over there."

(Continued on Page 2)

GOODS IN PLENTY USSR ADS SHOW

The Soviet Press has begun to resort to extensive advertising of various commodities—especially food stuffs. This situation contrasts very favorably with those times, not so very long ago, when there were still restricted supplies and these distributed on the basis of food cards.

The various distributing agencies have resorted to advertising as a method of acquainting the Russian masses with the varied foods with which the stores are plentifully stocked.

SCOTSBORO CASE NEEDS FUNDS

Rapidly attempting to cover up all facts in the Powell shooting, the officials of the county have systematically spread the brazen lie of an "escape plot." No one is satisfied by this story, save the officials themselves; the obviously fantastic nature of their concoction is already making it clear that some sort of "legal" lynching was planned.

Perhaps no more angering statement exists than the complacent approval given by Governor Graves of Alabama to the action of the sheriff in shooting Ozzie Powell. "The officers did their full duty and are to be commended for handling a most delicate and deplorable situation in an efficient manner." Here is class justice with a vengeance!

Protests have been pouring in from individuals and organizations, running from demands for a Congressional investigation to immediate action against the "officers of the law" involved. Liebowitz, leading attorney for the defense issued a statement, reading in part, "Does the sheriff of Morgan County claim that these three Negroes shackled together in the rear seat of a rapidly moving automobile... with two men in that automobile armed to the teeth, this car preceded... and followed by a car with armed guards, and with state highway patrolmen as an escort, did attempt to escape by using a penknife?"

This vicious attack on the Scottsboro boys, an example of "justice" as dispensed in the South, must be answered by the mobilization of all forces for the defense of these boys.

FUR WORKERS TO RATIFY PACT

(Continued from Page 1)

masses of fur workers showed themselves ready to tackle the fur bosses in the fight for better conditions.

The agreement expires on January 24 and unsuccessful negotiations for a new agreement had been proceeding for some time. The following are the chief demands for which the union is fighting:

1. Equal division of work and no discharge.
2. An increase of 25%.
3. Only one employer to work; no more than union hours.
4. Workers to be employed thru the union.
5. Special provisions to secure elderly workers.
6. Floor boys and shipping clerks shall have the right to organize, work shorter hours and a \$20 minimum.
7. Only such employers as employ at least 5 workers of all crafts shall be eligible for membership in the Ass'n.
8. Only skins processed in union shops, bearing a union label, shall be used in shops, and skins coming from Germany shall not be worked upon in our shops.
9. The Association shall be responsible for the out of town shops; the employers violating the contract shall be fined.
10. Overtime and contracting shall be abolished.

Smith, Borah, Talmadge, Start Campaign Fireworks Against F.D.

ALFRED E. SMITH



The past week has seen a series of political explosions that are obviously more profound in significance than previous fights for the juicy plums of office. The holy trinity of Talmadge, the wailing of Smith, the tepid nonentities of Landon, and the ghostly voice of Borah, denote the deep, but not fundamental, division in the ranks of the ruling class.

Most startling was the frenzied hysteria of the Southern Democrats, assembled at Macon, Ga. Talmadge, who prefers to be called "Gene," is of the school of Huey Long, and, undoubtedly has all the characteristics of a potential fascist.

Huey Long, for example, managed to oppress the Negroes in the time honored manner of Southern Democracy. But the crisis has advanced since Huey's day, with the result that outstanding features of the Macon Conference were a special leaflet accusing Roosevelt of Negro "uplift" activities, long bloodthirsty speeches by known Klansmen against "niggers" and "white communists in the White House," and, under cover of "States' Rights" an attack on the Wagner-Costigan Lynching Bill.

The Macon Conference included a program calling for the long lost plank of 25% reduction in expenditures, undoubtedly thru the curtailment of relief; Secondly, a high tariff for agriculture. These two features are mentioned not merely because of their reactionary and sectional character, but also because Talmadge, representing discontented masses, has a program coinciding with Al Smith's, which openly represents finance capital. Of such a combination is fascism made.

Much hullabaloo has been made over Smith's so-called "desertion" from the common people to the bankers. Such notions of "class-betrayal" are of course sheer nonsense. He represents the other side of the Talmadge coin, the disagreement of certain capitalist elements with Roosevelt as to where the best interests of the bourgeoisie lie, and as to whether the emergency period is over.

But the Republicans are also divided. To a great extent, they had lost their mass following in 1932, and to win Al Smith to their point of view does not compensate for the general unpopularity of their programme. The controllers of the Party, best represented by the Herald-Tribune, gleefully play up all revivals in the Democratic Party, including Talmadge's lynching program.

Borah, who is supposed to be a kind of liberal, was soundly scored for his opposition to the anti-Lynch Bill, at a recent appearance in New York. Once upon a time, Borah represented the petty-bourgeois point of view, but today he only presents its confusion—he is for "thinking things over." Just as the New Deal was to present a kind of modified and reformed capitalism, so Borah seems to stretch out towards a kind of modified and reformed New Deal.

stricken masses, in that he believes in taking over certain of the battle-cries of the workers' and farmers' and remolding them in the interests of the exploiters. He has not failed in some of the most important tasks of a capitalist statesman: making powerful the military forces of the government, personally averting decisive labor battles (auto and coal), placing the national guard at the disposal of the employer, laying the basis of a war dictatorship by concentrating power in the hands of the executive and sparing no efforts in planning a "national mobilization."

One of the peculiarities of American development has injected itself into the present situation with a vengeance. The absence of a workers' party on class lines, has forced much deeper rents in the political cloak, because the instinctive demands of the working-class seek expression thru the existing boss parties. Only to a small extent is the Labor Party being organized.

Secondly, when these issues were fought out between the sections of the European bourgeoisie, about fifty years ago, the liberal wing which stood for concession, was in most cases a democratic wing, that is, really progressive. Today, Roosevelt represents reaction, the class interests of the bourgeoisie, as faithfully, and more cleverly than his bourgeois opponents. The danger, as exemplified by the action of the UMWA, lies in seeing Roosevelt as a real champion of the masses. On every single question, especially that of the burden of taxation, the interests of the workers are sharply opposed to the plans of Roosevelt.

M. S. M.

We Are Hewing to the Line

(Continued from Page 1)

Frankly, there is some merit to this line of reasoning on your part. However, there are a few little things you overlook when you don't make your contribution on such grounds. First of all, we grant that poor as you may be, hard hit as you have been by the crisis, yet a five or ten dollar donation won't make you seriously poorer, won't make your lot more unbearable. On the other hand, a five or ten dollar bill from you—and many more like you—means a big boost, a very big boost, to the comrades, to the proletarians fighting against the blackest monstrosity that was ever inflicted on humanity—the Nazi regime.

We are no high pressure salesmen. Nor do we want to resort to the slightest misrepresentation. We believe in and rely on cold unchallengeable facts. TEN DOLLARS from you or your shopmate or your friend or your comrade or your wife means a full week's existence and activity—full time—for a comrade in Germany or Austria. It means that you have made it possible to cheat, at least for a week, the Hitler headhopper, to rob the Nazi jailer, of one victim. It means that you have hit Fascism

On the LABOR FRONT

SHARE-CROPPERS FIGHT TERROR

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union reports heavy casualties in Arkansas. Scores of families are being evicted from plantations; deputies flogged and clubbed women and children and shot two croppers in the back. Howard Kester, union organizer, narrowly averted lynching near Earle, Ark. when he was dragged from a church, where he was addressing 450 white and Negro croppers, and escorted over the county line. While protests on this incident poured into the White House, 100 men, women and children were evicted from the Dibble plantation in Cross County. Organized in 1934, the Union numbers more than 20,000 with 200 locals. The last A. F. of L. Convention pledged support to the Union; it should make good its pledge now.

BOOT & SHOE SMASHED IN MID-WEST

Testimony delivered before a regional labor board in St. Louis reveals that the A. A. Ahner strike-breaking agency was employed by the Brown Shoe Company to destroy locals of the Boot & Shoe Workers Union in branch plants scattered throughout small towns in Illinois, Missouri, Indiana and Tenn. Workers were forced to burn or return their union charters to headquarters. Threats to shut down, transfer production, shutting off of credit in stores, and slugging by mobs of small business men organized by rat Ahner, has practically wiped-out the Union in the Mid-West.

Despite Brown's preference for the Boot & Shoe through the NRA, despite the free hand in wage and hour matters guaranteed by the Union, when Brown felt that the unionization threat was over it could no longer stomach even the highly conservative Boot & Shoe.

PACIFIC SEAMEN'S CHARTER REVOKED

The Sailor's Union of the Pacific has had its charter revoked by the International Seaman's Union. The vote: 292 to 186. Three "crimes" were charged: membership in Maritime Federation; refusal to live up to I.S.U. agreements; refusal to reinstate Paul Scharenberg, recently expelled. A reorganized union obedient to the I.S.U. bureaucrats is planned for the west coast. The objective is to smash the growing might of the Maritime Federation, to destroy the Seaman's power on the west coast. Orders from the shipping czars dictated these latest outrages against the organized seamen.

A. F. OF L. DRIVE IN STEEL

At Miami A. F. of L. chieftains laid plans for organizing the 300,000 or more steel, iron and tin workers. Favorable opportunities loom in the company unions in steel. An international union charter was granted to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids numbering 6,000, the 11th international to be chartered by the A. F. of L. and the first of all-Negro membership.

A. F. of L.'s executive council plans an organization drive in the auto industry. On April 30, auto union members will elect their own officials to replace Francis J. Dillon, provisional president of the Union. The Auto Workers Union is to limit its efforts to enrolling production workers and to permit maintenance men, machinists and specialized crafts to join their own respective unions. Auto part workers are to fall under the jurisdiction of the International Machinist's Union.

THE PROGRAM OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

Comrade Leo is one of the leading comrades in the foreign committee of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) and is a member of the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition.—Editor.

By LEO

On the occasion of the July 14th demonstrations in 1935 which marked the first public appearance of the People's Front in France, a national committee was elected (Comite national d'organisation du rassemblement populaire pour le 14 juillet) consisting of representatives of the various organizations composing the People's Front. The very little was heard of this committee after July 14th, it remained in existence. It has just issued a program which has been agreed upon by all participating organizations and may, therefore, be regarded as the political program of the People's Front.

The national committee is composed of the following organizations among others: The Radical Party; the so-called "Union Socialiste et Republicaine" (an organization of parliamentary groups which split off from the Socialist Party because they were to the right. It in no way distinguishes itself from the Radical Socialist Party); the Socialist Party of France; the Communist Party of France; the C.G.T. (reformist trade union center); and the C.G.T.U. (red trade union center). The chairman of the national committee is Victor Basch who represents the League for Human Rights—an organization in which the Radical Socialists and the Social Democrats have for some time been working together on the basis of the maintenance of the bourgeois republic and pacifism. Thus the League for Human Rights is quite at home in the People's Front.

The program it is reported is the result of many months of discussion in the National Committee, thereby, we presume, asking for a high degree of respect for the results of their labor. In reality the new program is a true reflection of the People's Front policies within the last months—policies which actually hampered the development of a serious mass struggle against fascism in the defense of capital, by placing major emphasis on parliamentary nego-

tiations and blocs.

The fact that it took the leaders of the People's Front six months to draw up a program which is so equivocal and vague, which, in comparison, makes the usual reformist programs appear as ultra-revolutionary, which is nothing but a rehashing of old election slogans of the Radical Socialist Party, is further proof that the People's Front policy of the Communist Party of France is disastrous for the working class and for communism.

Who Will Suppress Whom?

Let us examine the demands of the program.

In the first paragraph under the heading "Defense of Freedom," the program demands, as part of the decisive struggle against fascism, "the disarmament and actual dissolution of the semi-military leagues according to the law" and furthermore, "the enactment of laws in case of murder or an attack on the state." We wish to cite an event which occurred a few days ago in order to prove how utterly disastrous it is to expect the defeat of fascism thru the application of our present laws (including the recent law on the dissolution of the Fascist leagues) by the bourgeoisie state. The Croix de Feu massacred workers at a demonstration in Limoges some time ago. The authorities have finally intervened. But let us see what they have done. The leaders of the labor demonstration, at which the fascists shot, have been brought to court by "republican" justice because they violated one of the emergency decrees which forbade unannounced demonstrations. At the time this emergency decree was passed it was intended as a measure against fascism. Today, it is invoked against the anti-fascists while the fascist murderers of Limoges go free. The bourgeois government and authorities will apply the law for the dissolution of the leagues in a similar manner. The demand put to the bourgeoisie state to prohibit fascist organizations acquires meaning only if at the same time the extra-parliamentary struggle of the workers against fascism is organized and broad anti-fascist defense organizations see to it that such a law is enforced. This, however, the People's Front has failed to do.

In addition, we find in the first section of the program such non-sensical demands, as the request for laws against the trustification of the press which if realized would prove as ineffective as the anti-trust legislation of America. Correct demands, such as the demand for a guaranty of the freedom of trade union organizations, are left out.

On the colonial question (which involves the fate of 60 million people subject to the worst oppression and exploitation) the program asks for a parliamentary committee to investigate the situation in the colonies. It is well-known, however, that parliamentary investigation committees have served the purpose of covering up the questions that proved the guilt of the bourgeoisie.

establishment of buying centers—thru a national department of wheat for example. Simultaneously, consumers' prices will be lowered by eliminating speculation. Very well said, but, unfortunately, past experiences has shown that whenever prices are raised in capitalist countries thru government buying centers the cost of living also rises. And moreover, such a policy discriminates against the worker and instead of aiding the small farmers it creates new difficulties for them.

The heavy debts of the farmers are not to be cancelled but to be "regulated." The creditors will rejoice at this.

Those who have savings accounts in banks are to be protected from the snares of finance capital thru "Instructions on the Duties of a Banker." This idea is a very, very old one and is wrong despite its venerable age.

Hodge-Podge of Pacifism

The second section of the program deals with the "Defense of Peace." It is a mechanical enumeration of bourgeois-pacifist demands in relation to the League of Nations. It is interesting to note that the Franco-Soviet pact is mentioned in a clause only and that, on the other hand, the program demands that negotiations be instituted in order to induce the nations who have left the League of Nations to return. The return of Hitler Germany to the League of Nations would not be a guaranty of peace but rather a strengthening of imperialist maneuvers opposed to peace within the League of Nations, thus making it very difficult for the Soviet Union to utilize the League for its peace policy. The demand for negotiations to effect the return of Hitler Germany into the League is more-over the subterfuge used by those representatives of British and French imperialism who are attempting to compromise with the Nazis at the expense of the Soviet Union. In this respect, the Radicals are not so very much opposed to Laval as they would like to have us believe. It is inexcusable that for the sake of the People's Front the C.P. consents to a program which enables the Radicals to carry on their dirty, imperialist horse deals.

The demand for the nationalization of the armament industry is an old shibboleth of bourgeois pacifism. Ownership of the armament industry by the state is not a guaranty of peace. Thus Polish fascism should be peaceful for the major part of the armament industry belongs to the state.

"Eliminate Injustice"

The third section of the People's Front program, under the heading "economic demands," is particularly notable for its passage on the emergency decrees of Laval which represent the very heart of the capitalist offensive. The People's Front demands the modification of the emergency decrees for those who are hardest hit by them, "in the hope that all injustices which resulted from the emergency decrees will be eliminated completely and as quickly as possible." This means, then, that the People's Front is quite reconciled to the continuation of the emergency decrees and merely demands a few changes as far as exploitation of the working class is concerned. The Radical Socialists will attempt to prove—as they have attempted previously—that it is "impossible" to do away with all injustices resulting from emergency decrees. The S.P., the C.P. and the trade unions have given up the struggle against the emergency decrees of Laval by signing this program.

Furthermore, the program of the People's Front demands a re-evaluation of agricultural products. The farmer is to receive higher prices for his products thru the

On the question of taxes, there is a demand for a progressive rise in income taxes for those who earn more than 75,000 francs. The demand for a tax on property which would burden the capitalists considerably is omitted entirely. On the contrary, the program asks for "less government interference in view of the economic recovery." This is the usual slogan of the capitalists who demand that taxes be lowered in order to stimulate recovery. It is not surprising that the Radical Socialists utilize such slogans for it is in the interests of their capitalist following. The fact that the C.P. agrees to such slogans shows the opportunist extent to which the policies of the People's Front can lead.

Not A Fighting Program

The program of the People's Front is not a fighting program of the working masses; it fails to express the most urgent needs of the working class. It is a program that will be put to parliamentary use only, an election program on the basis of which, as Leon Blum has already announced, the workers' parties will conclude alliances with the Radicals. The People's Front program does not prevent the leaders of the Radicals from supporting Laval directly or indirectly. Because of its ambiguity and loopholes this program will make it possible for the Radicals to deceive the masses should they find it necessary to form a left government with the aid of the People's Front, just as former left governments have done. The program is further proof that the policy of the People's Front is a disastrous error on the part of the C.I.

FREEMAN'S ELECTION ASSURED AS MILITANT PAINTERS UNITE

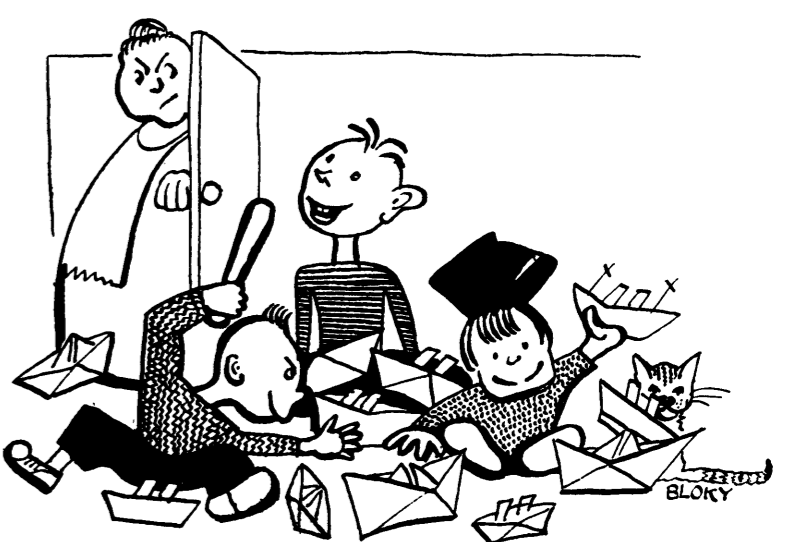
The election of Sam Freeman as Secretary-Treasurer of District Council No. 18 of the Painters Union was virtually assured when Bresinger, candidate of the Rank and File Group and nominated by Local 778, withdrew from the race and threw his full support to Freeman. Local 778 understood well that the withdrawal of Bresinger was for the purpose of presenting a united front of all militant and progressive forces to defeat the candidacy of Bob Kellman, a racketeer and associate of gangsters, and gave its enthusiastic endorsement to Freeman, the candidate of the Progressive Group.

In Local 977 the candidacy of Bob Kellman had been endorsed in the absence of the Progressive candidate. However, when Freeman appeared they reconsidered

their previous action and will vote on endorsement during this week. In local 971 the officers attempted to steer clear by fighting for an amendment that the local endorse no one. This proposal was defeated after the Progressive and Rank and File members joined hands to make a very effective fight for Freeman's endorsement. The members voted overwhelmingly for this proposal.

So far Freeman has secured the endorsement of three locals: 646, 778 and 171. Elections will be held on February 8.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?



WE'RE PLAYING "NAVAL DISARMAMENT"

BUY AT
LERMAN BROS., Inc.
Stationers and Printers
Now at new and larger quarters
37 E. 14 Street
Phone: Algonquin 4-3356

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL FORUM
CRISIS IN MODERN CULTURE
lecture by
BERTRAM D. WOLFE
(Director, New Workers School)
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 9, 1936 - 8 P. M.
VICTORIA HALL, IRVING PLAZA
15th Street and Irving Place
ADMISSION 25c.

DETROIT, MICH.
International Peasant
Costume Ball
SAT. FEB. 8, 1936
SCHILLER HALL
St. Aubin & Gratiot Aves.
— SPECIAL FEATURES —
National Dancing Groups of Austrians and Bohemians; "Ann Arbor Almransch of Br. 370. ; as well as Square Dancing.
ADMISSION 25c
Everybody in Farmers Costumes
Auspices: Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund of USA and Wo-Si-Bi-Fu Youth Group.

SUBSCRIBE TO
Workers Age
\$1.50 for one year
\$1.00 for six months
WORKERS AGE
51 West 14th St.,
New York, N. Y.
Enclosed find \$.....
for a months sub.
Name
Address
City
State

WORKERS AGE
 Organ of the National Committee
 COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.
 (Opposition)
 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.
 Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Published every Saturday by the
 WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year;
 \$1.25 for six months; 5c a copy.
 Foreign Rates: \$2.50 per year; \$1.50
 for six months.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5,
 1934, at the Post Office New York,
 N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.
 Address mail to Box 68 Station "O"
 New York City.

Vol. V, No. 6 Sat., Feb. 8, 1936

STORM THE FIRST TRENCH

ALL who are sensitive to developments in American life are aware of the tremendous significance of the events now transpiring in the labor movement.

It was a foregone conclusion that the years of economic crisis would lend impetus to the maturing of forces inherent in the working class and in the economic system itself. Hence, it is no accident that, at this time, American labor is being convulsed in a giant struggle over the form, over the structure of its trade union organization. The relentless march of economic, social and political development in the U.S. is itself the source of the issues now dividing our working class as dramatized in the struggle between craft and industrial unionism.

Since October events have been moving with lightning tempo. First came the Fifty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City. Here, for the first time in years, was an A. F. of L. convention at which important questions, vital problems confronting the workers were discussed seriously. The pivotal point of this significant debate was the clash over industrial unionism—the conflict over bringing up to date, over modernization, of the trade unions, over bringing the trade union organizations into line with economic development. This conflict, maturing for years, came to a head when the United Mine Workers delegation took the lead and rallied forty percent of the delegates for immediate steps leading to a complete reorganization of the A. F. of L. on the basis of industrial unionism.

The organization of the pro industrial union forces, the gathering of eight international labor federations into the Committee for Industrial Organization, could not but serve to clarify and sharpen the issues. Here were such powerful and progressive forces as the United Mine Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers pitted against such outright reactionary forces as the bureaucracies of the Carpenters' and Machinists' unions. Only the blind could fail to see the logic of such a crystallization of forces.

Soon came the second milestone on the path of American labor's re-orientation: the session of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. recently closed at Miami. By the time the members convened, the progressive forces had been badly weakened thru the resignation from the Executive Council of John L. Lewis, the dynamic and powerful leader of the miners. And the months that intervened between Atlantic City and Miami were crowded with activities by the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) for industrial unionism. Naturally, the Miami sessions were devoted to a consideration of measures of counter-attack. Formally, it was only a matter of arithmetic for the Walls and the Whartons to vote down the alert but lonesome progressive in the

top leadership of the A. F. of L.—David Dubinsky, President of the I.L.G.W.U.

The Miami decisions are plainly a declaration of war by the reactionaries against the progressives. The ultimatum for dissolution of the CIO is only a first step which may provoke grave consequences—unless the eight unions committed to industrial unionism will exercise great reserve and care. Obviously, the radio workers, whose dismemberment the Council has just ordered, will not swallow the sugar-coated suicide pill offered them in the form of an invitation to join, as second-class citizens, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The fullest energy must be immediately invested to prepare the fight for the forthcoming A. F. of L. convention against this decision, as well as against the decree handed down by Green and Hutchinson for the partition of the auto workers' organization among the sundry craft unions.

Precisely because of the provocative nature of the Miami decisions must the progressive and left forces in the A. F. of L. NOT interpret nor take as a signal for a split, for secession from the Federation, the vigorous decisions and generally inspiring deliberations of the U.M.W. of A. convention at Washington. Certainly, all should hail as a mighty factor for greater unionization, for UNIFICATION rather than further division of labor, the plan of the U. M. W. of A. to use the radio for vigorous propaganda in behalf of industrial unionism. Only the reactionaries in the ranks of labor, only the employers and their vengeful headliners can interpret the various other strategic moves made by the Miners' convention in behalf of industrial unionism as steps calculated to foster divisions and splits in the trade union movement.

The very persistence with which these black forces have been labeling the activities of the CIO as dualist, the very sympathetic drive to proclaim the U.M.W. of A. sessions as hostile to the A. F. of L., should only serve as a SIGNAL FOR MAXIMUM CARE BEING EXERCISED BY THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN ALL THEIR TACTICAL MOVES FOR MILITANT UNIONISM. It is the reactionaries in the trade union movement, it is those who insist that labor's ranks be broken up into warring crafts, be driven into imposing archaic organizations, who are really responsible for splits and chaos among the working people of this country.

Furthermore, the CIO must be fully on guard against the maneuvers and machinations of the momentarily dominant officialdom of the A. F. of L. to divide its ranks, to split its forces. If Green and Co. were able to succeed in such diabolical ventures, it would spell disastrous retrogression for all American labor—in every field of activity. Thorough and vigorous co-operation must permeate the CIO from top to bottom. With this attained, success will come sooner than many foresee. Once the battle for industrial unionism shall have been won, the ground will have been laid for a generally broader class viewpoint pervading all labor, for a solid foundation for a mass labor party. Victory for industrial unionism is an essential prerequisite for storming the first trench on the path of the development of the class-consciousness necessary to insure labor's complete triumph.

CORRECTION

By mistake we stated that Lovestone's series on "Europe in Ferment" will begin with this issue. The first article "Hours of Decision in France"—will appear in next week's issue of Workers Age. —EDITOR

MOONEY FOR PRESIDENT

An Appeal to the Communist and Socialist Parties

The approach of the 1936 presidential elections brings forward with special urgency the compelling necessity for labor to establish its independence and unity on the political field. Disappointment with the futile promises of the "New Deal" and resentment with the arbitrary and despotic conduct of the Supreme Court are widespread among large sections of the workers and the middle classes. What is there to prevent this growing wave of dissatisfaction from being shunted off, according to the old traditions of the two-party system, into renewed support of Republican reaction or from being converted into a source of strength for some aspiring fascist movement in this country? Only militant, united action of organized labor as an independent class force can save the rising mass discontent from such hopelessly dangerous blind-alleys and guide it into constructive, progressive channels. Only a united and aggressive stand on the part of labor can give clarity and leadership to the millions of toilers thruout the land who are fast losing confidence in the good faith of the two old parties and who are becoming increasingly ready for independent political action on behalf of their own interests against the consolidated hosts of capital!

Under existing conditions in the United States, it is clear that neither the Socialist nor the Communist Party alone can serve as such a unifying and directing force. Certainly the cause of united political action of labor will not be advanced by mutual contention between socialist and communists when both together reach only a relatively insignificant portion of the working people. The great masses of those who are losing faith in the gaudy but unsubstantial blandishments of the "New Deal" or are rising in revolt against the reactionary despotism of the Supreme Court, are not prepared as yet to vote either socialist

or communist but they would be much more ready to support an independent political movement of labor in alliance with large sections of the farmers and the middle classes. A broad and all-inclusive Labor Party, based on the trade unions and other organizations of workers and working farmers, is the great demand of the hour!

But unfortunately it is already too late to speak of genuine labor party as a practical measure for the coming elections. That should not mean, however, that all possibility of effective united action is gone. It is not, by any means! It is still possible and supremely necessary for the two workers parties, the socialists and communists, to take the initiative in putting forward a United Labor Ticket for the presidential election this year. Such a move would bring about unity of action among the advanced elements of the working class; it would, above all, make possible a really effective bid for support to the organized labor movement. With a properly conceived and realistic program, a United Labor Ticket could win the allegiance not only of the so-called "socialist" unions, but also of a large number of unions hitherto dormant politically and of scores of thousands of workers in organizations still officially committed to the old parties. All this and more could be accomplished by a United Labor Ticket—provided that at its head stood a man universally known and universally respected, a man whose name symbolizes not any particular creed or tendency in the labor movement but labor itself, the united class power of the workers!

And such a man, a man who has those qualities to a surpassing degree, we have in the person of—**TOM MOONEY!** For nearly twenty years now Tom Mooney has suffered cruel martyrdom simply and solely because of his devotion to the cause of labor and, thruout

the Socialist and Communist parties now face a supreme obligation. It is for you jointly to take action upon this momentous occasion. It is for you jointly to take the initiative in launching a powerful "Tom Mooney for President" movement on the basis of a United Labor Ticket. Confident that you will consider the matter solely in the light of the needs and interests of the working class and will brush aside all petty concerns of a partisan or factional character, we appeal to you, with all the solemnity which the occasion demands, to give heed to our proposal, to take prompt and energetic measures so as to make possible the most effective united action of labor in the 1936 election campaign.

Long live the unity of labor!
 Forward to a United Labor Ticket, with Tom Mooney for President!

Real wages have not increased.
 Only Profits and Prices have increased—leaving the workers and farmers out in the cold.

National Bureau, Communist Party, U.S.A. (Opposition)
 JAY LOVESTONE, Sec'y

profit was \$164,979. Last year it was \$167,226,000!
 The U. S. Steel Company, which never can afford to raise its employees wages especially if the request is via a union, handed out almost 2 millions in dividends, and in the last three months of 1935 alone showed a profit of almost five and one-half millions! The Republic Steel Co. is floating a bond issue of 45 millions—and this is not to restore wage cuts either.

The Federal Reserve Board reports that heavy industry has now reached the index of 103 (base year 1923-25). This is the highest level reached since the Spring of 1930.

But there are still 11 million unemployed.

General Motors, first rank trust, announces that it is widening its grip in the field of production to include a new air-conditioning company, which will take over Frigidaire and Delco-Appliance (air-heating). Also, quietly inserted in the financial pages, is the announcement that the net profit of this open-shop outfit had multiplied one thousand times from 1932 to 1935! In the latter year the net

his loyalty to his class has grown ever stronger and more fervent. For nearly twenty years now the name of Tom Mooney has been a household word in every corner of the globe, bringing with it the story of bitter class struggle and savage class "justice." In the case of Tom Mooney, thousands of organizations and millions of workers have united, from the most conservative to the most radical; in the same cause, the best representatives of the middle class, of the intellectuals and of humanitarian and liberty-loving people generally, have spoken up in indignant protest. In a sense in which no other man can possibly do so, Tom Mooney symbolizes the cause of American labor, exploited, oppressed, persecuted but rising triumphant in the end in the burning consciousness of the justice of its cause and the promise of its ultimate victory!

A United Labor Ticket with Tom Mooney at the head would reach deep into every corner of the American labor movement. It would unite the class conscious sections of the working class in a common cause and a common task. It would win ready access and friendly consideration in even the most conservative unions. It would fire the imagination and inspire the devotion of countless workers who could not otherwise be reached with the message of independent political action. It would rally the support of all elements of the people who are at all ready to break with the discredited system of capitalist politics and for whom Tom Mooney stands forth as the dauntless champion against class oppression and class injustice. It would serve in the most effective manner to clarify class relations and to strengthen class loyalty in a political situation that makes for so much confusion and demagoguery. It would provide the firmest and most promising base for the rapid development of a national Labor Party in the near future.

We are deeply convinced that the Socialist and Communist parties now face a supreme obligation. It is for you jointly to take action upon this momentous occasion. It is for you jointly to take the initiative in launching a powerful "Tom Mooney for President" movement on the basis of a United Labor Ticket. Confident that you will consider the matter solely in the light of the needs and interests of the working class and will brush aside all petty concerns of a partisan or factional character, we appeal to you, with all the solemnity which the occasion demands, to give heed to our proposal, to take prompt and energetic measures so as to make possible the most effective united action of labor in the 1936 election campaign.

Long live the unity of labor!
 Forward to a United Labor Ticket, with Tom Mooney for President!

Real wages have not increased.
 Only Profits and Prices have increased—leaving the workers and farmers out in the cold.

National Bureau, Communist Party, U.S.A. (Opposition)
 JAY LOVESTONE, Sec'y

profit was \$164,979. Last year it was \$167,226,000!
 The U. S. Steel Company, which never can afford to raise its employees wages especially if the request is via a union, handed out almost 2 millions in dividends, and in the last three months of 1935 alone showed a profit of almost five and one-half millions! The Republic Steel Co. is floating a bond issue of 45 millions—and this is not to restore wage cuts either.

The Federal Reserve Board reports that heavy industry has now reached the index of 103 (base year 1923-25). This is the highest level reached since the Spring of 1930.

But there are still 11 million unemployed.

General Motors, first rank trust, announces that it is widening its grip in the field of production to include a new air-conditioning company, which will take over Frigidaire and Delco-Appliance (air-heating). Also, quietly inserted in the financial pages, is the announcement that the net profit of this open-shop outfit had multiplied one thousand times from 1932 to 1935! In the latter year the net

WHILE MILLIONS STARVE

While 500,000 miners are preparing to endorse Roosevelt as the champion of the working-class, while the Communist Party is busy addressing petitions to him to take the banner in the struggle against fascism, and while a section of the bankers and industrialists are belauding because he wants the masses to starve collectively and not individually, a few facts might help establish the class-character of the New Deal and its charm-dispensing leader.

General Motors, first rank trust, announces that it is widening its grip in the field of production to include a new air-conditioning company, which will take over Frigidaire and Delco-Appliance (air-heating). Also, quietly inserted in the financial pages, is the announcement that the net profit of this open-shop outfit had multiplied one thousand times from 1932 to 1935! In the latter year the net

profit was \$164,979. Last year it was \$167,226,000!
 The U. S. Steel Company, which never can afford to raise its employees wages especially if the request is via a union, handed out almost 2 millions in dividends, and in the last three months of 1935 alone showed a profit of almost five and one-half millions! The Republic Steel Co. is floating a bond issue of 45 millions—and this is not to restore wage cuts either.

Now that the Workers Age benefit performance of "Let Freedom Ring" is over and even the most cynical cannot suspect the disinterestedness of our remarks, we wish to recommend wholeheartedly and unreservedly that every reader of the Age who failed to attend the benefit go at once to see the play. It is a fine play, splendidly dramatized from a fine novel and no reader can afford not to see it.

JAY LOVESTONE
 (Just returned from an extensive tour of Europe)
 will speak on
Trends in World Labor
 at the
AMBASSADOR HALL
 2875 - 3rd Avenue, Bronx
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 9, 1936 - 8 P. M.
 ADMISSION 10c.
 Auspices: Bronx Section Communist Party (Opposition)

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

WE HAVE not used our column as a vehicle for calamity-howling. We have not the slightest intention to do so at any time. All of this is simply by way of preface to an alarm which we wish to sound with all the energy at our command.

At this time, we hasten to tell the world that we would be very much surprised if, in the next few months, the Nazi government will not manage to get some substantial short-term credits in New York. It is our conviction that some of the outstanding Jewish bankers will be mainly responsible for Schacht's final success in his desperate efforts to land such credits. The short-term loans will be in the form of credits for raw material commodity exports to Germany. The Warburgs and their ilk hope that the services they will thus be rendering to Schacht in helping put over these loans will get them into at least tolerable graces with Hitler. Thus, these not-quite-Aryan parasites may yet win from Hitler the much-coveted title of "honorary Aryan!" It should not be forgotten that Der Fuehrer has a right, according to the decisions of the 1935 Nazi Party convention at Nuremberg, to determine with finality who really is an Aryan.

And we are not telling tales out of school when we stress that the British Jewish delegates, working hand in glove with some of the outstanding mouthpieces of American Jewry to finance a limited exodus of German Jewry, are involved in preparing or breaking the ground for American bankerdom making the aforementioned short term loans to the Nazis.

We know of nothing the Nazi regime needs just now more than financial aid in the form of credits. The financial plight of the Hitler government is simply desperate. For want of foreign exchange with which to buy raw materials that Germany lacks, the Nazi government has had to slow down even the production of armaments. And to the Nazis nothing is anywhere near as important as shells, machine guns, bayonets, tanks, and poison gas.

Nothing should be left undone by any one who has hatred and contempt for the bestial crew now wrecking and ruining the lives of millions of Germans to paralyze these well-laid plans for giving credits to Hitler in any shape, manner or form for even the shortest period of time. Besides, to feed the Fascist rulers of Germany means to help make fertile the soil for Fascism here and elsewhere.

THIS country is being treated to an exciting and significant presidential election campaign. In certain respects the issues involved and the forces marshalled around them transcend in potential importance the issues and men battled over and battling in any election the U. S. has seen in many decades.

The harangue delivered by Al Smith under the auspices of the Anti-Liberty League is a sordidly picturesque sign of the time. Few can deny that Al Smith has been transformed from the sidewalk star of the Democratic Party into the sewer savior of the Republican gang. Only politicians thriving on gutter inspirations would resort seriously to such arguments as "Moscow domination" and "Communism" against Roosevelt. However, it is not Al Smith or his hot vapors that concern us. What is vital to us is the meaning, the why and wherefore, the social content of such an event—a phenomenon in which but yesterday's standard bearer of the Democratic Party becomes the chief recruiting,

sergeant for the G.O.P.

Six years of economic crisis have left a profound impression on the American economic and political setup. Al Smith's outburst is most symbolic of the extent to which old party lines are becoming indistinct, virtually extinct. New times, new trouble; new troubles, new political alignments. Slowly but surely the old two-party system is disintegrating. The class lines are being sunk not only into ever-deeper grooves but into ever more complicated ramifications. The American ruling class itself is being shaken rudely by controversies which rocked the British and other European ruling classes some decades ago. The "progressivism" of the Roosevelt of today smacks in more ways than one of the "militancy" of the Lloyd George of the many days before yesterday.

At that time British labor did not pick Lloyd George as its dragon-slayer. Today, American labor must be on the strictest guard against choosing Roosevelt as its champion or banner-bearer. Such a choice would spell only inglorious suicide.

And lest we forget: Swallowing the lesser evil, over any length of time, means nothing more nor less than insuring the arrival and survival of the biggest evil of all for an altogether too long time. Page Germany, Austria and the like for tragic and costly proof.

A CONVENTION of the United Mine Workers of America is always an event of rousing interest and first line importance. It is a gathering of the spokesmen of the most powerful trade union organization in the capitalist world. It is an assembly of the leaders of workers made more militant and hardy by the very nature of their occupation. Here is a gathering of men working in the bowels of the earth.

But to one who has seen and followed closely more than one convention of the U.M.W. of A., the present convention being held in Washington assumes far more than ordinary interest and import. It is the miner's union which is the pivot of the forces battling for a modernization, for a reconstruction on an industrial basis of the whole A. F. of L. Also it is in the ranks of the U. M. W. of A. where so many of the most capable forces for leadership of the whole trade union movement are to be found.

Surely, the U. M. W. of A. cannot play a progressive role in the A. F. of L. as such and escape making order in its own house, making the life and relations within its organization, more progressive at the same time. Failure to re-orientate properly, accordingly, can only interfere with and even negate the very possibility of the miners' union serving as the steel rod of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the A. F. of L. In this light it is heartening to note that, in some respects, this convention reflects changes for the better—in line with a healthy spirit of progressive unionism. For instance, it has been a long time since there was such fair and free discussion at a convention of the U. M. W. of A. as there was at this one over the question of extending autonomy to a number of districts.

Yet we do not hesitate to register our conclusion that immediate practical steps towards extending more of such democratic rights inside the U. M. W. of A. are absolutely necessary if the organization is to be adequately equipped for fulfilling its most urgent task in the labor movement as a whole.

Quotation Marks

R. E. of Hamilton (Canada) sends in the following excerpts from a book by a leading British communist. We are indebted to Comrade R. E. because the Comintern accepts today precisely that which Palme Dutt rejected as reformism—democracy and the return to Weimar. Also the National Assembly is today disinterested, cleaned of its reformist shroud, and wrapped in the crimson garment of Bolshevik strategy—Editor.

FIFTEEN years ago the center of controversy of the Second and Third International expressed in the controversy of Kautsky and Lenin, turned precisely on this point, when Lenin, with Marx, declared that it was for the workers revolution not to take over but to smash the existing capitalist state machine and establish its own dictatorship instead, and the Second International denied this.

Now fifteen years too late after the harm is done, after the German working class is reduced to the uttermost limit of subjection by their methods, the Second International blandly proclaimed that its policy was an "error"—and then proceeds again in fact to recommend the path of bourgeois democracy, "the new organization of the state on the basis of freedom by the convening of a National Assembly elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage."

One again despite all the attempts to make a show of a great "change of heart," this is in reality the Old Weimar path.

But the German workers have had their experience of the Weimar path and its outcome and have no intentions to repeat it.

"FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION"
 By Palme Dutt (leader of the British Communist Party)

HITLER CURBS SS MEN ONCE MORE

One of the final nails was driven into the coffin of the mass base of the Nazi regime, the Storm Troopers, by a new army decree. The struggle between the Reichswehr and the S.A. men has been the struggle between the radicalized petty-bourgeois mass, and the representatives of the Junker-Bankers regime. Slowly but surely, the "social" points of the Nazi program have been liquidated and the naked rule of finance-capital carried out thru Hitler.

The previous agreement had been one of compromise, whereby the Reichswehr controlled the defense of the border, and the Party and the Storm Troops were responsible for "domestic peace." But June 30th showed that the SA, a mass organization, was unreliable. The recent celebration of the "Year IV" has given complete power to the Reichswehr, without any "non-sense" being tolerated. Secondly,

Furthermore, no member of the miners' union should give up the right to constructive criticism of the officials merely because they are today so vitally tied up with the movement for reorganizing the A. F. of L. on an industrial union basis.

Radicals particularly should learn that between two extremes, both of which are *monstrous*, there is much sound territory to traverse and occupy in the field of tactics. We hope our comrades in the Communist Party will give some thought to this hint dropped so gently.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THE Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has adjourned at last and, as has become usual during the last period, things have become more involved than ever before. Of the two main issues that faced the Council one was dodged and the other "pussyfooted" to use a term with which the die-hards characterized the resolution on the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The decision to refer to the May session the question of a constitutional amendment making constitutional congressional action on social legislation files in the very face of the decision of the Atlantic City convention. No legitimate reason for the postponement has been given but everyone knows that the big fellows in the Council are sadly divided on this issue. On the floor of the convention they were silent—other issues held the limelight—but here, among friends, partisan politics of Republican and Democratic vintage split the Council asunder. It is not at all impossible that those in favor of such action failed to insist on action for fear that the craft union bloc might be split and thus the struggle against industrial unionism would be weakened.

But of even greater significance is the decision ordering the dissolution of the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO). It is of course possible that the committee elected to negotiate with John L. Lewis and other leaders of the CIO may find a peaceful solution to the present strained relations between these two forces in the A. F. of L. But that solution will not and cannot come on the basis of the resolution adopted by the Executive Council. The resolution does not attempt to define the limits within which such an organization can continue to function but challenges the very existence of such an organization. Thus it seems unreasonable to believe that the CIO would give up the right, which it undoubtedly has under the constitution of the A. F. of L. to educate and agitate for a change in the structure of the A. F. of L. Furthermore, there is nothing in the constitution of the A. F. of L. to prohibit such an organization from giving advice or rendering assistance in the tasks of the organization of the unorganized provided always that the Committee does not overstep the limits which it set down at the time of its organization.

The Council made two decisions at this session which will not help to ease the tense condition in the auto and radio trades. In the first case the Council refused to budget from its previous position which demands the distribution of the mechanics among the various craft internationals, leaving in the newly organized union only the production men. This insistence emasculates the organization and makes it extremely difficult to

the effect both of underground opposition and the spontaneous mass disturbances because of food shortages, etc. presage to the ruling class, storms ahead.

The decree gives the Reichswehr power, under five specific points, to use arms in the domestic domain. Among these points, it is interesting to note the following which is hardly compatible with the "unanimity of the Third Reich," "Point two reads "To enforce the laying down of arms or to disperse crowds."

This decree undoubtedly is the most revealing event since the June Days.

Just count the number of proletarians—men and women, yes and children—who are annually done to death thru industrial accidents and you have a very accurate idea of which direction production figures are running. Thus during the period of the crisis there was a steady decline. From 1931 to 1934 the number of killed declined from 1,793 to 1,293 in the state of New York. But, Industrial Commissioner Andrews reports: that better days are here! There was an increase in 1935, the number of workers killed being 1,372 and since our good president assured us that the corner has been turned and things are running just as he had planned it, we may go to bed tonight comforted by the idea that the number of proletarian dead in industry will continue to mount gradually until even 1929 peaks may once again be reached. This is what we call prosperity under capitalism. A mounting heap of industrial dead!

mobilize all the workers in the industry for a concerted attack upon the auto barons who have reaped during the last couple of years a golden harvest.

When the auto workers convene soon in the first national convention to elect their own officers they will make their demands heard so loudly that perhaps even the decrepit old fossils in the Council will be jarred out of their passivity. The sentiment among the auto workers may well be judged by the fact that provisional president Dillon, hitherto a staunch craft unionist, has gone over to the side of the industrial unionists and appeared at the Council sessions pleading for an industrial union charter.

The second case is that of the Radio workers. Their president, James B. Carey, appeared before the Council and appealed, in the name of the 25,000 members represented at their Pittsburgh convention in December, for an industrial union charter. He was turned down and instead was told of a proposal to admit the radio workers as auxiliary members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (Class B membership). Although Carey already turned it down final decision will rest with the convention which reconvenes in about two weeks to act upon this matter.

The strategy is clear. Refusal to organize them as industrial unions and at the same time permission to enter as industrial groups, into the craft internationals, where their influence can be minimized or destroyed by the preponderant weight of the craft unionists. The Electrical Workers are also now negotiating with certain of the independent utility groups for entry into the Brotherhood under somewhat the same terms as those proposed to the Radio men.

IT appears, of gauging the increase or decrease of industrial activity. Some people judge by the quotations on industrial stocks; others plunge into statistical research and emerge with a plus or minus as compared to this or that year, but there is still another way, perhaps not a very nice way. We are quite sure that the clippers of coupons would be repelled by the novel manner of judging industrial activity. They would consider it very vulgar. However, it is very simple and has never been known to fail.

Just count the number of proletarians—men and women, yes and children—who are annually done to death thru industrial accidents and you have a very accurate idea of which direction production figures are running. Thus during the period of the crisis there was a steady decline. From 1931 to 1934 the number of killed declined from 1,793 to 1,293 in the state of New York. But, Industrial Commissioner Andrews reports: that better days are here! There was an increase in 1935, the number of workers killed being 1,372 and since our good president assured us that the corner has been turned and things are running just as he had planned it, we may go to bed tonight comforted by the idea that the number of proletarian dead in industry will continue to mount gradually until even 1929 peaks may once again be reached. This is what we call prosperity under capitalism. A mounting heap of industrial dead!

THE Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has adjourned at last and, as has become usual during the last period, things have become more involved than ever before. Of the two main issues that faced the Council one was dodged and the other "pussyfooted" to use a term with which the die-hards characterized the resolution on the Committee for Industrial Organization.

THE Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has adjourned at last and, as has become usual during the last period, things have become more involved than ever before. Of the two main issues that faced the Council one was dodged and the other "pussyfooted" to use a term with which the die-hards characterized the resolution on the Committee for Industrial Organization.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

In the International Labor Movement

THREE YEARS OF NAZI TERROR

The author of this article is the leader of the left wing forces in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. This article, for which we extend our appreciation, was written specially for Workers Age—Editor.

By S. AUFHAUSER
(Special to Workers Age)
The struggle against fascism must be predicated upon a realistic appraisal of the situation in Germany. We can see no justification for either the pessimistic view which attributes unlimited life to the brutal Hitler dictatorship or for the opinion of optimists who pray for the automatic collapse of the fascist regime thus undermining the independent revolutionary power of the working class. The Hitler dictatorship is rooted in German finance capital and cannot be shaken thru political passivity.

1933—Rise to Power
Adolf Hitler seized power in January 1933 as a result of the continuing economic crisis and the failure to resist on the part of the workers' parties. The depression, a direct and natural result of the capitalist system, had brought social ruin and sowed despair not only in the working class but also among large sections of the middle class. Fascism played the role of inciting these hungry and desperate masses to rise in revolt against their own class brethren. The impoverished masses which ordinarily in a revolutionary period would have become the shock troops of socialism became the reserve army of fascist reaction in this period of counter-revolution. The complete capitulation of the workers' organizations at first rendered the working class inactive. The fascist regime, aware of this opportunity, struck a fatal blow against the last remnants of the political, trade union and cultural organizations. There was as yet no illegal organization of any kind—the working class was completely disorganized and individual workers dependent upon themselves alone. Towards the end of the first year of the Hitler dictatorship, discussion circles arose forming the basis of the illegal cadres developed later on. Hitler attempted to form a sort of inter-class organization by transforming the former free unions and linking them with the employers' associations. National Socialist factory cells were giving trouble to the employers until any interference with "industry" was prohibited. The year 1933 was marked by an attempt to set the Reich in order without accomplishing anything beyond Party propaganda. Hitler held power by virtue of his scathing criticism of his predecessors.

1934—Massacre of June 30
Industry vigorously demanded the complete restoration of its own economic principles. The National Socialist economic program was discarded; the Nazi economist, Feder and his friends were exiled. 1934 became the year of labor creation programs. The Hitler could not bring back prosperity, the government launched a program of public works thru social insurance and large-scale credit infusion, and at the same time subsidized private industry as well as the big estates. State intervention was to serve as the initial spark in rehabilitating industry. The scheme failed, and the debts of the Reich rose tremendously. 1934 also brought the new fascist social order. The so-called law for the regulation of national labor meant the destruction of German social legislation and the enslavement of the worker. The dictatorship of the state was transferred to the dictatorship of the employers in the

factories. Collective bargaining was declared illegal. Only state functionaries ("Treuhänder") represented the workers and together with the employers imposed wages and working conditions. Hitler's complete submission to the will of monopoly capital resulted in the loss of power by the proletarian Nazi organizations. The Nazi factory cells were reduced to factory police and robbed of any social influence. The "Labor Front" was likewise restricted in its social endeavors.

The discarding of the Nazi program—tantamount to betrayal of their principles, and the aggressive indignation in the ranks of the Hitlerites. The Brown Shirts felt that they were being supplanted by the Reichswehr and revolted. The regime suffered its first internal party crisis terminating in the horrible mass murders of the "best comrades" on June 30, 1934. Hitler thus made his peace with the capitalists and the militarists. A few months after the catastrophe of June 30th Hitler was appointed Hindenburg's successor and made the highest representative of the Reich not by his own party but by the powers representing old imperial Germany. The reformists in the labor movement who had once believed that fascism could be prevented thru political maneuvers were once more disappointed. Their hopes that the bourgeois opposition would relieve the working class of the necessity of a struggle against Hitler, their illusions about the automatic collapse of fascism as a result of its own inner contradictions were blasted.

Working Class Has Learned
The illegal organizations of the workers had spread immensely and demanded heavy sacrifices as a result of the terror. The newly aroused activity of the workers and the various discussion groups that were formed led the former Party leaders to the belief that the time had come for the mechanical restoration of the old parties. Actually, both the Social Democratic and Communist workers of Germany today believe in revolutionary socialism. They are hoping that their parties have learned from the mistakes of the past without falling into opportunism; their beliefs are no longer those of old. The working class of Germany today is demanding the ideological rejuvenation of the labor movement.

The year 1934 brought one re-organization of the Labor Front after another. Hitler failed in his attempt to co-ordinate the minds of the German working class. This was the first year in which Hitler was called upon to realize his Four-Year Plan. It turned out to be a fiasco. However, German fascism had proven that like Italian fascism it was capable of adjusting itself to inner difficulties.

1935—Hunger and Crisis
The Hitler regime has scored a nationalist victory thru the Saar plebiscite and thus encouraged, dared to provoke Europe a few weeks later by proclaiming universal conscription. The powers re-presented at the Stresa conference failed to act decisively and Hitler once more took advantage of the chaos that is Europe. Economically and financially Germany in 1935, its third year of Nazi rule, was rapidly declining. Foreign trade was obstructed, the domestic

market exhausted, business thrived only in the armament industry. The necessity of importing raw materials for the munitions factories prevented the importation of foodstuffs. The shortage of meat and lard, higher prices and increasing unemployment have resulted in great dissatisfaction among all strata of the population. Not even the propaganda department can drown out the cries of the hungry. The Hitler dictatorship is facing a new crisis and is placing its hopes of survival once again on the discontent in the rest of Europe. Will England aid Germany by granting her another loan? Will England reach an agreement with Hitler, giving him a free hand in Eastern Europe?

The Labor Front was again transformed in 1935 and robbed of all its social and political functions. Ley, the head of the Labor Front, has been placed under the supervision of Schacht, the exponent of big capital. The employers have a new organization which exerts decisive influence on all social and economic decisions. The Labor Front has been linked up with this employers' organization. Since 1933 there is absolutely no organization for the protection of the interests of the workers. Even the employment agencies have been reorganized on a military basis. The labor market has been replaced by compulsory, military labor; in the factory, likewise, free labor has been supplanted by military labor.

In 1935 wages were greatly reduced by means of thousands of small measures. The labor creation programs of a year ago had to be abandoned because of the heavy indebtedness of the state. The economic decay of Germany was so obvious that even the Saar plebiscite and the consequent propaganda schemes failed to produce results. 1935 brought the first great mass demonstration of the working class against fascism in the form of shop council elections. These councils are of no importance to the workers except that elections of these councils afford one of the few legal possibilities of rejecting Hitler's candidates and there is no chance of putting up independent candidates. The workers in the factories have seized every opportunity to demonstrate their power to resist.

Economic Regime Bankrupt
Today, on the eve of the fourth year of the Hitler dictatorship there is no necessity of proving the economic bankruptcy of the regime. The enthusiasm of the people is gone; the mass basis of the regime has been undermined. Signs of disintegration in the ranks of the Nazis are not lacking. The increasing frequency of National Socialist crises lends more significance to the organization of the workers. Underground Germany is not frightened by mass arrests. The heroic struggle of the German workers, however, must be given revolutionary content. Despite the bourgeois revolts of discontented bourgeois elements we must never forget that the working class must form the nucleus and leadership of any mass movement against fascism. The coming months will be a period of consolidation and organization for the illegal organizations. Dissatisfaction is not sufficient to insure a revolutionary development; trained, illegal cadres are required to transform such discontent into revolutionary activity.

The present situation in Germany may, of course, arouse new illusions about the readiness of the bourgeoisie to fight fascism. The economic failure of Hitler has

RS-Briefe

December 1935
ARBEITSKREIS REVOLUTIONÄRER SOZIALISTEN

Von der Einheitsdiskussion zur Einheitsaktion.

Noch ist die Spaltung der deutschen Arbeiterklasse nicht überwunden, noch stehen Proletarier gegen Proletarier, und noch ist die Organisation in zahlreiche Parteien und Gruppen zerfallen. Der deutsche Faschismus hat nicht nur die wirtschaftliche, finanzielle und kulturelle Krise aufs äusserste verschärft, er ist auch längst nicht mehr frei von krisenhaften Erscheinungen im eigenen Lager. Jedoch er triumphiert über die Uneinigkeit seiner Gegner, deren Zerissenheit es zu danken ist, daß jede innerparteiliche Krise den Faschismus verleben kann, ohne daß eine einheitliche antifaschistische Arbeiterfront in der Lage wäre, sich zu bilden, und die revolutionäre Bewegung weiterzuführen. Die Wiederherstellung der Kampffront wird zur Lebensfrage des deutschen Proletariats. Die Entwicklung im faschistischen Deutschland zurückgeblieben, als daß es nicht Augenblick noch revolutionäre Organisation ist zu sehr hinter der Entwicklung im faschistischen Deutschland zurückgeblieben.

Die Gruppen beider Revolutionären Marxisten Westdeutschlands und die Gruppe Revolutionärer Marxisten Mitteldeutschlands, von denen die politische Arbeit der deutschen Sozialdemokratie im revolutionär-marxistischen Sinne fortgesetzt wird, halten die Zusammenfassung aller proletarischen Kräfte im Organisationsbereich der Sozialdemokratie für das Gebot der Stunde. Um diese Auffassung deutlichen Ausdruck zu verleihen, treten die vier Gruppen in den Hauptstädten übereinstimmend und für sie dadurch die Voraussetzungen gegeben sind, auf dem Wege der Einheitsaktion voranzugehen.

Die Gruppen beider Revolutionären Marxisten Westdeutschlands und die Gruppe Revolutionärer Marxisten Mitteldeutschlands, von denen die politische Arbeit der deutschen Sozialdemokratie im revolutionär-marxistischen Sinne fortgesetzt wird, halten die Zusammenfassung aller proletarischen Kräfte im Organisationsbereich der Sozialdemokratie für das Gebot der Stunde. Um diese Auffassung deutlichen Ausdruck zu verleihen, treten die vier Gruppen in den Hauptstädten übereinstimmend und für sie dadurch die Voraussetzungen gegeben sind, auf dem Wege der Einheitsaktion voranzugehen.

Above is a picture of one of the recent issues of the official organ of the left wing group in the German Social-Democratic Party, of which Comrade Aufhauser is the leader. It is six by nine inches in size, printed on very fine tissue, for distribution thru underground circles in Germany.

WHAT DO YOU SAY?
Do you like Workers Age in its present form? Have you any suggestions for its improvement? Please, take the trouble to drop us a line telling us just what you think. It will be of great help to us in making Workers Age more effective in the working class struggle. Address your comments to George F. Miles, Editor Workers Age, Box 68, Station "O," New York, N. Y.

MARXISM APPLIED IN LECTURE COURSES
Smashing all attendance records, the lecture courses by Jay Lovestone and Bertram D. Wolfe at the New Workers School are attracting scores of workers and intellectuals who desire to think, to become acquainted with Marxism as a living, challenging science. Two masters of Marxism on two different fields, Lovestone and Wolfe, are bent on smashing the highly press-agented bunk of the official Communist neophytes in the fields of culture and the politics of the class struggle.

January - March Issue
(48 pages — printed)
Contents
Problems of Illegal Organization in Germany. By Leo.
Road to Communist Unity—A Letter to the Communist International.
Lenin or Luxemburg?
By Bern Brandon
Review of 1935—Editorial — and other articles —
Single Copy — 25c
Subscription \$1.00 a year

WORKERS AGE
P. O. Box 68 Station "O" New York City
A bi-monthly organ of the I.C.O. is being published in German under the same name. Write us for further information if you are interested in the German Edition.

BOOKS of the AGE

By Bertram D. Wolfe

THE DOG BENEATH THE SKIN, by W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood. Random House. 161 pp. \$1.50.

With this play in verse, the Oxford Group of younger English poets (Stephen Spender, W. H. Auden, C. Day Lewis and Christopher Isherwood) continue to break ground for their peculiar brand of poetic satire and to demonstrate that they represent the most important innovation and re-innovation in English poetry since the decline of the great Victorians.

"The Dog Beneath the Skin" is not easy reading and could never make popular drama: its surrealist imagery, its difficult often obscure symbolism and allegory, its bitter and highly cerebral irony, all represent serious obstacles to wide popularity. But much of symbolism is difficult merely because it is not the conventional and worn out symbolism of the nineteenth century, but an attempt at fresh images for a new epoch and a new attitude toward life. Thus does poetry ever renew itself afresh. And it is less lyrical than that of the nineteenth century, that is but an evidence of its appropriateness to our disturbed and disturbing times.

The play is a satirical fantasy with a deliberately nonsensical, musical-comedy plot. The hero, Alan Norman, is chosen by lot by the old-fashioned, traditionalist but decaying English village of Pressan Ambo, to seek for the missing heir to the now vacant post of village Squire. If successful he is to wed the heir's sister and acquire half of the Squire's land. He is accompanied in his search by a strange almost human dog, who drinks nothing but whiskey straight and shows other "human" talents as well. Alan Norman is a twentieth century Candide, and his quest carries him to Ostnia, symbol of the little lands created by the Versailles treaty, "with the biggest national debt and the lowest birth-rate in Europe. Half the budget goes into frontier forts which are no more use than a headache because the contractor's who inhabitants seem to be madmen and whose leader has a loud-speaker instead of a face. Then to Paradise Park, a combination of Coney-Islandesque Dreamland, sanitarium and European leisure-class watering place. And finally to a Megapollitan center where at the super-ultra luxurious Hotel Niveveh our hero loses everything, very nearly even his skin, but is saved by the missing heir who proved to be hiding under the dog skin which he lends Alan to aid him in making his escape. When they get back to Pressan Ambo, that lovely little English village with

WHAT GOD MEANS TO ME, by Upton Sinclair. Farrar and Rinehart, 150 pp., \$1.00.

From socialist-tinged muckraking to war-recruiting, from war-recruiting to socialist-tinged pacifist repentance, from pacifist socialism to epic plan, from epic plan to Roosevelt Democracy, from thence to Good-seeking, with side excursions into vegetarianism, unfired food fadism, forty-day fasts, spirit communication and dream prophecy, such is the completed Odyssey of America's most brilliant radical muckraking novelist-plotphleper. The recent trend is toward growing conservatism—a New Deal Democratic Party and a New Deal Religion.

This queer journey is a double symbol. On the one hand it is a symbolic warning as to the fate of socialist sentiment without the compass of Marxism to guide the wanderer thru the difficult storms of modern society. On the other, Upton Sinclair stands as a living representative of the confusion of cults and vagaries typical of old-time, pre-communist American radicalism.

As to the present work, the less said the better: When Upton falls he falls hard. A random sample will show what I mean: "My wife attended a seance and heard Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, speaking with a very decided New York accent. This particular case was doubtless a fraud, but if we are looking for truth, we have to consider the medium's claim, that the 'spirit' is using an unfamiliar set of vocal cords, and may not be able to control them."

Charity, or at least gratitude to the man who wrote "The Jungle" and "Boston," compels us to draw the veil over his decaying remains. Upton Sinclair's future is largely in the past.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

LOSING THEIR CHAINS

by James Sand

Daniel De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party

(Continued from previous issue)
DeLeon never took defeat in stride, and with a venom whose intensity is matched only by contemptuous Trotskyism, he would leave every organization whenever he suffered a major setback. His inability to "take it" wreaked havoc with his great ideas and has caused him to be denied his rightful place in the history of American labor. In 1895 in conjunction with the Central Labor Federation of New York, the S.L.P. under DeLeon's leadership founded the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Its chief strength, as long as it had any, was to be in the United Hebrew Trades in New York and then for a time in the I.W.W. At the 1896 convention of the S.L.P. the following resolution introduced by DeLeon was passed over the protest of the A. F. of L. delegates:

"Whereas, Both the A. F. of L. and the K. of L., or what is left of them, have fallen hopelessly into the hands of dishonest and ignorant leaders; "Whereas, These bodies have taken shape as the buffers for capitalism, against whom every intelligent effort of the working class for emancipation has hitherto gone to pieces;

"Whereas, The policy of 'propitiating' the leaders of these organizations has been tried long enough by the progressive movement, and is to a great extent responsible for the power which these leaders have wielded in the protection of capitalism and the selling out of the workers; "Whereas, No organization of labor can accomplish anything for the workers that does not proceed from the principle that an irrepressible conflict rages between the capitalist and working class, a conflict that can be settled only by the total overthrow of the former and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth;

"Whereas, This conflict is essentially a political one, needing the combined political and economic efforts of the working class therefore be it

"Resolved, That we hail with unqualified joy the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as a giant stride toward throwing off the yoke of wage slavery and of the robber class of capitalists. We call upon the Socialists of the land to carry forth the revolutionary spirit of the S.T. & L.A. into all the organizations of the workers, and thus consolidate and concentrate the proletariat of America in one irresistible class conscious army, equipped with the shield of the economic organization and the sword of the Socialist Labor Party ballot."

The formation of the S.T. & L.A. was to lead to the split in the Socialist ranks of America, to leave the S.L.P. a small sect, and deprive DeLeon of the influence for the good which he could have wielded. In 1899, Hillquit, London, Cahane, et al., for the workers of New York, Victor Berger for the Social Democrats of Milwaukee, Eugene Victor Debs for the American Railway Union and the Social Democracy of America, joined with various small groups over the nation to form the Socialist Party of America. Hundreds left DeLeon and joined the new party, and it was obvious after the first national campaign in 1900 that DeLeon had suffered an overwhelming defeat. His fight against the A. F. of L. had alienated the trade unionists, his rigidity in the application of revolutionary socialism grounded in Marxism had tended to make him sectarian and blind to the pace of American economic development.

DeLeon was now lecturing all over the country, editing the People, and wielding influence through personal contacts. On the international front DeLeon fought at the congresses of the Second International to little avail. He attended the International Congress in Amsterdam, and wrote despatches to the People which were later incorporated into a book Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress. Of particular interest are his sketches of international socialist leaders. He thought little of almost all of them. Plekhanoff he thought well of; Jaures he thought a fraud. He tried there to have repealed the Kausky resolution passed in 1900, foreseeing the possibility of Socialists accepting posts in capitalist coalition governments. He failed.

When the Industrial Union Manifesto was issued by several labor groups calling for the formation of the I.W.W., the S.L.P. cast in its lot with them, and installed the S.T. & L.A. in the I.W.W. with a membership of 1400. DeLeon had a great hand in the establishment of the I.W.W. until he and his followers were thrown out in 1908 by the "Hallelujah, I'm a bum" elements. With DeLeon went the political

action clause which he had had passed at the first convention in 1905. DeLeon himself became more and more sectarian in his theory as the opportunities for practice became fewer and fewer. He died on May 11th, 1914 without seeing the outbreak of the imperialist war and without viewing the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia. He had lived a frugal life. His dress was always shabby and his clothes were worn, since his chief income came from the editorship of the People, which first gave him the sumptuous salary of \$12.00 a week when he started in 1891 and advanced him to the handsome sum of \$30 a week several years later. On that he supported a wife and five children, and yet when he died the People owed him \$3500.00 in back salary, which it later paid to his wife.

Of his learning even his opponents have spoken highly. He was a careful reader of Marx and Engels, and translated Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, as well as works of Bebel on the woman question, of Kautsky on the class struggle, and of Lassalle. He did translations of a great number of novels by Eugene Sue. As a law student at Columbia, he showed marked ability and his graduation called forth special comments from the faculty. But "stuffed shirt" academics were not for DeLeon. One reader of the People had asked DeLeon if a Socialist could gain anything from a university education and received the following as a reply:

"Fortified with economic and sociologic science, equipped with a healthy and logical mind, thus rendered immune to the contagion of bourgeois economic and sociology, the Socialist may derive great advantage from our universities;—not so fortified, there is no telling what a mental cripple it will be that a diploma will be handed to when he graduates."

DeLeon's sectarianism led him to a false view on "immediate demands," a view which is not Marxist. He opposed fighting for them and felt that their being granted constituted merely a sop. He failed to see their use in organizing ever greater masses of workers and in unifying those already organized, as well as making clear to the workers that Marxists are the vanguard of the working class. But his fighting for industrial unionism has not been in vain; he carried its banner aloft at a time when neither the objective conditions of capitalist development nor the subjective temper of the workers aided him in the fight. It was no accident that at the 1935 convention of the A. F. of L., Frey, the leader of the craft unionists, should have mentioned DeLeon as the precursor in the fight which John L. Lewis started to lead there.

His most mature views on the state he expressed at a speech in Minneapolis, shortly after the first I.W.W. convention in Chicago. It also manifests the high hopes he had for the Wobblies.

"The mining, the railroad, the textile, the building industries, down or up the line (he said), each of these, regardless of former political boundaries, will be the constituencies of that new central authority the rough scaffolding of which was raised last week in Chicago. Where the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World will sit there will be the nation's capital. Like the flimsy card-houses that children raise, the present political governments of countries, of states, aye, of the city on the Potomac itself, will tumble down, their places taken by the central and the subordinate administrative organs of the nation's industrial forces. Obviously, not the 'structure' of the political movement, but the 'structure' of the economic movement is fit for the task, to 'take and hold' the industrial administration of the country's productive activity—the only thing worth 'taking and holding'."

But DeLeon's views on the road to power were extremely wishy-washy. Armed insurrection as a necessary step in the seizure of power by the working class he looked upon as opera-bouffe revolutionism. The result has been that his followers are now very busy talking about bringing in a socialist society thru the ballot-box and industrial unionism.

DeLeon's errors were monumental and it is his errors which are now the foundation of the S.L.P. His truths are kept alive only by his former enemies. Today those who understand DeLeon in his correctness and in his errors have the great task of saving him from his friends and his party-relatives.

— NEXT WEEK —
SAMUEL GOMPERS—AFTER 1900

Hochman Explains The Demands Which The Dressmakers Will Win

Union Decks Cleared For Action As The Bosses Stall For Time

By SAUL HELD

Forging what is tantamount to a new strike strategy for its impending battle to the finish with the czars of the dress industry, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has issued a pamphlet to every member of the union, "Why This Strike," conceived and penned by Julius Hochman, general manager of the Joint Board. Its strikingly lucid and intelligent message to every dressmaker strikes home.

105,000 dressmakers, producing nine out of every ten dresses in the United States, stand in solid phalanx, determined to wage bitter and unyielding war to improve their living conditions. In the last three years, under the generalship of leaders who stand foremost in that small coterie of progressive field marshalls of the trade unions, the I.L.G.W.U. has become the citadel of progressive unionism. In large and decisive measure, the Union's well-knit organizational structure, finest educational program and facilities, and steered loyalty of its membership, is the result of a trade union statesmanship that was born and nourished by the growing maturity gained by bitter experience of the membership itself.

Now they stand in the vanguard of these 105,000 dressmakers laying the plans for victory, marshaling the ranks for battle. Paramount in their strategy is the inculcation, indelibly, into the minds and hearts of every union member not only the horrible conditions in the industry, the attitude of the employers, but why the Union's strike demands are imperative to their social welfare. But, it is more than the immediate issues involved and the battle to be won that is unfolded before their vision; an industry and all its cancers cut wide open to the view of every worker. This astounding educational venture in preparation for strike, engineered with striking simplicity and thorough economic knowledge by the leaders, opens up new vistas of insight amongst the needle workers.

A brief summary of this vital and inspiring pamphlet, "Why This Strike," follows:

Jobbers Violate Agreements
"We want every member to be familiar with all the reasons for this strike. We want the public to know why we are compelled to leave the fruitless conference table for the picket line."

Three years ago—the unchallenged reign of the sweatshop. Then thousands poured out on the picket lines in response to the General Strike call and a collective agreement was "forced into the NRA code by our own strength." The new agreement "gave us the 35-hour week, the guaranteed minimum wage, 'industrial citizenship' as represented by the right to the job and a host of other conditions. It set up an impartial machinery under which the employers as represented by the association, themselves a by-product of the agreement, were supposed to co-operate with us in 'good faith' in the enforcement of conditions." Hopes soared—only to be shattered in the following two and a half years.

"Look at the record. Three major stoppages and 681 shop strikes. . . . The jobbers had so far forgotten their 'good faith' as to squeeze wages and conditions down to a point reminiscent of pre-

strike days. . . . The shop strikes were endless; an average of more than one a day."

Thousands of complaints rained upon the Impartial Chairman and three deputies. The trade tribunal became a criminal court as union leaders unmasked a multiplicity of faked jobber bookkeeping—"caught redhanded falsifying their books, switching price ranges, underpaying their workers and violating the agreement through every subterfuge and evasion." A half million dollars of stolen money was won back for the workers from a many times larger sum of which they were defrauded, at terrific cost to the union.

Cause Of Evils

The Jobber Contracting System is the cause of most of the evils afflicting the industry. 80,220 Union members in the Metropolitan Area are compelled to earn their living in contracting shops. Dressmakers employed in the more stable inside shops operated by the real manufacturers earn on the average about \$1100 a year; in contracting shops they average only \$700 a year. That 56% difference is a tax on the worker collected by the jobber through the Jobber-Contracting System.

How it works? "The jobber styles, cuts and sells the garments, he buys the silk and maintains showrooms for 'his' line. He is the chief beneficiary of the industry.

But when it comes to hiring workers and paying wages . . . oh no! . . . let the contractor do it."

"The next step for the jobber is to have a lot of contractors; the more the merrier. They bid against each other for work. . . . If they try to hold out for a just price, the jobber tells him there is another contractor waiting, and there is." The jobbers concentrate "their production in a small number of contracting shops" and use "a large number as a competitive whip to depress prices." The competitive conditions thus engendered cause hundreds of contractors to close their doors each year causing unemployment amongst thousands. The "right to the job"—one of the basic rights guaranteed by the agreement is automatically death-stricken.

"Who profits? The Jobber!"

"Most dress jobbers do an annual business of more than 10 times their capital. In cheaper lines the turn-over runs as high as 25 times. There is a case on record of a jobber who did an annual business of \$585,000 on a \$17,000 capital. One can only wonder what this meant in toil and insecurity to the workers and contractors who produced the dresses around which his capital revolved at such a dizzy rate."

"THE UNION ANNOUNCES SIMPLY AND STRAIGHTFORWARDLY THAT THE INSANITY OF THE UNRESTRAINED JOBBER-CONTRACTOR SYSTEM CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE UNCHECKED."

Program For Stability

Realizing that an industry cannot be re-built over night the program for stability in the industry demands certain powerful checks on the jobber-contracting system. While demanding shorter hours, higher minimum wages, free employment bureau and an unemployment insurance fund, the Union finds that these will be meaningless unless it establishes "a general control and enforcement machinery." The Union is convinced that the new agreement must contain three basic points to ensure this control:

1. Limitation of Contractors.
2. Price Settlement on the Jobbers Premises.

3. The Unit System of Price Settlement.

1. By limiting the jobber to the number of contractors he needs for his legitimate production, the artificially inflated number of competing contractors enriching the jobber is eliminated. This will guarantee job security and equal division of work.

2. Price settlement on the jobber's premise before the "line" is worked on, will eliminate the haggling and competition between the worker's price committees from the various shops who are pitted against each other. Workers from different shops are not acquainted with what is happening in each shop and consequently different settlements for the same dress are made. Only price settlement on jobbers' premises, prior to work, binding for all, can eliminate this evil.

3. The Unit system of price settlement is a method worked out by the union to calculate the exact time it would take to make a given dress. The time necessary to make any part of a dress has been calculated and its price fixed. This makes possible uniform rates for all the workers, and eliminates the frenzied waste and dispute of workers haggling over prices. The Unit System is scientific; any worker can calculate his earnings easily and be assured that no

MANY STIKES LOOM

As the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is clearing the decks for strike action, 20,000 elevator operators and other employees, members of the Building Service Employees Union, are ready to strike on Monday, for 40% increase in wages and a forty-hour week, James J. Bambrick, union president has announced.

* * *

2,000 union operating and clerical employees of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, St. Louis, Mo., are threatening strike unless their demand for a 10% wage restoration is met.

* * *

A union man was fired at the Akron plant of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company for alleged "intimidation" of a non-union worker. 1,000 of the workers remained idle in a "sit down" protest, when the firm refused to reinstate the unionist.

PHILADELPHIA

GEORGE F. MILES
Editor, Workers Age

speaks on

ORGANIC UNITY

VICE OR VIRTUE?

on

SUNDAY Feb. 16 - 8 P. M.

at

329 Pine Street
Phila., Pa.

Auspices: Phila. Section CPO

BRADLEY'S

CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE
FOOD
AT
REASONABLE
PRICES

6th Ave. at 14th Street

JULIUS HOCHMAN



Manager of the Dress Joint Board. Over 100,000 workers await his call to battle for better conditions.

other worker is competing with him on price.

Why This Strike

The whole history of the industry testifies eloquently to the employers' bourgeois resistance to progress. They sneered at the right to the job, at sanitary conditions; they prophesied disaster each time the Union demanded a reduction in hours. In the recent negotiations they stalled for months before coming to the conference table, hoping to catch the Union off guard. In 1933 the Union's historic mission of smashing the sweatshop was largely successful. Today, it must end forever the chaos and confusion inflicted on the workers. "This we will accomplish in 1936 through Limitation of Contractors, Settlement on the Jobber's Premises, and the Unit System."

"If we cannot get what everybody agrees is a just and necessary series of demands through negotiations, we will win it through the General Strike."

Just as the dressmakers' victory in 1933 sent a powerful current of hope, inspiration and example surging through American Labor, so must the battle of 1936 serve to point the road for organized workers everywhere in the achieving of some measure of social security.

The American Labor Movement has its eyes riveted on your impending battle. Show them the road to victory!

SPIES EXPOSE JAP PLOTS

The cowardly government of counter-revolution at Nanking is shivering in its boots, while Imperialist Japan strides over North China, and threatens loudly to end the career of Chiang Kai-shek. However, new forces are arising and consolidating themselves within the country against Japanese aggression. The aroused nationalism of the petty-bourgeoisie was expressed in two large student demonstrations against Japan, last week. The demonstration was attacked by Shanghai police, brutally dispersed, and resulted in the proclaiming of martial law.

Standing solidly behind the anti-Japanese movement and the colonial movement in general, is Soviet Russia, goal of Japan's expansion. Conferences were held with the representatives of the People's Republic of Outer Mongolia (bordering the Japanese puppet state Manchukuo) at the Kremlin, where mutual assistance and plans for action were outlined.

The Chinese nationalist, anti-imperialist movement received a fine impetus when a revolt of Japanese troops in Manchukuo took place. The rebel troops are supposed to have found haven in Soviet territory.

The sharpening of the struggle continued when the Soviet authorities announced the execution of five spies. These five were Russian emigres (White Guardists) and Koreans who had been in the pay of the Japanese. According to the confessions obtained, whole nests of these counter-revolutionary elements exist in Harbin and elsewhere, supported by the Japanese. They are made leaders of special troop divisions and are counted upon to play an important role in the Japanese invasion of Russia. The former is supposed to have prepared plans for the restoration of the throne of the tsars, to be under the domination of Japanese finance capital.

HAVE YOU GIVEN TO \$5,000 FUND?

Indispensable to Every Student of Marxism!

YOU HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR

AUGUST THALHEIMER'S

INTRODUCTION TO DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

This, the finest and most lucid, presentation of the Marxist World-View is now ready in an English Translation

Published by Covici-Friede at \$2.00

YOU CAN BUY IT NOW THRU

WORKERS AGE

51 West 14th Street

For \$1.75

Mail Orders to P. O. Box 68, Station "O", N. Y. C.

(10c additional for postage)