

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## FASCISTS SPLIT IN AUSTRIA

Clericals Oust Heimwehr Leader, Stahremberg, In Government Crisis

The fight between the Heimwehr fascists of Stahremberg, and the clerico-fascist group of Schuschnigg came to a head and resulted in the ousting of the Heimwehr leader from the government. Immediately, Schuschnigg as unchallenged fascist dictator, assured Italy that the relations between the countries would remain friendly. Stahremberg had been considered "Mussolini's" man. But the Italian fascist leader seems to have decided that Stahremberg was finished, for Mussolini sent a telegram expressing "best wishes for the continuance and success of your work", to Schuschnigg.

The inner Austrian struggle was accelerated in coming to a head by a financial bankruptcy and scandal that shook the entire government—that of the Phoenix Insurance Company. Money had been lavishly handed out to various organizations, from the Heimwehr to Schuschnigg's catholic-outfit. Many individuals high in the government were involved, so that the misuse of the policy holders' funds had deep political effects. It was immediately after this that Stahremberg declared that "the Heimwehr will be dissolved only over my dead body", showing that the controversy was raging high in the ruling circles.

The basic cause of the split was a difference over the domestic policy to be pursued. Schuschnigg demanded a rapprochement with the extreme right-wing of the Social-Democracy, a move opposed by the Heimwehr. For clerico-fascism and bourgeois rule in Austria this was a very important question because such a maneuver would gain a mass basis for the regime that is practically lacking today. A first step towards this end was made by the inclusion of Reither, a peasant leader. It is political nonsense to suppose that this indicates any "democratization" of the regime; it is simply a desperate move of the shaky fascist regime to achieve a hold among the masses. While the Heimwehr will not accept dissolution gracefully, the policies of clerico-fascism will be carried out.

## MILITARY RULE IN PALESTINE

Martial law has been declared in Jerusalem by the British High Commissioner, Wauchope, in response to the continued Arab general strike. A student demonstration was attacked by police, as the order was put into effect.

The British Cabinet has been meeting, fearing that revolts against its imperialist domain might spread, if this is not immediately stifled. Altho the full plans have not been made public, the first act resulting from the Cabinet meeting has been the increase of the military garrison more than a third by the shifting of 1000 soldiers to Jerusalem. Included in the transfer is a company of light tanks, and armored cars.

Karl Schuschnigg



## FRISCO COUNCIL AIDS MOONEY

The San Francisco Labor Council, with the endorsement of the State Federation of Labor of California, has begun its campaign for a nation-wide drive to free Mooney and Billings. This is the first time in the history of the frame-up of Mooney and Billings, that these bodies have interested themselves in and taken action on the case.

The Labor Bulletin, official journal of the Council explained the action as follows: "The Labor Council's action is based upon the belief that both prisoners were convicted on perjured testimony and that they were the victims of a conspiracy to railroad them to the gallows."

## BLUM FORMING A LEFT CABINET

Radicals Vote To Join; Communists Decide To Stay Out

Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist Party of France and, as the spokesman for the largest party in the Chamber of Deputies, the next Premier of France, lost no time in building his political fences. With the Radical Socialist Party voting favorably on participation in a cabinet headed by Blum, the Communist Party, with its 72 seats representing the balance of power in the People's Front bloc in the Chamber, remains the only importance force outside the Cabinet which Mr. Blum is busy in whipping into shape. The refusal in the latter case came after the Communist Party proposal for setting up People's Front Committees in the cities and towns of France was turned down by the Socialists and the Radicals under the excuse that this means soviets.

Already the main outlines of Blum's internal and external policies have become clear thru a number of recent pronouncements. To England's growing coolness to the League of Nations, Blum replies with an appeal urging that this attitude be overcome especially now "when France is preparing to support it to the best of her ability." To reassure Hitler, Blum declares that he is not at all con-

A special committee has been appointed to enlist the entire labor movement in the drive to free Mooney and Billings and to raise funds for their defense. A special mass meeting and demonstration was held on May 15th under the auspices of the Labor Council, for the freedom of Mooney and Billings. The Council requests all unions to enter the campaign.

## Council Silent As Steel Union Backs C.I.O. Plan

Amalgamated Association Calls On Craft Organizations To Waive Jurisdictional Rights; C. I. O. Hails Decisions And Plans Widespread Support

The convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers at its session in Cannonsburg, Pa. made history last week by going on record unequivocally for an organization drive along industrial lines. This decision, bitterly fought by the supporters of craft unionism in the union, opens the doors for the organization of the 500,000 workers in the industry.

The decision of the convention is commonly referred to as a compromise. The writer fails to see the correctness of this characterization. The utter silence of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in session in Washington, D. C. at the time of this resolution was made public, is itself proof, altho circumstantial, that the leaders of the A. F. of L. do not consider this decision as sufficient cause for dancing in the streets. On the other hand the Committee for Industrial Organization immediately declared the resolution to be satisfactory—in the sense that it insists that the craft unions waive their jurisdictional rights—and is now busily engaged in the task of preparing assistance on the basis of the provisions of the resolution adopted.

### The Resolution

There are two decisive clauses in the resolution which will bear comment. Clause One, which has caused many a headache in the Executive Council reads: "Any and all rights or claims of jurisdiction in the steel industry be permanently waived by any and all interested organizations, in favor of the Amalgamated Association." What will the A. F. of L. international unions do? Will the resolution of this convention be honored or does it mean the beginning of a bitter war between the various craft unions and the A.A.? The International Association of Machinists, one of the rabid craft union proponents, has already taken steps to split the ranks of the steel workers.

## Grave Tasks Ahead for Socialist Party at Its Cleveland Convention

We are glad to inform our readers that Comrade Jay Lovestone will cover the Socialist convention as correspondent for WORKERS AGE. The first report on the convention will be printed next week. Spread the news among your friends and fellow workers.—Editor.

The convention of the Socialist Party, scheduled to start during the last week of May, in Cleveland, Ohio, is attracting considerable attention from all sections of the working class movement. Increasing interest was given to this convention by the well publicized announcement of the Old Guard stating their readiness to organize a new Social-Democratic Party unless the Militant Program is withdrawn and the Declaration of Principles modified to suit them. They have even voiced a readiness to support Roosevelt if the Socialist Party nominates a Presidential candidate who is not to their liking. In the face of these developments the Cleveland convention assumes considerable significance. Will the convention

retreat in the face of the Old Guard offensive in order to maintain an abstract and unprincipled party unity or will it proceed with the process of breaking with the theories and practices of social reformism? The Cleveland convention will answer that question.

Under the signature of its secretary, Jay Lovestone, the Communist Party Opposition, sent the following letter to the convention: Dear Comrades:

On January 27, we addressed a communication to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, proposing revolutionary unity. A copy of this document is attached.

On January 31, we addressed a letter to your National Committee, proposing the nomination of Tom Mooney for President on a United Labor Ticket. A copy of this document is also attached.

In reply to the above proposals you wrote us on February 6 as follows:

"I have made copies of your declaration and campaign proposals and sent them to members of our National Executive

Committee.

"Your communication addressed to the N.E.C. at its last meeting in Philadelphia was read there and I was instructed to write you again, as I have in the past, that there will be no negotiations with Communists or Communist splinter groups until the national convention of the Socialist Party the last week of May."

So far we have not heard anything else.

We herewith propose that in view of the importance of both of these questions, you should kindly give the most serious consideration to them at your national convention. A representative of our organization will be in Cleveland at that time and will be glad to consult with you about these matters, if you so desire.

We assume that you are aware of the fact that the San Francisco labor movement has gone on record for a National Mooney Day in July. We, therefore, propose that your convention should endorse this proposal of the San Francisco Labor Council and ap-

peal to its delegates, members and followers to throw themselves full force into making National Mooney Day an occasion for the greatest mobilization of working class forces for the freedom of these two outstanding martyrs in the cause of labor.

Please let us know what you are planning to do about the above matters.

# The German Workers Voted "No"!

By S. AUFHAUSER

German fascism has won a 99% election "victory." It was a campaign of unbridled chauvinism and brutal terror to gain the approval by the German people of Hitler's foreign policy. The pre-determined Reichstag elections gave the genuinely revolutionary forces of the proletariat no occasion to manifest their heroism since all "NO" votes were simply changed to "Yes" votes. The elections, however, proved that the bourgeois opposition in the Third Reich capitulated long ago.

The basic threat to fascism lies in the factories. The organization of the working class in the factories is the first pre-requisite for a successful struggle against Hitler. This has become obvious not only to the Socialists but also to the Hitler regime. Hitler is convinced that if elections were held in the factories, his regime would fare badly. In the middle of March he, therefore, called off the shop council elections which were scheduled for April 3rd.

According to the "Law for the Co-ordination of National Labor,"

## Auto Union Chiefs Pledge Solidarity To Detroit Labor

Detroit, Mich.—A very interesting event occurred here on Wednesday, May 6th, which was like a breath of fresh air to local progressives in the trade union movement.

The occasion was the presence of the new officers of the United Automobile Workers of America at the regular meeting of the Detroit Federation of Labor by the invitation of Frank Martel. While this in itself was nothing extraordinary, a striking contrast was noticeable between these serious-looking young men and the well-fed, slow-moving business agents who run most of the affairs of the Central Body.

Homer Martin, the new President of the U.A.W.A. in pledging the support of the International to the Central Body, made a very good impression, especially when he very correctly emphasized the importance of that body as the medium whereby all organized labor of this district can present a united front against the common enemy.

He promised to use all his influence to have all Detroit locals of the U.A.W.A. affiliate. Other officials spoke in the same vein. Frankenstein of the A.I.W.A. (Coughlin's union) spoke very briefly, stating that he hoped his union would be part of the International within a few days. It is hoped that Martin's conciliatory tactics will force other independents into line very shortly. Lastly, Martel made a speech in which he came out very sharply for industrial unionism in the automobile field, intimating that any craft union wishing to start a jurisdictional fight would have him to deal with. He also made a veiled criticism of the past leaders of the U.A.W.A.

One physical feature impressed itself forcibly on this reporter's mind. Even in a literal sense it was no libel to call Dillon (retiring president of the Auto union) and his henchman, fat boys. The present lean group have a combined weight equal to about two average organizers under Dillon, who looked pretty well fed himself. But they look to have a lot more of something the old gang didn't have—determination to organize the auto industry.

shop councils are to be elected in all factories every year. These councils are not to be confused with the shop councils under the Republic. Actually, they do not represent the workers nor do they exercise any rights. They are completely under the control of the employers. The candidates are not nominated by the workers but by the employers. In other words, these councils are company-controlled; their members being directly responsible to their employers and their main function being to control and denounce their fellow-workers. The working class can have no interest in such an institution.

### A Mean of Protest

When the shop council elections for 1936 were announced, the workers knew quite well that these yellow company councils would do nothing to improve their wages and working conditions. The socialist workers, however, were determined to utilize these elections to protest against the intolerable situation of the German working class. Tho the workers could not nominate their own candidates, the Socialist workers of all tendencies decided to vote the ballots. This would have proved a great embarrassment to the Hitler regime. Hence Goebbels announced that the issue at hand was a political one; that the workers were voting either for or against Hitler. He soon realized that the results would have been poor for Hitler. He, therefore, issued a new slogan declaring that the elections had no bearing on the political situation but represented a test of the local leadership of the factories. Even this slogan proved to be too dangerous. Came the third slogan, namely, that this election was merely a test of the individual shop councils, i.e., the workers could strike out names as much as they liked. This method of voting would have been the least dangerous for the government since a ballot is valid even tho four out of five candidates are crossed out. Hitler, however, lost courage and postponed the elections to 1937. It is very doubtful whether they will be held at all.

The calling off of these elections illustrates much better than the so-called Reichstag elections the actual situation in Hitler-Germany. Why did Hitler call off the council elections?

During Reichstag elections the Nazi Party sets into motion a tremendous terror campaign which frightens the voters. While the council elections are by no means carried on in democratic fashion, yet the workers exercise their own control. Tho Hitler had ordered that the results of the shop council elections would not be made public, the workers would have seen to it that the public learned about them. That is why the regime was afraid to go ahead with the elections. Besides the elections in the factories cannot be influenced by an aggressive foreign policy. In the factory, the worker judges the regime by his experiences in the shop; moreover, here he is conscious of his class; here he expresses his solidarity with his fellow-workers.

The wage reductions, the exploitation and the enslavement from which the German proletariat

suffers would have found expression in the elections. That's why they were called off. The endless misery of the masses would have brought Hitler a big "No" vote, which he avoided by cancelling the elections.

The reason given for the cancellation of the shop elections was that the Reichstag elections were being held the same month. A very poor excuse, indeed!

**Avoiding Defeat**  
The Reichstag elections' results were the fruit of brutal terror; the shop council elections would have reflected weakness in the Hitler regime. Last year only 40% of the workers participated in these elections. The other 60% were consciously sabotaging. In 1936 Hitler would have suffered a big defeat.

The international working class must realize that the Reichstag elections were by no means an indication of the sentiment of the German proletariat. The working class of Germany is today, as it was before, a silent but bitter opponent of fascism. Its power for revolutionary action lies in the factories. The factory is the basis for any mass movement; in the factory the worker experiences class solidarity as nowhere else. The Hitler regime is aware of this fact.

Let us hope that the leaders of the revolutionary movement will come to realize that the terror of fascism cannot be broken thru alliances with the bourgeoisie and

with illusions about a false People's Front. Only a people's movement led by the working class can bring about the victory of socialism. The cancelling of the factory elections is a signal for the mobilization of the factory workers to wage a successful struggle for freedom.

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## A. F. of L. Silent As Steel Union Backs C.I.O. Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

industry and extend help. This can mean only the unions of the C.I.O. and such others as may in the course of events be won for industrial unionism. We fail to see any compromise. As matter of fact any other than the resolution finally adopted would have been considered provocative and might well have precipitated a head-on collision with the A.F. of L. The resolution, adhering to industrial unionism—which after all is the decisive question—hurdles the difficult C.I.O.-A.F. of L. relations with great neatness and dispatch.

**What Now.**  
The convention having finally answered the question of craft vs. industrial organization the real battle is about to begin even were it taken for granted that the craft internationals will do nothing to hinder organization in the steel industry. It must be remembered that in the steel industry unionism comes to grips with capitalism in the raw. The dictatorship in the steel barons in the towns and cities of their vast empire is something to be reckoned with, as is also the recently exposed net-work of stool-pigeons and rats in the pay of the industry.

The difficulties of organization under such circumstances are indeed manifold. But so also is the need and the desire for organization among the mass of the workers. There is still another factor to be reckoned with. The A. A. in its present condition, stands as a living monument to the incompetence or worse of the Tighes and the Leonards. It is to be hoped that the A.A. will be able to place in the forefront a leadership capable of arousing the confidence and trust of the steel workers.

**A. P.-Guild Battle**  
The National Labor Relations Board found the Associated Press had violated the Wagner Act in discharging Morris Watson for Newspaper Guild activity. He was ordered reinstated. The employees of the A.P. will soon vote, by secret ballot, on the right of the Guild to represent them. Altho the Guild had rejected the Wagner Bill as giving too much countenance to company unionism, it was felt that no effort or means should be spared in the attempt to win the Watson case.

**WPA Wages Disclosed**  
The hearings of the House Appropriations Committee revealed certain rates of pay for the Works Projects Administration. Wages were lowest in the South, where North Carolina had a monthly scale of \$23.93, and Mississippi the next lowest at \$24.33. The highest rates were in New York City (where organization of the workers is also comparatively strong), the scale averaging \$72.23. For the United States as a whole the average monthly wage was \$51.03.

**Women's Trade Union League**  
The Women's Trade Union League held its first convention since 1929, in Washington this month, passing resolutions of a general nature but taking no stand on the questions of a labor party, or the industrial union fight. It urged the passage of a constitutional amendment to allow Congress to pass social legislation, to avoid the "stifling activities of the Supreme Court." The league also denounced Hearst on the basis of his refusal to negotiate with the Newspaper Guild in the Milwaukee strike. A women's department in the A. F. of L. was also requested.

**THE ICO MOURNS THE DEATH OF COMRADE WILLIAM MORIARTY**

The statement printed below was addressed to our Canadian comrades by the International Communist Opposition. Comrade Heinrich Brandler who had the opportunity to meet Moriarty thought very highly of his capabilities as an organizer and educator.—Ed.

April 30, 1936  
To the C.P.O. of Canada:  
Dear Comrades:  
We are deeply shocked by the news of the sudden death of Comrade William Moriarty.

We have retained a very vivid memory of the discussion we had with him two years ago. Our conference with him convinced us that William Moriarty was an extraordinarily devoted comrade. Our discussion revealed him to be not only a sincere revolutionary but also a politically well-developed communist. Tho he did not attempt to conceal the difficulties of building our group in Canada, we were convinced that he would make all efforts to do everything humanly possible. He kept his promise. He laid the foundations for our group in Canada.

You will miss William Moriarty in your future activities. His thirty-years experience in the English and Canadian labor movement will no longer be at your disposal. This is a great loss not only for your small group but also for the I.C.O. You must now work more closely together in order to fill the gap. Your efforts to continue his excellent work will give you and us the possibility to honor his memory as it should be honored.

We herewith express our deepest sympathy with the C.P.O. section of Canada and pledge ourselves to work for the realization of the task Comrade Moriarty set for himself along the lines he laid down.

For the International Communist Opposition  
Heinrich Brandler  
(Signed)

## On the LABOR FRONT

K.K.K. Thinks Flogging O.K.

The Tampa trial continues to drag despite the accepted guilt of the participants in the murder of Shoemaker and the flogging of Poulnot, simply because the big fruit growers and cigar interests can't see anything wrong with flogging and murdering. One unidentified "gentleman" stated the following concerning the role of the big companies and the Ku Klux Klan: Citrus growing is a \$100,000,000 industry . . . and labor organizers must be discouraged. It would be undignified for members of the organization to do it, and so outsiders are used". He proudly told of the dozens of "disturbers" he had helped to throw into swamps and water-filled phosphate mines.

### Labor Accepts Railroad Merger

The twenty-one railway unions accepted in principle the merger of the railroads proposed by the government and the management, and have been negotiating for an agreement which will compensate the unemployed workers. The full details have not been worked out, but when they are, the unions will give up their campaign for the Wheeler-Crosser bill, which would give protection to the displaced men. Under the tentative agreement, the compensation would range from two months pay for those who have worked not more than a year to 60% of full pay for five years, for those in service fifteen years or more. The railroad companies would also pay the moving expenses of the employees, if these were forced to give up their homes due to consolidation.

The whole structure of the Union is being rebuilt along the lines we discussed and advocated in the last few years, along the lines of jobber groups. Both the industry and the Union are passing thru a period of fundamental reorganization. In such a situation as this, in such a period of thoroughgoing reconstruction the utmost unity, solidarity and discipline in our ranks are a vital necessity. Under these circumstances, it is the supreme

the following is a letter sent today by the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union to Mr. Harold R. Lhowe of the "Knitted Outerwear Times"—Editor.

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Mr. Harold R. Lhowe  
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286 Fourth Avenue  
New York City.

Dear Sir:  
The columns of the Knitted Outerwear Times, official organ of the National Knitted Outerwear Association, have recently been full of statements calculated to incite violence and to create a lynch mob spirit against the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union. It is plainly revealed in your paper that the National Knitted Outerwear Association, in conjunction with the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, is desperately striving, through this campaign of vilification, to smash the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union and to bring about the conviction of its officers following their arrest on trumped up charges.

We are particularly interested in the May 8th issue of your paper wherein you offer a \$200 reward for information of any person threatening, intimidating or assaulting any employe or employe in the knitted outerwear industry." On the basis of the following information, the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union claims the reward.

The following members of your association are guilty of hiring professional gangsters and thugs

## Local 22 Groups Issue Call for Joint Work

The statement printed below is of great significance in that two forces which have bitterly fought each other for a period of several years have finally recognized that the basic differences have disappeared thus making possible a period of constructive cooperation in the union.—Editor.

From the experiences we have already had in the enforcement of the new agreement, we are learning rapidly how to improve the machinery for settling prices. We are learning how to eliminate the weak points and shortcomings that have manifested themselves and how to strengthen the positive features so that the system as a whole should work entirely to the advantage of the dressmakers. It is already clear, for one thing, that for effective functioning we must have definite schedules to apply in the settlement of prices. Already committees of the Union are working to prepare such schedules. As soon as they are applied, many of the present difficulties will surely be eliminated. Faults and shortcomings are inevitable in the first stages of the new system but no one should be confused or discouraged thereby. Everyone must now cooperate with the Union to help overcome these difficulties; no one should be permitted to exaggerate them or use them against the interests of the Union and the dressmakers. We must learn from these weaknesses and never cease our efforts to improve the new system of price settlement and the new machinery of enforcement in the interest of the dressmakers.

The whole structure of the Union is being rebuilt along the lines we discussed and advocated in the last few years, along the lines of jobber groups. Both the industry and the Union are passing thru a period of fundamental reorganization. In such a situation as this, in such a period of thoroughgoing reconstruction the utmost unity, solidarity and discipline in our ranks are a vital necessity. Under these circumstances, it is the supreme

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## U. S. Steel—Comforter

U. S. Steel, Andrew Carnegie's pet pride and joy when he was alive, boasts that fond mothers have nothing on it. It treats its employees just like its own flesh and blood, satisfying their every need without any regard for itself.

In the last twenty-five years U. S. Steel, the proverbially good provider, spent \$295,000,000 on the welfare of its workers. Thus it installed 25,000 "faucets and wash-basins" for the use of its 196,000 employees and dished out \$52,000,000 for heating, lighting, and sewage systems.

But not until it put in 2,500 comfort stations did it truly display the qualities for which mothers are honored the world over.

duty of all forward-looking elements in our Union to unite their forces for the great task ahead, to help imbue our ranks with the unconquerable spirit of unity and militancy. In full recognition of this duty, the Progressive Group and the Left Group, embracing the most active members in our Union, agree to work together and to cooperate in the furtherance of our common program and aims, as outlined in the above paragraphs. Just as we put up a solid front during the negotiations for the new agreement in order to win our demands, so must we now unite our forces and cooperate for the effective enforcement of these gains. In this way will we be able to hammer out an ever stronger and more aggressive Union, a more conscious and more militant membership, an organization that will stand as an example and an inspiration to the entire labor movement of this country!

(Signed)  
Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.  
Left Wing Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.

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## Socialists Merge with Fur Progressive Group

The following statement has been issued by Socialist members of the New York Furriers Union:

The Socialist group in the Furriers Union has decided to unite with the Furriers Progressive Unity League.

In taking this step we are actuated by the desire to strengthen the Furriers Union, make possible a successful struggle for improvement of conditions, and guarantee democracy for the union membership. We look upon the FPUL as an important instrument toward gaining these objectives, and as one of the most important means of promoting the true interests of the furworkers. We therefore call upon all furriers to join the FPUL, become active in its councils, and weld it into a powerful, constructive force in the union and in the trade.

The FPUL is not established for the purpose of conducting an anti-administration crusade. We are interested in preserving peace and harmony in our union, but unity without suppressing democracy, harmony without suppressing criticism. Unity is possible only if all tendencies are represented in the leading bodies of the union, if all elements are given an opportunity to work.

Unity in the union is essential to make possible the utilization of the new agreement in the interest of the furriers. The union has an opportunity to consolidate itself and strengthen the unity between the two former organizations. But the fight for better conditions still must go on. The agreement by itself does not solve the problems the furriers face. It is of course, well known to every unionist that an agreement is of value only if the union is strong enough to enforce it. The bosses are always

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We are particularly interested in the May 8th issue of your paper wherein you offer a \$200 reward for information of any person threatening, intimidating or assaulting any employe or employe in the knitted outerwear industry." On the basis of the following information, the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union claims the reward.

The following members of your association are guilty of hiring professional gangsters and thugs

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Brooklyn, May 11, 1936  
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on the look-out to violate it and eliminate whatever protection it offers the workers.

**Must Have Democracy**  
In this sense it is necessary for the membership of the union to ask whether all able forces in the union have been mobilized to fight against these two evils, contracting and the out-of-town question which threaten the industry and furriers. Has the union administration known how to draw into the direct work of the union all elements interested in building a powerful organization? Has it wanted to do it?

Can we be satisfied with the sort of democracy which exists within our union today?

A union cannot be an organization of one mind. It is not a political party, but an economic organization for the improvement of the conditions of the workers. It must not only be open to all workers regardless of race, or creed, or political views; it must make a deliberate effort to involve even the most backward workers in the life of the union. This can be done only through thoroughgoing democracy, collective leadership.

**Six Point Program**  
The program of the FPUL calls for:

1. Democracy in the union.  
2. Local meetings functioning monthly.

3. Rank and file organization committees under the control of the joint council.

4. Building and block committees to fight against over-time, Saturday and Sunday work.

5. Intensive campaign against contracting and out-of-town work.

6. Intensive campaign to raise wages in order to meet the rising prices of the main necessities.

We are sure that this program will lead to greater unification and consolidation of the ranks of the Furriers Union.

courage to speak of decency. Obviously, your appeal is intended to bolster up your weak case before public opinion. The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union has nothing to hide and is willing to lay its case before the public. We are opposed to violence and our actions prove it. We have no need to resort to violence when we have the support of thousands of knitgoods workers. These knitgoods workers have learned their indispensable importance to the industry. They have learned that thru their Union they can participate in deciding the conditions under which they are to work. They will never return to the days of dependence on the good will of you and your associates, but will stand solidly behind their Union, defeating all of your attempts to smash us.

Copies of this letter are being sent to all of the New York press. We look forward to seeing it published in the Knitted Outerwear Times also.

Yours very truly,  
JOINT COUNCIL KNITGOODS WORKERS UNION  
(Signed) Louis Nelson, Mgr.

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## 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.

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Vol. V. Saturday, May 23, 1936. No. 21.

# ONCE AGAIN WE SOUND THE ALARM!

By Jay Lovestone

IT IS with profound regret and studied patience that we have been observing the latest trend in Comintern strategy and tactics. We have in mind particularly developments in France and Czechoslovakia. Of course, we do not overlook the gyrations in policy recently manifested by the Communist Party of the United States.

To the superficial observer it might appear an inadvisable consumption of energy for us in the U. S. to concern ourselves so much with the problems and policies of the working classes and Communist parties on the other side of the water. However, in view of the fact that the principles of communism are international and that today the tactics of the Communist International are uniform, it should be clear to all that the questions now confronting our French and Czechoslovakian comrades are of vital concern to us. Likewise it should be obvious to our comrades in the European countries, to the labor movement over there, that what is done, what is not done, and what should or should not be done in the revolutionary and general labor movements in America are of basic importance to them.

Before examining some concrete manifestations of what, in our opinion, is a potential challenge to the very life of the world communist movement, it is necessary to clear the ground a bit. Principles are decisive. But a practical application of the principles of the world communist movement is what determines whether any life is to be imparted to the fundamentals of any fighting movement. It is in this sense that we emphasize and cannot emphasize too strongly that the practical application of the principles of communism by the Comintern outside of the Soviet Union is today almost uniformly wrong. Specifically, the gravest danger to communist essentials, to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, is to be found in the Comintern's new evaluations of bourgeois democracy, in the new attitude manifested towards the use of the capitalist "democratic" state as the instrument with which to defeat fascism. Furthermore, an equally grave danger to the principles of communism is to be found in the fact that the Communist parties in a number of countries are playing with strictly nationalist, practically social-chauvinist, ideas in the realm of national defense.

## "CHANGED CONDITIONS"

To us, Marxist theory is not a dogma, but, as we have time and again affirmed and re-affirmed, a guide to action, a manual of revolutionary practice. There is developing in the ranks of the official Communist movement a sort of a shibboleth which covers everything. This substitute for analysis, this substitute for critical thinking, is the so-called theory of "changed conditions." On the basis that conditions are supposed to have changed, everything is justified. On this basis, violent contempt is being fostered for any analysis of conditions and problems of the past. All that one has to say today

in the official communist movement to justify throwing overboard the lessons of previous historic struggles, to excuse and "explain" away lessons learned from experiences of the past, is that "conditions are different today."

This attitude saps the vitality of a virile movement—and communism must be a virile movement if it will mean a thing to labor. This attitude not only takes root in but is further aggravated by the system of inner-Party life prevailing in every section of the Communist International separately and in the C.I. as a whole. It is only because of these factors that, with clock-like precision, in thorough-going mechanical fashion, the various sections of the Communist International could be swung over night from ultra-left to ultra-right. These violent swings in strategy and tactics, altogether too divorced from the objective conditions at hand, could occur and do occur only because of the thorough-going lack of party democracy, the total denial of democratic centralism, in the C.I. as a whole and in its sections everywhere. Revelation becomes, under these circumstances, a substitute for explanation. Orders buttressed by threats of expulsion and name-calling like "renegade from communism" become a convenient although suicidal substitute for critical examination and frank, objective analysis and discussion.

## DEFENSE OF FATHERLAND

Let us examine the situation in Czechoslovakia. We will not at this point elaborate our objection to what has been going on in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party since the Seventh Congress. We will merely offer, by way of elucidation to confirm our indictment, the following report on Czechoslovakia which appeared in the Rundschau, Number 19, of April 23, 1936:

"The Communist deputy, Dolansky, declared that Gottwald himself was the author of the resolutions passed by the Party convention. These resolutions, which he read to a very attentive audience, contain the categorical position of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia on the question of the defense of the Czech republic at all cost against German, Polish and Hungarian fascism. The C.P.-Czech. is, however, opposed to the proposed bill in principle because it is quite inadequate for the defense of the republic against fascism; because its anti-working class and anti-people's character and the power vested in the reactionary bureaucracy make effective defense of the republic quite impossible. The Communists will therefore propose a fundamental change of the bill when its discussion comes up so as to make it acceptable to the workers.

"Sverma, another Communist deputy, emphasized the determination of the Communists to defend the republic against the Third Reich." (P. 777). But some comrades might say, after all, Czechoslovakia is only a little country, and, therefore, tragic

as this error may be from point of view of basic communist strategy, as a challenge to the *raison d'être* of the world communist movement—because of the smallness of the country, not much alarm should be raised over this "little" mistake. With such a mechanical approach we, of course, will not associate ourselves.

## "POUR L'ORDRE"

The character of the mistakes is not determined by the size of the country in which they are perpetrated. But in order to avoid the charge of petty factionalism, we will go over to so big, so decisive and pivotal a land in present day world politics as France. Who of us has forgotten Thiers, the butcher of the Commune? Who of us has forgotten that his battle cry in the slaughtering of the Communards was "pour l'ordre"? And who of us can deny that France today, in the day of Herriot, Daladier, Mandel, Flandin, Sarraut, Petain, is just as bourgeois and at least as imperialist as it was in the days of Versailles and Thiers?

Yet, assuming that our memories are somewhat green, how could any communist explain the seven column streamer across the front page of *Humanite* of April 24, 1936: "Pour l'ordre, votez communiste." Surely no one in his direst anxiety to catch votes for Communist members of the Chamber of Deputies would say that it is a Soviet and socialist order that *Humanite* is talking about. Certainly, not even in the craziest moments of the ultra-left period did any official communist say that France had already reached a socialist and Soviet stage. We have levelled countless criticisms against the nonsensical theory of the "third period," but never did we level this charge. Obviously, the "pour l'ordre" of *l'Humanite* of April 24, 1936 refers to order in French capitalism. Is that an appeal for communists? Could or should communists ever try to win converts to the theory and practice of proletarian dictatorship, of revolutionary socialism, to the ideas and ideals on which the Soviet Union is founded, to the principles for which the Russian workers and peasants fought, bled and died, with such appeals for law and order, for civil peace, against class war in capitalist society?

Elsewhere in this issue we quote at length Marcel Cachin's appeal for votes. The communist movement is a class movement; it is a proletarian movement. Communism does not recognize the unity of the nation as such—especially in a first class imperialist land. Where is the class approach on the part of Comrade Cachin? Where is there the slightest touch of proletarian class-consciousness or Marxist-Leninist conception, in Comrade Cachin's approach or attitude when he says: "... our country is at the mercy of a surprise attack. To defend the country . . . we call for the unity of the French nation. Only this unity can stop a catastrophic fall and make of our country which we love a country full of friendship for all peoples . . . that is why we

(Continued on Page 6)

# THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION SHOULD BE A PEOPLE'S FRONT

(A Discussion Letter)

Having just finished Comrade Al Epstein's two articles published recently in the Age I find myself left with several questions concerning the villain of his piece, the beetle-browed American Student Union. Since I suspect that, like myself, other Age readers may be a little puzzled at the somber tones in which the ASU is painted you have my full permission to air this letter in the columns of the Age.

Promising to be as brief as possible I'd like to take up the whole thing seriatim, beginning with the title "The People's Front Goes Collegiate." Comrade Epstein is, I note, using "People's Front" as a dirty name in much the same fashion that Harold Draper does in his article in the current American Socialist Monthly dealing with the same topic. The People's Front tactic (correct me if I'm wrong) means the united action of working class and bourgeois organizations on a minimum program. Objections to it are perfectly in order when this unity is achieved by hamstringing the working class, by the abandonment of working class objectives—as in France.

dents movement you can have today must be a People's Front.

Comrade Epstein then would say, "Revolutionaries are not interested in forming petty bourgeois organizations." You are going to have a hell of a time, Comrade, forming any other kind in a college world that is petty bourgeois but, if the ASU were an end in itself, I would agree with you. But no one expects college students to be organized in the ASU or organized in the Student Liberty League, to play a decisive or even an important role. Boys and girls in college are pliable people, petty bourgeois in plastic form and if something like the ASU can reach them, gain their attention, give them even the beginning of a new orientation it has served its purpose. As the class struggle in this country sharpens, as ideological lines become clearer, the ASU will have to move to the left. That problem however has been left where it very properly belongs—in the future.

What youth problems and specific campus problems, then, has the ASU chosen as its basis of organization? The ASU rallies youth against war, against Negro discrimination and for the defense of academic freedom. These are important, they are genuine, they are elementary, they are plausible. Even on these simple slogans Comrade Epstein doubts the sincerity of the ASU. He is, apparently,

against the fight for academic freedom because he says (quite truthfully) American education is dominated by vested interests, by Morgan, by DuPont, by Rockefeller. How to fight this domination better, Comrade Epstein, than by vigorously demanding the rights of teachers to say what they believe, the rights of students to discuss freely, the rights of elementary campus democracy? The only alternative I see is for socially-minded students to refuse attendance at any so-dominated educational institution and this, I'm afraid, would make the Fat Boys of Wall Street extremely contented.

Similarly Comrade Epstein doesn't think the programmatic statement on the Negro is strong enough, reflects enough anguish at the sufferings of the Negro. This is a paltry argument. Rather is the ASU to be congratulated for taking an unequivocal stand in fighting for the Negro in the colleges (where discrimination is intense) and in implementing its stand through articles in the Student Advocate and struggles on the campus.

Does the ASU stop here? Even if it did I think it would serve a purpose in the larger canvas of the struggle against capitalism. But it doesn't. In its program and even more in its magazine and its living action the ASU has aligned

(Continued on Page 8)

# AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

THE economic crisis which broke out in 1929 is far from over, despite the mounting dividends and rising production figures. A grave lack of equilibrium continues in the basic economic relations. Furthermore, the social and economic consequences of the crisis are not only far from having passed but many of them are yet to unfold.

Numerous new problems—social, political, and economic—are now crying for solution. For instance, what is to be the legal status of the huge permanent army which is to be with us on the work relief rolls? Will the government treat these workers as public employees? Or will they be treated as paupers, as people hanging on to princes' favors?

Upon labor itself depends the answer to these questions, the solution of this problem. It is not only the workers directly involved who are concerned here but the working class as a class, all workers as workers. Hence, it is high time that organized labor begin seriously to look into the status and rights of the relief workers and to take measures to protect them. Otherwise they will be completely at the mercy of the corrupt capitalist politicians.

Valuable pioneer work has been done by Messrs Polier and Douner in the examining the "Status and Rights of Injured Relief Workers". Their study of this problem in the Columbia Law Review (April 1936). We are glad to say, will be of real service to labor in its efforts to work out a program for the defense of the rights of this new category of workers whose numbers are bound to grow in the coming year. Here are but two paragraphs from this excellent study which reveal the breadth of the authors' vision and the depth of their analysis.

"The standards used in selecting workers in such a program (work relief—JL) may be inefficient from the point of a businessman; the work done may be unnecessary when regarded in the light of laissez-faire theories of supply and demand; and the purpose of the contract may be humanitarian rather than profitable. Still the fabric of contract remains.

"The emphasis upon the quantum of direct labor value returned by the work done is further reflected in courts' observation that the injured relief worker was engaged because of his need rather than strictly according to his skill."

Here we have rather succinctly stated the juridical reflex of significant economic changes—the legal expression of changes in the structure of capitalist economy and the consequences these have in store for many millions of workers.

ONE prophecy we hasten to make. The Republican Party's brain trust will be guilty of stupidities that will go down in the annals of the lowest depths of American Presidential election campaigns. For example, we have more than a hunch that the G.O.P. Brain (less) Trust will throw the Communist Manifesto into the campaign as a "real" issue. Some Landonated professor will in the coming months "show" how Roosevelt has "stolen" many points from the Communist Manifesto.

The folly and fraud of such campaign tripe merits no serious comment. Yet, let no one belittle the role such arguments will play in determining who will be our next president. Too many millions of American voters are today at such a low stage of political development that such "arguments" go over big with them. It is the realization of this being so that has impelled Daniel C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce, to talk rather frankly and a bit freely over the National Radio Forum.

Mr. Roper begged for a couple

doubtless lead to disruptive and destructive segmentary and sectional action. It might eventually lead to the overthrow of our democratic form of government."

We take our hats off to Mr. Roper for telling Sidney Hillman, John L. Lewis, and others that big business can feel perfectly at home in Roosevelt's party and that the latter has done some real work for big business. We bow to him in appreciation for underscoring a point which we have been making for years; that is, the nefarious role played by the two-party system in the class relations of the U. S.

EST some comrades think that we are too rigid in our attitude to the People's Front strategy and spirit in France and elsewhere, lest some comrades get the notion that our critical attitude toward the parliamentary game played by our comrades in the French C.P., is carping and factional, we rush to reproduce excerpts from a speech delivered by Comrade Marcel Cachin, leader of the French C.P., on the radio in Paris on April 24th—during the recent election campaign. Said Comrade Cachin in order to get votes with which to stop Fascism in France:

"Besides, our country is at the mercy of a surprise attack. To defend the country, like the struggle against Fascism, we call for the union of the French nation.

"Only this unity can stop a catastrophic fall and make of our country, which we love, a country full of friendship for all peoples.

"The union of the French nation, faithful to its immortal traditions of liberty, will beat back those who want to assure the triumph of Fascism over the universe. . . .

"That is why we appeal to all men, to all women, to all adolescents of good will, from wherever they may come.

"That is why we, communists, in our political parades, have given the right of the city to the tricolor flag, symbol of the emancipating struggles of the past, along side of the red flag, symbol of our victories of the future.

"That is why we have reconciled the 'Marseillaise' and the 'Internationale.'" — (L'Oeuvre, April 25.)

We rest our case. We will make no comment. We eagerly await a message or an article to show what this has to do with working class militancy, with the class struggle of the French proletariat against the bourgeoisie and their state. Perhaps the Riffs might also be called in to listen to Comrade Cachin's message of liberation to them. But if they were to ask us whether to tune in on this talk, we would say no.

# WITH THE LAWMAKERS

By LEE MASON

Aided by President Green of the A. F. of L. and the Farm Credit Administration, Roosevelt's forces in the House of Representatives defeated the \$3,000,000 Frazier-Lemke farm debt refinancing bill this week by a vote of 235 to 142.

Green, in a letter to Speaker Byrnes, opposed the measure on the ground that its inflationary aspects spelled ruin for labor. The F.C.A., pretending to be animated only by a regard for the farmer, claimed in a written memorandum that found its way into the hands of each and every Representative that the bill would be more costly than considerate to the farmer. It argued that the interest rates on loans would average 5 per cent and not the 1 1/2 per cent that its advocates promised.

The bill contemplated the lowering of interest rates from 6.3 per cent to 3 per cent, one half to go towards the elimination of the principal. It would have financed this proposal by issuing \$3,000,000

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

IN the March 7 issue of *Workers Age* this column protested against a cartoon appearing in the *Chicago Federationist* (official organ of the Chicago Federation of Labor) of February 22, in which John L. Lewis is depicted as stating: "That is the way to win labor's battles! Let's split the A. F. of L. wide open and put the workers to fighting each other." A little later we commented on the beginning of protests in the C.F.L. against this cartoon. But it was not until the meeting of the C.F.L. of May 3rd that the matter was given an official status.

So many local unions continued to protest that a statement was submitted under the signatures of John Fitzpatrick, E. N. Nockels, Maurice Lynch and Chas. F. Willis. Entitled "Official Answer to Protesting Resolutions," the statement leaves no doubt whatever as to where the leaders of the C.F.L. stand on the burning issues in the trade union movement. They say: "The unions complaining about the cartoon, declare in their resolutions that they will support the Committee for Industrial Organization, thereby defying the convention of Labor and repudiating the decisions and policy adopted by the Convention, and they undertake to thwart, obstruct and defeat the efforts of the Executive Council to bring all affiliated unions to harmony and accord with decision of the A. F. of L."

All resolutions are "non-concurred in", in the statement, and the locals are asked to "reconsider their actions" and stop their "attitude of defiance against the official decisions and the declared policy of the A. F. of L."

As if to underscore the new role of Fitzpatrick and Nockels the same meeting of the C.F.L. heard a long discussion on the Labor Party question and once again Fitzpatrick showed his colors when he attacked the speakers for the Labor Party and ended his remarks with the warning that "We are either going to stand for the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or else we will repudiate them."

Thus on the two questions which agitate the forward looking trade unionists—industrial unionism and the Labor Party—Fitzpatrick has seen fit to line up with the reactionaries against healthy progress. For many trade unionists, who remember the Fitzpatrick of old, his recent declaration of intentions will come as a shock. The Chicago trade unionists will remember with

The "Times" is all a-twitter because the "Sun" dived into a bag full of statistics and came up with the story that there are only about three million unemployed in the country—thus underbidding every statistical agency including the Department of Labor which, as is well known, is not exactly interested in painting the picture in too sombre colors.

As a matter of fact the Sun sets out to prove that in numerous industries the number of workers employed today is greater than it was in 1929 at the height of prosperity.

The moral of the story is clear. Mass unemployment is a figment of the imagination, a state of mind.

THE ACTION of Senator Robinson, the Democratic leader, in preventing a vote on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching measure reveals the curious fact that Roosevelt, the vaunted liberal, is the main obstacle to the enactment of this limitedly progressive bill.

When the bill comes up again its supporters should insist that those responsible for the murder of untried citizens, in most cases of the Negro race, should be punished not by the imposition of a \$5,000 fine and a five year imprisonment term as Costigan and Wagner provide, but by the leveling of the death sentence. In addition, compensation to the family of the victim should not be limited to \$5,000; many states below the Mason and Dixon line would consider it worthwhile to pay such skimpy damages for "neglect" to provide necessary protection to one of its hated inhabitants.

MARCANTONIO, the Representative who endorsed Hamilton Fish and then declared that he was entitled to make a mistake, has introduced a bill into Congress which would give Puerto Rico an honest-to-goodness independence and not the fake freedom that Senator Tydings envisages for the island.

By the terms of his measure the government of Puerto Rico would have the right to "decide all internal questions, including those relating to American property and citizens and diplomatic relations without interference or intervention." Furthermore, the United States would recognize "its responsibility for the present disastrous state of Puerto Rican economy" and would meet "any claims of indemnity which the government of Puerto Rico may make." His bill also provides for the free entry into the United States of any products which Puerto Rico may wish to export here.

THE DOOLEY BILL curbing the interference of private detective agencies in the affairs of labor unions had been amended by the New York State Assembly Committee on Judiciary in two significant particulars. Both changes struck to the advantage of the strikebreaking organizations. One removes the provision that would make it criminal to employ former lawbreakers as "private detectives," especially when workers are involved. The other makes it unnecessary for these dressed-up scab bureaus to furnish bonds to insure collection of damages in case "guards commit 'wrongful acts.'"

In the International Labor Movement

# C. P. F. in a "Classless" Campaign

At first glance it appears that the lines in the present election campaign\* are clearly drawn. On the surface the election struggle seems to be taking place between the fascists and their reactionary sympathizers on the one hand, and the anti-fascist People's Front on the other. A close examination reveals, however, that the situation is far more complicated. The alignment of forces in the election campaign is by no means an accurate barometer of the actual relation of political forces in France.

### Attitude of Sarraut Government

The best proof of the above contention is revealed in the attitude of the Sarraut government to the elections. The ministers of the Sarraut cabinet are partly in league with the pro-fascist right wing and partly with the People's Front. Actually, therefore, the seemingly sharp polarization of the People's Front and the Fascist sympathizers has not prevented the politicians of the bourgeois left who profess to be adherents of the People's Front from cooperating with the representatives of the bourgeois right who are more or less fascist. The People's Front creates the illusion that the lines are sharply drawn. In reality, it effaces class lines, keeps the masses in ignorance of the fact that in the defense of their joint capitalist interests, that section of the bourgeoisie which professes to be anti-fascist and pro-People's Front collaborates with those sections of the bourgeoisie which are openly fascist or sympathetic to fascism.

Let us examine the position of each political party in the elec-

\* This was written before the elections.

tion campaign. The bourgeois right has been expecting defeat from the very start. These friends of fascism have good reason to be pessimistic. They are mainly responsible for the policy of deflation, and particularly for the hunger decrees of Laval. They have thus earned the hatred of the broad masses. Their opposition to the peace pact between the Soviet Union and France has marked them as a direct accomplice of Hitler's war plans.

At present, there is a great deal of confusion among the right on the question of foreign policy. On the one hand, there are those who like Laval, Tattinger and others, favor an agreement with Hitler Germany, and on the other, there are those who would seize the first opportunity to start an immediate preventative war.

The rise of fascist organizations has led to conflicts among the various fascist groups and also between the fascist adherents on the one hand and the old-time reactionaries who are staunch parliamentarians, on the other. As a result of these conflicts, the right entered the election campaign in a rather depressed mood. It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the forces of French reaction and the danger of fascism on the basis of the impressions gained from the election campaign. The fascist organizations are participating in parliamentary elections for the first time. They are not putting up independent candidates of their own everywhere, but it is obvious that the candidates of the right are dependent upon the fascist leagues for support.

The right will probably be numerically weaker in the newly constituted parliament than in the

present one but within the right wing forces the out-and-out fascists and those delegates dependent upon fascist support will play a much greater role than before. The old-time reactionary politicians who still adhere to parliamentarism will be pushed into the background by the parliamentary storm troopers of the fascist organizations.

### What About the People's Front?

The S.P. and the C.P. of France are creating dangerous illusions in their propaganda on the possible effects of an electoral victory of the People's Front parties. Neither party has linked up its election propaganda with the question of the extra-parliamentary struggle of the proletariat and other toiling sections. Parliamentary cretinism which has always been characteristic of the S.P. is today equally characteristic of the C.P. Decisive, vital questions of a political nature are either not touched upon or else presented in a very unclear fashion in the election campaign of the workers' parties.

Let us take, for example, the currency question and financial policy. The Sarraut government has been and is intent upon doing merely what must be done to overcome the deficit in the national budget so as to avoid a fall of the franc before elections. Speculators all over the world are expecting the fall of the franc after the elections. Within the People's Front itself there are influential politicians, such as Daladier and Jouhaux, who are flirting with the devaluation of the franc. Even the S.P. has taken an equivocal position on possible devaluation. Tho the CP is against the devaluation of the franc, it has failed to

make sufficiently sharp attack on the financial policy of the Sarraut government which is leading to a crash.

Asked about its political perspective after the elections, the leadership of the S.P. has declared that it would demand the formation of a People's Front government. In other words, the S.P. is trying to force the C.P. into a coalition government with the bourgeoisie such as it is prepared to pursue itself. The C.P. has become so entangled in its People's Front policy that it is incapable of adopting a clear position on the question of a coalition government. On the one hand, the C.P. declines to participate in a People's Front government after the elections on the ground of its opposition to coalition governments and on the other hand, it has agreed in principle to participate in a People's Front government under certain conditions, such as an upsurge of the masses—as if Communists forming a joint government with representatives of the bourgeoisie in the face of an upsurge of the masses were not pursuing a coalition policy.

After having given a vote of confidence to the Sarraut cabinet, the C.P. has been making a few timid criticisms of the government in the present campaign and spreading illusions about the positive achievements that a left-bourgeois government would accomplish after the elections. The Radical Socialists themselves have declined to say anything definite about their future government policies. They are facing the elections as partners of the Sarraut regime—which includes members of the bourgeois right—and they are reserving their right to form a coalition government with the parties of the right. Herriot has declared in his campaign speeches that he stands for the continuation of the deflation policy and that he favors extreme caution in questions of finances, i.e., as far as the economic demands of big capital are concerned. While Her-

And a justified one!

### OPPORTUNISM IN AMERICA

And in the U. S. we find a leaflet distributed by the American League Against War and Fascism, which is under Communist Party leadership, saying the following: "1776—George Washington fought for liberty and democracy. 1936—We must fight to preserve it." So nothing has happened since 1776! Worse than that. We find the Communist Party, 8th Assembly District, New York City, appealing "to the people of the Eighth Assembly District" to listen to General Secretary Comrade Browder speaking on the radio by thus emphasizing its appeal: "Communism is Americanism." It is because of the People's Front strategy, the strategy of blurring class lines instead of sharpening them, hiding and softening class antagonisms instead of developing and utilizing them in the interests of the working class, that such tragic errors are possible.

For instance, take the question of the Labor Party. The Labor Party is the first historical progressive step in the part of American labor towards its separation politically from the bourgeoisie on a national mass, class basis. But today the Communist Party considers the Labor Party as synonymous with the People's Front. Instead of considering the Labor Party as a force for sharpening class alignments, for making class lines more clear, the Communist Party is approaching the Labor Party in such a way as to make it a means of confusing class relations and diffusing proletarian class-consciousness—to the point of total disappearance. This is crassly illustrated in the leaflet on the Labor Party question recently issued by the C.P. of Paterson. The leaflet, entitled "On Guard," says in part: "Democratic Mayor Hirschliffe and Republican Board of Aldermen and Freeholders must be made to help keep industry in town. But not by Labor Relations Board that put the burden on workers through wage cuts, increased speed-up and union-busting. The present administration must be forced to reduce water charges, power and light costs and abandon its favoritism in taxation. If sufficient pressure is brought to bear upon them, this can be done. BUT A STRONG LABOR PARTY CAN BE RELIED ON TO CARRY ON SUCH A PROGRAM AND PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS, BUSINESS MEN AND ENTIRE POPULATION."

Let no one think that this is a local, accidental slip. The Daily Worker of Washington's Birthday, February

22nd, 1936, announces to the world editorially, "A Farmer Labor Party—of trade unions, MIDDLE CLASS and Negro people and ANTI-FASCISTS—is the correct way to carry out the real American traditions championed by Washington." Not everyone who is for capitalism is for Fascism. Not everyone who is against Fascism is against capitalism. There are plenty of good, bad and very bad capitalists who are against Fascism and perfectly satisfied with bourgeois democracy as the state form to be maintained, as the type of capitalist class dictatorship to prevail. What business have such forces inside a Labor Party which is to be a distinct proletarian class party?

And what sort of argument is it for Comrade Browder to make in the same issue of the Daily Worker, in behalf of a Labor Party, when he says: "A Farmer Labor Party will weaken both capitalist parties, the Democratic as well as the Republican, but IT IS THE ONLY FACTOR THAT CAN SERIOUSLY WEAKEN THE REPUBLICANS." Mrs. Roosevelt will take much cheer from this. She is well-known as a "friend of labor."

We are not sounding false alarms. We are issuing sound and timely warnings. When we raise this cry, when we signalize this danger to the life of our movement, we do not do it in any faction spirit, but in the sense of true comradeship and deepest concern for the principles that bind communists together throughout the world, for the principles that have served as the basis of our separation from reformism. We are confident that, if the memberships of the various sections of the Communist International were given half a chance to examine freely and critically the present dangerous tactical course of the Comintern, then this reformist, ultra-right policy could not and would not be maintained.

That is why we have emphasized and will continue to emphasize the need for establishing genuine Party democracy, thorough-going democratic centralism, throughout the sections of the Communist International, for establishing a collective international leadership in the C.I. as the means with which not merely to unify the ranks of the world communist movement but as the most effective means for overcoming such grave errors and preventing the recurrence of such suicidal mistakes. It is such mistakes in strategy and tactics that are now threatening to undermine the very foundations of the international communist movement.

### ENGLISH WORKERS GREET C.P.O.'S FIGHT FOR UNITY

London, England. 21st April, 1936.

Dear Comrade, As a token of appreciation of the struggle for World Communist Unity carried on by the Workers Age, we enclosed herewith two pounds.

With comradely Greetings from a Group of English Communists.

P.S. Will you please acknowledge through the W. A.

rior is for the continuation of the capitalist offensive thru present methods, Daladier, the other leader of the Radicals, is flirting with the devaluation which would also be a means of lowering the standard of living of the working class in the interest of big capital.

### What Should Workers Do?

The workers must have no illusions about the effects of an election victory of the People's Front parties. The Spanish events are being frequently cited as an example. The People's Front policy was just as much of an obstacle to the class struggle in Spain as it is in France. The achievements of the Spanish working class are not the result of the alliance with the bourgeois left, but rather of the independent extra-parliamentary actions that the Spanish masses engaged in despite the policy of the People's Front.

The role of the French People's Front in obstructing the extra-parliamentary action of the working class and other toiling sections is more pronounced than that of the Spanish People's Front. The present election campaign, as conducted by the C.P. of France, is not conducive to the mobilization of the masses for an extra-parliamentary struggle. It tends rather to arouse parliamentary illusions and thus prevents mass struggle. Even if the new parliament contains a strong left wing majority

(Continued on Page 8)

## BOOKS of the AGE . . . . .

THREE GODS GIVE AN EVENING TO POLITICS. By Richard Rothschild. New York. Random House. \$1.50. 216 pages.

Reviewed by Ellen Ward This little book catapults three ages and two philosophies into a single evening's discussion. It makes delightful, stimulating reading for anyone—worker, scientist, philosopher, eclectic economist or Marxist.

Three shades—Socrates, Jefferson and Lenin, troubled by the turn world events have taken—return upon this earth to dine and talk over the difficulties of mankind.

Jefferson is perplexed by the troubles that have multiplied in his democracy. He admits that reforms are vitally necessary but he maintains that the best of all possible worlds can be built only on the profit motive. He is still a staunch advocate of rugged individualism as the best possible means of progress. He distrusts all "half-baked doctrines."

"Aren't you critical of new proposals merely because you still prefer the old order? Personally I think there is much to be said for a spirit of rebellion on occasions," says Lenin.

But Jefferson insists that he is "opposed to the shortsightedness which fails to distinguish between the need for change and the need for destructive revolution." "Democracy," he feels, "is still one of the most mature forms of government which history reveals."

Socrates answers that "in spite of its workability, democracy is far from a perfect form of government."

"I should go even further than that," adds Lenin. "For though democracy may have suited the world of a generation or two ago, and in fact, undoubtedly had much to offer in its time, we must today reckon with a new set of values, in terms of which democracy is as outworn a concept as monarchy was at the end of the 18th century."

Nor is the whole gamut of differences between these three gentlemen limited to politics. Conversation of a high order covering such questions as the varied estimates of the Middle Ages, the complete bankruptcy of the policy of "laissez-faire," the philosophy of history, relation of myth to history and of history to prophecy, of great men and their times, and in this latter connection—Lincoln as a typical symbol of America; discussion of the full life, of art, of life and death and immortality, the American Revolution and its significance in present day tactics, and the Russian Revolution.

About Russia Socrates points out that the Russian revolution was an illegitimate child of the doctrines of Marx. To all of which Lenin counters with the same measure of whimsicality: It may be true that the Russian Revolution was "something of an anomaly," but the value of the Revolution is not primarily in illustrating the communist theory of history but rather in furnishing the Western world with an inspiring vision of the direction in which social change must occur.

And so the evening's discussion narrows down to a debate between rugged individualism versus collectivism, Socrates having taken sides with Lenin long before the evening draws to a close.

Jefferson stands his ground firmly throughout until the first faint gleams of an unfriendly dawn and until the cock's first crowing. Then he suddenly capitulates and the delightful evening comes to an end with at least a verbal victory for collectivism, and the three shades return to their respective places.

## LOSING THEIR CHAINS . . . . . by James Sand Charles Emil Ruthenberg - Founder of American Communism

THE name of Ruthenberg has lately been taken in awe and reverence but the man and his place in the labor and socialist movement has remained a mystery. Newer members and recent sympathizers with Communism in America know of his existence through the library at the Workers School in New York which is named after him, and every so often a short piece about him appears in the Daily Worker. No detailed history of his life is available, and the only "history" of American Communism that has so far been written, that by James Oneal, uses him as an object of vituperation in order to extoll the class-collaborationist putrefaction which the "old guard" in the Socialist Party has lived on since the split in 1919 which led to the founding of the Communist Party. The only reliable picture of him is in a slim book containing excerpts from his speeches and writings with an introduction written by Jay Lovestone, his successor in the post of general secretary of the party. Cut down by early death in 1927, Ruthenberg nevertheless accomplished in his life-time the spade work without which revolutionary socialism would have remained in its swaddling clothes.

Of his eight years as leader of the Communist Party in the United States three were spent in prison. He became known as the "most arrested man in America." From the time of the formation of the party, hardly a year went by without his facing a capitalist judge charged with subverting American institutions because he thought that America belonged to the workers and farmers. Everything from murder to simple disorderly conduct was charged against him, but each of his appearances before a court meant a course in Marxian economics for the judge and jury. He never backed down and he always acted with that supreme courage which was an inspiration to all revolutionary socialists.

Charles Emil Ruthenberg was born on July 9th 1882 in Cleveland, Ohio, of proletarian stock. There he went to school and worked at various jobs. In 1909 he became city organizer and secretary of the Socialist party of Cleveland, and he held that post until the split ten years later. During that time he was also editor of the Cleveland Socialist, a member of the national executive committee of the party, and a candidate for almost every state office on the Socialist ticket. The Russian Revolution of November 1917 quickened his revolutionary socialism into action.

By 1919 the left wing had seventy-five percent of the membership of the S.P. on its side and had elected a revolutionary national executive committee. Whereupon, in the name of that democracy which Hillquit, Lee, Oneal, Cahan, and Berger so well knew how to mouth, the old guard expelled the regularly elected committee and continued its own life. At the same time they expelled the large bulk of the party. In September in Chicago the Communist Party was born and Ruthenberg became its leader.

The year before he had spent ten months in jail for opposing the conscription act and America's participation in the imperialist war, and had been imprisoned in the workhouse at Canton, Ohio. It was there that Gene Debs came to visit him and it was in Canton that Debs made the speech defending Ruthenberg and the others that made him the symbol of proletarian revolt against capitalist war. Ruthenberg had been arrested and sentenced for a speech in which he said: "This is not a war for freedom. It is not a war for the principles of mankind. It is a war to secure the investments and profits of the ruling class of the country."

For the ideas expressed in the Left Wing Manifesto Ruthenberg was tried in New York and sentenced to a long term in Sing Sing. The sentence was later reversed by the Court of Appeals after he had served two years of it. The speech that Ruthenberg made in his own behalf before the judge passed sentence is thrilling even in the read-

THE MOB STILL RIDES. A Review of the Lynching Record, 1931-1935. Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Atlanta, Georgia. \$ .10.

Reviewed by LEE MASON

This is an interesting and, in many instances, an enlightening pamphlet. One can disagree only with the interpretation placed upon the lynchings; the facts themselves are uncontrovertible.

A number of interesting facts emerge from even a cursory reading. Contrary to the general impression, the anonymous author tells us, rape is far from being even the superficial cause of most lynchings. (Only 11 per cent of the victims are charged with the crime); nearly 20 per cent of the victims are charged with the crime of remaining in the hands of the local gendarme, who in all too many instances, are driven to participate in the lynchings because of their desire to be differentiated socially from the impoverished Negroes; and if the Negroes, the large percentage of the victims, be given the right to vote.

Once he reaches thus high for the impossible under the capitalist system, he may dare to reach a bit more. And, nothing daunted, he does. "It is next to impossible," he declares with a straight face, "to correct the evil without extending to Negroes as well as to whites opportunities for the ownership of productive land." Picture the philanthropic Southern landowner making a grant for this worthy purpose!

With all its faults of analysis, the pamphlet is still a valuable contribution to the literature on the Negro question. It gives a careful case history of all the victims and it reminds us that lynching is not only still with us, but is increasing. Also, and this is only half-intended, it indicates that the cause of the whole vicious practice is rooted in the capitalist system itself.

ing. He said in part: "I have in the past held certain ideals for a re-organization of society on a new basis. I have upheld those ideals and gone to prison for them when they were connected with the late war. I have stood by those principles in which I firmly believe and I still stand for those principles irrespective of the result of this particular trial. I expect in the future, as in the past, to uphold and fight for those principles until the time comes that those principles triumph, and a new society is built in place of the present social organization."

Upon his release he became the general secretary of the over-ground Workers' Party (the name "Communist" was illegal) and the recognized leader of revolutionary socialism in America, as well as a member of the executive of the Communist International. In what was very nearly the last thing he ever wrote Ruthenberg thus summarized the history of the party from its beginning almost until his own death. "The history of these seven years," he wrote, "is the history of the development of the party from a Communist propaganda organization into a Communist party which has learned to make itself part of the struggles of the workers here and now and in fighting these battles to teach the workers the necessity of a revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system." The successes were not overwhelming during his lifetime. For an understanding of Ruthenberg it is significant that he never doubted that what has happened to capitalist economy would happen. Like a true Marxist he prophesied it. But though he knew that capitalism must ultimately drive itself to the wall, he was exceedingly realistic about the situation of the Communist party. Scorning the castle-in-the-air attitude of some members, he said in 1926, "We are still a very weak party, compared to the great task and responsibility which we must fulfill. We must work in a labor movement which, compared to that of Europe, is still very backward in the development of class-consciousness. We must fight the mightiest capitalist foe which exists." He became the ardent proponent of a labor party as a tactic for weaning the workers from allegiance to the two capitalist parties. On this score he faced heated opposition from the Foster-Cannon bloc which at one time nearly unseated him. The Comintern however demanded that he be retained as general secretary and he was. Of a labor party he wrote: "We cannot establish contact with the undeveloped workers who are still in the old parties . . . by mere propaganda for Communist principles. We can, however, using the lessons of their experiences in the use of the state power against them in their immediate struggles, establish contact and our leadership by offering to unite with them under the slogan 'For a Class Labor Party' and a class fight by labor."

As a political and labor organizer he had genius in him. No sooner had he joined the Socialist Party as a young man than he began to run the Cleveland organization. He it was who made the left wing in the Socialist Party organization-conscious so that they ultimately split off when the reformists would not accede to the wishes of the majority. The chief attribute of his tactical ability, it has been said by his successor, was that "he knew how to link the smallest, immediate, most elementary every day need of the workers with the biggest, most fundamental revolutionary objectives of the whole proletariat."

As he lay dying from an illness that could have been avoided if he had not overworked and neglected himself, he said to his comrades at the bedside: "Tell the comrades to close their ranks, to build the party. The American workers under the leadership of our Party and the Comintern will win. Let's fight on!" He died on March 2nd 1927 at the age of forty-four. When the news reached the Russian Communists, they immediately cabled to the American party: "We deeply grieve with you at the loss of Comrade Ruthenberg, leader of your party and of the international labor movement, whose ashes will rest beneath the Kremlin together with the heroes of the November Revolution."

Ruthenberg's speeches and writings manifest a gift for putting into homely English the great thoughts of Marxism and the strategy and tactics of Leninism. He never had the time to devote himself to any extensive analyses of historical conditions; but in his activity in the daily class struggle he showed exceedingly acute observation. Never in his prime did he mistake his wish for reality, and in 1925 he saw that "the main line of the development [at that time] in the labor movement in the United States has been towards the right and the Communist Party in this country must reckon with this in formulating its policy." Neither ultra-leftism, nor opportunism had any place in his strategy and tactics. His remarks on the limits of the united front, on the why and wherefore of the labor party tactic, on the use of force in the class struggle, all show a grasp of Leninism unsurpassed in the revolutionary movement of his day.

As the Communist movement grows stronger in America the figure of Ruthenberg will loom ever larger on the historical horizon. In fundamental principle he was firm and resolute; in tactics and strategy flexible to the needs of the objective situation. Comparatively little known to the workers and farmers of America today he nevertheless looms as a revolutionist as courageous as Debs and with the intellectual acumen of a genuine practical Marxist. In a workers' America his name will be enshrined as a pioneer and trail-blazer, and his works and thoughts will serve as a token of the obstacles which the workers must overcome in order to create a society in which each will receive according to his needs and from each will be taken according to his abilities. All the oppression and exploitation of the workers by capitalism is symbolized in the life of Ruthenberg; all the courage and unflinching devotion of the vanguard of the working class is symbolized in his works. In his person he incarnated the truth of the lines of the Communist Manifesto:

The Communists have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. . . . The Communists . . . are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

With this article we conclude the excellent series by James Sand which we know has attracted considerable favorable attention. We hope that Comrade Sand will be back with us soon.—Editor.

## PARITY IN THE BALTIC PROPOSED BY SOVIETS FOR NAVAL PACT

### Changes In Pacific Fleet Would Wait on Japan, Says Maisky

Ivan Maisky, Soviet Ambassador, acquainted the British Foreign Office with the terms upon which Soviet Russia would be willing to discuss a naval treaty with Britain, or any other country. There were two conditions, 1) there must be parity between Russia and Germany in the question of Baltic fleets; 2) No European treaty would be binding on Russia's Pacific fleet, unless specific agreement was reached with Japan.

Britain has been attempting to reach an agreement with Russia on the question of sea power, and this announcement, made last week, will undoubtedly lead to a pact in the near future. Its significance in Russia's defence against Nazi Germany is immeasurable, as can be seen by a quick glance at the map. In the war of 1914-18, Germany, altho rendered useless at an early stage of hostilities, nevertheless found the Baltic Sea a source of strength. By maintaining her fleet there, it was impossible to attack her from behind, so to speak, limiting the battles to two fronts, both on land. The challenge that Russia would make with a Baltic fleet is not merely one of military attack but also a weakening of possible sup-

port from such perennial "neutrals" as the Scandinavian countries, thru whose ships came not merely American commodities, but Allied materials marked for re-export.

This proposal of Russia will be considered at a forthcoming conference. It is quite doubtful whether Japan, arch-enemy of the Soviet Union in the East, and imperialist rival of England, would sit down to discuss any "limitations". Actually, Soviet Russia's Pacific naval strength is based primarily upon submarines and light craft. The proletarian state has no intentions of wasting effort in competing with Japan's heavy cruisers, which strategically can be matched with light craft, destroyers, and airplanes. Of course, the Soviets make the second condition in the hope of slowing down the drive of Japan to war, thru pressure from England.

## FRAZIER - LEMKE BILL BEATEN

The Frazier-Lemke Mortgage Relief Bill was defeated by the House of Representatives this week. The bill proposed that three billion dollars of currency be printed to provide loans to farmers at the rate of 1½% in order to meet demands of mortgages held on farm lands by the big financial companies.

The administration was against the bill on the grounds that it was an inflationary measure, an attitude supported by the American Federation of Labor. There is no doubt that the printing of these greenbacks would have the effect of raising commodity prices, as Green pointed out in his letter read on the floor of the House, but the method used by Green was hardly one to further the alliance between workers and farmers in the struggle against big capital. He called on all friends of labor to vote against the bill, stating that "labor is thoroughly in accord with practical legislation advanced for the relief of farmers" proved this by pointing out that the A. F. of L. had supported the processing taxes! Actually the Executive Council has only reflected the wishes and policies of the administration in these issues. Had it had an independent policy it would have supported moves for moratoria on debts and interest payment, and on mortgages altogether.

The Frazier-Lemke Mortgage Moratorium bill was declared unconstitutional by a Federal District Court in the Eighth Circuit. Such a bill however is the real basis for a struggle of workers and farmers. By opposing the inflation bill in the fashion Green did, the A. F. of L. put itself in a position where it was lined up with the big business interests, the creditors, against the farmer-debtors, whereas it should have differentiated itself from the economic fallacies of farmer-supported inflation and the reactionary anti-farm relief attitude of the big bourgeoisie.

## READY TO TAKE ON A BIGGER JOB!



## C.P. Makes "Classless" Campaign

(Continued from page 6) with a strong C.P. fraction there will be no real change in the actual political situation unless the C.P. fraction is moved by the will for an extra-parliamentary struggle.

The Sarraut government has given us a taste of what the Radical Socialists will do after the elections. The Sarraut regime did nothing to curb the fascists and in the main continued the policies of Laval. A purely Radical regime or even a coalition government of the Radicals and the S.P. will not change the situation much. Decisive measures in the interests of the working class can only be attained thru an extra-parliamentary struggle of the working class. The election campaign ought to

be utilized to prepare such a struggle and to create the necessary organs for it. The C.P., however, has completely ignored the question of the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the masses.

From the viewpoint of a revolutionary struggle we must also condemn the nationalist slogans appearing all too frequently in the election propaganda of the C.P. The C.P. might succeed in gaining votes but the cause of communism, the cause of the proletarian revolution is thereby obstructed and not promoted.

The C.P.O. is endorsing the candidates of the C.P. but has brought forward its own position and has criticized the dangerous, opportunist tactics of the C.P. leadership.

## STUDENT UNION IS DEFENDED

(Continued from Page 4)

also an extremely well-done piece on the activities of the Liberty League at various colleges, exposing the hollow character of this particular piece of reaction. Is all this merely a flirtation with empty phrases, Comrade Epstein? It grows extremely serious for a mere flirtation I'm afraid.

Comrade Epstein concludes with the very true statement that "under the slogan of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality capitalism oppresses the toilers of the world." Nonetheless they are fine words, comrade. If the ASU, if this collegiate People's Front can take these words so appealing to the heart of youth, can teach that

Liberty is something that must be won through struggle, can teach that Fraternity and Equality include more peoples than sleek 100% Aryans, can build on this base a broad student movement drawing ever closer to the fundamental aims of labor—if it can do this, Comrade Epstein, will it have achieved something beyond the two narrow but pure sectarian groups it supersedes? Or will it still be a petty bourgeois mistake?

Fraternally  
DAVID SCHEYER

tained in advance at 15c. The supply of tickets is very limited in view of the great interest already aroused among the dressmakers; all those who want to attend are therefore urged to get their tickets immediately, before it is too late, at the office of the educational department of Local 22, Room 508, 232 West 40th Street.

### U. S. FEARED RED GERMANY

Fear that Germany would turn Communist in 1920 impelled the United States to send a note of warning, the publication of secret diplomatic documents shows.

"This (American) Government," wrote Polk on March 22, "hopes to see a sane and healthful resumption of labor and commerce in Germany and would sincerely regret any subversion of the industrial order as would preclude such measures of relief as are contemplated in the Allied and associated nations."

## POLICE ATTACK SHIP STRIKERS

### Employers Fear United Action Of Waterfront Unions In Strike

The strike of East Coast seamen against the wage agreement signed by the Union officialdom without ratification by the membership, flared up into a pitched battle between the police and the strikers in New York. All accounts show that the picket line was deliberately charged by the police to break it and demoralize the strikers. Charges were immediately entered by the Curran group, leading the strike, against police brutality, and the affair is being investigated.

No agreement has been reached between the Executive of the Union and the strikers, with the result that the Board joins hand in hand with the employers in denouncing the strike as illegal. They refuse to submit the agreement to discussion by the membership, despite the fact that they were originally instructed to get the wage rates obtained on the Pacific Coast, and signed for a lower scale. (Union meetings allow no notes to be taken by the membership, or correction of minutes).

Curran stated that his aim "is to tie up the East Coast in a general strike if necessary to win wages as good as were won on the West Coast, and create living conditions for seamen that are acceptable." The charges of his group that safety at sea is endangered by the use of inexperienced seamen have been corroborated in some cases by the investigators of the Dep't of Commerce. In one instance, the SS. California sailed with a non-union crew and came limping back to port twelve hours later altho it had been in drydock for repairs about six weeks.

The employers, while resting on the signed agreement and refusing to negotiate with the "outlaws," are mobilizing their forces against any attempt at co-operation between the various waterfront and seamen's unions. A San Francisco shipping magnate, Lapham of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co., addressed a group of employers here, and warned of the dangers of unionization of their employees. Vindication of the demand for union control of hiring halls is to be found in his statement that the Pacific Coast lines, which previously selected their own crews "were now obliged to take men selected by the union, thus preventing the building of loyalty among the crews." He also envisioned the terrible (to him) day when the idea of amalgamation of all crafts would lead to a huge transport workers' union including railway and bus workers.

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## Loc. 22 Holds Labor Party Symposium

A symposium on the question of a labor party for America, participated in by Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, Clarence Hathaway of the Communist Party and Jay Lovestone of the Communist Party (Opposition), will take place Thursday, May 28, 6:00 p.m. sharp, at the Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd Street, under the auspices of the educational department of Dressmakers Union Local

22, I.L.G.W.U. It will wind up the first season of the Union's Current Events Forum.

With the problem of labor's attitude in the coming elections so much to the fore these days, this symposium, featuring outstanding and representative speakers in the movement, promises to be one of the most significant and attractive events in recent months. Admission will be strictly on tickets, to be ob-