

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 51

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Midland Strike Won by Union

Flat Glass Workers Set Up Joint Council With Auto Workers Union

DETROIT, Mich.—Last Friday afternoon 700 Midland Steel Products workers marched triumphantly out of the plant they had occupied for eight days to win one of the greatest union victories in years in this open shop city.

Union recognition, a forty-five hour week with time and one-half for over eight hours a day, 10c an hour increase in day rates, 10 per cent increase in piece rates, minimum rates of 58½c for women and 66c for men, and immediate abolition of piece-work were the gains won by these "stay-in" strikers for some 2,000 workers in their plant.

The sit-down strike began Friday morning, Nov. 27, at 11:30 to reinforce the demands of the union committee interviewing the management. When negotiations broke down on the matter of wage increases, the sit-down was declared a stay-in.

By Tuesday the widespread effectiveness of the strike was demonstrated.

Solidarity featured the strike. Chrysler and Dodge locals served notice on the managements that they would work on no frames unless they came from the Detroit Midland plant. Plymouth workers refused to work on frames brought in from the Midland plant in Cleveland. Donations from local unions throughout the city poured in, some sending checks for as much as \$100, while provisions came from organizations, individuals and friendly merchants.

DETROIT, Mich.—Word has just been received from Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, in Toledo that a council for joint action between the U.A.W.A. and the Federation of Flat Glass Workers has been set up.

Arrangements for the joint council were made at a conference between Martin and Glen McCabe, president, and other officers of the Glass Workers' Union.

"The council shall have authority to order such joint action as it may deem necessary to cope with any labor situation that may confront either organization," Martin said in a telephone call to the International office here.

Membership shall be composed (Continued on Page 6)

THEY HAVE BEEN STOPPED!



These are some of Franco's fascists, waiting for the orders to attack Madrid. Franco is hesitating however, because of the splendid defence.

Ship Strikers Oust ISU Heads

Negotiations Re-opened On West Coast; Mass Parade Held Here

All officers of the ISU were removed by vote at union meetings last week. They refused to abide by the decision of the membership.

Over five thousand seamen and sympathizers marched thru New York City on December 12th, demonstrating the strength and solidarity of the strike, and calling for wider public support. After the parade, Joe Curran, leader of the Strike Strategy Committee, participated in a forum which was supposed to hear the shipowners' "story" also. But the latter apparently didn't think their case could stand public discussion, and sent no speaker.

The strikers accused Fried, of the Federal Bureau of Marine Inspection, of helping to break the strike, by allowing ships to sail without being competently manned. Fried denied this, but did not bring forth evidence to disprove affidavit.

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130000 Barred By Hutcheson

Carpenters' Head Fears Pro-CIO Stand From New Union Members

LAKELAND, Fla.—No one expected any important developments to emerge from the carpenters convention now proceeding here, appropriately enough in the union's home for the aged, and no one will therefore be disappointed at the outcome.

This union, the largest in its dealings even with other craft unions, had not held a convention for eight years. Upon the opening of the convention President Hutcheson was beset by numerous internal difficulties. The most important of these being the determined stand of a large section of the membership against what they term "taxation without representation." Approximately 130,000 members, slightly less than half of the entire membership, are organized in industrial locals—among these the Wood Workers Federation numbering 70,000—and were attached to the Brotherhood of Carpenters when jurisdiction barriers made it impossible for these to secure an industrial union charter outside the brotherhood.

In order to make certain, however, that Hutcheson's and Duffy's position would not be impaired a simple expediency was resorted to: a system was evolved whereby these union members are forced to pay all union dues and assessments but enjoy none of the rights of the organization—they have no vote in the union.

Thirty-four delegates, representing these groups, have only fraternal rights and the fight against "taxation without representation" is being led by them. They demand that the convention vote them full membership rights. There appears to be no doubt whatever that the

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PLEBISCITE MOVE FOR SPAIN DOOMED

Chiang Kai-Shek Kidnapped In Nationalist Move For War; Japanese Cabinet Totters As Soviet Union Bars Renewal Of Fisheries' Pact

WITH Franco halted at the gates of Madrid, possibly to be driven back decisively, England, followed by France, has conceived the bizarre proposal of a "plebiscite" for Spain as a solution for the six long months of civil war. In general, while the proposition seems utterly impracticable, it is nevertheless fraught with dangerous implications. To carry it out would mean the disarming of the workers and peasants, and of course, raises the question of foreign troops insuring

AAA Continues Crop Cut Plan

Wallace Urges Imports From South America To 'Preserve Peace'

The Administration, bolstered by the election returns, once again began the work of curtailing crop production, raising this time, a new issue of choice of markets, at the eighteenth annual meeting of the Farm Bureau.

Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, outlined a plan whose major purpose would be to cut down corn production, hitting wheat slightly. Approximately nine dollars per acre would be paid for not planting corn, altho for only 15% of the acreage so dealt with. It is estimated that a large number of the smaller farmers will have to shift more than 15% to get within the required limits of corn production, so it can be seen that the old practices of the AAA will continue: very little aid to the small man, very much aid to the big man.

In this connection, attention must be called to the fact that the AAA was forced to admit that, under the Bankhead Cotton Control Act, the small farmer was definitely hurt. In a letter written to Labor it was pointed out that the large one-crop landowners were "forced" to re-arrange their crops so as to be brought into competition with the small farmers, who had just been getting along. The large plantations now began to produce their own foodstuffs and took away the markets of the little man. When this letter was brought to the attention of the Department of Agriculture, its correctness was admitted. "Hopes" were expressed that the situation would be taken care of.

Most interesting of Wallace's many speeches, was his plea, in the name of "peace," for closer relations with the South American markets. Now South America's exports are, to a large extent, agricultural and dairy in character. But Wallace, drawing a picture of how the farmer suffers from war, said that U. S. agriculture must be willing to say "yes" to such imports from South America, in order to divert trade from Europe, a commerce which would draw us into war.

This is, of course, in direct line with the drive of the administration to maintain and strengthen its imperialist hold on South America, and prevent successful encroachment by Germany or Japan. However if the best administration can offer the farmers for such a concession is merely talk of peace, they had better rehire Tugwell.

a "non-partisan" plebiscite. Secondly, what would be done with the results? They could very well fit in with England's old scheme, also supported by Blum, of splitting Spain by giving Franco control of a section, pro-Italian and pro-German, and maintaining a republican, pro-British section, preferably Catalonia.

Altho rumors were allowed to circulate that the plebiscite might be good for the anti-fascist forces, allowing them to consolidate the defense of Madrid, actually the opposite is true. Franco's "final" attack on Madrid, has been held off because his small forces are tired and he has had to wait for German and Italian troops. The breathing-spell would aid the forces of counter-revolution. However, a certain indication that the plan will be thrown into the dust-heap, has been the reply of both Burgos and Madrid against a truce and for war to the bitter end.

The acceptance "in principle" by Soviet Russia of this plan is, of course, motivated by the same policy that originally drew her into the whole neutrality business, an error fortunately ended. It should be clear by now that France and England will not be jarred from their position by the Soviet Union's acceptance thereof. Only when Russia boldly and independently aided Spain was there serious discussion in both foreign offices—only then, was it really possible for the labor forces of both countries to conduct a consistent campaign against neutrality. Witness the shift of the British Labor Party, when Russia broke with non-intervention, and also the activities of the French Communist Party, which actually "dared" to abstain from approving Blum's strangulation of the Spanish revolution. The consequent "patching up" of the rift in the French Popular Front probably reflects, on the part of the C.P., the slight shift in the attitude of the Soviet Union.

* * *

Sino-Japanese relations entered a stage of amazing complications this week, when Soviet Russia refused to renew the fisheries' agreement with Japan and when young Marshall Chang kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek to force a nationalist war against Japan.

The division between the headstrong military clique and the "civilians" was made wider when the Japanese cabinet blamed the army for the Nazi-Japanese pact, answered by the Soviets as mentioned above. The importance of the fisheries' agreement lies in the fact that a good section of the population of western Japan lives solely by fishing in the waters which Russia controls. Under the agreement, which expires with this year, Japanese are allowed to fish there. The Japanese bourgeoisie are in enough difficulties without appearing be-

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What Happened at the Communist Party Plenum?

AN exhaustive article dealing with the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, will be printed in the next issue of *Workers Age*. The article will also give a digest of the most important speeches made in the discussions on the various reports.

The author of the article, Comrade Sam Adams, is a leading party worker. Our readers will recall his letter addressed to the Labor Day Conference of the C.P.O.

"What's Behind The Constitutional Crisis in England?" This topic will be discussed by Will Herberg. Comrade Herberg is too well known to our readers to require

any re-claim. Read the article in the next issue.

Ellen Ward's article on the Inter-American Peace Conference, was held over because the longevity of the conference was greater than expected.

The Catholic Church has been prominent in the news about Spain, Mexico and Italy. Father Coughlin made his contribution here during the recent election campaign. Saul Held will discuss these matters in his usual crisp and lucid style. Beginning next week.

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CIO Necessary for Labor's Progress

By JESSE LANE

THE one influence which overshadows and dominates all other factors in the current economic life of America is the key position held by the integrated mass production industries. These industries are characterized by enormously wealthy corporations, owning tremendous resources, and operating gigantic production units throughout the country. First among these giants, is the United States Steel Corporation, capitalized at two billion dollars, operating the largest steel plant in the world, and owning through a subsidiary the second largest coal company in the country. This giant owns or controls through puppet corporations, railroads, boatlines, iron mines and its influence reaches into every sphere of the economy of the United States. Second only to the United States Steel Corporation but powerful and decisive in influence are the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Republic Steel Corporation, and the Jones & Laughlin Co.

These corporations employ hundreds of thousands of workers, who, in their present unorganized state, are exposed to merciless exploitation, are subjected to a mode of life (company owned homes, stores, etc.) that in many respects is equivalent to serfdom. The existence of these masses of unorganized workers, and the unfettered, aggressive, open shop policies of the steel barons, is a constant threat to the very life of the trade union movement.

Organized primarily on a craft union basis, the American Federation of Labor has failed to establish unionism in these mass production industries, even under the favorable conditions that existed during the period of the N.R.A. Perhaps "failed" is not the proper term, for it can accurately be said that the A.F.L. leadership did not even attempt to enter those industries. Today, labor is faced with a crucial test, its future depends upon its ability to establish itself in the mass production industries.

This is the background and the crux of the controversy between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor executive council.

Consciousness of the vastness and significance of the problem should make all quibbling on personalities pale into insignificance. For progressives in the trade union movement, the industrial form, for the successful organization of the mass production industries, is a foregone conclusion. The points at issue as expressed in Comrade Nelson's article (Workers Age, Nov. 7th) are: "The C.I.O. like the Trade Union Unity League and the Industrial Workers of the World is a dual union movement"; secondly, "if the present controversy results in the establishment of a new federation it would be detrimental to the interests of the workers" and "to avoid such an eventualty the C.I.O. should liquidate and go back to the American Federation of Labor, unity at all costs".

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BARRING HIS PATH!



aim of setting up new unions to replace and smash the existing unions. Different Premises Comparison of the declared aims and purpose of the CIO unions with the foregoing movements reveal a deep and fundamental distinction between them. The CIO was organized because "the minority who sponsored the industrial form of organization at the AFL convention (Atlantic City 1935) felt that the situation was far too serious to permit them to twiddle their thumbs until the next convention (Tampa 1936). These millions of workers wanted help, and wanted it right away. So the C.I.O. was formed." Its purpose was the "encouraging and promoting the organization of the unorganized workers in the mass production industries on an industrial basis. Its aim is to foster recognition and acceptance of collective bargaining in such basic industries; to counsel and advise unorganized and newly organized groups of workers; to bring them under the banner and in AFFILIATION WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AS INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS" (emphasis mine). Further the CIO recognizes that in some industries craft unions are necessary. "In industries where the crafts have shown that they can successfully organize, the C.I.O. is not trying to influence the form of organization—building trades, publishing or in the railroads."

The IWW and the TUUL were dual union movements because first they were born as a result of a revolutionary political philosophy, not in response to the conditions or demands of the trade union movement and secondly, because their aim was to break up and replace the existing unions which they regarded as boss or government unions.

The CIO is not a dual union movement. It is the organizational expression of the demands of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers who today make up the overwhelming majority of the American working class. The CIO does not seek to break up the A.F.L., on the contrary, it seeks to organize and bring additional strength to the existing trade union movement. The fact that the A.F.L. executive council, determined to hold power at all costs and fearing the influx of new members, has taken drastic measures that may result in the formation of a new federation does not in any way alter the character of the CIO movement.

Wrong Analysis Nelson contends that the CIO, now looming as the core for a possible new federation, should liquidate and return to the executive council and "shortly the majority of the A.F.L. would choose industrial unionism and the position of the reactionaries would collapse". He further contends, for some mysterious reason, that elements that are now sympathetic with the CIO or those unions who are doubtful would if the CIO continues, "travel the road with the old leadership".

I maintain that such reasoning can only flow from the concept that the CIO is merely a repetition of the old split-off movements, and that it comes as a result of the machinations of some evil individuals, notably Lewis and Hillman. Such conclusions result from complete blindness to the historical development of the industrial union movement, blindness to the changes in economic life. Nelson's attitude to the CIO can be accepted only by one who chooses to completely

This is the paper that the Socialist Call welcomes editorially as a "keen weapon in the battle of the Western workers!"

Anti-CIO Vote Repudiated by N. Y. Furriers

The Furriers' Joint Council of New York has made public a letter sent to International President Luchi, in a belated attempt to make amends for the unanimous vote against the CIO by Furriers' delegates to the Tampa convention of the A. F. of L. One of the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention is an officer of the New York Joint Council but the statement does not see fit to make any mention of him.

The letter says in part: "The Council considers the vote of the Furriers' delegates to the 56th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in favor of the resolution upholding the suspension of the CIO International Unions as a very grave error because it is detrimental to the vital interests of organized labor and of the millions of unorganized workers in the United States. . . . Our Joint Council is imbued with the ardent desire for a united, powerful American Federation of Labor and is convinced that in order to achieve this end, the suspension of the CIO International Unions should be lifted and unity established in the ranks of the A. F. of L. on the basis of the recognition of the vital necessity to organize the millions of unorganized workers in the United States, particularly in the basic industries, along the lines of industrial unionism as proposed by the CIO."

The letter finally urges the General Executive Board: "to assure the members of our Union of its opposition to the suspension or exclusion of the CIO International Unions. . . ."

The letter to the General Executive was forwarded because of widespread opposition to the action of the Furriers' delegates. The progressives in the union took the initiative in this demand to repudiate the vote against the CIO.

Ignore and dismiss the history and experiences of the trade union movement in this country.

Tampa Bars Unity At the Tampa convention the executive council assumed powers, thru the new amendments to the constitution, that would permit it to eliminate any union taking up the fight for industrial unionism. The Tampa convention approved such organizational steps, that would stifle the Federal unions, that makes existence impossible for the central labor bodies and the state federations. These are actions of men vainly trying to close the door on the future, to hold on as long as possible to the past.

The actions of the Tampa convention practically closed the door to unity and peace in the Federation. The Tampa convention is conclusive proof that a new federation is historically inevitable and moreover progressive.

Comrade Nelson should heed his own advice "political leaders in the revolutionary movement must realize that things are not as they would like them to be" and realize that the choice is not peace or war, but progress or death.

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The 1936 Elections LABOR PLAYS NEW ROLE IN CAMPAIGN

By JAY LOVESTONE

FIRST amongst the forces making for the Roosevelt avalanche was the very situation, the very conditions under which the elections were held. It was a moment of the stirring of the depths of society, accentuated by the social and economic consequences of the great crisis, the developing dissatisfaction in the bottom layers of American society became most marked during the elections. It was this discontent, this dissatisfaction with things as they are, this vague and confused feeling that things must be different, that Roosevelt at least tried to make them different, that was responsible for new layers being drawn into the electoral campaign. In this campaign there participated not only several million new voters, so to speak, from the point of view of age, but also new voters from the point of view of people who had hitherto not felt sufficient interest in electoral campaigns to take part in them.

This is the real meaning of the unprecedented registration. Here we have a first step towards articulate expression by these millions at the bottom who, of course, were primarily semi-skilled and unskilled workers as well as depressed middle class elements. Here we deal with the effect of years of crisis on these strata of society. Here we are face to face with a changing and considerably changed ideology of these decisive sections of our population.

Just to emphasize: It used to be contrary to the established social philosophy of the country to admit that any able-bodied or efficient worker could remain out of work except for a temporary period. Likewise, at one time it was a badge of degradation for a person to receive assistance if in want. In fact, the country had relied on a very rudimentary Poor Law inherited from as far back as the Elizabethan era. However, with the breakdown of private initiative, there also came a breakdown of private charity as a source of social relief. It is significant that up to Roosevelt's entry into the White House, the Federal Government had made a loan of but \$300,000,000 for relief. This was as far as the government went in helping the millions of sufferers. As the crisis continued and the suffering intensified and became more extensive, the "moral" attitude towards getting assistance changed. Soon people out of work and in want, people out of funds and in distress, began to think and feel that not only was it not a shame to be a recipient of relief under such circumstances, but that it was the duty of the government to supply such relief. Of course, it was against this conception that the Republicans, regardless of all camouflage employed, really battled. And it was in a measure in line with this conception that the Democrats fought in the election campaign.

Class Concepts Clearer Indicative of the change of social psychology in the country is the new attitude towards big money. It was not so long ago that big money was considered the highest of virtues. Today it is only a fading few who openly will proclaim faith in big money as a source of moral strength. In fact, the consequences of the crisis have driven many people either to the mood or thought of viewing big money as a source of social infection rather than perfection.

In the same sense, there has been developing for some time a new concept of what one might vaguely call social status, but which actually means classes. It was not so long ago that to speak of classes in the United States was a practice not even resorted to in the post-graduate courses in economics and sociology in America's highest universities. Today, this attitude is gone. When the Republicans made their vigorous attacks against Roosevelt that he is fostering class antagonisms, they were actually only revealing the fact that the time has arrived in the United States when class antagonisms have become so sharp and clear that discussion was no longer taboo. Today, a rapidly increasing number speak of classes and definitely assign themselves as members

of classes. This is true despite the fact that still only very few have an adequate understanding of class relationships and conflicting class interests, as well as consciousness. One must emphasize as a factor making for the Roosevelt landslide the very nature of the issues raised by the Republicans themselves. Let's take but a few of the representative issues hammered on by Hamilton.

Picking Wrong Issues Taxes: The Republicans howled against mounting taxes. However, the average man really did not feel the burden of taxes as much as he should have felt on the basis of actual payment, direct or indirect, by him. It has been authentically estimated by Arnold W. Lahee that, "No less than 35% of the total tax burden of the nation in 1935, including Federal, State and local taxes, was borne, according to this estimate, by families with incomes of less than \$2,000. . . . With about 22,000,000 families in 1935 with incomes of \$2,000 or less, and average expenditures of \$1,000, or an aggregate of \$22 billion, the share of taxes in their cost of living at the same ratio would be \$3.5 billion, or 35 per cent of the total taxes for that year." (The Annalist, October 30, 1936, p. 598).

Yet it would be foolhardy to expect the average worker or farmer or clerk or small shop-keeper to raise a storm of protest over taxation. None of these individuals was subjected to heavy direct taxes. Hence these groups were not fertile soil for Republican manipulations in regard to the tax issue. The identical fate befell the Republican issue of government intervention and bureaucracy. In the months prior to the election campaign, government intervention and bureaucracy as viewed by the so-called average American, did not really look so bad to him or her. John Farmer or Mrs. Cook or Henry Prolet could really look at things only on the surface and could see government intervention only in the shape of the Social Security Act, attempts to regulate wages and hours and attempts at least to do something towards solving the problems and clearing up the debris left by Hoover upon his exit from the White House. The biggest dud of all was the attempt to win the majority for pristine Americanism, so to say; back to the horse and buggy stage might sound all right to some dilapidated fellow hanging around Landon's porch in Kansas, but this talk was the sheerest idiocy to the workers in the big industrial centers and to the middle class forces in the big cities. It need not be said here that even the most sincere

FINAL FIGURES ON ELECTIONS

THE complete official vote for the presidential elections has just been made public. The final tally shows the Socialist Party polled 187,342 as compared to 884,781 in 1932. A loss of over 75%. The Communist Party secured 80,181 as against 102,991 in 1932. A loss of about 30%. The Socialist Labor Party got 12,729 this year and 33,276 in 1932. A loss of about 60%. All three workers parties together polled slightly more than 25% of the Socialist Party's vote in 1932.

The Democratic Party secured 27,751,612 votes, or 60.7% of the 45,812,155 cast—a gain of 3.4% in popular votes over 1932. The Republican Party secured 16,681,913 or 36.4%—a drop of 3.2%. The total vote of the minor parties declined from 3.1% in 1932 to 2.9% this year.

spokesmen of big capital did not believe a word of the countless notions spread about the virtues of Eighteenth Century Americanism, by the Republican National Committee. These big fellows up on top, as is now especially evident from the way they are rallying around the Roosevelt banner, always knew that what Wall Street needs in order to facilitate and stabilize its rule in this country is not Eighteenth Century but Twentieth Century Americanism. The attempt of the Republicans to bring life to its ticket on the basis of relying on these thread-bare shibboleths and dead appeals certainly was costly to the Landon campaign.

Labor's Rule Decisive Incalculable as a force making for the election of Roosevelt was the extent and character of labor's participation in the election campaign. More than in any other election campaign, labor participated last November and participated this time as a unified force. Except for the dwindling ranks of the Socialist Party and our own forces voting for Browder, practically the entire labor movement from Bill Green to Bill Foster were, in one form or another, behind Roosevelt. We are not, at this time, attaching any real significance to the pro-Landon game played by such ossified labor bureaucrats as Hutcheson and Coefield, nor are we at this time paying much attention to the altogether too few Communist Party members and followers who violated unwritten instructions and voted for Browder.

We are merely stressing the following: In the 1936 election campaign, more workers participated than in the La Follette campaign of 1924, when the A. F. of L. endorsed the Wisconsin stormy petrel for President; in the 1936 elections there was greater unity of action in the ranks of labor insofar as voting for the President went. Primarily as a result of the prestige of the C.I.O. amongst the great mass of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, there was in this election campaign a greater solidarity between the organized and the unorganized workers, closing of ranks as it were. Hence, at this time a body like Major Barry's Non-Partisan League could reach not only the ranks of the organized labor movement, but could penetrate to the lowest depths of the great mass of unorganized workers, who had less distrust of and placed more trust in the pro-Roosevelt leaders of the trade union movement. Here it is imperative to underscore the fact that this closing of what was almost a chasm between the ranks of the organized and those of the unorganized workers was in no small measure due to the fact that the composition of the many important unions had been changed in recent years by the great influx of members, members hitherto in the ranks of the semi-skilled and unskilled unorganized workers.

It is in this respect that the Labor Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party were such mighty factors in the Roosevelt election. Roosevelt can well thank such organizations for his sweep in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, and Massachusetts.

Hutcheson Bars Vote of 130,000 New Union Members

(Continued from Page 1) convention, controlled by Hutcheson and Duffy will do nothing of the kind. Granting membership rights to these 130,000, for whom Hutcheson cast a ballot against the CIO at the last A. F. of L. convention, would be tantamount to placing the Brotherhood in the CIO column. Hutcheson knows that practically all of the protesting groups have expressed their solidarity with the CIO, and together with the CIO supporters in his own craft locals, they could easily constitute a majority of the Brotherhood.

Random Comments

"Leon Blum, himself a member of the L.S.I. (Labor & Socialist International), disregards, as head of the French government, the decisions of his own International and 'hesitates' before the fascist threats."

"However, Cardenas, President of the Mexican Republic—a Socialist of another temper than the Socialists of France—has taken up a wholly admirable attitude towards the Spanish Republic."

The above is taken from the foreign political review in the Inprecor of Nov. 7, 1936. Since the Communist Party now appears to be slobbering over Cardenas we would like to ask the following questions:

1. Since when is he a socialist of any temper?
2. Do the comrades remember that Mexico (even under the "Socialist" Cardenas) has still not reopened relations with the Soviet Union?
3. How long will the present opinion be retained, now that Cardenas has invited Trotsky to settle in Mexico?

Or is the urge for a people's front strong enough to overcome these strong objections?

"Now that the elections are over, and President Roosevelt has been reelected . . . we can proceed with the building of our Union without fear of our constitutional rights being trampled upon."

" . . . What is the sense in voting for him if we do not intend to support him in the bitter fights that

clarity between the organized and the unorganized workers, closing of ranks as it were. Hence, at this time a body like Major Barry's Non-Partisan League could reach not only the ranks of the organized labor movement, but could penetrate to the lowest depths of the great mass of unorganized workers, who had less distrust of and placed more trust in the pro-Roosevelt leaders of the trade union movement. Here it is imperative to underscore the fact that this closing of what was almost a chasm between the ranks of the organized and those of the unorganized workers was in no small measure due to the fact that the composition of the many important unions had been changed in recent years by the great influx of members, members hitherto in the ranks of the semi-skilled and unskilled unorganized workers.

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Says a certain Vincent Arroyo in Inprecor, Nov. 7, 1936: "More than 2 months ago the Communist Party of Spain repeatedly declared that we were faced by a hard and long war, and that it was necessary to make effective preparations for this fight." The foresight of the Communist Party of Spain is positively remarkable. The insurrection of the fascists began in July and only two months elapsed before the Communist Party realized that it was going to be "a hard and long war" and said so "repeatedly"! Verily, a brilliant achievement! It was, we presume, the same type of uncanny foresight that caused the Inprecor dated July 18, 1936, to write thus about Spain: "Reaction is curbed if not conquered. The working masses today instead of having the prospect of merciless battles to prevent the stabilisation of the fascist dictatorship, see before them the path to final victory." AND IT WAS SHEER PERVERSITY ON THE PART OF GENERAL FRANCO THAT CAUSED HIM TO BEGIN HIS FASCIST REVOLT ON JULY 18!

Comintern Maps New Disasters in China

By JIM CORK

IMMEDIATELY after the 7th Congress of the Communist International the People's Front line was extended also to China. In a recent article in the Workers Age (Sept. 12, 1936), the writer indicated the main content of the People's Front line as it was concretely applied to China. Japan was isolated as the chief, nay the sole enemy; the fight against imperialism generally was dropped; the class struggle inside China against the bourgeoisie, the large landowners and the military cliques was watered down in the interests of getting the latter to join in the national front; the olive branch was held out to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, and the Communist Party of China virtually offered to liquidate the independent class position of the Soviets and the Red Army.

That the line must have encountered substantial resistance inside the Chinese party can be seen from a perusal of the article by Wan Min "Fifteen Years of Struggle for the Independence and Freedom of the Chinese People" (Communist Int., Oct. 1936), in which sectarianism is roundly berated and it is charged that "... even within the Communist Party itself this new policy is far from having been correctly understood by all comrades." (All quotations hereafter are from this article.)

The Line Unfolds

This article contains the most substantial and detailed statement to date of the People's Front line in China. The previous position is restated, but more fully, and an attempt is made to provide a more extensive theoretical base to substantiate the argument. What was implied previously is now made explicit.

"First, the Party openly declares that it is striving to establish a united national front against Japanese imperialism, and not an anti-imperialist united front in general." (emphasis in original)

Wan Min is uncomfortably conscious of the fact that this represents an open and sharp departure from what had always been considered an ABC of revolutionary struggle in China, viz: the struggle against imperialism generally. He therefore trots out as an explanation those much abused "changed conditions."

"At that time (6th convention of the C.P. of China which was held before the 7th Congress of the CI) in spite of the contradictions amongst the imperialist powers they came forward in a united front against the Chinese people and the Chinese Revolution, whereas today the Japanese invaders are menacing not only the national existence of the Chinese people but at the same time the vital interests of the imperialist states competing with them."

The dangerous implication here is that other imperialist powers (England and the U. S.) may become potential friends of the Chinese revolution. Therefore no struggle against them but on the contrary alliance with them against Japan. What else but that can the following mean:

"Hence it is clear that 'left' phrasemongers who shout about the need for carrying on an armed struggle of the Chinese people simultaneously against the Japanese and all other imperialists, are, whether they like it or not, playing into the hands of the Japanese invaders whose interests require precisely

the isolation of the Chinese people from all possible direct and indirect allies in their anti-Japanese struggle."

Repetition of 1925-1928

There can be no more suicidal policy for a revolutionary movement to follow than the attempt to expel one imperialist power by falling back upon the support of others. It cannot but result in the exchange of one halter for another. Either way the revolution loses. The emancipation of the oppressed masses of China is possible only by delivering a death blow to all imperialist control in China.

The new line of the C.P. of China obviously must have also encountered some opposition to joint action with Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, the party of the native bourgeoisie, for Wan Min finds it necessary to argue against those who maintained: "... that between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang an historical hostility exists." His answer to the charge is revealing:

"It is untrue that only an historical hostility has existed between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. Actually there have been not only nine years of hostility between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, but almost nine years of close collaboration. ..."

Instead of an historical and class analysis, we have here, one might say, an arithmetical one. It is as if the tragic defeat of 1925-28 had never happened. The early years of collaboration between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang passed inevitably into the later stage of bitter enmity, for definite class and historical reasons. What clashed here were two different class outlooks as to the future course of the Chinese Revolution. That the Chinese bourgeoisie, thru their political instrument, the Kuomintang, triumphed can be directly traced to the wrong tactics of the CI inside the broad national revolutionary bloc formed in the early stage of the struggle.

The mistake of the CI was not in joining the broad national revolutionary bloc, but in the lack of a correct class policy inside that bloc. The policy was essentially one of capitulation to the national bourgeoisie at the decisive stage of the struggle. Instead of maintaining from the beginning its complete independence in agitation and action, of extending the influence of the revolutionary elements to leadership inside the bloc and throughout the country, the C.P. allowed itself to become a tail to the national bourgeoisie under the slogan that the latter must not be antagonized lest the anti-imperialist bloc be broken. As a result, when the disruption of the revolutionary bloc inevitably came, the C.P. was in no position to prevent the bourgeoisie from utilizing the national revolutionary movement for its own class purposes. What happened is history. The bourgeoisie came to an understanding with imperialism for the common crushing of the Chinese revolution.

Bowing to Chiang Kai-shek

To propose this same collaboration with the bourgeoisie is to invite a repetition of 1925-28. To expect Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang to wage a forthright fight against Japan is to expect the impossible from a class point of view. From the very beginning of the Japanese penetration into China, he has conducted a half-hearted shadow-boxing campaign, seeking to mollify Japan rather than defend the interests of the Chinese people. He ruthlessly suppressed

Quotation Marks

"Whoever has not understood when reading Marx that in capitalist society, on every acute occasion, at every serious conflict of classes, it is only possible to have either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, has understood nothing of either the economic or the political teaching of Marx."

Lenin, Foundations of the Third International, p. 33. International Publishers, 1934.

all press criticism of Japan. The slow but sure penetration into China by the Japanese Army from the north was censored. The anti-Japanese student movement was attacked. Demonstrations were forbidden. Instead of exploiting these facts, instead of pointing out that Chiang Kai-shek and the bourgeoisie are obstacles in a forthright fight vs. Japan, instead of pointing out that it is in the class nature of the bourgeoisie to compromise with imperialism at the expense of the workers and peasants, the C.P. of China holds out an olive branch to Chiang Kai-shek, and offers him a chance to "expiate his sins in the eyes of the Chinese People."

It is true that today the feeling of the Chinese masses is at such white heat that Chiang Kai-shek must seem to make some show of resistance vs. Japan. But he will know how to come to terms with Japan and the other imperialist powers to salvage the interests of the native bourgeoisie at the expense of the workers and peasants. He has done it before. He will do it again. And the offer of collaboration on the part of the C.P. will make it all the easier for him to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses.

Different Approach—Same Result!

If the C.P. criminally helps to raise illusions as to the possible intentions of Chiang Kai-shek, he on his part leaves no doubt as to where he stands. On November 2, he gave directives to North China leaders to unite against the Chinese Soviets. He said:

"Communists being well organized and led by intellectual leaders, constitute a great threat to China's stability. They must be eliminated at all costs." Striking more directly home at the whole tactic of the C.P. a spokesman of the government commenting on reports that the Chinese Communists were seeking an alliance with the Central government against Japan said that, "Whatever China's policy toward Russia might be, her domestic policy continues to be directed toward suppression of Communism. If the Red troops would surrender and put themselves completely under our direction, then we would be glad to give them a chance to serve the country, otherwise an alliance is impossible." (Archibald Steel's cable from Nanking—N. Y. Times, Nov. 14, 1936).

Can anyone doubt what would happen to the red troops, the backbone of the defense of the Chinese Soviets, if that were done? Yet it is exactly in that direction that the People's Front line for China is pointing. "If," says Wan Min, "a united all-China democratic republic is established, if Parliament is called together elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and if an all-China government of national defense is formed, then the Soviet districts, respecting the will of the majority of the Chinese people, will become part of this united democratic republic, will participate in the all-China parliament, and be ready to introduce the same kind of political and administrative reform." (Continued on Page 6)

Spanish Revolution And Organs of Power

The following article is reprinted from "The Spanish Revolution," English publication of the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (POUM). It appeared in the issue of Nov. 4, 1936. We consider the article important because of its views on the tasks, aims and political content of the present heroic struggle in Spain, which are diametrically opposed to the people's front policy of the Communist Party. A certain vagueness of terminology is probably due to faulty translation.—Editor.

Centralization—The Need!

But of course the case in Spain is not the same. Here our war slogan is to continue "to the end." The Catalan petty bourgeoisie cry "to conquer or to die" with us at the front, and whether we like it or not, we are forced to accept them as precious and indispensable allies in our war against fascism. Furthermore the prolongation of dual power in Catalonia seemed like a contradiction in the face of the need for centralizing power for the more effective struggle against fascism. Class collaboration has proved to be a crime when any party or organization calling itself revolutionary follows on the tail of the petty bourgeoisie and plays the game of the bourgeoisie at the expense of the working class. But in Barcelona the question is: Are we collaborating with the petty bourgeoisie or are the petty bourgeoisie collaborating with us? Are we in Barcelona doing as Madrid does, following on the tail of the petty bourgeoisie and cheering the stabilization of the bourgeois democratic republic? Do not the P.O.U.M. and the comrades of the C.N.T. constitute a workers bloc sufficiently revolutionary to be able to give a revolutionary orientation to the council of the Generalitat, capable of making it advance towards the revolution and its social concepts? Are the C.N.T. and the P.A.I., despite their idealist philosophy which revolutionary events are fast removing from them, petty bourgeois organizations?

We have been able to secure a workers majority in the Council of the Generalitat. Certain orthodox Marxists who believe that there must never be any variation from the Russian revolution model, are unable to draw conclusions from the admitted differences of our revolution from the Russian (among other things the question of trade unions). The Council of the Generalitat is nothing more nor less than a tactical product of the necessities of the present moment, both political and military, and is not by any means an end in itself. The Council is a medium through which we ought to begin the revolution which we mean to carry through to its final conclusions, a Council which we gradually transform according to the demands of the revolution until its total disappearance.

Always On Guard

The Council of the Generalitat is a political experience which we are obliged to make today, but which, if it fails tomorrow, will leave our political prestige unblemished, since at the appearance of the very earliest symptoms of counter-revolutionary decomposition, we will be the first to put the working class on their guard against it. We have entered the Council with our full personality, with our whole program, with our flag flying, in the service of the proletariat. But the day when this government turns away from a revolutionary course, or when it inclines consciously or unconsciously towards petty bourgeois policy and ideas, the P.O.U.M. will immediately withdraw all collaboration and cease to form part of it.

Two Conditions

Here in Catalonia we have a government which, although not entirely working class, has so far worked along socialist lines. The special circumstances of the present time have made possible and even inevitable a coalition with petty bourgeois parties. For this reason we were unable to refuse our collaboration so long as the new government fulfilled two conditions: 1) that it had a workers' majority, and 2) that it should declare for the execution of a socialist program.

Obviously if it had been possible to continue with dual power in Catalonia with impunity, we would have prolonged it until the taking of full power by the workers, but we are facing a civil war and not an imperialist war. In 1917, the Russian Bolshevik party, in face of the imperialist war, was obliged to stay outside the provisional government precisely because of this imperialist war for which the inevitable slogan was "Peace, Peace At Any Price." This not only served to put one of the most revolutionary principles into practice, but also to unmask the bourgeoisie who were hiding their imperialist ends under patriotic demagoguery. At that time the continuation of the war would have been a betrayal of the working class, and under these

circumstances the party could not consent to enter into any kind of agreement with the parties who were in power. Hence their slogan against the provisional government and the war, slogans which did a great deal toward giving them power.

Now, what is the condition of the Negro? The Negro in the south is the victim of the peonage-disfranchisement, lily-white primaries, poll-tax, tenant and sharecrop farming, the entire jimcrow system, segregation, mobrule, lynch terror, low wages, long hours and intolerable working conditions and convict labor.

As a matter of fact, I have in my home a report which was recently made by Dr. C. F. Duncan, of Jacksonville, a colored man, President of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a Negro insurance man and a Negro journalist from Jacksonville, and Frank McAllister, a white man, of the Workers Defense League. They went to McClenny, Florida, on the 15th day of this month, at ten o'clock in the morning, and made an investigation of Negro peonage there. This is their report:

We first interviewed a school teacher who informed us of the conditions of the schools. In her department there were 52 children in one room. A majority of the children came to school bare-footed. Attendance falls off in the coldest months because the pupils do not have enough to keep warm. She was prevailed upon to talk only thru intervention of Dr. Duncan, who assured her that no harm would befall her but that it was her duty to speak freely. The houses (if you can call them that) in which these people live are all owned by Will Knabb, turpentine operator, and the workers live in constant fear of reprisals.

Feudal Conditions

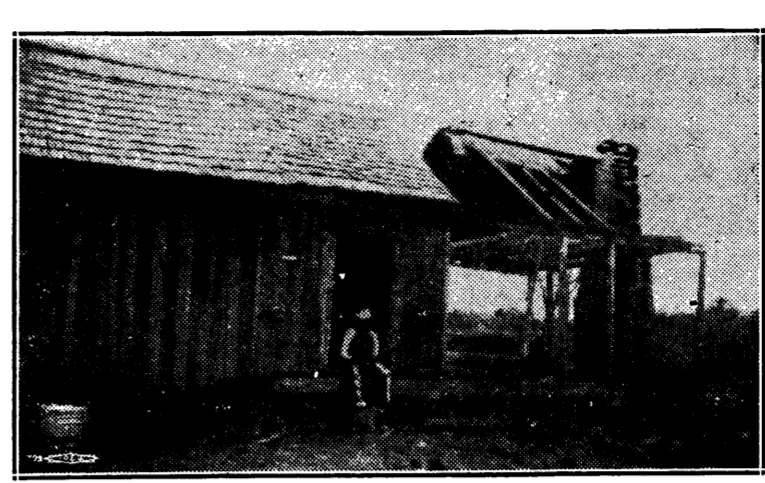
Next we talked with several turpentine workers who talked freely but only after much persuasion. They stated categorically that the Negro people in this community were held in slavery. None is allowed to leave the place. The owner has two stool-pigeons who keep him informed of everything in the quarters. These informers even slip under the shackles at night and listen in on the conversation to see if they may detect some hint of dissatisfaction which might indicate that someone was harboring thoughts of "escape." One of these informers is named Cobb. After almost two hours in the quarters, Cobb detected our party and immediately ran to the clerk of the commissary to notify him that someone was prying around.

The turpentine workers are forced to toil from daylight until they can no longer see at night. For their labor, they receive pay ranging from 60 cents to one dollar. A very few receive as much as \$1.25 a day. They are forced to purchase their supplies at the commissary owned by Knabb. Prices at this commissary are almost double regular retail prices. For example, white bacon which can be bought in Tampa stores for 15 cents per pound, cost 25 cents per pound in Knabb's commissary. Six pounds of plain flour cost 40 cents in the commissary and the same grade can be bought for 24 cents at the retail stores. When the wages of the turpentine workers are translated into purchasing power it is easy to see that many of them are working for 25 cents per day. One man spent \$2.00 outside the commissary a little while back and was told that his pay of \$10.00 would be held up until he purchased all his goods at the commissary.

Any desire on the part of the inmates to escape is effectively

RANDOLPH EXPOSES SEMI-FEUDALISM IN THE SOUTH

This is the concluding section of the stenogram of the speech of A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The speech was delivered at the Tampa Convention of the A. F. of L. on November 25th, 1936.



Poverty-stricken under the peonage system of share-cropping, this Negro cropper has to use half his "home" to repair the other half!

thwarted by the realization of possible consequences. Men may suffer beatings, their very lives may be threatened if they attempt to leave. By a system of camps which surround the community they are able to head off any fleeing slave.

As soon as we had secured this information, which we considered adequate, we decided it would be safer to leave. The informer had notified the commissary of our presence and we could see a small cluster of white men gathering. Wisdom seemed to dictate departure and so we left after about two hours in the quarters.

Investigation Needed!

Here is an evidence of exploitation of the Negro workers. Why? Because there is no labor organization in the South that has the strength and power to prevent the exploitation of Negro and white workers.

I appeal to this convention, and especially to President Green, that some representation be made to Governor Scholtz of Florida, the Sheriff of Baker County, the United States Attorney General for an investigation of peonage in Florida and a general Federal investigation by the Congress. Here is a direct violation of the constitution, because here is a case where men are being held in involuntary servitude. I also appeal to President Green to make representations to the United States Attorney and also proceed in getting a Federal investigation of this condition, because it is typical throughout the state of Florida, and unless some one might say that I don't know enough about Florida to talk about this, I want to say to you that I was born in Crescent City, Florida. My mother and father were born in Monticello, Florida. My father's father was born in Virginia, and his forebears run back to slaves who were owned by John Randolph, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Therefore, I am as American as any white American born in America. Therefore, there is no question of some interloper raising this question.

The question of the economic opportunity for the black worker in the South is bound up with the question of economic opportunity for the white worker in the South. So long as the black worker remains a slave, white workers in the South will never be free. So we appeal to the white workers in the South, and I have faith in the ultimate sense of justice toward the white workers of the old South will eventually see the light, and when they do they will join hands with the black workers and they will fight together against a common foe.

It Can Be Done!

It has been said that it cannot be done, but it is being done in

Arkansas, where you have the black and white workers in the same tenant farmers' union. Right here in Tampa, in the longshoremen's union there are white men alongside black men fighting for the same thing. Therefore, there is no fundamental opposition, no fundamental difference between the white and the black workers. They have a common interest in getting more wages and better conditions, and they have a common interest in opposing their exploiters. But when some demagogue comes around and tells the white worker that he is better than the black worker, and then he goes around and tells the black worker that the white worker is trying to take advantage of him, then hate and hostility begin to flare up. The only remedy for that is the organization of the black worker and the white worker in the South in the same union.

I hope that the holding of the convention here in Tampa will help bring that about. I was quite opposed to the holding of the convention in Tampa, because I believe whenever a convention is held by the American Federation of Labor, provision ought to be made that Negro delegates will receive the same accommodations as all other delegates to the convention. That condition, of course, does not exist in Tampa. In the future I think that should be taken into consideration and whenever an effort is being made to hold a convention the A. F. of L. should refuse to hold it in a city where equal accommodations are not afforded.

However, I hope that the holding of the convention here will result in the building up of sentiment for the organization of Negro and white workers together. I believe that will serve as one of the fundamental solutions of the problem of the workers of America. I believe the time will come when the working class people of the South will be the most militant of the working class people of America, especially when these two groups here are united and have all in common and nothing in opposition.

SPANISH CRISIS AND PROBLEM OF ORGANS OF POWER

(Continued from Page 4)

reached, the petty bourgeoisie as a class will already have disappeared. The petty bourgeoisie is not the bourgeois class, it is only the public instrument of the ruling class. If we triumph and triumph as the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie will be assimilated by the workers. If we fail, it (the petty bourgeoisie) will attach itself to the bourgeoisie. Its economic fate is in our hands. It cannot take the power as the ruling class because its day in history has already passed.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

JOE RYAN has spoken at last. People had begun to wonder — is it possible that Joe will keep his hands off the seamen's strike in New York? The refusal of the New York Central Labor Union to take a position on this controversy tended to create such an illusion because Joe runs the C.L.U. But at last he has spoken up leaving no doubt in anyone's mind that it's the same old Ryan.

Everybody knows that the seamen exercised extreme caution where the longshoremen were involved—albeit in an orderly organized labor movement all unions working in and around ships would be called upon for direct aid. It is particularly for this reason that they did not deserve the scabby double-cross handed them by Joe Ryan and the International Longshoremen's Association. When the French longshoremen answered the call of international union solidarity by refusing to unload ships manned by American scab seamen Ryan utilized this occasion for a boycott of French vessels and refused to unload French cargo here. No more direct assistance to the employers could be possible, no more despicable slap in the face of the French longshoremen could be imagined.

The same defiler of union unity rules his union with the assistance of strong arm squads, raises his eyes in sanctimonious prayer for the "unity" of the trade union movement and raises his hand for the expulsion of the CIO unions because the issue is "democracy." Our hat is off to the fighting seamen who, despite severe provocation, did not permit themselves to become involved in a dispute with the longshoremen, thereby giving Ryan a looked-for excuse. Their fight is for the improvement of the conditions of the seamen and their excellent judgment has done much to strengthen their case in the eyes of the trade unionists and to expose—if any more exposing were necessary—the real face of Joe Ryan.

"No Taxation Without Representation." This cry is being voiced by 19 delegates—only voiced since they have no vote—representing 70,000 wood workers, at the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters now proceeding at Lakeland, Fla.

President Hutcheson, a strong defender of "democracy" in the A. F. of L. promptly gavelled the protesting delegates off the floor. This, incidentally, is the first convention of the union in eight years.

The 70,000 wood workers had demanded a separate charter but were attached to the Hutcheson union where they "enjoy" all duties of membership but, alas, none of its rights. These workers are incensed at their present status and unless granted full membership privileges may stop paying dues to Hutcheson.

"The United Mine Workers' Journal" (Dec. 1, 1936) characterizes the A. F. of L. convention as "innocuous" and as continuing the previous state of affairs:

"The decision of the convention actually means nothing at all. It makes no change in the situation as it has existed for months. The Committee for Industrial Organization unions have declared all along that they will not confer with the executive council committee nor give any consideration to any proposals of any kind unless and until the suspension order is rescinded. The convention action was innocuous and doesn't mean a thing to anybody."

"Kenosha Labor" (Dec. 4, 1936) opines that a defeatist mood dominated the convention:

"The tone of the convention was defeatist. Gloom was pervasive. Hardly a speaker touched upon the great opportunity for organizing presented by the huge vote which re-elected a friendly national ad-

CINCINNATI LABOR FIGHTS INJUNCTION

Cincinnati labor is girding its strength for a legal fight against a reactionary decree by the local Court of Appeals, perpetually enjoining the Cincinnati Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America from engaging in strike activities against certain strike-bound companies.

The decision legalizes yellow dog contracts forced by the tailoring companies on their workers.

The Cincinnati Central Labor Council adopted a resolution condemning the court decision as a real threat to the labor movement in the state of Ohio, "for if employers are granted the right to coerce their workers into surrendering their rights to strike, the backbone of the labor movement is broken."

And even the N. Y. Times (Nov. 16, 1936) casts an opinion on the peace talks, which defies all the deliberate confusion of Joe Shaplen:

"Even if there were to be a patched up peace between President Green and John Lewis it could not be expected to last. The collision between the ideas and policies of the two men and of the organizations which stand behind them is too direct and severe to be covered up by any compromise solution."

M.N. Roy Wins Freedom from Indian Prison

Manabendra Nath Roy, the most outstanding leader of the Indian revolutionary movement, and a collaborator of Lenin, was just released from his prison cell in India where he served six years of a much longer sentence.

Roy, who returned to India about seven years ago to rebuild the communist forces shattered by the ultra-left line of the Communist International, was hunted from the minute he set foot on Indian soil. The British authorities considered him as the most dangerous enemy of British Imperialism in India.

Comrade Roy, tho extremely ill, is nevertheless beginning to pick up the threads of his work for the International Communist Opposition, of which he is one of the internationally known leaders.

The Communist Party Opposition feels grateful to Professor Albert Einstein and other American friends as well as to many friends in the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, who intervened on several occasions with the British authorities to ease the rigors of his confinement and to demand his unconditional release.

At the same time we must also note that the official Communists of Great Britain are losing no time in intensifying their scandalous denunciation of Roy.

COMINTERN BREWS NEW DISASTERS

(Continued from Page 4)

ime in their territory as will be established for the whole of China." Translated literally this would read, "In the interests of a democratic (bourgeois) China, we are ready to liquidate ourselves!"

Revolutionary Policy Needed

What is necessary today in China if the revolution is to advance toward the realization of its goal, is the direct opposite of the tactics that are offered. Not class collaboration, but the more resolute pressing forth of the independent class position of the revolutionary elements. Not toning down of the class struggle but on the contrary its more vigorous unleashing against the bourgeoisie, the landlords and the military cliques. For

MANABENDRA NATH ROY



LABOR PROTESTS PINK SLIP POLICY OF WPA

Mass pressure by WPA workers in the form of mass delegations, stay-in strikes, three hour stoppage and demonstrations by 3000 workers on the Federal Art Projects has forced the WPA Administration to partially retreat in its current program of dismissals.

Harry Hopkins has announced that no worker who is "in need" will be fired. Such workers as are fired by mistake, he states, will be placed back on the rolls upon investigation by the local relief board.

The quotas for dismissals set for all projects in New York City have been dropped. Only the Art Projects will retain their quota of a 19% cut. In this case, however,

the time limit has been changed from December 15th to an indefinite date. "Non-relief" workers and "non-essential" workers will be fired and the remainder of the reduction will come from the non-replacement of those hired by private industry.

A factor in the retreat of the administration was the protest of Mayor LaGuardia against the cuts in his capacity as Mayor of New York City and as President of the U. S. Conference of Mayors. The mayors are fearful of the mass protest of their unemployed, and of the imposition of increased financial burden upon their cities.

8,040 have been dropped to date in New York City. Both LaGuardia in the city and Roosevelt nationally are adopting the old Hoover maneuver of calling business leaders into conferences to confer on placing WPA workers into mythical jobs.

The stoppage and demonstration of the workers on the Federal Art Projects, called by the City Projects Council, resulted in a virtual shut-down of those projects. Although the action was frowned upon by Actors' Equity and Chorus Equity Association, which urged their members not to participate, 90% of the theatre workers took part in it. They signed in for work and then left for the WPA Administration building at 70 Columbus Avenue. Although the demonstrators were docked for the time they were out, they were not penalized in any other way. Theatre workers who had taken part in a sit-down strike previously had been fired. Somervell, local WPA administrator claims that this was done upon orders from Washington.

Mr. Carney's Revelations

Mr. William Carney, Madrid correspondent of the New York Times, took a vacation in Paris last week, and from there described the "horrors" of the measures taken by the Defense Junta (*New York Times*, December 7). Previous to the putsch on July 18th, Mr. Carney had been supplying the readers of his newspaper with such reports of events in Spain, that Gilbert Seldes accused him of being pro-fascist. Certainly, once the revolutionary censorship was removed, the pen of Mr. Carney let forth a venomous attack on the anti-fascist forces of Spain—and in such a fashion as to justify his bete-noire—"undemocratic" censorship.

We do not wish to weary our readers with a recapitulation of remarks about "illiterate militiamen" who dared to question Carney's activities near the front; or the "terrorization" of white collar workers into joining unions; the "interference" of the unions in the conduct of the economic life of the city, or the "revolting" execution of the greedy vassals of the Catholic

only the consistent struggle for the social emancipation of the oppressed can rally the broadest masses around the struggle for national emancipation vs. imperialism. The Chinese revolution can succeed only as a revolutionary struggle against imperialism and its henchman, Chiang Kai-shek.

Church. We don't expect Mr. Carney to hail the devotion, to the revolution, of workers made and kept ignorant by capitalism; that he understand the new life and salvation being given to middleclass elements by the labor movement; nor do we expect, from one so named, to have a clear view of the clericals who drain the marrow of the people not merely in a religious role, but as some of the largest landowners and oppressors of the peasantry!

More important than such inability to comprehend a great social upheaval, growing out of the very premises of Mr. Carney's chosen view point, are the facts of revolutionary dictatorship, which, in his shocked "democratic" fashion he has presented. This regime in Madrid is clearly a rule of labor even tho confused and contradictory in many aspects. And for this revelation, which we hope will be seen by certain new-won supporters of democracy, we are thankful. The struggle against fascism, heroically conducted by the Spanish workers and peasants, is raising more sharply each day, the necessity of Marxist revolutionary measures. And, despite all well-meant aid from lovers of abstract "democracy," the Spanish workers see that need and are answering it in kind!

STRIKING SEAMEN OUST ISU HEADS

(Continued from Page 1)

vits. At the same time, a reported move to settle the dispute by having federal control of hiring halls, was characterized by strikers as ridiculous.

West Coast shipowners have been crying to all the world, especially the federal government, about their vast business losses due to the strike. It seems never to have occurred to these worthy gentlemen that "business as usual" signs await a union contract. Rumors have been current that negotiations with the bosses have been revived, altho no results have been made public.

Theatre Party

Benefit
for

WORKERS AGE

'JOHNNY JOHNSON'

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22nd

Tickets available at
51 W. 14th Street

Local 22 Hits City Hall on Rand Order

Strong protest against the action of the Board of Aldermen in authorizing the Controller to place a \$127,000 order for office machinery with Remington-Rand altho the workers of that firm have been on strike for several months, was voiced by Charles S. Zimmerman, in telegrams to Mayor LaGuardia and to the president of the Board of Aldermen. Zimmerman is the head of Dressmakers Union, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. The telegram follows:

"We are shocked to note that Board of Aldermen has approved hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollar purchase of machines from Remington-Rand Company despite the fact that workers of this company have been on strike for months against intolerable conditions and grossly unfair practises. The Remington-Rand Company has been exposed by Senate Committee as utilizing labor spies professional strikebreakers in effort to crush workers. For New York City to place such order with this firm at present time is direct aid to company in its strikebreaking activities. It is outrageous insult to organized labor of this city and places in a peculiar light the New York City Administration which is supposed to be friendly to labor. In name of thirty thousand members of Dressmakers Union Local Twenty-two I.L.G.W.U we demand that Board of Aldermen reverse action and bar any purchases from Remington-Rand for duration of strike."

Plebiscite Move for Spain Doomed

(Continued from Page 1)

fore the people as having deliberately deprived them of their means of livelihood. So the present Cabinet may fall for having signed the pact with Germany.

Troubled by this new development, the Japanese imperialists are also beginning to consider the advantages of a strategic retreat in China. After presenting twelve demands to Chinese authorities at Tsingtao, port on the Yellow Sea, the Japanese suddenly withdrew the ultimatum. It is, of course, know to them that the Soviet Union is once again being listened to by Chinese Nationalists, and altho the army was quite willing to go ahead, the Foreign Office forced the cancellation of the demands.

The kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek, coupled with vast student demonstrations for an anti-Japanese war, were symbols of the rising wrath of the Chinese masses. Marshal Chang seeks to revive the old Kuomintang, in which Communists participated, in order to present a national front against Japan. His troops, who forced him into action, had been sent to Sian as part of a punitive expedition against the communists. Fraternalization and not fighting resulted however. It is clear that the old cannot be revived again, (Nanking has already sent troops against Chang) and that the war against Japan (and England and America) will be a war against the Kuomintang as well—perhaps, eventually against "young Marshal Chang." (See page 4 for a discussion of revolutionary policy in China)

Abolition of the monarchy worries England's bourgeoisie more than it agitates the labor movement—now. They breathed again when the Irish Free State decided that while the dummy-figure of Governor-General was to be no more, yet it would remain within

the Empire on the question of foreign policy (i.e. defense of British Imperialism). "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity" was given merely a formal curtsey by De Valera.

The fact that the Tories are satisfied because Edward's "dangerous" ideas have been removed, and, on the other hand, that Edward had a pronouncedly pro-German orientation, should not force Labor to alternate between the coattails of each section of the bourgeoisie. The miners of South Wales could best be aided by works projects financed from the expropriated lands of the former House of Windsor.

WIN MIDLAND STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

of an equal number of general officers from either organization, the definite number not yet having been decided upon.

Plants organized by the Flat Glass Workers are closely allied with the automobile industry, since they supply glass windows and windshields for automobiles. A strike of glass workers now in progress in the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. has affected production in plants of the Chrysler Corp.

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