NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1935.

Five Cents

## **HEIL BRUNDAGE!**

American public at the Annual Conventime clear. Throughout there was contion of the Amateur Athletic Union. It fusion and bitter debate on extraneous notice through Gustavus T. Kirby, in spite of the fact that he says technicalities, introduced by Major "I don't trust Hitler any more than the Patrick J. Walsh, one of the floor leadmost vehement of anti-Nazis do. I don't approve of his policies; I think they are matter off the floor until late Saturday.

But Kirby was by no means the only Nazi puppet at the A.A.U. Convention. He was an unconscious puppet and as such served Adolph's interests well.

There were conscious toadies also. Among them were Ernest Schmitz, head of the German Tourist Bureau in New York and said to be one of the leading Nazi agents in this country; Dietrich Wortman of the German-American Athletic Club, who says (Deutsche Beobachter, January 10, 1935) as spokes man for the G.A.A.C.: "We have placed ourselves more than once upon the platform of new Germany. . . . Our sympathies belong to new Germany. . . . Under the sign of sovereignty of Nazi Germany"; and, of course, Avery Brundage who visited Hitler last year and who is now, according to the Chicago press, under a cloud in his own balliwick due to some shady financial transactions.

The history of the struggle over American participation in the scheduled 1936 Nazi Olympics is well known by now. On November 20, 1933 the A.A.U. passed a resolution in which it was admitted that the Berlin Organizing Com-mittee "have violated the code of the Olympic Games and the fundamental ideals of sports competition." It went on to say that the A.A.U. would not certify athletes for participation in the games of 1936 "until and unless the position of the German Olympic Committee, of the Organizing Committee of Berlin and of lution. the German Government is so changed in fact as well as in theory as to permit and encourage German athletes of Jewish backed the Steuer proposal. The Confaith or heritage to train, prepare for and participate in the Olympic Games of 1936." The A.A.U. Convention of last week met to review, among other things, the record of the German Olympic Committee during the past two years. The situation as far as German sports are concerned has, of course, been in no wise tempered during these two years and yet the A. A.U. went on record by a vote of 58¼ to 55¾ in favor of participation in the 1936 Olympics. The issues upon tration of the delegates at least twenty

German Fascism served notice on the the floor of the Convention were at no and meaningless issues. Parliamentary ers of the Brundage forces, kept the By early Sunday afternoon the battle lines had been drawn up.

The pro- participationists supported a resolution offered by Kirby calling for participation but adding that "the participation but adding that "the A.A.U., the A.O.C., the I.O. C. and the international federations must investigate with viligance existing and future conditions in Germany and . . . protect all prospective and actual participants in the Olympic Games against any dis-crimination." The resolution further The resolution further states that "any certification by the American Athletic Union and the American Olympic Committee be not construed to mean or imply that by so doing endorsement is given to the principles or practices of the Nazi Government."

The anti-participationists backed an amendment to this resolution, offered by Charles Ornstein, which was as short and to the point as a now famous letter from John L. Lewis to William Green. It said simply that the A.A.U. is opposed to the Berlin Olympics. Finally, however, the Ornstein amendment was withdrawn in favor of a compromise amendment offered by Judge Steuer calling for the appointment of a commission to go to Germany and investigate present conditions there and make a report upon its return which would be binding upon the A.A.U. But the pro-participationists would not give an inch. The vote was 58¼ to 55¾ in favor of the Kirby reso-

It is interesting to note, however, that the regular associations of the A.A.U vention was swung by the allied bodies which had 16 votes. Fifteen of these were pro-participation and pro-Kirby resolution votes. Among them were the Amateur Institute of Banking, the American Sokol Union, the German-American Athletic Union, the Military Athletic League, the Polish Falcons of America, the Polish National Alliance and the Slovak Catholic Sokol. Although the conCZECH COMMUNISTS VOTE FOR MILITARY BUDGET

THE swing of the CP towards the right continues with a ruthless momentum. The delegation of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia in the Czecholovakian parliament has voted for the report on foreign policy made by Minister of Foreign Affairs, Benes, and declared its readiness for voting for the foreign policy budget. This includes military appropriations as

Such scandalous behavior did not occur even in the worst days of the pre-war German Social Democracy. In a forthcoming issue we will pre sent more material on this.

days before the Convention, some of these latter were not registered until 48 hours in advance of the Convention support and went after the allied bodies. The Amateur Canoe Association, a paper organization, did not even enter the Convention until Sunday morning, which was the day on which the decisive vote was taken.

So much for the A.A.U. Convention! The situation is now closed so far as legal channels are concerned. Both the A.A.U. and the A.O.C. are committed to participation, but there is enough of a cloud over the entire situation so that Brundage will find himself in great difficulties in proceeding, as new president of the A.A.U. and chairman of the A.O.C., to raise funds to send the teams to Germany. The club owners of the National and American Leagues (baseball, in case you have forgotten) on Dec. 12 refused to appropriate any funds for the United States teams in Berlin Games. The elimination contests which will pick members of the A.O.C. teams and which also shall attempt to raise money for the teams will be boycotted by many American sports followers. A number of devotees of fair play in sports have resigned from the A.A.U. and the A.O.C.,—so many, in fact, that Brundage was forced to declare that he was going to weed out of the A.O.C. all who did not agree with him. This procedure one cannot fail to note, is not dissimilar to the customary organizational proce dure of Avery's Comrade Adolph.

#### THE MOTOR PRODUCTS STRIKE

Products which has attracted national attention .- Editor.

While the police were slugging stylking workers at the Motor Products Corp. the directors of this "benevolent" company were presenting the stockholders with fat stock dividends equal to 100%. The stock closed December 9th at \$66.50. For every share of stock held, each stockholder received an additional share value of \$6.50. (See Detroit

News Dec. 9th).

The workers at the Motor Products not only made it possible for the management to play Santa Claus to the unfortunate stockholders but produced, in when the pro-participationists realized that they were going to need outside that they were going to need outside make possible the declaring of 50c dividends on current stock payable Dec. 31st. Stockholders are to receive two further 50c dividends declared in advance.

Having acted so magnificently towards the coupon clippers, the Motor Products management out of sheer gratitude rewarded the workers with a 150 to 20c per hour wage cut.

It is not the lack of labor unions in the auto industry that makes such brazen action possible, but rather the fact that we have too many unions-divide and rule has always been the policy of the employers.

Progressive trade-unionists have constantly stressed the necessity for one industrial union in the automobile indus-Such a union, however, to be effective, must have organic unity with the American Federation of Labor. Un-

Fascists everywhere have too much to gain, by keeping the Games out of Berlin and depriving the Nazis of financial and moral support, to stop her continued agitation regardless of the decision of the supposedly responsible sport bodies Many of those members of the A.A.U. and the A.O.C. who have been mos strongly against participation will now fall by the wayside, but the fight will continue to be one which crosses class lines and we should not let this fool us into calling Messrs. Mahoney, Ornstein Rafferty, Berliner, Lill and others "comrades" without examining more closely their records on issues more basic in our

The following is a statement issued by the | fortunately, the mistaken policy pur-Progressive Auto Workers Club of Detroit, sued by the narrow craft union lead-Mich., and deals with the strike in Motor ership at the last convention of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, conditions were imposed which virtually rendered impossible the building of an industrial union in the auto industry. Today we see the reflection of this program in events transpiring at the Motor Products strike.

The reactionary role played by Dillon in stampeding members of the A.F.L. through picket lines maintained by the A.I.W.A. and M.E.S.A. has brought about demoralization among the strikers. To the great mass of workers such treachery violates the most elementary principles of working class unity, and places the reactionary A.F.L. leadership in the category of strike breakers.

On November 22nd Mr. F. J. Dillon declared: "I think this is the most illadvised and upopular strike ever called in the City of Detroit." (Detroit Labor News Nov. 22nd). In the eyes of the boss all strikes are ill-advised and unpopular. Don't ape the boss, Mr. Dillon!

Motivated by his hatred of independent unions and his faith in class collaboration policies, Francis J. Dillon mistakenly hoped that such action would result in his organization the collective bargaining agency. However, it was only after his "friends"—the management of the Motor Products—had double crossed him and pressure had been brought to bear by prominent A.F.L. members and other labor organizations that Mr. Dillon was forced to do a right about face.

Now in a press release dated Dec. 4th (after discovering he had been hornswaggled) he reluctantly admits that,—
"The management of this corporation has earned and deserves the condemnation, not only of their workers but of the public generally. They have violated every solemn and holy precept of fair dealing among men."—After acknowledging the "treachery and betrayal" of the management of the Motor Products Corp., the statement concludes with a pledge of "whole-hearted and unqualified, moral and financial support of the International Union United Automobile Workers of America."

We hope you mean this support for the strikers, Mr. Dillon. Those who may question this should be forgiven, as evidently the jewel that is consistency has gone a-glimmering.

# REVIEW OF THE WEEK

TORIES PREPARING DRIVE AGAINST LABOR; UNITED SHOE FACING BOSS OFFENSIVE IN HAVERHILL; USSR TAKES LEAD AGAINST HOARE-LAVAL PEACE MOVES

# FOR THE OPEN SHOP

THE entire administration scheme for a little NRA received a stuning body-blow last week when the National lined a campaign that extends the Man-Manufacturers Association carried out its disruptive strategy. The sharp fight between the two groups of the ruling class descended from words to action on the floor of the Conference, when Major Berry, "coordinator" of labor and industry, nearly mixed up with some of the NAM boys. Essentially the struggle concerns the best way to step on the necks of the workers and farmers—and the Tories, represented by the Republican Party and the Association, are utilizing this as the first shot in an open-shop England's and America's Chinese interwar against unionism and labor.

This undoubtedly is one of the biggest flops yet staged by the New Deal, a producing organization that has hitherto PEACE MOVES AROUSE provided some very showy spectacles All attempts to rewin these sections of capitalism must be carried out on a basis of programmatic concessions, not honey ed words.

On their side of the fence, the Association and the G.O.P. are prepared for a battle to the end. They recognize their chief weakness, as witness the Herald-Tribune which calls out to "bring up the infantry," i.e. get the mass base for an anti-Roosevelt movement.

#### JAPAN'S MILITARY ACTS **NEAR SOVIET BORDERS**

DEIPING, erstwhile forbidden city of China, will now be forbidden to every rapacious imperialism save that of Japan. Having cooked up an "autonomy movement," grandiose in its outlines, which would have a sheer but dip-

'persuasion" by armed invasion. Starting out from Eastern Hopei, the generals have already annexed the very lucrative lined a campaign that extends the Manchukoan Empire dangerously close to the borders of Soviet Russia.

The Peoples' Republic of Outer Mongolia, most immediately threatened by Japan, is already holding conferences with its sister republic, the USSR. With the tie-up in the Mediterranean, Japan has a terrifyingly free hand in Asia, bringing closer than ever, an anti-Soviet war. In this connection, she may be able to do some bargaining at the London ests will probably be more weighty.

# WIDE DISCONTENT

HE "small nations" have come out almost unanimously against the Hoare-Laval Peace Pact for Ethiopia. Behind this lineup, however, extends a network of diplomatic ramifications, much more decisive than the false comparison between the independent (as yet) Ethiopia, and the European smaller nations, all hitched to larger chariots.

The motivating force in this latest move is clearly the USSR. Russia has been able to use the French satellites, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, against the imperialist proposals of France, thereby proving that alliances do not impair the proletarian nature of

perience to know that this is not the end of the nationalist movement. Secondly, Japan's encroachments in China have not gone unnoticed by the "ruler of the waves," and the quicker Egypt is made 'reasonable" and the fleet released from Mediterranean waters, the sooner Japan can be attended to.

The proposed peace for Ethiopia threatens the whole structure of the League of Nations.

#### SOCIALIST OLD GUARD IN TRADE WITH FUSION

As a reward for services rendered, Guard has been appointed magistrate by LaGuardia. The tie up between these two forces, much deeper than was ap parent, was nevertheless well known in political circles. Solomon's appointment for 10 years and with \$12,000 for each one of them, was a foregone conclusion about 5 months ago. And Charlie once opposed LaGuardia on the S.P. ticket, on the grounds that Fusion couldn't do anything without a party machine—well, they're getting it now. Blanshard, Panken, Solomon. Who's next?

#### UNITED SHOE IN FIGHT ON OPEN SHOP

the eve of the reopening of negotiations for the renewal of the agreement with United Shoe & Leather Workers Union, the manufacturers have begun a drive to destroy unionism alto-Under the guise of a union re stricted to Haverhill the Chamber of Commerce attempted to oust the United.

N.A.M. PLANNING DRIVE lomatically excellent cover over her grab concede the 1923 Constitution. And ers brought in the Boot and Shoe. Lists plans, Japan has begun her campaign of Britain has had enough colonial ex- are being circulated in a number of shops asking for the Boot and Shoe to represent them. The employers are of course threatening workers with loss of their jobs if they do not sign.

The United Shoe has struck back with excellent mobilizations of all local unions and is preparing to resist the employers and to secure a renewal of the agreement. Appeals are being directed to the Boot and Shoe officials and workers asking that they do not permit their

FLORIDA TERRORISM is receiving to this heroic struggle of almost two widespread condemnation from the organized labor movement thruout the country. Especially the death of Shoethe Workers Alliance who were kid-napped and brutally tortured has arous-against them, obtained by the ed the unions to action. Local 22 of the Lumber Trade Association. I.L.G.W.U. added its voice of protest in the form of a resolution and telegrams to Attorney General Cummings and to Governor Sholz. The telegram to the latter, signed by Charles S. Zimmerman

In name of thirty thousand mem bers of dressmakers union local 22 I.L.G.W.U. we protest against inhuman outrage committed by a mob upon three labor organizers in Tampa Florida resulting in the death of one of them. There is ample indicaand state police in the kidnapping and preme Court of the United States. attack. Can you as governor of the state ignore this outrage or will you take immediate action. We urgently call upon you to investigate affair bring those guilty to speedy justice. We also call upon you to guarantee tivities.

the people of Florida their legal and constitutional rights of labor organization.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L. has threatened to remove the convention of the A. F. of L. from Florida unless satisfactory action is immediately undertaken by the authorities to investigate this outrage.

TOM MOONEY closed his case last week and upon reconvening of court on January 26 the state will present its side union to be used by the employers of the case. We urge all our readers to against the United Shoe. of raising finances for a successful end

IINION DOCK WORKERS in Nev maker, one of the three organizers of York obtained a decision in the Court against them, obtained by the New York

> GREY-HOUND LINES have refused to obey the Labor Board's order to cease interference with the rights of the workers to organize. The Labor Board has petitioned the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals to enforce its decision.

ANGELO HERNDON case is being ested once again by the appeal of the State of Georgia against the decision of Judge Dorsey in invalidating the old insurrection law. If an adverse decision tion of connivance of local authorities is rendered the case will go to the Su-

BROTHERHOOD OF UTILITY EM-PLOYES in Queens has voted strike action against the New York Electric Light and complicity of local officials and and Power Co. The vote grew out of a dismissal of three men for union ac-

JAY LOVESTONE

Just Returned from Europe, Speaks on

Irving Plaza Hall FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 8 P. M. 15th St. and Irving Place **EUROPE IN FERMEN** 

**Quotation** 

Marks

OF course, the fact that we con sider fassion the tori

of capitalist reaction under the his

has its very important political an

strategical consequences. The chie

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transformation of bourgeois societ

FOR A SECOND BOURGEOIS

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION: the

are going thru the period of prepara

tion of a proletarian revolution and

NOT OF A BOURGEOIS DEMO

Ercoli in the discussion at t

SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS

OF THE COMMUNIST IN-

CRATIC REVOLUTION."

TERNATIONAL.

Vol. 8, No. 53-1928)

When we get down to the facts, there-

DO NOT OPEN THE PROSPECTS

toric conditions of certain countries

sider fascism the typical form

By WILL HERBERG

As a political tendency, opportunism has its own fatal logic. Tolerated at right-about-face, reversing themsel first on questions of an allegedly on the main issues of the fight (higher "academic" or "theoretical" nature, ap- dues and more business agents) and enparently only remotely connected with the actual conduct of affairs, it insensibly extends its sway and soon makes to go any further into this unwholesom itself master of every field of practical mess here because the matter has alactivity in the class struggle. It would ready been thoroly discussed by George be mere self-delusion to believe that it is F. Miles in recent issues of the Workers possible to follow a false, opportunist Age. In a somewhat crasser form, we prientation on general political questions for any length of time without disastrous effects for what is called "practical mass principled alliance of the extreme left work", for trade union tactics particularly. The swing to the right, developing with breakneck speed in the official Communist movement during the last year, has indeed swept away the familiar amples might be multiplied on every manifestations of the "third period" side. But what is especially important sectarianism and has even called into for us at the present time is the theory question the very foundations of the behind these unsavory tactics. How do system itself. But unfortunately, the the C. P. spokesmen explain and justify sectarian tactics in mass work seem to a course that arouses the deepest rehave given place not so much to an effective Marxist course as to policies shot | workers? thru with the same opportunism already so scandalously manifest on the para

the cloakmakers union, Boruchovich, have unity with them!" made a startling but rather vague declaration, urging the dissolution of Under Banner of "Unity" groups in the union and the formation f some sort of "active members movenent." The next step came very recently from the other direction. Not without the knowledge and consent of the Jewish the knowledge and consent of the Jewish Socialist Verband leaders, a number of Charles Socialist Socialists and their follow-Old Guard Socialists and their followers, people traditionally regarded as ers, people traditionally regarded as the most conservative elements in the cloak operators union, hastened to resign from the Local 1 administration to the conservative elements in the cloak operators union, hastened to resign from the Local 1 administration unionism. If it is "unity with everybody" unionism. If it is "unity with everybody" vich, the leader of the Left group—the former as chairman, the latter as main speaker. Behind a barrage of fine phrases about "unity", the curious marriage was consummated; the Left group was dissolved and a new "United Cloak Operators Active of Local 1" was form-

Also Among Painters

Among the New York painters, the recent turn of events is even more scan- basic questions of trade union policy dalous. For years the C.P. forces fought among the cloakmakers. There still remost bitterly against the notorious Zaus- main the progressives of various shades; ner clique in the painters union; for there still remain the old-line conservears they rightfully condemned the So- vatives. Surely Boruchovich will not cialists for supporting the regime of that insist that all differences have disapcorrupt burocrat. And then, suddenly, peared in the new "era of good feeling" just when the struggle is at the point of victory, when the Painters Socialist sive simply because of his favorable report about the Soviet Union! Every

# WORKERS · AGE ·

Dream 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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The inherent opportunism of this breakers against their brother union orientation is plainly manifest in the facts themselves. What have you got in facts themselves. What have you got in all to the union cause and to the Inter-

ADMISSION

Sat. Dec. 21, 1935 Nonsense!—Nothing but a coalition of

**NEW YEAR'S EVE** 

DANCE

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31, — 8 P. M.

Irving Plaza Auditorium

15th STREET and IRVING PLACE

— Dance to the Tune of —

GEORGE E. CASE

and his Aces

Auspices: WORKERS AGE

depriving him of a great part of hi backing, the C.P. people make a complete have essentially the same situation as among the cloakmakers—a thoroly unand the extreme right, a shameless combination of both ends against the mid-

Such are the facts in two cases and expugnance among all honest, progressive people in a common front against the

Levy administration. No matter what conducted under the banner of "unity." he deny that the latter is a progressive, not only industry after industry but also mount questions of war, Fascism and Ask Boruchovich to account for his ad- that he is, in every conceivable way, mount questions of war, rascism and democracy.

Ask Boruchovich to account for his addemocracy.

Recent developments in the New York cloakmakers and painters unions illus- want unity. We are ready to have unity with workers? We want unity. We are ready to have unity with workers? We want unity with workers? We are ready to have unity with workers? We are ready to cloakmakers and painters unions must want unity. We are ready to have unity in the name of unity with every much as compared to an average of only 4,000 creased productivity fall into the laps. trate quite plainly the theory and pract with everybody. We invited all groups of the socialist rollward lines up with to 5,000. The most productive sugar of the exploiting class. To the working the socialist lewis—also in the name to the social s view the events very briefly. A few months ago, it will be remembered, the his friends came? If we can't have Supporting The Right leading Communist Party spokesman in unity with everybody, we can at least

fore, the "unity with everybody" strategy oils down to unity with the reactionary Heins against the progressive Levy, to Such a line of argument, which fol unity with the Zausner clique against all lows closely the official explanations in decent element in the painters union. the press, shows only too clearly how against the very Socialists who have thoroly opportunist the C.P. orientation finally broken with Zausner! A thoroly false and opportunistic conception of the struggle of tendencies in the trade union "unity with everybody" is just as false novement leads, as opportunism necessarily must, to virtual support of the extreme right wing! All with the best of intentions, no group (Progressive Trade Union Centre) unionism. If it is "unity with everybody" doubt! But of what avail are intentions, no doubt! But of what avail are intentions are intentions. apparently unconnected events became clear enough when it was suddenly anclear enough when it was suddenly announced that a conference was to take place between the Left group, on the one hand, and the split-off right wingers, on the other, for the purpose of launching a the other, for the purpose of launching a various bodies and committees? Its understanding of the party members. As

embracing benevolence, there still re- masses.

main sharp differences of opinion on

hild knows, moreover, that the move-

the cloak operators union? "Unity"?

Communist Party and Old Guard S.P.

nent for progressive unionism is no more

new movement. On Monday, December 9, the meeting was held and it certainly was a remarkable spectacle. On the same leged aim of the "United Cloak Operators" is headly and countermarched like so many swept the entire Soviet Union. was a remarkable spectacle. On the same platform stood Heins, the leader of the Active" is hardly more than the enforceold reactionary "Club," and Borucho- ment of union conditions and the activ- are mere puppets in the hands of the ization of the membership; its composition would be the same, since it would will turns even in the right direction, include people of all sorts of views as however welcome in themselves, be does the union itself. To maintain that greatly vitiated by the most serious trade union groups, which are organized blunders one way or the other. Until expressions of differing views as to proper system of political leadership i union policy and tactics, can or should installed in the Comintern, the swing be dissolved in such a "new movement" from "unity with nobody" to "unity ed, as Boruchovich assures us, not as a "group" but as an "active movement." be dissolved in such a "new movement is virtually to deny that such groups with everybody" (that is, unity with the right) will be only too characteristic of have any reason for existence at all. In every field of party activity among the spite of Boruchovich's sudden fit of all- every field of party activity among the

# Statement

On Saturday evening December 7t 1935, a meeting was called in Harlem for the benefit of the English speaking group of Local 60, at the New Labor Centre, 312 West 125th St.

The meeting was called for the purunless it assumes definite form as an independent, organized tendency. To affect to scorn "groups," to ignore their useful and even indigenced by the control of the contro useful and even indispensable role in the forthcoming strike. The manager, Broelopment of trade unionism, ther Cohen read the demands which were progress to champion an "all-inclusive active accepted with roars of approval. After The inherent opportunism of this the bosses could use them as strike-

> al to the union cause and to the Inter-The progressives made the following

1. That meetings be called more often and that general meetings of the mem bership of Local 60 be held to make mo bilization more effective in the coming

2. That the minutes of the Executive Board of our Local be read at every

membership meeting. Brother Vassielevsky who presided a the meeting took this opportunity, un der the guise of answering the speakers to enter into a violent attack on the progressives. He accused them of attemp ing to raise the race issue in the unior Right here and now we wish to deny most emphatically that any such action was ever even dreamed of. We realize more than many others that the prob lem of race, color or creed does no exist in our International and particularly does not exist in our local. We would be the first to fight with ever ounce of energy if such a thing as the race issue were to raise its uely head As to the attack of Brother Vassielev

## The International Meaning Of the Stakhanoff Movement

he purpose of its own class struggles. has been mastered by millions of work

by the name of Stakhanoff and spread conclusions which Stalin drew is the Union. Stakhanoff carefully studied the duction. There can be no talk of elimi process of drilling. He discovered that nating norms altogether as some believe; rationalization of this process would in- the task is to put up higher norms, for crease the results manifold-exceeding they play a very important organizanot merely the present average of pro-duction of the Soviet Union which lags high as those reached by the Stakhanoffbehind that of capitalist countries but ites, they will lie somewhere between the also the average of the best organized old norms and the maximum achievemines in the most advanced capitalist ments attained by the Stakhanoffites countries. He translated his discovery nto action. His achievements soon beame very well known in the Soviet

Union. This individual achievement turned All of these disgraceful manouvers are Boruchovich may think about Levy, can into a movement overnight embracing lowing viewpoints: the collectivized farms. For example, a of transferring the Stakhanoff movebeet fields of capitalist countries yield class as a class such increased producbut from 8,000 to 12,000 per acre on the tion means a greater degree of exploitaaverage. The general aim of the Stak- tion, the elimination of new strata of hanoff movement consists of discarding workers, an increase in the speed-up the present norms of production in the system, etc. Soviet Union which as a rule are much 2. The significance of the Stakhanoff lower than those of the technically ad- movement for the working classes of the vanced capitalist countries and to set up capitalist countries consists primarily in

> socialist production. SIGNIFICANCE OF

MOVEMENT Stalin emphasized the following points

Stakhanoffites: 1. The Stakhanoff movement from the working class itself, i.e. from and creates more wealth than does capbelow; in the beginning it frequently italism. The new type of socialist workmet with the resistance of technicians, er is certainly superior to the capitalist factory administrators and the author- wage slave.

sition from socialism, in which the in- lective, mechanized farms were but unlividual worker is rewarded according to his ability to work, to communism in

1. Is calling joint meeting for a better mobilization before the coming abundance, of culture and of joy. strike a Race issue?

2. Is asking that the minutes of the

These were the issues raised by the that point of view primarily. the least sense of fair play to discover improvement of socialist construction in to champion an "all-inclusive active movement" which is to do away with groups—all of which the C.P. is guilty of today—is nothing short of advocating of today—is not of today—is nothing short of advocating the union in whatever actually appears that Brother Vassielevsky material and moral strengthening of the Published every Saturday by the WORKERS AGE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION Subtractivition Rates: \$2.00 per year, — \$1.25 for six months, — 5c a copy. Foreign rates: \$2.50 per demands the most aggressive organization.

The self-disarmament of the progressive square bening the subtraction it may undertake to improve the six months. They also conditions of the workers. They also stated that the time had passed when the subtraction it may undertake to improve the six months. Soviet state. Soviet state. sives, we shall never be dragged down so low, as Brother Vassielevksky would like us to be, as to raise issues which have no place in the Trade Union Move-

We call upon every brother and sis ter to rally around the standard of the Progressives who together with our nion brothers and sisters have pledged themselves to stand by our union in the coming strike, and all other strikes in the future, pledging ourselves to one union and to one ideal—the emancipation of the working class.

> Fraternally yours. Dress Pressers Progressive Council Local 60, I.L.G.W.U.

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WORKERS AGE 51 West 14th Street New York City

overcome not by accepting the intelligence of the average worker as a was held towards the end of November, standard but by raising t entire work-This movement which gained recogni-ling class to the level of he "technical tion on a national scale at this congress engineer." (c). The Staknanoff movemerits the closest attention of the work- ment has been developed on the basis of ing classes of the capitalist countries the existence of a highly-developed techand must be utilized by the latter for nique and the fact that this technique

What is this new movement?

The movement launched by a miner The most significant of the practical ike wildfire throughout the Soviet one in reference to the norms of pro-

What lessons can the international working class draw from the Stakhanof novement? We wish to stress the fol-

1. Of course, there can be no question

higher norms which in many cases ex- the fact that it demonstrates concretely, ceed those of capitalist countries. The not only in the case of the Soviet Union achievements of the Stakhanoffites are but in general, how the change from a not yet average achievements; they are capitalist economy to a socialist economy as yet extraordinary, showing however, makes for new incentives on the part of the general accelerated advance of the masses which are far more effective than the means used under the capitalist system-namely, the ever-present threat of hunger and misery. The Stakhanoff movement illustrates concretely that a in his speech at the Congress of the socialist economy is fundamentally far superior to the capitalist system. Socialist economy is far more productive,

3. The change from a capitalist to a socialist economy has enabled the workers of the Soviet Union to rapidly overnovement are the following: (a). The come in a few years the gap which general rise of the standard of living of separated them from the workers of the the working class which makes for the more advanced countries as far as technjoyment of work; (b). the socialist nical qualifications were concerned. Even character of economy in the Soviet capitalist countries would require decades Union in which increased production to register such a change. Today the does not become the cause of crises and Soviet Union can plan concretely to outgreater unemployment but leads directly strip the achievements of capitalist to increased wages for the workers and countries. The Stakhanoff movement furthermore to a general rise in the points the way. It must be remembered standard of living. The increase of pro- also that today millions of workers in duction beyond that of capitalist coun- the most modern, technically well-equiptries (and only this) opens up the tran- ped factories of industry and on col-

trained peasants a year or two ago. 4. Once power has been attained, the which the needs of a highly civilized great mass of wokers of the technically people and not their ability to work be- advanced capitalist countries will not come the measure for the distribution of have to go thru this period. They will social products among the individuals. start on a higher plane than did the Thus, at the same time, the antagonism workers of the Soviet Union. It therebetween physical and mental labor is fore follows that in these countries the change from a capitalist economy to a socialist system will proceed at a much more rapid pace and result in a life of

Thus the Stakhanoff movement is tremendous new weapon in the hands of executive board be read and discussed international socialism and communism. before the membership also a Race is- The Stakhanoff movement, its results and perpectives must be evaluated from

5. In addition, the acceleration and

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# At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

TSSUES which divided the bourgeoisie in the United States. This is a direct

lems over which disputes are now rag- C.P.G. at the Congress, stated that th ing in the American ruling class is the German Communists were ready to ally question of introducing in the U. S. some themselves with "all anti-fascists and system of social legislation. Very little anti-reactionaries" in the struggle can be said for the adequacy of the socan be said for the adequacy of the so-cial legislation proposed by that group cial-Democratic) coalition policy which sundry Roosevelt measures. Then, both was partly responsible for the defeat of the proponents and opponents of the the German proletariat. scanty social legislation advocated by the Administration are in hearty accord fers from that in France. The power over the need for maintaining and forti- ful French workers parties and trade fying the capitalist system. They differ unions operating legally find it possible

The forces now firing broadside after broadside against the Roosevelt crowd very class was the most ardent supporter to chaos. The minority in the Prague are of the opinion that the U. S. does of National Socialism. The in Germany party leadership and the Revolutionary not yet need to resort to certain types today large sections of the petty bourof government regulation, to any system geoisie appear to be "anti-capitalist," stabilize American economy. The recent monopoly capital and are not fundaupward swing in the "business situation" upward swing in the "business situation" mentally opposed to the capitalist syshas only served to steel the opposition tem. They would like to restore the of these bourgeoisie even to the most meagre social legislation on a federal basis. Here is the real signicance of the vigorous onslaughts functional alliance of the working class National Association of Manufacturers, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and other organizations of their stripe the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and other organizations of their stripe against President Roosevelt and his New Deal. These magnates, taking a very short-sighted viewpoint and basing themselves solely on temporary and superficial phenomena, are now drunk with confidence as to their own power and as to the vitality and vigor of capitalism in the U. S. At the very first sign of recurrence of sharpened crisis in econrecurrence of sharpened crisis in economy they will fall into a panic far more pronounced than the one which gripped so many of them before the Roosevelt

to the wagon of those capitalists who, working class. ent economic system, are prepared to enact some meagre social legislation. The entire experience of our brothers in the old Guard and is emphasizing the development of the proletarian the Old Guard and is emphasizing class alone can emantate the working class alone can emantate the old Guard and is emphasizing class. Both are imperative in this critical conflict for

It is obviously a matter of inestimable import for labor to secure the enactment of adequate social legislation in social and daily demands in the facorder to lighten the oppressive load tories and in the legal mass organizathrown on the backs of the workers by tions controlled by the fascists. This to fight down the Militants. He is trying the forces aggravated and let loose by anti-fascist labor front is the united capitalism in crisis, by the growing defront of the toiling people which is the al, an attempt which will probably fail. cay in the present socio-economic system. decisive section of the population of Jim Maurer, Thomas' running mate in Only by the most energetic and militant struggle can labor hope to secure even the least tangible results here. Such

stabilization of the capitalist system will not have decisive consequences and immediate serious repercussions for the working class. There is every reason working class. There is every reason independent trade union movement may be built. Sounds that of the Quard. Their of the Quard. Their would drown it out.

The revolutionary Socialists claim a nodest share in the theoretical formulation of this life-and-death question for the working class. There is every reason of the capitalist system will be in a year or two the contents of the contents of the editorial fully twenty four hours before publication and so informed a leading progressive in Brookworking class. There is every reason Communist fractions if this becomes to conclude that the open shoppers will to conclude that the open snoppers will tie up this struggle against social legislation with a bitter attack on the working standards and conditions won by labor, with a nation-wide drive to stamp out unionism. Signs of this are now activities at a feet and furious needs.

itself for a knock-down-and-drag-out of the class-conscious revolutionary proalone strengthen our position and improve our conditions. Practically, it means an energetic and systematic campaign to turn our craft into industrial paign to turn our craft into industrial unions and to multiply tenfold our efforts.

Struggle against Hitler. A year ago Party idea, even with the pacifist lover of abstract-democracy, Norman Thomas? In a state of flux, the rate of development has surpassed all customary mediately applied for membership in the standards,—only a few remaining burotiself with very small scraps tossed from the multiply tenfold our efforts.

This local dominated by the Community of the provided in securing a job in its in a state of flux, the rate of development has surpassed all customary mediately applied for membership in the standards,—only a few remaining burotiself with very small scraps tossed from the pacific to the provided in securing a job in its in a state of flux, the rate of development has surpassed all customary for the pair of abstract-democracy, Norman Thomas?

The Communist Party has to content itself with very small scraps tossed from the pacific to the provided in securing a job in its in a state of flux, the rate of development has surpassed all customary for the pacific to the provided in the pacific to the pac unions and to multiply tenfold our efforts to organize the unorganized. More than that. The present moment and the days ahead dictate the extreme urgency of labor organizing its own mass political party based on the trade unions—a national labor party to fight the parties of the boss class. Only thru a combination of such efforts, only thru the application of such strategy, does labor stand a chance in the coming class conflicts which will assume terrific intensity and have consequences of paramount international as well as domestic significance.

# PEOPLE'S FRONT OR LABOR FRONT

**WORKERS AGE** 

We are glad to be able to present

to our readers excerpts from the "Revolutionaere Sozialisten Briefe",

official organ of the growing left

wing group in the Socialist Party of

Germany called "Arbeitskreis Revo-

lutionaerer Sozialisten". Today this

is the most influential group in the

ranks of the S.P.G. while the other

groups are losing in influence and

numbers this group continues to in-

crease its following amongst the

Social Democratic workers. Since the collapse of the Weimar Republic

and the rise of Hitler to power the

A.R.S. has been moving consistently

leftward towards a full communist

position. Among its leaders are Comrade S. Aufhaeuser who for

years was one of the outstanding

and most powerful fighters in the

We submit the article for infor-

mation purposes. Our readers will

note that on such questions as

People's Front, trade unions and

German trade union movement.

ments will not only engulf the working class but also broad circles of the pau perized and declassed petty bourgeoisie and of the middle class; it will embrace religious and cultural opposition groups and prepare them for participation in the overthrow of the regime I of the leading European countries either as passive or as active elements. decades ago are now causing deep fis- It would be narrow-minded dogmatism to decades ago are now causing deep installed and the sures in the ranks of the capitalist class aids in the struggle against fascism.

The recent Comintern Congress ha outcome of the crisis which is still far decreed a broad People's Front appealing not only to the working class for Most fundamental among the prob- the mobilization of all anti-fascist elements. Walter, the mouthpiece of the In fascist Germany the situation dif

to ally themselves with the traditionally united front, which was the political eft-democratic and anti-fascist middle Prague leadership line of the Socialist class sections while in Germany this Party of Germany for years, will lead social legislation in order to help they are actually rebelling against

The indispensable pre-requisite for People's Front, composed of tendencies basically in disagreement, is the establishment of an anti-fascist united front of the working class. The People's

Christian trade unions and Protestant a "true," Socialist Party. workers clubs. Workers of all tendenindustrial Germany. Independent unions constitute an ex

able economic conditions, an earnest battle for even the most limited remedial measures, cannot today be waged with the spirit of the revolutionary movement, to bring them closer to the political cadres and their actions and to subordinate their slogans to the ultimate aim of the state government no less than the resistance of the state governments.

Furthermore, it would be folly to assume that this conflict in the ranks of the ranks of the ruling class over means of further stabilization of the capitalist system will not have decisive consequences and immediate serious representations.

According to infuse the trade unions necessary to infuse the trade unions method and their actions and to subordinate their slogans to the ultimate aim of the socialist movement.

NEC recognition. Besides the prestige of Thomas they are gaining a vast majority in the voting in New York branches. Latest reports of the votes in 36 of the 5 branches in the city give the Milliants a 26 to 10 lead.

Whatever the present victories of the Milliants, whatever immediate membership gains and organizational strides they make, however, this split sounds that of the Old Guard. Their sounds that of the Old Guard. Their trade union movement may be built. Dimitroff said the A. Whatever the present victories of the Milliants, whatever immediate membership gains and organizational strides they make, however, this split sounds that of the Old Guard. Their two decisive consequences and immediate serious representations.

NEC recognition. Besides the prestige of Thomas they are gaining a vast majority in the voting in New York branches. Latest reports of the votes in 36 of the branches in the city give the Milliants as 26 to 10 lead.

Whatever the present victories of the Milliants, whatever immediate membership gains and organizational strides their slogans movement, the ordinate of the world of the capital strike. The leadership of the capital strike. The leadership of the because the idea of unity is already to decily rooted in the minds of the

necessary to achieve trade union unity.

that the Communists will not organize out unionism. Signs of this are now multiplying at a fast and furious pace.

All of which means that labor had

All of which means that labor had

Speaking for himself and for many of the Gommunists will not organize of his followers Thomas denies that this the distortions of the Communists nor of his followers Thomas denies that this the distortions of the Communists nor of his followers Thomas denies that this the distortions of the Communists nor of his followers Thomas denies that this the distortions of the Communists nor of his followers Thomas denies that this the distortions of the Communists nor of his followers Thomas denies that this the distortions of the Communists nor of his followers Thomas denies that this suspicions in the camp of their own party; they took the path which the suspicions in the camp of the whole leadership, which received the Daily Worker blessing, was clapped into jail for graft and corruntion!

All of which means that labor had Only the Anti-fascist labor from hetter immediately take steps to prepare whose nucleus must consist of the cadres posing more advanced slogans:

struggle for power.

The People's Front without a Marxist

stated the following:

"The reasons for the split become The growth of bourgeois opposition tion.

illusory policy, an arbitrary interpreta-

towards the People's Front.

unity the position developed differs somewhat from our own.

Socialists failed to begin a discussion on Lefts Gain in 5. P. Split

to find Local New York split into two warring camps.

Inst and the later that today, despite a local 22 I. L. G. W. U. and the Painters warring camps.

Local 22 I. L. G. W. U. and the Painters basis of the Hitler regime there is no being the other instances). This effort

cognition. He has just returned from ing its own class forces and in using one organization. Milwaukee, strongest section of the SP, repressive measures against those who ABOR has very much at stake in this conflict. But the labor movement would commit suicide if it hitched itself to the wargen of those capitalists who achieving the revolutionary aims of the support the "reorganization" of New "Bolshevist spectre is no longer haunt- union field, in the same manner as an working class.

York. It is significant that Thomas is ing the great mass of German people" ultra-left orientation of the Party in the interest of maintaining the present in the conomic system, are prepared to ent economic system, are prepared to the present in the conception of the present in th

Europe, as well as our own experience groups, the development of a powerful strongly the legal aspects of the split. Europe, as well as our own experience proletarian united front and its broaden- He cites the gerrymandering tactics of fails to draw the conclusions from this and perseverance. date, speaks volumes for a completely ing out into an anti-fascist labor front the right-wing Central Committee, their realization. Dimitroff's speech was reindependent working class position being embracing all sections of the proletariat, threats of expulsion, their tacit support including the socialist and communist of racketeering elements in the trade a claim for the correctness of its own workers, the followers of the former unions. He speaks much of a "decent," Norman Thomas is honestly infuriated

by the unscrupulous tactics of the Old Guard and the Forward in their attempt 1932, has, for example, already pledged his support to the Old Guard. But even with a national split looming it seems

tants. But the great driving force of the road of the old, new, Marxist Social Militants has come from a rank-and- Democracy. file who want a clearly left policy. Will The whole world is in turmoil; new fight with the employers and their gov-letariat will be able to act as a decisive they stay in a party with Dan Hoan unexpected forms of struggle and of orernment. Not a minute of time nor an ounce of energy can be spared in this struggle if we are to hold our own, let alone strengthen our estrengthen our position and implements alone strengthen our position and implements. A year ago against Hitler. A year ago against Hitler. A year ago they stay in a party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances shift on a universal scale; old alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment displayed against Hitler. A year ago party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances shift on a universal scale; old alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment displayed against Hitler. A year ago party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment universal scale; old alliances are dissiplements. Are Stone, active C.P.O. member here, solved, new one's are made; everything finally succeeded in securing a job in they stay in a party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment with LaFollette), with LaFollette), with LaFollette), with LaFollette), with LaFollette), and the party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment and party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment and party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment and party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances are dissiplements. After a long period of unemployment and party with Dan Hoan (who has just formed a "People's daily, relations of forces and alliances are d

> the Militants table. For example, Crats nourish their old-time illusions and live on their dreams of long ago. ever, has meaning only if it is looked upon as a means for the mobilization the other. Then to conclude on a kindly proletariat will lead to Socialism. Bless- he is "anti-labor" and has ulterior aims of masses and not as an end in itself; note he said, "But the Daily is getting ed is that generation which persistently in wanting to join the union. if it is inotivated by the unshakable desire to transform the struggle for this last sentence that the Daily Worker many camps and creates the great army Art Stone has actively participated in

united actions and the united front be cause of the stubborn resistance of the Prague apparatus, despite the fact that the Prague Manifesto, which owed its origin to the pressing defeat of 1933,

interesting angles if only because it is petty, the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship must be a revolutionary one. Whether one be a So- Forward. We refer to the United Cloak cial Democrat, a Communist or a Operators Actives of Local 1 of the follower of the numerous splinter I. L. G. W. U. groups, as the enemy of the Nazi The story begins with the struggle in dictatorship everyone becomes the same Socialist Revolutionary as a reaffiliation to the Progressive Needle sult of the conditions of the struggle Trades Center. The extreme right wing, itself. The unity of the working class becomes an imperative task imposed step bitterly, claiming that the progressby history itself. The leadership of sive center was too much to the left. he German Social Democracy is free They were defeated by a narrow margin of any sectarian tendency and is mind-ful of its mission of uniting the working class in one political party of A group led by Heins left the organiza-

n Germany and the inner crisis of the Vazis fanned anew the illusions of the On the other hand, the ultra-lefts were Prague leadership (which they, at times. had discarded soon after the publica- also in a difficult spot. Boruchowitz, the ion of this manifesto. The hope for C. P. whip had announced his famous bourgeois opposition and the automatic plan for liquidating all groups and was collapse of German fascism determined surprised that nothing happened. The the tactics of the Prague leadership left group, discredited and undermined which abandoned the Prague Manifesto after a long period of dual unionist activaltogether and suppressed articles on ity, could not retain its identity. A change unity in its official organ, the Neue of face was needed and Boruchowitz be Vorwaerts. The declarations of the came the wandering Jew, seeking allies Manifesto on revolutionary socialism and among the groups. Cold shouldered by on the united front of the working class were merely of documentary value. The Prague leadership conducted a bitter struggle against the opposition fearing that an alliance with Communists would would have to elarge before most remove. make an agreement with the bourgeois would have to elapse before most people opposition more difficult. The attitude convince themselves of the genuiness of

Thomas is quite certain that the Militant wing of the party will win NEC retained the party will be a second the party will be a second to the party will be a second the

Page 3

TRADE UNION

**NOTES** 

By GEORGE F. MILES

union group which presents certain very

True it is, as Herberg maintains in

Both are equally dangerous to the mas-But the Bureau of the German S.P.

flected in the S.P. apparatus merely by THE PAINTERS AGAIN

After a long period of silence on the Painters situation in which we proved tion of the People's Front, not a word that the C.P. supporters and the Zausner on the proletarian united front as a step clique are in an alliance, the C.P. at last broke out with a number of articles which talk a lot but say little or nothing. The best that the C.P. can do is to tall We are on the eve of an historical and write less and break-up as quickly decision. The united front movement once started will destroy all obstacles by virtue of its own inner laws, by virtue of the dynamics of an unbearable system which brought it about here. This receils and break-up as quickly as possible the united front with Zausner. To expect a self-critical estimate from the C.P. appears to be asking for the dynamics of an unbearable system

which brought it about, by virtue of the spirit which it gains from the heroic spirit which it gains from the heroic trict Council No. 18 declared a general

Gerber & Co. With this struggle finished, as it will be in a year or two, the Militants must face the necessity of having a program. What will it be?

The definished in the proletariat. The tremendous desire of the working class for unity was having a program. What will it be?

Struggle for unity they feared neither address the strikers that day!

#### A CASE OF POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION

ist Party refused to admit him to mem "The struggle for daily demands coriated the Daily Worker soundly for The unity of the proletariat, however, bership. Henry Abuza, president of the and for the re-establishment of the rights of the working people, howrights of the working people, howpresent fawning attitude toward him, of the earth and will transform the fate
munist Party, declared that Stone cannot

daily demands into a revolutionary pulled out and played up in bold type to of the proletariat which will fight many strikes in Hartford, and helped show how far Thomas has gone to the Fascism, the deadly enemy of humanity, also in the 1933 strike of the upholand will be victorious in spite of all obstacles.

and will be victorious in spite of all obstacles.

and will be victorious in spite of all obstacles.

### **NORMAN THOMAS ON WAR** AND REVOLUTION

#### (A REVIEW OF THOMAS' LATEST BOOK\*)

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Norman Thomas has moved somewhat left since his previous published writings, yet this book, like its predecessors, gives the Marxist reviewer an uneasy feeeling that he is not dealing with the work of a working class leader and fighter, but rather with that of a left liberal who sympathizes with the working class without ever quite ceasing to wring his hands and deplore the necessity and sharpness of its struggle.

The author's leftward development is manifest in many passages of the work. There is a shrinking approach to the recognition of some of the necessities of the proletarian revolution. A number of pages of warning of its cost and pain, and wishing, hoping, even suggesting that we might be able to end capitalism without it, terminates in such a passage as this:

"The Observer (Thomas always talks in this book like an observer rather than a participant and leader in the class struggle) . . . is warranted . . . in concluding that some type of violent revolution is more probable than peaceful revolution, just as new international war is more probable than peace. But here, also, probability is not inevitability." And still more forthright:

"The sane revolutionist in a country like the United States will not feel that he can utterly renounce the use of violence as a weapon for the exploited while the exploiters still cling tenacious-ly to it." In this connection he quite properly emphasizes the necessity of reducing this violence to a minimum, not regarding it as a substitute for organizing, educating, and winning the support of the proletariat and other sections of the population, and putting the onus of violence where it belongs, upon the ruling class. This he follows with the illusory suggestion that probably the BIRTH OF THE "KNIGHTS" proletariat can win power by peaceful parliamentary means and use armed force only to maintain itself in power against counter-revolution. Second Hand Marxism

Thomas has also moved towards more Marxist attitude towards the state. On pages 108 an 109 we find the formulation:

.. the political state had its rise in violence and has found in violence its final coercive power . . . Governments have acted as executive committees for the dominant class.'

This is all to the good, but when demands on and proposals for the American government in war, he entirely forgets his new-found theoretical knowledge. Moreover, it is painfully clear from a careful study of every word and every footnote of his book, that he has not gone to Marx first hand, but has moved towards Marxism because second-hand, superficial and journalistic sources like Mumford and Hanighen and Brailsford, and especially Laski have borrowed more freely from Marx since the depression. Indeed it is one of the curiosities of Socialist literature that nowhere in this 234 page book does Thomas once refer to Marx or mention his name, or, in a book stuffed with quotations, quote a word from him or give evidence in so much as a line of his own writing that he ever read a line of the writings of Marx.

Lenin Might As Well Not Have Written

But it is war, not the state and revolution that forms the center and bulk of this book. It is hard to imagine a serious writer on new developments on evolution who has not read and does not refer to the work of Darwin, Mendel, De ENTER POWDERLY Vries, Morgan, but only to magazine articles and popularizations on biology. ring to or utilizing (or at least polemizing against) Lenin's classic works on Imperialism," "Socialism and War," "War and the Second International" and the entire material contained in volumes XVIII to XXI of Lenin's collected works. Yet this is exactly what Norman Thomas does. There is not even the slightest evidence in a line or a syllable that Thomas took the trouble to examine the most important works on the subject before formulating or offering his views

And the views are what might be expected under the circumstances. The passages dealing with the horrors of war are good. The quotations from poets and novelists are moving. But the analysis of the causes of war and imperial-

\* War, No Profit, No Glory, No Need, by Norman Thomas. Stokes. 234 pp. \$1.50.

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ism is as superficial and trivial as its sources (John Kenneth Turner, Walter armament that the public can be per-Millis, Parker T. Moon, Carleton Hayes) suaded to accept," And "... by making and the guidance he offers to an anxious proletariat oppressed by the danger of impending war, is quite worthless.

What guidance is there in such phrases as this: "We have to wage peace, and risk something for peace."

Or in a five-point program which involves: "1) An immediate, solemn declaration of national policy by the President and Congress that the United States will not supply . . . arms, munitions or financial support to belligerents . . ."

tions factories, is condemned to defense- his predatory habits.

lessness to the advantage of Italy but; he proposes that the government might Chinese and Japanese immigration. then make any exception which may seem morally desirable by formal act." Which leaves the American capitalist government as the moral judge, in complete forgetfulness of Laski's "Marxist" theory of the State!

"2) . . . the largest measure of disarmament that the public can be perit clear that we would not fight for trade we would get more by good will than we are getting by competing armament."

But how can an imperialist power make that falsehood "clear"? Is that not the official declaration of every imperialist power? Is that not the substance of the fraudulent Kellogg Pact declaration? No answer from Norman Thomas 3) The abandonment of imperialist pol-Thomas dimly feels their inseparability from capitalism but repeat-Thomas realizes that thereby a coundaly appears to hope that the leopard try like Ethiopia, which has no munican be induced to change his spots and

5) "Isolation from all that makes for war; cooperation with all that makes for peace."

A whole book on the horrors and costs of war to culminate in such a deceptive and worthless program!

And then, if war comes anyhow, "I should, of course, favor seeing to it that no one should grow wealthy out of it as thousands did in the First World War.' Can the reader imagine Lenin, with his

ceaseless preoccupation with the turning of the imperialist war into a civil war against capitalism and its war breeding system, coming to such piddling conclusions,

Anti-Soviet Rias

Norman Thomas' anti-Soviet bias has considerably softened, but it still sticks out thru many passages of his book. Most curious and revealing are his repeated strictures on the Soviet Union for not entering into a lone boycott of Italy with respect to oil and wheat when once!

4) Abolition of discrimination against | contrasted with his note to page 177 defending the United States for not entering on lone sanctions against Japan in connection with the invasion of Man-

churia. The tell-tale note reads:

"The use of economic sanctions, i.e., official embargoes—beyond those on war supplies-on goods going to or coming from an aggressor nation, might have brought Japan to an abandonment of her attack on Manchuria only if action against her included all the strong powers in the world. For the United States alone to have imposed it might have led to war. Even the continued refusal of recognition to the new puppet state, Manchukuo, is an empty, and perhaps dangerous gesture of righteousness."

If the helpless Daily Worker editors who have been trying to explain Browder's weak answers to Thomas on this question during their recent debate, would quote this interesting passage. they would have silenced Thomas at

# LOSING THEIR CHAINS ... by James Sand

# Two Knights Without a Single Cause-U.S. Stephens and T. V. Powderly

ONE of the standing problems of American labor history is how a man like the boycott, since it required no strike-fund, at the collecting of which Powderly

Torence Vincent Powderly was able to monopolize the national leadership of was incompetent. the Knights of Labor for fourteen years,—a period spanning the entire significant from 1869 to 1878 they opposed them; from 1878 to 1883 they favored them; from life of the organization. He did not, in any profound way, make the lot of the 1883-1893 strikes were under a cloud. In the last period, however, they were con-American worker better; his economic and social theory was ludicrous; and, as John Swinton, a penetrating labor-journalist of the time has remarked, he had General Executive Board which nominally had the power of calling them. The none of the external characteristics of a labor leader. Ware, in his work on American labor from 1860 to 1895, has most satisfactorily supplied the answer to this historical anomaly. Powderly, he says, "was a good constitutionalist and in the General Assembly was always able to find some technicality to disarm his enemies. He appointed most of the committees of the assembly, the committee on credentials in especial, and in the later years he had a machine of his own." There is practically nothing of a large order that Powderly did for labor that was correct for the time and place, and his theories lacked the universality necessary to vital continuance after their author's passing. His errors were grandiloquent; his truths picayune.

In early December 1869 "The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia by Uriah S. Stephens and a small group of garment cutters, fellow-members of Stephens' craft. The Order was to be secret and involve complicated initiation ceremonies and meetings, along with high-sounding titles,-the last to be retained all through the history of the Knights of labor. This continued until 1878 when the Knights came overground and established themselves on a national scale. Under Stephens' regime the Order grew very slowly, some few local assemblies being formed.

The Knights of Labor was not intended to be a trade-union organization; it was started as a fraternal order with humanitarian purposes, and Powderly and his henchmen later retained these aims long after the temper of the members had become unionist. The secrecy and ritualism Stephens carried over from the bourgeois societies of which he was a member, the Masons, Odd Fellows, and the Thomas comes to apply it in making Knights of Pythias. And Stephens' social views were wholly in accord with the organizational accoutrements. He had been educated for the Baptist ministry and injected religious obscurities into an already confused jargon. A Knight on being initiated took an oath which contained the following:

> "Labor is noble and holy. To defend it from degradation; to divest it of the evils to body, mind, and estate which ignorance and greed have imposed; to rescue the toiler from the grasp of the selfish—is a work worthy of the noblest and best of our race. . . . We mean to uphold the dignity of labor, to affirm the nobility of all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. We mean to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor (the only creator of values). . . . To pause in his toil, to devote to his own interests, to gather a knowledge of the world's commerce, to unite, combine, and co-operate in the great army of peace and industry, to nourish and cherish, build and develop, the temple he lives in, is the highest and noblest duty of man to himself, to his fellow men, and to his Creator."

The Molly Maguires had in 1877 put all secret organizations, and particularly secret labor organizations, under a legal cloud, and consequently at the first national convention of the Knights in 1878 secrecy was dropped. The wave of strikes which had occurred the year before had aroused many of the American workers and they were ready for organization. The Knights of Labor was at hand and took advantage of the situation to transform itself into a national movement. A constitution was adopted creating local assemblies, district assemblies, and a national assembly or convention. A General Executive Board was created presided over by the Grand Master Workman.

In the same sense it is incredible that he was suspended and then expelled from the Order. By that time the organizaany informed writer should attempt to tion had spent its strength and filled out its significant life-span.\* Permitting discuss imperialism, war and proletarian petty-bourgeois elements to flood the assemblies,—small shopkeepers, farmers, tactics in relation thereto, without refer- lawyers, doctors,-militated against proletarian strength; the growth of the American Federation of Labor since its inception in 1886, the opposition of the Socialist Labor Party to the Knights of Labor personified particularly by Daniel DeLeon; and the premature industrial unionism which resulted in the skilled crafts constantly being called on to pull the unskilled out of strikes which they were losing, all helped to undermine the Knights. Moreover, the undeveloped state of capitalism which made it possible for a worker to become an owner, and the beginnings of great waves of European immigration were added factors. But not the least was the absence of a leadership understanding of the class-structure of the time, of the stage of capitalistic development and the forms of organization appropriate to it.

Grand Master Workman Powderly was born on January 22nd 1849 at Carbondale, Pennsylvania of poor Irish stock. At thirteen he was a railroad switchman; then he became a car repairer, and a machinist. He became a member of the Knights of Labor in 1874. For three terms he held the office of mayor of Scranton, Pennylvania, and during most of that time he was also grand master workman of the Knights. During one of his fits of pique, he wrote. "The position I hold is too big for any ten men. It is certainly too big for me and I am only too willing to hand it over at once to whoever may be selected." Even though the job as head of the Knights of Labor was "too big for any ten men," the mayor's office of Scranton and his post in the Knights of Labor were only part of Powderly's simultaneous accomplishments. He was also health officer of Pennsylvania county and part owner and manager of a tea and coffee store. Throughout his official work in the Knights he showed constant symptoms of hypochondria. But he lived to the ripe age of seventy-five, dying in 1924, in June, a half-year before Gompers passed on. Like some latter-day labor prophets who turned New Dealers, Powderly ended his days in a soft job in Washington.

Various means of gaining concessions and improving the economic lot of the workers and petty bourgeoisie were tried in the Order. The most successful was

The order was laid to rest in 1917 in Washington when the remains of its records and furnishings were stored in a leaky shed behind an insurance office.

Terence Vincent Powderly was able to monopolize the national leadership of was incompetent. In the matter of strikes, the Knights of Labor had three periods; stantly being called by the local and district assemblies over the heads of the G.E.B. may not have called them, but it successfully broke them. The Chicago stockyards strike and the strike on Jay Gould's Southwest Railroad Powderly called off just as they were about to be won. It has never been ascertained what was thus gained, but certain other dealings Powderly had with employers against whom the Knights had once struck make the occurrences seem just a bit shady. One instance: Hayes, who was Powderly's right-hand man in the Knights until 1893 when he turned on him and helped throw him out, went west to solicit advertising for a little private money-making venture in which Powderly was also interested, and Powderly was asked to write a letter to Armour of Chicago packing-house infamy with whom he had become acquainted when the Knights had fought him in labor-battles. Giving Hayes a letter of introduction was a bit too thick even for Powderly, and he balks at that aspect of it. He writes Hayes: "You know I have been fifteen years fighting the men we are now asking favors from and it is a trifle against the grain to write some of them." Writing was against the grain but soliciting advertising was not.

#### DECLINE OF THE "KNIGHTS"

In 1886 the Haymarket bomb offered the Knights a chance to show their solidarity with labor and the anarchists who were being framed for the explosion in Chicago. Powderly, true to form, backed down on them, and the Knights were dealt one more body-blow to those already delivered to it. In that year they had reached their peak in membership with something over 700,000 but within another year they had lost a quarter of a million of them, and by 1893 the Order was a mere shell. Hayes, in conjunction with a farmer-labor clique, had Powderly ejected.

But he was not done showing his allegiance to the proletariat. At the age of forty-five in 1894 he was admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania, and in 1901 he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. Ir 1896 he stumped for McKinley and the Republican Party and in 1900 for Tedd, Roosevelt, the old henchman of budding American imperialism. Powderly was a spell-binder who could go on for hours and he served the G.O.P. with those talents for which the Knights had no effective use. For his stumping he was given the job of United States Commissioner General of Immigration, and until his death he held offices in that bureau. For thirty years he lived on the reputation that continual selling out of the American proletariat had given him.

The one great sign of intelligence Powderly showed was in a letter he wrote to Hayes after his expulsion, in which he sets down the reasons for the failure of the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor which the "sainted Stephens" had founded. He writes:

"Teacher of important and much-needed reforms, she has been obliged to practice differently from her teachings. Advocating arbitration and conciliation as first steps in labor disputes she has been forced to take upon her shoulders the responsibilities of the aggressor first, and when hopes of arbitrating and conciliating failed, to beg of the opposing side to do what we should have applied for in the first instance. Advising against strikes we have been in the midst of them. Urging important reforms we have been forced to yield our time and attention to petty disputes until we were placed in a position where we have frequently been misunderstood by the employee as well as the employer. While not a political party we have been forced into the attitude of taking political action."

To the world of labor letters he has left a compendious volume which was first published in 1889, called Thirty Years of Labor. It is without question the most soporific book in the field and will stand up with many competitors for this The next year Powderly was elected to this office and held it until 1893 when honor in other fields. He runs around from chapter to chapter in the "constructive" discussion looking for some one cure-all for the conflicts between capital and labor. During his lifetime he found a new cure almost every year. Once it was land, and then it was temperance. He was a crony of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. "The temperance question," he said, "is most important and sometimes I think it is the main issue." In crack-brains like Powderly the problem of labor is always getting confused with some crazy reform movement like temperance. Powderly, drunk as he was on his own verbiage, never needed the stimulation of

#### 'PARTY ABOVE LABOR"

Although he was the Greenback-Labor Mayor of Scranton and held a membership card as a Socialist, he is against a labor party. His genius for getting everything wrong breaks out again here. He says, "A labor party is not likely to become a success for the reason that it is not in accord with the genius of American institutions to form a party of any one class." The duty of the Knight of Labor is "to place citizenship above party." And for Powderly party above labor as he did when he stumped for the Republican ticket.

Engels thought better of the Knights of Labor than it really deserves. He felt that it could be worked with and turned into a Marxist labor organization. "I think the Knights of Labor," said Engels in 1886, "a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized form within, and I consider that many of the Germans . . . have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their own creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of 'alleinseligmachendes' dogma and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma."

But in historical perspective we can say that the Germans of whom Engels speaks showed that at least their estimate of the Knights was correct when they subscribed under Sorge's leadership to the principles of trade unionism as they were becoming embodied in the American Federation of Labor. The sickly humanitarianism, the ideological confusion, the petty-bourgeois leadership, of the Knights made it impossible finally to "revolutionize it from within."

> NEXT WEEK A Pre-Marxian In America: Wilhelm Weitling