

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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DRESSMAKERS WIN! GARDEN MEET TO RATIFY VICTORY PACT



Top row: As the candid camera caught the leaders of the ILGWU addressing the demonstration in Madison Square Garden on Friday February 7. Reading from left to right—President David Dubinsky, Joint Board Manager Julius Hochman and the Local Managers Luigi Antonini, Charles Zimmerman, Max Cohen and Samuel Perlmutter. Immediately below: A section of the crowd in the Garden voting authority to their leaders to call a general strike. (Candid montage by Harry Rubinstein)

Sweeping Victory Due to Strength of Garment Union

Following one of the most inspiring demonstrations of labor solidarity and militancy in the history of its trade union movement, the New York Dressmakers Union scored a complete victory in the agreement just concluded with the employers groups in the industry. Under the impact of the formidable mass mobilization of the hundred thousand dressmakers, culminating in the memorable Madison Square Garden meeting of February 7, the long and obstinate resistance of the jobbers was completely broken and the basic demands of the Union finally granted. As we go to press, an agreement has been reached with all the associations except the United and an agreement with them is imminent. The defeat of the employers is complete on all fronts.

Main Demands Won

The collective agreements now being written include, first of all, the three fundamental demands of the Union, without which no settlement could possibly have taken

place: the limitation of the number of contractors working for one jobber; the settlement of piece-rates on jobbers premises; and the "unit system" in calculating piece-rates. These provisions, which constitute a veritable revolution in the industry, will help eliminate cut-throat competition among the contractors, and among the groups of workers employed by these contractors, the worst and most ingrained evil in the trade. They will

make possible a really effective control on the part of the Union in the enforcement of the minimum wage provisions of the agreement. In their net result, they will bring a definite increase in the earnings of the vast majority of the dressmakers. What the vicious jobber-contracting system has meant in the past can be seen from the fact that, in contrast to the \$1100 yearly average made by the workers in the more stable inside shops, the dressmakers in the contracting shops averaged only about \$700 a year. This \$400 differential, a real tax on the workers collected by the jobber thru the unrestrained and chaotic contracting system, will now be closed up and eliminated under the provisions of the new agreement.

In addition to these three basic

points, a series of other provisions are being embodied in the agreements, constituting a marked improvement over previous conditions, as far as wages, security of employment and increased efficiency of the Union enforcement machinery are concerned. It is especially noteworthy that the so-called "minority crafts," the less skilled workers in the trade, are to benefit greatly from the new agreement.

The settlement will be reported upon in detail by President Dubinsky General Manager Julius Hochman, Charles S. Zimmerman, Luigi Antonini and other chief strike leaders at a huge strike settlement ratification meeting called for Madison Square Garden and additional overflow halls on Monday afternoon, February 17. The senti-

ment of the dressmakers is running high and there is no doubt that the settlement arrived at by the strike leadership will be enthusiastically ratified by the acclamations of the assembled workers.

The victory of the dressmakers marks an event of outstanding significance in the history of the labor movement. For the first time on record, the New York dressmakers have won an agreement containing fundamental changes without a general strike—an agreement, moreover, that is a smashing victory for the Union! In spite of all the mounting obstacles in the way, the Dressmakers Union has not only managed to keep the gains of the great upsurge of August 1933 but has even succeeded in winning new victories, ever

(Continued on Page 7)

"GOD" AND THE TRADE UNIONS

By SAUL HELD

The music went round and round in Harlem on January 12. Gathered at the St. Nicholas Palace were two outstanding representatives of the Communist Party, Robert Minor and James W. Ford; Republican and Democratic politicians, sky-pilots and professors, Townsends, etc. Together with Father Divine, "the Saviour of the World in His beautiful Body," they all commenced with God in a gigantic scene staged by the most dangerous faker that has thus far appeared in Black America.

The occasion was the launching of Father Divine's Platform. Eager to slip one over on the Father and garner political (or other) capital at his expense, all the mystics, politicians (left and right), were on hand to launch Noah's Ark—and if possible to steal a ride to Heaven.

Leave It To "God!"

"Mr. Robert Minor had spoken just a few minutes before Father arose, and in his remarks he had stressed the thought that people are still in slavery in this country, and that they must struggle for their freedom. But Father arose singing and speaking as follows: "Oh you need not doubt and you need not fear,

For JESUS CHRIST your Lord is here
All rivers crossed, there's no more sea,
You are in this Land to stay."

The above quotation from Divine's "The Spoken Word, The Positive Magazine," reveals strikingly the whole tenor and content of the dangerous farce.

God vs. Class

Father Divine refuses to recognize the class struggle—only a mysterious EVIL does he discern. He sees all social evil as emanating from men devoid of his teachings—"Righteousness, Truth and Justice."

"Why should men live in lacks and wants when we are in the Country of Plenty?"

"If the whole world were under the Jurisdiction of this teaching (his teaching—S.H.), and subject to it wholeheartedly, we would not have vice and crime in our Cities and in our Country, we would have Peace and Harmony as it is under My Personal Jurisdiction."

This absence of egotism and exceedingly simple sociology is no doubt possessed of quaintness. Perhaps these attributes endeared the Communist Party's thundering knights of Marxism! "Join my rackets, and your troubles are over!" says the Father.

"Principle Not Party"
Since there is no class struggle

to account for social ills, there are only "good" and "bad" men with the latter, the devils, to be slain. The "good" men, of course, are all followers of Divine. Inevitably political parties have no class character. Divine refuses to endorse any Party, thus far, but would like to play ball with all of them (for God or for things "rendered unto Caesar").

"I have come for RIGHTEOUSNESS, TRUTH and JUSTICE, with or without a Party, it is material to Me. You that are Politicians of the Communist Movement, you that are of the Socialist Party, you that are of the Republican Party, you that are of the Democratic Party, if you will live JUST and RIGHTEOUS, and be TRUTHFUL, I will endorse you from every angle expressible (1). If you, the people of America with your Parties from a partisan point of view, will stand for RIGHTEOUSNESS, TRUTH and JUSTICE, I will endorse you."

Yes sir, the Father loves them all—for all he can get!

Divine—Union Smasher

The Father has concretized these abstract planks in his program. It is most instructive to note that nowhere in his program does the Father become so specific, so dogmatic, so outspoken, as in his attitude to the trade unions. This attitude is the core of his program of "Righteousness, Truth and Justice," which all parties, including the Communist, are asked to accept. Listen to this holy agent of the employers rave:

"Every Union that tries to bind the people and put them back in slavery, and prohibit them from working, when they are trying to get an honest living—if they do not pay their dues how DARE they put their hands on an individual. Now tell them. I said KEEP THEIR HANDS OFF! This Country does not belong to the Unions, it belongs to GOD. It is indeed Wonderful! The very IDEA, talking about going into men's shops where they have paid for, and paid taxes in this City, and pulling men and women out of the jobs. I will PUT A STOP TO IT! Now tell them I SAID it, and I MEAN IT!"

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Workers to five days a week will guarantee the Workers five days' work each week, and will guarantee to pay them what they are demanding from the employers when they call them out on strike, we will endorse them. Otherwise, we will not tolerate them."

Is Father Divine offering his rackets as a strike-breaking agency to the employers? Is Father Divine working behind the scenes

with the bosses in the New York garment center? Will Father Divine aid the employers in their battle against the International Ladies Garment Workers Union?

But if the country belongs to God and Father Divine is God, we assume that the Father is a piker when he threatens the Unions unless they pay full wages to workers on strike—for certain it is, that God has more gold and power than any Union—at least, the Gold. Let Father Divine, who proclaims himself God, pay the strikers!

C.P.'s Criminal Attitude

The anti-labor position of Divine revealed above is the real indicator of where "God" stands—definitely on the side of reaction. His cheap words for peace, against the color-line, anti-fascism, etc., are surprisingly mild, empty, of the type uttered by the Democrats, Republicans, Liberty Leaguers, etc. But, it is precisely the cheap line of bank hiding his essentially anti-labor program that intrigues the Communist Party. The Daily Worker of Jan. 19, carries a story by Ben Davis, Jr. entitled "Father Divine Policy Reviewed Despite Confusion on Union," which said, "The Father got off on the wrong foot" on the question of organized labor. His attitude, the article declares, is similar to that of Hearst and the Liberty League, but intimates that the Father is merely confused and urges him to "come again—correctly and clearly."

In this fashion is the picture blurred and an anti-labor faker is "exonerated" by the Communist Party! Praised as a "Progressive"!

To quote with approval the cheap words flung by Divine as bait to hook the workers sympathetic to Communism, is simply playing into the hands of this racketeer. That Divine is a Negro, that his demagogic demands the use of radical phrases and pretence of friendship for Communists, does not dilute his poison or change it into milk! Let us speak plainly: to play with a dangerous faker simply because he has mass support and because his color denotes membership of an oppressed race, is suicide for Communists. The anti-labor demagogues amongst the Negro masses must be exposed and fought!

Marx defined the trade unions as the "elementary" training school of the working-class, where workers take the first firm steps forward on the road to liberation. Divine would crush these basic organizations of the mass of workers! Regardless of what or how he prattles about anything else, his bitter animosity to the trade union shows up his true colors. What makes him "Progressive", comrades of the CP?

The Communist Party will reap a whirlwind of destruction for playing with Divine. The Divine movement is nourished by the enemies of Communism; its primary purpose is to annihilate Communist influence in Harlem. It is not accidental that the Divine movement arose and became powerful precisely when the Communists were beginning to make marked headway in Harlem.

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Not so long afterwards, North Dakota made some tax assessments which, the Great Northern Railway complained, were not fair because they ignored the fall in prices. There had been a decline in prices—the company maintained—and tax assessments should be reduced likewise. Here, too, the Supreme Court stepped in but—curiously enough—it decided that price statistics were quite relevant in fixing assessments.

Now, you can figure this out for yourself! When it comes to reducing rates for consumers, price quotations are out; when it comes to reducing taxes for corporations, they're quite all right! This is the supreme wisdom of the Supreme Court!

Anyone interested in the peculiar dialectics of politics, ought to be acquainted with this specimen of judicial logic. Some time ago, Maryland decided to reduce phone rates on the ground that the drop in prices, which it proved with appropriate statistics, justified a cut in rates to subscribers. As usual, the case came to the Supreme Court and that august tribunal decided—nothing doing! Price stat-

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Office Workers On Strike

The Bookkeepers, Stenographers' and Accountants Union, local 12646 is conducting a strike against the Margon Corporation at 233 Spring Street, N. Y. C. The firm recently discharged their entire office staff—seven in all—because of union activities. Thru daily picket lines the union is attempting to pull out the four scabs that are manning the office jobs now. The strike enjoys the full sympathy of the inside shop—the factory workers of the Margon Corporation. In addition, the union has asked for a boycott of Margon goods by fellow trade unionists, particularly those of the Doll & Toy Workers Union and the Bag and Suitmakers.

Another serious situation faces the BS&AU in connection with the recent dismissal of 3 workers from the Metropolitan News Company. Despite an agreement signed at the conclusion of the strike conducted there a few months ago, the bosses have refused to arbitrate. The union has thrown mass picket lines around the company for the past several weeks. The homes of the employers are being picketed regularly. The case is being taken up by the State Supreme Court on the grounds of violation of the agreement.

In order to provide funds for the above struggles and to build a more powerful office workers union the BS&AU is sponsoring a dance at the Pythian Temple, on Saturday, February 22nd, Washington's Birthday.

Trouble Caused By Oath To King

The oath of fealty demanded of each elected representative to public office is obnoxious to CCF Reeve Ben Levert in the Windsor district. It calls for "true allegiance" to the king, and also pledges that the oath-taker will not only defend the king against all "traitorous conspiracies" and to "disclose and make known to his majesty . . . all treasons and traitorous conspiracies . . ." The reeve declared that "once I swear to the oath, I become either a stool-pigeon or perjure myself."

Ald. Tom Raycraft, long a standard-bearer of the Communist Party, took the oath in very mild-mannered "people's front" style. "As a Communist," he said, "I am willing to go thru all formalities necessary for me to serve the people in the capacity for which I was elected. My first allegiance has always been and will always be in the interests of the people of Canada."

UNIONS URGE HOUSING SUBSIDY

Spokesmen for 1,000,000 building trade workers, officers of A. F. of L. Building Trade Department, other union leaders and the labor Housing Conference, are working for federal subsidies for housing. They answered the "rosy talk" about a "building boom" by citing Bureau of Labor statistics showing that not one-fifth of the average level of residential production of the 1920's has been attained. Proposing federal financed construction of adequate low-rental housing, spokesmen contended that work would be supplied to many of the unemployed (two-thirds of building workers are jobless), and only thus could families with incomes under \$1,200 be properly housed.

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On the LABOR FRONT

HOLLYWOOD GOES UNION

A Hollywood director, \$75,000 a year man, of the Screen Directors' Guild, arguing for A. F. of L. affiliation: "To hell with arguing about whether or not you'll join the Federation of Labor! When you guys realize you've got to join it, I'll be back again." But he stayed on to fight for affiliation. Press agents, newspaper writers, make-up artists, directors, actors, electricians are organizing. Robert Montgomery heads the Screen Actors' Guild, A. F. of L., membership 5,000.

"BRIBES" IN AUTO & STEEL

Steel and auto, the heart of American industry, have resorted both to brute force and bribes to render impotent or non-existent the unions in their midst. Fearful that the A. F. of L. will make marked headway in the near future, the industry has just proclaimed a bonus for employees totaling \$7,300,000 to be dished out in the next 53 days. The steel barons dispensed a paltry \$1,007,106 in sick and death benefits. Despite sensational rises in production and profits, technological unemployment continues, an increasing seasonally marks production (narrowing down full-time and part-time work).

STATE AS UNION-SMASHER

Increasingly the agencies of the government are intervening into inner-union affairs—all too frequently at the bidding of the fat boys excoined in the leadership of craft unions. The courts, the militia, the G-men—and now the Federal Trade Commission, The International Seamen's Union Rank and File Group of New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, etc., have been issuing magazines which the FTC deems as having used in "deceptive" fashion the initials of the ISU. It is obvious that the fat boys of the ISU are back of this action. They will stifle the militants if they have to use the Army, Navy and Girl Scouts.

SIT-DOWN STRIKERS WIN

Tire builders at the B. F. Goodrich factory in Akron, Ohio resorted to three periods of stoppage—sit-down to you—during the first week of February, in order to win an increased allowance of time for changing from one kind of machine to another. In granting the demand, T. G. Graham referred to the demand as "trifling" and intimated that had the matter been brought to his attention sooner it would have been granted without delay. Oh Yeah?

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JOHN L. LEWIS ON THE CRISIS IN TRADE UNIONISM

The following excerpts are from the speech of President John L. Lewis at the thirty-fourth constitutional convention of the United Mine Workers of America, in Washington, D. C. on Thursday January 30th, 1936.

It may seem strange to some who may not be familiar with the objectives of the common citizen and the dreams of members of organized labor in this country that there should be contention and cavilling on a question of how best to organize the workers, that a mere formula of procedure should convulse the American labor movement and render it incapable of rendering effective judgment. Yet it is true that the implications of this question run very, very deep into the question of the stability of our national household and the question of possible achievement of the objectives of labor, the question of whether here in America we shall have as a potential instrumentality capable of working out the dreams of the workers of this country a powerful, influential, militant labor movement, or continue amid all of our discontent to palliate with a small, compact group of highly skilled craftsmen organized into special unions that have no concern for the great mass of unorganized workers and no power, economic or otherwise, to grapple with the major question which now occupies the mind of every man. That is the question, and that is all of the question—whether our labor movement in this country can be modernized into an instrument capable of dealing with the modern problems that effect the workers of the land.

Experience has shown that in certain industries the craft form of organization has failed to attain its objective. The same experience has shown that in those industries the workers desire a form of modern organization patterned somewhat after the form and structure of our own great Union. Why not give the workers the right to join the character and type and form of organization for which they pray? They are the ones who will have to make the fight if they join the union. They are the ones who will have to withstand the economic force of the corporations of this country. They are the ones who will be discharged, who will have to go on the picket line, and they are the ones who will be gassed and clubbed and shot if the corporations of this country have their way. Why not let them select their own arms if they are going into battle?

But the American Federation of Labor says no, we will not yield jurisdiction. The mere fact that we have been incapable of organizing these people means nothing as compared to the value of our paper jurisdictions. And although, like the ancient fable of the dog in the manger who could not eat the hay, yet used it as a bed where-with to stop the ox from eating the hay, the American Federation of Labor, through its allied craft organizations said to the industrial unions of this country and to the great mass of these millions of unorganized workers, "You shall not pass." Why? Frankly, they feel that to grant a charter for the formation of an industrial union in the rubber industry, the automobile industry, or any other industry, would operate to limit their jurisdiction. Our answer to that is that they do not exercise the jurisdiction anyhow, because in these industries they have no members, and if they could secure members they could not retain them. That has been answered over and over again.

Just a few days ago I addressed a great meeting of rubber workers in Akron, Ohio. They had just re-

cently been given a charter by the American Federation of Labor as an international union, but the charter was issued on a restricted basis, and all of the specialized crafts are excluded from the rubber workers' union and they are only privileged, under the Federation's rule, to take in those who are engaged in the ordinary mass production and assembly line tasks. But the officers of that organization told me that when they asked for the charter in 1934, they had been successful in organizing into Federal unions some 47,000 rubber workers. They asked for a charter for an international union on the same basis of jurisdiction as the United Mine Workers of America, because many of those men in the rubber industry are former members of the United Mine Workers of America or sons of former members. They asked for an organization of the same type and character as that of which they knew and in whose traditions they had been steeped. But the American Federation of Labor, instead of giving them an international charter with jurisdiction in their industry, sent in the organizers of the craft organizations and segregated them and divided them up and handed them over to each of the individual unions, the specialized craftsmen in this shop and that. I am told that in one shop, one rubber plant, some 800 machinists were taken out of the Federal Labor Union and transferred bodily to the Akron local union of the machinists' union. I am told there are only five of those machinists left today in the machinists' union. It is the same story as affecting the electrical workers, the carpenters, the sheet metal workers, the steamfitters, and what not. Even the craftsmen themselves in those industries will not adhere to the craft form of organization, because they recognize its inferiority and its inability to deal with these great corporations. They want inherently and psychologically and in every other way to belong to a centralized organization of all the workers because their experience throughout their lifetime has shown them that that is the only form of organization that can deal on any equal basis with these great combinations of capital that dominate the rubber industry.

So when the American Federation of Labor some few months ago gave a charter to the rubber workers' union on a restricted basis, there were only 5,000 men left to give it to out of the original 47,000 organized men in that industry who asked for the charter—all but 5,000 had fallen by the wayside, and the American Federation of Labor gave a restricted charter to this poor, skeletonized organization of stout hearts who continue to live in hope and who asked for bread from the American Federation of Labor and were given a stone in the form of this restricted charter. That is the story of your industries everywhere. That is the history of the American Federation of Labor during the past three years, a history exemplifying a policy which has been protested month by month throughout that period by the United Mine Workers of America.

In 1933 when the United Mine Workers of America were making their great organizational drive in the coal industry because of the pending enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act, your officers asked the American Federation of Labor to put on concurrent campaigns in the other major industries along with the effort made by the United Mine Workers of America in the coal industry. They did not do it simply because they

transgressed or see a policy ratified and followed that is designed to disrupt, emasculate, and destroy the union that I have the honor to represent.

Secretary Kennedy has told you how when we were fighting here against tremendous odds to secure favorable action by Congress for our coal stabilization legislation, the representatives of the Machinists' Union came down before the Committee on Ways and Means and stabbed us in the back by offering an amendment to that bill which would provide that any craft organization having two or more members at any coal mine could come under the collective bargaining section of the Guffey Act and that the coal operator would be under obligation to deal with that craft organization. And not satisfied with their defeat in Congress, while the bill was still pending they went over to a meeting of the Executive Council at Atlantic City which I could not attend because I could not leave the situation here, and the Machinists' Union got the Executive Council to endorse those amendments to the Guffey Act and call a conference here in Washington with the President of the United Mine Workers of America to say to him that if the Mine Workers would accept those amendments for the enactment of the Guffey Bill into law. And right at the time when our bill was under debate in the Senate of the United States, I was summoned almost by subpoena to a meeting of five members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor over here in their office building to show cause why the United Mine Workers of America should not accept those amendments, and the penalty for refusal was that the craft organizations, in view of our non-acceptance, would go down to Congress and fight our legislation—a dastardly, diabolical betrayal of every element of fair relationship that should exist in this country, labor movement in this country,



JOHN L. LEWIS—PRESIDENT UNITED MINE WORKERS Sketched for Workers Age during the miners convention in Washington by a leading artist who must for various reasons remain anonymous.

did not want to organize industrial unions. They went out and organized Federal labor unions, and most of those Federal labor unions have either been chopped to pieces by the craft organizations or have died of economic starvation or have been besieged by the corporations in the communities where they existed. As a result hope fled from the hearts of the workers.

Following that action eight of the international unions of the American Federation of Labor, as has been reported to you, formed the Committee on Industrial Organization, designed to carry out in an educational and advisory way, the work of encouraging the organization of workers in these non-organized industries. That committee has been proscribed at a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor recently in Miami, and according to press reports the order has been issued that that committee shall dissolve. Well, may I say this right at this point, that there is only one place in the United States of America from which I take orders, and that place is a convention of the United Mine Workers of America. If this convention should decide that the order of the Executive Council, made in their blind, unreasoning rage in Miami, was a valid order and instructed me to dissolve the committee, I would undertake to dissolve the committee. On the other hand, if this convention should instruct me not to dissolve that committee, all the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will be wearing asbestos suits in hell before that committee is dissolved. I don't work for the American Federation of Labor. I work for the United Mine Workers of America, and in order that there should not be any misunderstanding on that subject, I resigned as a vice president of the American Federation of Labor, because I do not now or later intend to sit as a member of that Council or any other council and see the rights of my organization

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sponsored by the American Federation of Labor. The adoption of that amendment would have destroyed the United Mine Workers of America had it become a law and had the craft organizations availed themselves of the privileges under it. In the state of Montana, for instance, where all the mines are mechanized, there would not have been a man in the coal mining industry of Montana eligible for membership in the United Mine Workers of America under that amendment, because they would have all been eligible to some craft organizations. The same is true elsewhere.

Well, how long do we propose to stand that? How long does the American Federation of Labor believe it can accept the tax of the United Mine Workers of America and use that money to harass this union of ours, use that money to stop the organization of workers in the other industries?

Organization among the base industries on the part of the American Federation of Labor has practically ceased, because many of their organizers have been laid off and the remaining organizers hardly dare to organize a Federal union because they run counter to the jurisdictional claims of some of the affiliated metal trades or building trades or other organizations. The American Federation of Labor has said, "Dissolve the Committee on Industrial Organization." That question will be decided here when you pass upon the question that is now pending before the house. Your officers have believed that they were carrying out your policies in espousing these principles. Now is the time to say to your officers, in the eyes of the world, "Carry on or drop it."

Both policies have their obligations. If you now suspend this attempt to organize these workers in this country, you bring despair into their hearts and you stop the forward progress of the American labor movement, and you may look for a continuation in your own industry of the same ills and the same problems and the same ailments that have previously beset you, and you may look, my friends, for a combination of your natural adversaries in the form of predatory financial interests of this country to be pooled against you for the wiping out of your own organization, because your security as mine workers and the security of this Union of ours depends also upon the security of the workers in the other industries, and whether or not the workers in the other industries are going to be successful through collective bargaining in curbing the rapacity and the greed of these corporations who would continue to exploit them at will.

That is what the one means. The other policy, the policy of adopting the committee's report, means the continued opposition of certain organizations in the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor itself. Are you willing to assume that responsibility?

(A large number of delegates responded in the affirmative.)

If you are I am, if your hearts are courageous, if these sentiments we have been uttering, if these principles we have been espousing mean to us what we have been believing they mean to us, then your vote here today will be a vote in favor of an enlarged, progressive, more potent, more powerful labor movement in this country, through encouraging—with the American Federation of Labor if it will, without it, if it prefers—the workers in these unorganized industries to join this great labor movement.

Both policies have their obligations. If you now suspend this attempt to organize these workers in this country, you bring despair into their hearts and you stop the forward progress of the American labor movement, and you may look for a continuation in your own industry of the same ills and the same problems and the same ailments that have previously beset you, and you may look, my friends, for a combination of your natural adversaries in the form of predatory financial interests of this country to be pooled against you for the wiping out of your own organization, because your security as mine workers and the security of this Union of ours depends also upon the security of the workers in the other industries, and whether or not the workers in the other industries are going to be successful through collective bargaining in curbing the rapacity and the greed of these corporations who would continue to exploit them at will.

That is what the one means. The other policy, the policy of adopting the committee's report, means the continued opposition of certain organizations in the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor itself. Are you willing to assume that responsibility?

Both policies have their obligations. If you now suspend this attempt to organize these workers in this country, you bring despair into their hearts and you stop the forward progress of the American labor movement, and you may look for a continuation in your own industry of the same ills and the same problems and the same ailments that have previously beset you, and you may look, my friends, for a combination of your natural adversaries in the form of predatory financial interests of this country to be pooled against you for the wiping out of your own organization, because your security as mine workers and the security of this Union of ours depends also upon the security of the workers in the other industries, and whether or not the workers in the other industries are going to be successful through collective bargaining in curbing the rapacity and the greed of these corporations who would continue to exploit them at will.

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A Notable Victory

THERE are events which symbolize whole periods of struggle. There are struggles which mark dividing lines between periods of significant events. Such an event, such a struggle is the victory scored over the employers by the dressmakers.

In what sense is this so? The dressmaker's locals of the ILGWU were the first trade union organization which on the eve of the NRA, gave the cue to American labor. The Joint Board of the dressmakers rendered an inestimable service to all labor when it conducted a successful strike in the summer of 1933. The dressmakers showed the way. They struck; they relied on their own organization solidarity; they did not put any faith in any government board; they did not rely on Roosevelt and his New Dealers. The dressmakers put over a very effective strike and scored a smashing victory. That's why the dressmakers locals grew; that's why these workers registered real gains; that's why the NRA merely recognized as an accomplished fact that which the workers performed thru their own might and leadership.

Soon the wind was taken out of the sails of the NRA. Its economic basis began to atrophy, to rot away. The employers began to single out labor organizations for attack, for reduction of wages and lengthening of hours. The workers, too many of them still steeped in illusions about the NRA and Roosevelt, turned in despair to government labor boards. It was of no avail. It was like scratching a stone wall for an entrance. The disastrous losses suffered by the textile workers afforded proof aplenty that government boards can't help labor and that only labor can help itself thru the might of its own organization and the militancy of its own leadership.

The setback suffered by the United Textile Workers was a signal of encouragement to the greedy bosses to start chiseling away labor's conditions won thru bitter and determined struggle, thru heroic strikes and inspiring solidarity. The sweatshop sought to rear its ugly head again in the dress trade. The generally chaotic economic situation was, of course, fertile soil for these onslaughts on labor.

But the ILGWU was not caught unaware. It never suffered much from illusions about NRA. Months in advance it began to prepare to enforce its demands, not merely to hold but to extend its gains. This time as in 1933, the dressmakers led by Dubinsky, Hochman, Antonini and Zimmerman, met the employers and their government mediators and peace-makers with an effective engine of war. Behind these a union of disciplined, inspired loyal members of all races, colors, creeds and political affiliation, stood as one ready to fight to a finish for victory. It's this might, this potential strength ready to come down on the bosses' associations like a ton of bricks, that made the employers toe the mark, that gave the workers a rather substantial victory. Here was no bluff, but real strength, genuine progressive leadership, and unbreakable solidarity.

Great significance is to be attached to this demonstration by the ILGWU and its dressmakers unions and to this real leadership manifested by their officers. No small credit is due to the progressive forces in the needle trades which acted as a driving force, a force for clarity and militant action.

The ILGWU has again earned its spurs as a banner bearer of healthy trade unionism. Here is a real lesson, a growing inspiration to the workers of all trades.

New York Painters Prepare For Their General Elections

- NEW YORK, N. Y.—With the progressive victory of the painters in Brooklyn safely tucked away upon the election of Freeman to the secretaryship of the District Council, attention is now being centered upon the New York District Council No. 9. With the resignation of Zausner as Secretary-Treasurer of the Council a most heated campaign is being developed now for this post and also for the reelection of a staff of business agents.
1. Trade union democracy in the council and locals.
2. Enforcement of 7 hour day, \$9 wage scale and union conditions.
3. Immediate adjustments of complaints and grievances.
4. Unionization of apartment houses, office buildings, hotels and public institutions.
5. Organization of the Negro painters. Also a drive in Staten Island and Richmond.
6. Rerating of painters on WPA jobs as mechanics.
7. Organization drive in New York.
8. Enforcement of labor protection laws.
9. Reestablishments of relations with Brooklyn and Long Island District Councils.
Every precaution has been taken to see that voting is to be conducted in an honest manner to guarantee an accurate expression of the will of the painters. The election is to be held on February 29.

Roosevelt And The Liberty League

The Significance of F. D.'s Recent Message To Congress

By WILL HERBERG (This is the first of a series of articles on "Roosevelt and the Liberty League." The second article will appear in the next issue.—Editor)

The struggle between President Roosevelt and the American Liberty League, as it has been developing within the last year, is not a mere "political" contest in the popular sense of the term, that is, no mere scramble for jobs. Beneath all the rhetoric, fireworks and demagogic lie basic issues reaching down deep into the economic and social foundations of American life and into the class relations arising therefrom. These issues emerge clearly thru the dense smokescreen of political ballyhoo that is already being laid down as the opening move in the 1936 campaign.

"The Twin Spirits of Autocracy and Aggression"

President Roosevelt's radio address on January 3 was, of course, no message to Congress; it was an appeal to the American people—an appeal stripped of all non-essentials and presented in exceptionally effective form. What is the nature of this appeal which is already setting the tone for the New Deal campaign this year? The great enemy—Roosevelt repeated time and again—is the "twin spirits of autocracy and aggression." With the situation in the western hemisphere he was quite satisfied; here "peace" and "good neighborliness" reign supreme. But when it came to the rest of the world, the President painted quite another picture. The people of America are "faced with a situation which has in it many of the elements that lead to the tragedy of general war."

Of course, the democratic nations are peace-loving, the small countries above all. A mere handful of "autocratic" (that is, fascist or semi-fascist) powers, on the other hand, are " impatiently reverting to the old belief in the law of the sword," whereas were they only more reasonable, their "legitimate objectives" could be adjusted by "peaceful negotiation." In the face of this situation Roosevelt proposed a "two-fold neutrality," the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition and implements of war to belligerents and the "discouragement" of the use by belligerents of American products of indirect military value "in quantities over and above our normal exports to them in time of peace."

"The evidence before us clearly proves that autocracy in world affairs endangers peace and that such threats do not spring from those nations devoted to the democratic ideal. If this be true in world affairs, it should have the greatest weight in the determination of domestic policies." With this sentiment, Roosevelt swung into a discussion of the situation in this country. "Autocracy at home" is bound to come with the "domination of government by financial and industrial groups" that is, by the interests now associated with the Liberty League. These elements who, in their own spheres, have followed a policy of "autocracy toward labor, toward stockholders and toward consumers," had control of the government "in the twelve years that succeeded the world war." With the economic collapse following the crisis of 1929 these representatives of "intrenched greed" were forced to the point of "admitting their failure and abdicating." That was in 1933. "But now, with the passing of danger, they forget their damaging admission and withdraw their abdication."

They are trying to get into power again. The chief concern of the American people as well as of the people of other democratic nations must, therefore, be "to prevent the continuance or the rise of autocratic institutions that beget slavery at home and aggression abroad." The Administration has fought this fight in the years since 1933. "Now, after thirty-four months of work, we contemplate a fairly rounded whole. We have returned the control of the Federal government (from Wall Street—W. H.) to the City of Washington. . . . In thirty-four months we have built up new instruments of public power. In the hands of a people's government this power is wholesome and proper. But in the hands of political puppets of an economic autocracy such power would provide shackles for the liberties of the people. Give them (the financial and industrial groups) their way and they will take the course of every autocracy of the past—power for themselves, enslavement for the public." Having come so far, Roosevelt concludes, "I recommend that . . . we advance; that we do not retreat!"

"Somebody Should Be Concerned About Property . . ."

A truly remarkable address for the chief executive of the United States! In comparison, the Liberty League reply, delivered thru the mouth of Alfred E. Smith, is flat, puerile, ludicrous. As the theme of his address, Al Smith took the words of Dr. Carothers, a member of the national advisory council of the league:

"It is well for the nation that somebody should be concerned about property when we have a government whose policies for three years have been directed toward its destruction."

With this as his text, he launched a bitter diatribe against the New Deal, charging it with having fostered and stimulated class hostility, the "arraignment of class against class"; with having called into being a "vast octopus (the NRA) . . . that wound its arms around all business of the country, paralyzed big business and choked little business to death"; with having "taken over most of the relief problems," instead of leaving them to the states; with having piled up tremendous expenses without any substantial results; with having repudiated the 1932 Democratic platform point by point, substituting instead outright socialism, the program of "Karl Marx and Lenin and the rest of that bunch." With the unashamed vulgarity so characteristic of him, Al Smith concluded by bombastically appealing to the country to choose between "Washington or Moscow," between the "clear, pure, fresh air of free America or the foul breath of communistic Russia," between the "Stars and Stripes or the flag of the godless Union of the Soviets!"

There is hardly much point to discussing Al Smith's outburst as such. Whatever effect his defection may have upon Democratic fortunes in the coming elections will be due, not to the strength of his arguments, but to his influence in the Tammany machine in New York. Nothing he said at the Liberty League banquet goes beyond any of the previous attacks upon the New Deal emanating either from himself or from other mouthpieces of certain sections of big capital. All Al Smith did was to give it the "lowbrow" angle.

Roosevelt and the Comintern The presidential message, however, deserves much closer consideration. In merely scanning it, we cannot help being impressed by a very curious circumstance. In most essentials—believe it or not!

Roosevelt's analysis falls in strikingly with the current viewpoint of the official Communist movement as it has taken shape and form in the period after the seventh world congress of the Comintern. The "twin spirits of autocracy and aggression" are, of course, the familiar "twin dangers of fascism and war." In the Comintern conception, as in Roosevelt's, it is the fascist and semi-fascist powers of the world (Germany, Italy, Japan) that are so warlike, that are making all the trouble, while the democratic countries (Great Britain, France, the United States), and particularly the "small nations" (Czechoslovakia), are veritable lambs, peaceful and well behaved, asking nothing but to live and let live. And, quite in the Rooseveltian spirit, the Comintern Party of Germany recently urged in its program of action that the "rectification of injustices springing from former wars," to use the president's phrase, should be adjusted "thru international agreements" instead of thru an appeal to war!

Roosevelt Words and New Deal Facts

If we submit the Roosevelt message to critical examination, to an examination in the light of the (Continued on Page 6)

The parallel continues. By both Roosevelt and by the new Comintern line, warlike imperialism is attributed to fascism and to fascism alone. By both, likewise, fascism is discovered primarily in the Liberty League. The Liberty League is conspiring to establish "domestic autocracy" charges Roosevelt. The Liberty League is sponsoring, fostering, stimulating fascism at home—necessarily repeats the Daily Worker. The technical phraseology is naturally slightly different but, in political content, the two conceptions are essentially the same. How utterly false and dangerous is this conception of fascism I have tried to show in a previous article and I will discuss at some length later on in these paragraphs.

The striking parallel here outlined has not escaped the attention of the official communist press, which seems to be quite proud of it. Gabriel Peri, foreign editor of the Paris Humanite (January 6, 1936), comments on Roosevelt's address in the following terms:

"Today these truths are universal. Such is the desire for peace on the part of the masses of the people, such is the power of our slogan of struggle, such is the evidence that the danger of fascism holds out for peace, that the head of a great capitalist state is forced, on the eve of a great election, to take up on his own account the most familiar formulas of our vocabulary."

What has happened? Has Roosevelt gone communist? Has he really donned the mantle of "Marx and Lenin and the rest of that bunch," to use Al Smith's elegant language? Hardly! The process is exactly the reverse: the official Communist outlook has moved rapidly and far in the direction of bourgeois liberalism! In the analysis of the situation at home and abroad, Roosevelt (in his message, and the C.P. spokesmen generally share the same standpoint—Roosevelt at the extreme right, they at the extreme left; Roosevelt presenting it in the traditional terms of American populism, they couching it in the traditional phraseology of revolutionary Marxism. But, in essence, it remains the standpoint of bourgeois liberalism! And therewith emerges a situation of really fearful menace as far as the future of the communist movement in this country is concerned!

Could any one suggest a more all-inclusive "People's Front?" However, we do have one suggestion for improving and extending the "People's Front" along this line. We would like to know what Comrade Browder thinks of the idea of the C.P., on the basis of its new ultra-right line, organizing a new "Daughters of the American Revolution, a new D.A.R. If Webster was a revolutionist and the Green Mountain Boys were the forerunners of the Red Guards in the U. S., then why not apply to

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

THE American parliamentary system has not yet succeeded in discrediting itself to the extent that some of the European capitalist democratic structures have. But when one begins to take heed of the speeches delivered by some of our venerable Senators one is bound to come to the conclusion that parliamentarism in the United States is well on the way to a fate similar to that which befell some of the European institutions.

Concretely, we have in mind the speech by Senator Lewis. This Senator has lots of grey matter, but all of it seems to have gone into his whiskers. We know of nothing more idiotic that has been uttered in many a moon than that spouted by Lewis when he told the world that there was being prepared a Soviet-Japanese Alliance against the United States. Small wonder that more than one occupant of a seat in the Senate press gallery said: "The old man is cuckoo."

Even the founders of the Liberty League do not make such insinuations, let alone accusations!

SO FAR the Central Committee of the C.P. has not publicly acknowledged or responded to our suggestion in regard to Mooney being nominated for President on a United Labor Ticket. The reasons for this stony silence of the official leadership of the C.P. are best known only to the Secretariat itself. It would be well for some comrades in the ranks of the party to write the Daily Worker Question and Answer Editor for information about this.

However, we are not a bit discouraged at the chilly response accorded to our suggestion. Just to show that we do not despair of making suggestions to the C.P., we hurry to offer another one. This time we will deal with some of the Party convention preparations and the Negro Congress activities.

The Daily Worker of February 8 proclaims in bold type: "Ninth Communist Convention to Deal with Crisis in the Spirit of 1776." We suggest that the Convention be held at the foot of Bunker Hill. Or, now that it is winter—and a pretty bad winter at that—the delegates might be taken for a ride to Valley Forge so as to improve the spirit of their deliberations. The reason we make this suggestion is a simple one: If you are going to make a caricature out of some sound ideas you might as well also make it picturesque.

The much-heralded National Negro Congress seems to have got good press publicity in the bourgeois newspaper world. Why such generosity on the part of the plutocracy? Here is how. Here are some of the contents of the press releases of this Congress. Mayor Edward J. Kelley of Chicago is advertised to make the opening address. Representative Hamilton Fish has been invited to address the Congress. The National Recovery Board of Washington are featured prominently as organizations sending delegates to sit along side of those of the C.P. at this Congress.

This outlay of a half billion is 50 million more than last year and 30 million less than the estimation for 1937—a "progressive" feature of the New Deal. \$45,500,000 is appropriated for aircraft, and an equal amount for dirigibles. 10 million was suggested for sea-coast defense. The air appropriation is for 565 planes. It is over these two items that most of the fuss is being made. The question of coast

defense means armed protection for the Pacific, looking forward to the expected war with Japan. Undoubtedly the vigilante-fostering interests of the West Coast are acting as a special pressure group in this instance, being, in a technical sense, most immediately affected. Dockweller, a California Democrat, was most ardent in championing increased moneys for the West Coast. "We are not," he said, "within 48% of the 1920 national defense act. . . ." altho this appropriation (an increase of 6 million) was "a step in the right direction." Congress, he said, could not dare pass any sort of neutrality bill because the nation could not defend such a policy.

The chairman, Parks, stressed the secrecy of these defenses, urging that more money be given and given quickly. "I cannot acquaint you with the details. There is no phase of our defense, (i.e. the coastal defense) the plans as to which are kept more secret . . . we found the conditions alarming. "The deficiencies are not in the nature of things that can be quickly provided, and if there is one place we need the material right on the ground and ready for use in the event of an emergency, I submit is as at the water's edge. That is one front line that must be maintained at all hazards."

Of course, the secret is no secret at all—the United States which simply loathes "autocracy and aggression," is secretly preparing for an imperialist war with Japan, a country which is eating at its markets in South America, and threatens the whole existence of American interests in China. This is not "aggressive autocracy," this

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THE February number of the "Typographical Journal" gives the answer of Charles P. Howard, Secretary of the Committee for Industrial Organization, to the decision of the Executive Council. Says the President of the International Typographical Union: ". . . It is no more illegal or unethical to conduct a campaign for organization on an industrial basis than it is to promote organization on a craft basis. . . ."

And in reply to the charge of dualism Howard insists that— "The charge of the council that led to dual organization or is a challenge to the supremacy of the A. F. of L. is equally unfounded. The work of the committee is educational to inspire organization of the workers in unorganized industries. Not one national, international, or local union has been organized or chartered by the committee in opposition to the A. F. of L. or any affiliated union. Until some group should be organized outside the federation there could not possibly be a dual movement."

And in reply to the demand for liquidation, he says that "unless the members of the committee can be convinced the activity in which we have engaged has been and will be harmful rather than beneficial to the nation's industrial workers the campaign of education for industrial organization will be continued."

I HAVE before me a circular sent to the members of the "Rank and File Group" of the Knitgoods Workers Union, calling them to a meeting at Irving Plaza on Monday February 3, and is signed "Executive Committee R. & F. Secretary, K. D."

It is quite a unique document these days and deserves attention. One paragraph reads: "It is regrettable that the officials of our union with the consent of the leadership of the Progressive Group have adopted a policy to give in to the demands of the bosses for wage cuts, reorganization and generally giving in to the manufacturers."

What is really regrettable is that particularly at a time when cooperation in a number of trade union situations is proceeding very well, and almost on the eve when negotiations with us were to begin the Rank and File should resort to such despicable and slanderous methods.

Under date of February 7, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. sent a letter "TO SECRETARIES OF STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR, CITY CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS AND DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS."

The whole document deals with and is a warning against the Committee for Industrial Organization. The most important however, is point 2 in the letter:

"2. The authority of the American Federation of Labor over state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly chartered federal unions is supreme. For this reason these organizations, chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor, cannot give allegiance, assistance or support to the Committee for Industrial Organization which attempts to usurp the functions of the American Federation of Labor."

There is dynamite in these lines. The craft unionist leaders who have been howling about the CIO splitting the A. F. of L. had better read the above lines very carefully—for they provide the basis for a split.

If the voting at Atlantic City convention means anything then there will be plenty of City Central Labor Unions and even State Federations who will disregard these violent and hysterical instructions on the ground that it violates the right of autonomy. What will the Council do? (Continued on Page 6)

Last—we hope, Ed is burdened by the ownership of nearly 320,000 acres in Scotland alone. Pile on top of this a tremendous number of unmovable possessions—interest, rents of all sorts accruing him from his ownership of "the mines of Gaul," and growing out of certain rights of medieval origin which he has to the "skins of savages" and meat of venison! The latter brings him an annual revenue of 200 pounds sterling. The entire Isle of Man in the Irish Sea belongs to Edward. Bathing beaches bring him considerable rent. The king is the greatest oyster grower in Great Britain. We reckon that is where he has developed a reputation as an authority on edible mollusks.

At the moment we will say nothing about His Majesty's income from such duchies as Lancashire and Cornwall; nor are we attempting to set any price on the Royal Castles and the immeasurable riches piled up therein. What liberal or conservative economist would venture to set a price on Buckingham Palace with its huge collection of ancient and modern paintings? The same can be asked about Windsor, Sandringham, and Balmoral. Suffice it so say that at Buckingham Palace the golden dishes alone are estimated to be worth a minimum of 2 million pounds and said to weigh five tons. It is reported that some pieces are so heavy that they require several men to carry them.

Six hundred thousand postage stamps, valued at least at 400,000 pounds sterling, were also left to Edward by that "lovable" father of his. In short, Edward VIII is much richer than the richest Rajah of his Indian Empire.

Now, liberal protester, let your imagination work a bit when you picture to yourself this simple democratic constitutional monarch of the mother of all parliaments.

'Peaceful America' Gets Biggest Army Budget

The cold cynicism of imperialism is being amply demonstrated in a suburb of Wall Street—Washington, D. C. For weeks, the Nye Committee elicited material on the role of finance capital in the last war that clearly substantiated the Leninist accusation of capitalism. Under the pressure of the war-fearing masses, the administration began to toy with the traditional American "neutrality" doctrine—leading the people by this path surely into defense of America's imperial interests. The vapor of this hypocrisy still beclouds the city while the Army Appropriations Bill is introduced into Congress.

The Bill, as introduced, is admittedly the largest request for military appropriations, introduced in this country in so-called peace time. The total is \$572,655,316. And the debate that is arising over this bill does not concern itself one whit with the increasing militarism of "peaceful" America, but with the "woeful smallness" of the appropriation, the meagreness of the force of America, the necessity for increased appropriations for coast-defense. All the great peace-loving liberals, the representatives of the people, are displaying their corrupt, bought nature.

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In the International Labor Movement

SPAIN GOES TO THE POLLS

By LEO

Our American readers have already received a report on the People's Front policy of the Communist Party of Italy. It is ready to support a monarchist government which aimed at overthrowing not the fascist system but Mussolini.

We now take up the election platform of the People's Front of Spain as one of the most recent opportunist manifestations of the People's Front policy.

Ever Worse—From Day to Day It goes without saying that the People's Front of France has inspired this election bloc and its program in Spain. The Spanish version of the People's Front, however, is far worse than its French model in its opportunist concessions to the bourgeoisie and in its rejection of revolutionary propaganda.

The "left" election bloc consists of the "Republican left", the "Republican Union", the Socialist Party, the Socialist Youth, the Communist Party, the reformist trade unions, the Syndicalists and the "United Marxist Workers Party."

This election platform is not merely a simple attempt at courting the bourgeois Republicans. The Republicans have seen to it that this platform comes out emphatically against the fundamental revolutionary and even reformist slogans of the workers and peasants. And the S.P. and the C.P. have swallowed this program.

The main points of the election program are:

1. An extensive amnesty; restitution of all civil rights denied to workers who participated in the October revolt.
2. Introduction of laws granting a certain degree of self-government of municipalities and the provinces; change in the regimen of the Cortes.
3. "Strict maintenance of the principle of authority."
4. A guarantee of the "independence" of the courts.
5. An investigation into the abuses and excesses committed by officials in connection with the suppression of the October revolution.

6. The platform is absolutely opposed to the expropriation without compensation of the large landed estates and their distribution to the poor peasants. Instead, there are a number of extremely inadequate proposals for reforms for the peasants, such as: lower taxes, reduction of exorbitant land rents and fees, increase of farm credits, higher prices for farm products, a new tenant-farmer law.

7. The platform is equally opposed to the nationalization of public and private banks. There is only talk of an improvement in state supervision over the Bank of Spain.

8. The slogan of "workers control" proposed by the Socialists is also vigorously rejected. In addition, the program rejects the institution of a state unemployment insurance system. The program merely speaks of minimum wages and the unification of private welfare agencies under the supervision of the state.

9. There are several points on the question of education.

Renouncing Revolutionary Demands

This election platform reveals the essence of the People's Front tactic in a poignant fashion. Under the slogan of the People's Front the workers parties have given up socialist propaganda; they are renouncing the most elementary revolutionary demands of the working class and the poor peasants, and even desisting from serious demands for reform.

The French People's Front has tacitly consented to drop any and all revolutionary demands by accepting a joint program that is a patchwork of miserable reformist demands which will prove most ineffective. The workers parties and organizations of Spain, however, have been forced to reject expressly the revolutionary expropriation of large landowners, the nationalization of the state bank, any socialist slogans in the field of industrial relations and even the introduction of a state unemployment insurance system.

A good bargain for the bourgeois Republicans—political suicide for the workers parties and trade unions.

The Agrarian Question

In order to understand the significance of this issue it is well to examine the question of the expropriation of the large estates.

In Spain the great mass of peasants and farm-hands are oppressed by the semi-feudal system of landownership, the Spanish nobility and the church. The expropriation of the large landowners would be the fundamental achievement of a bourgeois revolution which is yet to come. This is absolutely essential and necessary if the mass of peasants and farm hands are to be won for the revolution and for an alliance with the working class. The agrarian revolution in Spain, that is the expropriation without compensation of large landed estates and turning these over to the peasants is as fundamental a policy as it was in Czarist Russia.

The refusal of the Social Democracy when it formed part of the government to achieve an agrarian revolution is one of the most decisive factors which led to the reactionary course of the bourgeois revolution and to a situation in which the reactionaries are once again in control of the land. This fact plus the disillusionment of the peasants was likewise one of the major reasons why the October uprising did not receive the necessary backing from the peasants.

Playing Game of Reaction

The reactionary forces in Spain are ready to strike a fatal blow at the republic thru a coup d'etat. To reject a militant agrarian policy in the face of this situation because of fear of displeasing a section of the bourgeois republicans means nothing less than sacrificing the peasants for an alliance with a section of the liberal bourgeoisie—to disrupt the revolutionary alliance of the working class with the peasants. The imminent coup d'etat can be averted only by the revolutionary alliance of the workers with the peasants in extra-parliamentary actions. The rejection of the fundamental solution of the agrarian problem will lead to a passive attitude on the part of the peasants when the coup d'etat does come and to the isolation of the working class from the rest of the toiling masses. This is a typically Menshevik policy which Lenin fought for a decade and which is now being introduced by the C.P. of Spain with the blessings of the Communist International.

There is no further need to prove here that this election platform will disappoint the working class whose most elementary demands such as state unemployment insurance are rejected and the workers referred to private charity.

This election platform of the People's Front in Spain is a damning indictment of the People's Front tactic, that is, the alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie instead of a real alliance with the petty bourgeois and peasant masses. This indictment is of international significance in view of the attitude of the CP of Italy to the monarchy as a substitute for fascism.

January 22, 1936—

'PEACEFUL AMERICA'

(Continued from Page 5) efficiency. Of course, he guaranteed "a modest, fair profit," to industry, but there would have to be industrial controls. By this he meant the powers of price-fixing, power to commandeer, power to conserve materials and avoid waste, etc. In other words, the complete mobilization of the nation as a war-machine, open dictatorial powers for

Significance of Roosevelt Message to Congress

(Continued from Page 4)

the unwelcome Section 7a was whittled down until, at best, it came to mean practically nothing and, at worst, it began to prove assurance with which Roosevelt speaks in the name of "the Americas," what is it but a sort of "spiritual" Monroe Doctrine, a reflection of the sinister grip that United States imperialism has over Latin America? The picture of peace and good-neighborliness that he paints as characteristic of the western hemisphere is somewhat marred by such details as the recent Chaco war, the bloody dictatorship in Cuba, blessed by the State Department, or the brutal regimes in Central and South America, equally blessed by Wall Street. It does not seem to be good taste to mention these crude facts in the refined atmosphere of New Deal circles! The characteristically liberal analysis that Roosevelt makes of the international situation, separating the fascist from the democratic powers as the wicked wolves from the innocent lambs, is only a sign that, for the moment, American imperialism finds itself aligned with the "satiated" democratic states against the "hungry" despotic ones, especially Japan. Of such stuff is the president's new born pacifism made and he naturally does not find it hard to combine his noble exhortations against the "spirit of aggression" with a program of intensified military and naval armament such as he is sponsoring today!

In domestic affairs the situation is even more curious! Roosevelt inveigles with great indignation against the "financial and industrial groups" who, already exercising an "autocracy toward labor, toward stockholders and toward consumers," now want to establish their "autocratic (that is, fascist) hold over the government. He makes a touching plea for the "liberties of the people," for the "adjustment of burdens, the help of the needy, the protection of the weak, the liberation of the exploited. . . ." In other words, he appeals from big business to the masses of the people. But the record of the Roosevelt administration is hardly one to bear out such an appeal. Has the New Deal, in its policies, ever run counter to the interests of capitalism, or even to the narrower interests of big business? Careful investigators and publicists, such as John T. Flynn, Benjamin Stolberg and Louis Hacker, have shown what every intelligent worker is beginning to realize thru his own bitter experience, that, at every stage, the New Deal has attempted to express and to advance the interests of big business in the most effective way. In taking the country off the gold standard, Roosevelt had the blessing of J. Pierpont Morgan, who was the first to give public approval to this course. In sponsoring the NRA, he was, as I will show later in more detail, merely giving form and substance to the plans assiduously projected and championed by the United States Chamber of Commerce and other dominant capitalist groups. Even

the state—the army, in fact, to be the state.

The cost of the next war (and no it's about it) he estimated at about 10 billion a year! Already, 20,000 manufacturers' establishments have been surveyed and 12,000 have been allocated war tasks. There is no hesitancy on the part of the bourgeoisie in this field, nor does Roosevelt seem to have any troubles or differences with the "moneybags of Wall Street" on the question of militarization.

the appreciation of Thalheimer's book can only be heightened by comparing it with other works in the field, as for instance, those of Adoratsky and Rudas, those "giants" of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. Their effusions are outstanding products of the "quote-and-comment-on-other-peoples-works-school." This book is decidedly a work of another order, where the simplicity of treatment is deceiving, and represents not the slightest concession to oversimplification, but on the contrary reflects an extraordinarily skillful and original transmutation of a wide erudition on all matters involved, wedded to a thoro grasp of the method of dialectical materialism. This, as the translators say, with simple justice, places it squarely "in the tradition of Engels' works on dialectical materialism."

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BOOKS of the AGE

Thalheimer's "Introduction To Dialectical Materialism"

THALHEIMER, AUGUST. Introduction to Dialectical Materialism. Covici Friede.

By JIM CORK

The translation into English of Thalheimer's classic makes available to Marxist students the best introduction to the world conception of Marxism. The material in the book was originally given in the form of a series of lectures to students of the Sun-Yat-Sen University in Moscow in 1927. This fact inevitably molded the general character of the book. If, as the author acknowledges in his introduction, it compelled a certain brevity and simplicity in treatment which made an exhaustive survey out of the question, it resulted on the other hand in those very qualities which make it so superbly fitted to serve as an "Open Sesame" to the supposed mysterious "caverns" of dialectical materialism. The conversational intimacy of tone, the crystal clarity of its treatment make it the work, par excellence, for those uninitiated who are interested in beginning their study of the Marxist world view. This by no means excludes as gainers those who imagine themselves as initiates or even as experts in the field of dialectical materialism. They can learn much from this book.

The appreciation of Thalheimer's book can only be heightened by comparing it with other works in the field, as for instance, those of Adoratsky and Rudas, those "giants" of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. Their effusions are outstanding products of the "quote-and-comment-on-other-peoples-works-school." This book is decidedly a work of another order, where the simplicity of treatment is deceiving, and represents not the slightest concession to oversimplification, but on the contrary reflects an extraordinarily skillful and original transmutation of a wide erudition on all matters involved, wedded to a thoro grasp of the method of dialectical materialism. This, as the translators say, with simple justice, places it squarely "in the tradition of Engels' works on dialectical materialism."

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The services of Feuerbach (his materialist critique of Hegelian idealism, his naturalistic critique of religion) are put in their historical niche. The basic shortcoming of Feuerbach was his lack of understanding of dialectics. It remained for Marx and Engels to effect the epoch-making synthesis of materialism with dialectics, thus correcting the mechanical and anti-historical materialism of the idealogues of the French Revolution and of Feuerbach as well. In divorcing the dialectic from idealism, Marx and Engels broke a mesalliance in which the potentially powerful weapon of the dialectic was an all but impotent slave of an Absolute whose mystic irrational processes were as mysterious as creation itself. In wedding the dialectic to a firm materialistic outlook, Marx made of it an inestimable aid to man in his understanding of the real objective processes of nature and, as applied to history, a guide to social i.e. revolutionary change.

After this elucidation of the historical formation of the fundamental concepts of Marxism, follows a clear exposition of the main concrete features of dialectics, i.e., the theory of the permeation of opposites, of the negation of the negation, and of the transformation of quantity into quality, and finally an excellent summary of the Marxist theory of historical materialism.

The lectures on Indian and Chinese philosophy were given by Thalheimer because his students were Easterners. The relatively strange intellectual fare for westerners, its inclusion serves to indicate that in the East, as elsewhere, the basic philosophic alignments pertained. The short chapter on pragmatism which ends the book dealing in the main with Wm. James, serves to uncover the basic shortcomings of pragmatism from the Marxist point of view, its definite idealist implications, its fatal affiliation to empiricism, its lack of an objective measure for truth.

This bare skeleton outline of the matters treated cannot indicate the especial flavor of the book, its grasp of the method of dialectical materialism, the broad erudition, the skillful exposition, the happy illustrations, all of which combine to make it the outstanding Marxist work that it is.

Aside from a few minor grammatical slips, the translation is highly commendable, easy flowing and clear, retaining to a remarkable extent the conversational simplicity of tone and the clarity of the original. The translators and the publishers deserve a vote of thanks of every earnest student of Marxism.

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HAVE YOU GIVEN

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LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

Samuel Gompers—After 1900

(Continued from previous issue)

"We have lifted trade bans. This is surely enough. If it is too much may be a fair subject for discussion. But we have gone that far. Surely, democratic America will take no further step in compromise with an autocracy the like of which the world has never seen."

And it was at this very time that the Bolsheviks most needed the outspoken support of the international workingclass against the imperialists who were sending armed forces to overthrow them in the name of the democracy that Gompers was so ardently defending.

For many years Gompers had the idea of presiding over an international federation of labor, but his every attempt to form his kind of an international was frustrated by Socialists of one shade or another. "Amsterdam" after the war he found too "revolutionary", and withdrew from all contact with it.

In his last years he turned to Pan-America for larger conquests and was president of the Pan-American Federation of Labor until his death.

The Great Steel Strike of 1919 provides a striking example of how Gompers sabotaged the organization of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. William Z. Foster's failure brought on by Gompers and Tobin set back the organization of steel workers many years, and discouraged unorganized workers desirous of industrial unionism. When Foster finally turned to revolutionary principles, Gompers asked, "Isn't it a pity that such an intelligent fellow as Foster should make such an ass of himself?" Foster came back calling Gompers, "the arch reactionary, the idol of all holdbacks in the labor movement."

Gompers was a great "joiner". He was a member of innumerable bourgeois organizations, with pins and trinkets galore. He came to talk about America and Americanism not in terms of the great revolutionary tradition, but like an immigrant boy who has made good in the land of the free. The last few years of his life he filled with empty verbiage like the following on Washington's birthday, 1918: "America is not merely a name. It is not merely a land. It is not merely a country, nor is it merely a continent. America is a symbol; it is an ideal; the hopes of the

world can be expressed in the ideal-America." He asked that this message from him be read over his bier:

"Say to the organized workers of America that as I have kept the faith I expect that they will keep the faith. They must carry on. Say to them that a union man carrying a card is not a good citizen unless he upholds the institutions of our country, and a poor citizen of our country if he upholds the institutions of our country and forgets the obligations of his trade association."

His last words spoken on his death-bed were: "God bless American institutions. May they grow better day by day."

During the last few years of his life there was much talk among the leaders of the federation that Gompers was losing his grip. He was growing old but his prestige and his hold on his caucus kept him in office as long as he lived. He himself had primed Matthew Woll, the "crown prince" to succeed him, but John L. Lewis forestalled that and had the secretary of the mine workers, Green, elected instead. At the 1935 convention of the federation Lewis, with his attack on the National Civic Federation, practically assassinated Woll. That infamous organization of which Gompers was vice-president from the time of its inception in 1904, and Woll was merely carrying on in his master's footsteps. Lewis' attack was an attack on Gompers' principles, and it was significant truth uttered by Frey, one of Sam's most ardent supporters, during Lewis' attack: "The old federation of Gompers is dead."

And so it is. There is not a progressive leader, not a federationist in keeping with the present temper of the workers and with his ear to the ground in America, who does not now fight for industrial unionism, and the organization of the unorganized. The Committee on Industrial Organization recently formed with Lewis as its chairman is a split with Gompers' theory and practice. It is Green who now carries on in Gompers' name, and it is Green who stands forth as the most ineffectual leader in the federation. Compared to Sam, Green is a churning windmill. He has tried to carry waters on both shoulders; he has done things, while he protested doing them, he

has kowtowed to the New Deal. But there is more. Not only is craft-unionism on its last legs, but opposition to independent political action by labor is beginning to wobble too. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has seen the need for a

USSR Again Menaced By War In Far East

Soviet Consul Withdrawn From Mukden; Mixed Commission Being Set Up to Define Border

War clouds on the eastern horizon are again threatening. After numerous clashes provoked by Manchukuo troops, backed by the Japanese military, the Soviet Union has seen fit to express its indignation in a dramatic manner. The Soviet consul at Mukden, Manchukuo, has been recalled to Moscow, the Soviet Union stating that the frequent border clashes make the maintenance of a consulate unnecessary and useless.

Japanese authorities are worried by this step and hastily instructed their Ambassador in Moscow to accept what they have hitherto rejected—the setting up of a commission to define the borderline between the Soviet Union and Manchukuo.

In the meanwhile unprovoked raids and attacks by Manchukuan and Japanese troops on Outer Mongolian outposts are occurring regularly. The Soviet Union considers these as attempts to strike at it thru Outer Mongolia.

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.—On the home front the Council of People's Commissars has raised the price on wheat from 90 kopecks to a ruble and 20 kopecks per kilogram (about 220 pounds) in order to stimulate production of wheat.

In industry building trades will be required to increase their productivity beginning with March 15. While it is hoped that production will be stepped up 10% to 65%, wage increases announced for these categories of workers range from 25 to 100%.

In the far east Manchukuo, backed by Japan continues to trouble the Soviet Union. Demands by Manchukuo for the return of 100 soldiers who revolted and crossed the Soviet border where they were interned, were denied. The Soviets insisting that they have the right of asylum as political refugees.

The discussions in the French Chamber are being watched with interests but with slight doubt that the Stalin-Laval pact would be endorsed.

GREEN RULING DEFIED AGAIN

Radio Workers Organize National Union; Appeal To AFL Convention

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Another decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has now gone to increase the tension in the organized trade union movement.

The convention of the radio workers listened to a report of the committee which appeared before the Executive Council asking for an industrial union charter, and rejected the proposal of the Council that they join the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Instead the convention voted almost unanimously (one or two objecting) to set up a new international union along industrial line to be known as the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union of America.

The convention insisted that a craft organization cannot and will not take care of their interests. Furthermore that a craft organization will make it impossible to organize their industry.

However, the same convention went on record to continue the fight within the A. F. of L. and voted to appeal their case to the Tampa convention of the American Federation of Labor.

COURTS RULE ON PRESS

Supreme Court In Ruling On NY Milk Case and La. Press Laws

While the administration awaited a ruling on the Tennessee Valley Authority from the Supreme Court, the old boys filled in with decisions on milk price differentials and taxation of newspapers. The first case arose originally in New York state, where an arrangement had been made whereby Borden's, as a very large concern, was forced to price their milk 1c higher than that of smaller concerns.

It is really amazing to note how easily the whole content of the agreement and the decision was inverted. What actually happened was that Borden's, able to reach many consumers thru its vast resources for advertising, was permitted to continue selling its milk at a higher price. The capitalist press however, emphasized the fact that the smaller concerns were permitted to undersell—very nice, until you start figuring up how many people know of other, cheaper milk brands.

Under the guise of maintaining the standards of a free press, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a Louisiana state tax on advertising income of newspapers. The majority decision was filled with liberal blah about democracy and the "free" press, quotations from which were plastered all over the front page by the vast corporations that control the newspaper game like Scripps-Howard, the Associated Press (which still refuses to reinstate Watson fired for union activity) and others. The decision actually releases these people from additional taxation, and thus is just as much in the service of capitalism as any action of the government or the Supreme Court. A possible added factor, in this case, may have been the very complicated situation that has arisen concerning the Long machine, its new relations with the administration, its past history.

**Have You Contributed
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Knitgoods Joint Council Strikes Runaway Shops; Gains Made

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union is now engaged in a series of strikes in Brooklyn and out of town, as follows: Nomin Knitting Mills, Manchuk, Pa.; Knitwear, Kingston, N. Y.; Manny Morris, Riverside, N. J.; Unger & Wolfson, Lebanon, Pa.; Premier Knitting Mills, No. Bergen, N. J.; Madison Knitting Mills, Brooklyn, N. Y.; International Knitting, Brooklyn, N. Y.

This is quite a list. It shows the union is wide awake. It is no accident that the manufacturers at this time are doing their damndest to again establish open shop standards. It is very important that union members know and understand the forces that encourage the bosses to demand wage-cuts and create difficulties for the union.

Since the Supreme Court has declared the NRA unconstitutional, the manufacturers in all industries have unleashed a wage-cutting drive and, a campaign of union smashing.

In most of the unorganized open shops, the profit-hungry bosses have already grabbed the benefits from the anti-labor decision of the

Green Demands Silicosis Probe

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Addressing himself to the members of the House Labor Committee, William Green, President of the A. F. of L. called for an investigation of the silicosis deaths at Gauley Bridge.

"The fact," said Green's letter, "that 476 men have died and 1500 others are dying is in the opinion of labor, sufficient reason why this investigation should be held."

GESTAPO GETS FREE HAND

"Be Ruthless" Is Order Of Hitler Given To Secret Police

As the external situation of the Third Reich becomes worse with the straining of relations because of the arming of the Rhineland, and the more frequent talk of Hitler's demand for the return of the colonies lost during the world war, the more intense becomes the preparations for war. In turn the conditions of the broad masses of the German people are constantly forced down to make possible a sufficiently great military outlay. Dissatisfaction is therefore increasing thruout the Reich.

Also within the very mass organizations of the Nazis disaffection is rife because of the almost complete shift of authority and responsibility to the army coupled with the simultaneous slashing of the powers of the storm troop organizations (S.A. and S.S.) and because of widespread disillusionment with the Nazi program.

The result has been the increasing dependence upon the secret police rather than civil authorities who have proven themselves incapable of uprooting the underground organizations of the proletarian and religious oppositions. The recent announcement from Berlin that Goering's dreaded Gestapo (Secret Police) is to have full authority over Germany is an accurate indication of the extremely unstable base upon which the Nazi regime rests.

GOV. CHARGES GANG PRESSURE

Legislature in Uproar As Lehman Attacks Crime Bill Defeat

ALBANY, N. Y.—The war against crime launched by Governor Lehman in this session of the legislature in the form of a whole series of bills, now threatens to embroil the Governor in a bitter war with both majority and minority leaders—among these his own party colleagues.

Angered by the defeat of a number of bills which he considered as essential in his program, and which incidentally organized labor fought against, such as fingerprinting bills, etc.—the Governor hurled the charge of gang-control against the lower house. In what is said to be the sharpest and most daring condemnation of his opponents the Governor said, among other charges that "powerful groups in this state have determined to kill as much of the anti-crime program as they dare. There are forces which apparently are much more interested in keeping crime safe for the criminal than in protecting law-abiding citizens."

That there are direct channels between crime and the big politicians—city and state—is not exactly hot news. What is news is to have the Governor of the state announce it to the world.

A number of members of the legislature close to Tammany Hall are feeling strangely uncomfortable and mutterings of impeachment have been heard. Senator McNaboe, a pillar of Tammany Hall, remarked that he had "not had any orders from Tammany Hall, from any Tammany leader or from any gang or gangster." These are of course strange statements to be made by such a leading legislator but apparently he believes that Tammany Hall is the subject, of the Governor's ire and rises nobly to its defense as a true brave of the wigwam. Similarly, Mr. Ives, speaker of the Assembly, launched an attack against the Governor in defense of the Republican majority in the House. He called upon the Governor to name "if he dares" these groups that are blocking his crime bills.

SOIL ACT BEING DEBATED NOW

Discussion Centers On Sources of Funds For Benefit Payments

Discussion still rages hot and heavy over the Soil Conservation Act which the administration is putting forward in place of the defunct AAA. A certain frankness, if not clarity, has entered at this stage—most of the debating concerns, not the question of capitalism and agriculture, but money to pay the benefits and where it's to come from. This is one of the central problems, and apparently is being answered by increased income tax burdens on the lower categories, and extension of the excises of farm products to include beef, oats and other items. Even the staid New York Times does not hesitate to point out that the excises are a kind of federal "sales tax," which in the last fiscal year constituted 45% of all government revenues.

At the same time, the administration has been forced to take cognizance of the widespread protests, resulting in some cases in housewives' strikes, against the sky-high prices of meats, vegetables, and other commodities. So, while they consider new excises which the consumer pays thru higher prices, the "liberal" senator of "the peepul," Wagner, begins to raise very seriously the question of consumer protection as an amendment to the Soil Conservation Act. The amendment proposes that "the powers under this act shall be used to encourage voluntary action calculated to result in the establishment . . . of the ratio between the purchasing power of the net income per person on farms and that of persons not on farms that prevailed during the five-year period 1909-1914 inclusive. . . ."

Thus, nothing more than a bit of "moral" persuasion is handed to the Secretary of Agriculture, to consider, on some off day, the possibility of arriving at a pre-war ratio, which the chronic crisis of capitalism makes impossible. Consumer protection must begin with a recognition of the fact that the Roosevelt policies of crop curtailment effect higher prices, the profits going to the middlemen and the processors. On this basis a line of struggle can be worked out, whereby the farmers can fight jointly with the workers against high prices for commodities while continuing a struggle for farmers' benefits. Consumer protection is a joke in the form presented by Wagner. Even a perfect law would mean nothing without constant vigilance on the part of the trade unions and the farm organizations.

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