

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 20.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY MAY 16, 1936.

5 Cents a Copy

THE C. P. O. MARCHES ON MAY FIRST



The Communist Party (Opposition) enters Day Demonstration. The extended fists of workers Union Square, taking its place in the ranks of the greet the contingent, headed by the organization New York workers who paraded in the United May banner, and the Red Flag Brigade of the youth.

Steel Convention Weighs Conflicting Proposals

Belief Is Strong That The CIO Proposal Has Good Chance Of Adoption; Craft Unionists Begin To Split The Ranks By Separate Drive.

The steel workers convention meeting here in Cannonsburg, Pa. is faced with the gravest problem which may have a bearing also on the whole future of the American Federation of Labor.

The convention, having before it the original proposal of the Committee for Industrial Organization offering funds and organizers for the organization of the steel industry provided the drive is conducted along industrial lines, elected a committee to study the problem. The committee appeared before the Executive Council of the

S. P. OLD GUARD TO BACK F. D.

Prepare To Support Him Thru "Real" Democratic Party

At a conference of the Old Guard caucus it was decided to definitely work for a split at the forthcoming national convention of the SP in Cleveland. Since the charter was lifted from the Old Guard, and they were repudiated in the primaries, it became clear that their hope lay either in a new organization of their own or in the role of an adviser to a Labor Party. The latter not being forthcoming, the Old Guard will set about to call a New York state convention in June or July to consider the formation of a national "social-democratic" party.

Waldman, leader of the right-wing caucus, has already clearly delineated the role of this league, even preparing the ground for the support of Roosevelt. In a statement issued after the faction caucus, he stated that: "Personally I admire President Roosevelt and I have said publicly that if I could not support a Socialist candidate, I would support him."

And of course, the Old Guard "cannot" support any candidate put up by the Militants, in any shape or form. Thus, the extreme rights within the socialist movement tend to the completion of their course, in carrying out the policy of the "lesser evil."

DOUBLE-CROSSED!

Oklahoma got itself twisted on just how to carry out a policy of race discrimination against Negroes. When Caleb Peterson, a New York Negro, appeared in Oklahoma City to take part in the National Forensic Contest, the goatee'd drawling Southern gentlemen went into a huddle for the protection of the hearth, home, and Southern womanhood. These cavaliers then arrived at the following solution. All contestants were to leave the stage while Peterson spoke, so that Southern culture could remain contaminated.

Only one thing went wrong. Petersen won the contest by unanimous acclaim.

A. F. of L. and the latter responded with a letter to the convention offering assistance for an organization drive but laying down two conditions: the Committee for Industrial Organization must be kept out and the Amalgamated must not insist on the industrial form of organization.

In a reply to the convention John L. Lewis lashed out against the Executive Council. "The Amalgamated," said Lewis, "is at the cross roads" and holds within its hand "the economic destinies of the workers in the steel industry." Lewis further pointed out that the Council proposal without setting aside its claim of jurisdiction over the whole industry.

While the convention was weighing the two proposals before it the United States Steel Corporation announced a grant of two weeks vacation with pay to every worker with 5 or more years of service. This is obviously an attempt to weaken the planned organization drive. At the same time the Amalgamated Association of Machinists promptly proceeded to split the ranks of the steel workers by starting an independent organization drive in crafts under its jurisdiction.

Progressives are making a strong stand and it is expected that the proposal of the CIO will be adopted. There is no doubt that this situation still further strains relations between the Council and the CIO unions.

BRITISH POLICE IN TEL-AVIV

The Arabs are continuing a general strike in Palestine, with the young Arabs demanding more militant action on the part of their nationalist leaders. A memorandum was submitted by the Arabian chiefs to the British foreign office, demanding the application of restrictions on immigration and land grants to the Jews, as the only solution to the Palestine problem.

Incendiarism began to spread as an anti-Jewish weapon in various sections of the country, villages and orchards being burned by the Arabs. The British police were ordered out on a "collective punishment" ordinance which means the suppression of both Jews and Arabs. Especially could this be directed against any attempt at common action against British Imperialism.

AUTO UNION TO BEGIN DRIVE

Organization By Union Made First Task As Convention Ends

By SIDNEY JONES

The problem of organizing all auto workers in one powerful, all-inclusive industrial union, affiliated with the AFL was the main issue of the second convention of the International Union, the United Automobile Workers of America, held in South Bend, Indiana, April 27 to May 2. All resolutions and speeches were related to this main issue—the organization of the unorganized. It was from this angle that the discredited dictator of the union, ex-President Francis J. Dillon, appointed by Green at the last convention, was not even nominated to succeed himself because he failed in the main job of organization. This is also one of the reasons why young, energetic Homer Martin, a former Kansas City preacher, was unanimously elected by all the convention delegates as their general president. Many of the delegates told him, "We are giving you our votes and confidence. You go ahead and show what you can do in organizing and uniting all auto workers into our union." That's why, after the election of general officers in whom the membership have confidence, they will be able to do a real job in the field of organization. They adopted a resolution on unity, inviting all the independent unions, even if special consideration will

(Continued on Page 2)

Conquest of Ethiopia Wrecks League

Crack-Up Of Alignments Will Follow For The Small Nations

Italy has made formal announcement of the annexation of Ethiopia, the last piece of land independent of imperialism on the African continent. Hamstrung in its own defense by the burdensome feudal order under which it groaned, the Ethiopian kingdom made the wild barbaric gestures of an independent primitive people, defending themselves against the cruel machine-armies of modern "civilization." No bones were made by Fascist Italy and its bull-throated dictator, Mussolini, that this was an imperialist war. With a callousness indicative of this latter-day imperialism, his justification for this ruthless conquest was the history of the "powers"—France and England, who gained their empire in precisely this fashion. Mussolini's statements on this score can hardly be denied. Thus, the military conquest of Ethiopia tears away the veil of hypocrisy, exposing not merely Fascism, but British and French Imperialism, both of which had hoped to pose as defenders of the peace.

Within the orbit of the League of Nations, those capitalist states, such as are in the Little Entente, and the Balkan group now are beginning to distrust the ability of France primarily, and also England, to defend them against be-

ing swallowed by Hitler Germany. The League, merely an arena in which French and British capital maintained hegemony over and against all others, and struggled against each other for further gains, has failed on precisely the issue that bound the "satellites" to it—i.e., either France or Britain. If no decisive action was taken to defend British interests in Africa (under the cover of the "freedom of Ethiopia"), if there was no basis of agreement on this question between France and England, then for Czechoslovakia and the other countries, there is no guarantee of protection.

This disintegration of the League undoubtedly signifies its finish on the field of imperialist diplomacy. It can no longer be the dominant force of the post-war decade. This means that, in practice, the smaller countries will tend to gravitate either around Soviet Russia, as a consistent defender of their interests, or bolt over to the Nazi camp. Certainly a great impetus will be given to the pro-German elements in the Polish bourgeoisie.

SHERRILL HAILS MUSSOLINI

General Sherrill, of the U. S. Army, has added to his "reputation" as a pro-fascist. Having led the fight for America's participation in the Nazi Olympics, he now displayed his internationalism by sending a congratulatory telegram to Mussolini on the seizure of Ethiopia.

Union Organization Is Keynote of Auto Confab

(Continued from Page 1)

man, and others, to act as advisors and speakers, (3) in every auto center an organization committee is to be set up with the assistance of the general officers, (4) the general officers and the Executive Board are to try to get volunteer organizers to assist the District Councils and local unions in carrying out the organization drive; (5) a campaign to give the widest publicity to this drive; (6) the help of all liberal, civic, fraternal, and foreign language groups is to be enlisted; (7) \$250,000 is to be raised to carry on this organization drive, of which \$75,000 is to be raised by the International Union and an appeal is to be sent out to every AFL International Union, especially those connected with the CIO whose interest lies in the organization of the mass production industries; (8) to request the aid of all local, central, and state bodies of organized labor to assist in this drive; and (9) to establish a research and educational department to help out in this work.

Organization Plan
The most important resolution was presented in the report of the committee on organization—containing a plan on how to organize all the auto workers in U. S. and Canada. This resolution instructs the Executive Board (1) to start a nation-wide organization drive right after the convention, (2) to assist in this drive an invitation is to be sent to the outstanding leaders of the AFL, Wm. Green, Lewis, Dubinsky, Howard, Hillman, Gor-

UNION CALLS TO FREE MOONEY

The United Automobile Workers Union, assembled in convention last week at South Bend, Indiana, unanimously passed a resolution demanding the immediate release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. The convention also voted to endorse the proposal of the California State Federation of Labor to make July 22—the twentieth anniversary of the frame-up—National Tom Mooney Day when meetings and demonstrations are to be held in attempt to affect the release of Mooney and Billings.

The resolution (No. 202), printed below, was introduced by Lester Washburn, Local 53, Lansing, Michigan; Albert A. Woodruff, Local 55, Lansing, Michigan; John North, Local 133, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Arnold B. Coxhill, Local 113, Muskegon, Michigan; Charles M. Bowers, Local 87, Muskegon, Michigan; Henry C. Kahle, Local 62, Jackson, Michigan.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union of North America for 33 years, has been imprisoned by the state of California for close to 20 of the best years of his life on a life imprisonment sentence on the foulest frame-up conspiracy ever recorded in all history of American jurisprudence; and

WHEREAS, This monstrous frame-up conspiracy against Thomas J. Mooney was conceived, inspired, directed and executed and paid for by the hirelings and agents of the California non-union shop employers, particularly the public utilities corporations of San Francisco, which had direct control of the district attorney's office and police department as is being proved in the present hearing in his petition for a writ of habeas corpus from the California courts; and

WHEREAS, The real motive behind this outrageous conspiracy is class fear and class hatred of Thomas J. Mooney, because of his aggressive, militant activity in the California trade union movement and his undying loyalty and devotion to the working class; and

WHEREAS, All of the living judges, jurors, commissions, etc., who originally heard and investigated his case have either demanded his pardon or branded his trial as a frame-up, as have hundreds of thousands of public officials and members of trade union organizations;

man, and others, to act as advisors and speakers, (3) in every auto center an organization committee is to be set up with the assistance of the general officers, (4) the general officers and the Executive Board are to try to get volunteer organizers to assist the District Councils and local unions in carrying out the organization drive; (5) a campaign to give the widest publicity to this drive; (6) the help of all liberal, civic, fraternal, and foreign language groups is to be enlisted; (7) \$250,000 is to be raised to carry on this organization drive, of which \$75,000 is to be raised by the International Union and an appeal is to be sent out to every AFL International Union, especially those connected with the CIO whose interest lies in the organization of the mass production industries; (8) to request the aid of all local, central, and state bodies of organized labor to assist in this drive; and (9) to establish a research and educational department to help out in this work.

For Labor Party
There were also other questions discussed by the convention such as the resolution of a Farmer-Labor Party which was adopted unanimously, the union's delegates to the next A.F.L. Convention being instructed to speak and vote for an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor Party. Also this was done with the idea in mind that it would help out in many localities in organizing the auto workers, especially in those cities where workers are disgusted with the city administrations which are openly dominated by the management of the auto plants. The same applies to the issue of industrial unionism which was discussed more at this than at any other convention of any union.

The main argument of Wm. Green, in his speech to the convention, was that an industrial union can be built only through a slow, evolutionary process as it took many years for the United Mine Workers to get it, and that the situation should not be aggravated by the union trying to take in people who belong to the other unions. However in the replies of the delegates—in the form of resolutions adopted unanimously at the convention—they made it very clear that they are 100% for industrial unionism in all mass production

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED: That this second convention of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America declare its full and complete belief in the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney, and together with other American Federation of Labor unions denounce with wrathful indignation the original framers of this foul conspiracy and every other public official who aided or abetted, by deeds or words of encouragement towards the continuation of this monstrous frame-up;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That this convention support the movement inaugurated by the California State Federation of Labor to declare July 22, 1936—the twentieth anniversary of the frame-up—as National Tom Mooney Day and to pledge the cooperation of our union in this activity to further the release of Mooney and Warren K. Billings, his co-defendant;

AND BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED: That telegrams of encouragement to Brother Mooney be sent by this convention, along with a telegram of protest to Governor Merriam of California demanding the immediate release of Mooney and Billings.

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED!



Union News Service

industries. They requested the AFL Convention to change the charter of their International to allow for the inclusion of all auto workers, including those in the parts plants.

Resolutions were also adopted demanding the freedom of Tom Mooney and support of the movement for a national Tom Mooney day, July 22, which will be the 20th anniversary of the frame-up of Mooney and Billings. Other resolutions which were adopted were for the defense of civil rights, for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, boycott of the Olympics in Germany, an endorsement of the La Follette Senate Committee investigating industrial spies and a demand on the government to outlaw such agencies. Also many progressive changes were made in the constitution to give the membership controlling power of the organization.

Contradictory Actions
On three questions the South Bend Convention of the auto workers was contradictory to the otherwise progressive proceedings and activity. First, in granting permission to Father Coughlin, considered an enemy of the AFL, to deliver a demagogic speech for industrial unionism at a semi-official banquet which was arranged by the South Bend locals for the convention delegates. Especially was it bad because Father Coughlin had recently begun to lose stand-

MORE MAY DAY GREETINGS

- Irving Plotnick
- Puchiny
- Nathan Silverberg
- Lucian Elsen
- Dave Gassuci
- Louis Cohen
- Tatrow
- Jack Goldstein
- William Blank
- Kappelson
- H. Elazaroff
- Dressmaker
- George Barkow
- Julius Weinzman
- Julius Betcher
- R. Z. L. R.
- Jennie Silverman
- Cheskins

JOIN COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)
51 West 14th Street
New York City

On the LABOR FRONT

By a STAR LABOR REPORTER

(Reprinted by permission of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee.)

After 12 weeks of proposals, counter-proposals and apparent deadlock, the conference of the anthracite operators and representatives of the U.M.W.A. reached an acceptable compromise. Whereas the miners had demanded a wage increase, and the operators had proposed a 22½% decrease, the final decision was for maintenance of the status quo. A seven hour day, and five day week was the proposal adopted as against the union demand for a thirty hour week. This however will become effective only in the second year of the two year contract, provided bootlegging of coal is eliminated. The system of equalization of work, to provide for some sort of relief for the 40,000 unemployed miners was accepted in principle by the operators.

While these are the general terms of the agreement, full details will have to be worked out by a joint commission. Both parties agreed to the creation of a "stabilization" committee which will work for an "anthracite Guffey Bill."

LS.U. Drops Injunction

The "truce" arranged by both factions of the International Seamen's Union, was rejected by the Executive Board of the International, and by the mass meeting of the strikers' union suit by the officials of the union against Curran's use of the union's name in the strike was dropped when a "star witness" for the union, testified while wearing a suit of clothes stolen from one of the strikers. He also admitted serving three terms in a Colorado reformatory. The I.S.U., immediately dropping this plea, will continue the fight thru the Federal Trade Commission in an effort to oust the Curran-Bridges militant leadership. Both these men were served with papers, thru the Commission, to cease publishing organs bearing the name of the union, altho Bridges is certainly a bona fide leader of the West Coast Maritime Federation, including the I.S.U.

Green Supports Roosevelt

Before the quarterly meeting of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. took action on the question of the presidential elections, William Green, speaking at the Women's Trade Union Council, came out for the re-election of Roosevelt. Two weeks ago he had sent a letter attacking the relationship of the CIO to the Labor Non-Partisan League, and advising all unions to await the national conventions in order to study the platforms and candidates of the respective parties. However, since the biggest unions in the Federation, especially those connected with the industrial union bloc, have come out so dramatically for Roosevelt's re-election, Green had to do something in the same direction, even tho weakly.

BRADLEY'S CAFETERIA

SEASONABLE FOOD AT REASONABLE PRICES
6th Ave. at 14th Street

THE STORY OF TOM MOONEY

By a STAR LABOR REPORTER

(Reprinted by permission of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee.)

TOM'S voice fell upon my ears first some six years ago. It may have been more than six. I was a labor reporter at that time for an evening newspaper. I heard Tom Mooney make an appeal for miners on strike somewhere in the West. I don't remember where that strike was, but if I were to go out to the Penitentiary this afternoon and ask Tom, he would be able to tell me. He remembers all of the troubles of the working people. I haven't got time to go up to the prison today, however. Besides it doesn't really matter just where that miners' strike took place. It was only one of the many struggles the miners of the West have had to take up a fight for—I was going to say a place in the sun—for little of the brightness and deceptions of life.

I remember very clearly the speech Tom made for those miners and their women and children. The scene was at the weekly meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council. Mooney was a delegate from the Molders' Union. The hall was packed with men of all trades, men who built the city, men who fed the city, men who clothed the city, men who labored with hammers far up in the clouds, men who sweated in the sombre depths of steamers, men who drove great drays through the streets, men who worked naked in the furnace-like kitchens of restaurants, men who went down to the sea in ships. Women were there, too—laundry girls, waitresses, garment workers. In the center of the floor was a long table for newspaper reporters, among whom was yours truly in all the blush and bloom of youth and beauty.

Everybody listened to the secretary, who was reading aloud communications. He came to a letter from the miners. It was a request for financial aid. The company had driven them out of their homes, which belonged to the company. The miners and their families were camping on the hillsides. Money was wanted for tents and food.

It was not a long letter. It was not brilliantly written. No attempt was made to play on the feelings. It was a plain, matter-of-fact letter sent by miners. There was no whine in it.

Somebody got up and pointed out that the Council's treasury was very low at this time and he didn't see how they could give anything to these people, though he was in sympathy with them and hoped they would win. The charity-begins-at-home delegates stood up and had their say: very sorry for these brothers; I'm with them all right; but their own state ought to take care of them; we have troubles of our own. The letter-of-the-law members wanted to know whether these miners were properly affiliated. What seal was on the communication? Was this strike duly sanctioned by the officials? Who are these men?

Tom Mooney took the floor. I didn't know his name at that time. He was a new delegate. We looked around when he raised his voice and saw a clean-cut young fellow, broad in the shoulders, with black, flashing eyes. He had washed his hands as hard as he could after his day's work, but still they were not clean. An iron worker, especially a molder, finds it mighty hard to get all the dirt off his hands, unless he is thrown into jail where time wears it off. He used his hands a lot while he spoke. Sometimes the fists were clenched; sometimes the palms were spread out in appeal.

For fifteen minutes Tom Mooney spoke. Behold, that far-off mining country rose before us under the toiled-stained hands! His voice was a cry from the wilderness. The anguish of the women, the woe of the children, the deep purple anxiety of the miners, all this we found in the young molder's voice. We heard the gunmen tramping into their little homes. We saw the miners and their families driven out into the roads. We heard the sobbing of the women, the whimpering of the little ones, the muttering of the workers, the yells of the armed agents of the mine barons. We saw the highways littered with the poor belongings of those families. We saw the frayed household things, looking so sorry in the broad light of noon. We saw the tattered bedroom articles of which the good wife was ashamed, the set-up furniture so miserable in the open roadway, the worn-out effects she had hoped the neighbors would never see. We saw the outcasts struggling out to the hillsides. We saw them putting up their rude shelters on the black sweep of the mountains, the men shouting brave words of cheer, the women frightened before the fist of calamity. We saw them in the dusk out there on the hills, looking down on their desolated homes—the raw earth their winds to whistle lullabies for their young. Pariahs all! Wives, babes, grandmothers with silver hair, thin youngsters of frail health, men, tired and careworn, sitting beside the old women who bore them—all pariahs, all homeless. We saw through Tom Mooney's eyes, the night come down upon these people. Then, out of the black bulk of the mine properties, searchlights flared! The powerful lamps cut through the gloom, swift moving

swords of light. Far and near the searchlights hunted, quick, alert, weird, menacing, the cruel eyes of the masters, the glaring eyes of greed! We saw the searchlights hesitating on the hillside camps, on the white faces of the women, on the blanched faces of the children, on the angry faces of the miners, on all the tattered, frayed, shabby household things of the outcasts. The flashing, reaching, pointing searchlights gave the scene a war aspect.

War it was, cried Mooney. War upon our people. War upon me and mine! War upon the family of Toil of which we, you, I, all of us are members. War upon our women, upon our children, upon our brothers in travail! These be our brothers, our sisters, our little ones, though we are separated by mountain ranges! Their fight is our fight, their enemies ours, their sorrows our, their pains yours and mine!

This ironworker's voice reached into our hearts and played upon the throats of our sympathies. There was a lump in my throat that I couldn't swallow. My eyes got full, and I was wishing the Council hall was dark, as in a movie show, where your neighbor can't see when you're stirred by some deep trouble on the screen.

What the outcome of that strike was I do not know. But the next time I go out to the Penitentiary, I will ask Tom. He will tell me through the bars how these miners made out. He keeps track of such things. He cuts them out and pastes them in scrapbooks. If he had not given so much attention to other people's troubles, he would not be locked up in a steel cage today, sentenced to be hanged by the neck. And for something he has no more to do with than an infant that may have been born in that hillside camp of miners.

When Tom had finished speaking the request of those miners for financial help was not tabled. Money was voted to them, and a good sum at that.

Now, I don't mean to say that Tom got off any fancy oratory like a lawyer or a politician. He isn't built that way. The talk of a lawyer or a politician comes, as a rule, from the head. They can say things which they do not feel at all. Tom's speech came from his heart. At times it was not smooth; he stumbled for words because there was so much surging in him. But he didn't stumble often. His sympathies imagination showed him that community of troubled miners just as clearly as if he were living in the spot. He felt their problems as if he were living in them. When he said these are my people, O the understanding in his voice! When he said their pains are ours, O the depth of feeling, the breadth of sympathy he put into that!

I said to myself there and then, I don't know who you are, old chap, but you've got altogether too much soul for a workingman. Men like you have been jailed, crucified, shot and hanged throughout the ages by the masters. I got well acquainted with Tom Mooney after that. I have seen him in many aspects.

Mooney in the foundry, in the dust and gloom and steam and smoke, almost naked to the waist, carrying the long ladle full of liquid metal, which sizzled and spattered and sent out showers of sparks like miniature fireworks. "Pouring off," the molders call it. Mooney during the noon hour, eating his lunch on a pile of burnt wooden moldings outside the shop. Mooney trudging home from work at night, just one of the homeward-bound army toilers, his face blackened, little sweat streaks through the smudge, his clothing singed and seared from metal sparks. Mooney, the student, bent over books at night, his eyes aglow with visions, happy visions of Labor's future, visions of Labor enlightened, Labor brave with consciousness of its importance and power in the world, Labor no longer groping in the dark, Labor almighty, Labor the Master of the House of the world and no more the beggar at the gate. Mooney, the speaker on public platforms, in the halls of Labor, at National conventions, on street corners during strikes, at defense leagues for workingmen; Mooney speaking for John Lawson the miner; Mooney crying out against the Ludlow massacre, against Calumet, the Cherry mine disaster, the Triangle shirtwaist fire, the robbery of the Danbury hatlers, the shooting of Joe Hill, the Lawrence mill strike prosecutions, the imprisonment of Ford and Suhr, the West Virginia mine injustices, the Coal and Iron Cossacks of Pennsylvania; Mooney, the industrial outlaw, the foundry doors closed to him, walking the streets a marked man, black-listed, feared, hated, turned away from door after door, Mooney the son, cuddling his aged mother, soothing her fears, joshing, laughing, rollicking, cutting capers around her, sporting with her at picnics, springing jokes at her in halls, packing her off to movie shows. Mooney the strike organizer, attempting to organize the underpaid platform men of the United Railroads, the most powerful financial and political force in San Francisco. He was arrested on the principal street after having tied up the cars by calling off motormen.

Mooney and three other union men, a few days after the failure of the car strike, charged by a United Railroads detective with being responsible for the Preparedness bomb outrage. Mooney, con-

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MOONEY FOR PRESIDENT



The Mooney Float demanding the freedom of labor's great martyr, and calling on the workers to unite on a Labor Ticket with Mooney for President, is acclaimed on May First.

CASE AGAINST MOONEY WEAK, FORMER PROSECUTOR ADMITS

San Francisco.—After declaring that he had made numerous moves for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings because the recantations of the chief witnesses had weighed heavily upon him, James F. Brennan, chief prosecutor of the latter class war prisoner in 1916 and at present a contender for the Republican Congressional nomination, tried to pin the blame for the threatening and anonymous post cards which were sent to the police on the eve of the Preparedness Day parade upon Tom Mooney.

This preposterous charge has never been leveled even by the District Attorney's office. Thus it was easy to see whence the wind blew in his testimony.

Brennan, many times an occupant of a State Assembly seat, went so far as to cite Mooney's resolutions before the Labor Council and the Molders' Union, warning the workers to stay away from the parade for fear some violence might be perpetrated and then blamed upon the unions. But having arrived at this point, Brennan turned tail upon the inescapable implications of his testimony and expressed himself as of the opinion that this proved Mooney had some previous knowledge of the explosion.

His interpretation hardly squares with his attempt to secure a pardon for Mooney and Billings, it

was felt by impartial observers. It will be remembered that Brennan had his own doubts as to the veracity of the witnesses who subsequently retracted their testimony.

Earlier in the hearings, it was disclosed by Draper Hand, a member in 1916 of the San Francisco Bomb Bureau and one of the original frame-up gang, that Brennan had felt that "they had the wrong men," that it would be too difficult to incriminate Mooney. Brennan denied this, but acknowledged that he had been accused of half-heartedness in the prosecution.

Successfully the dangers facing us through a united and determined membership. With our ranks closed and unity of all militant forces within our Union established we are in a position to defeat our bosses, to maintain our old gains and to win new ones.

It is unfortunate that up until now an inner strife has been going on in our Union. This strife found sharp expression at various occasions.

If a letter that was issued by the Rank and File to their members has created the impression among any of the Union members that the intention of the Rank and File Group was to charge our Union or its leadership as "betrayers" or that the policy of our Union is one of capitulation to the employers, we wish to state categorically now as we have stated on former occasions at membership meetings and elsewhere that such was not our intention. It is our opinion that in general policy the Joint Council has waged a struggle against the attacks of the employers. Though we state that in several instances we disagree completely with the policy purued in certain shops.

Furthermore, if in any manner the letter gives rise to any illusions that the Rank and File Group calls upon workers to bring shop problems to the office of the Rank and File, we state that such was not our intention and that all Union problems must be brought to the office of the Union.

It is a well known fact that the letter has served as a cause celebre to keep our ranks divided, we hope that now once and for all we will sweep aside this obstacle and march ahead to unity. Let us forget the shortcomings and mistakes of the Rank and File Group as well as the Progressives and unite our hands in the struggle for a stronger Union.

Executive Committee Rank and File Group
Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union

Rank and File in Knitgoods Union Issues Statement

Statement of the Rank and File Group of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union.

Sisters and Brothers: Very difficult problems are now facing our union. Unemployment is mounting, run away shops and out of town present a very serious problem, only a few weeks are left until the expiration of our agreement, the knitgoods manufacturers have started a drive against our Union by viciously attacking our conditions in the shops and by resorting to arrests and frame ups. How can we successfully meet the challenge of our employers? By immediately starting an all around mobilization of our entire membership to beat back the onslaught on our living conditions and to prepare to fight for a new and better agreement for the knitgoods workers.

The only way we can meet suc-

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition). 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8903. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$1.00 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.00 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879.

Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" New York City.

Vol. V. Saturday, May 16, 1936. No. 20

Pacific America

ALTOGETHER too little attention is being given these days to the vast armament budget put thru by the Roosevelt administration. For one thing, the Italo-Ethiopian conflict and the Rhineland controversy seem to have drowned it out of active consideration. Then, the Republicans who are furious at the huge Roosevelt expenditures and mounting budgetary deficits have seen fit not to rave at or utter even a syllable against such fabulous spending for war. The reason for this silence is obvious.

Nevertheless there is sinister significance in this dollar spree for war. Unanimously the House passed the Rogers Bill authorizing the increase of Army airplanes up to 4,000. Only a handful voted against the naval budget which is to be over half a billion dollars for the coming year. Work is starting on two new battle cruisers costing 40 to 50 million dollars each. The size of the standing army has been increased. And all of this is what Roosevelt calls "good neighbour" policy!

For whom is Roosevelt arming? This question is easy to answer. For the same big business interests, for the same imperialist objectives that the "peace-loving" Wilson armed. A more complicated question, for the moment, is against whom is Roosevelt arming? Roosevelt did not reveal the secret in his message to the annual convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution. To these time-worn ladies of the American counter-revolution the President could only say: "They (America's warships, airplanes, and military machine) are not a threat to peace." Surely, not even these doddering dames took these words seriously. They weren't meant to be taken at face value. The D.A.R. knew as much.

Light can be let in on the question against whom the U. S. is arming by examining the naval race now being participated in by the three biggest imperialist powers. The \$531,068,707 American naval appropriation and the \$396,336,200 British naval budget are both without precedent. If one reckons with the drop in prices in recent years the size is even greater than the figures indicate. At this writing the naval tonnage of the British Empire is 1,388,184 of the U. S. 1,353,085; of Japan 836,564. This indicates an approximate reaching of the 5-5-3 ratio. However, this agreement of 1922 is now dead. Japan is hell-bent on a 5-5-5 arrangement. The race to ruin is therefore on.

Just now it is not primarily against Great Britain that the U. S. is arming on the seas, rather it is against Japan. Since 1919 the latter has increased its naval tonnage by 35%; that is, from 642,801 tons to 866,654 tons. In these seventeen years of post-war chaos, the U. S. and Britain, for financial reasons reduced their total naval tonnage and concentrated on qualitative or specialized naval construction. Thus, in this period England reduced its tonnage from 2,891,758 to 1,388,184 tons—by 52%; the U. S. from 2,055,276 to 1,353,085—by 34%. The fact that Japanese economy could stand reduction even more than the British or American, the fact that it could bear the burden of constantly increasing naval armaments even less than England and the U. S. only aggravates the likelihood of Japanese imperialist aggression.

It is to meet this challenge, it is to be prepared to lock horns with Japan (which may, for reasons of economic difficulties, be driven to war at any time and even before its own ruling class is prepared or desires) that the U. S. is now piling up armaments. More than that: Preparedness is being hastened so that Uncle Sam does not lose the capacity for initiative. This means that maximum preparedness on sea, land, and in the air is to be attained so that Wall Street should be able to strike first if it so chooses.

Today, the U. S. is building fastest. Maximum and speediest modernization is what the admirals are after. A total new tonnage of 275,000 is now under construction for the U. S. navy; for Britain 165,000 tons are under construction today; for Japan 95,257 tons. Of course, on the basis of the latest appropriations the U. S. tempo is even more furious.

This is a magnificent way of sending dollars to the bottom of the ocean—insofar as labor is concerned. This is a splendid insurance policy insofar as the interests of biggest business go. It is not for historically progressive reasons that American imperialism will ever fight Japanese imperialism or any other competitor in the world market. No imperialist power can ever engage in war except for imperialist interests, capitalist considerations, predatory motives and reasons.

Hence, all workers must be dead set against these war preparations of the U. S. government as well as against the war preparations of all imperialist governments. Those who conceive the possibility of the U. S. or any other imperialist country waging a progressive war, waging any other kind of war but an imperialist conflict are playing into the hands of and playing the game of the imperialists themselves. Any attempt to explain this away can only be an effort to apologize for the rankest social chauvinism. This lesson we must drive home time and again precisely because the outbreak of the impending imperialist war is not so far off.

ATTENTION!

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The Significance of May Day

BECAUSE it is, by nature and tradition, the day of international labor solidarity, May Day necessarily brings to the fore in its most impressive form the problem of working class unity. From this angle, as from so many others, May Day 1936 rises as one of the most significant events of recent years, an event strikingly indicative of the forces at work deep down in the ranks of the labor movement.

Three, four and five years ago, until 1934 in fact, disunity among the workers on May Day as on any other day was generally accepted as the "normal" state of affairs. The Communist Party ran its own, purely communist "united front" demonstration and the Socialist Party ran its own, purely socialist "socialist and labor" affair. The chasm between the two was regarded as unbridgeable and the possibility of drawing into the movement masses of workers neither socialist nor communist was not even broached. Under such circumstances May Day was anything but a day of international labor solidarity; it was a demoralizing demonstration of the bitter divisions that were paralyzing the power of the working class in the face of the common enemy.

One voice and one alone was raised against this intolerable situation; one voice alone rose to challenge this ready acceptance of permanent disunity in principle—the voice of the Communist Opposition.

We made working class unity against capitalism, and particularly the united front of the socialist and communist movements, one of the great guiding lines of our policy. May Day after May Day we raised this question, urging with every argument of political reason the necessity of unity. Finally, in 1934, it became possible to make a practical move in that direction. Upon our initiative, and under the pressure of big unions who saw the wisdom of our policy, a Labor May Day Conference was set up in New York along officially non-partisan lines. A number of powerful trade unions formed the basis of the movement and such diverse political organizations as the Socialist Party, the Communist Party Opposition and the Trotskyites participated. But complete unity was still far off. Neither the Communist Party, nor any of its organizations, took part; they never even made an effort to gain admission nor would they have been welcomed had they done so. For those were the sad old days of "social-fascism" on the one side, and the vicious anti-communist phobia, on the other. In 1934 there were still two rival parades demonstrating "unity" on May Day.

In 1935 we were able to drive a little further ahead. The Labor May Day Conference was reestablished and, as far as official decisions could go, the movement was a good deal more non-partisan and all-inclusive than before. Indeed, at the session of the conference held four days before May Day, a resolution sponsored by the CPO was adopted by a large majority

endorsing in principle the merging of the communist "united front" parade with the labor demonstration. But the time was too short; unity was not to be achieved in New York in 1935. But already then we were able to see that a great step forward had been taken towards our goal of unity.

How great an advance towards unity was made this year's May Day all those who have experienced it can testify. No longer were there two rival parades, hostile to each other. For the first time in recent history there was a genuinely united, politically all-inclusive demonstration on May Day. Every commentator, in the capitalist and labor press alike, has been quick to note the deep significance of the fact that the great May Day parade, one of the most magnificent labor turnouts New York City has ever seen, was headed by an official committee including representatives of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Communist Party Opposition. It is as a profoundly impressive demonstration of communist-socialist unity on the great day of labor solidarity that May Day 1936 will leave its bright mark on the pages of history!

But surely no less significant is the active role that the trade unions played this May Day. Indeed, the provisional committee that sponsored the united movement was of a purely trade union character, headed by powerful Dressmakers Union Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. As the movement got under way, scores of other labor organizations rallied to its support giving the parade the markedly trade union aspect it so clearly possessed.

May Day 1936 put to the test every political tendency of labor. Under the influence of the Militants, the Socialist Party in New York responded thruout in a wholehearted, constructive manner, sincerely putting the interests of working class unity above any partisan considerations. The same, and even more, may be said of the Communist Party because the Communist Party had to make much heavier sacrifices for the sake of unity, even to the point of foregoing a mass-meeting at Union Square. Nevertheless it must be pointed out that, in a number of places outside of New York, in Chicago and Detroit particularly, the C.P. retained altogether too much of its old narrowness and petty factional spirit in its conduct on May Day.

For the Communist Opposition May Day 1936 was both a challenge and a triumph. Holding firmly to our course of previous years, we took the initiative in developing a May Day movement that would be broad, politically all-inclusive and genuinely labor in character, a May Day movement with firm roots in the trade unions. Much more than in former years, have our efforts been crowned with success. The goal of unity which we placed before us so many years ago, when we had to champion it amidst sneers and attacks on all sides, is now already in sight!

In this lies the great historical significance of May Day 1936, the symbol and the harbinger of the united front of labor against the forces of capitalist reaction. May Day 1936 foreshadows May Day 1937 when—let us all pledge ourselves anew towards this end—unity on May Day will be entirely complete and all-inclusive. And since May Day is a true reflection of the political and organizational state of the working class, such unity on May Day will surely be the glorious herald of that broader and more fundamental unity which alone can drive the American capitalist class from its proud seat of power and profit!

in the great demonstration. At the trade union mass meeting, moreover, the speakers included Jay Lovestone of the Communist Opposition and Harry Laidler of the (Militant) Socialist Party—thus giving the lie, incidentally, to the pitiful pretence of the Old Guard that the Polo Grounds meeting was "their" affair. In fact, the two demonstrations might quite well be regarded as distinct but mutually complementary aspects of one great mass turnout of the more advanced sections of the working class of New York on May Day.

And yet we cannot overlook some grave shortcomings. It was very unfortunate, indeed, that no official and public relations could be established between the United May Day Committee and the Trade Union May Day Committee. It was even more unfortunate that no representative of the Communist Party was permitted to appear at the Polo Grounds as speaker. For both of these serious deficiencies we owe particular thanks to the Old Guard socialist leaders. Too impotent to accomplish anything positive for themselves, these worthies devoted their destructive talents to creating and perpetuating every conceivable obstacle in the way of working class unity. Lost to all sense of socialist responsibility, maddened by its vicious theory of inverted "social-fascism" ("the communists are the main enemy!"), the socialist Old Guard has become a distinctly reactionary force in the present situation, condoning everything that is outlived and fossilized in the labor movement, fostering and thriving upon disunity in the ranks of the working class!

AT THIS juncture of class relations in France it is appropriate to note some important differences between the Bruening-Papen or pre-Hitler days in Germany and the present stage of political developments in France. On the positive side, on the plus side, for the working class, are the following factors: (1) the increasingly close cooperation between the Socialist and Communist parties in France, a significant united front against Fascism; (2) the unity of the trade union movement recently consummated; (3) the substantial abhorrence of Fascism in the rural areas and among certain sections of the lower middle classes in the cities because of the disastrous results of German and Italian Fascism to date; (4) the strong democratic traditions of the French people who have a real and great revolution to their credit—the revolution of 1789.

None of these factors was at work in Germany to stem the tide of Fascism. The absence of these forces served to facilitate and insure the victory of the Nazi headhunters. But a number of negative factors must also be registered here as playing into the hands of the French Fascisti. These are: (1) French Fascism has in its present stage a far greater influence in and hold on the military forces than did the Nazi movement in the corresponding stage. We need but cite the sinister significance of the open indorsement of the Croix de Feu by Marshal Pétain; (2) the armed gangs of the Croix de Feu are today far better trained, disciplined and equipped than were Hitler's Storm Troopers before his assumption of power; (3) the Bank of France and the "Two Hundred Families" are more actively and extensively supporting French Fascism than did the German bourgeoisie before the Nazi dictatorship was established. When we say this we neither minimize nor overlook the fabulous financing of Hitler by the Krupp and the Thyssens; we merely emphasize that, having seen the services rendered by Fascism in Germany, the big bourgeoisie in France are approaching the problem of support-

ing the Croix de Feu and similar organizations in a less experimental and more certain mood; (4) in France, unlike in Germany, it is not only the Socialist Party, but also the Communist Party, which relies on the bourgeois state, capitalist democracy, as the instrument by means of which Fascism is to be defeated. Of all the factors—positive and negative—the last one mentioned is the most serious and decisive. Should the Socialists and Communists break with this costly illusion, then Fascism will be crushed in France by the mass power of the united proletariat in revolutionary struggle. This is especially so in view of the important positive forces at work in France against capitalist reaction. Herein is the key to the future of France. Here is a force far more potent than all election results and parliamentary horse trades.

FROM the columns of the London Economist we culled the following significant and unfortunately true evaluation of events in Spain: "One can appreciate the feelings of alarm in many middle

AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

A MOST disquieting feature of European affairs today is the trend of British foreign policy. Some characterize it as replete with "heedlessness and lack of direction." We do not think this is an accurate evaluation.

Recent months have witnessed a definite swing of the British pendulum in foreign policy towards Germany, more exactly towards Hitler. Most ominous in this swing is the momentum lent to it by the liberals. Illustrating this mood is the following estimate made by The Economist of London: "But there is a stronger and grimmer power on the warpath than either Italy or Japan. Germany has scarcely yet begun the course of violence to which she is being invited by the present French sabotaging of the Covenant and the present British acquiescence in it." (April 25, 1936.—Our emphasis)

This is nothing else but a white-washing of the Hitler assaults on peace. It is nothing else than direct support of Nazi imperialist aggression. Nor is there anything headless about British imperialist policy. Lombard Street and "The City" know what they want and are working overtime and planfully to achieve what they are after. It is not British imperialist aims which are confused; it is the whole international situation that is muddled. At the moment British imperialism can maintain its veto role over affairs on the continent by aiding and abetting Nazi ventures and paralyzing French imperialism to a certain extent. This foreign policy is getting the blessing of British liberalism. Hence its consequences are direct in so far as world peace is concerned.

WITH THE LAWMAKERS

By LEE MASON

CITING evidence to prove that the standard of living of the unemployed is being driven downward constantly under the pressure of the niggardly Roosevelt program, David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance of America, called for the passage of the Marcantonio Relief Work Standards Act in an appearance before the House Labor Subcommittee which is holding hearings on the bill.

When Lasser tried to tell Edward W. Curley, chairman of the committee, that the average allowance in Florida was only \$5 to \$10 a month per family of five, he was contradicted. "Oh, no," Curley declared, "Those on relief receive \$16.10 a week."

Marcantonio set the record aright when he produced the statistics which state administrators gave the American Association of Social Workers last February. He quoted a report from Pensacola: "We have not been able to maintain any more than a 50 per cent budget and during October and November the deficit had increased to about 60 per cent. Since federal relief was withdrawn on December 1, there has been available only federal surplus commodities."

Marcantonio's measure would raise six billion dollars for immediate relief of the unemployed. This compares favorably with Roosevelt's plans for a mere billion and a half. In addition, the bill would provide a union scale of wages on all work projects, thus insuring a minimum standard of pay for even the employed.

Perhaps the best feature of the measure, which is intended only as a stop-gap, is its placing the responsibility for the care of the unemployed squarely upon the shoulders of the national government.

When Governor Green signed the bill passed by the legislature last week, Rhode Island's unemployment insurance plan, with its contribution by both employees and employers, went into effect. A three-man commission will administer it.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THE United Automobile Workers Convention has just closed with the election of an administration and the passage of resolutions which place this international union in the category of a progressive organization. We herewith extend our greetings to Brother Homer Martin who joins the small but growing group of international officers who have an understanding of the needs of the broad masses of working people in as far as organization is concerned, and what is more—have the courage to stand up and fight in order that these needs may be met.

The convention showed a number of irregularities at which a skilled convection-politician would blush with shame. President Homer Martin forgot to discharge his credential committee after it had completed its report, thereby leaving that body hanging twixt heaven and earth. We'll forgive Brother Martin this lapse but must insist on stern measures against former President Dillon for forgetting to acknowledge the gift of a gavel from some unions in South Bend.

In his address to the convention former President Dillon declared: "As your President who has served by appointment from the President of the American Federation of Labor, I have endeavored to the very best of my ability to discharge my obligation loyally, and courageously to the man who honored me so highly."

And again: "I have never forgotten that I stood before the convention and pledged to him (Green) that I would remain loyal and true to him . . ."

All of which explains Dillon's difficulties with the auto workers. Courageous he may have been but his loyalties were certainly misdirected. At least the auto workers acted as if they thought that way.

But virtue is not without its reward in this world. William Green rose to defend his appointee: "I want to express to President Dillon," he said, "my thanks and appreciation for the service he has rendered you during the years. Time will be a great vindicator for him. Let us wait." This constituted about the only kind words directed at Dillon during the course of the convention. Altho the auto workers did not make any direct assaults upon him they grabbed the first opportunity to express what they thought of him by unanimously electing Homer Martin to the presidency.

The bosses will be assessed nine-tenths of 1 per cent of their 1936 payrolls, retroactive to Jan. 1, 1,8 per cent in 1937, and 2.7 per cent in 1938 and annually thereafter. Workers will be taxed 1 per cent of their wages for the year 1937, and 2 per cent a year from then on.

Benefits are payable beginning in 1938. If a worker is unfortunate enough to be employed for more than 20 weeks during the year he will have to shift for himself (be a rugged individualist the remaining thirty-two weeks). For, regardless of the amount of money the worker contributes, he is entitled to only twenty weeks insurance.

The Baldwin bill repealing the power of the State to fix the salaries of certain municipal employees was raked fore and aft by labor at a New York State Senate hearing this week.

George F. Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, advanced the representative argument when he declared: "The bill is not a home rule measure, but a wage-slashing one." He was unintentionally borne out by Harold Riegleman, counsel for the Citizens Budget Commission, who spilled the beans thus: "The Baldwin bill would restore to the city absolute control over jobs, salaries and other expenses in the 1936 budget in the sum of \$51,000,000. These costs are paid by the city, and it follows that the city properly should control them."

Proponents of American participation in the Nazi Olympiad have managed to smuggle a bill seeking \$10,000 for travel expenses into the Massachusetts legislature. Altho the measure will probably take a licking, it is significant that these "lovers of fair play" have resorted to this desperate action.

Aliens on relief will be given

gressive fighters who kept together auto workers, disgusted and demoralized with the policies and tactics of Green and his man Dillon.

The decision of the convention in endorsing the reelection of President Roosevelt will stand a bit of explaining. It appears that the convention first defeated the proposal and then upon reconsideration passed it "unanimously". It is not quite clear how a convention can first reject a proposal and then, a few minutes later, carry the same proposal "unanimously". To an outside observer it appears as if considerable pressure—much too much—had been brought to bear between the two votes. This was setting a very bad example and is illustrative of certain methods which progressives resent and have fought against in other international unions.

It is also a little difficult to understand how a convention that had acted in so restrained and business like a manner on that palpable forgery—the letter allegedly signed by the Communist Party—could be thrown into an anti-red hysteria by a resolution. This will bear a few additional remarks.

Obviously intending to start a red-bating drive, company stool pigeons concocted and mailed out a letter to all delegates urging them to vote for Homer Martin for President and Wyndham Mortimer for Vice-President, both the latter stated, members of the Communist Party. The convention acted in the most praiseworthy manner. Entering this fabrication into the records, the chair also read into the record a telegram from Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, branding the document as a forgery. With this the whole matter was closed.

The next day the convention breaks out in a rash of red-baiting speeches when a delegate submits a resolution asking the U.A.W. of A. to "go on record as against communism" and to notify all local unions "to immediately expel from membership all known Communists."

The convention thereby fell into the very trap which it had studiously avoided the day before. The company stools who had been chagrined the day before at their failure must indeed have been happy.

This resolution, which goes far beyond anything decided at the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L., seemed to have caught flat-footed the otherwise alert steering committee. Another amendment placed provided "that no known and proven Communist be permitted to hold office in the International Union or in any Local Union nor be a delegate to any convention."

The passage of either proposal would have required that the convention concert itself into a grand jury to hear evidence against anyone proposed for office, not to mention the merry game of red-chasing which would have begun in the locals. What a field this would have been for the company rats to frame every militant and fighting worker.

The convention finally extricated itself from this self-imposed mess by referring the whole matter.

In the International Labor Movement

Czech Communists Turn To the Ultra-Right Again

ONCE again the line has changed in Czechoslovakia. The very things that the "Little Father" (Gottwald) condemned so mercilessly as utterly impermissible opportunism, he now voices as the wisdom of the Mount and goes on to greater achievements in the field of social patriotism.

We urge our readers to look up their copies of the *Workers Age* of March 14, 1936 in which we reported the first turn of line. We ask our readers to reread the editorial in order to be convinced of how well we estimated the changes. For the benefit of those who may not have their back copies available we reprint just one or two paragraphs:

"But the turn is only superficial at best; only the most outrageous expressions of the opportunist course are pruned away; the opportunist course itself remains intact and is even explicitly confirmed. Since the root of the evil is untouched, the result is that the same and even worse excesses are inevitable in the future. The opportunist atrocities which Gottwald and other Comintern spokesmen castigate so virtuously today all flow directly from the general line of the seventh congress and they are therefore certain to keep on reappearing in some form or other as long as this general line is retained—only the next time Gottwald himself will be implicated in the crime and be made to suffer the consequences!"

"This entire experience in Czechoslovakia . . . illustrates graphically and painfully the price that the world communist movement is paying today because of its lack of international collective leadership and democratic centralism. Had there been party democracy, the ultra-left line would not only have been dropped because it collapsed, but its errors would have been discussed and understood and the membership would have learned what was wrong. This would have been the most effective guarantee against any revival of leftism. Furthermore, had there been party democracy in the Comintern and its various sections, the crude ultra-right line could never have been adopted . . . The present sterility and paralysis of critical approach, initiative and responsibility in the Comintern will prevail so long as the present international regime in the C.I. and its sections continues."

EDITOR

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia held its Seventh Party Convention over the Easter holidays. Once against the C.P. took a sharp swing to the right and social patriotism triumphed. There was no critical discussion of the ultra-left course, despite the fact that this was the first Party convention in the past 5 years. Nor was there any critical discussion of the life-and-death questions that confront the party at present. The convention was a carefully planned mass meeting arranged by the bureaucracy—to take orders from above. The delegates had been handed the new line before the convention so as to avoid any criticism.

The Central Committee in its role of "revolutionary guard" over the delegates required each delegate to write a detailed political auto-

biography. The system of puppets was in full bloom. Gottwald, the political secretary of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, became the object of a most disgusting hero cult. He was proclaimed the symbol and ideal of the Czechoslovakian communists and graced with salutation: "Little Father of the Party."

There was no report on the organizational strength of the Party. To judge from the number of delegates, the Party has about 45,000 members.

The convention came out for the unconditional defense of the fatherland. Said Gottwald in his report:

"Were Hitler to succeed in realizing his plans, the Czechoslovakian people would then lose their national independence and the German, Polish and Hungarian peoples would experience an intensifica-

FOR MILITANT UNITY!



Jay Lovestone speaks to 50,000 trade unionists at the Polo Grounds demonstration on May 1st. To the right is David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

tion of social and political oppression under the knot of Fascism.

"On the question of the menace of Hitler fascism facing Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party stands for the defense of Czechoslovakia against Hitler, for the defense of Czechoslovakia against fascism. Why did we not speak of the defense of the republic, say four years ago? Why do we refer to it today? Simply because four years ago Czechoslovakia was not menaced by a fascist country. . . ."

"Comrades, there is no doubt but that the defense of the republic against fascism can be interpreted to mean class peace, reformism, social patriotism. But this is not necessarily the correct interpretation.

And we Communists do not interpret our position this way."

This social patriotic line of the C.P. is already being carried out in parliament. The Prague parliament is at present discussing a draft for a "National Defense Act"

to become law in case of a serious foreign or domestic crisis. It is a safety measure of the Czechoslovakian imperialists against the unceasing military and imperialist aims of Hitler Germany. This law deprives the citizens of Czechoslovakia, particularly the working class, of all democratic rights and puts full power in the hands of the military. Thus this law becomes a constitutional basis for a military dictatorship.

The Communist representative, Dr. Dolansky, said the following

about the position of the C.P. on the question of the defense of the republic, before the constitutional committee of parliament, as reported by the Prague Tageblatt of April 16, 1936:

"The Communist, Dr. Dolansky, read the resolution on the defense of the republic passed by the Communist Party convention the previous day and declared that Representative Gottwald was the author of this resolution. He pointed out that this fact disproved the statements that Gottwald's interference with Communist tactics signified a refusal to endorse the defense of the republic. The Seventh Convention of the Communist Party has proven, he continued, that the C.P. is categorically for the defense of the republic against Hitler. The C.P. is ready to defend Czechoslovakia against any attack by German, Polish or Hungarian fascism. It is ready to protect the freedom of the peoples of Czechoslovakia with all means, including armaments."

Sverma, member of the Central Committee of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, spoke in the same session. The Prague Tageblatt reports as follows:

"The Communist, Sverma, declared that the C.P. is unequivocally in favor of the defense of the republic. . . . In this respect the position of the Communist Party is quite clear; i.e., opposition to Hitler at all cost. The draft for the 'National Defense Act', he continued, is not preparing for national defense along the correct lines in the opinion of the C.P. There is too little trust in democracy in the draft; even the C.P. has more faith in democracy than that."

Gottwald has tried to extenuate this social patriotic line by emphasizing that the most important factor has been preserved, that is, the Party is pursuing an independent class policy. An independent class policy, however, is incompatible with the defense of the fatherland.

The party convention also veered to the right on the issue of the united front. Gottwald expressed the united front policy of the Party in the following manner: "In order to avert the dangers confronting the working class, we urge the working class, and our party to achieve the united and People's Front AT ALL COST."

The Party must aim at a differentiation in the camp of the bourgeoisie so as to win allies for the People's Front. Literally, he said:

"There will be difference within the leadership of the Agrarian Party as well as in their parliamentary fraction. Such differences will arise in all other bourgeois parties, and will result in the isolation of the reactionaries."

Gottwald draws the following

conclusion:

"Assuming the development of a United Front and a People's Front, assuming a differentiation within the state apparatus, our attitude to the government would be changed. . . . The main issue would be the question of a People's Front government and not that of a fascist dictatorship."

The Party convention showed quite clearly that the policy of Sverma and Slansky, severely denounced four months ago by Gottwald in the ECCI, has been re-adopted in a more emphatic manner. Sverma and Slansky, who were reelected into the Central Committee amidst great applause, have won all along the line and Gottwald was their spokesman at the Party convention.

The Party also made a significant turn on the youth question. It was decided to give up the independent organization of the Communist Youth League. The Party appealed to the Socialist organizations, both the proletarian and the bourgeois, (Sokol and Jugend der deutschen Turner), the youth of the Industrial Party, the Christian youth, etc. to unite and form a united "non-partisan youth organization" on a program of its own, not influenced by the C.P.

In conclusion we can safely say that the Seventh Party Convention of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia has intensified the opportunist course of the Communist parties in a catastrophic manner.

I had the opportunity of speaking to a delegate who shares the opinions of the C.P.O. He told me that it had been impossible to voice any criticism of the political line of the Central Committee. Everything was under strict control of the bureaucracy. The theoretical level and critical consciousness of the delegates was on an unspeakably low level. The comrade is confident, however, that the new line will soon be eradicated thru the activity of the few healthy forces in the party which will sharply oppose it.

The People's King!

LONDON—"We have in our present King a man who has had more direct and intimate associations and friendship with our common people than any monarch since the days of Charles II," said Frederick W. Pethwick-Lawrence, Laborite, in a tribute to Edward VIII in the House of Commons. He spoke of the King's allowance or civil list.

He made the unpalatable but unfortunately traditional statement that the Labor Party recognized the upkeep of the royal house as a national charge.

Only the I.L.P. and Gallacher, M.P., voted against the civil list.

BOOKS of the AGE

GUINEA PIGS NO MORE. By J. B. Matthews. New York, Covici, Friede. \$2.00. 311 pages.

Reviewed by Ellen Ward
To those who have followed the career of J. B. Matthews in recent years, this book will be a keen disappointment for several reasons:

First, because the case of the consumer against business in general has been done a great many times, and all the previous efforts rate considerably higher than the present one.

Secondly, Mr. Matthews drags into this field a series of polemics against the sectarianism of official communism which has nothing to do with the case under discussion. He is venting his spleen over a whole series of personal quarrels between himself and the Communist Party in which the average reader hasn't the slightest interest.

Thirdly, much more than an analysis of the problems of the consumer, the book is an expose of a very little man. Again and again, in recent years, Matthews has spoken of the great need of changing the world along Marxist lines. But now he seems to have lost all sight of the tremendous weight of the inertia created by the profit motive in society which resists, with such fury, any change calculated to decrease the rate of profit. He has forgotten altogether the words he has been repeating over half a decade that man can in no sense be free until the whole system of private property with all of its anachronistic checks and balances, has been completely swept aside. Now we read such confused mutterings as these:

"A worker's state is an inadequate goal for human endeavor; the Russian revolution was an historical accident; the problem of the consumer is more important than the composite problems of the workers; while men are engaged in organizing their efforts for progress there is no value in stopping with the wholly inadequate objective of changing the means of production."

The whole book is punctuated with similarly pathetic expressions. RED NECK, by McAlister Coleman and Stephen Raushenbush. Published by Harrison Smith & Robert Haas, New York City, \$2.00.

Reviewed by Dave Scheyer
There are a lot of adjectives to apply to "Red Neck". Honest. Sincere. Authoritative. Native. Class-conscious. Mac Coleman and Raushenbush have worked hard and conscientiously on this book producing an interesting story but a pretty poor novel.

There are no tricks, no sleight of hand in "Red Neck"; all the mechanics of the book are on the surface plain to see. What you see is a distinct lack of motive for most of the events that make up the tale and an extremely shallow set of characterizations. This makes an easily read book, a proletarian novel as it might be written by Harold Bell Wright, which may be what the authors intended. But it isn't—very distinctly not—Art. Dave Houston, husky, militant, not too intelligent, wins the presidency of a UMWA local, shoots a Ku Klux Klan revivalist minister, escapes punishment because his pals have intimidated the jury, becomes a union organizer and ends up drinking gin in a frowsy hotel room—this according to Coleman and Raushenbush is the almost inevitable end of UMWA organizers. The pictures of the mining town, at work and on strike, the descriptions of union meeting and union politics, the fights and sluggings are all carefully drawn but superficial, unconvincing. The bones of

LOSING THEIR CHAINS by James Sand

The Parliamentary Socialists - Victor L. Berger and Meyer London

(Continued from previous issue)

Victor Louis Berger came to the United States with his family in 1878, when he was eighteen years old. He was born in 1860 in Nieder Rebbuch, Austria Hungary, and was educated in a "gymnasium" and at the universities in Budapest and Vienna. Arrived here, the family settled in Milwaukee, where the young man worked at various trades and then took to teaching in the public schools. But in 1892 he turned his hand to socialist journalism. He had learned the rudiments of socialism in Europe and he was to become one of the leading founders and spokesmen of the American socialist movement. He established the *Vorwärts*, a German daily which continued its existence until 1898, when he came out with an English paper, the *Social Democratic Herald*, which had a life span from 1901 to 1911 when Berger set up the *Milwaukee Leader* which he owned and ran until his death in 1929.

Milwaukee with its German-immigrant population intensified Berger's political development which had begun amidst European socialism. But like Debs in 1896 he fell for Populism and the leather-lunged Bryan and was a delegate to the People's Party Convention in St. Louis in 1896. It was he who is said to have converted Gene Debs to socialism while Debs was serving his sentence in Woodstock jail, and it was he who had more personal influence with Debs than any other of the old guard and right-wingers. After the formation of the Socialist Party at the beginning of the century Berger began running for office in Milwaukee, for mayor, for congressman, for alderman. While sitting as alderman he was elected to Congress on the Socialist ticket,—the first Socialist to be elected to that body. He took his seat in 1911 amidst great rejoicing from the comrades, but watched with hawk-like eyes by DeLeon, who during Berger's first session wrote a series of pieces on Berger's parliamentary tactics in the *People* which were later published in pamphlet form under the title *Berger's Hits and Misses*. According to DeLeon's figures the misses won by a mile.

Berger failed of immediate re-election to Congress, but in 1918 he finally won the seat back again. But the war had come and the Red scare had begun and he was denied his seat. He was re-elected in 1920 and again he was denied his seat. Finally in 1922 he was permitted to take his seat and he sat there until 1929 when he was again defeated. His war stand was much the same as London's, social pacifism, but of the most degenerate kind. He was tried for violation of the Espionage Act but his conviction for twenty years imprisonment was reversed by the United States Supreme Court. But his war stand was never much more violent than LaFollette's. In June 1918 he brought it to its highest development with the rankest opportunism, as follows:

Personally, I was against the war before the war was declared, as was every true Socialist. The Socialist Party did all it could to keep this country out of the war. But now, since we are in the war, I want to win this war—for democracy. And only for democracy . . . Let us hope we will win the war quickly.

How "we" can win a war for proletarian democracy when it is being fought for imperialist booty nobody has ever found out.

In Congress Berger usually sounded like Pollyanna turned Socialist. On February 16th 1924 in Congress, he told of his boundless love for everybody, without discrimination.

Whatever remarks I make tonight (said Berger), I hope it will be understood that I make them "with good will to all and ill will to none", to use an expression of Abraham Lincoln.

Love everybody, even the Morgans, and quote Lincoln not Marx. This is the ripe fruit of Sunday school socialism being preached in the beerstubs of Milwaukee.—But even that is militant compared to the L'envoi he sang in 1929 just before his last departure from the House. He said good-bye to his "comrades" thus:

Undoubtedly we have too many lawyers in this House, more than we can use for any good purpose. However, all of them are ready talkers and good fellows, even if most of them are as innocent political economy as they are of the Sanskrit language. But I like all of them personally, from the illustrious and genial Speaker down to the youngest fledgling, and I wish them all well.

But Berger's every act in Congress makes it clear that no bourgeois Congressman was any more ignorant of political economy than Berger was of proletarian strategy and tactics in parliament.

A few words about his theory. On revolutionary overthrow we have this in 1906 and worse later.

No true Social Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change in society. Such fantastic dreamers nowhere find more determined opponents than in the ranks of the true Social-Democrats.

And in July 1907 we have Berger's discovery of Socialism's need. "Our greatest need," he wrote, "is hope." Add faith and charity and you have the reason why Sinclair Lewis called Victor Louis Berger the "St. Paul of American Socialism." On September 25th 1909 we have more penetrating insight from Berger in the form of a question: "Do We Want Progress by Catastrophe and Bloodshed or by Common Sense?" On trade-unionism he had no important ideas. As a philosopher he was ludicrous. As a Congressman he was impotent. He was much more pretentious than London, and one has a right to expect more from him; but no more came. In fact, less came because he was not capable, as London was, of arousing the affection and emotions of his people.

Berger was one of the internationalists among the founders of the American Socialist Party, but his internationalism was nothing more than obsequious pursuit of Kautsky. He must have met Lenin at the Copenhagen Congress of the Second International in 1910, but he certainly learned nothing from him. The theoretical heritage he left, the strategy and tactics he followed, are in no small part the cause of the confusion and opportunism which is today manifested towards the Russian Revolution in the Socialist Party. From this confusion and op-

portunity to the detriment of the American collective talent of the two authors work. Coleman and Raushenbush hadn't sufficed to clothe them with the flesh of life. Inevitably "Red Neck" will be contrasted with that genius that makes a novelist something more than a pedestrian chronicler.

portunism in theory, strategy, and tactics, it is but a small step to that Red-baiting which has eaten at the heart of proletarian unity all over the world, at the same time that it has paved the way for terrific defeats. He would certainly not today recognize the Spanish Socialists in their new-found revolutionary fervor and he would be, like his theoretical kinsmen, Abe Cahan, Louis Waldman, et. al., a force of retardation in the labor and socialist movement were he alive today.

But both Berger and London raise the great problem of parliamentary strategy and tactics by working class parties, and their errors can serve to illumine what the attitude of revolutionary socialists toward participation in bourgeois parliaments must be. On the question of parliamentary participation, there are four approaches in the labor and socialist movement. The first, the anarchist approach, is opposed to participation in parliament by the representatives of the workers,—it is completely opposed to any political action. We have dealt with this point in some detail in the study of anarchists.* On this point Lenin's analysis of the anarchist view is, as everywhere, trenchant. "We are not Utopians," said Lenin, "we do not indulge in dreams of how best to do away immediately with all administration, with all subordination; these Anarchist dreams, based upon a lack of understanding of proletarian dictatorship, are basically foreign to Marxism, and, as a matter of fact, they serve but to put off the Socialist revolution until human nature is different." The second view is the reformist view which Berger and London held. According to this view, bourgeois democracy and parliamentary government in particular can bring in socialist society. Not only can it bring it in, it can also be the form within which Socialism can be brought to completion. Parliaments in this view are not instruments of the ruling class, of the bourgeoisie, but they are instruments of democracy in general. Marx called parliaments "talking shops", but to reformists they are working class realities. "The way out of parliamentarism," said Lenin in the *State and Revolution*, "is to be found, of course, not in the abolition of representative institutions and the elective principle, but in the conversion of the representative institutions from mere 'talking shops' into working bodies. . . . The venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society is replaced in the Commune [read 'Soviet'] by institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians must themselves work, must themselves execute their own laws, must themselves verify their results in actual life, must themselves be directly responsible to their electorate. Representative institutions remain, but parliamentarism as a special system, as a division of labor between the legislative and the executive functions, as a privileged position for the deputies, no longer exists. Without representative institutions we cannot imagine democracy, not even proletarian democracy; but we can and must think of democracy without parliamentarism, if criticism of bourgeois society is not mere empty words for us, if the desire to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie is our serious and sincere desire, and not a mere 'election cry' for catching workmen's votes."

This, however, is the stand of parliamentarism which the proletariat takes after it has gained power and has become the ruling class. What stand do revolutionary socialists take on parliamentarism while they are struggling for power? After the Russian Revolution had put the Russian workers into power a wholesale epidemic of what Lenin called the infantile disorder of "left-wing" Communism broke out throughout the rest of the world among revolutionary socialists and in respect of this question of parliamentarism led the various other revolutionary parties to proclaim non-participation in parliaments as the proper strategy and tactics for revolutionary parties still struggling for power. Lenin took up this question in his great pamphlet "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder. Against this ultra-left tactic of refraining from parliamentary activity while fighting to gain working-class power, he set his pen, and the view he propounded is today part and parcel of the great system of proletarian strategy and tactics known as Leninism. Studying the case of the German "Left" Communists at that time, 1920, Lenin writes as follows:

It is clear that parliamentarism in Germany is not yet (1920) politically obsolete. It is evident that the "Lefts" in Germany have mistaken their desire, their ideological-political attitude, for objective reality. This is the most dangerous mistake revolutionaries can make. . . . For the Communists in German parliamentarism is, of course, "politically obsolete"; but—and this is the whole point—we must not regard that which is obsolete for us as obsolete for the class, as obsolete for the masses. It is precisely here that we see that the "Lefts" do not know how to reason, do not know how to conduct themselves as a party of the class, as a party of the masses. You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. This is incontestable. You must tell them the bitter truth. You must call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices—prejudices. But, at the same time, you must soberly observe the actual state of class consciousness and preparedness of the whole class (not only of its advanced elements). . . . It has been proved that participation in a bourgeois-democratic parliament even after a few weeks before the victory of the Soviet Republic, and even after that victory, not only does not harm the revolutionary proletarian but actually makes it easier for it to prove to the backward masses why such parliaments deserve to be dissolved, facilitates their dissolution and facilitates the process whereby bourgeois parliamentarism becomes "politically obsolete."

Tactics must be based on a sober and strictly objective estimation of all the class forces in a given State (in neighboring states and in all states, i.e., on a world scale), as well as on an evaluation of the experience of revolutionary movements. To express one's "revolutionism" solely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opportunism, solely by refusing to participate in parliaments, is very easy; but just because it is too easy, it is not the solution of a difficult, a very difficult, problem.

How far a cry are Leninist tactics from London's eulogy of the "sincerity" of bourgeois Congressmen and from Berger's well-wishes to the Congress he was leaving. Leninism is proletarian while London and Berger are prayerfully humanitarian and ideologically petty-bourgeois.

* *Workers Age*, Volume V, Numbers 3 and 4, January 18th and 25th, 1936.

MAY DAY REPORTS SHOW GROWTH OF LABOR UNITY

May Day In Baltimore

Baltimore, Md.—May Day in Baltimore found the first united front between the official Communist Party and the Communist Party (Opposition). A united front May Day rally was held at the City Hall Plaza at 3:30. Dorothy Dare, representing the C.P.O., Mary Himoff, representing the C.P. and speakers from other labor organizations addressed the gathering.

Previous to this meeting the S.P. held a smaller rally at the City Hall Plaza. The united front May Day committee did all that it could to achieve a completely united May Day, but the Old Guard group controlling the Baltimore Socialist Party flatly rejected the appeal for unity. The division among the more advanced sections of the Baltimore working-class contributed greatly to the generally poor response of the workers to the May Day meetings. For the division that existed the Old Guard group was proudly responsible.

The United Front May Day Committee held an indoor celebration at night, attended by approximately 1000 workers. Herbert Benjamin was the main speaker. Earl Dixon, section organizer of the C.P. and James MacArthur representing the C.P.O. spoke. Greetings were delivered by Branch 900 of the Workmen's Circle.

Comrade MacArthur pointed out that the C.P.O. was born in the struggle for unity—for the unity of the workers of each industry in one trade union, affiliated with one trade union center, for the unity of the workers in one labor fraternal order, for the unity of all communists in one united political party based on democratic centralism, and for the unity of all workers in the class struggle, to abolish the life-destroying system of capitalism. He called for the release of Tom Mooney, for the defense of the Soviet Union, for a united labor front against war and fascism, and for the freedom of Comrade Thaelman in Germany and Roy in India.

In Chicago

Nearly a whole day of rain prevented the Chicago United May Day Demonstration from setting a new record for display of working class strength in Chicago. In spite of the downpour nearly ten thousand trade unionists, Socialists, and Communists marched from Grant Park, through the Loop, to Union Park, the scene of the Haymarket Demonstration which fifty years ago laid the basis for International Labor Day. One of the most encouraging things about the demonstration was the large proportion of it which marched under the union banners of the trade union section. For the first time since the war, Socialists, Communists, and non-party workers marched together on May Day for the thirty-hour week, for unemployment insurance, for independent labor political action, and against war and fascism.

In the evening the Socialist and Communist Parties held a joint mass meeting at Ashland Auditorium. The principal speakers were Norman Thomas for the Socialist Party and Clarence Hathaway for the Communist Party. Norman Thomas spoke very briefly and left to speak at a May Day meeting at Kenosha, Wisconsin. Clarence Hathaway spoke on the significance of May Day in 1936 and of the movement toward unity of the American working class. He expressed the view of the Communist Party that a national Labor Party in 1936 would be premature and urged the Socialist Party to unite with the Commu-

nist Party in supporting a United Labor Ticket in the national election.

The CPO participated in the demonstration as well as the mass meeting. Leaflets proposing a United Labor Ticket with Tom Mooney as the candidate for President were distributed to the assembled workers.

In Detroit

Stressing the necessity of a complete united front on May Day the SP and CP in Detroit organized a conference calling in political groups, fraternal organizations, and such unions as could be induced to participate. A steering committee with representatives from the SP, CP, CPO and Proletarian Party, was elected to take care of arrangements for the mass meeting. It was agreed that the Farmer-Labor Party would not be discussed and that the main slogan would be labor solidarity. In reply to an inquiry by Comrade Shaddock it was stated that every attempt to broaden the conference had been made.

When the question of speakers came up the SP favored allowing all political groups a representative, but the CP was bitterly opposed to the CPO. They argued that "there would not be time" for so many speakers; that the CPO was only a communist tendency and that the CP speaks for all communist tendencies. The SP bowed its head to these ridiculous arguments and accepted the CP "compromise" proposal that the almost defunct Proletarian Party be given a speaker.

A later attempt by practically all the political organizations outside the Socialist Party but a mass meeting for the CPO on the speakers list failed when the CP made this a breaking point.

Detroit did not have a demonstration because of the objections of the Socialist Party but a mass meeting was held in the evening. We sold 100 Ages, distributed free 200 Ages and 1500 appeals for a united labor ticket with Tom Mooney as the candidate for President.

In Anthracite

Some three hundred workers marched into Kirby Park, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on May 1st, to celebrate the workers' holiday. Despite the fact that 16 collieries were shut down by the miners that day and the sun shone brightly, the attendance fell below that on May 1st a year previous. The only workers' organization that refused to participate in the celebration was the Socialist Party. Speakers included Steve Nelson, district organizer of the Communist Party, Pat Brennan, Wyoming Valley secretary of the Penn. Security League, Harold Spencer of the Philadelphia Building Employees Union and Saul Held of the New Workers School of New York. Though it was a splendid meeting it was an index of the weakness of the working-class organizations in one of America's vital industrial centers.

The evening of May 1st found about 70 workers at a United Front May Day Meeting at Runita Hall, Luzerne, Pa. Once again the Socialist Party was absent despite an invitation to participate. The Communist Party, Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Society and various Slovak fraternal societies sponsored the meeting.

While the combined membership of these organizations in Luzerne totalled over 2000, the meeting attracted only 70. The principal speaker, Saul Held, analyzed the problems of the coal miners both as to their own union and in the

LOCAL 22 LEADS THE MAY DAY PARADE



The Dressmakers of the I. L.G.W.U. headed the United May Day Parade in New York City. Shown here is the bicycle brigade of 75 workers, dressed in white sweaters and berets, only one of the many colorful divisions that made up the ranks of this union.

fight for industrial unionism everywhere. He stressed the necessity of a progressive group in the United Mine Workers Union to fight for union democracy and the elimination of abuses which have been a source of union weakness. The necessity of educating the many new members of the Union was urgent, he declared, and proposed that the union members fight for the establishment of an educational department in the union. The political situation in 1936 was then dealt with. The proposal that Communist, Socialists and others unite on a United Labor Ticket with Tom Mooney for president struck a responsive chord in the audience.

Pointing out that the United Mine Workers was the largest trade union in the country, the speaker emphasized that unless the backbone of labor is not strengthened internally, and if it did not forge to the forefront with progressive policies on the economic and political field, it would fail to inspire and strengthen American trade unionism.

In Boston

BOSTON, Mass.—Thousands of workers in Boston participated in the May Day celebrations on Boston Common this year. The demonstration was the result of united action by the New England District of the Communist Party, the Communist Party (Opposition), a number of branches of the Workmen's Circle, Young Circle League and several other working class organizations.

In the afternoon, six thousand workers massed at the Mall on Boston Common where they were addressed by representatives of participating organizations, notably, Phil Frankfeld, District Organizer of the C.P., and Sam Sandberg of the C.P.O.

Both the authorities and the Veterans of Foreign Wars made desperate efforts to break up the meeting, but all these attempts were successfully repulsed.

In the evening 500 workers packed the Chelsea Labor Lyceum where the celebration took the form of a symposium. The speakers were

DRESSMAKERS' EXECUTIVE BOARD HAILS MAY FIRST ACHIEVEMENTS

We wish to extend heartiest greetings and congratulations to the thousands upon thousands of dressmakers, members of Local 22, who turned out in unending columns to march behind the banners of their organization in the United May Day parade and the great Polo Grounds mass meeting last Friday! Your loyalty, your magnificent response to the call of the Union, your discipline and responsibility, demonstrated as nothing else could your enthusiastic appreciation of the historical meaning of May Day as the great day of labor unity, solidarity and militancy. The firm discipline for which the dressmakers were so widely admired during the fight for the new agreement was again manifested on this May Day. Special credit should go, in particular, to the athletic teams, to the social, cultural and sports divisions, to the bicycle squad, to the red-and-white sweater brigades and to all of the other groups that helped to make our section of the

great parade so marvellously colorful and impressive!

The splendid conduct of our membership shows how utterly unfounded were the charges raised against our Local that our participation in the United May Day Parade would somehow bring division and damage to the Trade Union May Day Demonstration at the Polo Grounds. Not division but unity was the aim and the result of our policy. Events now prove clearly that our action on May Day contributed very materially not only to the unification of the forces of labor in a vast demonstration but also to the success of the great Polo Grounds mass meeting. With an admirable sense of responsibility, our members carried out the decision of our Local in the most thoroughly disciplined manner. Having passed the reviewing stand at Union Square in solid ranks, they were among the first to arrive in great masses at the Polo Grounds, forming the biggest single unit at that huge gathering. In the program at the Polo Grounds, too, our athletic, choral, mandolin, dramatic and dance groups took a leading part, doing their share to enhance the richness and colorfulness of the meeting.

By its action and by its example on May Day, our Local has made a great contribution towards the consolidation of the forces of labor against the hosts of capital, towards the unification of the working class without regard to race, creed, color or political opinion. We are determined to pursue our policy of unity, to carry on this great struggle until the ranks of labor are at last united against the common enemy, until the working class is at last triumphant over the menacing forces of reaction, fascism and war!

Executive Board
Dressmakers Union Local 22,
I.L.G.W.U.
Pearl Halpern, Chairman
Chas. S. Zimmerman, Sec.-Mgr.