Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 31.

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5 Cents a Copy

PROLONGED CIVIL WAR THREATENS SPAIN

BE DISSOLVED

Letter To Green States Council Has No Right **To Suspend Unions**

The Committee for Industrial Organization thru its chairman, John L. Lewis, announced to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, that its jurisdiction in the present dispute over industrial unionism and the right to form the CIO was still not recognized, and that therefore, the unions comprising the industrial bloc would not appear before the Council on August 3rd, as the latter had demanded.

A meeting of the CIO was held last week at which it was decided that they would keep their ranks intact that: "The Committee for Industrial Organization will carry on." The letter noted that the charges lodged by Frey had been received but that the unions involved "desired to point out to you that the proceedings you contemplate are wholly unwarranted by the constitution of the A. F. of L." This refers to the fact that unions can be expelled only at the conthen by a two-thirds vote. Suspen- | om ''e / -- EDITOR.) sion, which is threatened would "disqualify the unions affected from having any delegate representation in the convention and in this case is intended to have the effect of an expulsion.'

The letter further dealt with the charges of dualism and fomenting of rebellion and insurrection, which, it said, were based merely on the fact that the CIO intends to organize certain mass production industries. This latter is violently opposed by the craft leaders of the Council. "They fear season starts August 15th—so, reporting they are the inclusion of these unions as a jeopardy in their own dead-hand control of the federation. Satisfied now, as they have been for years, they regard the labor movement in America, as having culminated. They are mistaken; it has just begun, and if it cannot continue within the federation, it will be because of the desparate course of the Council itself."

This wide-open threat of a separate federation clearly shows that the situation is reaching a head. Members of the Council will probably go ahead with the threatof a life and death nature for the crafts. Green characterized the point to the fact that 125 employletter from the CIO as "a speech for propaganda purpose rather than a direct reply to the invitation of the Executive Council to meet and answer the charges filed."

The steel drive is not merely throwing the boss associations into a frenzy but is trodding the toes of some of the crafts. Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers Organization Committee, announced that the steel drive would include a drive among the workers employed in fabricating and processing plants making steel products. There are skilled craftsmen included in this category, claimed by some of the existing crafts, especially by John Frey's Metal Trades Department.

C.L.O. WILL NOT |Nelson| Scores U.S. Aid In Knitgoods Strikebreaking

Victory For Union
* Bosses Leave The Association

July 27th, the date set by the employers' association for the establishment of open shop conditions has passed with a complete victory for the Knitgoods Union. Eighty-six bosses were claimed by the Association-all were supposed to break the agreement. On the set date, however, only one shop tried this, with the result that the eighty workers immediately went on strike. The loyalty of the workers to the union, and the utter impotence of the bosses' association is amply demonstrated.

(The Workers Age is printing be-

"The Metropolitan Knitted Textile Association is today nothing the Metropolitan, which consists but a shell, having only a small of the New York employers was percentage of the shops behind it. at odds with the National Associ-This is mostly because of a certain ation, which includes everybody amount of competition between the connected with the knitgoods intwo types of work in the industry dustry—jobbers, retailers, manuand the resulting differences between the employers. There are chines, everybody except the workthe knitted sweaters, usually called men's and boys', and the ladies the backbone of the open-shopseason starts August 15th- so, basis of their fight with the Metrogenerally speaking, they are against settling with our union. The men's and boys' season is on now, and these shops are interested in settling. Even in the first group, there is some division, because some manufacture directly for the trade (retail) and others for jobbers. The jobbers need the workers now, to make their shipments to the retailers on time. So these also wish a settlement.

tractual relations with our union, a status quo agreement has been for the workers reported to the reached. And to show the weak- union and the matter is being ness and lack of base of the As- taken care of. If necessary we will



Louis Nelson

ers, employing 7,000 workers, have lors a special interview granted one of agreed to the status quo, and inour correspondents by Louis Nelson, dicated their willingness to sign Manager of the Joint Council of the a new agreement, on the basis of Knitgoods Workers Union. Dealing the Union's demands. You should with the problems of the workers in know that the status quo refers to the industry, these statements are of im- the conditions of the agreement portance in the precent situation, where which expired on July 15th. Those the posibilities of a general strike shops which have violated the exist. For purposes of easier reading, status quo are being answered ventions of the Federation, and the arction and consider form has been with picket lines—500 hundred of papers under the name of E. Butour workers are on strike in these places, mostly in New Jersey.

"Up to about six months ago, factures, makers of knitting maers. The National Association was pers and naturally this was the politan. Today with most of the employers out of the Metropolitan, the organizations have made up and are conducting a vicious campaign against our union.

"They have resorted to all sorts of tricks. Their latest has been to turn to the Federal Government in order to get scabs. I have documentary proof showing that the U. S. Employment Bureau has been sending scabs not directly to the "In those shops that were in con- shops, but employment agencies. work Even this dirty trick did

J. V. Stilson, who, under the name of Butkus, has become a well-known journalist in Lithuanian workers' circles, has won his unconditional release thru the untiring efforts of workers organizations and individuals grouped around the Stilson Defense Com-

Stilson was arrested on December 21st, 1935, by Federal authorities on a charge which had not been prosecuted for 18 years! In 1917, when Stilson was secretary of the Lithuanian Socialist Federation, federal agents raided the premises of "Kova" (Struggle), the official organ of the federation, then published in Philadelphia, and found anti-war leaflets. Stilson was arrested and accused of writing these leaflets. The trial, held in the atmosphere of the war, resulted in a verdict of guilty and a stiff sentence. Stilson refused to serve and for 18 years lived an underground existence in constant fear of arrest. But he continued his work in the labor movement and contributed many articles to labor

The unconditional release of Stilson will allow him to return unhampered to the labor movement to which he is devoted. This is in every sense a victory for the workers. A celebration was held by the Lithuanian Workers Federation on Friday, July 24th, which was well-attended.

REACH FARMS

A partial resurgence of the strike movement, due to the counter-offensive of the bosses, began last week. This movement is extending to the farm-hands, who are also conducting "stay-in" leadership in this struggle. and near Paris, numbering some- a great extent thrown its weight where in the thousands, refused to work on many large estates as the season for harvesting wheat approaches. At the same time, 25,000 metal workers, 4,000 shoe workers, 8.000 cannery workers, walked out, making a total of about 85,000 workers on strike.

Jouhaux, head of the trades unions, has denounced the strikes and is assisting the government in its frantic attempts to stop the movement. He denied that any sympathy strikes were to be called for the farm laborers and exhorted the workers to "keep calm."

Pressure from the bourgeoisie on the Blum government was increased as Rightist members of the Chamber demanded to know 'what had happened to Salengro's declaration." (Salengro had promised the use of force to evacuate they have managed to gain among strikers).

Workers Hold Mountain Passes; Fascists Threaten Siege

The counter-revolutionary forces of the fascist monarchist bloc have settled down to a war of long duration in which all attempts will be made to starve out the capital, Madrid. General Mola was repulsed in his attempt to march straight on the capital by some heroic fighting on the part of the part of the armed workers and peasant detachments about 60 miles from Madrid, in the mountain passes of the Guardaramas. San Sebastian which was lost by the rebels is being heavily shelled again in an attempt to regain this territory. The strength of the fascist forces which numerically consists of 28 provinces out of Spain's 50, is far more dangerous than even these numbers would indicate. They control Spanish Morocco, almost all of Southern Spain, Oviedo the munitions center of the North and other territory.

The rebel forces have entrenched themselves in strategic points so that they form a ring around the capital. While the government has been successfully sending out workers' detachments to throw back actual drives, a siege looms large in the plans of the fascist. Mola has threatened to cut off the water supply—a maneuver which can effectively counter the most heroic fighting.

That these generals were able to lead such a movement shows the extraordinary laxness of the People's Front government, displaying "tolerance" towards its enemies. Known as monarchists and fascist, these and many others were not removed from office but were exiled, to the Canary Islands, to Morocco, etc. where they were able to maintain their connections and establish new ones.

The revolt began in Spanish Morocco which shows that the workers parties have not cerried out their duty in respect to the oppressed colonial people. Whereas the freedom of the Moroccans is a necessary part of the workers' struggle, the question was "forgotten", so as not to embrrass the People's Front. But the economic needs of the colonials did exist and they turned to the fascists for

strikes. Farm laborers in the North | International capitalism has, to on the side of the fascist-monarchist block. In the international zone at Tangiers, Morocco, the representatives of France, Italy and England have refused to allow the government ships to land for refueling. It is very interesting to note that the president of this zone is an Italian fascist. France, also a government of the People's Front, has refused to aid in the struggle of the Spanish government, altho Blum was personally appealed to by the Spanish Socialists. That the "progressiveness" of France is here displayed under the banner of People's Front is unquestionable. While certain detachments of French communists are speaking of marching to Spain to help put down the fascists, the government they support is un-willing to aid its "brother".

The most amazing fact about the fascist forces is the foothold (Continued on Page 4)

All Out to the Hippodrome!

WORKERS!

Demand the Unconditional Release of TOM MOONEY and WARREN K. BILLINGS Proceed from work directly to the HIPPODROME

43rd Street and Sixth Avenue THURSDAY, JULY 30th, at 5:30 P. M.

This Meeting Has Been Called by the CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL

Show Your Class Solidarity with Labor's Martyrs

WORKERS AGE

EUROPE TODAY

Balance Sheet of Geneva

THE Geneva sessions which began with the capitulation to Musso-Partisan League to "organize for discredited "non-partisan" labor lini ended quite appropriately with Greiser and the Nazi press independent political action and politics out of which it was born. of Danzig demonstrating that the League of Nations is a dead dog and name candidates under its own openly demanding that it should cease its supervision of Danzig. Ex- column" is a development of major to its character as a labor party? actly when the Danzig coup will follow is a matter of opinion, but consequences for labor in this state What kind of labor party is it—it that it will come in the near future no one doubts. Greiser acted in as well as in the country as a may be asked—that heads its accordance with instructions from Berlin and the entire German Nazi whole. For, despite all defects and ticket with old-party candidates? press applauded in a clique-like fashion.

The Danzig incident is obviously a result of the capitulation of most substantial and significant the answer—a labor party in the the League of Nations in the Abyssinian conflict. Italy is not giving move made in recent months in the making, a labor party still weighany thought at all to paying any price for this capitulation. Far more direction of a real labor party, inis it concerned with putting up new demands. It has declined to participate in the Dardenelles Conference in Montreaux without the Brithe whole mess of made-to-order tions—but a labor party nevertish fleet withdrawing its strongest units from the Mediterranean. "labor party" conventions, con-Again, it is also demanding that Germany should simultaneously be invited to the Brussels Conference of the Locarno powers.

Even if the General Secretary of the Comintern, Dimitroff, de- lately. It is a small and hesitant in full perfection, but painfully, clares that it is "sectarian" for anyone to underestimate the signifi- step, certainly, but it is a step for- imperfectly, only gradually freeing cance of the League of Nations, yet it must be emphasized that the ward taken by a group of trade themselves from the heavy burden bourgeoisie obviously are today without the least camouflage brand- unions representing over 200,000 of their bourgeois heritage. We ing the League of Nations as a corpse for which it only remains to be

The speech of Leon Blum at the session of the League of Nations is a beautiful dream, but insofar as anything practical coming out of city. it, it is still quite uncertain. It depends primarily on what England will do. England, however, insofar as it is represented by the Conservatives, is today ever more shying clear of being drawn into any obligations for the security of Europe.

The strongest "wish" of England is, at the moment, as Baldwin said, the arrival at an understanding among England, France and Gerfor the purpose of the independent parliamentary group in the House many. The German press today speaks with all brutal clarity, that an mobilization of labor behind Presiessential prerequisite for an "understanding" with France is that dent Roosevelt. No official interest France should turn its back on the pact with the Soviet Union and was shown in anything else nor the alliance with the Little Entente. It also demands the disarmament

Some Lesser French Events

The law for the establishment of a grain monopoly has been adopted by the Chamber of Deputies. A number of Radical Socialist deputies voted against it. The effect of this law will be not only a raising the "great inherent potentialities | ducts. The increased wheat price will be of benefit only to a minority workers for political action, even policy and towards a socialist labor of the price of wheat, but also of the price of other agricultural proof the rural population—to the big landowners and big farmers. The tho its alleged independence is party" (Lenin). The essence of the mass of the French peasantry—small and middle—is compelled to largely illusory," clearly indicating buy wheat for its own needs. For the working class, this law means that, "historically and objectively, that the success of the last strike wave, insofar as wage scales go, the Labor Non-Partisan League will be made rather illusory.

The employers are in the midst of a counter-attack. They are sabotaging in many ways the execution of the new law. They are dent working class political action reducing the opportunity for working time. They are founding yel- in the future." This was plainly low trade unions. They are increasing their financial support of the true of the L.N.-P.L. at that time; fascists, who have transformed their organizations into political parties. They are organizing a general increase of prices. They are inciting the Radical Socialists to bring pressure to bear on the govern- July 17 conference in New York? ment and they are increasing their pressure in the direction of the de- | For the New York organization is

They have already succeeded to such a point that the Socialist Minister of Interior, Salengro, gave officially a declaration in the and Lehman; it is also going to Senate, that in the future the government will prevent occupation of the factories "with all persuasive means". The Senate applauded this. The Humanite is silent about this, and only repeats its refrain that largely of an independent labor now the Peoples Front government must be supported. The declaration of Salengro has been officially endorsed by Leon Blum and has tisan League as such can be rebeen handed down to the representatives of the trade unions.

The smaller employers, who number about half a million in France. are struggling against the social laws. They are having declarations made in the Radical Socialist Party press that they have been sacri- July 17 is virtually a labor party ficed to the bigger employers. Fascist propaganda is finding a fertile in the making!

Indicative of the present mood in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie is the general opinion expressed in these circles that, if the Blum government will not now get thru with the Fascists, then the time will be ripe for Fascism to come to power in France.

The demonstration of the Peoples Front on the 14th of July (Bastille Day) was not permitted to occur in the Champs Elysees—that political federation of trade unions fortunately, political development also, even primarily, support the is the section where the government offices and the bourgeoisie are and other labor bodies, an organ- does not always take place in ac- Democratic banner-bearers in state found, but was shunted aside rather to the proletarian East and limit- ization with a broad and active cordance with our wishes or our and nation; that shows how limited to the neighborhood between Place de la Republique and Vincennes. mass base, depending upon and recipes, however superior these ed, how primitive, this political This is a clear retreat before the sentiment of the bourgoisie.

Farm Mortgage Foreclosures Rise In Germany

The following official figures of forced bankruptcy sales of farms, herewith presented, show how useless, from the point of view of real security, the Fascist agrarian law has been to the great mass of small farmers. In 1934, 1318 farms totalling 28,462 hectares were sold as bankrupt on the auction block. In 1935, such forced sales 2270 farms ous and fundamental for it is poli- because it was not the kind of par- labor movement should view these and 31,445 hectares.

London, July 8th.

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Committee, Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition). of the whole setup. And then, on moreover, to insist that such a how far and how rapidly the 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: Democrats and perhaps a Republising figure and at what pace the

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. Fusion stripe, of course. In other from a conservative Republican been made will serve to pave the under the act of March 3, 1879.

Address mail to Box 68 Station "O" New York City. Saturday, August 1, 1936,

The New York State Labor Party

But is not this deficiency fatal

ed down, almost stifled, with its

shortcomings, it represents the A very imperfect labor party—is comparably more important than non-labor connections and affiliaferences and confabs with which parties are actually born in this we have become only too familiar world of hard fact, not all at once workers, by and large the most ad- should not forget that, for years, the trade union movement of this ly more than a labor auxiliary of

A Labor Party In The Making When the Labor Non-Partisan League was formed some months ago, it was established exclusively was any official mention made of vocated the admission of the Labor independent candidacies in state or congressional elections. Nevertheless in an editorial to the Labor Party as a full-fledged member of the Socialist International! On less in an editorial to the Labor Party as a full-fledged member of the Socialist International! less, in an editorial statement on May 2, 1936, the Workers Age combined extended criticism of the League with emphatic reference to in the mere organization of the . . may well come to form a

transition stage towards indepencertainly not going to limit itself entirely to supporting Roosevelt nominate a full ticket for state and even if openly or tacitly that labor ning in this direction is being congressional offices, presumably character. If the Labor Non-Pargarded as potentially a transition stage towards a labor party, then the state organization set up on

this labor party as at present con- farmer-labor party worth getting, They will put forward some stituted. The first is organization- is a farmer-labor party entirely genuinely labor candidates, unconal: it is still only a party in name free from capitalist old party al- nected with the old parties; that is -so far merely a committee A liances. . ." The farmer-labor real labor party is essentially a party we "want"—yes; but, unreally controlled by its constituent may be. To insist that the labor independence still is. No Marxist labor groups. How far the sponsors party we "want" is the only kind can overlook either side of the of the new party are ready to go of labor party "worth having" is to complex situation but no Marxist in this direction still remains to be present an ultimatum to history; can, at the same time, fail to put

A Grave Political Defect The second defect is more seri- jected" the British Labor Party | The class conscious groups in the tical in character. The new party ty they "wanted" or thought was recent events in a realistic spirit, is only partially independent. The "worth having." What Engels and free from all prejudice or dogma. head of its ticket will be President Lenin thought of this brand of for upon their action and influence. Roosevelt and, for the state, Gov- Marxism is a matter of public to a large extent, depends in what ernor Lehman; in fact, to support record. them is made the central purpose | It is sheer political blindness, situation will be realized in fact, the rest of the ticket, there are labor party as has been establish- serious inadequacies and shortcertainly going to be some more ed in this state can have no "real comings will be overcome, and to lican as well, of the LaGuardia- Democratic party. . . ." Viewing it small beginnings that have already words, that class differentation standpoint, certainly without any way for more complete class inwhich is the very essence and pur- interest in exaggerating the im- dependence in the future and, ulpose of a labor party is far from portance of the move, the well- timately, for a "conscious class

The decision of the conference labor party is as yet very imper- disturbing influence (of) the held on July 17 under the auspices | feetly formed; it is still tied with | establishment of a labor party of the New York State Labor Non- a heavy navel cord to the old and ticket in New York State.

theless! For that is the way labor anced and progressive section of the British Labor Party was hardne Liberal Party, that even after it had achieved independent organization, it still gave wide support to Liberal and even Tory candidates. As late as 1908 its independence was largely limited to the of Commons. And yet it was at this time that Kautsky, on one basis, and Lenin, on another, ad that, with all its shortcomings and inadequacies, it represented "the first step on the part of the really proletarian organizations of England towards a conscious class been taken in the right direction, miss the implications to which Mr. away from the old parties, and Lawrence thus calls attention, parthis paramount fact must not be ticularly the threat to the twolost sight of.

A Sectarian Position

It is necessary to emphasize this point because of the unfortunate- once pointed out and he was refersectarian attitude taken by the ring particularly to America, "is Socialist Party on this question. In the Socialist Call of July 18, an independent political party, no 1936. Norman Thomas severely re- matter how, as long as it is a disbukes those who "want some sort tinct workers party." And there is of labor party in New York State just the possibility that a beginparty should endorse Roosevelt made today in the form of the new for President, and Lehman for party to be organized under Labor Governor." Then he continues: "It Non-Partisan League auspices in childish optimism to think that this state. But only a beginning! A labor party which endorses Roo- group of powerful unions, among sevelt and Garner in the nation and the most progressive there are in Lehman in New York will have this country, have decided to join any real significance except as an into an independent political fedeally for the Democratic party ... " ration; that is something-organ-'The farmer-labor party that we izational independence—a rift, a There are two grave defects in want," he emphasizes, "the only break, in the two-party system. it is to follow in the footsteps of the decisive weight on what is Hyndman and the old Social-De- new, what is positive, what is pomocratic Federation who also "re- tential in the situation!

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"The wholehearted entry of labor in politics, with a nucleus of a party of its own," he writes (New York Sun. July 21, 1936). "has more or less permanent significance. . . . The Roosevelt administration is eager to accept aid wherever it can. Yet the voter who will mark the labor ballot will be starting a serious defection from the ranks of the regular Democratic party. For surely the votes to be cast for the labor ticket will not have come from the Republican party but from the Democratic vote in the cities, especially New York City. . . . For if the experiment works in this election, the formation of labor party tickets in states like Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois and Michigan would seem to be indicated for the 1938 Congressional election, with the prospect of a national labor party in 1940, headed in all probability by John L. Lewis. . . . Such a demonstration (a labor party in New York) will encourage those elements in labor's ranks who have always wanted a ticket of their own and will probably rid the two major parties ultimately of those members of Congress who have usually bowed to the pressure of a labor group in their respective districts. A distinct block of labor party members would be . . . helpful to a realignment of parties in America. . . .

No one alive to the fundamental

trends in the labor movement can

party system, the very bulwark of

capitalist class politics in the Unit-

"The first great step," Engels

measure the potentialities of the

ed States!

Direct And Indirect Action But how shall the working class intervene in foreign affairs? There can be no dispute that, pricalculated to influence directly any governmental policy or demand

ist Party. Instead he read and

another world war.

By WILL HERBERG

It is surely unnecessary to em-

phasize the fact that the fate of

the masses of the people and the

future of the labor movement, in

America as well as in the rest of

ed by every turn of international

affairs and thus by the foreign

policies of the great powers of the

earth. The traditional isolationism

of American public opinion, fostered

by the relatively isolated position

of the United States and its de-

layed entry upon the stage of

world politics, is now beginning

tions of the people are coming to

troubles". The world has become

one, politically as well as econ-

omically; the United States is

caught in the web of "foreign en-

For the working class move-

be a task more pressing than to

as an independent force. In the

for which the International Work-

International) was founded. And

central today in the epoch of im-

tanglements" beyond recall!

policy.—Editor.)

(This is the second of a series

realize that we cannot simply hide ing class can influence the course our head in the sand and swear of foreign affairs? We know very that we "will keep out of Europe's | well that the organized mass power of the workers is, at bottom, their only reliance. But do we. therefore, reject parliamentary forms of struggle, for example Do we refuse to make demands upon the government in Congress ment, therefore, there can hardly and in the State Legislature? Do we decline to exercise pressure intervene in international affairs upon the government so as to influence its course of action? Do so-called Inaugural Address, it we deny ourselves the right of will be recalled, Marx proclaimed sponsoring programs and proposhis as one of the prime purposes |als which we call upon the government to adopt? No, we do ing Men's Association (the First not, unless we are anarchists or syndicalists! We emphasize, of surely the problem is even more course, that direct action is fundamental but we do not reject, in perialism, at the moment that principle, methods of indirect acmankind stands at the brink of tion, recognizing at the same time that the efficacy of the latter is primarily derived from our inde-

threat of intervention against Rus- ed:

sia in the Soviet-Polish war in

1920 by organizing councils of ac-

tion and making ready to obstruct

the transport of munitions and

war materials. Whatever other

in world affairs there may be, di

rect mass action is not only most

effective in itself but is essential-

y basic to everything else; it is

the source from which all other

forms of labor activity draw their

But is direct action the only

rect action thru which the work

force and power.

the world, are profoundly affect- forms of proletarian intervention

to pass away and increasing sec- way? Is there no form of indi-

the masses.

real political Convention of any he did a good job. major party in the U. S." So much to that the capitalist newspapers and even the Hearst reporter praised it as a model Convention —a fact Jim Egan was quite proud of. We were told that the Hearst reporter stated that the good thing; and the 2nd a Hearst reporter stated that the good thing; and the 2nd part where "CP put on a better show than the Republicans at their Cleveland vote for Browder. We then refer-

plain the platform of the Communirades asked 6 of these.

affairs. Everyone knows that im- |ly not be suspected of factional |ample. Does any one really imag- |to call upon the government to reof articles by Will Herberg on sult of trade union struggle, which is direct action on the economic wrote a few months ago. In an U.S.S.R. because of a sudden up- positive action. article in the December 7, 1935 surge of love for the Soviets or field. British labor stopped the

WORKERS AGE

ULTRA-RADICALISM vs. MARXIST FOREIGN POLICY

peace, between the two. . . "

pendent organized power among

the course of events. This is true anything of the government in the versal and absolute dogma, it gives the Socialist Party attempts to in domestic as well as in foreign way of foreign policy. I will sure- rise to a whole series of difficul- meet the problem by urging the vod fascist group or the pro-PITTSBURGH LEARNS "THE LINE" brushed aside. In the first

major party in the U. S." So much | We asked him to explain the ing sort. Surely there is little

Convention." And by the way, do red to Browder's quotation of most doctrinaire anarchist would thing inherently wrong in calling really revolutionary parliamentaryou know why so few Communists Lenin and had the opportunity to really apply this abstentionist upon it to take a definite line of ism as there is in a strike or trade spoke at the Convention and why end by reading word for word rule all along the line even in forthere was no discussion? This hap- from the Age the article "Browder eign politics. Did not the radical hardly valid. Certain imperialist- for the recognition of the Soviet pened because "never before was Distorts Lenin." This I asked labor movement demand for years ic groups may be just as interest. Union or the banning of credits to there such Unity in the Party and Egan to explain. what is more important, because Needless to say he could not. He nize the Soviet Union, that is, are in having it take place ized obstruction of munition shipthe demonstrations and applause stated he believed Browder more enter into a treaty with it? Did and the consequences of the one ments. The attempt to restrict intook up too much time so there than us, that our statements and we therefore bind ourselves to may be quite as portentous as of dependent action to mean simply was not much of it left for speak- questions smack of "exceptional- support the government in any the other. The fact is that the land solely direct action is really ism." Altogether there were 9 shape, manner or form? This argument against labor advocacy ill-disguised anarcho-syndicalism. No attempts were made to exlain the platform of the Communlain M. W. length. Take Rumania, for ex- means that it is just as "wrong" | see it in foreign policy as well?

issue of the Workers Age, I stat- as a concession to the masses?

Nonsense; Rumania recognized the "What we do object is to la- Soviet Union for purely imperialbor advocacy of governmental listic reasons, in pursuit of a desanctions. What we do oppose finitely pro-French policy. Recogis for the workers to demand wition of Russia was a sign of the imposition of sanctions by Rumania's pro-French orientation their own government . . . and of its readiness to play the Why? Because such action es- French game with all its consetablishes an objective link of quences. This is indisputable. cooperation between the work- Should, therefore, the Rumanian ers and the bourgeoisie, binding revolutionists have refused to dethe labor movement to support | mand the recognition of the Sovthe government in whatever liet Union on the high ground that consequences the imposition of such recognition was imperialisticsanctions may have . . . (The ally motivated and sponsorship of pro-sanctions policy) is false it would bind them to support the because it necessarily involves government in all consequences class collaboration between the cstrained relations with Germany, labor movement and the capital- pursuit of French policy, etc.)? We can go further. Suppose ist government (naturally in the pursuit of the latter's imper- Japan and the Soviet Union are ialistic aims), because it neces- at war. In Congress, where, we

sarily implies truce, or even may hope, there will be workers representatives in the near future. In one form or another, this a proposal is made by some liberal octrine has been presented in to place an embargo on all war every discussion of foreign policy, materials and loans going to especially of sanctions, that has Japan, while the pro-Japanese forppeared in the left socialist or ces demand a ban on everything Protskyite press. The question of going to the Soviet Union. Can sanctions as such we will deal a socialist or communist reprewith upon another occasion; here sentative do other than vote for am primarily interested in the the former and fight against the nature of the argument advanced latter proposal? But would not ly tenable, at least not in its abin opposition to labor advocacy of the obvious consequence of such solute and universal form. As governmental sanctions. Labor can- action be to foment hostility be- such, it is essentially nothing but not demand of the government that tween the U.S.A. and Japan, very a partial and inconsistent applicait follow a certain line of foreign much to the satisfaction of a cer- tion of the abstentionist approach policy—so the argument runs— tain section of the American im- of an abstract and formal radical-"because such action establishes perialists? The doctrine of "res- ism. As a matter of fact, it seems an objective link of cooperation be- ponsibility for consequences", hard to see how a working class tween the workers and the bour- therefore, carries you to the point movement, alive to its tasks in the geoisie, binding the labor move- where you cannot even support a world of reality, can possibly rement to support the government proposal in Congress to give the frain from exerting all its mass in whatever consequences (this most vital kind of aid to the Sov- power in influencing the foreign "Responsibility for Consequences" policy) may have." Now, it can let Union and to obstruct Japan policy of its government. For not be denied that this principle ese war plans. Such a conclusion marily and in the first place, its Is there any essential difference seems quite plausible on the face I must regard as the most destake to permit a policy of abstenintervention must be thru direct in the field of foreign politics? In of it and, within certain limits, I cisive refutation of the entire pomass action. In all phases of the current discussions it is frequentclass struggle, such action is funly maintained that there is. It is sound. But I have now become cated in my first article. damental—organized mass action alleged that we must not sponsor convinced, after serious thought, In the war resolution adopted at no difference to the Rumanian that, once it is turned into a uni- the recent Cleveland convention, masses whether the pro-German

ties that cannot be ignored or "prohibition of the manufacture, transportation or sale of any war In the first place, why the dis- materials or munitions" and the tinction between domestic and for- "prohibition of loans to other coun-Our Group attended the Party enumerated briefly the main eign politics? If calling upon the tries for war purposes." But es whether the French bourgeoisie meeting where Comrade Jim Egan, planks in the platform. The re-City Organizer of the Communist porter was poor (he himself stated latter field binds you to support of proletarian or revolutionary Only Organizer of the Communist Party Con- he is in the in the Party a mere it in all the consequences of the sense in such an idea. Does not both alignments are equally imrarty reported on the Party Con-two years) and the task of report-vention. About 100 persons were two years) and the task of reportvention. About 100 persons were ing on the Convention was a bit same true in the former field? If posal would make impossible the cerned? Of course it does!—not present and since non-members were permitted to attend, probably about 25% were sympathizers. There are 400 Party members in Pittsburgh.

Almost one-fourth of the time Almost one-fourth Almost one-tourth of the time was consumed by Egan in reporting the "enthusiasm prevalent at ing th the Convention." He was proud of Browder's quotation of Lenin the Convention and spoke of him almost read Browder's quotation of Lenin the Convention. as of a god, or should I say, the (Selected Works Vol. III P. 153) therefore cease making demands the sending of war materials to making demands upon the (bouras of a god, or should I say, the the Age of July 4th upon the government in any the Soviet Union battling for its geois) government in the field of USA. We learned that "the Convention functioned just like any der Distorts Lenin" and he thought the would be logical—but would be logical—but it would be anarchism, abstract mate in doctrinaire self-stultification. radicalism of the most self-defeat- tion, I don't know what it is!

> all right—they tell us—to insist not in form and method but in The Principle Tested In Life that the government refrain from class aims and objectives. There As a matter of fact, only the a certain course, but there is some- is just as much independence in

provements in working and living designs if, by way of illustration, line that Rumania finally entered frain from doing something as it conditions come largely as a re- I point to something I myself into diplomatic relations with the is to demand that it take some

> Some months ago, when there were rumors that the German auhorities were planning to float a huge loan in this country, virtually all liberal and anti-fascist organizations in the United States addressed themselves to the federal government insisting that all credits to the Nazi regime be banned. A large number of prominent socialists voiced this demand and perhaps some Trotskyites too. for all I know. But what is the difference between calling for a ban on credits to Germany and calling for a ban on oil shipments o Italy? Are not both sanctions in essence—that is, governmental action of a discriminatory or punitive character against a certain definite power? Does not the argument of "responsibility for consequences", in its absolute form. hold for both? I would be interested to know from the left socialists or from the Trotskyites (if they have any voice left) whether. in strict obedience to principle, they are now ready to repudiate the agitation for the banning of I think it is already fairly clear

> that the argument against labor

ladvocacy of foreign policy is hard-

there is altogether too much at orientation of the Cuza-Vaida Voe-French orientation of the present Tatarescu regime prevails, even the both are imperialistically motivated? Or to the French mass-

What Is Independent Action?

GRIPS SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

the peasantry. Their camps are being flooded with new recruits daily from among the peasantry proper and even farm laborers. Now the People's Front is reaping the bitter fruits of failing to distribute the land, of failing to break up the feudal estates. When 60,000 peasants seized the land at Badajoz, the Azana government, without any protest on the part of the Communists and Socialists, drove the peasants out at the point of the bayonet. Such deeds are not remembered with pleasure, such deeds serve to separate the peasantry from the workers and throw them into the arms of the fascists.

In many small cities and even in Madrid proper, it has become clear that the Left Republicans have, to all intents and purposes, abdicated. Some have fled the country—that is, it is the workers parties who rule, without having the courage to take power. The immediate task in Spain for the workers' parties is the building of committees in the army, in the villages and among the workers, to form the bases of Soviets. This would place them in opposition to the people's front, which exists only in name, (since it is the workers and sections of the peasantry who are doing the fighting), and enable them to win decisive sections of the peasantry and the workers for a proletarian revolu-

NELSON SCORES BOSS TACTICS

(Continued from Page 1)

U. S. Employment Bureau. Working in conjunction with the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, the bosses tried everything—but in the end they will have to try one thing more, that is to sign with the union.

"A serious problem, not merely for us, but for our whole International is the problem of the runaway shops, the companies who seek to escape union labor. Some of these shops, out of town, have been on strike for seven or eight months. Despite the aid of the National Association in conjunction with the local Chamber of Commerce, the financial reports of these runaway mills reveal bankruptcy. Several have failed. and if support is withdrawn by the Association and the local chamber of commerce were to start asking for rent, then many more would go under. As regards this, the International (ILGWU) has sent fifteen organizers into the field to organize these out-oftown shops, and placed a fund of \$150,000 in the bank for the drive.

tion, the willingness of many employers to settle, the loyalty of our workers and the support of the International all will combine to give the Union a victory in this strug-

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FASCIST REVOLT Canadian Jobiess Force Restoration Of Relief

(By Our Canadian Special Correspondent)

Beginning with the first of April the municipalities, due to a reduction in their relief quota from the provincial government, started to put thru cuts-not all at once but more or less staggered over the entire province. They cut the food allowance and rent and fuel allowance and in some cases cut the single men off relief altogether. Clothing allowance were entirely cut off after the 1st of June. Some the unemployed associations held protest meetings but were only able to arouse enough support to induce slight concessions in the fuel allowance. Just after the news of the "stay-in" strikes of the French workers had been in the press for a day or so, York Township Council and a joint deputation of individuals representing more or less dormant organizations came to a deadlock and the cuts were applied in that district. Spontaneously a strike was called land York Township surprised the whole suburban area of Toronto by the extent of the strike and the broad united front character of the demonstrations. The C.C.F. clubs participated, the Progressive Veterans and they even drew in the Canadian Legion. The single men who had been cut off "squatted" in a vacant field in dugouts made of sheet metal, packing boxes etc., nicknamed the "village" "Red Square" and held well attended meetings there nearly every night for a week. The Provincial Government immediately made a favorable offer and 54 single boys were shipped away to a road camp. To everybody's surprise the "dugouts" were immediately filled up with more single men who had been living at home and the government then agreed to meet a deputation who put up such a good front with the assistance of the Council that a housing scheme was proposed. The final decision of the Government turned out to be building one or two model houses not satisfy the workers.

The "General Strike

In the meantime the Ontario Workers Federation (a relic of the Communist Party's ultra-left period) attempted to mechanically organize a "general strike" along the Lakeshore even though two of the most heavily populated and industrial districts had no workers organization functioning. It looked hopeless until one of the Workers Associations, in Lakeview, farthest strike against a sudden imposition portunist line, the People's Front, of work at 221/2 cents per hour their stand in the elections, the atfor relief task work. At the end of titude toward Roosevelt, the issue a week and the day before the July today is not socialism versus cap-"The weakness of the Associa- 1st holiday, having been refused italism but fascism versus demotheir vouchers, they promptly oc- cracy, progress versus reaction, the cupied the relief offices and with defense of democracy against the use of a large number of women were able to gain a settlement at 2.00 A. M. in the mor-The "general strike" was shore and our district, Etobicoke Township, showed the best results. York Township was again heard from when they staged a more or less spontaneous demonstration outside the relief offices, while their leaders were some miles away in conference with the Council. They ended up by occupying the relief offices. Approximately 3,000 were involved. The deputation rushed up there from their conference and after the relief ofa council meeting was called on the spot and the cuts were restored He expressed his desire for Meh-

with the single men being put back on relief-"until the money runs out." The government first condemned the move of the council then said it was O.K. but after the money ran out they would provide 'credits" to the municipality until such times as they (the municipality) could increase their tax levy and collect same.

Workers Rush Support

The York Township demonstration was on Monday. On Wednesrefused to pay the workers for the time they had been on strike and they promptly started an argument which was joined in by the Reeve later in the afternoon. The Reeve took a stubborn attitude and refused to negotiate before the next Monday so, that as the leaders came out to give this report, the workers spontaneously decided to hold all concerned in school basement until the Reeve would summon an immediate meeting of Council. He tried to get out, made the statement that he would do so if he had to crawl out and the workers thereupon decided to call his bluff. They sent out to different districts for support and after an all night siege the radio started to report that police forces were being massed to bust up the siege with a dead-line of noon. A temporary agreement was negotiated with the Reeve at 11.50 A. M. (the other councillors couldn't be induced to come near) but not before two or three truck-loads of gamated police forces.

workers had come all the way from York Township to swell the crowd.

Mass Arrests Ineffective Lakeshore speakers subsequently spoke at meetings in York

Township the same night. At midnight 10 workers, from different districts, were picked out of their beds and taken to jail. They used one provincial, one county, and one local officer for each worker with all the arrests taking place simultaneously and the morning papers carrying big headlines as well as stories of "red plot" with the observation that "radicals" were in the background, using the unemployed for a "front" as the method of explaining why the demonstrations were not led by Communists except for a few individuals. 17 more were picked up in York day the Etobicoke relief officials Township on Friday night and a couple more on Saturday night and they were all charged under the Criminal Code with "kidnapping with the use of threats and force.' Two in the Lakeshore, (1 Liberal, 1 C.P.) and Two in Cork Township (1 C. C. F., 1 C. P.) were let out on \$2,000 bail while the balance were let out on \$200 bail each. They also changed the rules so that only one bondsman could bail out one prisoner which made it more difficult to get the boys out. The Canadian Labor Defense League was not functioning very effectively (it is having growing pains as it has developed into the Citizens Defence Movement).

Protest meetings are well attended and the mass arrests have not had the effect the government hoped they would, up to the present. The workers movement feel "much obliged" to the government for the support they have gained from their "kidnapping" stunt with the use of their amal-

VISIT TO JACK SODERBERG

On July 4th, Comrades Miles, Cork, Steinberg and Davis drove up to Sing Sing to visit Comrade Jack Soderberg, railroaded to jail by the capitalist class for his militant activity along the waterfront. Three of us were allowed into the waiting room. The waiting room was crowded to the walls with visitors, it being July 4th. Comin each municipality and the rade Soderberg soon came in. A 'enormous" sum of \$25,000 was to smile, a firm handshake, and we be spent on this scheme. This did sat down together. He appears in good physical trim; he is in charge of the prison gym.

> Conversation quite naturally turned first to the situation amongst the seamen. He had followed developments very closely, especially the favorable situation on the West coast. He expressed his admiration for Bridges, "A good guy, knows what he's about." Then we talked about the recent seamen's strike here, and about Curran whom he had not known.

Then the situation in the Comwest on the Lakeshore, pulled a munist Party came up, its new opfascism, etc. He told us about conversations he had with some Party members who had come to visit him, how they reeked with the line called along the rest of the Lake- and echoed it faithfully like prepared sounding boards.

Then we talked about the situation in the C.P.O., its activities, politically and in the unions, the situation in the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the danger of a split. the steel campaign, about Mooney and the renewed campaign for his release centering around Mooney Dav.

He follows everything closely, not only events in America but the situation in the movement interficials were held in for some hours nationally. "I've got plenty of time to read now." Proletarian novels.

ring's life of Marx. He had read James T. Farrell's book on literary criticism. Farrell's a good friend of his, and writes to him frequent-

We knew what it meant to a proletarian activist to be discussing the class struggle instead of actually engaging in it, forcibly kept from doing so by being confined to a capitalist dungeon because of activity in behalf of the working class. When we left he said, simply, "Been in now 41/2 years. Out in May 1940. Well, reached the turn of the road, the halfway mark is passed." $_{
m His}$ faith in the working class, his desire to fight is undiminished.

The limiting hour for visitors had come. A firm handshake, "So long, Jack," and the prison door clanged behind us.

On August 2nd, the baseball team of the I.L.G.W.U. travels up to Sing Sing to play the prison team. This will give many more of us than is possible under ordinary circumstances a chance to come and give greetings to a true fighter for the working class.

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BOOKS of the AGE

THE SIGNIFICANT MODERNS, by C. J. Bulliet, Covici-Friede. 200 pages of text, 276 full-page illustrations. \$4.00.

This book, by the pro-modernist art critic of the Chicago Daily News, is an attempt to give a bird's eye view of the most significant work of the movement in art which began with Cezanne and ended with Picasso. The text consists of brief anecdotal-biographical and appreciative notes on some sixtyeight artists, founders or temporary or permanent followers of the modernist movement. Each comment is popular, picturesque, and as far as brevity and selection permit, "spicy."

Within the field of judgments which have already become conventional, Bulliet's taste and sensitivity are adequate, in the main even irreproachable. His "giants" are quite properly Cezanne, Seurat, Renoir, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Matisse and Picasso, though the present reviewer has a strong suspicion that several of these giants, notably Gauguin, Matisse, and (except as a tireless experimenter and stimulus to movements destined to outgrow him) Picasso, will be subject to considerable shrinkage under the dessicating process of time.

But the author, after riduculing the academics who could not appreciate the impressionists, and the preachers of impressionism, once so daring, who showed hardening of the mental arteries when Cezanne began his departure in the direction of the reassertion of form in painting, seems to show the same insensitiveness to recent art developments. Of course, he has a legitimate ground for ending his book with 1929 since the movement he depicts petered out with the death or the aging of the "giants," and the collapse of the market for their imitators in the stock market crash of 1929. But Bulliet writes as if significant painting itself had stopped on that fateful date, and as if he were unaware of the way in which life had once more begur to "renew itself" in the socialmonumental mural movement initiated by the great Mexicans, Rivers and Orozco, and their associates. Professional art critics who fail to realize that some time in the middle twenties the "center" of the art world suddenly shifted from Paris to Mexico City, will have a hard time of it keeping abreast of art history in the making. Diego Rivera gets into this work with a single picture, a nude taken from one of his murals, by no means representative or suggestive of his work, and he gets in merely because of his one time association with Picasso; while Orozco, not having been to Paris, is admitted

More significant than the text is the collection of reproductions. There are 276 of them, well selected, with a slight but natural, overemphasis on nudes, and most of them fairly, some of them excellently reproduced. This does indeed give the sensitive observer a bird's eye view of the movement known as "modernism." And the fact that a first edition with 276 Jun-page half-tones is offered for \$4.00 should give food for thought to publishers of expensive "popularizations" of works of art.

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