Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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FDR DISAVOWS **COMMUNISM**

Assures Hearst He Maintains Capitalism In **Best Possible Way**

President Roosevelt took advantage of the New York State Democratic Convention to assure his avowed enemies in the Landon camp that the policies of his administration are distinctly anticommunist. While this may be news to only a few people, the analysis given by the New Dealer of his own role was so accurate as to put the fantastic formulations of the Communist Party to shame.

"There is no difference between the major parties as to what they think about communism," Roosevelt assured Hearst. "There is a very great difference between the two parties as to what they do about communism," he declared.

The Republicans seek to fight communism thru extreme reaction, but the Democrats seek to remove the causes, namely economic dis-content. "The true conservative seeks to protect the system of private property and free enterprise by correcting such injustices .. Liberalism becomes the protection for the far-sighted conser-vative." And that of course, has been Roosevelt's role and purpose expressed as neatly as could be desired: to bolster the badlyshaken capitalist system by some measure of reform and social relief. To make sure that everybody understood, F. D. R. closed with: "I am that kind of a conservative because I am that kind of a liberal."

Corey to Teach at NewWorkersSch.

When the new term of the New Workers School opens on Oct. 5th, there will be included in its staff one of the outstanding economists of America. Lewis Corey will open his course on "Our American Proletariat" on Friday, Oct. 9th at 7 P.M. His first session will be devoted to an analysis of the early beginnings of the American work-

This course will prove of especial interest at the present time in the employers refused to recogthe light of the latest developments nize certain newly elected progresin the international labor move- sive leaders of the Marine Fire ment. It will combine a theoretical men's Union. The International approach to the problem of the nature and role of the working class in capitalist society with an analysis of the historical development of the American working class.

Lewis Corey has done extensive research on the subject bringing to it a profound knowledge of economics and of American history This study of the most dynamic class in American society to-day is unprecedented in workers' education and should prove of tremendous interest to both advanced and new students of the labor move-

The series of lectures runs as follows: (1) Preparation: Colonial and Revolutionary Labor 1790's). (2) Emergence: Labor, De-(Continued on Page 3)

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO **WORKERS AGE**

Counter-Attack Begins To Defend Madrid

Cabellero Gives Vague Promise Of Workers' Rule Sometime In Future. Conscription Will Be Resorted To In Final Defense.

Slight signs of recuperation of loyalist forces, after the terrible blow caused by the fall of Toledo, were seen when the government reported the recapture of Maqueda, near the former city. A counter-offensive is being prepared by the loyalists, but purely on a military basis. While slogans are being shouted all thruout the provinces that: "Peasants, the harvest is our rear line of defense", no effort is being made to rouse the peasantry on a revolutionary basis by making this struggle for the land.

TRUCE IN DOCK LABOR FIGHT

the newly appointed Marine Commission, plus the determined stand of the Pacific Maritime Federation of Unions, forced the shipping bosses of San Francisco to accede to a 15-day truce in the negotia- | ly enough, it is not a victory that tions being carried on for a new and inequalities as arise from it. agreement. The previous contract but, as is increasingly apparent, had been won by the workers thru the 1934 strike, and expired Sept. 30th of this year. The fifteen days will be used for the new negotia-

> The employers are vicious in their attempts to break down the gains of the 1934 victory, especially the clause giving the unions control of the hiring hall. Before the truce was agreed upon, the employers threatened to hire right on the docks, a move which Harry Bridges, president of the longshoremen, stated would be considered a lock-out.

A strike of the International Longshoremen's Union at Miami was temporarily terminated thru the ministrations of a Federal conciliator. The men went back to work with an understanding that in two weeks a conference to discuss union recognition, wages, etc. would be held to cover all South Atlantic ports.

The struggle between the progressives and the burocracy of the unions of the N. Y. waterfront was given a new twist this week when Seaman's Union, to which the latter is affiliated, had refused to recognize the victory of the progressives, and the employers maintaining the contract was with the International, seized this as a pretext for not recognizing the union at all. Four ships were held up by sit-down strikes, protesting the refusal to recognize the duly elected leadership of the

SIX PAGES

On OCTOBER 17th, the next issue, the WORKERS AGE will appear as a SIX-PAGE paper.

This is only partially satisfactory. The drive must take us over the top to an eight page: WORKERS AGE.

But, of course, everybody knows that this bitter civil war is not a war between classes but simply a struggle between two ideals, fas-

cism and democracy.

Largo Cabellero, once termed the "Lemn of Spain", corrected his prematurely enthusiastic friends Pressure on the employers from by announcing that: "After we have conquered the fascists, we will carry out Article 1, Section1 of the Constitution, which provides that 'Spain shall be a work-ers republic of all classes'". Sadcan bring the workers' republic, only a workers' and peasants soviet republic, that can possibly bring a victory.

> Tightening of the lines in Madrid is indicated in recent dispatches, whereby the early enthusiasm of the workers which expressed itself in independent organization, will be curbed. Centralization of the military com-mand and strategy, certainly necessary, will be consummated not on a revolutionary proletarian basis, but on the premise of defense of the republic and the bourgeois regime. The election of leaders by the workers will be elim-

> Vitalonia has announced that conscription will be applied to all males between the ages of 18 and 40, and it is likely that Madrid will do the same.

DODGE AUTO LOCALS **AMALGAMATE**

Detroit, Michigan-Amalgamation of the eleven locals into one large organization in the Dodge plant here has been announced by Richard T. Frankensteen, Detroit United Automobile Workers of merica

Organization in the Dodge plant to departments under the former Automotive Industrial Workers' Association, independent union that affiliated with the United Automobile Workers last July. The amalgamation makes the Dodge unit one of the largest locals in the International Union and was put through as a measure to concentrate the strength of workers in the plant, Frankensteen said.

Detroit, Michigan-A research department has been set up to make a complete survey of the automobile industry in order to illustrate in exact figures the status and relative position of the automobile worker, it was announced. William L. Munger of Lansing, Michigan has been appointed research director of the United Automobile Workers of America last week by Homer Martin, president of the International.

SMASH MOSLEY

demonstration planned by the British Union of Fascists thru the proletarian East End of London was broken up by the workers and driven completely out of the region. Five thousand police had been called out by the government of the "mother of democracy" to protect the Fascists in their provocative actions. However, the infuriated workers beat back both the police and the fascists.

Mosley will protest to the government that this was a "denial of the right of free speech"!

REPORT STEEL DRIVE GAINS

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee, holding a meeting in Pittsburgh, studied the rising revolts in the company unions of the progress was being made in orray reported that the SWOC now has 35 sub-regional offices, regional offices in Pittsburgh, Chicago and Birmingham, 158 field directors and organizers, 80 part-time organizers, and 5,000 volunteer or-

The Carnegie Steel Corporation has been finding that even company unions are not an impregnable defense against the demands of the steel workers for better working conditions and the right of organization. The split in their company outfit which took place a couple of weeks ago, has now resulted in the insurgent pro-CIO section demanding a referendum

Next day the company issued a long statement in which it refused negotiations on the very frank grounds that increased wages would mean decreased profits!

LONDON WORKERS FRANC DROP AIDS FRENCH BOSSES

Blum Maneuvers for Capitalism With Full Support of CP

A sharp clash between the Communist Party and the followers of De La Rocque was averted in Paris, despite the threats of the leader of the Croix de Feu, now known as the French Social Par-The police and the Mobile Guarde blocked the Fascists, and the C.P. proceeded with a meeting in which, the N. Y. Times correspondent states: "Speaker after speaker in rather dull trite phrases spoke far more in support of the government than about communism." The fact that this fascist organization exists and carries on its scurrilous activities seems to worry Blum not a whit-so long as free speech is maintained, even for the fascists.

The Blum government supported by the Communist Party and also industry. Phillip Murray declared by at least half of the Radical Sothat they "were cracking up all cialists put over a gigantic swindle along the line". Declaring that on the workers, peasants and urban middle classes of France when ganizing the steel workers, Mur- they succeeded in devaluing the franc, last week. Under the guise of an "international move for peace by the three great democracies", France united with Britain and the United States in shifting the major burdens of the crisis on to the backs of the masses. The effects of the devaluation of the of the franc will be felt here, but, of course, its primary blow falls on the French masses.

The role of the Right wing was one of extreme demagogy, against devaluation which they really wanted, carefully coupled with pruning the bill as to end all so-called "protection" for the workers and peasants (a la NRA). Blum had mouthed pretty phrases about rights to prevent price rises by being given the right to raise wages correspondingly. (It is interesting to note that this was to

(Continued on Page 4)

Two More Murders!

We have just received the news member of the Socialist Party. All that Comrade Hermann Hoffmann organizational director for the has committed suicide in his prison cell in Essen.

Comrade Herman Hoffmann was arrested toward the end of 1933. was divided into locals according He underwent great tortures and was sentenced to a long prison term as a result of his attempt to build the underground Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). We have no details at all concerning the "suicide" of our comrade. But even if it is true that he killed himself the guilt falls fully on the Hitler regime and its hench-

Hoffmann was a bank clerk in his early thirties; a charter member of our Essen local and a very courageous revolutionary functionary unselfishly devoted to the labor movement. As early as 1934 we received word that he had attempted suicide unable to bear the tortures inflicted on him by the Nazis. He was not very strong physically but he gave his all to the movement. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that he committed suicide since his grounds of being a "Brandlerite." prison term was nearing its close. He returned to Cologne and joined Comrade Hoffman was a former our group.

who knew him will honor his memory as a model revolutionary. He is the 18th CPGO victim of the

A report from Cologne states that Richard Kreutzburg, a former member of the CPGO, drowned himself in the Rhine river. Kreutzburg a most intelligent comrade educated at the Western University of Moscow, was in serious straits because of his miserable financial condition even before Hitler's assumption of power. He was constantly unemployed and always on the brink of starvation. During the war he was a member of the Socialist Youth and lost his apprentice job as a result of his anti-war activities. After the war he became a member of the CPG and a leading functionary in the Middle Rhine section until 1924. After 1924 he occupied various leading posts in the CPG until 1928 at which time the CPG sent him to the Western University of Moscow. In 1929 he was expelled on the

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE TRADE UNION SITUATION

C.I.O. AND PAST BREAKAWAY MOVEMENTS

14. In estimating the future and possibilities of the C.I.O. as an independent federation, it is necessary to distinguish it sharply from all previous breakaway movements from the A. F. of L., such as the I.W.W., the S.T. & L.A., and the T.U.U.L.* and the policy which gave rise to the C.I.O., from the disastrous dual unionism that has afflicted the American labor movement so frequently in the past. The distinction is deep-going and fundamental; it touches the basic factors making for the movement, its character and structure, its aims and purposes.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE FEDERATIONS

15. A bitter, long-drawn out and frequently destructive civil war in the labor movement is inherent in the situation and well-nigh inevitable, altho responsible and well-considered efforts may help to mitigate it and avoid its worst excesses. At the very outset, there will be a struggle over the international unions not yet affiliated with the C.I.O. From present indications, it is likely that over a dozen such organizations, with a membership of about 200,000, will go with the C.I.O. without much delay and thus increase the membership of 1,300,000 which it already has. Among the federal unions, too, the C.I.O. will have a great appeal, as well as among certain organizations now outside the A. F. of L. (radio workers, shipbuilders, shoe workers, technical men, etc.). The clash will become even sharper when it is not merely a question of the transference of allegiance of a union from one federation to another but a conflict between the unions of the two federations themselves. The Executive Council, of course, will begin an immediate offensive -ousting the C.I.O. unions from all city and state central bodies it can control; chartering new unions for the "vacated" jurisdictions where possible, attempting, usually in vain, to organize opposition or breakaway movements in the C.I.O. unions; and the like. The C.I.O., on the other hand, will certainly not remain idle. There are a number of "industrial sections" of craft unions, such as the lumber workers in the carpenters union and the transport workers in the machinists unions, that have no place in these organizations and that will be easily accessible to the call of the C.I.O. Opposition movements will un' doubtedly be fomented in the A. F. of L. unions, with good prospects of success, even in the building trades unions. At the same time, there will undoubtedly be the tendency for the C.I.O. unions to expand their jurisdictions, not always without confusion or extravagance. Breakaway movements of sections of the A. F. of L. unions to the call of the C.I.O. Opposition movements will unsurely not refrain from setting up its own city and state labor bodies where it cannot capture those of the A. F. of L. For each organization—A. F. of L. and C.I.O.—such mutual aggression and "raiding" will be, to a certain extent, inevitable for, to each, constant expansion will be necessary for mere existence.

DECISIVE FACTOR IN STRUGGLE

16. But the final outcome of the organizational struggle between the two federations will, in the long run, be decided not by this mutual aggression but by the progress

* Industrial Workers of the World (1905). Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance (1895), Trade Union Unity League (1930).

hundreds of thousands of steel, auto, rubber, radio and electrical equipment, glass, textile, metal mining, chemical, oil and gas and other workers in the basic, mass-production will come in this field.

THE ISSUE OF UNITY

17. It is not altogether excluded that, under the impact of the crisis, some national or international unions may decide to remain altogether independent from both of the federations. It is necessary to emphasize that such a position would be seriously detrimental both to the unions concerned and to the labor movement as a whole, tending to multiply confusion and to give impetus to the forces

ATTITUDE OF SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS

18. In the situation created by the coexistence of two federations engaged in a desperate struggle for survival, the issue of unity assumes a new and even more vital aspect. It then means the reunification of the two federations on such a basis as to make possible the uninterrupted progress of the labor movement, that is, on the basis of industrial unionism and democracy.

19. The Old Guard Socialists, now organized in the Social-Democratic Federation, adopted a very hostile attitude towards the C.I.O. and John L. Lewis, in particular, at the very beginning and did not refrain from intrigues calculated to get certain needle trades unions to desert the C.I.O. Recently, however, under pressure of some trade union leaders, they began to modify their position so that today their attitude is very confused, altogether uncertain and vacillating. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, has maintained a sound position thruout, some of its members being active in C.I.O. work. The position of the Communist Party, too, has been generally sound, altho a tendency has sometimes shown itself to fly to extremes in one direction or another.

POSITION OF THE C.P.O.

20. The position of the Communist Party (Opposition), as formulated in the resolution adopted after the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L., has been fully confirmed by subsequent developments. The C.P.O. has also proved able to estimate correctly each turn of events during the last year and to intervene effectively to the limit of its resources.

21. The seriousness of the crisis in the labor movement and the far-reaching character of the issues involved, make it imperative for us to strain the limit of our organizational resources to make our influence felt in the course of events. Possibilities for such effective intervention are offered us thru unions affiliated with the C.I.O., especially the I.L.G.W.U., which is in a very strategic position in the whole situation; thru craft and other unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., thru city and state central labor bodies; thru individual contacts and influence; and thru general propaganda and agitation. We must make the most of all of these possibilities, however slim they may be

TACTICS BEFORE THE CONVENTION

22. Until the A. F. of L. Convention in November, our efforts should be directed towards a struggle for unity

fight at the convention to seat the delegates of the suspended unions, to repudiate and rescind the arbitrary and illegal suspensions and to get the A. F. of L. to cooperate industries of the country. The decisive test for the C.I.O. in the great steel organization drive. In the intervening period, a unity campaign must be carried on with the greatest energy-local unions as well as city and state central bodies must be put on record demanding the rescinding of the suspensions and the seating of the C.I.O. unions at the convention; the unity of all city and state

TACTICS AFTER THE CONVENTION

labor bodies must be maintained; new affiliations to the

C.I.O. should be withheld in this period. In other words,

a fight for the preservation of unity until the last possible

23. But once the situation changes and two federations appear in the field, we take our stand unequivocally with the C.I.O. because we recognize in it a necessary and historically progressive development. We must then throw all our energies into the effort to build up the C.I.O. as the dominant and recognized trade union center in America, as the main stream of the American labor movement.

24. In pursuance of this aim, it will be our task to turn the efforts of the C.I.O. as much as possible away from mutually destructive warfare with the A. F. of L. to the far more decisive task of organizing the millions of workers in the great mass-production industries of the country. If any real headway is made in this direction by the C.I.O., its permanent position will be established beyond challenge.

25. In the same way, we will have to combat the spirit. theory and practise of dualism—the conception that rival organizations are not really labor organizations at all: that they must be smashed; that small groups or minorities must desert them, etc. Under no circumstances should we permit that, in the confusion, dualist tendencies and sentiments, which have caused havoc in the labor movement in the past, be allowed to raise their head again.

26. In all the conflict and turmoil, it will be our task to hold aloft the banner of unity. Never must we allow the divided condition of the labor movement to be accepted indifferently or to be taken for granted as natural and inevitable. In both federations we will have to conduct a systematic fight for unity on the basis of industrial unionism and democracy.

27. In both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. it will be necessary to build up a strong and well-organized progressive movement working towards the same ends. Such an independent force will find its basis in the collaboration between the C.P., S.P. and C.P.O. which, begun at the Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. in 1936, has continued and developed, in spite of many shortcomings and setbacks, during the course of the last year. Such collaboration is all the more necessary today and remains entirely possible, despite the sharp differences among the three groups on a number of vital questions, because there is essential agreement on general orientation in the labor movement and on the main tasks facing us.

28. For the C.P.O. all these tasks mean that we must extend and deepen our influence in the unions, which is still altogether too weak and limited. We must keep in mind the fundamental fact that our ability to entrench ourselves in the mass organizations, in the trade union movement, will, at bottom, determine the power and effectiveness of our struggle on all fronts!

ALSACE UNIONS GREET MOONEY

Dear Comrade Mooney:

plans of these enemies of labor. heroism.

workers' solidarity with your cause mire your strength which enables paying heavily for the opportunist are greater today than ever be- you to fight for the unity and short-sightedness of its leaders. fore. The banner of revolutionary strengthening of the American struggle which you are holding proletariat despite your 20 years' front of the working class on the war prisoners, including you. aloft is brighter than ever, lighting imprisonment. Your readiness to basis of the class struggle and are become the banner-bearer of the the international proletariat at a united front as presidential cantime when the bourgeoisie is at- didate illustrates that your fight- form whatsoever. The united front tempting to utilize all means of ing abilities are coupled with good on Leninist principles is the best

Strassburg. August 10, 1936. proletariat from seizing power. At labor. Your efforts may not be a time when the European prole- crowned with immediate success, On the occasion of the twentieth tariat is robbed of its most ele- but then any success worth keepanniversary of your and Billings' mentary rights by the Fascist ing is worth fighting for. sonment, we wish to express hordes, we need not only firm prin-

other hand, has increased the class lutionary type of labor leader who a result of a wrong policy of colon the road of the class struggle. with the decadent burocrat of the on the basis of Marxist principles.

to this united front, we urge you = to fight for it as the only means of strengthening the working class and of uniting the split forces of

We are fighting for the united open the prison walls of all class astonishing improvement over capopposed to any policy of collabora-"civilization" to precipitate a new political insight. Though the re- guarantee of success. And we are, imperialist war and to prevent the formist labor leaders are opposed simultaneously, fighting to force

BOOKS of the AGE Edited by P. Malevsky-Male-

imprisonment, we wish to express our fraternal solidarity with you.

American "Justice," in convicting you on false charges, aimed to strike a fatal blow at the struggle of the American proletariat. The Spanish civil war is an epic of proletarian courage you have displayed in the struggle of the American proletarian. The Spanish civil war is an epic of proletarian courage and the struggle and the structure of power by the fascists and the destruction of the once powerful German labor move
We are writing to you from France—from Alsace-Lorraine—which lies very close to Hitler Germany. We were forced to observe the seizure of power by the Fascists and the destruction of the once powerful German labor move
The courage you have displayed in the same author. Using the same The courage you have displayed in tariat. The Spanish civil war is an once powerful German labor move-the past 20 years has thwarted the past 20 years has thwarted the lend of proletarian courage and ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and we have seen the tragic dependence of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and the properties of the properties of proletarian courage and once powerful German labor move-ment and the properties of the prope ment and we have seen the tragic Armed forces, public health, social often under the guise of protests consequences and bloody sacrifices relations, education, industry, against Russian oppression, dis-The crisis of capitalism, on the We count you amongst the revo-which the working class faces as trade, agriculture, transport, close the true feelings of human consciousness of the American has arisen in the period of prole- laboration with the bourgeoisie and held out to the innocent reader is burdens imposed by the Commuworking class and has started it tarian revolution as contrasted a failure to unite the working class Max Eastman's attack on "Art and nist dictatorship." Literature in the Soviet Union"-Knowledge of your struggle and reformist labor movement. We ad- The German proletariat is today material which has frequently appeared in various magazines

> With fraternal greetings, E. HIRTZEL

1936. 102 pages. \$1.00.

President of the Railroad Union the removal of all religious and of Strassburg

ALBERT ROSENFANG. First Vice-President of the Lum- into an orgy of sexual promiscuity ber Workers Union of Alsace. and quick divorce."ELLEN WARD

In the preface to the book, the editor stresses his complete impartiality in the compilation-but all the reader has to do is to open to THE SOVIET UNION TODAY. any page at random to discover the venom that lies under the mask vitch. New York, Paisley Press. 1936 102 pages \$100 of "impartiality." The culling and arranging of figures to suit one's This abbreviated treatise is a Mr. Malevitch uses it with confinance and money. The juicy plum beings against the unbearable

> In his chapter on "Social Relations" (which even the most reactionary critics have hailed as an italist morality) the editor says: "With the abolition of the sanctity and authority of the family, and bourgeois moral safeguards, the Soviet Union was initially plunged

Is the Socialist Party For a Labor Party?

(In his previous article Will Herberg examined the attitude of Norman Thomas on the labor party question The discussion refers to Comrade Thomas's speech in New York on September 9.--Editor)

(Concluded from last, week)

For the American Labor Party, Norman Thomas has practically no use whatever. He has no difficulty in proving that the A.L.P. has made a great mistake in starting off its career with the bannerbearer of the leading capitalist party at the head of its ticket. But he has nothing coherent to say against those who emphasize, as fundamental in the situation, the beginnings of a genuine labor party in the A.L.P.—a labor party still in the making, it is true, still very imperfect and full of grave shortcomings, but a labor party nevertheless. To Comrade Thomas with his five conditions of "acceptibility", the A.L.P. is obviously no labor party at all but merely a clever contraption of Jim Farley's. The price of sectarianism is necessarily political blind-

Yet Thomas's political conscience can not rest easy. Perhaps, after all, there may be something to the A.L.P. And so he adds as an afterthought.

"Here in New York the Labor Party may live in some fashion because of local considerations . . . It is possible that, as it lives, it will learn and become a genuine party. No one hopes that more than I And no one more than I wants to hasten that result.'

Norman Thomas's wishes and ty years ago. "Our theory is not staying outside the American La-might put iron in labor's blood months the Socialist Party has a dogma," he declared, "but a bor Party, even in fighting against manual of action . . . Experience union affiliation to the A.L.P. Rahas shown that it is possible for ther curious logic, it must be adus to cooperate with the labor mitted! movement at every stage of its de- But if the logic is poor, the hisvelopment without having to give tory is even poorer! What seems up our own program or organiza- to be unknown to our socialist seven years ago!

History

"R-R-Revolutionary Socialism"

CANDIDATES, if elected, will not all in a flash be able to create this new Heaven and new Earth. It cannot all be done instantaneously. It is a job that will take time. But it can be started on immediately. Two years will see a definite difference. Five years will register a marked change. In ten years we shall all begin to enter into a life of all-round general abundance." (Emphasis as in riginal.)

From "WHAT SOCIALISM WILL REALLY MEAN TO

among other things, 'to abstain strictly from identifying them selves with, or promoting the interests of, any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties'. Keir Hardie, one of the founders of the Labor Representation Committee, in 1903 brought home to trade unionists the danger of flirting with the Liberal Party. . . Hardie's warning was heeded. Increasing Representation Committee comaction. The British Labor Party was built as a party that refused to have any dealings with old party candidates, either of the Liberal or Conservative parties. The party grew and flourished"

tion. Such a living conception of friends is that what Keir Hardie Marxism seems to be a book sealed was pleading for and what the with seven seals to the S.P. today, 1903 resolution referred to was thru its silence. Is the "revolutionary" realities has become the very just as it was to the C.P. six or largely the independent organization of Labor members in the House of Commons into a separat Curious Logic And More Curious fraction, or caucus, or "parliamentary party", distinct from the Perhaps this is as good an oc- Liberals and Conservatives. This casion as any to comment on the modest bit of independence, which statement of the New York State any American labor party would Executive Committee of the S.P. have more or less as a matter of mocracy and the Frontier (1820's- events occurring in Spain and on the labor party question pub- course, did not in the least prelished in the September 5 issue suppose independence in the act- Populist Socialism (1860's-1890's). tions about the whole problem c of the Socialist Call. At this point | ual | elections; for many years | (4) | Standstill: Accomplishments | the transition from bourgeois de I am not concerned so much with thereafter, Labor candidates con- and Limitations of Craft Union- mocracy to the achievement of the somewhat incoherent and estimued to be elected on what were ism (1900's-1920's). (5) Structu-socialist society. The course will sentially child-like sectarianism actually join Labor-Liberal or La- ral: Composition and Significance open Oct. 6th at 8:30 p. m. Finally that characterizes the document as bor-Tory tickets. As late as 1908, of the Proletariat. (6) Preparative will be the course by James a whole; I would like to call at- Lenin described the Labor party tion: The Decisive Struggles Sand on "American Phiso's ophy tention to the curious argument as "separating from the bourgeois Ahead. from history developed at length parties in parliament, not during In addition to the start of Lewis prove to be immensely interesting the elections, not in its whole pol- Corey's course, this week will see to students of the American labor "Labor parties that have sur- icy, not in its whole propaganda the opening of three other impor- movement and its relationship to vived". we read, "have repud- and agitation." How utterly ab- tant courses. There will be a most American ideological development. iated the policy of non-partisan- surd it is to speak of the British original and highly important This course will begin on Oct. 6th ship. At the 1903 conference Labor Party as a party that "re- course by Will Herberg on "War at 7 p. m. of the Labor Representation fused to have any dealings with and the Labor Movement." The Registrations are still being remittee pledged its members, well-known works as Max Beer's "Peoples Front, Democracy and beginning on Oct. 5th.

"Of course, the SOCIALIST

YOU" By Lawrence Benjamin

history of the British labor move- and rally the workers to a real lalabor groups joined the Labor Party in Theodore Rothstein's History of the Labor Movement in mitted to independent political England. Upon such "history" is the S.P. position based!

In his New York address, Norman Thomas also attempted to ex-The Labor Representation Com- Roosevelt and Landon. Quite cormittee was established in 1900. In rectly criticizing the official Com-1903, it adopted a position which munist Party for its fantastic nobut his way of achieving them is prets to mean independent politi- of fascist concentration in Amer-A.L.P. ever to become a "genuine" warned against the danger of man-"hesitating", "vacillating" labor party if the progressive ele- "flirting" with the Liberal Party. of course- of the forces of antituitous advice. It was against this dependence. And yet this is the and lets us in for some things Thomas is playing the Landon antype of sectarianism that Engels precedent presented to us to justhat sound absolutely incredible! gle of the political game? inveighed so scathingly over six- tify the American socialists in "Conceivably a Landon victory

Communist International from the left.

C.P.O. PRE-CONVENTION **DISCUSSION BEGINS**

BEGINNING with the next (October 17) issue of Workers Age, the pre-convention discussion of the C.P.O. will be opened. Subject to discussion are the following documents:

1. Draft Resolution on Relations to the Comintern (Workers Age, Sept. 19, 1936).

2. Draft Resolution on the Labor Party Movement (Workers Age, October 3 and 10. 1936).

3. Draft Resolution on the Trade Union Situation (Workers Age, October 3, 1936)

4. Draft Resolution on War sent to the units. (See also article in Winter issue of International Class Struggle). Besides. comrades may also discuss material sent to the

units in regard to policy of the C.P.O., the International Communist Opposition, the Communist International, and the Second Any member of any working class organization is eligible

to participate in this discussion. Articles contributed must be limited to problems raised and must be, for obvious reasons of space, no more than a thousand words in length.

No contributor may use a pseudonym. He must supply the Workers Age with his name and address.

The discussion will close with the Sixth Convention of the Communist Party Opposition, which is to be held at the end of

All members of the Communist Party or the Socialist Party, all workers who are members of trade unions or other labor organizations, and all class-conscious workers in general, are invited to participate in this discussion on the basis of the above

ment or the chapter on the Labor bor party." In other words, the

Norman Thomas On Roosevelt And Landon

But one thing that is accomplished is into such a blind-alley of sectarto explode the myth of the "revolu- ianism and confusion that hostilitionary" Socialist Party, criticizing the ty to labor's first, halting steps to-Norman Thomas endorses the People's become a dominant note in its Front policy for France and, under similar conditions, for the United campaign, that gross distortion of States-and the Socialist Call assents fundamental political facts and pose of the Militants very much more ground and basis of its election than a matter of factional strategy? | appeal!

worse, the better" is recommended to us as an alternative to the drive in Virginia, for New Jersey C.P. s policy of "the lesser evil"! "Temperamentally, he (Landon)

wants no blood and iron. . . His lack of strong leadership may make him responsive to firm labor pressure. . . ." As if the temperament of the man had anything plain the socialist attitude towards to do with the case, as if Landon would hesitate for one instant to call out the troops to crush a genintentions are certainly of the best the writer of the statement inter- tion that Landon represents a sort and iron" the steel trust may deeral steel strike with all the "blood more than dubious. How is the cal action. In 1903 Keir Hardie ica while Roosevelt is the spokes- bor's right to organize as unqualifieldly or as qualifieldly as Roose- ciation which has a recognized Nevelt. . . . He has gone contrary ments, who want it to become That means that, until 1903, for fascism, he yet manages to fall to Hearst..." What is this but coast and the Gulf. such, are going to stay out? Sec- three long years in fact, the L.R.C. into one trap after another, lead- palliating Landon's political sins tarianism is always eager enough was not at all independent, but ing to a position quite as bad. In in order to make a better case to declare itself quite ready to "ac- continued to "flirt" with the Lib- so many words, he declares him- against Roosevelt? Is it any woncept" the labor movement just as erals. And all this time, Keir Har- self in principle in favor of the der that many workers, unused t soon as the latter begins to meas- die and other British socialists re- People's Front—for America, too, the obliquities of politics, have ure up to its preconceived stand- mained inside the, L.R.C., fighting if conditions demand it—thereby come to the somewhat naive conards; meanwhile it is content with hard, presumably, to improve it giving away his entire case to the clusion that, as against Browder's standing aside and offering gra- and to strengthen its political in- C.P.!* Then he turns to Landon flirtation with Roosevelt, Norman

> succeeded in manouvering itself wards political independence has

(Continued from Page 1)

Fascism" should appeal to all thos 1850's). (3) Upsurge: Labor and France and have been asking ques-

Committee, forerunner of the the old party candidates", one can first sesion opens Oct. 5th at 7 ceived and will be accepted during British Labor Party, this com- see for himself who consults such p. m. The course by B. Herman on the first week of the school term,

Tenth Man Must Be Organized

By STEPHEN CUNNINGHAM The critical point in the CIO drive for the organization of steel workers is revealed in a recent bulletin of the National Urban League.* Lester Granger, director of the Workers' Bureau, has issued sound warning in a conservative. noffensive manner; a manner which should reach the directors of he Steel Workers Organizing Comnittee. Almost two decades ago, William Z. Foster sensed the dangers in impending racial conflicts. Mr. Granger has given William Z. Foster proper credit for honesty n seeking a solution to the Negro roblem; but he adds valuable maerial to this quiet warning by ointing out the existence of reacionary forces even now hovering inder the protecting arms of the transformed, forward-moving John L. Lewis.

The majority of the unions comprising the Committee for Indusrial Organization (CIO) are generally progressive on the Negro uestion. Everybody knows that he ILGWU is shoulder to shoulder er with Lewis' United Mine Workers. Both these powerful bodies have faced the racial issue squarey in the North. The UMW has shown its daring even in Alabama The Negro question is still a thorn utterly discredited theory of "the with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, even after its brilliant presents a curious and challenging racial problem to Hillman and his staff. McMahon of the United Textile Workers has never tackled the bugaboo. Rieve has avoided the problem in its entirety, leaving little basis for the Socialists' acclaim accorded him. In general however, those unions clustering around William Green are easily recognized as the ace Jim-Crow experts in the movement; the outstanding exception being the International Longshoremens' Assogro majority on the lower East

Vulnerable Points

Mr. Granger has sensed correct-Foster's honesty and sincerety 1918-1919. He is equally correct pointing out the vulnerable points in Foster's program. Foster could hope and wish, but he was plagued by two monsters attacking at the same time. Slavery and its off-spring, Reconstruction and the Ku Klux Klan-concocted terrors. The mis-education of the Negro leaders was typical of the times: faith in education, the ballot, and the acquisition of property. A combination of these reactionary tendencies stumped Much of his delay was Foster. probably due to the common error -"white man's security"-in withholding the Negro drive until all foreign and native white elements had been assembled.

To ward off this angle of attack. Granger writes, "these individuals." the lily-white labor elements, "must be watched carefully to insure that they do not pervert the progressive policy which is planned at present by the leaders of the organizing drive."

The failure of the steel drive of 918-1919 can be traced to several actors, but of them all the ease with which the steel magnates could switch from Europe to the deep South in recruiting its labor surplus caught the forward-moving sections of labor flat-footed. The steel magnates were a generation shead of intelligent white workers in grasping the simplicity of machine technique. Henry Ford has a clear understanding of the relative values of various racial

Bulletin No. 12 Workers' Bureau of the National Urban League. New York City.

(Continued on Page 4)

ALP ANNOUNCES **OWN PROGRAM**

The official program of the newly launched American Labor Party in New York State was made public outlining a series of immediate and long-range legislative objectives to which the party pledges itself.

"A new political alignment is taking shape in our country in response to new economic and social trends," the preamble to the program declares. "The formation of the American Labor Party in New York State as the permanent political instrument of labor and progressive forces is an answer to the urgent need for a party rooted in the common people and giving concrete political expression to their aspirations."

The program adopted by the party covers the fields of labor, economic security, consumers' interests, and civil liberties. It stresses, particularly, the protection of workers in the right to organize and to bargain collectively, and demands the outlawing of company unions and deputized private guards. The party pledges itself to work for legislation fixing minimum wages, abolishing child labor, and progressive reduction of hours of labor. It also specifies the need for free state and federal employment agencies.

The New York Harbor District Council of the 21 Standard Railway Unions, with a membership in excess of 25,000 in the Greater New York area, has voted to affiliate with the American Labor Party, it was announced at campaign headquarters yesterday.

The action, the announcement said, was taken at a special meeting of the Council held last Thursday at the Times Square Hotel, in which representatives of 18 of the unions associated in the Council took part.

Other trade union organizations which announced their affiliation with the American Labor Party in the last few days, it was stated at headquarters, are the International Fur Workers Union; Local 325 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union; Bookbinders Union, Local 25; Fur Dyers Union, Local 88; Fur Dressers Union, Local 2; Dress and Waistmakers' Union, Local 22; Theatrical Stage Employees and Motion Picture Operators Union, Local 32; and Fur Floor Workers, Local 3; Buffalo Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Bakers' Union, Local 14, Rochester; Bakers' Union, Local 509, Brooklyn; Hebrew American Typographical Union, Local 83, New York; Meat Cutters Union, Local 665, New York; Waiters and Vernon; \mathbf{Dress} New York.

AN APPEAL

to every Communist Party member

to every Socialist worker

to every progressive trade unionist

to every militant worker

The international working class movement is faced with a struggle for its very life. The spread of Fascism, the events in Spain and France, show

The labor movement of this country is faced with problems of the greatest significance for its future development. The crisis in the A. F. of L., the suspension of the C.I.O. unions, make this clear.

The workers' socialist fatherland, the U.S.S.R., is facing an attack from Nazi Germany. The recent Nazi Party Convention and the intensified rearmament confirm this.

For these reasons, it is your duty to

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TENTH MAN MUST BE ORGANIZED

(Continued from Page 3)

groups in mastering machinery. Every well-informed capitalist knows that brief time and machine training will produce a rapid change in the crudest, black, farm worker. Moreover, American Negroes have had contact with machinery since the first days of slave mechanics. Marx knew this, and made numerous brief allusions to it. The simplicity of grasping the truth of racial myths of creative values undoubtedly accounts for the lack of extension in Marx's treatment of the African (Negro) problem in American industry. Certainly he was informed of "the only thing of interest in the book" (Henry Carey's-American economist), the fact that, the Negro now thoroughly "Yankee-ised, English-speaking, etc." was "fit for emancipation."

The Northern Migration

Threatened by labor shortage, Waitresses' Union, Local 2, Brook- the result of the European wars, lyn; International Ladies' Garment steel magnates turned to the Workers Union, Local 143, Mt. Southern states. Not only Negro Patternmakers workers but white workers of Union, Local 31, New York; Utility equal backwardness were packed Workers Union, Local B752, Brook- into trains and shipped to Northlyn; and United Vehicle Workers, ern points. The color problem, however, outranked the backwardness

of the Southern workers. White workers advanced rapidly, but the Negro was herded into the jobs where risk and pay were marked with figures of big R's and prettysmall p's.

Negro social workers were frequently guilty of conscious and unconscious strike-breaking. Consider the numerous and meaningless "studies" on the suitability of Negro workers. From the day of its foundation in 1910 the National Urban League was preoccupied with the need of proving that Negro workers were a profitable investment by Northern industries. These studies were the result of a newly-kindled racial consciousness. But as necessary as one's pride in his own humanity is, even today, the drift from pride to prejudice is quickly attained. The Negro press with Hearst-like zeal, rose against foreign-born workers. Understandably, Negro leaders denounced the persistant refusal of capital to employ black labor except in a pinch. but the zeal with which the Negro press rose against the foreignborn was more a step backwards

the retarded South, the Negro Lincoln and the Proclamations, Repress hastened the migration of publican bosses walked hand and black laborers. All this recruiting hand with capitalist investment. was not innocent. Of course there were Negroes who enriched themselves recruiting black labor! (This bounds. Papers like the Chicago is not an unknown experience among foreign-born bankers and steamship agencies.) Negroes who fluential on a national scale. Negro exploited Negroes rose to the ranks of the small, but secure, Negro middle-class. The Republican party was eager for this increase in the number of bone-dry Republicans. "The Republican party was the ship and all else the sea," but Frederick Douglass, the idol of the abolitionist movement did not envisage the new slavery of capital-

The Negro got his opportunity in Northern industry with the outbreak of the Balkan wars. Later, the German drive through Belgium called thousands of Europeans home to the colors. Northern industry was shorthanded in a period of expansion.

Race Wars And Profits

Negroes were not new to industry; only to Northern industry. For years American capital hesitated, contemplating the migration of the Negro as a problem leading to race war at a time when American capital was in a position to capture the South and race war was less than the fear of labor scarcity; and the fear of the South which saw share-cropper scarcity was appeased by the quick replacement of Negro hands by starved Mountain whites who had been even worse oppressed than Negro farm laborers.

At first the Democratic party was frightened by the coming of Negroes into the North. The Republicans were cheered: The Negro would not upset the apple-cart by asking for more than the privilege of living in the North amid Republican fellow-citizens. The Repub- on lynching to an attack on Southlicans were different from the ern lynchers exclusively. The editor radical generation of Lincoln which of The Crisis wrote against capfreed the slaves. Having "saved" italism for a long time, but the interest and a drive ahead.

Proving that the North was a hesitate about giving him the vote him additional and the slaves. Having "saved" italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves. Having "saved" italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves. Having "saved" italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the interest and the slaves italism for a long time, but the slaves italism for better place for the Negro than in the free North. Digging up his radicalism.

> It is little wonder that the Negro press grew by leaps and Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier became popular and inworkers, newly liberated from

FRANC DROP AIDS FRENCH BOSSES

(Continued from Page 1) be done by decree—all hail democracy, beautiful democracy). However the Rights in the Chamber, but mainly the entire Radical Socialist Party threw out these sections The result, after much bickering, of dubious nature, between Chamber and Senate, was that the bill was passed without even the "progressive" trimmings Blum desired. There is no price control, no wage control, instead the government is now in a position to force compulsory arbitration on all strikes; this was brought in here by grace of bourgeois legalism, but it exists-which is the important thing for the French bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party pursued not even a hypocritical policy on this issue, but openly defended and supported this move of Blum. It must be remembered that the Communist Party had made the question of devaluation one of its chief campaigns, in the form of "defend the franc." When devaluation was announced Thorez said: "Of course we are for the protection of workers' rights under this move. While we were against devaluation entirely we would not break the People's Front on such an issue." But they voted for the bill!

Once again the People's Front has proven itself to be a major bulwark for the bourgeoisie against any mass movement. It has carried out one of the primary tasks of capitalism in France and done it with an ease, and a repression of the masses, that only those who betray Marxism for phrases can

semi-feudalism in the South, handled money for the first time. The bitter critics scorn at the amount of whiskey they bought, but the masses tried to purchase homes, to educate their children, and to send home for relatives and friends. Avoided by social ethics, they were pursued by salesmen. All over the North the poverty-stricken older European markets. But the fear of generation is still struggling to carry investments in church property, city blocks, and a place somewhere near the sun.

> Professional "uplifters" cautioned the Negro migrants against loudness, lewdness, and the tendency to desert the church, the home, and their leaders. Northern capital invested liberally (for Negroes) in education and social work. The Urban League was born under these circumstances, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People shifted its fight from a radical attack italism for a long time, but the in-

(Concluded next week)

Send me more information about the C.P.O.
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