

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## ANTI-NAZI MEET HELD BY UNIONS

### Central Trades Council Raises \$27,000 For Labor Chest Fund

Under the auspices of the Central Trades and Labor Union of New York City, 15,000 people attended an anti-Nazi meeting in Madison Square Garden on May 3rd. \$27,000 was raised for the A. F. of L. Labor Chest Fund for the Relief and Liberation of the Workers of Europe.

Altho it was an official trade-union meeting, the content of the program was turned over to the various religious groups suffering persecution under the Hitler dictatorship. Matthew Woll even emphasized that despite the fact that the meeting was organized by the A. F. of L. "it was in no sense a labor meeting." William Green, president of the A. F. of L., assured everybody that "the organized workers of America are not busybodies meddling with the affairs of other governments or other peoples."

It remained for the scientific representative of a persecuted race to remind the meeting that its labor origin was not something to be ashamed of. Dr. Albert Einstein sent a message stating: "Only truly international co-operation of labor, with clearly defined and just aims, can save the workers from the inevitable fate of falling victims to glittering nationalist slogans which, under the pretexts of patriotism, have fooled them so often."

## United Front Brings Out Record Crowds for May Day Celebrations

### 150,000 March to Union Square in Colorful Demonstration

Fifth Avenue, swanky shopping street for America's rich, belonged to the workers on May First. One hundred and fifty thousand strong, their colorful ranks and scarlet banners thronged the street for more than eight hours on labor's holiday in the greatest demonstration this country has ever seen.

History was made from the moment the front line of the United May Day parade swung into motion in the early hours of the morning. In that line marched Israel Amter and James Ford of the Communist Party, Amicus Most and Murray Baron of the Socialist Party and Jay Lovestone and George F. Miles of the Communist Party (Opposition), all members of the sponsoring committee, typifying this as the most important united front ever achieved in the United States. It was in this spirit of unity that the May Day parade was organized; it was this spirit of unity that brought the vast mass of workers into the streets to demonstrate against the common enemy of capitalist reaction, fascism and war.

### Local 22 Leads

Dominating the parade were the trade unions. Dressmakers Union, Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers, headed by its manager Charles S. Zimmerman, led the line with ten

thousand workers, gay in white sweaters and flaming red berets, militant with red flags, enormous posters and numberless signs, unparalleled in youth and enthusiasm. Half a dozen bands added to the verve with which the dressmakers set the tone for the demonstration.

Following the dressmakers came the knitgoods workers of the Joint Council, rank after rank of them clad in red sweaters. Then the Cloakmakers of Local 117 and Local 9, the dress pressers and cutters, members of the Amalgamated Clothing workers, Journeymen Tailors and other needle trades workers.

Especially effective were the several thousand members of the Grocery Clerks Union, Local 338, dressed in white uniforms, wearing white caps in brilliant contrast to the array of red banners they displayed. The Pocketbook Workers, Suitcase, Bag and Portfolio Workers, Boot and Shoe Workers, etc. formed an imposing section of the parade. The tremendous turnout of the Furriers Joint Council was impressive both in numbers and color, as was the section composed of the Painters Joint Councils, Number Nine of New York and Number Eighteen of Brooklyn. Another large section was composed of the various food workers unions, mostly dressed in the white garments of their trade.

Each of the political organizations, Communist, Socialist Party and Communist Party (Opposition), was headed by a band playing the "International" and by

### 50,000 Participate In Demonstration in the Polo Grounds

rank after rank of young workers carrying scores of red flags. The Communist Party (Opposition) had an extremely effective float, carrying portraits of Tom Mooney with the slogan "Tom Mooney for President on a United Labor Ticket." The Communist Party probably outdid all other sections of the parade in the elaborateness of its floats, the outstanding one being an enormous moving hammer smashing down on the effigy of capitalism whose head was made of a stock ticker.

As the long afternoon wore on (is it possible that the participation of the Minister's Union assured such perfect weather?) organizations into the hundreds marched passed the reviewing stand at Union Square. Workmen's Circle branches, thousands of members of the International Workers Order, German, Spanish, Italian and a dozen other language groups, score of Workers Clubs, the Teachers Union, the Artists Union, the American Student Union, ten thousand children from the working class youth organizations—all passed through New York's packed streets to be viewed by a throng estimated at over a million in the four mile course the parade followed.

Two things were outstanding; (Continued on Page 6)

## 71 COMMUNISTS WIN IN FRANCE

### Run-Off Elections Also Show Socialist Gain; Right-Wing Firm

(see editorial, page 4)

The French run-off elections brought the People's Front a bloc of 375 in the new Chamber of 618 deputies. The Communist Party exceeded all expectations and won 71 seats, at the expense of the Socialists, while the latter party increased its representation to 145 seats (the biggest single bloc) at the expense of Radical Socialists. At the same time the Right forces not only stood firm but gained some seats. The Democratic-Republican Union increased from 76 to 91, the Left Republicans from 72 to 83, even the extreme right Conservatives winning a few seats. The Radical Socialists lost most heavily—41 seats.

Whether the Communist Party decides that this is really the situation for a "real" People's Front government remains to be seen. All things point to the Communists' support of a "left anti-fascist" government. The most persistent rumor has it that there will be a Socialist-Radical Socialist Cabinet, supported by the Communist Party, with Auriol as premier. (Blum, the logical Socialist candidate will not take the post because he is a Jew). Runner-up combination has a Radical Socialist majority in the cabinet with Daladier as premier, the Socialists preferring to wait, and not run ahead of the Communists in entering bourgeois cabinets.

## Progressive Leadership Wins In Auto Union

By S. JONAS and R. TAYLOR

SOUTH BEND, Ind., April 29.—Today's session of the convention of the International United Automobile Workers' Union terminated a long fought battle of the progressives in the auto union for complete autonomy of their organization within the American Federation of Labor. All candidates pledged to such progressive policies

### Auto Profits Rise

Profits of the eighteen most important auto companies have increased tremendously, it was revealed on the eve of the Auto Workers Convention. 1935 brought with it a gain of 136 per cent in comparison with the preceding year.

General Motors made \$50,169,619, or the equivalent of \$1.17 a common share, in the first quarter of 1936. For the analogous period last year the concern showed net earnings of \$29,215,816, or \$.68 a share.

The company reported earnings of \$179,002,093 for the twelve months ending March 31.

The auto accessories industry had an excellent year in 1935, the 58 biggest corporations recording a 133 per cent gain.

within the union as industrial unionism, democracy within the union, and a vigorous organizational drive were elected to office. They were Homer Martin, general president by acclamation vote, Wyndham Mortimer, 1st vice-president, Ed Hall, 2nd vice-president, Walter Wells, 3rd vice-president, and George Addes, general secretary-treasurer, all elected by large majority votes. The general executive board was to be elected later.

It was at the first convention of the union in August of 1935 that the progressives began the organization of their forces to resist the policy of William Green of appointing general officers for the union. At that time Green succeeded in forcing the union to accept these appointed officers by threatening to withhold their charter. This act of Green, coupled with the dictatorial, destructive policies of his appointed president, Dillon, caused wide resentment among the membership of the union. This proved to be not only one of the main obstacles in building the union but resulted in many of the former federal automobile locals going out of existence. For example, when the International was formed, 132 federal locals were advised by Green to affiliate into the union and today there are less than 70 locals. There was also a

(Continued on Page 2)

— 12,184,000 —

Washington — Blaming the mass unemployment upon the tendency of employers to lengthen hours, President Green of the American Federation of Labor declared this week that there are 12,184,000 people without normal work.

Green said that even if business reaches a level considerably above normal, "we must count on a permanent job short age of at least 6,000,000." What influenced him to make this statement, he declared, was the disproportion between business recovery and re-employment.

## U.S. IMPERIALISM SCORED IN MEX.

The recent call issued by the U. S. Government to all the countries of Latin-America for participation in a "peace-conference" in the western hemisphere, was soundly denounced by Vicente Toledano, general secretary of the Mexican Confederation of Labor. Toledano is very close to Cardenas, president of Mexico, and his organization has the majority of Mexico's workers.

The aim of the United States in this move is "complete economic and political submission of the Latin-American nations to Yankee imperialism," Toledano stated. As far as the relation of this conference to peace is concerned, he

## Ethiopian Feudal Army Cracks; Selassie Flees

The complete collapse of the feudal structure of Ethiopia marked the end of the first stage of the Fascist war of imperialist conquest. Many of the feudal chieftains had simply "gone home" with their retainers, leaving no Ethiopian army in the field. When Selassie found it necessary to move from Addis Ababa, he found it impossible to set up new headquarters in the West, because of the revolt of the local chieftains. However, this is far from the end of the possibilities of Ethiopian resistance. A reorganization of the country, that is an anti-feudal revolution, the freeing and arming of the slaves, and the founding of a new government, is now on the order of the day. Despite the forced marches of the fascist troops, the net results are only wedges driven into the country—wedges not yet converged on one point.

pointed out, "When the Chaco war was under way, no danger was considered imminent for other countries, but now that it is over Mr. Roosevelt sees a danger for peace. . . . As a new war appears imminent she (the U. S.) urges us to be prepared to strengthen her position and consolidate her influence in this rich and virgin portion of the planet."

In the face of the abdication of the Negus, there has been a corresponding collapse of capitalist diplomacy. Britain has been beaten, and rather than take such measures as might involve her in a war against Italy (for fear of what might follow Mussolini, and because full military preparations have not been made), she is willing to bargain away Ethiopia and accept Germany as the main danger.

### Who Owns Colleges?

Buffalo—Colleges and universities of the nation are controlled almost exclusively by big businessmen and financiers, a survey by Dr. Earl McGrath, University of Buffalo education member, reveals. 2500 trustees figured in the survey.

Ministers, who in 1860 made up 40 per cent of the trustees, now comprise only 7 per cent of the number, it was disclosed. Educators are slightly better represented, forming 10 per cent of the total.

McGrath attributes the increasing restrictions upon academic freedom to the preponderance of businessmen, lawyers, and bankers on college boards. Those with corporation ties comprise three-quarters of all the trustees.

# PROGRESSIVES CARRY AUTO WORKERS CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 1)

drop in membership in many of the local unions, especially in those where Dillon and his appointed organizers were particularly involved. A great stimulus to the consolidation of progressive forces took place when the Toledo local, 8,000 strong, was refused a charter by Dillon because he insisted they should be broken up into various small locals, which would have dissipated their strength. It was this issue which resulted in decisive action by Homer Martin, vice-president, and Ed Hall, secretary, in refusing to accept Dillon's decision, granting the local a charter, and taking leadership of the anti-Dillon forces and mobilizing the entire membership in a fight against Dillon and for complete autonomy for their International union.

After a great deal of hard work on the part of the progressives, the executive council of the A. F. of L. finally consented to call a special convention to end the probationary period of the international, and to give the union the right to elect its own officers.

Behind this fight within the organization looms the main issue which is now being fought out in the Federation—industrial versus craft unionism. This is proven by

the printed report of ex-president Dillon, who devoted considerable space to an attack on industrial unionism. More in this direction was done by William Green in his two hour address at the convention in which he viciously attacked the Committee for Industrial Organization as a destructive force claiming that "when subtle influences within stir up feeling and passion and division and discord we are dealing then with a new factor, a new element more dangerous than the most hated employer in the entire country." And further he adds "it matters not how sincere may be the pretense, the facts govern, and innocently a movement based upon the forces of human nature will finally grow and develop, widen and widen until we find those who are identified with this sort of a movement in one group and those who remain loyal to the parent organization, in another group."

"I do not know, I cannot see what is in store for our movement. However, I am apprehensive, and I know that unless good judgment is exercised something serious is going to happen."

We wonder if Green means by this statement that if the C.I.O. will continue its educational work for industrial unions within the

A. F. of L. and helping out the weak unions in mass production industries financially and organizationally, that he and the executive council will take action against them?

This threat was made by Green to the United Automobile Workers Convention because he had seen the sentiment of the majority of the delegates for adopting a resolution in support of the movement for industrial movement in general, and especially for a change in the charter of their own union to make it an all-inclusive industrial union. Green's speech was counteracted by speeches made by the evening open sessions of the convention by president McCabe of the National Union of the Flat Glass workers, Adolph Germer and Powers Hapgood of the United Mine Workers Union, Leo Kryzcki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Rose Pesotta, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U. They all pledged organizational and financial support in organizing 300,000 auto workers into the A. F. of L.

Another important action by the convention was the adoption of a resolution against Hearst and his publications and putting his papers on the unfair list because of a headline in the Chicago Herald-Examiner stating that "40,000 Au-

to Workers Leave the A. F. of L." This headline was condemned by the entire convention as a typical Hearst lie.

Notice was also taken of a letter which was sent out to delegates, supposed to have been signed by the "Communist Party" stating that Homer Martin and Wyndham Mortimer should be elected president and vice-president because they were active members of their organization, and also a telegram received from Earl Browder denying that the Communist Party or any of their section organizations had anything to do with this letter. Martin stated in a sharp talk that it was his opinion that this letter was either sent by some scab agency, bosses' association, or their representatives in the labor movement.

There are over 200 resolutions submitted by different locals on changes to the constitution, independent political action, and demanding the release of Tom Mooney, etc. The next days of the convention will see action taken in these resolutions. One thing is certain, and that is that the delegates will leave this convention determined to go out into the unorganized fields and organize the rest of the 300,000 auto workers in the United Automobile Workers Union.

## On the LABOR FRONT

### Homework Banned

Acting under the powers granted by the State Industrial Homework Law, Commissioner Andrews was forced to put a stop to homework by tailors in the mens' suits industry. This practice was prevalent mostly in the higher priced garment range, where \$200 suits would be ordered "and in a hurry." Investigation disclosed that the workers were forced into as much as a 100 hour week.

### Green Repeats Formula

In a letter signed by William Green and Frank Morrison, the American Federation of Labor was officially committed to its traditional policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." Nobody was to be endorsed until the candidates were chosen and the platforms made public, and the unions were warned "to avoid division" by refraining from identifying themselves with "any political movement designed as a substitute" for the traditional A. F. of L. policy, a sideswipe at the Lewis-endorsed Labor Non-Partisan League.

### "100% American"—the Labor Spy

Testifying at the hearings of the Senate Committee on Labor, which is investigating industrial espionage, E. S. Smith of the NLRB, stated that "The tactics of the anti-labor employer are part of a larger movement for the suppression of civil liberties. It is well known that in many sections the corporate farmer is showing himself as determined as the industrialist to oppose the organization of labor." Blankenhorn, an industrial economist, said that "this system of espionage (i.e. labor spies) is 100 percent American," an investigation revealing no such thing in Europe. He also described a "holding company" in Atlanta, Ga., where employers could purchase tear gas bombs, hire strikebreakers and stool pigeons, and engage Liberty League lawyers to defend them.

### Rieve Endorses Roosevelt

Led by Emil Rieve, the convention of the Hosiery Workers Federation of the United Textile Workers, endorsed Roosevelt for re-election. Rieve resigned from the Socialist Party to support Roosevelt in the face of what he termed "blackest reaction." Rieve follows in the footsteps of Lewis and Hillman in the support of Roosevelt and in the direct path of Dubinsky, who also resigned from the S.P. for this purpose.

### Truce in Seamen's Dispute

An agreement was reached between the officials of the International Seamen's Union and Curran's group of insurgents on the question of the latter's strike against the wage agreement. The major issue revolved around the right of the membership to ratify or reject this agreement which was lower in scale than that of the Pacific Coast. The agreement pends the approval of both the executive of the ISU and the seamen under Curran's leadership.

**BRADLEY'S** ∴ ∴

**CAFETERIA**

SEASONABLE FOOD AT REASONABLE PRICES

6th Ave. at 14th Street



Another view of the famous Socialist Presidential Special of 1908 in which Gene Debs toured the country. In the front row third from the right displaying a campaign pamphlet is Tom Mooney who did Jimmie Higgins work all thru the campaign. Next to Tom is his brother John who also worked on the Red Special. The Jimmie Higgins of 1908 is now proposed to head a united labor ticket in the 1936 elections.

## EXPOSE FAKE INDEPENDENCE

### Nationalists in Puerto Rico Insist On Full Independence

The Administration introduced its bill for the "independence" of Puerto Rico, in the Senate this week. That it was presented by Tydings, author of the deportation of foreign-born workers bill, and other reactionary measures, is fully consonant with its characteristics as a bill of "freedom."

A special referendum would be held in 1937 in Puerto Rico, on the question "Shall the people of Puerto Rico be sovereign and independent." If there should be a majority in the affirmative, elections would then be held for the formation of a constituent assembly. This body would draft a constitution, which would be submitted to the President of the U. S. Upon his approval, the people of Puerto Rico might then vote on its ratification. Then would ensue a period of "commonwealth status," for 4 years, with American control being "gradually withdrawn," by the simple expedient of instituting American tariffs "to accustom the Puerto Rican producers by degrees to the restriction of markets which would result, principally for sugar, the chief crop."

According to Munoz, Senator from Puerto Rico, he had no knowledge the bill was being introduced. But Tydings himself spilled the beans when he stated that "the facts must lead us strongly to believe that the American system is not functioning properly in Puerto Rico." By the "facts" he made oblique reference to the recent assassination of Colonel Riggs, a U. S. official on the island, slain by nationalists.

After the lead had been given by Munoz, a Liberal, even the ruling coalition of Republicans and Socialists denounced the bill as "economically ruinous," altho this coalition is not officially in favor of independence at all. Nadal, head of the coalition, declared that if the death of Riggs brought the decision to ruin the island economically, then the death of three or four more officials would bring independence in twenty-four hours. Large circles among the business interests in Puerto Rico are beginning to feel that the time has come for a showdown, that the bill is "impossible." The only support it has on the island comes from Gruening, the American liberal, who is chief of the Division of Territories. He thinks the bill is "excellent."

Only one small wing of the Puerto Ricans stand for a complete

### Planned Begging

Ewing Township, N. J.—Receiving begging permits in lieu of relief rations, the unemployed of this town took up an organized alms-getting campaign. Whatever is solicited will be shared by the 450 persons who are on this impoverished town's relief rolls.

"We hated to do it," said William Frost, Chief of Police, "but these people have to eat." When the town, which is five miles north of Trenton, is milked dry of cash contributions, members of the begging committee intend to cover the restaurants, the grocers, and the butcher shops for gifts of food.

## GAS COMPANY PADS ITS COSTS

The Brooklyn Borough Gas Company, in order to circumvent a 13 per cent rate cut order by the Public Service Commission, has been paying its parent company, the Koppers Gas and Coke Company, more for coal than non-affiliated plants do, it was disclosed this week in a hearing before Commissioner Van Namee.

The company also pays almost double the usual haulage rates for this coal, it was revealed. The freight, significantly enough, is done by Henry J. Farber, husband of the Brooklyn Borough Gas Company's president, Miss Mary Dillon.

program of independence—the Nationalists, representing the class interests of the native capitalists. That they are so small reflects the tremendous investment strength of American finance capital which owns almost everything worth while owning. No number of bills, especially such caricatures as the Tydings measure, will free the Puerto Ricans. American imperialism cannot give up this juicy plum willingly, but will have to be forced to that step by the joint action of the American workers, and the Puerto Rican people, led not by their Chamber of Commerce but by their field and industrial workers.

## CCNY STUDENTS FOR SCHAPPES

### Students Plan To Strike Against The Action Of Robinson

The reactionary offensive of president F. Robinson of CCNY against all progressive thought has been renewed with increasing intensity.

On April 22, during the student strike against war, Morris U. Schappes a tutor in the English department addressed 3500 assembled students. Schappes, having spoken at previous student demonstrations and enjoying immense popularity with the student body, received a thunderous ovation.

The very next day, the Campus was rocked by the announcement of Schappes' dismissal for "incompetency as a tutor," a charge that was branded an outright lie by his students and many liberals of the faculty.

But Schappes had been instrumental in organizing the Teachers Union, the instructorial staff association and the faculty anti-fascist association at the college. A man of powerful intellect, with high scholastic standing and exceptional organizational ability, he was one of the most militant in the faculty in the fight for higher wages for teachers and in the struggle against reaction. It was for this that he was fired after eight years of service.

The student body has correctly concluded that our ultra-reactionary president Robinson is responsible for Schappes' dismissal and has rallied behind the American Student Union, the newly formed student organization. Under the leadership of the student council and the ASU two demonstrations have been held this past week demanding the reinstatement of Schappes and the ousting of the president. Instructors of many departments have deserted their ivory towers and have spoken at these demonstrations.

On April 30, President Robinson told a representative student committee which demanded Schappes' reinstatement to "mind your own

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## Gene Debs Recommended Mooney

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June 28, 1909.

To Whom It May Concern:

Thomas J. Mooney accompanied us on the Red Special last fall and rendered us most valuable service all along the route. Comrade Mooney is one of the most earnest and active workers in the labor movement. He is absolutely honest and trustworthy and is filled with energy and ambition to better the condition of his class. Comrade Mooney is worthy of any position he may wish to hold in the labor movement and I cheerfully commend him to the consideration of comrades and friends as one of the best types of the awakened American proletariat.

Yours very truly,

*Gene Debs*

A testimonial to Tom Mooney written by Gene Debs in 1908. The last paragraph reads: "Comrade Mooney is worthy of any position he may wish to hold in the labor movement and I cheerfully commend him to the consideration of comrades and friends as one of the best types of the awakened American proletariat."

## TOM MOONEY IS ENDORSED FOR PRESIDENT BY WORKERS ORDER

### Mooney & May Day

This year's May Day celebrations more than ever before rang with the demand for the unconditional release of Mooney and Billings. Literally hundreds of placards and banners to that effect were to be seen in the parade to Union Square in which 150,000 workers participated.

The Communist Party (Opposition) contingent carried a float which received an ovation from the thousands of workers jamming the streets of New York. It was a float painted by the mural artist Lucienne Bloch, calling for a united labor ticket with Tom Mooney as the candidate for president.

Telegrams of greeting from Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings were read in Union Square and in the Polo Grounds where 50,000 trade unionists gathered to celebrate May Day.

The report of this action is carried in the April 1936 issue of "Solidarity." Under the heading of "Tom Mooney For President" the report of the National Executive Board goes on to say: "This call was voiced in the Central Propaganda Committee and should be taken up by all factions of labor. It will mean that all workers adhering to all progressive conceptions will go to the ballot box next election day. To free Tom Mooney it would mean a lot and it surely would be of great help to bring unity into the ranks of labor."

Branches of this organization are taking up the question raised in this decision. We received a copy of a resolution to the same effect carried by William Morris branch No. 296 of Detroit. The resolution reads: "WHEREAS: It would win ready access and friendly consideration in even the most conservative unions. It would fire the imagination and inspire the devotion of countless workers who could not otherwise be reached with the message of independent political action, and 'WHEREAS: It would rally the support of all elements of the people who are all ready to break with the discredited system of capitalist politics and for whom Tom Mooney stands forth as the dauntless champion against class oppression and class injustice. It would serve in the most effective manner to clarify class relations and to strengthen class loyalty in a political situation that makes for so much confusion and demagoguery, and 'THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: It (Mooney's candidacy) would provide the firmest and most promising base for the rapid development of a national labor party in the near future."

The liberal instructors have united with the students who are behind Schappes and are demanding Robinson's removal. Both teachers and students have recognized their identical interests with the working class and marched in the May Day demonstration. At present, a student strike is being prepared by all organizations supporting Schappes. Individual classes are passing resolutions condemning Robinson's action.



# THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE ELECTIONS

(AN EDITORIAL)

FOR SOMETIME we have been emphasizing that in the national elections in France the parties lined up in the People's Front and particularly the Communist Party would register heavy parliamentary gains, a marked increase in the vote in comparison with the 1932 results. The outcome of the first balloting in France confirms our estimate.

What is the meaning of the People's Front victory? What is the significance of the Communist gain in votes? What effect will the election results have on the problem of defeating fascism in France? The Daily Worker for instance tells us (April 28th, 1936): "Complete tabulation of the first balloting in the French national elections held Sunday, reveals that the People's Front scored a decisive victory over the reactionary fascist coalition, with the Communist Party making sweeping gains."

First of all, here are some facts. The official Communist Party vote will approximate about a million and a half, as against 1,063,943 votes polled by the Communist Party of France in the 1928 elections. In these elections the ultra-left policy of "class against class," that is of fighting against the Socialist Party as the main enemy of the working class and the main base of bourgeois support, had not yet permeated either the ranks of the Communists or of their followers. It is interesting to note that in the 1932 elections, when the sectarian ultra-leftism of "class against class" was in full bloom, the Communist Party was able to poll only 796,930. It is obvious, on the basis of these votes, that the militant workers of France welcome the Communist Party's breaking with the policy of ultra-leftism. No doubt, the increase of communist votes at the last elections confirms the relief which the masses expressed at the Communist Party's turning its back on ultra-leftist sectarianism.

From the point of view of votes serving as a barometer of class consciousness, to the limited extent that parliamentary figures do serve as such an index—the more than a million votes polled by the C. P. in 1928 revealed the fact that then the C.P.'s parliamentary support was much more class conscious in content, in substance, than the latest vote. In the recent election, the Communist Party of France waged a strictly reformist campaign on the basis of the People's Front platform, which in certain respects is even to the right of some Roosevelt measures. In fact, in the recent election, the Communist Party propaganda and agitation was heavily tinged with nationalist features; the central slogan was "For national unity. For a strong, free and prosperous France." These are the typical shibboleths employed by all parties of "law and order." These calls to action are not an inspiration to working class, militant struggles against the bourgeois system and the capitalist state machine, in this case the so-called democratic capitalist state apparatus.

The election results today disclose further a significant phenomenon. The parties in the extreme right, which

are today openly pro-fascist and which are in a large measure controlled by the dominant fascist organization, the Croix de Feu, also gained. The big center party, the Radical Socialist, lost much strength. There is no question but that the election results indicate that the class relations in France are sharpening. No better proof of this in any parliamentary campaign can be offered than is shown in the gains registered by the parties of the extreme ends. These gains came at the expense of the forces standing in the middle. Hence the Communist Party gained at the expense of the Socialist Party; the extreme right forces gained at the expense of the Radicals. If the Radicals had not blurred the issues, had not been able to confuse the situation thru their alignment with the working class parties, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, they probably would have lost even more support in the ranks of the lower middle class and the working class. The mood amongst huge sections of the French working class and peasantry, of the French lower middle class, is at the moment leftward. The People's Front arrangement in France, as in Spain, helped save the faces and the necks of more than one Radical bourgeois politician, and helped check the tendencies towards disintegration in the ranks of the Radical Socialist Party as an organization, as a movement.

We are not resorting to mechanical historical analogies when we draw, in a measure, a comparison between the French situation today, between class developments in France in the recent period, and the trend of class developments, of political alignments and realignments, in Germany before Hitler came to power. We are simply drawing some comparisons on the basis of features essential and common to both situations. Prior to Hitler's becoming Chancellor, Germany witnessed a process of disintegration in its middle parties. The extreme right, the Nazi Party, was hitting thru the strength of the bourgeois democratic liberal parties of the center. The Communist Party was doing the same, to a much lesser extent, but was gaining in strength primarily at the expense of the working class section of the center, that is at the expense of the Social-Democratic Party. This process continued for some time, until the Communist Party of Germany was able to muster six million votes. At the same time, the Social-Democratic Party was losing constantly. Simultaneously, the Nazi Party continued its parliamentary rise, almost uninterrupted. This election trend caused many people and even many Communists, for instance the entire leadership of the Communist International, and consequently the leadership of the various official sections of the Comintern, to come to the conclusion that the working class of Germany "scored a decisive victory over the reactionary fascist coalition." It gave rise to a very dangerous attitude in the ranks of the Communist Party, an attitude paralyzed by the worst features of parliamentary cretinism, an attitude essentially opportunist, basically

reformist or Social-Democratic, tho swathed in ultra-left phrases. For instance, after the July 1932 elections, the Rote Fahne proclaimed that the huge communist gains are a proof that, under the leadership of the Communist Party, "the German proletariat established an iron ring around fascism." This illusion, this confidence in the parliamentary instrument as a weapon with which to defeat fascism, this reliance on the bourgeois democratic parliamentary state as the means with which to defeat fascism, became so deeprooted that it helped blind the masses to reality. It created a situation in which the fascist danger was entirely underestimated. The vanguard of the proletariat became so dizzy with victory and so unaware of the real situation, of the actual relationship of class forces, that even as late as March 7th, 1933, several weeks after Hitler had become Chancellor and after the notorious Reichstag fire election of March 5th, 1933, Pravda, central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and leading organ of the Communist International, on the basis of the votes the Communist Party received, was able to hold in the face of Hitler's savage attacks, the following:

"Frontal attack of the Fascists repelled. A huge political victory of the Communist Party of Germany." On March 7th, 1933, Pravda went on to say: "German fascism mobilized all its forces in a frontal attack against the vanguard of the working class in order to smash the German proletariat. This frontal attack of Fascism has been beaten back. Herein lies the main political result of March 5th. . . . The Communist Party of Germany has beaten back the attack of the Party of the Gorgulow people and has held the positions it has won in the last year . . . and despite all, the National Socialists have not been able to achieve their purpose: they have not secured the majority. It (Nazi Party) did not succeed despite utilization of all means to smash the Communist Party in the main industrial centers."

Today it would appear unbelievable that such suicidal political nonsense could be uttered in communist ranks. We are not reprinting these remarks by Pravda for the sake of rubbing it in. This has not and will not be our spirit in approaching working class problems. We are simply sounding a warning against interpreting the results of the French elections as the Daily Worker has done and as the Comintern is doing. No one can say, on the basis of the experiences in Germany, Austria, Italy and Spain, that thru any sort of parliamentary combination fascism or any other form of capitalist reaction can be smashed. We deny that "the People's Front scored a decisive victory over the reactionary fascist coalition" in France. This victory, to the extent that it can be accepted as a parliamentary advance, has been bought at the price of the Communist Party placing impermissible faith in bourgeois democracy. It has been bought at the cost of sacrificing practically all militant independent action. The People's Front has been a mill-

(Continued on Page 6)

## NEW CHARTER IS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TAKES STAND AGAINST TAMMANY AID ALL FORMS OF SOCIAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

After two years of so-called liberation, the City Fathers presented a new charter of "reform," the major proposals of which are reactionary—in the name of efficiency.

Its primary purpose is to reduce the number of representatives in the city legislative body. In place of the present 68 aldermen, there are to be twenty-nine councilmen. Incidentally, it was to replace the small representation granted by a council of 28 that the present Board of Aldermen was first established! Such a feature must be rejected, for it lessens the possibilities of representation for the worker and lower middle classes of the city, narrowing, instead of broadening the basis of the legislative wing.

Secondly, greatly increased power is placed in the hands of the executive especially his right of appointment. Many offices, including heads of departments can be appointed and removed at his sole pleasure. Any reform bill would have to do precisely the opposite—increase the number of elective offices.

Proportional representation is

Washington—With the passage of several anti-New Deal resolutions, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States ended its twenty-fourth annual convention. Harper Sibley of Rochester, N. Y. was re-elected president.

The resolutions embodied all the points of opposition with the Roosevelt regime which most of the speakers stressed. Thus the administration's tax program, with its emphasis upon corporation surpluses, was attacked, and the attempt on the part of the government to regulate wages and hours was castigated. The reciprocal tariff policy of Secretary of State Hull was endorsed, but he was urged to provide more adequate safeguards for American agriculture. A survey of unemployment and its causes was set under way.

not presented as part of the charter reform but provision is made for its working under the charter if passed at the next election. No mention is made of the power of recall. If councilmen's seats become vacant, the council elects a successor, not the voters. The president of the council is removable by the Governor, as is also the Mayor.

The olive branch which Secretary of Commerce Roper had extended and which Mr. Sibley had accepted in the name of the Chamber was cast aside just as soon as the real business of the convention got under way. Philip J. Fay, vice-president of the body, started the barrage.

"Not only has the Federal Government moved beyond its traditional field of strictly national affairs," he said, "and taken unto its ample bosom a large degree of responsibility for control of and initiative in individual affairs, but the main direction of its activities has shifted from political matters to economic and social matters, and from wise conduct of proper affairs of government to the attempted conduct of the affairs of trade and industry."

"Today," he added, "the individual is no longer free to move as he pleases in the field of his lawful affairs. He must wait to get the 'go' sign from Washington before he can sow a field of wheat or plant a row of potatoes."

Thomas J. Watson, president of the International Business Machines Company, tried to counteract the effect of Mr. Fay's attack. More suavely, he declared, "As

Americans, we are all working with one great objective in view. That objective is the restoration of our own economic structure, its rebuilding in a way that will benefit all of the people of our own great country, regardless of class, creed or color.

"To the administration I wish also to pay tribute for what it has contributed toward our great objective. It has not contributed 100 per cent in every way, perhaps, but what administration ever has?"

Secretary Roper pleaded with the gathering to be lenient with his chief in the White House. "It is not the desire or purpose of your government to destroy those fundamental concepts and principles of American business and industry which have made possible our national wealth and progress."

Assuring them further that Roosevelt has no basic differences with big business, he said, "The Federal government will soon turn back to the localities many of the responsibilities that have been assumed during the depression."

## GOERING GIVEN NEW OFFICE

General Goering was appointed to the post of economic dictator in Germany, as the culmination of a long inner-party fight involving the policies of Hjalmar Schacht. The latter is the accepted spokesman of big business outside the Nazi party, while Goering represents the same group in Nazi circles. Schacht had been carrying on a fight with the Nazi "radicals," like Darre and Keppeler, over economic policies, a fight of such sharpness that Schacht fears for his life even today. In this situation, Goering as a prime party leader was called in to breach the gap between the demands of "sane" business and "radical" economics. Goering will undoubtedly work with Schacht against extreme wing of the Nazis.

To put Goering in such a position means laying the basis for an extremely efficient co-ordination of industry in war-time. Goering's own leadership of the aviation sector of German militarism plus his high position within the Nazi party, symbolizes this consolidation of forces in the intense preparations for a new war.

## AT FIRST GLANCE

By Jay Lovestone

WE HAVE NOT lived thru days more fateful than those to crowd the coming three months.

Why do we say it? It is not the rising tension in Austria which prompts us to this conclusion. It is not even the critical hours thru which German economy is now going that impel us to this viewpoint. Not even the rumblings of revolution in Spain and the oppressive uncertainty in France that we are concerned with just now. It is something else.

We have in mind the following. The "Peace" plan transmitted by Hitler to Eden, we will recall, was accompanied by a four-month time limit for consideration. August First is the deadline. This is a day of immeasurable historical significance. It was on August First, 1914 that the Kaiser declared war on Russia and thus opened the world war—a war which no one any longer calls the last world war. We do not view it as accidental that Hitler picked this day completing exactly twenty-two years after the opening of the recent world conflict as the one fixing the time limit for consideration of his "peace" plan. Somehow or other we feel that the Nazi monster chose this day with an eye to dynamite in developments from April 1st to August 1st.

To attempt to blueprint world events in the making on the basis of the calendar as the petty loan shark does in plying his trade would be rashness run amuck. But to sense dangers bearing all elements of terrific explosion is a totally different matter. We do not guarantee the outbreak of the next world conflagration in the coming three months. We do stress that what will happen in this period of respite will determine not only the when and the where of the breaking out of the conflict but will likewise determine the partners and opponents in the war that is now accepted as a certainty.

Only international labor can actually stop imperialist war. What labor will do in these ninety days towards closing its ranks on an international scale will, therefore, be decisive.

THE HUE and cry of the Japanese government about a military alliance between the Soviet Union and China is just that much poppy-cock. It is a false alarm raised by the Nipponese imperialists in order to provide an excuse for its own alliance with Hitler Germany against the Soviet Union. We are not playing the game of prophecy when we state categorically that it won't be long now before the world will be officially and openly informed about a treaty of "peace and friendship" between Germany and Japan. The latter will pursue the strategy employed by Hitler. The Nazi dictator used the Franco-Soviet pact as an excuse for his smashing the Locarno arrangements and re-militarizing the Rhine. Tokio will use this fiction-fabricated China-Soviet alliance as the excuse par excellence for its military arrangements with the Nazi regime against the Soviets.

It is too silly to think of a military alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the China of Chiang Kai-Shek. The Soviet Union is not that foolhardy, from a military point of view. Besides and even more fundamental in negation of the Japanese propaganda is the fact that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek has been and remains only a tool, a wretched lickspittle of Japanese imperialism. He has always been able to find the men and money for sending expedition after expedition against the armies of the Chinese Soviets, against the revolutionary peasantry of China, but never to find a Nanking dollar or soldier for the purpose of even making a pretense at resistance to Japan.

THE "FURY" with which the U. S. Chamber of Commerce has gone after the Roosevelt administration should mislead no one. It is not over fundamentals, it is not over social structure and substance that the battle between Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt forces is being waged in the rank of biggest business. It is over important questions of how best to secure the maximum stability of capitalism as a social and economic system that the oceans of ink and myriads of words are now being spent.

Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Presi-

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

SOMETIMES ago I had occasion to comment on the pride which Mike Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association, feels on contemplating 60 years of achievements of his organization. If my memory serves me right I insinuated that the membership averages about 100 per year for the duration of the lifetime of the AA. Being in a self-critical mood at the moment I hereby desire to state publicly that I was very wrong. I was convinced of this when I read in various newspapers the report of the convention now being held in Cansonsburg, Pa., stating that the good standing membership of the organization is slightly more than 4,000.

No worse indictment against the importance of craft unionism could possibly be written by the most rabid proponent of industrial unionism than the mere reading of these figures before the 60 odd delegates that gathered in Cansonsburg to discuss and decide on ways and means of organizing the vast steel empire. And what shall we say of the leadership of this union which has almost extinguished the last spark of life from an organization having such broad possibilities; a leadership which is ready to disrupt its own organization at the slightest sign of virility and aggressiveness in the ranks (remember the expulsions of whole locals); a leadership which has wantonly wasted one of the most glorious opportunities for organization of the steel workers during the tidal wave of organization so well utilized by such unions as the United Mine Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers? What shall we say of such a leadership which in the face of the pitiful condition of its own organization and the horrible condition of the tens of thousands of work-

ers in that feudal empire known as the steel industry, finds that its loyalty to a group of reactionary leaders in the A. F. of L. stands above their responsibilities to the mass of the toilers which it has disgracefully neglected? Such a leadership should hang its head in shame and admitting its complete bankruptcy, vacate. But we know that the Mike Tighe has developed thick hides and their sense of shame has long shriveled. It remains therefore the task of the progressives in this union to take such specimens firmly between thumb and forefinger and drop them upon the nearest scrap heap.

Certain it is that if the steel corporations had paid out millions they could not possibly have accomplished more in keeping organization from the workers. And this is giving these people the benefit of the doubt, especially in the light of the recent information on espionage in the labor movement. Latest reports from the AA convention indicates that the bureaucracy is having tough going. A number of delegates have been seated after the hand-picked credential committee had decided against them. We sincerely hope that this is an indication of the strength of the progressive forces. If it is, then there can be no doubt that the proposal of the Committee for Industrial Organization for the organization of the steel industry will be carried. Militant and progressive should be on guard against a well organized campaign if this occurs. Both the steel barons and the die-hard-craft unionists will be very indignant and will unleash a vicious offensive against the CIO and its participating international unions.

## WITH THE LAWMAKERS

By LEE MASON

THE DUNNIGAN-STEINGUT social security measure, modelled upon the Roosevelt program and designed to bring the State \$20,090,000 of Federal funds, was given its death blow in the Assembly this week when, by a vote of 71 to 73, the legislators refused to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill. The Senate had already passed the act by a unanimous vote.

It is just as well perhaps. The only feature in the bill that recommends it is its lowering of the old age requirement from 70 years to 65. There are a few minor improvements in other respects, but by and large it is an insipid measure, hardly comparable to the Frazier-Lundeen bill which is now before the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

THE PANAMA-UNITED STATES TREATY, to consider which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has gone into a huddle, makes no bones about the War Department's special interest in the Central American Republic. Its naked imperialist aims furnish a refreshing contrast to the recently promulgated Puerto-Rican "Independence" bill.

"In case of an international conflagration or of the existence of any threat of aggression which would endanger the security of the Republic of Panama or the neutrality or security of the Panama Canal the Government of the United States of America and the Republic of Panama will take such measures for prevention and defense as they may consider necessary for the protection of their common interests."

Having taken this precautionary step, the United States may well talk of ceding all lands outside the vital Canal Zone to the artificially maintained Republic of Panama. Loath even to yield this much the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has written a clause into the bill which would give the United States the right to "cooperate in

THE HALL MEASURE making discovery of a concealable weapon in an automobile presumptive evidence of illegal possession by all occupants, except where one of them has a license, was passed by the New York State Assembly this week. It represents a dagger-thrust at flying squadrons and all other forms of labor activity.

THE AMERICAN Telephone and Telegraph Company made \$180,000,000 in excess of a 6 per cent return on investments over a twenty-three year period, it was disclosed at a Federal Communications Commission hearing in Washington this week. This applies to long distance operations.

STRANGELY SOLICITOUS the New York State Assembly voted down a motion that the New York Telephone Company be required to clean and disinfect telephone booths periodically.

NOTHING DAUNTED, State Senator Burchill has introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of the high rates charged by the New York Telephone Company.

We recently ran across an article on the Friendly Society of Iron Founders, a British trade union which until 1810 remained illegal and whose members were "obliged to meet in dark nights, on the wastes and moors in the highlands of the midland counties and to keep their archives buried in the peat." This same loyalty and courage we have seen in the ranks of our own steel workers during the great strike of 1919. If a genuine organization drive, with the CIO participation, should result from this convention, we will see once again the steel workers answering the steel barons with a display of militancy and heroism such as will surprise many even in the labor movement.

It can't come too soon to please us.

He sees the necessity for the investigation in the fact that "telephone companies . . . charge and receive exorbitant rates justifying the same upon rate bases enlarged through such well-known devices as fictitiously increased capitalization."

THE STATE SENATE passed two bills this week that would have the effect of restoring the salary cuts which the New York City teachers have suffered since 1932. One, the Twomey measure, would end the state of emergency on January 1, 1937. The other, the Feld bill, would permit the emergency to last until January 1, 1938.

The Assembly has already passed a bill which embodies the provisions of the Twomey and Feld measures.



In the International Labor Movement

C.P. Fights for Democratic Germany

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Germany (CPG) has just issued a statement which says among other things:

"We are ready to collaborate with all anti-Hitler forces in the fight for a democratic Germany. The CPG favors the formation of an anti-fascist People's Front for the purpose of overthrowing Hitler and is therefore ready to cooperate with all anti-Hitler forces for the establishment of a democratic Germany in which the German people will itself decide on the form of government. The CPG looks upon the restoration of bourgeois democratic rights as a step of significant progress though it is striving for more advanced aims. The struggle for democratic rights and for more freedom of action is closely linked with the realization of a genuinely democratic regime after the overthrow of Hitler. . . ."

The above statement shows clearly that the CPG is now advocating the restoration of bourgeois democracy in Germany—the return to Weimar. The "more advanced aims" of the Communists (i.e. the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat) are for the time being discarded. The central slogan in the struggle against Hitler is to be the demand for the "realization of a genuinely democratic regime." The German people are to decide "on this regime" only after the restoration of bourgeois democracy. The CPG evidently believes that a soviet republic can be achieved thru the ballot.

On the basis of this position the leadership of the CPG expects to win over "Catholics, Protestants, Democrats, men of letters, art and science and . . . various other bourgeois forces" in Germany for the People's Front.

Furthermore, the statement lauds the Paris People's Front conference and the declaration issued by it as a "first step" which shows "the possibilities for the formation of a broad anti-Hitler front." This Paris conference was attended by a number of bourgeois emigres in addition to representatives of the CPG, the SWP (Socialist Workers Party) and several Social Democrats. It is quite characteristic of the People's Front policy in general that the manifesto adopted at this conference fully met the wishes of these bourgeois emigres, who are not backed by any organization. The manifesto is a collection of bourgeois-democratic demands in which no mention is made of any economic and social demands of the working masses. \* \* \*

The new resolutions of the Political Bureau of the CPG are particularly important because the leadership has framed them in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Comintern, altho both sides are well aware of the fact that a large section of its German members, working in the underground movement, is vigorously opposed to the People's Front and the restoration of bourgeois democracy. As a result of the pressure exerted by the party members and of the criticism of the German Communist Opposition, the leadership of the CPG retreated for a very short time and disowned the resolutions of the Paris People's Front conference and the attitude of its representatives at this conference. Today, however, the opportunist People's Front policy is carried on with redoubled energy and in a more crass fashion than heretofore. The Paris conference which was a travesty on communism is looked upon as an achievement. The wishes of the Party members working in underground Germany under the most hellish conditions are simply ignored. Here we have new proof for the necessity of the struggle by the German Communist Opposition for inner-Party democracy. This is new proof of the disastrous results of the lack of inner-Party democracy in the CPG.

Whether bourgeois democracy is to be restored after the overthrow of Hitler or whether the proletarian dictatorship must be established at this time is not merely a problem of the more or less distant future. It is a problem which is of decisive significance at the present moment in rallying the masses for the overthrow of Hitler. To advance the slogan of the restoration of bourgeois democracy means to orientate oneself towards bourgeois allies, since the restoration of bourgeois democracy necessarily implies the continuation of the capitalist economic system. This slogan signifies the failure to link up the struggle for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship with the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. Furthermore, the social and economic demands of the proletariat and other toiling sections are disregarded and garbled in order to avoid a conflict with the bourgeois forces whose support is being sought. These

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bourgeois liberals, the monarchists, etc.—want nothing more than a moderate reform of the fascist dictatorship, nothing more than certain "guarantees of justice" to curb the corruption of the Nazi bureaucrats, to safeguard the privileges of the churches, etc. These are the views of the liberal bourgeoisie as propounded in Germany. The emigres, however—such spokesmen of the "freedom-loving bourgeoisie" as George Bernhard and L. Schwarzschild—speak of the establishment of an "authoritarian (read semi-fascist) democracy." The period of bourgeois revolution in Germany has long come to a close. To expect the German bourgeoisie to play a progressive, revolutionary role is fantastic. \* \* \*

We are not in a position to predict whether or not the overthrow of Hitler will result directly in the establishment of a soviet dictatorship. But we do know that the Hitler regime can be overthrown only by a violent revolution of the proletariat allied with the other toiling sections of the population. Such a revolution is possible only if the working class clearly understands that the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship is indispensable if its material conditions are to be improved, if it is to be freed of the capitalist blood-suckers which the Nazi dictatorship now protects. We also know that if, as a result of the overthrow of Hitler, bourgeois democracy is restored, it will again become the bearer of counter-revolution just as in 1918. The Communists must, therefore, carry aloft the banner of a soviet republic, the overthrow of capitalism, in their struggle against the Hitler dictatorship. They must not furl this banner for one instant. The latest statement of the CPG translated into life means the abandonment of its leading role in the fight against fascism.

JOIN COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION) 51 West 14th Street New York City Send me more information about the C.P.O. Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

RECORD MAY DAY TURN OUT DUE TO THE UNITED FRONT

(Continued from Page 1)

About 50,000 members of the I.L.G.W.U. and A.C.W., and other organizations entered the Polo Grounds on May 1st. Many of them came directly from the line of march past Union Square, organized by the United May Day Committee.

President Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. made the opening speech and presided as chairman. He gave warning to those who "seek to bring to the United States the anti-labor dictatorship of Fascism."

Following Dubinsky, Feinstone of the United Hebrew Trades spoke in Yiddish, Toni Sender, former Reichstag member for the German Social-Democracy spoke in German, and Vincente, representing the Mexican Federation of Labor, gave his fraternal greetings. Herbert Morrison, of the British Labor Party was the main guest speaker, bringing the fraternal greetings of the British workers.

While all these speakers made oblique or open reference to the Marxist position of armed insurrection and proletarian dictatorship as being "distasteful" and the "cause of reaction," it was left to Louis Waldman of the Old Guard, to be soundly booed for attempting to lump Fascism and Communism together under the heading of "dictatorship." Hailing the the British Labor Unity in its feverish support of the League of Nations, as a "real force for peace," Waldman also conceded that "it lies within the power of the Russian workers to be a great force for peace also." Tacitly admitting that Russia was a proletarian state by referring to "Russia, where the workers have power," he demanded, "the release of political prisoners, as the first step to democracy peace and freedom."

Jay Lovestone, Secretary of the C.P.O., completed the speakers' list. Refusing to pass glibly over the problems of labor with vague references to "socialism," he pointed out the confusion existing in the world labor movement. For America, Lovestone emphasized the immediate tasks: "For the United States: industrial unionism; for the United States: A Labor Party," he stated. Calling for a united, militant struggle against Fascism and all capitalist reaction, he underscored the fact that "such a struggle by the American workers can truly bring us to the point where we can build our new world—and follow the glorious example of the workers of Socialist Russia."

One interesting fact revealed this May Day was the enormous advances cultural activities have made in the labor movement. Most of the unions had various sections such as athletic, educational, dramatic and musical groups. Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., had its baseball, basketball, soccer and tennis teams all in sport costumes. In addition there were a vast number of workers' choral societies, dance groups, dramatic and art organizations, etc.

Factionalism was completely absent, both in the behaviour of the marchers and onlookers, and in the slogans displayed. Banners most prominent were "For a Freedom of Tom Mooney," "For a Farmer-Labor Party," "Make New York a 100% Union Town," "Only Labor Can Stop War," "Defeat Fascism" and "Organize the Unorganized." This was a May Day of the united front both in the letter and the spirit.

—D. S.

BOOKS of the AGE . . . . .

LOSING THEIR CHAINS . . . . . by James Sand The Parliamentary Socialists - Victor L. Berger and Meyer London

CITY GOVERNMENT, by Daniel W. Hoan. Published by Harcourt, Brace & Co. 365 pgs. \$2.50. (Reviewed By Economist) Daniel Hoan enjoys an unusually privileged position in these times of factional warfare between Old Guard and Militants. He remains the one political untouchable for both factions of the Socialist Party. As the successful Mayor of Milwaukee for the past 25 years, Hoan holds an unrivalled and unchallenged position in the party to which all aspire and treasure as "a real Socialist achievement." The publication of Hoan's latest exposition of what is no more than the old "goo-goo" philosophy of government prevalent in the muckraking days of America, has elicited uncritical praise and eulogy from all sides in the Socialist Party. In fact, the review of the book in the Socialist Call is absolutely devoid of any point of criticism while the New Leader's review, which was just as sycophantic, had at least one minor criticism.

The book itself traverses a wide field of subjects related to achieving what is, in all probability, the best governed city in the country. Hoan discusses the outstanding accomplishments encompassing wide reforms in many fields. The Hoan administration has introduced a real non-partisan form of government that has been only equalled by the achievements in Cincinnati. The differences between the two cities are very slight and the reader will find that the Socialist, Hoan, does not press very hard the differences. He regards both city governments as on a par due to the existence of party organization with a social purpose, the minor difference being that one is the Cincinnati Charter League and the other the Socialist Party of Milwaukee. Hoan states: "Both prove the virtue of the political organization method whose lack cost Cleveland the loss of much that had been gained." The author takes great pride in the fact that his city is run on non-partisan lines and that it is a labor or Socialist city. Among his numerous achievements, which include most everything in municipal government from the collection of garbage to a central purchasing bureau and a sound financial basis, Hoan takes greatest pride in his so-called Mayor's Advisory Council, existing in the fact that "we excluded from the council both the Association of Commerce that represented primarily the manufacturers' material welfare and the TRADE UNION GROUPS that represented the workers' material aims" (my emphasis—E.) This is non-partisan, superclass action with a vengeance!

The entire ideology underlying the approach of the author to his subject is purely a liberal, populist version of the development of social forces. In spite of a verbal adherence to the principles of Marx, which is found buried away in a few pages of the book, Hoan avoids a class struggle interpretation of society as though it were a plague. He substitutes for the class struggle, the conflict between the progressive thinking people and the reactionary thinking people; between the socially minded and the non-socially minded; between those who regard government as a necessary evil and those who regard government as a vehicle for public service. Out of this methodological approach, Hoan has concocted the wierdest combination of populist ideology with abstract devotion to "public service."

OF ALL the elements which went into the formation of the present Socialist Party in 1900 not the least important were what we may call the "immigrant" Marxists. Of the indigenously American elements there were the more militant Populists who had become disillusioned with Bryan and free silver, the railway workers led by Eugene Victor Debs, the humanitarian reformers, and the Socialists, discontented with the theoretical foundations for the new party were laid by men who had come to America from Europe in the eighties and nineties and been influenced by Marx and the Marxists. Unlike the earlier Marxists like Sorge, they did not hold to the revolutionary teachings of scientific socialism; they one and all turned their backs on it and became ballot-box reformers and worshippers of the instruments of bourgeois democracy. Of these the most learned and profound was Morris Hillquit, the most genial and humane, Meyer London, and the sharpest politician, Victor Louis Berger. In common they had the fact that, though they hated exploitation and oppression, nevertheless (as persons of ability and energy) American capitalism in its ascending stage offered them great opportunities for success and a place in the sun of bourgeois society, even when it was setting. They combined revisionist Marxism with the psychological embracing of America as the land of opportunity. And in none of these three cases (and we have already seen it in Hillquit) did bounteous American capitalism turn them down. They all became successful business men, and they all lost the "long view." Only the temperament of a Debs or the mind of a convinced Marxist could stand out against the insinuating cretinism of bourgeois society on the rise. None of the "immigrant" socialists had either of these qualities.

The latest historian of latter-day American labor, with the usual naiveve of academic historians, says of Berger that "his position was essentially an anticipation of the Revisionism of Bernstein in Germany." We pull the curtains to and spare the reader the sight of what happened to Bernsteinian revisionism in Germany. Suffice it to say that it ended up in the doctrine of evolutionary socialism which presumably would hold that it is still evolving even after Hitler and the Nazis have slaughtered the labor movement. Meyer London, on the other hand, did not require the interpretation of "factual" historians to set his distortion of scientific socialism before the public eye. He denied that the class struggle was fundamental to social movement in class society. His statement on the subject is undoubtedly the classic distortion of what actually happens and what actually can be done about it.

When we speak of classes in the United States (said London), of course they have not that rigidity that they have in other countries. The democratic instinct is too strong here. . . . As a Socialist, instead of denying the existence of the class struggle, I seek to minimize its bitterness. . . .

But not only did London and Berger have in common the "minimization" of the class struggle as basic to the principles and tactics of the proletariat, and a holy awe towards bourgeois democracy; they also had external qualities in common: both of them were elected to the House of Representatives on the Socialist ticket and they are the only two national legislators, both of them lived to see the Socialist Party which they helped to found become a mere shell after the revolutionary socialists left it in 1919 to found the Communist Party.

Meyer London was first elected to Congress in 1914 and his election called forth a grand Socialist celebration in the old Madison Square Garden. He was elected from the East Side of New York by a largely Jewish electorate. He was no great shakes as a political theorist, and his economic philosophy was chiefly sentimental humanitarianism tinged with a bit of insight gained from contact with Marx's thinking. But his boundless feeling for human suffering endeared him to the hearts of New York's ghetto population. The old ones there used to shake their heads wisely when he spoke and say: "He talks like a prophet."

Meyer London loved these workers because he was one of them. He came to the East Side from Russia on October 1, 1891, not quite twenty years of age. His father had become what was then an extreme left socialist. The family was very poor and London has himself given us a description of those early days. My father had only his little hand press, so I cast about to earn money and at the same time to go on with my education. I took pupils, teaching at all sorts of odd hours. Often there would be a class from a little before ten to eleven o'clock at night. Then there would be other pupils until after midnight. I lectured about literature, mainly the revolutionary instincts in Dickens and Carlyle. Then I got a position in a circulating library and as the hours were not long I had time to study law. From the moment I learned English I had been reading everything I could find on English and American history and politics.

London attended the law school of New York University from 1896 to 1898 and was admitted to the bar in the latter year. When Debs formed the Social Democracy of America, London resigned from the Socialist Labor Party and organized Local No. 1 of the Social Democracy of New York, and thereafter the remainder of his life was spent in the service of the labor and socialist movement. He became counsel to labor unions in the garment trade, and became known for his conciliatory and winning ways. Though he might have taken himself and his family out of the East Side as things turned for the better, he remained there. He became known as the poor man's lawyer for his readiness to give free legal advice and even, on occasion, to render free legal services to those bereft of means. It is little wonder then that wild joy broke loose all over the East Side when he was elected to Congress in 1914.

But his humanitarianism stalked him all the days of his life. He could not even hate the most exploiting of capitalists. He returned from his first session in the House of Confusion with this comment: Congress is sincere. I didn't expect much sincerity but I

found a great deal. I found that many of the men who held views diametrically opposed to mine held them with a sincerity and ardor that was astonishing. Every Marxist knows, of course, that sincerity in itself is meaningless, that the crucial point is sincerity for what and for whom. London in praising sincerity in the abstract was really praising bourgeois sincerity in the concrete. This inability to hate what is counter to one's fundamental principles generally goes by the name of tolerance. In Meyer London it was love of fellow men. But its result are bad no matter what it is rooted in.

London was re-elected to Congress in 1916, and in that two-year session he did his most important work in connection with America's declaration of war and participation in it. He refused to vote for the declaration of war against Germany, and later his was the only vote cast in the House against the declaration against Austria-Hungary. Once war was declared he fought for a lasting peace without victory. This of course is nothing more than social pacifism. To be sure, it is not social chauvinism nor social imperialism, but its effect is to refrain from organizing the working class against imperialist war. It is the stand of "conscientious objection," the stand of centrist socialism. His pacifist attitude was so sincere that in 1918 the Republicans and the Democrats in his Congressional district united on the issue of "Americanism" and defeated him. Teddy Roosevelt made a special appeal against him to the East Side voters. The rough-riding Red-baiter spoke thus:

Mr. London, by his actions in Congress, has shown his agreement with the Socialist anti-war platform. Under these circumstances I fail to see how any upright and honest citizen or any patriotic American can vote for him. Mr. London's votes show that he has a right to the support of the Germanized Socialists. He has no right to the vote of patriotic American citizens.

High-toned American Jewry repaid Meyer London for his love of mankind. A special appeal by the war-rebels Jews was issued. Jacob H. Schiff, Louis Marshall, Samuel Untermyer, Abram I. Elkins, Nathan Straus and even Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, asked that he be defeated. He was, by the close vote of 7690 to 6519. Votes had been stolen, as was known, but there was nothing that could be done about it. London retired to less public socialism until 1920 when he was elected for another term, his last.

In Congress he fought for the recognition of the Bolshevik government, and he was a staunch upholder of Negro rights. On the nature of the American Federation of Labor he was consistently correct, although much too soft in his criticism of the ideology of its leadership. He said on this score:

The Socialists should work in harmony with the Federation. I know of no conspiracy on the part of the Socialists to destroy or injure the Federation of Labor. I have spent my life in the Federation's activities and with the Socialists. The unions have a lot to learn and the Socialists are not perfect. The unions and the Socialists constitute growing institutions and it should be the policy of the Socialists to adjust any differences. I consider Mr. Gompers a big factor in the American labor movement, and I have great admiration for him personally.

He was never as bitterly anti-Communist as Hillquit, Berger, Cahan, Oneal, and others. In fact, soon after the split in 1919 he refused to fight against Communists. When the Communists went into the Workmen's Circle and it seemed as if they would win it over, he was asked for legal advice on how to get them out. The Workmen's Circle London had helped to found and it was dear to his heart. But his answer was curt:

I shall not go to court to plead against people of our own class, people who were our comrades but yesterday. . . . Our enemies will put a wrong construction on the matter and that must be avoided.

But how far away from revolutionary socialism he was can be gauged by the following:

Democracy does not guarantee to be wise. Democracy does not guarantee to be always just. But it is always more just than the little groups who "speak in the name of the people."

From his denial of the class struggle he came around to this corrupting talk about "democracy" in general. In London these demoralizing theories were joined with sensitivity and a good heart. But they ultimately have the same result as they have when combined with boorishness and hatred.

The love that Meyer London engendered in the hearts of the workers of the East Side of New York was shown by the demonstration at his death. He was struck by an automobile on June 6th 1926 at Second Avenue and 15th Street, New York City, and he died that night. Before he died, he asked, in typical London fashion, that no charge be brought against the driver of the car that struck him. His body was taken to the building of the Jewish Daily Forward, and the New York Times described the scene:

25,000 men, women and children, some of whom stood in line for almost an hour, passed his coffin from the time the body arrived in the afternoon until the building was closed, about midnight. Women carrying babies in their arms, small boys who lifted their smaller companions so that they might view the features of their former Congressman, bearded men who plodded up the stairway with the aid of their canes, men in working attire on the way home after a day's labor, women in sweaters and shawls and women in modern attire—all were represented among the mourners. Many wept openly as they passed from the building.

At the funeral, the body was followed by 50,000, and the streets were lined with thousands more. The editorial praise of the New York Herald-Tribune on his death is the most piercing adverse criticism that can be made of his socialism and his practice. He devoted himself to the betterment of his fellow-men. He might have chosen a wiser political course in the noble endeavor, however. . . . Its [the country's] institutions are not in peril as long as the minority political parties choose such practical men as London to represent them in legislative bodies. Which is tantamount to saying that capitalism in America is not in peril from such men and such tactics. Meyer London put love in men's hearts, but he never put Marxism into their heads. (TO BE CONTINUED)

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 4)

stone around the neck of the Communist Party as a revolutionary organization, and of the Socialist Party as a working class organization groping leftward. It was because of the People's Front policy of reliance on parliamentary elections and bourgeois legality that the significant strikes of the arsenal workers in Brest and Toulon were called off. It was because of the fear of disturbing the arrangements with Herriot's Radical Socialist Party that the striking longshoremen in the harbor of Marseilles were compelled by their Communist and Socialist and trade union leaders to make heavy and costly concessions to the employers.

Precisely because the class relations in France are becoming increasingly acute, precisely because the class conflict in France is assuming a more revolutionary character, it is certain that the decisive actions will be fought on the field of extra-parliamentary struggle. The big bourgeoisie of France realize this. For some time they have been relying primarily to not solely on two powerful extra-parliamentary agencies. These have been and continue to be what is called "la rue"—"the street," the Fascist gangs, concentrated primarily in the powerful Croix de Feu; then they have relied on the Bank of France as an instrument with which to manipulate the status of the franc and French economic life in order to terrorize particularly the petty bourgeoisie and large sec-

tions of the working class and thus force upon them a deterioration of their living and working conditions.

The working class of France, especially the Communist Party, must learn the same lesson. The French proletariat must learn from the experiences of the German, the Austrian, the Italian, the Spanish, the Russian and other working classes. Parliamentary campaigns are valuable. They are means of education, agitation, to an extent, organization. They are, in a limited way, a barometer of class developments. But parliamentary instruments are not the means with which class relations are altered in any fundamental sense. In Germany the proletariat was infinitely better organized on the political and economic field than is the French proletariat. Yet plagued by putrid reformism on the one hand and ultra-leftism on the other, the German proletariat was defeated by Hitler, by the Fascist agents of big trust capital. Unless the French proletariat immediately begins to organize extra-parliamentary self-defense committees, as formally decided by the Seventh World Congress, unless the French proletariat begins to organize broad working class united front organizations, it will not be able to withstand the fascist encroachments, regardless of the elections victories scored by their parties. No doubt, the united front between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party of France, despite all its limitations, has served to check the fascist onrush. However, the block with the Radical Socialist Party on the basis of defense of capitalist democracy as a system, on the basis of acceptance of a strictly reformist program,

is in a basic sense a source of infection and devitalization, and not a source of invigoration and strength. No one should belittle the gains registered by the Communists in France during the elections. No one should underestimate the significance of the increased strength of the working class bloc, communist and socialist, in the French Chamber of Deputies, but no one should have the illusion that fascism has been defeated in France, that the menace of fascism has been seriously detoured or checked. In fact, in the next Chamber of Deputies, the fascist forces will be more articulate and better organized than ever before. Despite the laws put on the books, supposedly against the Fascist organizations, the Croix de Feu continues to function and to consolidate its forces. It has given up neither its arms nor its organization. Its leading propagandist, Henri de Kerillis, is now in the Chamber of Deputies, to lend voice and guidance to its other adherents in the Chamber. Marshall Petain has openly blessed it. We are approaching decisive hours in France. If the French working class will learn from the mistakes and the achievements of the workers in other countries, if the communist movement will likewise learn, then France will not go to fascism. Otherwise, regardless of election results, French reaction will triumph in the form of a fascist dictatorship. At the moment the working class forces are in a position to strike, strike hard, and strike decisively. We hope that the parliamentary illusions will vanish and that revolutionary working class action will be resorted to. This is the only road to working class victory



## AMALGAMATED MEMBER RAISES DEMAND FOR UNION DEMOCRACY

### Points to Elections As Proof That Democracy Is Non-Existent

This article on conditions in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in New York was submitted by a reader of the Workers Age.

—EDITOR

By A. SCHNEIDER

The official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "Advance," has of late been indulging in educating the union membership in democratic procedure. My attention has been particularly drawn to the editorial in its March issue which, under the caption, "Elect Your Best," urges the Amalgamated Local and Joint Board bodies to proceed with the elections for delegates to the 11th Amalgamated Convention, "in accordance with the rules prescribed in the union's constitution, etc."

After reading the above editorial I made it my business to observe the editor's advice carried out in action. I went to a meeting of Local 10, A.C.W.A. which was called on March 19th for the purpose of electing an Executive Board as well as delegates to the Convention. After an hour and a half of purposeless talk by the officials, when the membership was already tired, hungry and impatient, the chairman finally opened nominations. The nominations over, the chairman announced his appointees for the Election and Objection Committee. A strong demand from the floor was raised for a regular election of an Election and Objection Committee, something that is common practice in all democratic organizations. But the Amalgamated has long done away with such methods of the "jungle" in favor of "civilized statemanship."

The chairman simply ignored the demand from the floor, and instead called upon the officials to speak. Manager Gold then opened a bitter attack on the progressives, which was disgraceful even for union leaders of a lower type, not to speak of one who has had a reputation of a sincere union officer. Hollander followed him and he launched upon a theoretical treatise on what really constitutes demo-

cratic procedure in an Amalgamated Local today. He endeavored to prove the superiority of appointments over the method of election by the members from the point of view of an Old Guard S.P. man. Distrustful, however, of the effect of their speech on the meeting, the officials, with the aid of the chairman, suppressed discussion on this important question of "constitutional rules" and permitted only one member to speak in favor of an Election & Objection Committee elected by the membership. While a vote was taken on the question, the Managers and Business Agents were keeping their eyes eagerly on the voting membership.

The Opposition was, of course, defeated. With the Election and Objection Committee hand-picked, by the officials the results of the elections of delegates could be foretold in advance. The nominees from the floor thought it useless even to appear before the Election & Objection Committee.

The Elections took place on March 26. The ballots were without numbers. No registration of members eligible to vote. No control of books, no watchers by opposing candidates. The Business Agents and their election Committee were the tellers of the vote. They, of course, counted votes in their favor to their hearts' desire, while to the opposition they gave an insignificant number of votes. Thus the advantage of Hollander's method of democratic procedure has been convincingly demonstrated.

On the day of the elections in Local 10, a meeting of the Italian Local 176 took place in Aeolian Hall. The Executive Board of the Local, recommended the appointment of two of their men for the Convention. The members bitterly opposed it. They wished to elect their delegates and not the delegates picked for them by the administration particularly in view of their inability to express themselves in English. One member even referred to the constitutional provisions for election of delegates. After a fist fight between followers and opponents of the administration the meeting was dispersed by the police. Elections for dele-

## ROOSEVELT AND LABOR

"Labor has serious grievances against the (Roosevelt) administration. But have we really a right to expect the administration to act differently? Roosevelt was not elected as a labor president. He was elected on the ticket of the Democratic party, which is one of the two parties of the employing class. It was from this party that Roosevelt received his mandate. He is a part of it, and not apart from it. With his best intentions for labor he is unable to raise himself above his own class or party and place himself outside of them. It is still true that a man cannot serve two masters.

"No master should expect to be served by another's servant. Labor must have its own political service, its own political party, a labor party or, as it is often called, a farmer-labor party. This issue is as old as the class struggle, but it is more urgent now than ever before. The American labor movement has paid dearly for its refusal to organize an independent party of labor."—JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, General Secretary, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in his book "The Workers and Their World."

gates to the Convention in this Local have not been held to the present day. And, of course, the blame can be justly laid to the negligence of our "guardians of democracy" in the Joint Board & Management.

In local 25, Hollander, and Hershkowitz, maneuvered the same way that no election and objection committee should be elected by the membership meeting. Hershkowitz in his speech said that the executive Board must supervise the elections and Hollander approved it. Every one knew the outcome of the elections beforehand. On April 16 elections in Local 25 took place. The business Agents and the Election Committee intimidated the workers to vote for the administration candidates. Of course the election Committee elected their own people as delegates to the Convention.

Elections in the A.C.W.A. in the last few years have been a mockery. Whomever the officials want,

they elect. Whomever they do not want, they defeat. The same holds good for the national as well as for the local organizations. The issue, Brother Hollander, is whether there is democracy in the A.C.W.A., or there is not? The question is whether you intend to restore local democracy or you do not?

Let no one have the illusion that Hollander means what he says, that he welcomes constructive criticism in the "Forwaerts" and at Local meetings. So long as local democracy does not exist, all talk about criticism is nonsense. Hollander speaks against fascism and dictatorship, for curbing the powers of the Supreme Court, for Industrial Unionism, for a Labor Party and what not. It is high time to remind Hollander that one is expected some time to practice a little of what he preaches.

One more thing, Brother Hollander, will you regard this as "Constructive criticism?"

## Even the London Rats Rebel

London—"Keep rats on a diet similar to that of the poor workers of this country and you will understand why cannibalism, latent in everybody, develops amongst the economically depressed people in Society." Major General Sir Robert McCarrison said in the first of three lectures on nutrition and national health delivered before the Royal Society of Arts.

Two groups of rats were used in the general's experiments. One was fed on a good stock diet, consisting of cereal grains, milk, vegetables, fruit and meat. The other was fed on a diet such as is eaten by the poorer classes in England. This included white bread, margarine, a little milk, boiled cabbage and potatoes, tinned meats and tinned jams of the cheaper

sorts.

The effect was noticeable. The former, well-fed group lived happily together, increased in weight and flourished. The other group lived unhappily together, did not gain weight, and became badly stunted. By the end of the sixtieth day they began to kill and eat the weaker ones among them.

When cut open after their deaths, it was found that disease of the lungs was twice as common in the poorly fed group.

## Individuals Greet Workers Age

Omaning	David King Boynick	Robert Strong
L. Davis	I. Zimmerman	B. G.
B. Colenberg	Sadie Glanz	Sam Rendlich
S. Miller	Umberto Candi	Eve Stone
Ben Rosen	Joe O'Brien	Morris Cohen
Harry Freed	Stanley Menano	Pauline Rubin
W. Harris Cohn	Tony Pita	Joe Rubin
J. Goldstein	William Wilson	Bessie Rubin
S. Eisenberg	John Jones	Shan Dukin
MM. Goodman	Lilly Ostroff	Celia Davidoff
H. Horowitz	Fannie Mozlin	Ralph Pesce
Madeline Fringone	Sol Wolfish	Joe Fishtein
Mary N. La Grassa	Meyer Anderman	H. Weinberger
Josephine Miano	Max Tushinsky	S. Reich
Mary Ferrara	M. Peckerar	J. Krauss
Mollie Ferrara	Frances	S. Lowenthal
M. D. Newark	Morris Ruffer	A Sympathizer
Jean Le Gaulois	Comrade Kay	Sam 257
Sympathizer—	Harry Kay	Fred's
Newark	Esther Rendlich	Mildred D. Gutterson
L. Baily	Max Mausner	Sherrie McKenzie
John Challenger	H. Linn	Ann Frankel
H. E. Lowe	Robert Paine	Rao Schneider
A. Fennell	John Leopold	Ethel Kolman
W. A. Lowe	I. Hasenberg	Eddie Schneiderman
Eldridge	T. T.	M. A. Horowitz
Frank Nettleton	ERB worker	S. D. W.
Morris Gakofsky	C. Henick	John Balaskas
Leo Mazer	I. R.	Anthony Christman
D. Epstein	Electrical Worker	Jim Carus
A. Strasberg	Karber	Irving Meenes
Jennie Cohen	B. Kalinberg	Lillian Gallant
H. Goodman	Claire Greene	R. Macklin
D. Breslow	Edna Lind	L. Michael
S. Tiger	B. Solomon	Goldstein

## JERSEY JOBLESS ORDERED OUT

TRENTON, N. J.—Hastened on their way by an Assembly resolution calling for their removal, the members of the "army of no-occupation" dispersed to their homes, their eight-day siege ended. But first they read a statement of their position into the record.

It was explained to the legislators, who have adopted a do-nothing policy because of the impending primaries on May 19, that nothing more was intended by the occupation of the State House than a "vivid protest against the inaction of the Legislature of this State to provide for immediate relief."

The statement demanded enactment of a graduated income tax, a tax on corporation surpluses, excess profits and intangible property. It opposed the sales tax as "taxing the poor to feed the poor," and objected to the turning of relief administration and financing back to the municipalities.

This availed the unemployed nothing, for the legislators went ahead immediately and passed a bill which puts the burden of feeding the 270,000 unemployed upon the city authorities. The State will allocate money only when a municipality cannot go it alone. A committee, headed by Governor Hoffman, will supervise the work of the local administrative bodies. The Assembly passed this measure by a vote of 49 to 2, and the Senate unanimously, all 19 lawmakers approving.

The "occupation" of the Assembly was punctuated by many dramatic incidents. Ray Cooke, a leader of the Workers Alliance of New Jersey, was almost thrown out on his ear for calling Assemblyman Thomas a liar when he attempted to brand the demonstrators with the stigma of "Communists and agitators." However, although deprived of the right to continue his speech, he was permitted to remain in the house.

In vacating the Assembly the unemployed determined to set up Farmer-Labor Party slates in Mercer and Burlington counties. This, they are convinced, is the only way to combat the do-nothing policy of the Old Guard candidates. It is hoped that they will seek affiliation of the trade union movement of New Jersey.

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