

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## FD Strengthens Hold On South America

Nazi Inroads On U. S. Markets Worries Wall Street.  
Roosevelt Speaks of Peace and Democracy  
To Bloody Butchers of Latin-America

"Down with imperialism!" This was the lone cry which rang in the ears of the delegates to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, as President Roosevelt took breath to begin his speech, at Buenos Aires.

The tense international situation and ever-nearing outbreak of war haunted the conference. President Roosevelt's speech constituted a professed declaration of desire and design for welding a bloc of North and South American nations for the purpose of defense against aggression from Europe. This proposal, considered as an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, constitutes a most direct and open preparation for war eventualities on the part of the United States.

That this move was couched in terms of an extension of peace and goodwill is characteristic of the methods of bourgeois diplomacy. Even as President Roosevelt was speaking a couple of new American warships were being launched. The observant reporter for the New York Times did not fail to sense the irony of the situation. "The military and naval aides of the two Presidents, in white uniforms and gold braid," says he, "gave a colorful military background while Mr. Justo and Mr. Roosevelt were speaking in favor of peace."

President Roosevelt also attacked the "new fanaticism"—the fascist dictatorships—and glorified democracy; but these very words were being addressed to a congregation of bloody dictators and oppressors of the toiling masses, many of whom, if not most, could not maintain themselves in power for one

### "DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM!"

THE smoothly planned meeting for President Roosevelt's tightening of America's imperialist bonds was "disturbed" by a heckler.

As Roosevelt began his soft soaping, Liborio Justo, son of the Argentine president, cried out "Down With Imperialism!" Justo, who has been accused of revolutionary activities, was hustled out of the hall by Argentine officers supplied for the occasion.

The audience was carefully enough chosen to avoid any action on their part sympathetic to such a slogan. Justo stated, however, that he was content, having said what he wanted.

day except for the aid and comfort rendered by "democratic" Washington.

In addition, turning the U. S. face toward the South American "neighbors," implies certain very definite commercial aims. The U. S. cannot close its eyes to the fact that Nazi Germany has cut for itself a considerable commercial empire in South America. Its ability to influence the foreign policy of a number of these countries is merely a reflection of this condition. Even after 1929—in which the peak of Germany's commerce with

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## USSR Adopts Constitution

Amendments Include One  
For Swifter Moves  
In War Crisis

The eighth Congress of Soviets unanimously passed the draft of the new Constitution, with several amendments, at its meeting in Moscow last week. Thus the legalized expression of certain of the basic triumphs of the Soviets in conquering the class enemy within, and strengthening the economic basis of the country has become an historical fact.

Of the amendments, the most important from an immediate point of view was one empowering the presidium of the Supreme Council to declare war "when necessary to fulfill mutual obligations against an aggressor", that is, to carry out the Franco-Soviet pact as speedily as possible. The original draft had allowed a declaration of war only if soviet territory were actually invaded. It is rumored that France had asked for this change in formulation—let us hope that the imperialist French bourgeoisie will be as meticulous as carrying out their side of the bargain. In order to better mobilize the forces of the proletarian state for a revolutionary war of defense, it was also decided to set up a Commissariat of Industrial Defense, centralizing military-economic activities.

Other amendments dealt with making still clearer the triumphs of socialist economy. Personal goods, income from work, and household goods were, given legal status under the draft, were, in the final form, allowed to be inherited. This of course does not nullify

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## French People's Bloc Split on Neutrality

72 Communists Abstain; Madrid Makes Progress  
Against Franco On All Fronts; Why Not  
Abolish British Monarchy?

THE cry of "PLANES FOR SPAIN" which has echoed at every working class gathering in France is likely to be the issue over which the People's Front may stumble and fall. The Chamber of Deputies in France was the scene of a test of support of Blum's People's Front government and altho he succeeded in collecting 350 votes to back his neutrality course, the Communist Party's 72 members sat in stony silence while Socialists and Radicals applauded Blum and finally made the

boldest independent move since the formation of the people's front—they abstained from voting.

The main cry of Blum was, the now threadbare argument that neutrality saved the world from a new world war. Closing his eyes to the present extremely tense international situation—growing more tense as the neutrality policy continues—he declared: "It is my conviction that Europe was on the verge of a general war in August, from which it has only been saved by the initiative of France. We are reproached of being afraid of war. But we prefer to have exaggerated the risk of war rather than have underestimated it. We prefer to have sinned by excess rather than by insufficiency." France, Blum continued, will show that it is not afraid of war "when it concerns the integrity of our soil or territory. . . ."

The position of the Communist Party was presented by Jacques Duclos who, according to Blum, was "designedly aggressive." Duclos declared:

"Really, we ought to vote against this resolution of confidence. But we are thinking of the People's

Front and of the disappointments its downfall would entail. And if we are abstaining from voting against you on this occasion, we want you to understand Mr. President (Blum's official title is President of the Council) that the people of France expect from you a more exact comprehension of the realities in the future."

Blum was extremely put out by the abstentions of the Communist Party and considered it a step in the direction of a break in the People's Front. The talked of resignation in case one of the parties of the People's Front abstained, was scotched because "an open crisis in such conditions and in a moment so grave would be understood neither in France nor abroad."

However, the failure of Blum to resign, and the abstention of the Communist Party has not eased the crisis. The Communist Party is being forced, by widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks of its membership and the proletariat at large, to sharpen its attitude to the government which it was instrumental in setting up. A consistent attitude of the C.P. will doom the People's Front government.

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## REACTION TAKES A HOLIDAY --AND GOES TO TAMPA

### Union Contracts Are Held Legal

In a decision involving the International Fur Workers Union and the N. Y. Furriers Joint Council, the State Supreme Court ruled that collective bargaining agreements between trade unions and employers' associations are immune from the provisions of the state-Anti-Monopoly Law.

Suit had originally been instituted by an independent boss' association against the union and the recognized fur manufacturers' association. In the agreement between these two the clause appeared: "there shall be but one collective labor agreement in the fur-manufacturing industry in the Greater City of New York." This naturally would mean the end of an independent employers' group, and was strenuously objected to by them.

The decision confirms the amendment made to the Anti-Monopoly Law in 1933, specifically exempting "bona fide labor unions" from its provisions. An attempt was made in this case to prove that the amendment merely "legalized" labor unions, but this was dismissed.

That the amendment has been upheld completely is of great importance to the entire labor movement of the state, whose very purpose of and right to existence was threatened by this complaint.

By JAY LOVESTONE

TAMPA, Fla.—In the A. F. of L. convention sessions, lasting two weeks, there were but two somewhat illuminating debates. These were: first, the discussion on the CIO; second, yet of no smaller import, the debate of the report of the law committee. The latter, unfortunately came on the last day of the convention when many delegates had left and when as many delegates had been literally talked flat by a fortnight of barrages.

In neither debate was the level of discussion high. In both debates the die-hards' machine rode rough-shod over even the feeblest opposition to its drive to rebuild the A. F. of L. from a voluntary federation into a centralized body, with terrific power concentrated in the hands of the Executive Council. In each case, the Council's machine spared no parliamentary trick, overlooked no debater's ruse, left nothing undone—from the fraudulently sublime to the obviously ridiculous—to insure the continued domination of craft unionism in the realm of the already organized and the continued priority of craft over industrial interests in the ranks of the still unorganized.

Sitting On The Federal Locals

As it was, the federal locals, that is the local unions which have

not yet received an international charter, were somewhat restricted in their rights. After the Tampa decisions, they will be even more restricted in their membership rights. On the basis of the report of the executive council and the convention law committee, the A. F. of L. constitution has been so amended as to compel federal local unions to present their resolutions (for an A. F. of L. convention) to the Executive Council at least thirty days before the annual Federation gathering is called to order. Thus, hereafter, the convention of the A. F. of L. will consider resolutions emanating from federal locals not as originally presented by their membership but as digested and "duly considered" by the Executive Council which is to report on them to the annual conclave.

Furthermore, this amendment is also to curb the rights of the central labor unions and the state federations of labor. From now on these bodies will be able to present to the annual A. F. of L. conventions only those resolutions which have been adopted by their respective conventions and not, as hitherto, also those adopted by their regular sessions.

In parenthesis, let me say that the main opposition to the council's proposal to keep the CIO

unions in a state of permanent suspension came from the delegates representing city, central bodies, state federations and federal locals. Apparently, there is nothing strange in this coincidence.

It is of no mean significance that of the 272 resolutions presented to the Tampa convention less than forty came from the 112 international unions, over 200 came from central bodies and federal labor unions, and the rest from the state federations represented here. Even the most purblind can see, therefore, that by this constitutional amendment the most virile and articulate expression of the rank and file of the federation is to be paralyzed. But that is precisely what the Council crowd wants to do. Exactly what their mood is can be gauged from the remarks of delegate Schoonover (Chicago Federation of Labor) who, without blush or blind, blurted out:

"I don't know why these federal locals get up here and holler and squawk that they are not getting their money's worth. . . . They are getting it plenty. All they have to do is to go along. Let me say that the A. F. of L. is back of us 100% and these federal labor unions will get more if they sit

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### Midland Strike Affects Chrysler

DETROIT, Mich.—A major portion of Chrysler Corporation plants were closed down as a result of a spectacular stay-in strike of workers in the Midland Steel Products Company here that began November 27th.

The Midland strike is the second occasion within the last two weeks that a local union of the United Automobile Workers of America has made use of the highly effective stay-in strike. The first was at Bendix in South Bend which was settled the Wednesday before Thanksgiving.

Still cheerful and well fed, some 1,200 Midland workers reiterated their declaration Tuesday that they were "prepared to stay until Christmas if necessary."

The strike began the climax to several weeks of negotiation with the company. The management had agreed to demands of union recognition and a forty-five hour week, eight-hour day, with time and a half for overtime, but had refused to grant the wage increases asked by the union. Partial increases were granted, with certain departments excepted, but the workers insisted that all be granted raises. The matter of the company's changing piece work rates to cut hourly earnings was also involved in the wage dispute. Demands were for an average increase of 10c an hour,

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New Problems for the A. L. P.

THE results of the November elections must have convinced even the most sceptical that there really is a broad and fruitful basis for a labor party movement in this state. Despite its recent formation, despite its meager degree of political independence, despite its failure to run its own local candidates, the American Labor Party succeeded in rallying nearly a quarter of a million voters to its standard in New York City. With the party coming thru its first test in such a fashion it is but natural that its leaders should have been prompt in emphasizing its permanence and enthusiastic in forecasting for it a fruitful career of political effectiveness along lines of ever greater independence and militancy. To all progressive elements in the labor movement, to all those, particularly, who greeted the formation of the A.L.P. and loyally stood by it in the earlier days of uncertainty, these prospects of organizational permanence and consolidation and increasing political independence must prove very gratifying indeed.

All the more reason is there, therefore, to feel grave concern over some recent decisions which the State Committee of the A.L.P. is reported to have made on the question of membership in the party. None except trade unions are to be accepted in collective affiliation with the A.L.P. and no individuals are to be accepted as members who are affiliated with any other political party. However plausible these provisions may appear in some of their aspects, there is every reason to fear that, in their absolute form they will prove damaging, perhaps disastrous, to the labor party movement.

That the trade unions must form the basis of and the controlling force in a labor party is, of course, not open to dispute; without some such guarantee of its genuine labor character, it would be little more than a hollow sham. And it is equally obvious that a labor party must be constantly on guard against the corrupting influence of capitalist parties and politicians. Insofar as the new regulations will tend to promote these ends, they will certainly serve a useful purpose.

But when we come to the workers political parties—the Communist and Socialist parties, specifically—it is an altogether different story. Here the new regulations are bound to work mischief; here they are justified neither by political logic nor political expediency nor political expediency. In its very nature, a labor party is an all-inclusive political federation of labor organizations differing, perhaps, on all sorts of questions but agreeing, nevertheless, on the vital necessity of independent labor political action and on a joint program for making such independent action effective. Necessarily, therefore, if it wants to fulfill its own mission, a labor party must open its doors to all genuinely working class organizations, whether economic, political, cooperative or fraternal in character, provided only that they accept the program of the labor party and agree to abide loyally by its decisions. The example of the British Labor Party, to which is affiliated virtually every kind of labor organization, is especially significant in this respect.

But even more unfortunate is the decision to bar members of the Communist and Socialist parties from membership in the A.L.P. It is not only an act of unwarranted political discrimination; worse than that, it is a measure which, to the degree that it is carried out, is bound to undermine the effectiveness of the labor party itself. The A.L.P. needs the communists and the socialists. They are the most class conscious and self-sacrificing element in the labor movement; they are most devoted to the cause of independent working class political action. The loyalty of the Communist Party to the labor party idea is today not open to challenge nor, for that matter, is that of the Socialist Party either, despite its recent sectarian spasms. It would be very short-sighted on the part of the A.L.P. leadership to try to "purge" the party of this leavening, invigorating element. It cannot be done and the A.L.P. may be seriously damaged in attempting to do it!

Nor can we afford to ignore the confusion that such an effort at political discrimination may bring in the trade unions, which constitute the very backbone of the A.L.P. We are confident that more mature consideration of the meaning of the new regulations and of their inevitable consequences will convince the A.L.P. leadership how ill-advised the step they have taken really is and how necessary it is for them to retrieve it in some form or manner without too much delay.

F. D. R. STRENGTHENS HOLD ON SOUTH AMERICA

(Continued from Page 1) South America was reached—Germany has still managed to increase its trade with Brazil from 14% in 1934 to 20% in 1936, and with Chile from 10% in 1934 to 20% in 1936.

This "peace" conference is therefore intended also to strengthen U. S. commercial ties with South America. That this is so is evidenced by the entire German press. The Tageblatt says:

"This new leading motif for the United States is thoroughly in accord with its trade policy. The

United States for some time has regarded Spanish America as its natural territory for expansion. It will attempt by all possible means to make up in South America the heavy losses it has suffered in European and Asiatic markets."

However, Germany finds compensation for its possible trade losses in the effect which the Buenos Aires conference will have on the international political scene. Germany welcomes the turn toward South America because it continues and accentuates U. S. abstention from direct involvement at present

in European conflicts. In addition Germany considers this conference as a negative reply to France's effort to align the U. S. in an anti-fascist bloc.

Randolph Hits Race Prejudice Of Crafts at Tampa Convention

The following is a stenogram of the speech made by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, on discrimination against Negro workers. The talk was delivered during a session of the American Federation of Labor, on Wednesday, Nov. 25, 1936.



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention, at the outset may I say that the Sleeping Car Porters' delegates do not claim that the American Federation of Labor has not done anything for the organization of the colored workers. We do not claim that the American Federation of Labor is not now doing something for the organization of the Negro workers. We do not claim that the American Federation of Labor is not attempting to bring about better relations between the Negro workers and the organized labor movement. President Green has on various occasions appeared in public meetings under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and addressed large gatherings, he has made helpful, able, and constructive talks that have had wide influence in bringing about better relations between the Negro workers and the labor movement.

We do say, however, there has not been any systematic and coordinated effort for the purpose of eliminating discrimination in the trade union movement. In the Atlantic City convention a report was adopted in the interest of prosecuting a nation-wide campaign of education to eliminate discrimination in the trade unions. I do not know that anything has been done on that program. I have not heard of anything being done. When the question of discrimination in the trade unions comes up the question is always raised that it is an invasion of autonomy of the national and international unions. Autonomy is not something absolute, autonomy is relative. In other words, you have this doctrine of autonomy with respect to state rights, and yet there are limitations set upon states' rights. For instance, no state is permitted to ignore the income tax law. No state is permitted to set up a separate postal arrangement of its own. Therefore, despite the existence of the doctrine of autonomy, there is also a recognition of the limitations upon autonomy. If the American Federation of Labor can say to an international union that you cannot go out and organize workers without the scope of your jurisdiction by invading the field of another union, it seems to me that the American Federation of Labor ought to be able to say to a national or international union that you cannot remain within the American Federation of Labor if you go out and proceed to organize a given group of workers and exclude from that organization

workers that come within the scope of your jurisdiction. In other words, it seems that if the Federation can exclude an organization for invading a field of another union in organizing workers, it can also exclude a union for refusing to accept workers in a field over which it has jurisdiction.

As a matter of fact, it is utterly impossible to have a unified movement if the organization of workers is based upon race or color. Now the exclusion of Negroes from the trade unions involves two things. One is attaching a stigma, a stigma of inferiority to the Negro workers. This is a condition which no self-respecting Negro worker can accept. Second, the exclusion of Negro workers from the trade unions involves also a loss of wages and a loss of jobs. I know of numerous instances where Negro workers have gone from job to job. They have asked for the right to work and the foreman has said, "Have you a union card?" The Negro worker has answered, "No." Then the foreman said, "Well, you cannot get work." The Negro worker in turn has gone to the union and has said, "I want a union card, I want to join the organization," and the union has said, "Have you got a job?" He answers, "No," and then the union says, "We cannot give you a union card."

Consequently, you can see the vicious circle in which the Negro worker is thrown. If he hasn't a job he cannot get a card in the union, and if he hasn't got a card in the union he cannot get a job. Therefore, this is a serious and fundamental and basic and vital question. Now, when the workers exclude a group of workers from their own union on the basis of race and color and the employer does not exclude the workers, it is a point of division, because the employer can say to the Negro workers, "You see, the white workers are

opposed to you." This subject of discrimination of Negro workers in the union is important for consideration in the Tampa convention, because here we are in the midst of the South. I have been told by a number of international presidents that they would oppose the color clause in their constitutions and rituals, but that they could not do anything about it because of their southern membership. I have been told that there are vice-presidents of international unions who failed to re-election because they dared to advocate the right of Negroes to join their unions. Therefore, you can readily see the importance of discussing this question in a place where you have the whole element of southern prejudice before you.

will help maintain peace."

The editorial closes by making two proposals for implementing these "utterances": Mutual assistance agreements against aggressors and collaboration with the peace forces especially the Soviet Union.

The sum and substance of the Communist Party policy is thus shown to be a denial of the imperialist character of the foreign policy of the United States and a forfeit of the interests of the colonial masses oppressed by U. S. imperialism.

Next week, Comrade Ellen Ward, discusses in detail the work and decisions of the Buenos Aires conference.

opposed to you." This subject of discrimination of Negro workers in the union is important for consideration in the Tampa convention, because here we are in the midst of the South. I have been told by a number of international presidents that they would oppose the color clause in their constitutions and rituals, but that they could not do anything about it because of their southern membership. I have been told that there are vice-presidents of international unions who failed to re-election because they dared to advocate the right of Negroes to join their unions. Therefore, you can readily see the importance of discussing this question in a place where you have the whole element of southern prejudice before you.

The American labor movement will never be effective so long as there is not an effective labor movement in the south, and there will never be an effective labor movement in the south so long as the Negro workers are not accepted by the unions upon the basis of equality. As a matter of fact, the white and black workers of the south cannot be organized separately as the fingers on my hand. They must be organized all together, as the fingers on my hand when they are doubled up in the form of a fist, in order that they may be able to strike at the proper moment. If they are organized separately they will not understand each other, and if they do not understand each other they will fight each other, and if they fight each other they will hate each other and the employing class will profit from that condition.

What are the conditions of the white worker in the south? You have, for instance, convict labor. Right here in Tampa, I saw a number of white workers cleaning the streets, while a guard had a gun in his pocket orking along with them. This is the condition of the white worker right here in the south. Then you know of the kidnapping and the flogging case here, the murder of Shoemaker and the flogging of Poulton. There were also textile workers in Georgia who were put in concentration camps. White men were shot in Gastonia and Marion, North Carolina. The only privilege I can see in a worker being white is the privilege of looking down on the Negro and of starving to death.

You have white workers who are sharecroppers, white workers and children who are being exploited in the factories. White workers and the Negro workers have more in common than the white workers and the white employers. The white sharecrop worker and the Negro sharecrop worker have more in common than the white sharecrop worker and the white capitalist or landlord. These are principles and truths that the white workers in the south will learn, and I can see evidences of an advancement of education among the white workers in the south along this line. I do not condemn the white workers in the south for their attitude towards the Negro workers, because they have been the victims of prejudice, inculcated, fostered and engendered by the demagogues of the press, the church, and the state in the south. The various forces of capitalism have played their part in keeping the black and white workers apart, and so the white workers are not to blame. They are slowly seeing the light. As a matter of fact, it is illustrated as to what attitude the employers of the south have toward the white and black workers by a historical incident in slavery. One

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SALENGRO'S DEATH STIRS WORKERS

By EDWARD CHAMBERS

"L'AFFAIRE Salengro" created both organized and spontaneous action on the part of the French proletariat at the time of Salengro's suicide and also several days later when meetings and demonstrations occurred in several parts of France at the same time as the municipal obsequies in Lille.

Saturday evening, three days following, one of the largest meetings ever held in Paris was held under the SFIO auspices at the Vel d'Hiv. 25,000 people crowded inside the hall, and another 15,000 listened to loudspeakers outside. At the meeting Paul Faure spoke for the SP, Thorez for the CP, Kahn for the League for the Rights of Man, Deladier for the Radicals, Racamond for the CGT, Viollette, a state minister, and Pleurant for the War Veterans. Blum was supposed to appear, but at the last minute it was announced that he was too tired and that he would speak his piece at Lille on Sunday.

Despite the fact that the meeting was organized by the SP, Thorez got the biggest hand when he said that the death of Salengro was "the most overt crime of fascism" and when he called for a "cessation of the sabotage of the social laws and disorganization of the national economy by Big Business which violates the collective agreements". He ended with a call "to union and to action" which set the crowd chanting "Blum a l'action! Blum a l'action!" Daladier got as many boos as Thorez got cheers when he stood up. The crowd chanted for him "A bas les deux ans! A bas les deux ans!", referring to the two year military service. Daladier had to take cognizance of this by saying "I'll discuss that another time" and then proceeded to pay a generous tribute to Salengro.

Throughout the meeting, which was exceedingly spirited, the proletarians present (the audience was almost entirely working-class) shouted "Planes for Spain" and a new pair of war cries, "Fascist Assassins!" and "Chiappe to prison!". The latter referred to the

Mexican Labor Aids Spain

MEXICO CITY.—Large numbers of Spaniards and Spanish houses in Mexico City who have been openly sympathizing with the rebellion of the Spanish fascists are being attacked by organized labor. The CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers) has resolved to undertake a planned campaign of strikes and boycotts against all Spaniards established in Mexico who sympathize with or make contributions to the rebel cause.

This campaign will be carried out regardless of the result which the petitions independently submitted to the government by the CTM may have. The CTM has asked the administration to apply Article 33 of the Constitution, under which the President is empowered to deport "undesirable aliens," Spaniards who have spread propaganda in favor of the rebels.

The CTM's campaign will be conducted by means of meetings and demonstrations in front of commercial establishments proved to be working for the Spanish rebels; such action will be followed up by the extreme measures of the strike and boycott. Spanish workers employed by reactionary firms are cooperating actively with the CTM in the campaign.

nephew of Jean Chiappe who is editor of Gringoire, the journal which had most hounded Salengro. On Sunday afternoon, at the same time as the funeral services were being held in Lille, a tremendous demonstration in which most of the proletariat of Paris took part was held at the Bastille and from the Bastille to the Place de la Nation. About a half million workers took part in this march, larger and more enthusiastic than the demonstrations of July 14th which had previously been hailed as the greatest in recent French political experience. This was under the auspices of the CP and the Popular Front, but there was no particular partisanship to be seen in it. CP, SP, and CGT workers sang the same songs, chanted the same slogans, and carried about the same banners. (Except for the Hammer and Sickle, which was carried by almost everybody and—seeming to be only a badge of militancy rather than that of a party—was more evident than the three arrows of the arm and torch of the SP).

The largest and most impressive contingent was that of the CGT. The workers from some of the largest factories in Paris marched with the CGT en masse. Included among these were those from the Citroen plant, Panhard, Renault, Michelin; the employees of the largest stores; the government employees; bus and Metro conductors and drivers; policemen; postmen, dentists and surgeons; and hairdressers. A few recognizably bourgeois elements were in the parade, and it seemed quite clear that what the Peoples Front means to us, and is, actually, is not what the Peoples Front is to the French workers. To them it is a united working class front. That the masses think so is not without concern to some of their political leaders. As the demonstration passed a certain block of houses along the course of the march, the inhabitants of these waved Hammer and Sickle banners at the demonstrators or else had these banners hanging from balconies. The shouting of "Blum a l'Action" and "Workers and Peasants Government" grew so loud under this influence that some of the political leaders had to silence the shouting, proclaiming that there was a hospital just a few yards further on. Actually the hospital was a good three or four blocks farther up the street.

As indicated by the preceding slogans, the "Vive Blum" of three months ago is now "Blum a l'Action". It should be explained that these slogans are not created by the political parties but grow spontaneously out of the French masses. A few more of them might be well translated here. They are chanted in unison intensely and effectively. "Down with the rotten press", "Zyromski to the post of the Interior", "Lift the blockade of Spain", "Chiappe to the W. C.", "Doriot to the same place", "To the Champs Elysees" (where fascist demonstrations and demonstrators are), "Cannons for Spain", "Shorten the stature of de la Rocque by decapitating him", and so on.

A few reflections on the demonstration. It both demonstrated effectively against French and world fascism, and also demonstrated that the French workers are in mood not at all like one would think by reading the CP and SP and trade union press. They are serious; they mean business; they are truly united, not because of what their leaders say but because they have participated in joint actions and now have an almost instinctive feeling for unity; and they are not completely misled by the unequivocal support of Blum

Quotation Marks

"The International Anti-Fascist Congress warns the working masses against the pernicious illusion that the bourgeois democratic state affords even the slightest protection against the establishment of Fascist rule. Experience shows that in all capitalist states bourgeois democracy merely paves the way for Fascism. . . ."

"The anti-fascist fight is a proletarian and revolutionary fight. The overthrow and destruction of fascism is unthinkable apart from the violent overthrow and complete destruction of the order of society, the result and expression of which is Fascism: decaying capitalist society. The return to capitalist democracy, the restoration of the bourgeois democratic State, as preached by the agents of capital, means nothing else but the continuation of the Fascist rule of violence in other veiled forms."

The above is an excerpt from a resolution adopted unanimously at the International Anti-Fascist Congress and printed in the Inprecorr of March 29, 1929.

By their leaders. Their cry of "Blum a l'Action" is their most important at the moment. It is one which their leaders cannot always silence by claiming that there is a hospital ahead.

Finally, these recent actions are the best proofs to date that a united working class front, rather than Peoples Front will do what the Peoples Frontists claim for their baby. These demonstrations have been of a united working class front celebrating the death of a perfect Peoples Front. Would that they had been celebrating the death of the Peoples Front as well!

Paris, November 24th.

The Vatican And Spain

"It is deplorable," says a recent issue of the Catholic weekly Commonweal, "that the Methodist Federation for Social Service, in a widely publicised statement, should have permitted itself to become a propaganda instrument for the Communist inspired attack upon the Vatican in the so-called survey made by Dr. Harry F. Ward."

The reference here is to a pamphlet entitled "Spain's Democracy Talks To America", issued by the American League Against War and Fascism. The opinion Commonweal desires to create, that everyone challenging the attitude of the Vatican in Spain is a Communist or at least a near-Communist, is the sheerest kind of nonsense. Will Commonweal explain away with the label "communist" the following paragraph taken from the New Statesman and Nation (London) of September 19?

"The action of the Pope in blessing the Spanish rebels raises some interesting points. The opponents of Catholic Emancipation in this country always argued that the Pope claimed the right to release subjects from their civil allegiance. They seem to have been right. Secondly, what do good Catholics make of a Papal blessing for Mohammedan Moors when they slaughter Basque Catholics? Thirdly, included in this blessing are the soldiers who killed militiamen—as the Times correspondent described it—on the altar steps of Badajoz Cathedral. Surely we must go back a long way—to the days of the Schism and the less reputable Popes, I think—to find a Vicar of Christ condoning, and

EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

ACCORDING to the latest official news 15,000 well-armed Catalan troops have appeared in the rear of Madrid's attackers. . . . This move may be of decisive military significance, and will certainly be of great political import. The military significance of this latest development lies not only in the fact that the rebels will be beaten decisively from the rear but also in the fact that the Spanish labor forces have at last launched a bold offensive which will be fought on various fronts under centralized control and discipline. This is great military progress.

It is equally clear that if the government's military battles are crowned with success—if the rebels fail to take Madrid—the political prestige of Catalonia will be greatly strengthened and its revolutionary policy will be adopted by the rest of Spain. The transfer of the seat of the government to Valencia where the workers have been in control of the government for some time and where the influence of the POUM is great will accelerate such political development.

And finally, a successful defense of Madrid will automatically raise the political level of the working masses who must carry on a campaign of ruthless revolutionary terror against the counter-revolutionary elements which have reared their heads inside Madrid.

ENGLAND AND GERMANY

THE Foreign Minister Anthony Eden and Neville Chamberlain assumed a seemingly friendly attitude toward Hitler Germany in Parliament, they made it sufficiently clear that England would not sever relations with France, nor enter an anti-Soviet pact. Their friendly tone was entirely due to the fact that England today is not sufficiently well-armed to assume a more aggressive tone. Churchill's remarks were even more pointed.

Foreign minister of Poland, Beck, after a stay in Belgium where he worked under orders of Hitler, proceeded to London for the sole purpose of informing England that Poland can well replace Soviet Russia as a barrier in the East. His aim was to undermine the Franco-Soviet pact with no apparent success.

In Poland itself mass demonstrations of workers at the funeral of Daszynski, the veteran leader of the Polish Social Democracy, indicated that the working class movement is on the upgrade.

GERMAN MANEUVERS IN SPAIN

MADAME Tabouis writing in "Oeuvre" of November 7, 1936, furnishes interesting details on the future plans of Hitler Germany in regard to Spain. Certain German industrialists have proposed to Hitler that Spain be turned into a sort of German colony for the exploitation of copper mines, quicksilver, iron, etc., that the Pyrenees become a military fortification against France and thus insure two more years of boom in the German armament industry.

This plan which will be demolished by the Spanish revolution, demonstrates nevertheless the precarious position of Germany as far as supply of raw materials and the armament boom is concerned. Nazi propaganda against revolutionary Spain initiated long before the outbreak of the civil war has not deceived the German working class; on the contrary, it has aroused sympathy for the success

even approving, a holy land blood-thirsty war carried out by infidels. . . . The other day a platform speaker in this country was asked about people burning churches. Well, he said, the church has burnt enough of them! They are only getting a bit of their own back! A savage reply; but it is a pity English Catholics forget the historical background of Spanish sav-

agery."

of the Spanish revolution amongst the German workers.

BELGIUM'S TRUE FACE

AS is well known, Belgian Social Democracy has stood loyally by the Belgian monarchy. The true position of the monarchy, however, was revealed by the king when he asked for a return to the pre-war neutrality status and more recently when he openly expressed sympathy with the Rexist fascist movement.

FOLLOW ENGLAND!

DESPITE the fact that the National Council of the French S.P. directed its attacks almost exclusively at the C.P. and despite the fact that Leon Blum ignored the demands raised by Thorez, the Communist Party of France declares that there is complete unity and harmony amongst the workers parties. Thorez's criticism didn't mean a thing. The People's Front marches on.

The National Council of the S.P. adopted the following resolution: "The National Council in granting full power to Leon Blum demands that the government apply the policy as laid down in the resolution of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, FIRST SEEKING THE APPROVAL OF ENGLAND."

But it is a well-known fact that England has taken a stand for the continuance of the blockade of the Spanish revolution under the thin disguise of "non-intervention." The decision of the Council is a hypocritical attempt to continue Blum's present policy.

The majority of the left wing under the leadership of Marceau Pivert actually supported the policy of the government tho it mouthed revolutionary phrases.

Zyromski alone came out openly for a definite break with the present Blum policy. He demanded that the French government assume the same position as the Soviet Union. As a result of the C.P. policy, however, Zyromski was completely isolated.

In the Finance committee of the Chamber the C.P. brought in a resolution which calls for increased taxation of capitalist property. This shadow boxing is typical of the C.P. in the present stage of the People's Front.

ON WITH THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

GEORGI Dimitroff, the general secretary of the C.L., enumerates the present tasks of the Communist parties in an article entitled "The People's Front—a weapon against fascism and war" published in Humanite, (November 8, 1936).

"It is the duty of the various Communist sections: to aid the Spanish people with all their might so that the fascist rebels are smashed;

"To prevent the discrediting or break-up of the People's Front; "To work for a World People's Front against war and fascism at any cost."

He states further that "any attempt to discredit or break the People's Front will meet with the staunchest resistance of all workers, of all anti-fascists."

All of which proves that the leaders of the C.L. continue to endorse and even extend the People's Front line despite the turn of Soviet foreign policy in regard to Spain.

London, Nov. 11, 1936.

# REACTION TAKES A HOLIDAY —AND GOES TO TAMPA

(Continued from Page 1)  
down and quit squawking.”  
This was plain talk, cold turkey, in reply to a Chicago federal local delegate Meyers who complained bitterly and cited figures to show “the inequality that is present,” and show “. . . why the shearing away of (our) democratic rights should not be continued.” This delegate minced no words when he emphasized: “It is a known fact that the resolutions that appear from federal labor unions are generally progressive. We are not ashamed of it. . . . I think as we become older it will be our views that will prevail in the American labor movement.” And it was this line of attack, coupled with some financial statistics showing how much the federal locals with about 85,000 good standing members have been pouring into the Com- mittee’s treasury, that inspired or provoked vice-president Dan Tobin to some bold, honest words anent the plans of the Old Guard and the reasons animating their moves for this constitutional amendment. Tobin remarked:

“There are nine hundred chartered federal labor unions at the present time in the Federation. The A. F. of L. is the parent body, the international body of these federal unions. There is no international union here that permits any of its local unions to send or introduce a resolution directly thru their local affiliation to any of these conventions. A resolution from a local union must first go to its international union, and the international union, if it deems it worthy, submits the resolution to the federation convention. We are only endeavoring to apply the same rule to local unions that are directly chartered by the A. F. of L.”

Of course, Mr. Tobin did not see fit to tell the delegates that the local unions organized in an international have a chance to present their resolutions to a convention of their international, while the local unions affiliated directly thru the Executive Council do not have a national convention of all the federal locals having this same parent body (A. F. of L. council). Likewise, neither President Green, nor Dan Tobin, nor the convention law committee which put thru this thirty-day proposal found it necessary to recommend the Executive Council should send to every federal local its own annual convention report at least thirty days before the opening session, so that these local unions should have at least a few hours within which to prepare resolutions for the convention on the basis of the parent body’s report.

**Stifling Central Bodies**  
For the same reasons and in line with the same policy to alter the very structure of the A. F. of L., the law committee proposed and the convention adopted a constitutional amendment preventing central bodies from “declaring firms unfair that have agreements with national and international unions.” From now on no employer against whom a strike has been declared by a number of workers is to be subject to a boycott if he happens to have a contract with another union representing another craft (or for that matter several unions) without this proposal for a boycott first having gone thru the mill of consideration by the local union, central body, the national union or unions involved and finally the executive council and federation president with whom final authority and power to declare, approve or disapprove a boycott is to be lodged.

Thus, this weapon of boycotting

unfair employers loses all edge because suddenness, quickness of action, the first prerequisites for its effectiveness, are destroyed. Thus, additional power is to be vested in the Council, as delegate Martel pointed out, “to pass final judgment, and that no firm or corporation will be placed on the unfair list until the A. F. of L. Executive Council has given approval.” Yet, some might argue that the Council may pay dearly for this restriction of liberties inflicted upon the city central trade bodies because this policy “will lay the A. F. of L. open to all of the damage suits that sometimes come as the result of placing firms on the unfair list.” But only the most naive would be truly concerned over this danger. The Council is fully aware of it. It will not take such chances, it will not brave such dangers if it can possibly help it. This means that from now on employers fighting the right of workers to organize, particularly the right of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, will be practically free from attack by the weapon of boycott. This means that if any corporation has a contract with a union representing a few or some skilled workers, it will not face the danger of being put on the unfair list merely because it refuses to recognize a union of many workers who happen to be unskilled!

Obviously, haunted by a fear of facing damage suits and inspired by a desire to preserve the privileged position of the skilled, nay, not even to disturb them in the least, the Council will think more than a dozen times before it takes action in favor of the boycott on the thirteenth occasion. It is evident that no mere technical question is involved in this dispute. Here is at stake and here we are concerned with the fundamentals of the basic issues: which form of organization shall prevail, the craft or the industrial? Shall the American trade union movement be transformed from one based on voluntarism into one which is a highly centralized body with tremendous power concentrated in the hands of the executive?

It was in this sense that delegate Myra Kogoroff put her finger on the sorest spot of this all-important controversy when she said: “The recommendation of the committee . . . is operating on the idea that all people who are running central labor unions haven’t got sufficient intelligence to protect their own interests. . . . There are very few concerns of any importance that haven’t got an agreement with one or two international unions, despite the fact that there are many workers in that place that are unorganized. It is certainly tragic and bad enough. . . . without going further and telling the central labor bodies, which are composed of these unions, that they shall not have the right to carry on a fight in behalf of local unions to try to bring a concern into line.”

This spokesman for the Detroit Federation of Labor put the law committee secretary on the spot when she asked:

“Do I understand the secretary of the committee correctly when he says in the event the international union will not permit the central labor union to put the concern in question on the unfair list, the executive council of the A. F. of L. will override their decision? In that case will it not be interfering with the autonomy of the international union?”

Subjected to this taunt and embarrassment, the Old Guard had Dan Tobin enter the fray with the hope of putting up a better front.

But all Tobin could do was to spill the beans.  
“If you don’t want it, I am afraid you are going to make a mistake, because there are conditions arising within the last few years in our movement where many inexperienced delegates are getting into central bodies, young men and women who are interested and as sincere as we are, but they haven’t the experience of the years of trial we have gone thru, and in many central bodies radical action is liable to prevail in many instances within the next two or three years.”

It was necessary for Bill Green to try to soften the mood of resentment aroused by the adoption of this constitutional amendment. In vain did he seek to “allay apprehension on the part of the representatives of city central bodies and particularly of federal labor unions” by promising them “the widest latitude in their policy of dealing with unfriendly employers in their respective communities.” These unctuous remarks of Green fell on deaf ears.

### More Power to Council

The law committee reported unfavorably a proposal to amend Article 19 of the Constitution so that the “suspension of an International Union by the executive council is not to become effective until approved by the convention.” It went even further when it rejected a proposal to amend the AFL constitution so that organizations suspended by the Council should not thereby lose their right of representation in the convention. It dealt the same fate to a proposal to amend the constitution so that suspension of an international union may be made effective only upon a convention decision. “Non-concurrence” was its recommendation to the resolution of Sanders Genis, representing the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, in behalf of a constitutional amendment providing that charters may be lifted only by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

And what the law committee, headed by Dan Tobin, recommended was, of course, enacted by the convention. Hence, negatively as well as positively the Council has provided for taking still more power. There can be no doubt in any one’s mind that attorney Wolf will in the near future seek to prove that in view of the fact that the convention has rejected the four above mentioned proposed amendments, therefore, the very opposite of their intention is law, is the law of the A. F. of L. by “implied consideration” and outright implication, etc. etc. . . .

**Old Officers Chosen Anew**  
What was once said of the Old Guard of the G.O.P. holds even more true for the Old Guard of the Federation. The latter’s Council members may die but they never surrender. They are never taken out of the Council unless they are taken out of the council—literally carried out as corpses. But in the election of officers, the convention disclosed more than even this axiom. The CIO controversy

**JAY LOVESTONE’S**  
articles on the 1936 ELECTIONS are interrupted this week, due to the fact that Comrade Lovestone’s presence in Tampa made it impossible for him to get the article in on time for publication. However the next issue of the WORKERS AGE will carry the fourth in the series.

HE NEEDS A NEW AND BETTER FIT!



colored the election of A. F. of L. officials in the following manner: First of all, the very biggest and healthiest unions, like the miners and ladies’ garment workers, were not to be represented on the new council. Secondly, the low calibre of the dominant group was revealed in pathetic fashion by the nominating speeches. Thirdly, Green’s appreciation speech, after the perfunctory election to which he was condemned, showed that in spite of all bluff and bravado on the part of the Old Guard they are seriously disturbed at their immediate prospects.

In this light one will be able to view without the slightest surprise nominator Harrison’s reference to Green as “one whose record in the labor movement is known by all, one whose ability is surpassed by none—a personality loved by all.” In the same sense, one will be able to see why seconder Williams (Building Trades Department) could say without warmth of sincerity or light of reason the following in estimating Green:

“I rise at this time to second the nomination of the most outstanding labor leader in the world today. Admitting the fact that he is the most outstanding labor leader of the present day, he belongs at the head of the greatest labor movement in the world today.”

In response, Green made his typical and threadbare plea “for the exercise of patience and tolerance.” He cried that “we must not substitute passion or feeling for judgment” and confessed that he views “the future with some feeling of apprehension and deep concern.” He spared no emotion “to plead with the family, those who should be here, to come back to our home and sit with us and share with us the common fight.” Little effort was needed to see thru these platitudes and commonplaces. Thruout the nominations and acceptances, not a word was said about lifting the suspensions.

As was to be expected, Rickert was chosen second vice-president on the ground that “his national union fifty-six long years ago stood beside the cradle when the federation was born” and because his union, the United Garment Workers, “will live as long as water runs and grass grows.” In “exercising the coveted privilege of placing in nomination” and securing the election of Weber, as sixth V.-P., delegate Weaver told of his candidate having survived an

operation and relying on “the waters of the Pacific shore and the genial radiance of the western sun” as well as this vote of confidence so that “he may find full healing of the seamless dress.” When delegate Mahon was being shoved back into the twelfth vice-presidency, it was proclaimed that “he is like Haig and Haig, he gets better with years.” Delegate Martel made a very solid argument when he successfully pleaded for the re-election of Morrison as secretary because “during all the strife and storm, he stands as the Rock of Gibraltar, both feet on the ground!” But it was left to Mahon, in putting over the first fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress, to register the prize of them all:

“We know that Britain will soon have an American queen. We want someone to adequately represent the American people in going before the next British Congress, and with that view in mind, I rise at this time to present the name of a delegate who is thoroughly acquainted with all the arts that are necessary to array and arrange the next Queen of Great Britain, as a representative of the American people. I, therefore, present the name of delegate William C. Birthright of the Barbers International Union, who understands all the arts of his trade which are necessary to equip the coming Queen of Great Britain for her position.”

To the majority of the delegates this argument was irresistible and Mahon’s artist won the unanimous acclaim of the convention. When the machinery for the election of a fraternal delegate to the Canadian trade unions appeared poorly oiled, an attempt was made to have the executive council appoint one. This was countered with a proposal to have Trotter of the Typographical Union chosen. The effort was promptly squelched, so that Trotter diplomatically withdrew and the machine was put on record as refusing even the most insignificant honor to anyone at all associated with the CIO.

**A Killing Frost**  
As the convention was breathing its last minutes, one picture was continually impressing itself upon me. More and more I realized how appropriate it was for that old man who was selling canes to the delegates thruout the sessions, to

(Continued on Page 6)

# PRICES RISE, FASCISTS PLOT IN BLUM’S FRANCE

(This letter was written recently to Comrade Jay Lovestone. The writer is French and very active in the labor movement there. The Workers Age is reprinting some excerpts because they are a faithful reflection of certain aspects of the struggle in France which reinforce our estimate of the People’s Front policy, yet deal with the actualities rather than the theory of the contemporary controversy of the labor movement.)

Things aren’t shaping up any too well are they? I won’t speak about Spain. The events there saddened me terribly. But I mean France itself where Blum, that extremely well-meaning and honest man, is letting things go badly.

A plain housewife—a friend of mine—told me a few months ago, just after the election was over, that she remembered having heard him speak at Toulouse at some Socialist Congress or other. Untaught and unprejudiced as she was she didn’t look any too reassured. She said he looked and sounded so aristocratic. She repeated the word once or twice, with obvious worry. That struck me. (I’ve never seen him). It was the only impression she had left.

Nothing is done to keep prices from soaring. Retailers get orders from the big firms to jerk up the prices one notch every other day or even daily even for those goods that were bought at the old prices and that are not yet sold. You may have read in the Humanite that a gasoline retailer was blacklisted by the big firms and did not receive any more oil because he hadn’t yanked up his prices as ordered. Since we traveled along his road several times on our way from the South he made us pay considerably less than was indicated on the filler. But he wished to conform outwardly to the wishes of the real masters. . . . Isn’t that symptomatic, as one might say?

The cleavage between the two worlds is getting more and more noticeable. There are two presses, two literatures, quite distinct. Two sorts of people, also. I don’t think the clash will come yet. Nobody in France has suffered enough. We still live on the after flush brought about by the war, and, in spite of low wages, the workers and peasants harbor no rancor as most of them have no idea of what a standard of living can be. Don’t forget, that is an American invention.

You are right. People will awaken to a clearer understanding too late when the opportunity will be over. There will be much to lay at Blum’s door. I thought that as he’d so very nearly been done to death some time ago, it might have changed him into a full-blooded man. Obviously it takes more than that to alter the make-up of an erstwhile “symbolist poet”—save the mark.

I am sending you a package of papers including the first number of “Assaut,” a weekly of a new fascist hue, run by a number of young Papa’s sons looking for a career. There are many such and let us hope they will go on destroying each other as neatly as they have done in the past.

What worries me are the Radical Socialists. They will risk everything in the name of private property, anything not to lose a vote.

Will also send you, as soon as we have read it ourselves, a small pamphlet by Vladimir d’Ormesen whom you probably know. He is the expert on Germany in a number of influential papers and reviews, namely, the Temps, Figaro, La Revue de Paris, des Deux Mondes, etc. He is a very able diplomat and publicist with a great reputation for having information, good manners, and moderation. Well, he has left his ivory tower

to come out into the melee with that pamphlet entitled: Le Communisme, c’est la guerre. In the time-honored and silly traditions of French historians he shows that a Soviet France would destroy the “balance of power” in Europe to the detriment of Germany which she cannot allow. What are the “best French traditions” coming to if Germany is the first to be considered in such a matter? In France there is such a horror of war that it may work. B.

## What Does One Really Want?

Very few objections are being raised nowadays by the French Communist Party about the imperialist twists of French foreign policy—under the banner of People’s Frontism. But lately (in Imprecor, number 50) Gabriel Peri has discovered new matters to which not to object. In the face of Mussolini’s new alignment with Germany, Peri, the watchful fellow, warns France that the Little Entente, satellites revolving around the Parisian coffers, may leave its “peaceful democratic” orbit. Something, he urges, must be done for, “hitherto the main preoccupation of French statesmen (sic) was the prevention of the formation of blocs among rivals. That is quite correct in itself.” This is certainly as conscienceless a defense of French imperialist maneuvering as could be demanded by the most loyal bureaucrat of the Quai D’Orsay. Apparently there no longer exists in Peri’s mind the slightest misgiving, the minutest question concerning the character of France’s social structure, its foreign policy. Therefore he informs the government, “the surest method of preventing the formation of such a bloc consists in actively working for the formation of mutual assistance pacts on the model of the Franco-Soviet pact. What has been done in this connection?” A little more action, asks Peri—protect your imperialist interests a little more firmly.

Now emerges the inevitable contradiction of contemporary Communist amalgams of supposed defence of the USSR, with chauvinism and pacifism. “We do not want any crusade of democracy against fascism,” Peri quotes the French Foreign Office as saying. He comments: “One cannot object to that. No friend of peace can seriously think of a crusade!” But doesn’t “one” demand an aggressive policy against Hitler’s various coups? Doesn’t “one” fail to object to the increased military budget of France —by abstentions? Doesn’t “one” quote correctly, object to Blum’s “neutrality” towards Spain?

The real trouble lies in the fact that the proletariat, to pursue a consistent Marxist policy, cannot talk of being a “friend of peace” in the abstract. “One” can, as a matter of fact, very seriously object to the strange concoctions of Peri as being very much on the side of neutrality—at the same time that the C.P. demonstrates against neutrality! One policy for the streets, another in the Chamber! What does “one” want?

## JOINT BOARD HELPS MOONEY FUND DRIVE

The drive for funds for the Mooney Defense Committee is meeting wide support in the trade unions. Among the contributors that have sent in money, the Committee reports the Dressmakers’ Joint Board. The letter accompanying the \$500 check is given

## BOOKS of the AGE

**FIRES UNDERGROUND.** Heinz Liepmann. J. P. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. \$2.00.

Although his heart is in the right place, with the workers and their proscribed political parties, Mr. Liepmann gives at best only a sketchy picture of the German underground movement. He singles out a few typical figures, a veteran Communist, an intellectual, and a criminal turned politically honest with the advent of Hitler, and he takes them to their separate endings. It makes for drama and it guarantees readability, but it precludes a well-rounded, documented book. Thus there is a maximum of heroic, self-denying exploits, tending upon the fictional and the melodramatic, and a dearth of the kind of good solid work that will eventually undermine the Nazi regime. The central figures are so busily engaged in running up red flags on church steeples and meeting conspiratorially in the dead of night, right in the midst of the enemy, that they seem to have no time for the building of the vitally necessary illegal trade union organizations. Such, for the most part, is the character of Fire Underground.

It would be unfair, however, to classify the book as merely an exciting, romanticized narrative. The instinctive, unpremeditated burrowing under of the Hamburg working class movement, upon which the attention of the book is exclusively centered, the furtive organization of propagandistic demonstrations, and the osmotic infiltration by reliable comrades of the Secret Police,—these are genuine, if slight, contributions to history. Mr. Liepmann gives you the warp, if not the whole cloth, of the anti-fascist movement. If he were less of a novelist and more of a social observer, his book would be stocked fuller of fact and be leaner in point of drama. It’s a pity that such was not the case for the book rings true as gold. Mr. Liepmann obviously knows whereof he speaks, evidently having got his information first-hand, on the ground of battle.

It should be stated that the book is calculated to stir up the wrath of humanitarians the world over. A spirit of chivalry and social indignation animates the author.

Incidentally, I might add in closing, that Mr. Liepmann so far overestimates the strength of the illegal working class forces that he can say at one point that the Socialists and Communists are each so powerful that they no longer require each other’s assistance. —LEE MASON

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

**T**HIS has been an extraordinary convention of the American Federation of Labor. The newspapers reflected this situation by running four times as much material as on the Atlantic City convention a year ago. Every section of the labor and liberal movement was keenly interested in its outcome and the labor and liberal press is beginning to speak up editorially in an attempt to evaluate the decisions made at Tampa.

Beginning with this issue we will print excerpts expressing the opinion of the labor and pro-labor papers in the country. Needless to say we do not necessarily agree with every shade of opinion expressed.

“On the question of lifting the suspensions, the only basis upon which peace in the labor movement can be established, they gave way not one inch. In the main the industrial unionists similar to the attempt made during the last campaign to ‘smear’ Roosevelt. “But the rank and file of labor will no more be fooled by such tactics than were the rank and file of voters. The returns, when they do begin to come in, will be overwhelmingly for industrial unionism.” —Brewery Workers. Nov. 28, 1936.

“Real unity is now in sight—a unity that will include support to weak unions, help in strikes in time of need, solidarity on legislation and political action. A unity that was never known under the A. F. of L. and that has become a mockery in that organization in recent times. “In the next few months it will be clearly shown where the workers stand. We predict a swing to Lewis and the C.I.O. of such gigantic proportions that the A. F. of L. will soon be forgotten altogether. And the sooner the better.” —Shipyard Worker. Nov. 27, 1936.

“A new opportunity has arisen in this country to carry on a successful unionization drive among the unorganized. The trade union movement has a chance to build itself into the social structure in a way it never had before. The official movement is not taking advantage of its opportunities. And the whole question of what to do about organizing the unorganized still remains to be settled. The Tampa Convention is a grave disappointment.” —Labor Record (Penna.) Nov. 27, 1936.

“The debate (in the General Executive Board) on this subject brought out the indisputable fact that the leadership of the ILGWU is sincerely and honestly for peace and for a united labor movement provided no basic principle, such as the organization of the workers in the mass-production industries on the industrial plan, is bartered away for the sake of achieving peace.” —Justice. Dec. 1, 1936.

“The rank and file want industrial organization, they want leadership with vision and energy. If the A. F. of L. sharpens the issue and makes a choice inevitable, it will probably lose to its new rival not only most of its potential members in mass production industries, but many of those who are still affiliated with it. This outcome is to be preferred, in the long run, to peace brought by a surrender to the reactionary leadership which for years has proved its inability to create a genuine labor movement in the United States.” —The New Republic Dec. 2, 1936.

“The so-called ‘decision of the A. F. of L.’ as expressed at Tampa represents little more than the will of a small group of craft officials. “The real will of American labor can only be expressed as it becomes organized. And it is the C.I.O. unions which are doing the organizing through which the real voice of American labor is beginning to make itself heard.” —Unions News Service. (Issued by C.I.O.) Nov. 30, 1936.

“But still they (the A. F. of L. convention) could not shut out the demand for union organization which they had scorned, nor the cries of outrage at their splitting of the labor movement. Confronted with a crisis, which they could only meet by ending their lookout of the C.I.O. unions and actually joining in the work of organization, they sat and worried. Like the rock of Gibraltar of their speeches, they would not move. “And from the belly of American labor, in the thick of its struggle with the masters of millions in steel, auto, rubber and all the other great industries, came a mighty laugh at the little men of Tampa who imagined they could stop the world by sitting still!” —Arizona Labor Journal Nov. 26, 1936.

(Concluded in Next Issue)

## Randolph Hits Race Prejudice

(Continued from Page 2)  
slave owner wanted to have something fixed on the top of his house, and there was a Negro carpenter who was a slave and a white car-

below:  
Tom Mooney  
Dear Tom:

Your communication of October 31st received. I understand fully the needs of the Defense Committee. I know also the difficulties you are confronted with in raising funds now in view of the various campaigns that are going on now to raise funds for Spain. In the meantime, I hereby enclose a check for \$500.00 which is contributed by our Joint Board of Locals 22, 60 and 89. This is again a fine that we collected for violations of our collective agreement. Since in your last letter you stated that you enjoy using such fines I can assure you that we enjoy sending them to you, and we will try to get more.

CHAS S. ZIMMERMAN  
Secretary-Manager.

## Knitgoods Workers Give C.I.O. Unanimous Support

At the meeting of the Joint Council of Knitgoods Workers, on December 1st, the following resolution on the CIO-AFL situation was passed unanimously.

The Tampa convention of the American Federation of Labor, from which the Executive Council illegally excluded the C.I.O. unions, upheld the illegal actions of the A. F. of L. executive council.

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union categorically condemns and protests the illegal suspension of the C.I.O. unions and the exclusion of the C.I.O. unions from the very convention that was to determine their status.

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union enthusiastically hails the splendid activities of the Committee for Industrial Organization in advancing the cause of industrial unionism, upon which the very life of the labor movement depends, and in stimulating, encouraging and promoting the organization of workers in steel and other mass production industries along industrial lines.

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union as part of the U.T.W.A. and the I.L.G.W.U. hails the support given by these international unions to the C.I.O. and the steel workers organization committee, which has already organized 100,000 steel workers into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor trade union movement.

We especially hail the decision

### REACTION TAKES A HOLIDAY AT TAMPA

(Continued from Page 4) help themselves. I could now understand why this old man, peddling this sort of crutch or transition to crutches, was so persistent in his effort to dispose of his wares.

Under such circumstances it was patent to all that the convention could do nothing else but unanimously adopt a resolution of thanks to Tampa, establishing that "The city officials and administration have extended to the delegates and visitors all possible courtesy and assistance." Similar thanks were voiced, thru Green, to the press which telegraphed "an estimated million words reporting upon the activities of this convention" in comparison with the 225,000 wired from Atlantic City a year ago.

As Green was saying his last words, performing as it were the last rites, in declaring that "it has been a highly educational convention" the record of which "will be read with interest and profit by students of economics and friends and foes of our great labor movement," I was already on the steps outside the Municipal auditorium. And first to approach me in my none too cheerful mood was a newsboy offering me the "Tampa Tribune" with its front page eight-column shrieking headline "KILLING FROST FORECAST".

Sad but symbolic, eh? But the picture is very far from complete. It is nowhere nearly as dark as surface indications might lead some to conclude. The reactionary crew which scored a victory at this convention knows that it has seen its best days and is simply trying to hold on, desperately, as long as possible. The progressive forces, defeated at this convention, know that they are not at all licked. They realize that in this CIO conflict there is at stake the remoulding of the American trade union movement so that it will meet the needs of the times and serve the class whose instrument it is—the working class of the United States and the workers of the world.

of the G.E.B. of the I.L.G.W.U. at its Washington meeting as expressed editorially in the *Justice* of November 15, 1936: "The debate on this subject (C.I.O.) brought out the indisputable fact that the leadership of the I.L.G.W.U. is sincerely and honestly for peace for a united labor movement provided no basic principle such as the organization of the workers in the mass production industries on an industrial plan is bartered away for the sake of achieving peace."

In the name of the knitgoods workers organized in our Union, we pledge our unswerving and whole-hearted support in the struggle for unity on a sound basis and in the struggle of the C.I.O. for industrial unionism, for the organization of the mass production industries and for militancy and progressivism in the American labor movement.

## Ship Strike At Deadlock

Under heavy pressure from the People's Front government, and from the trade union leadership, the French dockworkers who had made a splendid stand to aid the striking American seamen, returned to work and began to service U. S. lines in French ports. Ryan of the N. Y. longshoremen immediately announced that his counter-boycott on French ships would be lifted.

On the West Coast, a monster demonstration and parade was held by the striking maritime workers. Some 100,000 workers demonstrated their solidarity and determination to win the conditions they were fighting for.

Negotiations on both coasts were at a standstill despite the frantic efforts of the Federal government to force some sort of arbitration.

### SOVIETS ADOPT NEW CONSTITUTION

(Continued from Page 1) heavy inheritance taxes which heavily affect such large estates as exist. The collective farms were given free and perpetual use of the land, "free use" being the amendment, symbolizing the final establishment of socialist collective agriculture.

Direct elections for the Council of Nationalities, and equality of numbers with the other chamber of the Supreme Council, were the other amendments adopted. The factor of direct elections seemed to further emphasize the increased extension of proletarian democracy in the USSR.

In reporting for the committee appointed to bring in the final form of the constitution, Stalin stated that 43 of the 154,000 amendments had been approved by the committee. He pointed out that many of these were duplications, still others proposed purely verbal changes, while others would make excellent laws but could not be considered as part of the constitution.

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## FROM THE SPANISH WORKERS PRESS

We are printing below some excerpts from the *English Bulletin of the Generalitat of Catalonia*. These items we believe to be of great interest to our readers, since they come out of the very heart of the Spanish revolution. Particular attention is called to the report on collectivization of factories.

The break of the anarcho-syndicalists (C.N.T.) with their traditional "voluntarism" as exemplified in a quotation from their official organ, is significant both of the flux of ideas now going on, and the pressure of the general trends of the Spanish struggle.

### SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA (C.N.T.)

"In order to understand exactly the scope of the military operations at the Madrid fronts, it is necessary to remember that our war is being waged on an international scale of great importance. Its aim is not only to destroy fascism in our own country but also to loosen the grip of fascism on the other countries and to prevent its carrying out its intention of strangling, by its criminal system, all the revindication of the workers. This fight to the death has its up and downs and people who do not understand the scope of the operations are likely to grow impatient if an advance is not made every day and to put a mistaken interpretation on our military undertakings. However, on the whole, our troops on the center front are gaining ground and every day more fighting elements are added to our ranks. The proletarian solidarity which has been shown is magnificent. There can be no doubt that victory belongs to the people."

"If the work of increasing the riches of the country cannot be done by working 44 hours a week, then we will work seventy. At a time of revolution it is as criminal to waste an hour as a crust of bread. Town and country must cooperate. If the industrial workers raise their salaries and shorten their hours of work, their product becomes dear and the produce of the country is automatically devalued.

The town workers must set the example by imposing a working day sufficient to cover the monetary equivalent and at the same time to leave something over for the needs of war and for help to the peasants in building their new rural economy."

### LA BATALLA (P.O.U.M.)

"Can Hitler and Mussolini count once again upon the passiveness shown up till now by all European countries in face of the continual provocation of fascism? No doubt they feel they can. They know that in politics the boldest move wins and they are acting accordingly. It is hardly a matter of pure chance that the recognition of the Burgos Junta should come at a time when the gentlemen representing the "democratic" countries are gathered around the table at London, agreeing to keep a sharper watch on the ports and frontiers of both Spains. We know we are the only ones who will suffer from this watchfulness, Hitler and Mussolini will continue as they have always done and nobody will dare face up to them or call them to order. A great crime is being committed against the revolutionary masses. The reformists will try to disarm them once again by grouping them around the flag of national unity in order to plunge them into an imperialist war or hand them over, bound hand and foot, to the bourgeoisie."

"There is nothing surprising in the persistence of the fascist attacks on the Madrid fronts. The generals in command of these arm-

ies of Moors and mercenaries know only too well that their defeat at Madrid would be the loss of their cause. They know that on their success at Madrid depends the continuation of the help they receive from their allies abroad—fascist Italy, Germany and Portugal. Franco knows this and that is why he has sent his brother (at one time a so-called revolutionary) to go from one capital of Europe to another, begging for help from the bourgeoisie.

"The bourgeoisie fears our triumphs because it knows what that triumph would mean. The Spanish working class also knows that it would mean the triumph of the proletarian revolution and that is why the workers are fighting so courageously at the Madrid front."

### COLLECTIVIZED SILK INDUSTRY.

A visit to the collectivized factories of Catalonia gives some idea of the constructive possibilities of the Catalan working class. The Catalan workers took over the great mass of businesses and factories which had been abandoned by the owners at the outbreak of the military uprising and in an incredibly short time they have put them all into working order.

The silk colony of Esparraguera, for example, with its weaving and dyeing departments, employs 1,800 workers. Not one of these workers has been deprived of his functions under the new workers management.

1,500 horsepower electric plant serves the whole factory. The spinning section includes 40,000 bobbins and the weaving section 855 looms, some of them of a very large scale. The dispensary is still under the control of a nun who has continued quietly working at her post in spite of the events which took place on July 19th. The workers respect her for her great qualities as a nurse.

Outside the factory, a list of rules has been posted which gives some idea of the sense of responsibility of the workers and their Committee. The rules include some of the following:

Every worker will be held responsible for the way in which his work is carried out and for the good upkeep of the machine in his use.

The members of the Factory Committee shall be elected from each section in proportion to the numerical importance of the service. The delegates will be in control of the activity of the staff in their departments, and will be held responsible to the Central Committee for all irregularities in order that any anomalies may be speedily remedied.

Any observation which has to be made to the worker will be made by the delegate of the Factory Committee and the technician of the corresponding section. Reprimands will be privately made and great decorum must be observed by the Committee delegate and the worker. Any complaints to do with the work or trade union rules will be brought up at the Plenary session of the Committee and will be remedied if necessary, with the greatest stringency.

It is interesting to note that the rules laid down by the Committee are obeyed to the letter with the greatest enthusiasm. One very definite proof of this is that the output of each section is equal and often superior to that of the regime before collectivization, even though in some departments the workers were previously occupied at piece work, which has now been abolished.

## Popular Front Split on Spain

(Continued from Page 1)

THE FASCIST offensive around Madrid continues a stalemate. Heavy concentration of artillery fire followed by concerted drives in several localities were rolled back with ease, Madrid's defenders gaining ground. The morale of the defenders—as well as that of the civil population which has stood the worst air bombardments—remains high. The increasing number of troops in the International Column and their excellent fighting qualities as well as the increased technical equipment appears to have made Madrid well nigh impregnable.

On the Northern front Madrid reports advances in several directions, of greatest significance being that in the direction of Burgos, the capital of the fascists.

Reports of large numbers of Nazis and Italian fascists landing for service with Franco's butchers have been more than substantiated. The government announced the capture of 32 Italian fascists during the fighting in the Usera sector of the Madrid front.

A British parliamentary delegation witnessed the deliberate, inhuman bombardment of the civil population in Madrid and issued a stirring appeal for gas masks and trucks. The former as protection against gassing to which the rebels are beginning to resort, and the latter for the purpose of transporting non-combatant women and children from Madrid.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL crisis in England continues unsettled with the expected abdication of Edward VIII as a possibility. Marriage to a twice divorced commoner appears to be impossible, according to the objections of the Cabinet under Baldwin. In reality the objection strikes much deeper. It is one based on fear of overthrowing "hallowed" tradition and thereby cause the weakening of the monarchy in the eyes of the masses. At the same time it also expresses the opposition of the bourgeoisie to the extension of the rights and powers of the monarchy.

The Conservative Party's stand against the King, under these circumstances, is quite understandable. The strategy of the Laborites, however, is not so clear. The quite correct in its general opposition to the extension of monarchical powers it is difficult to see why the Laborites should go no further than the Conservatives. Why should not the Laborites utilize the present situation for a demand for the complete abolition of the monarchy which has long become a useless, tho extremely costly, institution? Why confine themselves to the limits prescribed by the Conservative Party, which in practice constitutes a recognition and approval of the present rights and powers of the British monarchy?

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