

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## LINES FORMING FOR AFL MEET

### Brewery Men Back CIO; Machinists Hail Split Policy

The lines of battle at the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor continue to form. In the course of the preceding week the Brewery workers union, which had been sympathetic with the aims of the CIO from its very inception, finally took a stand at its convention by endorsing the purposes of the organization.

At the same time William Green finally secured a sympathetic audience by addressing the convention of the International Association of Machinists held in Milwaukee. The convention backed Green's fight against the CIO, holding that the "Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has made every reasonable advance to remove the causes of this dissension. . . ." As if to emphasize the lack of validity of Green's argument that the fight against the CIO is a fight for majority rule, the convention decision against the CIO was rammed thru without the slightest possibility of opposition.

In a similar manner the convention thwarted the delegates favoring a Labor Party. So many delegates had introduced resolutions backing such a party that the engineers of the convention dared not defeat it outright. Instead it was deferred for an unspecified time for consideration. A resolution backing the organization drive in the steel industry was also defeated.

The convention endorsed the candidacy of President Roosevelt and also went on record favoring the government manufacture of munitions. A proposal to amend the Federal Constitution to permit government fixing of wages and hours, was defeated overwhelmingly.

## CHINA RECEIVES JAP DEMANDS

Despite the most strenuous repressions by Chiang Kai-shek, anti-Japanese sentiment has again expressed itself in the form of an attack on Japanese sailors in the Japanese policed sector of Shanghai. Almost immediately Japanese warship crowded the harbor, landing many contingents of sailors and making Shanghai look like a battle field.

With the situation in Spain becoming increasingly more tense and most of the European powers deeply involved, Japan took advantage of this situation to push forward its aims in China. Altho compensation will of course be demanded the real aim of Japan is indicated in the demands upon the government of China. Japan demands (1) that equal numbers of Japanese troops be used in the fight against communism; (2) China must accept Japanese "advisers" over her military and civilian administration; and (3) North China to be autonomous from Nanking and is to include Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, Shansi and Shantung. In short, Japan wants complete control over China.

## LANDON BACKS SPANISH FASCISTS

John D. M. Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has placed Alf Landon, the Republican presidential nominee, squarely behind the Spanish fascists. In an attack on President Roosevelt, Hamilton asks:

"How long, Mr. Roosevelt, do you intend to affront the voters of America by retaining as one of your presidential electors on the Democratic ballot in New York a man (David Dubinsky) who rendered financial aid to Communists in Spain so that they might continue to horrify the civilized world with their murders of clergymen and their pilaging of churches?"

The same Hamilton does not hesitate to welcome the support, especially financial, of such worthies as the duPonts who helped rearm Nazi Germany—for a proper consideration—thereby breaking every existing international treaty and bringing nearer a new world war.

## BOOT AND SHOE LIFTS CHARTER

The Boot and Shoe Workers Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, has lifted the charter of the New York Joint Council No. 23. The New York organization is the largest in the union, numbering 12,000 members.

Simultaneously with the lifting of the charter, the Boot and Shoe also removed Mike Desario, its

## SOVIET BACKING SEATS ETHIOPIA

### England And France Are Embarrassed As Soviet Backs Ethiopia

The Soviet Union delivered a well-directed blow at fascist Italy by taking leadership in the fight for seating Ethiopia at the current sessions of the League of Nations.

Il Duce had made it clear that Ethiopia's presence meant his non-participation, and "democratic" England as well as "People's Front" France lined up behind Italy. The successful fight of the Soviet Union lined up most of the small countries and finally caused the capitulation of France and England, thus seating Ethiopia.

The French Foreign office, under socialist hegemony, considered the Soviet's action as a slap in the face, while such papers as the *Petit Parisien*, states frankly that "friendship with Italy is of far greater importance to peace than the letter of the League covenant or the status of the Ethiopian empire". Such arguments, however, are quite disturbing to the smaller countries in France's sphere of influence.

The German press utilized this action of the Soviet Union for a renewed attack against Bolshevism which, they charge, has thus laid the basis for supporting Spain. It also goes out of its way to express its sympathy with the Italian position.

eastern representative, who had managed the New York organization.

## C.P.G.O. Leader Killed On the Aragon Front

TWO DAYS after Comrade Schwartz had written this letter (printed below), he was killed at the front—a victim of an airplane bombardment, very probably directed by the Nazi pilots who can now dominate the Rebel air forces. Comrade Schwartz, whose death was reported recently in the American press, was one of the most active members of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). He was very influential amongst German refugees in Spain and won the highest confidence of the Spanish workers and peasants in their life and death struggle against fascism.

In the ranks of the workers' militia, fighting in the most difficult sectors against Franco and Mola, are found many comrades of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). We reprint this letter as not only shedding light on the situation in Spain, but also because it reveals the unbreakable spirit and unlimited courage of the proletarian fighters against the fascist scourge.—Ed.

Lacinena, Aug. 30, 1936.  
Dear Comrades:

As you probably know a section of our group in Barcelona has offered its services to the POUM and departed for the front with the first train that left Barcelona.

Originally I was a member of a Spanish group, the other comrades belonging to a German refugee organization. I was appointed "Cabo" (leader) of this organization by the Military Committee.

From Barcelona we traveled by train to Lerida, a Catalan town near the border of Aragon. In front of the last house of Lerida, on the road to Saragossa, we saw two dying comrades, victims of the fascists. Those of us who had not participated in the struggles at

Barcelona first realized that this is a war in which humanitarian feelings do not count. Neither side takes prisoners. It is a fight to the finish. Whoever falls into the hands of the fascists is executed and every fascist who falls into our hands is shot immediately. Our victory cannot be real unless fascism has been extirpated physically.

The following incident illustrates the spirit that pervades the anti-fascist fighters. A priest attempted to enter our ranks in the disguise of a peasant. Upon recognition more than 20 women and men fired shots at him.

In Monjon the village population crowded the fascists into a

(Continued on Page 4)

## Madrid in Danger As Fascists Take Toledo

### Madrid Government Scores Foreign Aid; Issues Call For Determined Defense of Madrid. Alcazar Relieved By Toledo's Fall.

The situation in Spain continues to present a gloomy picture for the enemies of fascism. On the northern front the fascists appear to be holding the positions captured after the surrender of San Sebastian. Bilbao is still in the hands of the government troops and anti-fascist warships are cruising in an attempt to engage the fascist warships in battle. Also on the Saragossa front no marked changes have occurred and in the mountains north of Madrid both sides remain in more or less the same position.

The center of interest now is to the south of Madrid, where the fascist forces appear to be successfully carrying out an enveloping movement around Madrid. Despite such desperate measures as opening the dams to inundate fascist troops, the drive of the fascists was not halted. The press reports today the capture of Toledo. This constitutes an extremely severe blow to the anti-fascist forces.

The Madrid government has admitted the loss of Toledo and has issued a stirring call for the defense of Madrid—the center of anti-fascist struggle. In the statement the government insists that the fascist gains were secured by means of arms, ammunition, planes and other support from foreign countries.

The Madrid government has also raised the question of neutrality before the League of Nations, arguing that neutrality, when a legitimate government is attacked, is tantamount to outright support to the fascist forces. This attack was directed not only against England and the other so-called neutral powers but also against France, where the blood-brother of Caballero—Leon Blum—heads the government. So far there has been no discussion on this matter but it will undoubtedly cause great embarrassment to the comrades in the People's Front of France.

## People's Front For Whom?

### BLUM AND AURIOL BUOY PARIS BOURSE

Their Declarations Against Nationalizing Industries Pleases Capitalists.

### POLICY ON STRIKES HAILED

Financial Circles Pleased That Textile Peace Basis Indicates Care for Employer Welfare.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
PARIS, Sept. 19.—After great irregularity and some nervousness at the beginning of the week, the Bourse's tendency hardened and generally advanced yesterday. The list was exceedingly buoyant. Securities which derived almost no benefit from the

A Government Is Known By The Class Interests It Serves

## FRANCE LEAVES GOLD STANDARD

Devaluation, the bogey of French politics, has at last caught up with the People's Front government of Leon Blum. The word has gone forth that after consultation with Neville Chamberlain and Henry Morgenthau, to make sure against a currency war, the French government decided to lower the gold content of the franc, thus bringing the value of the franc down from six and two-thirds cents to about four and half cents.

Already the extreme right parties have opened fire upon the government for destroying the stability of French currency and opening the door to unrestricted inflation. Also among the workers there is considerable doubt if not open opposition, since the devaluation of the franc means an automatic wage cut for the workers who had fought so hard to raise their standards.

The Socialist Party will, of course, back the proposal. The Communist Party has announced its opposition to devaluation but will most likely go along for fear of wrecking the People's Front.

## PEACE POSSIBLE ON FRISCO DOCK

San Francisco.—The San Francisco waterfront, scene of many bitterly fought labor wars, may avoid a strike this time as a result of negotiations now going on between the shippers and union officials. Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, flew from Washington in order to participate in the negotiations.

The present agreement which expire on September 30, was negotiated after the 1934 strike and resulted in significant improvements in conditions. An attempt is now being made by the unions to extend the agreement for 15 days pending a new agreement with the shippers.

No details of the negotiations have been made public but that progress is being made was indicated by Harry Bridges, militant leader of the waterfront workers. The joint union negotiations committee has gone into session to discuss the terms offered by the ship owners.

# DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE TRADE UNION SITUATION

The following draft resolution was approved by the National Conference of the Communist Party Opposition, held in New York City, September 5-7, 1936. This resolution is therefore submitted to the membership for full discussion. A final vote on it will be taken at the coming national convention of the C.P.O. to be held at the end of this year.

1. The American trade union movement stands today at a decisive turning point in its history. The suspension of ten unions, with a membership of over a million, from the A. F. of L. calls dramatic attention to a crisis deeper and more far-reaching in its implications than any since the federation was founded over fifty years ago. Unionism in this country is now in one of those stages in which a fundamentally new departure in policy and organization becomes the order of the day for the working class.

### BACKGROUND OF CRISIS

2. As far back as the middle of 1932, long before the NRA, the spirit of helplessness and apathy permeating the ranks of the working class during the first years of the economic crisis began to give way to a rising mood of discontent and unrest, leading to a marked revival of labor militancy. These fresh, new currents in the stale atmosphere of the A. F. of L., reinforced by the profound effects of the NRA, found increasingly marked expression in the conventions of the federation—at Cincinnati in 1932, at Washington in 1933, at San Francisco in 1934 and, finally, at Atlantic City in 1935. It was at this last convention, in fact, that the powerful forces gathering beneath the surface for years finally broke thru the petrified shell of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, on a series of vital questions, all centering around the great issue of industrial unionism, sharp clashes took place, reflecting a new alignment in the A. F. of L. and the appearance of a strong industrial union block under the leadership of John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, and others. Within a month of the Atlantic City convention, in November 1935, in fact, this block achieved formal organizational existence in the shape of the Committee for Industrial Organization, established for the double purpose of carrying on an educational campaign for industrial unionism, on the one hand, and stimulating and encouraging the actual organization of the basic mass-production industries along industrial union lines, on the other. At that stage the crisis in the A. F. of L. had already emerged in all its fundamental significance.

### ROOTS OF CRISIS

3. This crisis finds its roots basically in the great contradiction that the sudden growth of the A. F. of L., and especially its penetration into the mass-production industries, has brought to the fore between the fundamental tasks of the trade union movement, on the one hand, and the traditional policies, methods and organizational forms of the A. F. of L., on the other. It is a contradiction between the vital necessity of organizing the great basic industries of this country and the craft unionist fetishism of the A. F. of L. It is a choice between life thru adaptation to new conditions or stagnation and death thru a blind clinging to old and outworn forms and traditions. It is natural that, in this controversy, industrial unionism should be the paramount and central question but it is by no means an isolated issue; the issue of industrial unionism has become the symbol and representative of an entire forward-looking and progressive program as against the hopelessly reactionary outlook of the craft unionists. Fundamentally, the emergence of the C.I.O. is the expression, in its peculiar American form, of the leftward swing and general reorientation that has been under way for some time in the international labor movement.

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE C.I.O.

4. Since its formation over three-quarters of a year ago, the C.I.O. has grown considerably, extending its affiliations and expanding its activities and influence in many directions, along both of the lines originally pro-

jected. Its major concern has, from the beginning, been the organization of the steel industry and, after the agreement reached with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers in June 1936, this task was undertaken in real earnest. An extensive organization campaign has been mapped out and initiated on a wide front and, while the election situation has hitherto tended to restrain the movement, decisive struggles and perhaps a great general strike are to be expected in 1937. There is not the slightest doubt that the course and outcome of the steel organization campaign will have a profound effect on the future not only of the C.I.O. but of the labor movement as a whole.

5. The determination of the craft union chieftains dominating the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to smash this new movement for industrial unionism at all costs was already obvious at the Atlantic City convention last year. Since then, the Executive Council has moved recklessly and obstinately towards that end, rejecting all offers of compromise, defying the will of a decisive section of the membership violating the constitution of the federation, refusing to reckon with the most serious consequences. The arbitrary and illegal suspension order of the August Executive Council session and its final confirmation on September 5, mark the most recent phases of this mad course of "rule or ruin." It should be noted that, in the Executive Council there is a small group (Harrison, Mahan, Morrison) who are reported to be more conciliatory and less set upon the course of reckless ruin than Frey, Wharton and the rest; this group may yet come to play an important part in the future.

### SPLIT IN AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

6. With the final suspension of the C.I.O. unions and their exclusion from the coming A. F. of L. Convention at Tampa, the American Federation of Labor, as the main stream of the American labor movement, has been split. In spite of all the negative aspects of this situation, it must be recognized that this split was, at bottom, unavoidable, that it was, in fact, historically inevitable. For, in spite of the deliberately restrained character of the C.I.O. program, the progress of industrial unionism would, in the long run, mean the relegation of craft unionism to the utterly insignificant position granted to it by modern industrial conditions. The conflict with which we are faced is an irrepressible conflict, for the A. F. of L. cannot, in the long run, remain half industrial and half craft in fundamental structure. The split was inevitable because the rigid and ossified craft union structure of the A. F. of L. could not possibly accommodate itself to the sudden growth of the industrial union movement; under such circumstances, it cracked under the impact, it broke under the strain. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that, while the split as such was inherent in the nature of the crisis, better-considered and more effective tactics on the part of the C.I.O. might have brought things to a head under much more favorable circumstances—might, perhaps, have created a situation in which the industrial union forces would have remained in control of the A. F. of L. and the craft union chieftains on the outside.

### FORMATION OF NEW FEDERATION

7. In the two months that remain before the Tampa convention, the situation will, in general, remain largely unchanged, each side making all possible preparations for the next stage of the conflict, the clash at the convention itself and the period after. But once the convention is over and the expulsion of the C.I.O. unions from the A. F. of L. confirmed (as it most likely will be unless the suspended unions are seated), the transformation of the C.I.O. into a new federation of labor in this country will be an obvious necessity. For there is no other alternative except outright capitulation, which means the abandonment of any serious effort to organize the workers in the mass-production industries and the condemnation of the labor movement to stagnation, dry-rot and decay. It may be taken for granted that, once outside the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. will either have to set itself up as a new federation

or else face the prospect of futility and rapid disintegration.

8. The transformation of the C.I.O. into a new federation of labor in this country would be, moreover, a progressive step in the development of the American labor movement, a step which the new conditions imperatively demand. Just as the replacement of the Knights of Labor by the A. F. of L. was a necessary and progressive step achieved thru a split, so will the replacement of the A. F. of L. by the C.I.O. be a similarly necessary and progressive step, likewise achieved thru a split. The C.I.O. represents the third stage in the dialectical transition from the Knights of Labor to the A. F. of L. to the C.I.O. Just as the further progress of the labor movement once required the supersession of the K. of L. by the A. F. of L., so it now requires the supersession of the A. F. of L. by the C.I.O.

### TWO FEDERATIONS AND NEW PROBLEMS

9. Once the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. face each other as rival federations, survival and ascendancy will depend primarily upon ability to meet the challenge of the new conditions, and in this the C.I.O. will undoubtedly have the great advantage. First is the challenge of the great, basic mass-production industries of the country—and these are organized only along industrial union lines, that is, by the C.I.O. Only the C.I.O. will be able to absorb and assimilate into the labor movement the great hordes that will begin pouring from the rural regions into the main industrial centers once there is a more definite improvement in the economic situation. Only the C.I.O., moreover, is in a position to meet the challenge of company unionism, which has made great headway under the NRA and since and which has shown itself almost completely invulnerable to the attacks of craft unionism.

10. To a considerable degree, the future of the C.I.O. as an independent federation will be affected by the outcome of the steel organization campaign. Marked success in this campaign, such as would be involved in the organization of scores of thousands of steel workers into a strong union, would place the C.I.O. in a virtually impregnable position.

11. The outcome of the presidential elections will undoubtedly have an effect on the future of the C.I.O. That the election of Landon would be a great blow to it and the election of Roosevelt a considerable asset, at least immediately, is obvious. But this respect can hardly be regarded as decisive in determining the long-range perspectives of the C.I.O.

12. An important factor which must not be disregarded is the great standing and prestige of the C.I.O. with all sections of the people friendly to the labor movement. Never was the leadership of the A. F. of L. in greater disrepute among such elements than it is today.

### TWO FEDERATIONS AND POLITICS

13. Associated with their clash on the question of industrial unionism, differences on a great many issues will undoubtedly show themselves in the two federations. In the A. F. of L., there will very likely be a confirmation of the so-called "non-partisan" policy in politics and perhaps even a tendency to revive and strengthen the old traditions of reactionary "voluntarism" of which Gompers was the apostle. The C.I.O., on the other hand, will strive for social and labor legislation as the A. F. of L. has never done and will tend to look much more favorably upon independent political action and a labor party. At the same time, there is the undoubted danger that the fatal tendency towards "government unionism" (government interference with or control of unionism) will not find enough understanding or resistance in the C.I.O. leadership, that it may, indeed, find a welcome in some quarters. In international relations, too, there will be considerable divergence; it may be taken for granted that the C.I.O. will soon affiliate with the I.F.T.U. (Amsterdam); but what the A. F. of L. will do on this matter is far from clear. (To be continued).

is a group more than twice the size of the hosts of capital and labor combined."

### BOOKS of the AGE

**LABOR UNIONS AND THE PUBLIC.** By Walter Chambers. Coward McCann, 269pp. \$2.00. In this book, half of which, dealing with the history of American trade unionism, is totally unrelated to the topic and is, besides, thoroughly unreliable, Mr. Chambers takes up the fight for The Public (always printed in bold) and against the oppression of both Capital and Labor. The gentleman betrays his profound knowledge on the subject of The Public by volunteering the information that "In numbers it (The Public)

Mr. Chambers has picked up some facts on labor racketeering but even this is vitiated by a bitter anti-union bias. Indiscriminately he attacks "Socks" Lanza, "Tootsie" and Charles Herbert, of racketeering fame and Cashal, Gorman, Ryan, Woll, Green and Lewis, seeing no difference and making no distinctions among them.

His sharpness of attack against LaGuardia who (according to Chambers) made a "Labor Day address in Chicago in which he predicted a sort of fascist of workers and farmers," and his

tirades against the New Deal and NRA, creates more than a passing suspicion that the local political situation may have something to do with the writing of this book. This suspicion is strengthened by his discussions on the danger of a Labor Party which, in his opinion, would constitute a dictatorship over the city.

But Mr. Chambers' misinformed extends also to the field of socialist history. We are told, for instance, with a grand display of erudition, that Karl Marx organized the First International "to prevent immigration of continent-al labor into the British Isles." And that "the Marx theory advocated economic organization prior

to political organization; Lassalleans the opposite." This done, Mr. Chambers casts his eagle eye on our American scene and discovers that "The struggle for control of labor's organization (craft vs. industrial) bears a strong analogy to the contrasting philosophies of

Karl Marx and Ferdinand LaSalle. . . " In which Marx is replaced by Green and LaSalle by Lewis.

But enough of this. Mr. Chambers has very little to say and even this is hardly worth hearing. G.F.M.

## WORKERS AGE

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# Is the Socialist Party For a Labor Party?

By WILL HERBERG

The address delivered by Norman Thomas in New York on September 9 and published in the September 12 issue of the Socialist Call, is a good example of what is in the socialist appeal that has virtually destroyed any real value it might conceivably have had thru an emphasis upon genuine working class independence in the elections. For in this address there is mirrored faithfully that peculiar type of opportunistic sectarianism that has now come to characterize Militant socialist policy, much to the detriment of the S.P. and the movement as a whole.

### What Is A Labor Party?

"What is a labor party?" asks Norman Thomas and, after some rather derogatory remarks as to the central importance of the labor party idea in general, he lists five "conditions which a labor party . . . should meet." This whole approach, as well as the nature of these "conditions", showing plainly enough that Thomas' notion of a labor party is so narrow and so unrealistic as to be virtually equivalent to no labor party at all. Let us examine these "conditions" one by one:

1. "It should be more than a reform party. . . . It must break away from the old capitalist parties. . . . It should at least acknowledge as a beginning the need of a new society based on the principle of production for use."

What sort of party does Comrade Thomas think any real labor party is going to be in its initial stages? "More than a reform party". Then a revolutionary party, perhaps? Or is there a third variety, a "non-reform," "non-revolutionary" party? Perhaps something like the "class struggle labor party from below" of which the C.P. used to speak with such enthusiasm in the early days of 1935?

It must "at least" accept the principle of "production for use"! But what does acceptance of this principle mean in sober political fact? Either socialism, or else—some sort of crackpot populist panacea which, under current conditions, is practically certain to become a constituent element of native fascist ideology. Exactly what has Thomas in mind? He surely does not expect the labor party to be socialist from the very beginning—consider how long it took the British Labor Party to reach that point. Does he want it, then, to go in for the "production for use" nonsense of the Utopians, Epics and other panacea-sects?

"It must break away from the old capitalist parties." But the mere acceptance of "production for use" will not accomplish this, as Comrade Thomas seems to imagine. Look at the Commonwealth Democrats of Washington or the Epic Democrats of California; both of these groups are all for "production for use"—under Roosevelt!

What sort of break from the old capitalist parties does Comrade Thomas demand as the very minimum upon which he will agree to "accept" a labor party? An organizational break—that is, organizational independence? Yes—but that is precisely what any labor party possesses once it really comes into existence. Complete political independence? That is something that no labor party is likely to acquire until it has passed thru a number of stages and some pretty sharp political struggles! Again look at the British Labor Party.

If we are to take this first "condition" seriously, then we are to conclude that Norman Thomas has in mind either a socialistic labor

party or else some "labor" version of the "radical" panacea-sects. The former we can't have at this stage of the game—and the latter we certainly don't want. So we are left with nothing!

2. "It should from the outset have mass support". Here, of course, Thomas is entirely correct and his criticism of the "made-to-order" labor parties that used to bloom so luxuriantly in the columns of the Daily Worker, is quite in place. Only, we may be permitted to remark, the Socialist Party does not seem to set so much store upon "mass support" today as it once did.

3. "The farmer-labor party, to be acceptable to socialists, must have room in it for the Socialist Party as an organized group, serving in democratic fashion as a vanguard within the new party."

Now, really, what is this but a revival of the absurdly sectarian "ultimatum" attitude that characterized C.P. policy in the good old "third-period" days? Unless the labor party allows the Socialist Party to enter as an organized group, it is no genuine labor party, at all and is not "acceptable" to socialists. But how about the British Labor Party which, to this day, refuses to admit the Communist Party as an organized group—does it thereby forfeit its claim to be a genuine labor party and, as such, its chance of being "acceptable" to our meticulous friends?

Even that isn't enough for Comrade Thomas! He insists not only on the S.P. being admitted as an organized group but even on its serving as a "vanguard" in the labor party. Otherwise he won't play! Even the C.P. in the old days hardly went to such extremes.

The fact of the matter is that any labor party likely to arise in the United States in the immediate future is pretty certainly not going to welcome either the Communist or the Socialist Party with open arms; perhaps it may even decide to bar both of them as organized groups. But to make this the ground for turning one's back upon it is the sorriest kind of sectarianism. Indeed, the whole attitude of confronting the workers movement with "conditions" upon which alone it will be "acceptable" to us, is profoundly un-Marxian, is suicidally sectarian.

4. "The party must be nationwide in organization or at least in its intention and effort so to become national. . . . Under the logic of American conditions, local or state labor parties are inevitably compromised at national elections by open or secret bargains with one of the old capitalist parties."

True enough, in general! But does that mean that we are to "reject" local labor parties until they become national in character? Another ultimatum to history? Comrade Thomas knows very well that, because of the peculiar political structure of this country, local parties do tend to arise on a local scale, forming national connections only in the subsequent course of their development. Would it not be the most self-defeating sort of sectarianism for us to turn our backs upon these parties just because they are local in character? By the way, what about the local third party-labor party amalgam in Wisconsin, known as the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation, of which Comrade Thomas's own campaign manager, Dan Hoan, is an influential member? Does Comrade Thomas's severe indictment and stern repudiation of local labor parties apply to the Wisconsin outfit as well?

5. "Finally, a farmer-labor party must be democratic in structure not the creature of powerful labor bureaucrats."

Fine, fine; we applaud the sentiment! But where the labor party does happen to be the "creature of powerful labor bureaucrats", as is the case in England, or where the setup is even worse, are we therefore to "reject" it? Perhaps, after all, what Comrade Thomas has in mind is the once famous "rank-and-file labor party from below?"

What is the net result? To satisfy the fastidious taste of the S.P., a labor party must be socialistic in principle, nation-wide in organization, free from the domination of "powerful labor bureaucrats" and ready to admit the Socialist Party "as an organized group serving as vanguard." No less! Obviously a labor party to fit these specifications never could and never will arise in the United States in the measurable future. But this is the only kind of labor party the S.P. feels it possible to "accept". Then why not face the facts, why not draw the logical conclusion from this profoundly isolationist orientation, and come out against the whole labor party policy, as do the Trotskyites with so much more consistency?

# Neutrality Toward Spain Puzzles the Socialists

Since the infamous "cordon sanitaire" that the imperialist powers threw around revolutionary Russia in 1919 and 1920, there has been no more shameful example of diplomatic atrocity than the so-called "non-intervention" policy that the "democratic" powers are now applying towards Spain. In effect, a boycott has been set up against the regularly constituted republican government, while the fascist counter-revolutionists are being regularly supplied with munitions and materials of war by Germany, Italy and Portugal. The criminal policy was originally sponsored jointly by the British Foreign Office and by the French People's Front government of Leon Blum, acting under orders of its political masters, the bourgeois Radicals; but the official socialist, communist and trade union leaderships are equally guilty as accomplices before and after the fact. For they approved the "non-intervention" idea when it was first proposed, beginning to hesitate and change their tune only when murmurs and then roars of protest were hurled at them from the workers ranks. Even today their role is a very dubious one. Above everything else they prize their else they hold sacred the alliance with the liberals. Consequently all their efforts are necessarily directed towards pacifying the "impatient" workers who demand action instead of sweet words of sympathy for Spain, towards diverting the wrath and resentment of the masses into "safe" channels. The working class will yet pay a heavy price for the game that the unsavory leaders of the big labor organizations are playing today!

Surely this is a situation that should spur to action every sincere and class conscious element in the labor movement—this strangling of the Spanish revolution in the noose of diplomatic trickery! But what do the uncompromising revolutionists of the Socialist Party, those stern and unbending Marxists who can be trusted to stand aghast in pious horror at every mistake of the Comintern, what do they have to say about the worthy activities of their

own comrade, Leon Blum, or about the Spanish crisis in general, for that matter? Silence! Two months ago, one article in the "Socialist Call" and since then nothing but shallow news reports of doubtful value. Even the column "World Socialism", dealing with international political developments, has been discontinued without explanation—evidently such trivialities can be dispensed with in a presidential year.

In the most recent number of the "Socialist Call" (September 19, 1936), a tiny crack begins to break thru this dead wall of silence. Norman Thomas speaks up on the question and endorses the unspeakable Blum policy of capitulation in the name of "peace"! Says Thomas: "They were undoubtedly wise in seeking a hands-off policy which, properly applied, would have starved out the rebels rather than the government." The monstrous piece of diplomatic treachery against which the Spanish government has protested so sharply, altho unfortunately in vain, against which almost the entire French working class is up in arms, against with such very moderate socialists as Herbert Morrison and de Bruckere have spoken out in indignant tones, this abominable crime against the Spanish people and the workers of the whole world is now blessed by Norman Thomas!

How curious is the reluctance, the hesitation of the Militant spokesmen to raise their voices in criticism of their comrades of the Socialist International. The mote of opportunism in the eye of the Comintern throws them into fits of virtuous indignation but the beam of reformism in the eye of their own International apparently leave them quite cold. An especially soft spot in their political head, moreover, seems to be reserved for Leon Blum, that spinner of fine phrases to hide atrocious deeds!

The fact of the matter is that the great majority of the membership of the Socialist Party, and of the leadership too, see nothing essentially wrong in the reformism either of the C.I. or the L.S.I.;

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who feel that they are fully acquainted with elementary ideas of Communism, there are the two courses: "Marxism-Leninism" and "Marxian Philosophy". These two courses are very excellently suited as a follow-up after the course in "Fundamentals of Communism". The "Marxism-Leninism" course is a very inclusive survey treatment of the basic phases of the system of Karl Marx and the further development of the system by Lenin. The course will treat fully economic doctrines such as the labor theory of value, the history of economic theory, the period of imperialism and related questions of economics. The course will then proceed to a discussion of the nature of scientific socialism; the nature and history of the development of the capitalist state. The concluding section will deal with the writings of Marx and Engels on the American economic and political scene. This course will be capably and adequately handled by Joseph Brown who has given this course for a number of years in the trade union movement. It should serve as a very comprehensive introduction to the advanced theories and methods of the Marxian system of thought. This course will be given on Thursdays, beginning October 8th, at 7:00 p. m. Fee \$2.00.

In the next issue of Workers Age we will feature the five additional courses in our curriculum which will be given by Jay Lovestone, Lewis Corey, Will Herberg, B. Herman and James Sand.

## NEW WORKERS SCHOOL OPENS DURING WEEK OF OCTOBER 5

The New Workers School term will open this year with an unusual number of new and timely courses. Great interest is being manifested everywhere in the political and economic problems of international labor. The School administration has definitely taken this into account in mapping out the curriculum for the fall term. We are definitely bent on presenting the Marxian world view in its theoretical aspects but more especially in its application to concrete subjects.

Three basic courses have been planned that should provide the student with a fundamental conception of the Marxian theory and methods. For those who are unacquainted with the elementary theories and facts of the Communist approach to society, we strongly suggest registration for the course in "Fundamentals of Communism" being taught by Jes-

se Lane. The course will include an analysis of capitalist economy and the problems growing out of its contradictions. Out of this analysis of the world as it is, there will be developed the Marxian solution to the contradictions of capitalism. The nature of the socialist society that will arise out of the ruins of capitalist society will be discussed as well as the tactics and the strategy of the party of world revolution in its tasks of developing the struggle against international capitalism. This course should be taken by all those who are just becoming interested in the Communist movement and by those who are a little "foggy" or "hazy" on the why and wherefore of some of their beliefs. This course will be given on Monday, beginning October 5th, at 8:30 p. m. The fee is \$2.00.

For those who have already taken the "Fundamentals" course or

## CPGO LEADER KILLED ON THE ARAGON FRONT

(Continued from Page 1)

house. Fifteen minutes after the militia arrived all fascists had been shot without a trial.

We only advanced at night, frequently meeting men who were hiding in the fields behind corn sheaves armed with faulty hunting guns that could shoot no further than 50 meters. They rejoiced at seeing us and shouted "Long live the Revolution." We answered "Long live the Alianzas Obreras and Campesinos!"\* thus consciously propagandizing them. Their slogan "Death to Fascism"—was the result of deep hatred born of the terror spread by the fascists who execute everybody—women and children included—under the excuse of a purge of Marxists. Until we reached the mountains of the Sierra Alonbierre we got a rousing welcome from the population. Even during the night, between 2 A. M. and 4 A. M. everybody was up and around and overwhelmed us with bread, fruit, wine, and other refreshments.

In the Sierra Alonbierre the situation changed. Here the population is poorer and has been under the influence of the church and individual "kulaks" who owned the entire village. A first, they were reticent, fearing that the forces which had ruled them hitherto would return and avenge themselves. However, the fear did not last very long. They soon realized that their economic life was to be reorganized on a new basis; they realized that we had something positive to contribute, besides destroying certain things. They soon became the best workers in painting churches white and transforming them into meeting halls. Committees went to the houses of the poor, distributed foodstuff, gave them new work and a new life. Party headquarters are set up for propaganda purposes.

When we fought on the barricades in Barcelona, each of us fought wherever he wanted and as long as he wanted. We built barricades wherever some shooting was going on. This anarchist method of fighting has now been abolished. The comrades have learned military tactics. We attack on extended lines. Individual troops retreat when the signal is given and thus cover up the retreat of the front troops who in turn cover up the retreat of the first group.

We surrounded the village Lecinena and attacked at early dawn. The Guardia Civil, which is siding with the fascists in this part of the country, was broken up because the Falangista had become panicky and fought amongst each other with guns and pistols for places in the trucks which would take them to safety. The rest swarmed over the fields in the direction of the fascist-held sectors. Thus they

\* "Long live the Alliance of Workers and Peasants!"

## BROOKWOOD OPENS ITS NEW TERM

Katonah, N. Y.—That organized farmers and workers in America are learning to fight together, rather than each other, is evidenced by the student body enrolled for the 1936-37 school term at Brookwood, America's best known resident labor school.

In welcoming the students, Hochman told them that the present year would be recorded as one of the most important in the history of the labor movement in the United States.

"A split in the labor movement is inevitable," he said, "and will prove to be for the good. The American Federation of Labor has served its purpose. It has proven unwilling as well as unable to organize the unorganized."

have had many more casualties than we. We are now at P—, 20 kilometers from Saragossa. Beyond P— lies V—\*\* which is directly in front of Saragossa. These stations are held by the very best fascist forces who have until now only engaged in defensive actions.

They attempted a counter-attack in the first days after our occupation of Lecinena. Five comrades of our group were holding the furthest observation post. We had already been on duty for more than 24 hours. In other words, we had done more than is ordinarily expected of bourgeois troops, when the fascists advanced toward us.

At 200 meters distance we opened machine gun fire. Unfortunately, the machine guns failed to function after the first few shots, as a result of faulty construction. Three comrades carried the machine gun back to the village to prevent their falling into the hands of the fascists, from whom we had originally captured them. When the fascists were approximately at a distance of 80 meters a group of Spanish comrades arrived and we were thus able to ward them off. In less than half an hour we received strong reinforcements from Lecinena. The comrades who had been scattered in private homes all over the village had been called together and organized for battle in ten minutes—a military achievement which likewise exceeds the standard of the bourgeois army and recalls the heroic achievements of the Red Army in Russia.

Our defensive position was then changed to an offensive. The fascists started with 75 MM guns and 3 pursuit planes equipped with bombs and machine guns. We had only heavy machine guns and rifles. Nevertheless, despite the attack of the fascists, we were able to advance within 100 meters of the village P—, occupied by the fascists.

Tho the Sierra is very suitable for guerilla warfare, it is difficult to undertake larger maneuvers. Thus we stayed near the village with about 50-70 men. Amongst them many comrades of our group.

\*\* For military reasons the names of these towns were not given in full.

## U. T. W. CONVENTION ADOPTS MANY PROGRESSIVE POLICIES

By H. S.

The biennial convention of the United Textile Workers of America held in New York City September 14th to 19th was marked by the progressive spirit that is gaining ground in the trade union movement. The convention unanimously voted to support the CIO and condemned the suspension of the ten CIO unions by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Enthusiasm for the CIO ran high in the convention, showing that the delegates realized the major significance of this movement for industrial unionism and the organization of the unorganized, for the future of American labor. It was in this spirit that the convention went thru the constitution of the U. T. W. and removed all references to craft structure that still remained.

The convention also endorsed the Non-Partisan Labor League and the candidacy of Roosevelt, though with greater opposition than in other CIO unions to date. The American Labor Party in New York was approved overwhelmingly and all textile locals in the state were called upon to give it support.

A resolution demanding freedom for Mooney and Billings was endorsed amid great applause. A telegram of greetings from Tom Mooney brought every delegate to his feet in an enthusiastic ovation, and marked one of the high points of the sessions.

A resolution for financial aid to the Spanish trade unions in their struggle against fascism received

After a short, comradely discussion, we decided to send a courier to the Military Committee to report and receive new instructions. The instructions were to hold the position until relief came. We succeeded in holding our position without difficulty.

I could continue to cite many such incidents all of which would prove that we of the CPO are very active and that the Spanish comrades have absolute confidence in us; that they realize that we are the elite of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany.

I have resigned the position of leader of our group since I have become the leader of my column. The German comrades belong to my column and I am still in close contact with them.

So far I have been lucky. I have not been injured. I hope that my luck holds out and that I shall soon visit you and give you an oral report.

Fraternal greetings,

WALTER SCHWARZ

The address is: Walter Schwarz, Milicia Antifascista, POUM II, Columna I, Bandera II, Sektion, Saragossa.

## THE SOCIALISTS AND NEUTRALITY

(Continued from Page 3)

they sincerely believe in the People's Front idea and in all its works—didn't Thomas himself endorse it in his recent address in New York? Of course, there are revolutionary socialists here and there in the S.P. but its radical pose is, by and large, hardly more than a matter of factional strategy against the Comintern.

The root of the matter, however, goes even deeper. The disgraceful position of the S.P. on the Spanish "non-intervention" question is a direct and national outgrowth of its general attitude on foreign policy, an attitude that seems to pass as Marxist in certain circles but is actually a semi-pacifist, semi-leftist variety of absten-

such support from the floor in speeches by Delegates Herman, Gorman, and Vigorito, that one delegate who had spoken against the resolution and attempted to raise a red scare admitted that he had been misguided and asked that his remarks be stricken from the record.

The major part of the convention, however, was taken up with the struggle for leadership between the McMahon administration and the Rieve opposition. Emil Rieve, President of the Hosiery Federation, came to the convention with a bloc of almost 200 delegates consisting of the Hosiery delegates (numbering 104), most of the Dyers (numbering 55), Upholstery Weavers, and a scattering of other delegates. The administration received its support from the cotton workers (the South was solidly with McMahon), the silk workers, and a large part of the woolen workers.

The lack of a progressive program, in fact, the total lack of progressive issues of any kind, doomed the Rieve forces to defeat and made it impossible for progressive, militant workers to support this opposition in spite of their long-standing opposition to the McMahon administration.

The Administration had the advantage on issues, (1) because of its strong and determined stand and its initiative on the CIO, Labor Party, struggle against fascism, etc.; (2) because of the support of Gorman, who presented the most progressive position of any of the U.T.W. leaders; (3) because of the support of the more conscious progressive elements who could not stomach Rieve's vacillations on the CIO and his wrong stand on the issues in the convention; and (4) because of the strong desire for unity now existing in face of the attack launched by the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

Rieve's "program" was: (1) Elect Rieve to the presidency; (2) Institute a system of three vice-presidents with greatly restricted powers and with increased powers to the executive; (3) A mysterious ten year plan for building the U.T.W. which was to be judged at the end of that period.

When pressed for a stand on union issues, CIO, and the like, Rieve's answer was, "I have no platform." It should be recalled that at the previous convention in 1934, Rieve not only went over to McMahon on the last day of the convention, but on every important issue, such as industrial unionism and the general strike, he had fought against the Progressives. At this convention, Rieve was defeated on every question of policy: On the five versus three vice-pres-

idents the Administration took the more democratic position, restricting somewhat the powers of the President, and placing the authority over and selection of the District leaders (the five vice-presidents) in the hands of the convention instead of a system of managers appointed by the President. In the test vote on this question, the Administration won by 262 to 193.

Threatened with defeat in the elections, Rieve then made a desperate move that revealed his complete lack of understanding on how to conduct a healthy, opposition struggle. The Rieve delegates began a demonstration on the floor to stop the elections, demanding to hear the report of the committee on the Secretary-Treasurer's report. The shouts, stamping on the floor, pounding with chairs, the insinuations of Rieve's supporters of financial irregularities were disruptive and bore an anti-union flavor. In spite of this maneuver, McMahon defeated Rieve by 254 to 208. Gorman was elected first Vice-President without opposition. Baldanzi, President of the Dyers Federation, defeated Kelley, one of the most conservative of the McMahon administration, primarily because of progressive support, as he won by a narrow margin of nine votes. Other administration officers were re-elected. Many new elements were elected to the Executive Council, including Charles Vigorito, leader of the Paterson Dyers Local, and such progressives as William Schaffer of the Knitgoods Union in New York City, so that the U.T.W. Executive takes on a distinctly more progressive tinge.

The insinuations of the Rieve opposition about the financial report proved a complete dud. One of the leaders of the demonstration stated on the floor the next day that they had no doubt as to the honesty of the U.T.W. Administration. This was followed by the almost unanimous and enthusiastic endorsement by the delegates of an increase in per capita from twenty to forty cents per month. Part of this will be returned to the various Federations, but even taking this into consideration, it represents the biggest increase in funds to the National Office ever voted in the U.T.W. The plea for the organization of the South and for support of strike struggles carried even this unprecedented proposal. It should be noted that Rieve gave his support to this per capita increase.

The convention decided to move the headquarters of the Union to Washington, D. C., and instructed the incoming Executive Council to select a Southern city in which to hold the next convention of the U.T.W. The convention ended on a note of unity, and of determination to organize the 900,000 unorganized textile workers.

**SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE**

the way for the predatory adventures of German and Italian fascism?

Isn't it about time for the Socialist Party to clarify its position?

\* \* \*

(As we go to press, we note in the Socialist Call of September 26, 1936, a report from Madrid (!) headed "Neutrality Aids Rebels in Civil War". So there we are—Thomas endorses the "non-intervention" swindle; the Socialist Call condemns it indirectly and by implication; while the official socialist attitude on war and foreign policy provides a theoretical justification for Blum's diplomatic atrocities. Now that Spain has registered its protest against the neutrality policy we may see the grand spectacle of the Socialist Blum (or Delbos) fighting against the Socialist Caballero, on the floor of the League of Nations.—Editor.)

**LET'S GO!** To the  
**ANNUAL DANCE**  
of the **NEW WORKERS SCHOOL**  
**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10th**  
Tunes fashioned by the famous  
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