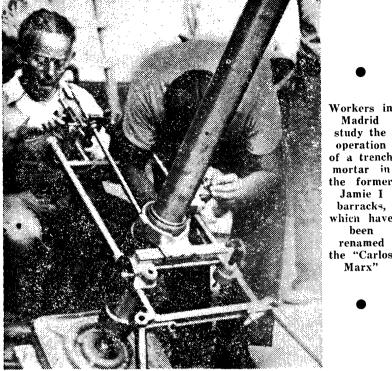
Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 5, No. 39.

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Workers in Madrid study the operation of a trench mortar in the former Jamie I barracks, which have been renamed

Marx"

UTW Reelects McMahon More Unions Back CIO

Rieve Defeated By McMahon After Sharp Fight; Typos Back CIO After Green Appeal Fails

The convention of the United | no action at the convention was at-Tetxile Workers, being held in the tacked by President Howard as a Hotel Delano, New York City, reelected Thomas F. McMahon to the presidency by a majority of about 50 votes, after a bitter fight had been made to unseat him and elect Emil Rieve of the Hosiery Federation. It was said in union circles that Rieve's vacillating attitude toward the Committee for Industrial Organization was the chief cause for his defeat.

After a brief but sharp fight between the two factions at the convention, Rieve's proposal to cut down the number of vice-presidents from 5 to 3 was defeated. The president. George Baldanzi of the Dyers Federation defeated Kelly as second vice-president and Vice-A. Peel, Horace A. Riviere and Joseph R. White retained their posts of third, fourth, and fifth vice-presidents respectively. James Starr was reelected Secretary-Treasurer. Among the 14 members of the Executive Council many new elements were elected. Among them are Chas. Vigareto of Paterson and the progressive William Schaeffer of the Knitgoods Workers Union.

Altho the resolution on the CIO has not vet come up for a vote its approval is a certainty.

The Committee for Industrial Organization made considerable headway in the course of the week. The Rubber Workers Union went on record at its convention for the CIO. This action was unanimous. Much more surprising and therefore most welcome was the action of the convention of the International Typographical Workers where considerable opposition to the CIO was expected. William Green himself addressed the convention but failed of his mission, the vote being almost unanimous. A last minute attempt by the few opposing delegates to submit the question to a referendum and take in preventing war

subterfuge and was defeated.

In addition to these internationals, the California State Federation of Labor went in favor of the CIO and urged the executive council to withdraw the suspensions pending the A. F. of L. convention. A group of about 65 delegates to the New Jersey State Federation of Labor put up an effective fight for the CIO but succeeded in securing only a neutral position. The convention went on record not to take a stand on this question.

NAZIS TO REARM

holdings in munitions extended to General industrial meetings gave was revealed by the Senate Investigating Committee. Like all good capitalist patriots, the American tycoons have substantial holdings in the very armament trusts which have been utilized by the Nazis for German rearmament in violation of the "sanctity" of the Versailles treaty Secondly, they have an agreement with Kohl-Rottweiler, a large German munitions firm, for exchange of patents and inventions, and one to divide territory so as to eliminate any unnecessary competition in garnering the profits of the merchants of death. It was also shown that when the Duponts were engaged in manipulating a shady deal for smuggling arms into Ger many via Holland, the British Imperial Chemical Industries were informed of this move and acquiesced!

The latter occurrence sheds interesting light on the meaning of "neutrality" and its effectiveness

Portugal Openly Helps Rebels; Encirclement of Madrid Feared

Fascists Murder Maurin; Led Marxist Opposition

ember 17 brings the sad news of the murder of Joaquin Maurin by led by Andres Nin who had brokritory when the fascist revolt began, he was held a prisoner and Unity (POUM)—is playing a most finally executed. In a letter received by his friends he informed them that he is to be executed, bids them farewell and encourages them to continue the struggle.

Joaquin Maurin, the outstanding leader of the Communist opposition forces in Catalonia, wielded great influence among the workers. The organization he led was stronger in Catalonia than the Communist or Socialist Parties. the civil war.

The New York Times of Sept- About one year ago Maurin's organization united with the group the fascists. Caught in rebel ter- en with Trotskyism. The united organization-Party of Marxist important role in the present civil war in Spain. The POUM now, and Maurin before his death, were in fraternal relation with the International Communist Opposition.

The death of Maurin at the hands of the fascist bandits is a tremendous loss at this time, when both the Socialist and Communist Parties are steeped in opportunism and refuse to pursue a revolutionary working class policy in

FRENCH BOSSES **GAIN THRU BLUM**

The textile strike of the French workers was settled by the frantic intervention of the People's Front government, which feared that the movement might result in another wave of strikes, this time with political implications as regards Spain. The major demand of a wage increase of 15% was settled by an increase of 6%. It must be remembered that the demand for more wages was an absolute necessity because of the very rapid rise in the cost of living. It is very likely that the same method will be used by the bourgeoisie to negate these gains of the workers.

The wage issue was not made primary by the employers, however. For them the question of factory committees was of the greatest importance, and here they won their point. Whereas before the strike, there were general factory elections, the new agreement specifies that all factory votes must be on the basis of the craft The vast network of the Dupont divisions in separate gatherings. rain to "agitators make for "sovietization" in the eyes of the employers. It was also agreed that striking workers cannot occupy the factory. Both these factors constitute distinct set backs to the workers and show clearly the role of the People's Front as a "labor arbitrator". The bourgeoisie could find no better at present. When the employers declared that "they are tired of having to get passes to enter their own factories. . . they are tired of soviets in their factories", James Minifie, writing in the Herald-Tribune, commented that: "there is not a line of the above demands that the People's Front government does not heartily subscribe to. The government is as anxious as the mill owners to put an end to occupational strikes. There is every indication that the General Confederation of Labor shares this view. But the workers . . . are hard to bring around to the new view point."

STEEL IMPROVING? **—PROFITS ARE**

STEEL, every worker will be glad to know, looks forward to a most prosperous year. Production in the first seven months of 1936 was equal to the entire annual production of 1934 and represents a 38% increase over the same period for 1935. It is further estimated that there will be practically no late summer letdown before the Fall season gets into swing. Pity the poor corporations who just can't afford to pay union wages expending all their available energy to rake in the profits.

MICHIGAN F. L. P. REJECTS LEMKE

Loses Farmers' Union By Approving Lemke On Some Other Ticket

OWOSSO, Mich.—A left jab to the Reverend Father Charles E. Coughlin's political solar plexus prevented the placement of William Lemke and Charles O'Brien on the ticket of the Michigan Farmer Labor Party in the positions of presidential and vice presidential candidates, at the party's nominating convention here Sept 12th.

The barrier to the Union Party's use of the Farmer Labor emblem on the Michigan election ballot however, was accomplished only at the cost of a wide-open split in the organization. As soon as it became evident that the overwhelming majority of the delegates would oppose the naming of Lemke, a large faction of the Michigan Farmers' Union, the largest and only mass organization the party could officially claim bolted the convention and marched next door to hold a joint meeting with members of the National Union for Social Justice and Townsend Club representatives. Their avowed purpose was to nomi-

(Continued on Page 4)

Communists, Socialists Reject Proposals For Socialization

The government forces finally ${f their}$ humanitarian scruples in the face of the threatened encirclement of Madrid, and dynamited sections of the Alcazar fortress of Toledo. However, the fascists have put up a stubborn resistance, retreating still further into the cellars and continuing their return fire. Harsher measures will have to be taken by the government in this war.

The fascists to the south of Madrid are now under the direct leadership of Franco, organizer of the counter-revolution. At certain points they are within ten miles of Madrid, despite the very heroic defense being made by the armed workers and peasants. Radical social measures, which would weaken the rear of the fascists, have been rejected by the Madrid coalition.

The Syndicalists proposed further socialization, a central co-ordinating military body, plus some of their own anarchist decentralization in the form of regional autonomy. Despite the fantastic contradictions in these proposals, they contain certain measures necessary to the successful struggle against fascism, and as such were proposed. However the Communist Party asserted that "we cannot allow duality of power to exist", fearing the possibility of soviets and workers power, while the Socialists declared that 'those pushing such a demand should be regarded as traitors". By attacking the anarchist ideas, both parties are able to discredit the really revolutionary and worth while proposals.

Within Catalonia, vanguard sector of the struggle against the Spanish Fascists, the questions of the defense of the proletariat have sharpened the relationships between the government parties of the proletariat and the revolutionary organization, the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity). The Socialists, Communists, and Anarcho-Syndicalists, along with the left-republican Esquerra, have proposed greater governmental "co-ordination" on the basis of the defense of the republic. The Communist Party has once again declared its opposition to the proletarian revolution, because their 'sole purpose is to defend the republic and our right to live". The Socialists demand "absolute republican co-ordination", acceptable to all government parties, the political logic of which means, eventually, the suppression of the revolutionary organizations of the proletariat

At present it is very clear that the strength of the POUM lies in the potentialities of its program rather than its immediate size-but in this united front for the defense of the bourgeois republic, can be seen the foreshadowings of the reprisals that will be attempted against the POUM when the armed uprising for the proletarian revolution appears on the order of the day. For it is the POUM which "refuses submission to Madrid and its democratic program."

WORKERS AGE

OF OPPORTUNISM

Two lovers of peace had a slight dispute this month. Alexander Bittelman, writing in the September Communist, hinted, in ever so friendly a manner of course, that while "President Roosevelt's Chautauqua address on International Affairs was evidently not very agreeable to the German Nazis, to Hearst and to the Republican Party. It could hardly please the ears of either the fascist-military clique of Japan or of Mussolini" nevertheless, Bittelman believed that "the process of general disarmament and naval limitation would have been on its way . . had the Roosevelt administration adopted a true peace policy (sic) based upon the principle of collective security as practised by the

Between Bittelman and Roose velt (whose "peaceful intentions could not be mistaken"), between a, pardon us, theoretician of a working-class party and an extraordinarily capable representative of American capitalism, there are no differences in purpose, aim,

difference on how best to carry out these "peaceful intentions." Now, at the risk of appearing out-dated, we would like to remind Comrade Bittelman, and the party whose policy he so ably expresses, that the struggle against imperialism is based upon the premise that "the enemy is at home" A division of labor whereby the American proletariat struggles against Japanese imperialism. leaving the fight against the most vicious imperialism in the world-"ours"—to the Japanese workers is commonly known as playing the game of your own bourgeoisie. Its only result is neither peace nor democracy nor security, but a military dictatorship suppressing all actual and potential labor opposiconquest of new fuel for the imperialist machine. Above all, this approach, based on a sickly liberal foreign policy, accepts as the very premise of its being, the structure of imperialism without

function of a revolutionary work ers party? The struggle against Roosevelt's foreign policy must be primarily based on his "good neighbor" attitude to Cuba for example, or his "neutrality" in the Italo-Ethiopian war, or in the present Spanish situation. This is fundamental in Roosevelt's foreign policy: a course croachments of a revolutionary actly clear—MSM) because these this demand is one that is consistproletariat (Spain) or a rising colonial people (Ethiopia)

question or doubt. Is this the

Much to our surprise we learn that Roosevelt. the dear, good but I confused and "vacillating" man, with peace. Certainly the Amerhardly is to blame for Cuba, Ethio- ican people are. This means to prepia, or Spain. Once again the serve peace in the Far East, in the terror of 13th street arises— Pacific, and the curbing of Japan-Hearst and Landon are really re- ese aggression. By what means? sponsible! Bittelman correctly By the only means available—a answers the question of whither peace policy, a policy of collective neutrality is leading America, security. with "Nearer to war". That is prewar measures and motives of the the spoils of China against Japan, led us on the road which Hearst such a war. is travelling"! Not that it is the

GOING RIGHT" WITH Communist Party Functionary Calls For Sharp Struggle to Save Party

To the Conference of

The Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition). Dear Comrades:

I shall not begin by any atrapid advance toward another im-

pages written by Bolshevism, Communist International and all and become apostles of peace. In against imperialist war. its affiliated Parties.

Instead of Bolshevism we see revival of social-chauvinism, deli- ism, to speak of the revolutionary, berately fostered by the leading proletarian struggle against imstand in the most imminent danger of being hurled into imperialgram. There is only a very slight practice of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war is discarded and we see in its place a theory of social-chauvinism concealed be of social chauvinism put forth towho claim to be leaders of the pro-

> broad highway of American warmongering, but simply a dirt road on which "we" stumbled accidentally and can get off if we like.

> without overthrowing capitalism. But only Landon and Hearst give direct and more effective support to fascist aggressors everywhere". Roosevelt, apparently,

Perhaps the most shamefully clear key to this monstrous pandering to American imperialism is found in this delicate plea to the

fied to let Roosevelt carry out the billion dollar armaments is not ex- the same reason as before. Hence movement in this country.

This is nothing more nor less cisely why it is an effective im- than calling upon American im- war machine. perialist policy. It conceals the perialism to wage now its war for government under slogans of with a guarantee in advance that peace. But the Communist Party the Communist Party would be peace. But the Communist Party the Communist Party would be perialist government. It can only is for peace, as is Roosevelt—how chief recruiting sergeant for the mean for workers that which every such a system even to the extent effective united front to overthrow can this be solved, without of course, implying that Roosevelt der the misguided notion that this trade unionist with the smallest time of war. Thus we see that the course, implying that Roosevelt der the misguided notion that this trade unionist with the smallest time of war. Thus we see that the course, implying that Roosevelt der the misguided notion that this trade unionist with the smallest time of war. Thus we see that the course, implying that Roosevelt der the misguided notion that this trade unionist with the smallest time of war. represents the imperialist inter- constitutes aid to the Soviet Union. knowledge of his own interests has the whole theory of national deests of America very effectively in But the net result of even this always fought against—conscrip- fense, or "Burgfrieden" of the Gerforeign affairs? Anyone slightly very best of intentions happens tion and regimentation of labor in man Social-Democracy or "sacred on the Geracquainted with the C.P.'s veritable psychosis on this matter knows the working class the imperialist tries. the answer: "It (neutrality) has nature of America and its aims in Those who support the demand was one of the most aggressive,

Only a few days ago an attempt | tries may try to deny the concluwas made by Comrade Browder, in sions reached here. But to deny it Coughlin - Smith- Townsend party radio address over the National they will have to throw overboard and the theory of Roosevelt being Broadcasting System, to apply this the entire Marxist-Leninist theory the lesser evil. policy to the United States. After of the state as an instrument of tempted estimation of the political stating that the sinister shadow oppression in the hands of a ruland economic situation of this of war hangs over the entire ing class and substitute therefore country and of the world. That world, Comrade Browder stated the conception of the non-class has undoubtedly been or will be his version, which is the official state, or the Lassallean theory of sufficiently dealt with. No one Comintern version, of how to dis- the "free people's state." with any political sense will at pel the shadow of war. That is to I do not want to pursue further

ious countries whose ruling classes

such countries it is no longer cor-

rect, according to the new pacif-

Communist Parties publicly ad-

vocate "civil peace".

peaceful nations.

has used it very ineffectively!

"Landon and Hearst are satis-

to strengthen the imperialist war machine.

In fact many of the most vocal imperialists also favor the demand imperialists also favor the demand imperialists and the complete are the control of the complete are the control of the c government control of the muni- and in discussion.

M.S.M. | trol as they call it of war indus- tunist outlook behind the theory |

tempt to minimize the gravity of be accomplished by the united ac- the theoretical analysis of the the present situation, especially the tion of all peace-loving powers. "peace policy" of our Party lead-We are asked to believe that var- ership.

ment of the theory of "collective the path of Leninism and of revo-

How this is to be done is the problem. As I see it and as many others in the Party are seeing it there is only one way to remedy committees of those countries that perialist war. In place of the revo- the situation. That is to reestablutionary, proletarian struggle lish open discussion in the Party Unless decisive action is quickly against our own imperialist bour- on the basis of democratic centralist war. The whole theory and geoisie, we are to urge the various ism. It is the complete absence ship the real character of the presgovernments to combine for "col- over a period of years of such dis- ent course we will have a repetilective security". A study of the cussion that has brought the Party tion, in a far worse situation, of last war will show that it was pre- to its present position. Everything the events of 1914-18. The "peace cisely under such slogans that the is handed down from the top. policy" of Thorez, of Stalin and hind pacifist phrases. The theory leaders of the Second Interna- Plenums and conventions are so the rest will not halt the war pretional betrayed the proletariat. organized that anyone who would parations. It will only speed them day is similar to that put forth Lenin's polemics against those attempt to express disagreement by the social-democratic traitors traitors of 1914 gave the only pos- with any of the edicts would beat the outbreak of the imperialist sible Bolshevist answer to this come the target for every form duing of the masses at home. And war in 1914. It is a theory that kind of treachery. It is very pain- of slander. Anything that is put one of the best and most effective certain nations are peace-loving ful for one holding high position forward as official policy is ac- weapons is pacifism in the service and other nations are instigators in the Party to have to admit that cepted without question. When of imperialism. of war. With such a promise those in one respect the present course some years ago Browder issued of the official family is worse his pamphlet on the "Hoover-Lav- find means to raise the question letariat conclude that the most ef- than the course of international al Pacts", trying to prove that of an open, frank discussion of the fective way to conduct a struggle social-democracy before the World England was to be the object of whole course of the Party and the War. In 1914 it was only after an imperialist attack by the Unit- Comintern in the past period, a geois governments of those countries the outbreak of hostilities that the ed States. France and Japan, it discussion without reprisals and tries listed in the category of theory of class collaboration was was accepted without question or without fear of victimization. Such shamefully put forward. Today, debate by the Party. When, a few a discussion will, I am sure, not when the imperialist powers are months later, he had to repudiate only clear the atmosphere, but still manouvering to strengthen the whole theory set forth, his sub- make it possible to unite under their forces for war they regard as stitute theory was also accepted one proletarian banner all the inevitable, the leadership of the without question or comment.

When the new line on the labor party was laid down no one dared In Comrade Browder's radio demand why there was no discus-"could very easily have used the speech entitled "Foreign Policy sion. At the Ninth Convention existing neutrality legislation to and the Maintenance of Peace", no issue was debated. Everything we are committed to the policy of was accepted. At the last momen demanding that "the entire muni- Comrade Browder, in his closing tions industry be nationalized and remarks, invited (?) anyone with be put under public control." That objections to step forward and can have but one meaning—con- state them. He said he would yield Dear Comrades: trol by the imperialist govern- the floor to any such person. It ment. In the last war the muni- is easy to imagine what would tions industry and every industry have happened to anyone who had the youngest group, sends hearty connected with the war was under tried to take advantage of such such governmental control—in or- a generous offer. Had a similar

spokesmen of reaction and fascism are not concerned with peace; they are preparing for war. But perialists and put forward in France, just as it is put forward in France, within the frame-work of the frame-work for "public control" that is to say and others said in their reports proval your fight in America for

way in time of war?—in order more effectively to coordinate the more effectively to coordinate the war machine.

What is still worse is the effect upon labor of a policy of placing industry under control of the im
out the analogy between that theory and the opportunist theory of the revisionists—Bernstein & Co.
—that since all such benefits can be realized within the frame-work in the deadly grasp of the Democratic and Republican Parties. This fight that you are waging coincides with the increased demand in Britain industry under control of the imperialist government. It can only the duty of workers to defend the increased demand in Britain for a reunification of the Labour for nationalization or public con- has its roots in the whole oppor-

I do not think it necessary to repeat some things previously said about the character of the present political campaign—the picturing of Landon and the Republicans as the chief carriers of fascism, while failing to see the real menace in he revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the activities of the Lemke-A genuine open discussion in the

Party would bring out many of these points if the membership is not already too deadened by the bureaucratic regime to make such a discussion impossible.

There is certainly no avenue open in the party to enable those of us who see the disastrous consequences of the present line to discuss it openly with other memonly yesterday were among the is to try to find some way of com- bers. But your conference can be think that the lessons of 1914-18, most aggressive imperialists of batting such a disastrous theory assured that you can perform a especially in view of the brilliant the world have, since the develop- and getting the Party back on to service to the movement as a whole by taking steps to reach would be put into effect by the security", departed from their past lutionary proletarian struggle the rank and file of the Party membership with Marxist criticism of the whole present course nationally and internationally.

To continue the present course is to commit a crime against the working class of the whole world. taken to expose to the memberup because a part of all imperialist war preparations is the sub-

Those of us in the Party must revolutionary elements in the United States today.

Yours for a Leninist party.

ENGLISH CPO GREETS U.S.A. CONFERENCE

The English group of the C.P.O.,

der that the war could be more of-invitation been extended at the sistance they have and are even fectively carried on. If the action opening of the convention there now rendering, there still would (very cleverly manipulated to be tremendous armament program to of the toiling masses cannot pre- might have been some surprising now rendering, there some surprising not have been in existence in Eng-(very cleverly manipulated to be sure) of valiant defense of American imperialist interests, and of the interests of capitalism as a line of the interests of capitalism as a line of the imperialist themselves and for the imperialists themselves and for the imperialist that would have seen in existence in English that the imperialist interests are the imperialist that would have seen the interest that would have seen the interest that would have seen the imperial that the impe Certainly there were many who construction of the C.I. At a time when the working

tions and all war industry—and what industry is not classified that way in time of war?—in order out the analogy between that the probably would be brought out the analogy between that the out the analogy between that the severage of the trade war.

success, and we know that the de-

With revolutionary greetings, The Bureau, C.P.O. England WORKERS AGE

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE LABOR PARTY MOVEMENT

Conference of the Communist Party Opposition, held in New pendence such as is involved in the support of Roosevelt. York City, September 5-7, 1936. This resolution is therefore submitted to the membership for full discussion. A final vote on it tion" is not, as the C.P. maintains, "a Republican vicwill be taken at the coming national convention of the C.P.O. tory"; even worse would be the complete suppression of to be held at the end of this year.

1. Not since 1912 or 1924 has the political situation in a presidential year been so difficult, so complex, from the standpoint of labor or has labor's own role in politics been as outstanding and decisive as today. And yet rarely has the confusion and disorientation among the more advanced sections of the working class been as great as under the present circumstances.

ROOSEVELT AND LANDON

2. The notion, held by the Socialist Party and others, that there is "no difference at all" between Roosevelt, the candidate of the Democrats, and Landon, the candidate of the Republicans, is false on the face of it. But equally false is the notion, shared by the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Federation and liberals in general, that Landon is the representative of a fascist concentration while Roosevelt is the spokesman of the forces of anti-fascism, progress and democracy. Such a viewpoint shows a serious failure to grasp the real nature of fascism as well as a tendency to ignore some of the dangerous manifestations of the New Deal, such as the increase of power of the executive, the trend towards

3. Between Roosevelt and Landon, there is unity in aim-the perpetuation and stabilization of the capitalist system. But between the two there are also serious and deep-growing differences in ways and means. The Roosevelt program-involving the cartelization of industry under government control; the extension of state enterprise; federal unemployment insurance as well as some degree of social and labor legislation; the control of labor thru judicious concessions and "government unionism"-was supported by the overwhelming majority of the capitalist class in 1932 and 1933 as an emergency program to meet the desperate situation created by the crisis. But. when, towards the middle of 1934, the emergency was beginning to pass as far as big capital was concerned, decisive sections of the bourgeoisie turned away from this program as too costly and too dangerous. As against the New Deal, an old-time, reactionary program of capitalist stabilization was developed, now championed by the Republicans: cartelization of industry, but by big business itself equipped with governmental powers, and without federal "interference"; sharp reduction, direct and indirect, of federal relief expenditures; hostility to federal labor laws thru the company union and the open shop. Such, at bottom, is the fundamental difference between the Roosevelt and Landon programs-a difference in approach and method in the common task of stabilizing and perpetuating the capitalistic system.

4. It is a ridiculous notion, prevalent in some quarters, that Roosevelt is completely isolated among the business men and capitalists of this country, who constitute just one great hostile mass arrayed against him. Large and important elements of the big bourgeoisie definitely stand behind him, fully convinced that the New Deal program is thoroly necessary for the welfare of American capitalism. But his great mass appeal, because of his more liberal and more modern policies on relief, social legislation and labor, is naturally to the masses of organized labor, to the unemployed on relief and to large sections of the lower middle classes. This appeal has been given especial power by the incredibly reactionary and arbitrary decisions of the Supreme Court, applauded by the Republicans. Yet it must not be forgotten that Roosevelt's chief and most reliable basis of support is, after all, the ultra-reactionary plantation and mill oligarchy of the Solid South. The Democrtic Party today reflects all of these various cross-currents and elements, and, in addition, the reactionary Northern Democrats of the Al Smith type as well; in future political developments and realignments, the interrelation and conflict of these tendencies in the Democratic Party will play an important tion of the A. F .of L. (1935), has now been completely

LABOR AND OLD-PARTY CANDIDATES

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under the act of March 3, 1879.

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"The worst thing that could possibly happen to the naevery vestige of working class independence as a result of supporting the banner-bearer of the leading party of American capitalism: even worse would be the reinforcement and consolidation of the two-party system and the political demoralization of more advanced sections of the working class.

THE LEMKE-COUGHLIN PARTY

6. In the shape of the Lemke-Coughlin Union Party, a real fascist movement is making its appearance in the United States, a movement compounded of the various panacea-mongering fascist or semi-fascist groups that have sprung up in the last few years. While its actual strength is probably not very great as yet, this party as already made considerable inroads upon certain farmer and petty bourgeois groups and has served to demoralize sections of the farmer-labor movement, altho it has been deprived almost completely of its labor support by Roosevelt. The great menace of the movement, it must be emphasized, is still for the future.

POLITICAL TENDENCIES OF LABOR

7. Among the top leadership of the trade union movement, four tendencies have manifested themselves in connection with the present political situation. In the first place, there are the reactionary Republicans (Hutcheson, Coefield), today virtually without political influence among the organized workers. On the other hand, there are the reactionary Democrats (Dan Tobin, etc.). who are not merely for Roosevelt or the New Deal but are for the Democratic ticket all along the line; in their appeal there is no class angle at all. The third tendency (Green, etc.) is identified with the official "non-partisan" position of the A. F. of L.; this group is largely for Roosevelt but it refuses to budge from the old and discredited "non-partisan" policy.

THE LABOR NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

8. While all these viewpoints are more or less traditional in the A. F. of L., the fourth tendency represents a new departure-independent labor support of Roosevelt. as organized in the Labor Non-Partisan League. It would be utterly false to regard the L.N.-P.L. either as a camouflaged Democratic "Labor Committee" or as an expression of the old "non-partisan" policy of the A. F. of . in a new guise. The L.N.-P.L. is a political committee of trade union leaders to support Roosevelt on an independent basis; the appeal of the League is to workers as workers. As such, the L.N.-P.L. presents a dual aspect. Within it are represented two distinct and even antagonistic components; the old-line Democrats (Berry, etc.), and the "labor party" element (Dubinsky, Hillman), for whom it is not merely a necessity in the present situation but also a starting point of a national labor party movement in the future. Today, these two antagonistic elements are held together by the binding force of the Roosevelt illusion and the overwhelming fear of a Landon-Liberty League victory; this bond is certain to loosen and ultimately break altogether under the political developnents of the next period. The inherent potentialities involved in the mere independent organization of labor for political purposes must not be overlooked, no matter what the intentions of its sponsors may be under the circumstances. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the L.N.-P.L., altho it still remains within the vicious circle of the two-party system and subservience to capitalist politics, represents a policy distinct from and an advance over the traditional policy of the A. F. of L.

9. The labor party movement that had gathered strength in the last two years to the point where it was able to register a 20% vote at the Atlantic City convenabsorbed by the L.N.-P.L. in support of Roosevelt. At one point, however, it is already beginning to re-emerge in labor party form again—in the American Labor Party 5. For the working class, the difference between of New York. The A.L.P. represents a fundamental ad-Roosevelt and Landon, while real and important, is not of vance over the L.N.-P.L., for whereas the latter is mere-

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the former is a genuine federative party, politicl federation of trade unions; and whereas the latter is specifically restricted to the support of Roosevelt, the former is committed to permanence and to a labor ticket for local offices in addition to support of Roosevelt and Lehman. In fact, the A.L.P. is a genuine labor party in the making. It has already established its organizational independence in that a large group of (progressive) unions have federated into their own political party, with their own name, emblem, and column on the ballot. A degree of political independence has already been achieved, in that it has been officially declared that Roosevelt and Lehman are the "only exceptions" and that all other candidates of the A.L.P. will have to be free from connections with the two old parties. But this political independence is still very primitive and inadequate, for the fact remains that the labor party ticket is headed by the banner-bearer of the Democratic Party, the leading party of American capi-

FUTURE OF L.N.-P.L. AND A.L.P.

10. Among the leaders of the L.N.-P.L. there is already talk of a "permanent" organization of a future "political realignment" in which the League will serve as the basis of a new "liberal" party by which is meant, apparently, a fusion of the labor elements with the New Deal or "progressive" wing of the Democratic Party. The fate of the L.N.-P.L. is linked up with that of the C.I.O., of which it is to some extent the political expression; its future course will be largely dependent on the progress registered by the labor party movement, especially of the A.L.P. in New York and the effective pressure of the labor party elements inside and outside the League.

11. As far as the A.L.P. is concerned, it is obviously intended as an advance experiment and its success in the coming elections will greatly influence the future of the movement not only in New York but in other states as well. Here, too, the course that the movement will takeits permanence and the degree of its political independence -will depend upon the amount of effective labor party pressure inside the A.L.P. at the critical moment.

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST ATTITUDES

12. The Social-Democratic Federation, the organization of the right-wing socialists of New York, has come out, openly and officially, in support of President Roosevelt and has affiliated to the A.L.P. on that basis. The Communist Party, following a policy of unofficial support of Roosevelt, has taken a stand on this question very similar to that of the S.D.F., altho not itself affiliating The official Socialist Party, on the other hand, in line with its recent sharp turn toward sectarianism, has adopted an attitude of outright opposition to the A.L.P., which it brands as not really a labor party at all, as only an "ally" of the Democratic Party, etc., etc. Not only does it oppose trade union affiliation to the A.L.P. but an "exposure" of the latter has become one of the main themes of Thomas's presidential campaign.

THE POSITION OF THE C.P.O.

13. The position of the C.P.O. is fundamentally at variance with that of any of the other organizations. We make no concessions to the false and dangerous sentiment of labor support of Roosevelt; we emphasize the vital necessity of political class independence under all circumstances. But we recognize in the A.L.P. a genuine labor party in the making and we urge all trade unions to affiliate, with as clear an indication as possible of whatever differences they may have with the official A.L.P. policy. We urge the necessity of forming a constructive force in the A.L.P. striving for the permanence of the organization, for ever greater political independence and for proper organizational methods and approach. As for the C.P.O. itself, we believe that the question of its direct relation to the A.L.P. can most profitably be postponed until after the elections.

14. After the elections, under the influence of new political conditions, the labor party question is bound to reemerge as a burning question of the moment. The C.P. leadership, with its rapid and unexplained shifts from bitter hostility to the whole labor party idea to the "labor party from below" and then to the "People's Front labor party," which is no labor party at all; with its irresponsible manouvers in attempting to create "labor parties" made to order and in striving to utilize the fascist and semi-fascist panacea-sects as a basis for such a party, is hardly likely to prove a force for clarity and effective action. The Socialist Party is rapidly rendering itself impotent in its sectarian isolation. The Social-Democratic Federation is only too likely to play true to its old role of auxiliary to the more conservative sections of the trade union officialdom. It will be the task of the C.P.O., together with all the progressive elements it can rally to cooperation, to provide clear leadership in the difficult situation, to carry forward the labor party idea under the concrete political conditions of today!

MICHIGAN FARMER-LABOR PARTY SPLITS ON LEMKE ISSUE

(Continued from Page 1) nate Lemke and O'Brien on the Third Party ticket.

The synthetic Michigan Farmer Labor Party, bereft of most of the organized farmer element and facing the loss of the bona fide trade union delegates from the auto centers who packed the convention in an effort to stop the Lemke endorsement, will be left with a handful of persons almost exclusively from the Detroit area. Even before the split the Wayne delegation accounted for 80 percent of the 840 delegates pres-

The rump convention which split off the main body was based on get-rich-quick enthusiasts from the share-the-wealth club, misguided zealots of the Coughlin groups, and foxy grandpas from the Townsend clubs and they took with them dozens of sincere members of the Farmers' Union who like Lemke and want to vote for him even at the expense of breaking up the Farmer Labor Party.

The Coughlinites, established in the galleries, started the fireworkers by hooting, singing their songs, throwing down Coughlin material, and demanding the American flag which the CP promptly produced.

The compromise of giving a greater proportion of delegates to the Farmer Labor clubs didn't satisfy the farmers because they weren't so hayseed as not to see that the hall was packed with Wayne County delegates. Their chief complaint was that the auto union with 20,000 members in De- to quote even the capitalist press. troit, received one delegate for every 35 members and only paid \$15 for initiation fee while they paid \$2.50 per head.

Jeffries, pulling the dramatic, made a motion to make everybody present delegates, including those in the galleries. Sugar and Brock issued forth with some fancy Peoples Front phrases: "I hope people believing with me will accord respectful silence to the other side." (Brock)-"I hope for harmony on the theory that the workers and farmers have one thing in common, that American-ism shall prevail."—"You farmers have a chance to vote for Lemke on another ticket."-"Those who say we want to prevent farmers from voting for Lemke are deceiving you."—"I'm fighting for the democratic institutions of this state. (Sugar).

The greatest tragedy arising out of the mess the Farmer Labor party finds itself in is the widening of the breach between the farmers organizations in Michigan and the trade union movement. It was the latter which packed the convention at the last moment to prevent the nomination of the man the farmers really wanted. Now off fascism." the farmers are for the most part

ness men, doctors, lawyers, and having accomplished their purpose, judges from Detroit, the Communist party and its playmates, and a few small local unions-will be left to face the elections without even a pencil to mark a ballot

When Maurice Sugar and other leaders of the party spoke against seating the delegates from the NUSJ, OARPC, etc., no clear criticism of Lemke as a dangerous threat to workers and farmers was made. They merely begged the delegates to leave Lemke off the ballot so party members could vote for whom they pleased and pointed out that Lemke could use any other of the 13 political parties in Michigan, but please, not ours.

-RALPH WARNER

ST. LOUIS ANTI-FASCIST BLUES

Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President, spoke in St. Louis at the biggest meeting the C.P. ever held in this city. Banners around the hall bearing slogans, "Communism is 20th Century Americanism" and "For A Free Happy and Prosperous America' indicated in advance the tone of Browder's speech. Introduced as "Kansas' leading citizen-the John Brown of 1936", Browder "did everything but endorse Roosevelt"

Stating that the main issue was between democracy and fascism Browder tore into Landon as "the banner bearer of the fascists" Browder resorted to a distorted 'exceptionalism" to prove his mechanically transferred immediate fascist danger. He stated that the American people expect a fascist to be colorful like Hitler or Mussolini, but that Wall Street-Hearst-Liberty League was fooling them by putting up the most colorless figurehead they could find in America. At least Browder's imagination does not lack color.

Browder then touched briefly on Roosevelt's indecisiveness in the face of pressure from both progressives and reactionaries. $_{
m His}$ omission of many major criticisms of Roosevelt in comparison with the broadside against Landon plus the carefully added statement that the C.P. did not have a chance to win the elections showed definitely where his sympathies lie.

No doubt many workers who voted for Roosevelt in 1932 went fascinating reading indeed. away from the meeting satisfied that although they voted once to get a "new deal", they can remain in the same old rut to "stave

The St. Louis Unit of the CPO out and boiling mad at the trade issued an open letter pointing out unionists. The trade unionists, the indirect class-collaboration polwill also pull out, and the bare icy of the CP in supporting Roose skeleton of the party-petty busi- velt. The letter was well received.

BOOKS of the AGE

HITLER. By Rudolf Olden. New York, Covici, Friede, 394 pages. \$3,00.

Rudolf Olden, with the systematic training of a good German, has left no stone unturned in checking every important item in Hitler's Mein Kampf. He travelled to places where the dictator was born, where he had his early and his later schooling. He interviewed his early companions and his later associates, with only one purpose in view, to verify what Hitler said. And he proves to us, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Hitler is one of the world's greatest frauds. We see that episodes which never took place are reported with great fanfare in Mein Kampf, and others so highly colored that they lose all resemblance to the original event.

What then is the secret of this man's power? This man who has always had such great contempt for the masses, such contempt for parliamentarians, such contempt for everyone but himself? Olden seems to think its his power of concentration on one single idea, and his repitition of simple thought –a slogan—a thousand times, until everybody, including himself, seems to believe in it. Hitler contends that since the masses are unable to do the simplest reasoning, they can only understand a thought when they have heard it repeated again and again and again. Secondly-Hitler's unbelievable capacity for holding on, like a bull-dog, in the face of all adversity. He was never known to give up even when the struggle was apparently lost. His climb to power was also aided by the extremely wretched condition of the middle classes and by the liberal support of the leading bankers and industrialists who were promised 'class peace" and greater profits.

After a decade of struggle the National Socialist Party had become: "A state within a state, with its own Reich officers, provincial governors and ambassadors. It had an extensive news service, a public and secret police force. Its army took advantage of its new relations with the Reichswehr to spy out munition dumps and keep a check on the officers' political views."

The book is not only a story about Hitler but a very enlightening history of German politics during the last fifteen years. It is marred, however, by a very heavy translation in the first part. But the translation gets better as the work continues, and the chapters on Hitler's rise to power, the Reichstag fire, the June 30th purge and the concluding chapter, make

-Ellen Ward

The American Labor Party will have one or more local candidates in New York City on its own ticket and will not endorse the candidates of any other party in the Metropolitan area, the State Executive Committee of the party announced early this week. A committee of seven, headed by Sidney Hillman. President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has been empowered to decide for which local offices candidates will be designated on the party's ticket and to make nominations accordingly.

The American Labor Party's ticket is headed by President but doubt existed as to the policy on other candidates. So far as New York City is concerned, the present decision, made at a meet-

CANADIAN TRADE UNIONS MAKE **NEW GAINS THRU MILITANCY**

The Pocketbook Workers Union | working conditions. won its first victory several days ago after a strike of about a week. Previously there had been no union in the field for 5 years. The industry is very small, but growing rapidly. It consists of 10 shops of 450 workers, 70% of which are French. The manufactthe union and recently called on Catholic Syndicate as a union of their own people. The Catholic Syndicate co-operated closely with the manufacturers, but the French workers saw that this so-called union had nothing to offer to them and they soon returned to the Pocketbook Workers Union. The conditions in the trade were very poor some workers receiving as low as \$4.00 per week. The union put out demands for 15% increase in wages, 44 hours instead of 48 hour week, an arbitration board for both Toronto and Montreal and minimum wages to be established under the Arcand Law in Montreal and the Industrial Standards Act in Toronto. (The Toronto Union recently had gained the last two demands but had postponed their establishment until Montreal would be in a position to establish the same conditions).

When the majority of the manufacturers refused to accept the demands the union called a strike in which almost 100% of the workers participated, Before the week was over four shops issued a statement to the workers accepting the demands of the union and asking the workers to return to work. By the end of the week all the shops settled, the union winning all the demands except for the 15% increase in wages which was reduced to 71/2% increase.

At the town of Cornwall, Ontario, 1,500 workers are entering the fourth week of their strike against the Courtald's rayon mill, a branch of a British firm. Just ing with imperialism. previous to the calling of the strike, the workers, organized in Industrial Rayon Workers Union, applied for affiliation to the United Textile Workers Union. The workers who are very poorly paid and work under extremely poor conditions are out for increase in wages, recognition of the union and improvement of

ing of the Executive Committee which lasted beyond midnight, the doubt is now resolved. No other Democratic or Republican candidates will be endorsed in New York City and such other nominations as are made will be solely on the Labor Party ticket.

The committee of seven consists Sidney Hillman, chairman, David Dubinsky, William S. Wilson, Andrew R. Armstrong, Luigi Antonini, Alex Rose and Louis Waldman.

LOCAL 22 MEMBERS APPROVE A.L.P.

The membership of Local 22 ILGWU voted overwhelmingly to endorse the position of its executive board in affiliating with the American Labor Party. The vote was taken at 8 district membership meetings held between the 8th and the 14th of September and resulted in 1677 votes being cast in favor and only 114 again.

The same membership meetings also approved the financial report; endorsed the report of the executive board on various trade prob-Roosevelt and Governor Lehman, lems and enthusiastically respond-

had entered into negotiations, but refused to recognize the union or its representatives, and on this basis broke off negotiations.

Although the strikers have carried on a disciplined strike campaign the provincial police have been called in and have twice aturers put up a stiff fight against tacked the strikers, once arresting sixteen strikers and a second the French workers to join the time driving a car into a picket line and wounding a girl striker. Many arrests have been made of strikers, many without even placing charges. Frank Love union organizer, was arrested on the charge of illegal picketing and was refused bail until his trial a week later when he was given a suspended sentence of 2 months.

The strikers have put up a strong stand and have won the support of many of the workers of Cornwall. Union sentiment is spreading rapidly and the Amalgamated has sent out organizers to organize the few large clothing shops located in the town.

Lenin Said:

O hope for peace from the negotiations and communications the bourgeois governments would be self-deception as well as deception of the people. (Page 45).

At best the government may manage to postpone the crisis but it cannot save the country from hunger. And no matter how many promises it makes, it cannot give the country freedom because it is bound by blood ties to the interests of the capitalists and the landowning nobility.

That is why it would be the most foolish thing imaginable to tie our hands by the tactics of confidence in and support of a government which is incapable of break-

That is why the most foolish thing we can do is to adopt, supposedly for the purpose of 'fighting reaction', the tactics of giving confidence and support to the government. (Page 78).

Our slogan is: No support to the government of Guchkov-Miliukov! He who says that such support is necessary in order to fight against the restoration of the monarchy deceives the people. (Page 84).

No support of the Provisional Government; exposure of the utter falsity of all its promises, particularly those relating to the renunciation of annexations. Unmasking, instead of admitting, the illusion-breeding 'demand' that this government, a government of capitalists, cease being imperialistic. (Page 107).

The fundamental question is: which class is waging the war? The capitalist class, tied to the banks, cannot wage any but an imperialist war. The working class can. (Page 96)

Outside of socialism there is no deliverance of humanity from wars, from hunger, from the destruction of millions and millions of human beings. (Page 114)

From—THE REVOLUTION OF 1917, Volume 1.

NOTE: The quotations printed in the previous two issues are taken from The Collapse of the Second International" a pamphlet published in England in 1915. Our readers will find

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