

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 26.

New York, N. Y., Saturday, June 29, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

IF you want to know the folly of the logic of liberalism pure and simple, examine some of the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union. In behalf of freedom in the abstract—totally divorced from class relations—this organization will fight on Monday morning for the right of Communists to assemble and on Monday night for the right of Fascists to pour out their wrath against all working class organizations. The C.L.U. battles for the rights of "minority opinion", regardless of the class interests it defends. Within twenty-four hours these professional Civil Liberties-ites, standing "above" all class struggles, can fight for one thing and then turn around and fight for the very opposite that will undo all their first achievements.

This practice of the C.L.U. is once again brought into unsavory relief thru its insisting that the Chicago Park Board grant Father Coughlin, incipient American Fascist, the right to use Soldiers' Field for a meeting. Perhaps some C. L. U. directors may think this a very clever move on their part to prove to the reactionaries that this organization is not "Red". Well, biting the nose to spite one's face is not a solution—not even in a penthouse revolutionary sense! Surely, the American Civil Liberties Union, which has on occasion rendered fine services to labor, can sometimes forsake the folly of its dogma, should sometime cast "consistency" overboard and not engage in such dangerous and fantastic activities in behalf of the vipers threatening labor.

AMONG the kingpins of industry and finance Henry Ford occupies a unique position in especially one sense. Ford has a knack for political idiocy and brazenness. Often one is inclined to think that America's wealthiest Henry studied to be a political idiot.

In the highest and palmiest days of Coolidge we were never treated to such down to the last syllable nonsense as the latest panacea gratuitously offered the world by Ford. The mighty overlord, watching the 2,000,000th V-8 auto go down the assembly line at River Rouge made this fervent plea: "The government has attempted to meddle too much with business. I'll make a million cars next year, if they just let the police run the country. They know how to keep order." When asked how the police could help solve social problems, Ford in his brightest brilliance, beamed: "Why, the local police all over the country take care of just such things every day. . . If the government would quit meddling with us there wouldn't be any unemployment." Further pressed for evidence as to the efficacy of his solution for the crisis, Ford boasted: "If anything is done here in the plant that's wrong, the police can take care of it. They can do the same thing for the whole country."

It's precisely these kind of brazen idiots—flying in the face of all sound economics and progressive social policy—who lead the employing class of the country against the workers and poor farmers. Signs of the times. We should watch these signs and answer not by squealing and gibbering but by organizing and fighting.

WHENEVER class relations tend to assume tenseness Wall Street can count on the Supreme Court Judges, thru devious and even contradictory reasoning, to hand down a batch of reactionary decisions. Has the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. forgotten that in the brief period of about fifteen months, during the crisis of 1921-23, the Supreme Court handed down such violent anti-labor decisions as in the Duplex vs. Deering Case, the American Steel Foundries, Truax vs. Corrigan, the child Labor verdict, and the Coronado decree? Apparently the A. F. of L. has forgotten.

The sham and fraud of the whole business of constitutionalism, the folly of the whole strategy of Labor trusting in Congress or the President, is glaringly brought to light in a number of steps taken by Congress immediately after the Supreme Court's decision pretending to limit executive power, pretending to prevent Congress from delegating powers to the President. The House of Representatives has just approved a recommendation of its Military Affairs Committee to give the President "discretionary power to declare emergencies OTHER THAN WAR in which he might DISREGARD STATE LINES in summing National Guard officers out of their own states to be mobilized for military service wherever he thought the peace-time emergency existed."

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Lumber Strikers In Stubborn Fight

Rank And File Workers Take Over Strike Leadership; Picketing Suppressed

EUREKA, Calif.—One was killed and 10 seriously wounded during a clash between strikers and scabs at the Holmes-Eureka Lumber Mill. For two and half hours the battle raged with the police using riot guns and clubs. Five police were injured. 100 strikers were jailed.

OLYMPIA, Wash.—Units of the National Guard are being hastily assembled for duty in the lumber strike zone. The support for the strikers is becoming increasingly more widespread. Governor Martin declared that the troops are being sent on petition of many lumber mill owners who feel that their scabs need protection.

By EARL LANE

PORTLAND, Oregon.—With the passing of the leadership of the lumber strike from the hands of the Muir sell-out leadership to that of the rank and file controlled Northwest Strike Committee the lumber barons, acting through the agency of their executive committee, the state governments of Oregon and Washington, loosed upon the lumber workers a reign of terror so brutal and undisguised that conservative A. F. of L. officials branded it as Hitlerism. Governor Charles H. Martin of Oregon had repeatedly assured the lumber operators that he would use the military forces of the state "to preserve law and order and protect any honest laborer who wanted to work." When it became evident that the Muir sell-out tactics had failed to get the men back on the job the sheriffs deputies of the various counties and the state police were thrown into action to smash the picket lines. Since they feared to begin the strike-breaking war in the large industrial city of Portland, where other unions might become involved in the struggle in support of the lumber workers, the first attempt to smash the picket lines was made in the small isolated town of Tillamook.

On Tuesday the scene shifted to the small mill of the Bridal Veil Lumber Co., at Bridal Veil, Oregon. This mill which employs about 35 men was operating with a crew composed of members of the 4 L (company union). Union pickets had been attempting for some time to pull out the drivers of the trucks that were hauling lumber from this mill to Portland, and a force of four men were picketing the mill. Claiming that a truck driver had been beaten up and his truck driven over an embankment, allegedly by union pickets, Sheriff Pratt of Multnomah County ordered the pick-

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NEXT WEEK

SIX PAGES

Besides the usual reading matter we will print in full the **Theses & Resolutions**

to be submitted to the **C.P.O. CONVENTION**

DON'T MISS THE NEXT ISSUE

EUROPE TODAY

By August Thalheimer

OPPORTUNISM CONTINUES IN FRENCH UNITED FRONT

June 11, 1935

Laval's cabinet has finally obtained full power denied by parliament to Bouisson and Pietri. The French cabinet is once more a government of "National Union" including Marin and Flandin and Frossard the former leader of the right wing of the Socialist Party. As a result of the pressure of the recent left swing in the elections, the cabinet has been forced to take on a somewhat left character. Deflation will now set in. Big finance has won its point.

It was possible to form a cabinet because 75 representatives of the Radical Socialist Party abstained from voting. They submitted a declaration in the Chamber—a most extraordinary procedure—stating that for the time being they would be content with watching Laval's experiment. Laval therefore is by no means firmly established.

On the basis of this, the attempts made here to form a "left wing cabinet" with the support of the Communists are of great significance to French politics. The Communist Party took the initiative in attempting to form a "left wing cabinet." It expressed its willingness to support a Radical Socialist government under certain conditions both in parliament and in the country. Thorez, the leader of the Communist Party, went so far as to agree to the inclusion of a person like Bonnefoy, into the government. Bonnefoy is a right winger opposed to Fascist putsches.

The Socialist Party proposed a program to the government which cannot even be called reformist. It amounts to financing of public works thru large state loans. This program is far to the right of Roosevelt's New Deal. It contains no guarantees for wages and salaries of workers and white collar workers. The Communist Party approved of this program. It justified its position by saying that this program signified the extension of the "Peoples Front" to parliament.

Woll Tries to Break Unity in Fur Ranks

Zimmerman Scores Anti-Communist Drive; Lucchi Says All Will Be Admitted

Just when it appeared that the unification of the ranks of the fur workers was to be completed after a decade of inter-union struggle a bomb shell was thrown in the form of a statement by Matthew Woll speaking for President Green of the A. F. of L.

In this statement Woll threatened the Fur Workers Union with the loss of its charter if it admits avowed Communists. In this statement Woll also created the impression that this opinion is concurred in by Dubinsky of the I.L.G. W.U., Hillman of the A.C.W. and Zaritsky of the Cap and Millinery Union—the three representing the triple alliance. However, Dubinsky made his position clear in a statement printed in *Women's Wear* (June 20) and in the *Times* of June 21. In this statement Dubinsky declares that this matter was never taken up during any conferences he had with Woll and therefore he had not approved the stand taken by Woll. No statement has been forthcoming from Hillman and Zaritsky.

Lucchi For Convention Decision

Pietro Lucchi, President of the Fur Workers International Union of the A. F. of L. made the following statement:

"With no wish to antagonize the American Federation of Labor, of which we are and always have been a loyal and component part I must state, however, as president of the International Fur Workers Union, I must abide by the decision of the International Union adopted by our convention at Toronto opening the union's doors to all bona fide furriers, regardless of political affiliation, who seek admission. The convention of our organization is our supreme body and I am powerless to reverse any of its decisions.

"I am hopeful however that all furriers of Communist or other persuasion will realize the stupidity of division in our ranks, or continued fratricidal conflict, either inside or outside our organization, and will henceforth conduct themselves as genuine trade unionists in the face of the employer class.

"Any other conduct will be denounced as acts against the interests of the workers in the fur industry."

President Lucchi expressed the same opinion at mass meetings of the union on June 20, attended by about 5,000 members.

Zimmerman's Statement

Charles Zimmerman, Manager of Local 22 and vice-president of the I.L.G. W.U., who had on previous occasions sharply disagreed with the policies of president Green now issued a protest against the policy of Green and Woll in the furriers industry.

The following statement was released to the press:

"The declaration of Matthew Woll ordering unions to bar Communists from membership on pain of having their charters revoked, is totally at variance with the best interests of the trade union movement and should meet with vigorous protest and determined opposition from all those who have the welfare of unionism at heart. It is the chief strength of the trade union movement that it unites in bonds of labor solidarity all those who work for wages without regard to race, color, creed or political opinion. To attempt to exclude a whole section of the working class simply and solely because of their political

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers Age Calls for \$1500 As Summer Sustaining Fund

UNLESS FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS RAISE FUNDS DURING MONTH OF JULY WORKERS AGE WILL BE FORCED TO BECOME BI-WEEKLY DURING SUMMER

To All Readers of Workers Age: Comrades and Friends:

With this issue (No. 26) Workers Age reaches the half year mark in its life as a weekly, without having missed a single issue and without having come out late a single time. A phenomenal record considering the meagerness of our resources and the steadiness in financial drain which a weekly entails. This was made possible by the self-sacrificing manner in which the members of our organization and the supporters of Workers Age contributed in the drive for funds which began towards the end of last year. This fund (we asked for 3,000 dollars and went over the top) made possible the launching of the weekly and its continuation during 26 weeks.

Summer Months Difficult

The summer months are difficult months for every working class paper and ours is no exception to this rule. We face the danger of being forced to suspend the weekly during the course of the summer; to go back to a bi-weekly status until the fall. We had hoped to avoid such dangers but it is impossible for us to meet our financial obligations.

There is just one possibility of avoiding the summer-suspension and that is to raise from among our readers and friends a sufficient sum to bridge us over the summer months. We have estimated the amount necessary and can pledge that if the sum of \$1500 is raised there will be no call for skipping a single issue of the weekly.

Answer Is In Your Hands

What shall it be? Return to a bi-weekly during the summer or continued existence as a weekly? The answer is yours and we are awaiting it with great impatience.

It is our belief that we have lived up to our pledge that the weekly would fearlessly present a communist position on the problems agitating the American working class.

This we have done in the case of NRA, the Wagner Bill, craft vs. industrial unionism, social and unemployment insurance and on a dozen other issues. We have tirelessly spoken up for trade union unity and against dual unionism. We have agitated for unity of all genuinely communist forces within the Communist International. We have spoken up against the slanderers of the Soviet Union and have scored those who would travel the road of 1914 once again under the mistaken belief that this might serve the interests of the Soviet proletariat. In a time of great political confusion Workers Age has presented, in a crystal-clear manner, a communist position on the problems agitating the American and world working class.

It is this work which deserves your unstinting support. We appeal to all our friends and readers to come to our assistance. To make their contributions as large as possible and to remember that time is an important element.

Let us try to raise these \$1500 in the course of the month of July. We are confident that Workers Age has made for itself sufficient friends to raise this sum.

* * *

Use blank below for sending funds. Make checks payable to Workers Age. All contributions will be listed in Workers Age.

WORKERS AGE
51 West 14th Street
New York City.

Enclosed find \$..... as my contribution to the summer sustaining fund of Workers Age.

Name

Address

City State.....

Knitgoods Union Strikes Many Mills

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union is at present conducting strikes in a number of knitting mills. The Union is conducting these strikes in order to preserve and maintain Union conditions against the attacks of the employers.

The Joint Council calls on all knitgoods workers to refuse to go to work in the following shops that are now being picketed:

Mayflower Knitting Mills, 89 Bogart Street, Brooklyn; Astor Knitwear, 476 Knickerbocker Ave., Brooklyn; Colbert Knitwear, 12 West 32nd Street, New York City; Ornstein Brothers, 59 Liberty Avenue, Brooklyn; Industrial Knitting Mills, 59 Liberty Avenue, Brooklyn; Sun Glo Knitting Mills, 312 Van Sinden Ave., Brooklyn; Sternberg Knitting Mills, 134 West 26th St., New York City.

Due to the militant struggle conducted by the Joint Council in the last few weeks the Union has been able to settle and obtain Union conditions in the following shops: Schwartz Garment Company, Morab Garment Company; Empire Manufacturing Co., Dover Knitting Mills, Fregold Knitting Mills.

The Joint Council calls on all its members to report to the picket lines in front of the shops that are on strike.

SOVIET GEES BREATHING SPELL THRU PACTS

This is the fourth in a series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "Soviet Foreign Policy and the World Revolution." In this article Lovestone continues to analyze the critics of Soviet foreign policy.

Answering Some Critics of Soviet Foreign Policy

By JAY LOVESTONE

What the opponents of Soviet foreign policy forget is that in all essential respects the present tactics pursued by the Soviet government in its relations with capitalist countries are identical with those pursued in the days of Lenin. Here are but a few incidents of Soviet diplomacy to illustrate this.

Early in 1919 Lenin accepted the invitation tendered by President Wilson and others to the Soviets to hold a conference at Prinkipo at which "the various Russian factions would iron out their differences and come to an agreement with the Allies." Because the Bolsheviks accepted, the White Russian groups refused to participate in the conference.

LENIN STRIVES FOR PEACE

So anxious for peace was Lenin that on May 7, 1920, the Soviet government even went so far as to conclude a treaty of peace with Georgia. This treaty provided in part:

"There shall henceforth not be tolerated any military operations . . . on the territory of Georgia . . . or capable of transforming the territory of Georgia into a base of operations directed against the RSFSR or against its allies, or against the public order therein established. . . .

"Russia undertakes not to permit on its territory the sojourn and activity of all groups and organizations pretending to the role of the government of Georgia or of any of its parts, as well as of all groups and organizations which have as their object the overthrow of the government of Georgia."

The same line of strategy was pursued in 1920 in the treaties with Latvia and Poland providing in part as follows: Article IV, Sec. 2—(Treaty with Latvia, August 11, 1920).

The two contracting parties undertake "not to permit the formation or residence in their territory of organizations or groups of any kind claiming to represent the government of all or part of the territory of the other contracting party, or of representatives or officials of organizations or groups having as their object the overthrow of the government of the other contracting party."

"Each . . . is entering not to form or lend support to organizations having as their object the promotion of armed action against the other contracting party, the abolition of its political or social regime. . . .

Here we have the Soviet government, in the name of suppressing the various bourgeois governments.

The Soviet government has rigidly adhered to its "repeated declarations regarding the non-responsibility of the government for acts of the Communist International." The vilest enemies of the

BOLSHEVIK POLICY IN RETROSPECT

The kernel of this policy is to be found in the instructions prepared by Lenin and Trotsky for the Soviet delegation to the Genoa Conference in 1922. Rakovsky, until recently an 18-karat Trotskyite, was chairman of this delegation. In its behalf, Chicherin declared at Genoa:

"The Russian delegation recognizes that, in the present historical period, which permits a parallel co-existence of the old social order and the new one being born, economic collaboration between the powers representing the two systems of property is urgently necessary for general economic reconstruction. . . .

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U.S.S.R. have always deliberately sought to blur or deny this distinction of organisms and separation of responsibilities. It is precisely on the basis of this distinction that the Soviet delegation, on Trotsky's sunshine days, the Soviet government, pursuing its peace policy, signed a treaty with England providing:

"Not to support with funds or in any other form, persons, or bodies, or agencies, or institutions whose aim is to spread discontent, or to foment rebellion in any part of the British Empire, and to impress upon its officers and officials the full and continuous observance of these conditions."

Indeed, a more sweeping pledge could not have been exacted, and the Soviets literally gave up nothing and gained tremendously thru the re-establishment of trade and diplomatic relations with Great Britain. The Comintern continued its activities with industry and intelligence.

WHAT THE SOVIETS GAINED

Even some keen bourgeois students of international affairs could see what the Soviets were driving at in these agreements—in these fore-runners of the day U.S.S.R. treaties with foreign powers. Said Professor Malhona:

"In both these sets of agreements, as well as in the now historic Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, there were elaborated in varying degrees the provisions which Russia thought essential to her military security against a renewal of aggressions from certain quarters. By differently pledging various nations, previously in open or passive hostility to the Soviet regime to a predetermined line of conduct which would prevent military aggression, Soviet Russia succeeded in breaking the iron circle of her foes and in progressively isolating the powers or groups engaged in definite hostilities with her."

"A broad analysis of all the foregoing agreements reveals the fact that the Soviet government began to elaborate its security policy by building on the stipulations of international neutrality, the broad outlines of a non-aggression system. In addition to converting the conception of neutral obligation from a passive one such as marked nineteenth century neutrality to one of an active and positive character, the Soviet government insisted on giving and receiving specific guarantees of non-aggression and non-interference."

All of the enormous changes in Soviet economy have been in but one direction—the building up of socialized heavy industry and the development of a collectivized rural economy. Thru the smashing of Russia's most dangerous capitalist forces, the kulaks in the agrarian areas, the Soviets have extended the socialist revolution to the country—only one step from the final nail into the coffin of the capitalist forces within its own boundaries. And just as a victory for the working class of any one country is a victory for the workers of all countries, so a defeat of the capitalist elements in any one country at the hands of the proletariat is a defeat for capitalism in all countries, a setback for capitalism as a world economic system.

SOVIET ALLIANCES AND THE COMINTERN

The Soviet government was only about two months old when it first conceived the idea of being in alliance with some capitalist countries for a certain length of time. If ever there was the slightest grain of truth in the nonsensical hold that the C.I. was a means to speak of the R.P.C. as a national force. They have definitely lost strength since last year. It is to be hoped that the R.P.C. draws the requisite conclusions from these facts. That the R.P.C. grow stronger is a prerequisite to the possible and hoped for progressive development of the I.L.P. as a whole.

It must more consciously organize itself, it must grow stronger, it must seek to develop its influence beyond London, into the Midlands, and especially Scotland. It must take the lead in clarifying all important theoretical questions, it must constantly assume the initiative in pushing the I.L.P. along the necessary path in practical work (trade unions, etc.). It must resist by any means possible feeling for withdrawal from the I.L.P. which unfortunately have cropped up even within its own ranks. In view of the step back of the I.L.P. the responsibilities of the R.P.C. for the future become doubly weighty. One cannot overestimate the difficulties of the fight ahead nor the importance of the fight.

AT FIRST GLANCE

No one need waste a fraction of a second worrying over the Supreme Court would say (if called upon) of this enlargement of the president's power. If a single Congressman had any doubts about the Supreme Court approving such an obvious strikebreaking measure, the Administration would never have dared rush this proposal. It is patent that Roosevelt means business for Big Business in the event Labor should seek to defend itself against employing class aggression stimulated by the recent chain of reactionary Supreme Court verdicts.

Could there be a more timely occasion for the working class organizations breaking all bonds and ties with the agencies of their exploiters, with the government and the two-party system?

JOIN the Communist Opposition 51 West 14th Street New York City

American Workers on August 20, 1918: "He is no socialist who does not realize that, in the interest of the victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interest of transferring power to the workers, in the interest of the international proletarian revolution which is commencing, one must not and should not stop short at any sacrifices, even the sacrifice of territory or the sacrifice of severe defeats at the hands of imperialism. . . .

"They (hypocritical slanders of workers' government) act as if they do not understand the difference between a pact of the 'socialists' with the bourgeoisie (native or foreign) against the workers, against the toilers—and an agreement which the workers, who have overcome their bourgeoisie, enter into with the bourgeoisie of a definite color against the bourgeoisie of another national color, in order to protect the proletariat and to take advantage of the antagonism existing among the various groups of the bourgeoisie. . . .

"There are agreements and agreements; there are fagots et fagots, as the French say. . . ."

Today's great prowess of the U.S.S.R. in international affairs is a monument to this dynamic realism of Lenin's approach which has essentially characterized Soviet foreign policy thru the years. To day the Soviet government no longer finds it necessary even to shout of territorial conquests. When Stalin recently threatened to hit on the snout any power threatening Soviet territory, he wasn't bluffing. The Red Army today can well defend the Socialist fatherland.

WHY SOVIET POSITION IS STRONGER

Less and less does the Soviet Union have to beg the favors or fear the hate of the capitalist countries. This steadily improved international position of the Soviet Republic is rooted in its tremendously strengthened economic position and in the resulting enhanced popularity of the Socialist Republic among the proletarian and oppressed masses the world over. The big gains in socialist construction have simultaneously brought a great stimulus to the international labor movement as well as a boon to the masses in the U.S.S.R.

All of the enormous changes in Soviet economy have been in but one direction—the building up of socialized heavy industry and the development of a collectivized rural economy. Thru the smashing of Russia's most dangerous capitalist forces, the kulaks in the agrarian areas, the Soviets have extended the socialist revolution to the country—only one step from the final nail into the coffin of the capitalist forces within its own boundaries. And just as a victory for the working class of any one country is a victory for the workers of all countries, so a defeat of the capitalist elements in any one country at the hands of the proletariat is a defeat for capitalism in all countries, a setback for capitalism as a world economic system.

Only those who are hopeless calumniators or blind to facts can maintain that the Soviet Union has not made gains. The development of a great supply of new basic capital has taken place under great difficulties without any substantial aid from the outside and free from the evils attendant to this process under capitalism. The radical changes in the social composition, in the class makeup of the Soviet population, and in the class relations in the U.S.S.R., within recent years, have been entirely in the direction of the proletarian in the U.S.S.R. completing its victory. The extraordinary progress registered during this period in the life and culture of the Soviet people has flown directly from this socialist offensive in the urban and rural areas. The marked strengthening of the hand of the working class inside the U.S.S.R. has obviously served to fortify the position of the Soviet government outside, in the international arena, in its relations with the capitalist countries.

"In the event of a counter-revolutionary war against the country of Socialism, we shall support the Red Army of the Soviet Union with all our command and we shall struggle for the defeat of any power which leads in the war against the Soviet Union. . . . Therefore, we are now faced with two factors which modify the situation, as compared to 1918: One, the assistance of the Soviet Union, the country of socialism, and, two, the ravages of fascism in Central Europe. . . . Communists judge a war always in relation with the conditions which produce it and which are capable of modifying it even during the course of the war. . . . The dangers which menace the Soviet Union are grave."

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SHADOW OF 1914 FALLS UPON COMINTERN

(Continued from previous issue) On May 21st following a few days of silence Peri touches the question in an er and We." Peri is the author of a regular column on foreign affairs in Humanite.

"Hitler Germany is not an ordinary imperialist power. Hitlerism has introduced a new factor into international relationships. Hitlerism is counter-revolutionary to power. Hitlerism is at the same time the leading, active, anti-Soviet force; the embodiment of mad, barbaric war propaganda and of the struggle to destroy 'Marxism'—to destroy all workers' rights. Other reactionary dictatorships have some of these characteristics. The difference between the Hitler dictatorship and other reactionary dictatorships is that the Hitler dictatorship combines all these characteristics as one and the same time. . . . We accept neither conditional nor unconditional national defense. We are for revolutionary defense. We are determined to fulfill our duty of revolutionary defense in case of war in which revolutionary defense would be opposed to so-called national defense. We are determined to fulfill our duty of revolutionary defense in case of war in which revolutionary defense would be opposed to so-called national defense. We reject and will always reject national defense. We shall always remain loyal to revolutionary defense. Revolutionary defense demands that we defend peace against the Hitler counter-revolution. This is clear. Unfortunately, this is not clear. . . .

The recognition of the possibility that "revolutionary defense" might "coincide" with the "national defense" leaves room for the possibility of endorsing national defense, the war policies of the bourgeois government and the bourgeois army. The fact that in a concrete case national defense might be termed revolutionary defense so as to justify its endorsement does not make things clearer but tends to confuse them still more. Revolutionary defeatism is the Bolshevik policy of fighting for the defeat of one's own government in time of war. To speak of an attempt of French communists to work for the defeat of Hitler as revolutionary defeatism is a confusion of terms. Revolutionary defeatism demands that the German working class work for the defeat of the Hitler regime and that the French working class work for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie.

The Hitler dictatorship is counter-revolutionary to power. And what, if we may ask, is the Italian fascist government, or the Polish. And what was the Ebert-Noske regime?

THOREZ PRESENTS OFFICIAL POSITION Finally, Maurice Thorez, the secretary of the Communist Party, branched the subject at a meeting on May 17th. His position can be considered to be the official C.P. position at present. We cite below the decisive sections of his speech as printed in Humanite of May 24th:

"Comrades, some have said: 'This is no change at all. It is still the same old simple to say with a mere phrase: There has been no change.' On the contrary, it is necessary to examine precisely how the situation has changed. We must not hold to the argument: It is only a question of present instance, we are concerned with an entirely different thing than a simple diplomatic communique. . . .

"In the event of a counter-revolutionary war against the country of Socialism, we shall support the Red Army of the Soviet Union with all our command and we shall struggle for the defeat of any power which leads in the war against the Soviet Union. . . . Therefore, we are now faced with two factors which modify the situation, as compared to 1918: One, the assistance of the Soviet Union, the country of socialism, and, two, the ravages of fascism in Central Europe. . . . Communists judge a war always in relation with the conditions which produce it and which are capable of modifying it even during the course of the war. . . . The dangers which menace the Soviet Union are grave."

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International Communist Opposition Presents Its Stand

It is menaced on the West by Hitler fascism, which seeks to draw with it Polish fascism, and on the East by Japanese imperialism. If under these conditions war breaks out against the Soviet Union, and if on the side of the Soviet Union there was to be found an imperialist state, this war would not be a war of two imperialist camps, since it would be monstrous to consider a side imperialist which included the country of socialism, the country of the working class. . . .

"And here I must answer a question which has been put to me: 'In any war unleashed by Hitler against the Soviet Union, would you apply your slogan: Transform the imperialist war into Civil War?' Well, no! Because in such a war it would not be a question of an imperialist conflict between two imperialist gangs, it would be a question of a war against the Soviet Union."

Thorez then cites the well-known letter of Lenin to the American workers in which he declares that under certain conditions peace would even accept military aid from French monarchists in order to defend the Soviet Union. But Thorez fails to see that this explanation is relevant only to the alliance between the Soviet Union and imperialist France but does not apply to the relations of the French Communists to their government in such a case.

Thorez then continues: "One instrument remained—the Mutual Assistance Pact, allying the peoples desiring peace against those attempting to foment aggression. This is why we are for the Mutual Assistance Pact. We have demanded its enactment and we add that the people in France do not on that account have any greater confidence in Monsieur Flandin's government or in any government of the bourgeoisie. We have confidence in the masses of the people who are the guarantee of the defense of peace and who will not allow the army to remain an instrument of reaction and of fascism, thus jeopardizing peace."

It is obvious that the explanations of Thorez contradict those of Vaillant-Couturier. Thorez's statement represents a 180 degree turn.

THE FALLACY OF THOREZ POSITION

The following points are important in Thorez's explanation: He declines to look upon Stalin's statement as a complex character. It is a reactionary war as far as bourgeois France is concerned no matter what form the bourgeois government takes. It is an imperialist war because France pursues imperialist war aims; i.e., the defense of its position as a leading imperialist power in Europe, the defense of its imperialist possessions in Africa and Asia. In case of victory France would aim for the partition of Germany and the annexation of certain German sections. It would, furthermore, support the extension of the proletarian revolution beyond the Rhine river. The danger is not so much an alliance of imperialist France with Hitler against the Soviet Union; but rather an alliance with a bourgeois counter-revolutionary government (possibly saving Stalin's skin) with Hitler against the proletarian revolution.

"Revolutionary war" is not the starting point but the aim of the French working class. This aim can be realized only in a civil war in which the imperialist war aims of the bourgeoisie are destroyed, in which bourgeois class rule of France itself is overthrown. The conception that a revolutionary war could be waged by an imperialist government is sheer nonsense.

Thorez expressly excludes the slogan of the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war in this connection.

YOUTH CAMP OPENED

PIONEER YOUTH OF AMERICA, INC., at 69 Bank Street is registering children now for its camp at RIFTON, N. Y. PIONEER YOUTH CAMP has a working class point of view and is devoted to the interests of workers' children. In this inter-racial, non-sectarian cooperative children's community the methods of progressive education are combined with the ideals of the labor movement.

The camp is located in a delightful spot in the Catskills and has every facility for games, sports and creative work. Boys and girls from six to sixteen years of age are accepted as campers for either the full season starting July third, or for part time. A special rate is available to children of trade union members. The Camp is non-commercial and non-profit making and is heartily endorsed by labor leaders and prominent educators."

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crete case. This is the direct opposite of Vaillant-Couturier's statement and will inevitably lead to class peace—official or unofficial—because by rejecting civil war in the case of a war, we reject all class struggle action which prepare civil war, which at a certain point would turn into a civil war.

We categorically reject this viewpoint. The only change in the situation since the world war consists in the fact that the aim of the working class to overthrow the bourgeois government must not stop with the demand for peace without annexation, but must force for the initiation of vigorous revolutionary war campaigns on the side of the Soviet Union, and this must become the dominant force in the mobilization of the workers against the bourgeois governments. We fight for the overthrow of the bourgeois government of France in the name of victory on the side of the Soviet Union, in the name of defeat for the Hitler dictatorship, in the name of vigorous and real revolutionary war campaigns conducted by a working class government and not by a bourgeois government. The slogan of civil war is therefore to be retained.

Thorez's remarks on the present reactionary character of the army are closely linked up with his general position. He makes it appear as if it were the job of the proletariat to prevent the bourgeois army from turning into a reactionary tool. The bourgeois army, however, is already a tool of reaction and it is not the task of the proletariat to prevent its possible development into a reactionary force but to revolutionize it.

"We are for the maintenance of the independence of Czechoslovakia which can be defended only by a strong army purged of fascist elements and in which workers' political rights are granted. We demand the restoration of suffrage for the soldiers, not for the unity of the workers at any price."

Humanite printed this statement in an article of May 26th and fully endorsed it with the following explanation: "They (the Communists) are not conducting a pacifist sham fight which would be directed against the technical measures of the war, but which would actually mean the renunciation of any real fight against Hitler and in the final analysis amount to an encouragement of Hitler. The Communists raise the question of defense as a political act so that the defense will be assured under the control of the workers."

On this basis they demand that the army be purged of fascist elements and that the right to vote be restored to soldiers.

To us revolutionaries a strong army for the defense of our country means an army above all an army, purged of reactionary officers, which grants all civil rights to the soldiers so that it is possible for us to win over this army." It is completely beside the point to

pose the defense by a bourgeois army as a technical question. This is a most important political question, of course. It is a question of which class controls the armed forces.

The leader of the right wing of the French Social Democracy, Frossard, correctly calls attention to the fact that the position taken by the Humanite in its article amounts to the well-known army reform act of Jaures. He points this out to show his agreement with such a position.

CONFUSION DANGEROUS FOR WAR THREATENS

It must be emphasized that the confusion in the C. P. of France and the C.P. of Czechoslovakia created by Stalin's statement is suicidal since a war may break out any day. Such confusion is not allowed only by the creation of the prerequisites needed for the correct solution of such weighty problems by the C.I. and its sections—namely, inner-party democracy and the replacement of the monopoly of the C.P.S.U. in the C.I. by a real collective leadership.

The statement of Stalin (to it has created confusion among the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union has a positive phase inasmuch as it has raised these questions and has unwittingly caused a discussion. It is up to us, the C.P.O., to lend comradely aid towards a rapid and correct solution in the interest of clarity of the communist movement inside and outside the Soviet Union, in the interest of a genuine, revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union and the advance of the world revolution.

In One of the Blind Alleys of Capitalism

By E. BRAND An orthopedist diagnoses and treats painful feet. An orthopsychiatrist diagnoses and treats painful behavior. That was the original idea at any rate. On February 21-23, the American Orthopsychiatric Association assembled for its twelfth annual session in Hotos, New York City to hear the reports of what its member psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, educators, are doing or have done, and particularly in this session, to evaluate some of their results.

Results Do Not Count The Child Guidance movement pioneered by Dr. Healy in connection with the Chicago Juvenile Court in 1909 has been functioning for 25 years. It should have some progress to report. Said Dr. Hartwell, of the Worcester Child Guidance Clinic, "It is too early to evaluate our work. And what difference does it really make? If the statistics show we are not getting anywhere, we know we'll keep right on just the same."

Dr. Hartwell, honest, blunt, voicing what many felt but none seconded, was reacting to the Gluecks' recent book "One Thousand Delinquent Boys" (or rather to Taylor and Elkrid's scholarly sociological discussion of it) in which an exhaustive follow-up study demonstrated that many juvenile delinquents studied by the Judge Baker Foundation and treated by Juvenile Court stopped being juveniles but not delinquents. The phenomenon of continued recidivism, reported by the Gluecks, is an unhappy fact for the Orthopsychiatrists and much of the first session was spent explaining it away in statistical terms. . . . We need new criteria of recidivism, new norms, new differentiations, new techniques, new self-criticism—everything but a new self-criticism—everything but a new self-

That is not all. Some better gems await us. CZECHOSLOVAKIA SHOWS SAME CONFUSION According to a report in Le Temps of May 24th the Communist deputy Sverma of Czechoslovakia made the following statement in an open meeting in Prague:

"We are for the maintenance of the independence of Czechoslovakia which can be defended only by a strong army purged of fascist elements and in which workers' political rights are granted. We demand the restoration of suffrage for the soldiers, not for the unity of the workers at any price."

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The leader of the right wing of the French Social Democracy, Frossard, correctly calls attention to the fact that the position taken by the Humanite in its article amounts to the well-known army reform act of Jaures. He points this out to show his agreement with such a position.

Hitherto the Communist slogan properly calls attention to the fact that the formation of soldiers' councils and not that of demanding democratic "civil rights". We see no reasoning for changing the original slogan.

Confusion in the C. P. of France and the C.P. of Czechoslovakia created by Stalin's statement is suicidal since a war may break out any day. Such confusion is not allowed only by the creation of the prerequisites needed for the correct solution of such weighty problems by the C.I. and its sections—namely, inner-party democracy and the replacement of the monopoly of the C.P.S.U. in the C.I. by a real collective leadership.

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In a Blind Alley Silence. A few sketches of isolated successful projects as in Rochester. Silence. A man rises to speak: "It amazes me that Dr. Healy and Dr. Bonner can keep their cheerful smiles when year after year they meet in New Jersey. There will be a section on the prevention of delinquency. I came here today to find out what constructive ideas I might report to that section and I find nothing. Nothing."

Where Is The Remedy?

A remedy? Dr. Robie suggests sterilizing defectives. "Then the next generation will not be satisfied to live in such areas as the Loop!" Dr. Doll, whose special competence is work with defectives, scatches this notion. "The defective delinquents are the ones who get caught, but feeble-mindedness is no explanation or direct cause of delinquency. Delinquency is a social problem." No one mentions that the existence of such slum areas as border the Loop is also a social phenomenon depending on a far flung industrial system more than on the eugenic output or preferences of its local population.

Dr. Healy inserts, in wise, modest, ringing fashion, a story of a group of delinquents studied under his direction. "When these children were placed in decent homes, there was a cessation of delinquency in 95% of the cases. Then these children returned to their bad homes. The results were appalling. . . . Can Child Guidance render adolescents immune to conditions society allows to exist?" Areal Cleaning A real clean-up, Dr. Healy suggests as a way out. He turns to the Gluecks' figures on recidivism (it is hard to get away from them); "Gluecks' figures are taken five years after treatment ceased. What can you expect when an individual is left in the same environment of infecting factors as he accepts as campers for either the full season starting July third, or for part time. A special rate is available to children of trade union members. The Camp is non-commercial and non-profit making and is heartily endorsed by labor leaders and prominent educators."

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WORKERS • AGE •

Organ of the National Committee
Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)
51 West 14th Street,
New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Published every Saturday by the
Workers Age Publishing Association

Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year, — \$1.25 for six months, — 5c a copy
Foreign Rates: \$2.50 per year — \$1.50 for six months

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.
Address mail to Box 68 Station "O", New York City

VOL. IV., No. 26.

JUNE, 29, 1935.

A Victory for Hitler

THE Anglo-German naval agreement just concluded is perhaps the most significant, victory scored by Hitler in his foreign relations. In all its implications and potentialities it far transcends the Polish alliance. Hence, given the present international situation, this agreement will prove a powerful force making for war.

To some shallow and wishful observers this British move towards a rapprochement may come as a harbinger of peace. This is a most untenable conclusion. Separation of England from France is a cardinal aim of German imperialism on the warpath. Had the Kaiser been able to achieve this, German imperialism would have been victorious in 1914. Had Germany not been relatively sure of being able to keep Great Britain from lining up with France, there is good reason to think that the Hohenzollern armies might not have moved when they did in the last world conflict.

A brief analysis of what this pact may bring will suffice to put in bold relief some of the aggravated dangers. First, the much-heralded "united front" established at Stresa has collapsed like a house of cards. It is certain that Hitler will, at his first available moment, put a match to it. Secondly, it encourages the German Fascist regime to speculate and calculate on divisions among other powers and strengthens its world position. Thirdly, thru this naval agreement, Germany is tremendously strengthened against France. Fourthly, it raises to a high point of acuteness the menace of the Hitler government against the Soviet Union. Fifthly, it marks another stage in the burial of the corpse called the Versailles system. Finally, when the "mistress of the sea" with such a great flourish of virtue and magnanimity accorded German imperialism the "de jure" right to a 35% naval ratio and a 45% submarine strength (in comparison with Great Britain's) it supplied a terrific stimulus to a world naval race. Certainly, U. S. and Japanese imperialism will take note and push their naval programs even further upward.

This arrangement with Germany throws considerable light on British imperialist strategy. There are powerful forces at work driving it towards an anti-Soviet and pro-Hitler orientation. For one thing, England dreads an independently strong France (independent of British support) as much as an independently strong Germany. If Lombard Street imperialism were only sure that German aggression would go eastward and not westward, the London bankers would utter no fears and shed no tears over a bellicose Third Reich. The fact that German aggression means a drive against the U. S. S. R. is, to say the least, of no concern to England. In fact Great Britain would welcome and might even support such a "punitive" expedition against Bolshevism.

The only reason Great Britain looks askance at a German thrust westward, at a direct attack on France, is that such a move would bring the menace of Hitler's military prowess closer home. Indeed, it is for its own skin and not love for France, its "great democratic ally" in the last war, that impells England to ally herself today, even on a limited scale, with the Quai d'Orsay.

THE mainspring of foreign policy in every country, of every government, is to be found in the dominant class interests of the respective land. Shibboleths, demagogic slogans, expensive "ideals" are only instruments utilized to express and defend these class instruments and are never in themselves decisive forces. Vows of loyalty by one government to another in international relations are as false as the dicer's oaths. In this sense, one cannot underscore too heavily the character of the French government's interests in its pact with the U.S.S.R. France, unlike England, fears a German thrust eastward almost as much as westward. A Hitler drive eastward means an attack on the French system of alliances—either frontally or thru disruption. French imperialism realizes that alone, without the aid of its system of alliances, it stands no chance against the German imperialist robbers.

Hence, it is not in the least any solicitude for the defense of the Soviet Union but only their own interests that have driven the French bourgeoisie into a limited pact with the U.S.S.R. Here we have an accurate estimate of how little real and lasting value such mutual aid pacts have for the Soviet Republics. Here we likewise have an idea of the essential worthlessness of such treaties as instruments of peace. At best, such pacts, once in while, serve only to delay imperialist war, as the Soviet Union fully realizes. It would arouse no surprise for us if this Anglo-German naval arrangement would prove the first of a series of such gains by Hitler Germany to break its relative isolation in the international arena. The conflict with Italy over plundering of Abyssinia, the increasingly grave challenge of Japan in the Far East are only some of the many complications which Hitler will exploit towards this end. Besides, sentiment among those who count in Great Britain has, for some time, been going in the direction of Hitler. The foreign policy of the Labor Party, which has a reasonable chance of winning the next elections, suffers in no small measure from such a tinge. The invitation of the Prince of Wales to German war veterans to visit England was another significant feather in the wind. Even the "London Economist" recently broke with its anti-Hitler orientation and hailed the "Fuehrer's" last foreign policy speech with the following extravagant praise:

"Up on our minds—and, we believe, upon the great majority of English minds—the speech makes an overwhelming impression of sincerity . . . Herr Hitler is here speaking with the sane and simple voice of the common man. . . . Are these declarations either less credible or less valuable because their maker consistently repeats them? . . . Herr Hitler has repeatedly been told of his duty to give a lead to Europe. This week he has given the lead."

This whole situation adds further confirmation to the soundness of the Communist conclusion: that only the solidarity of the international proletariat, only the militant action of the workers of all countries can really prevent imperialist war and most effectively insure the defense of the Soviet Union. MORE than that. Only revolutionary proletarian struggle, bringing on the defeat and destruction of all capitalist governments and the establishment of proletarian dictatorships, can guarantee the end of capitalism and the beginning of a peaceful world, a classless, a socialist society. Hourly it becomes more urgent for all workers organizations to strive toward the achievement of this goal.

National Guard in Lumber Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

eting to cease.

Union leaders called upon the sheriff Tuesday morning and after denying that the union was involved in the alleged beating up of the truck driver declared that the union was going to maintain a picket line at the Bridal Veil mill and would put new pickets on the line as fast as the sheriff made arrests.

By nightfall Tuesday 23 pickets had been arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. Wednesday the sheriff's deputies moved into Bridal Veil en masse and drove the workers from the picket line and land they had rented near the mill, rounded them up and herded them down the highway nine miles, raining

blows upon their backs with riot clubs when they did not move fast enough to suit them. One picket testified that a subsequent court hearing that he had been struck no less than one hundred times. He stripped to his waist in the courtroom to exhibit his bruised body as mute testimony. By Wednesday night a total of 237 workers had been arrested.

In referring later to this brutal attack, B. A. Green, attorney for the union, said, "The procession driving the men down the highway the other night was like old Russia, it was Hitlerism."

On Thursday union forces moved into action on two fronts. An injunction suit to restrain the sheriff of Multono-

EUROPE TODAY

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The dissolution of all Kuomintang organizations in the territory; The dissolution of all anti-Japanese secret leagues (Blue Shirts, etc.); The withdrawal of the political and military staff of the Nanking government in Peking; The banning of the anti-Japanese boycott.

Less than 8 days later the Nanking government was forced to grant these demands. Japan had prepared this coup d'etat for some time. In order to enable the Nanking government to "save its face" the ultimatum was withdrawn and the Chinese government "voluntarily" granted the Japanese demands. The Japanese Manchurian army, to all appearances, confronted Tokyo with an accomplished fact. This, however, did not prevent the Tokyo government from approving the action of the Army immediately after it had been taken.

North China has thus passed out of the hands of the Nanking government to become a Japanese colony. The territory is as large as Italy and includes the old capital of North China, Peking (now Peiping), as well as the port of Tientsin. It extends as far as the Yellow River (Hoang-Ho). It is now merely a matter of form whether or not the Japanese will proclaim their puppet Pu-Yi as emperor of North China.

The tension prevailing in Europe has enabled Japan to conquer North China in a few days, meeting no resistance. America and England are worried. The leading French and English press writes that no European power can afford at the moment to force Japan to give up its prey by violence. (And they harbor no illusions that only the application of force can bring any results.) The "Manchester Guardian" predicts that Japan after consolidating its forces in Ho-Pei will proceed to occupy the provinces of Shantung and Shansi which adjoin Ho-Pei in the south and the west.

UNITED FRONT NOT UNITY

Writing in the "Socialist Call" on organic unity between the Socialist and Communist Parties, Herbert Zam goes on to say:

"These sects (Trotskyites and Brandlerites) howled for unity when the two big parties were at each other's throats. But when an approach to unity is actually being made they hasten to put obstacles in the way."

The Trotskyites we will leave to Zam who flirned long enough with them to have learned their stand. But the position of the Brandlerites, this newly discovered, abbreviated Oneal deliberately distorts and he knows that he does.

There was a time when Zam knew the difference between the united front and organic unity. He also knows or knew, before his political senses were dulled by his entry into the Socialist Party, that while we tirelessly worked for the united front we definitely repudiated and fought against any rapprochement with Social-Democracy on the basis of compromising the principles of communism. Against this type of organic unity we continue to fight now as we did in the past.

mah County and the superintendent of state police from interfering with the right of the union to picket at Bridal Veil was filed, and the strategy committee of the Portland Central Labor Council that had been set during the marine strike last year, was revived.

"To prepare plans for a program to protect the right of workers to strike and maintain peaceful picketing, the strategy committee of organized labor which functioned during the waterfront strike last year will resume operations," declared D. E. Nickerson, president of the State Federation of Labor, and chairman of the strategy committee. "The right to strike and picket has been assured by law and is one of the vital and fundamental rights given workers, and it will be defended on all fronts including the courts and picket lines."

Governor Martin answered Nickerson's statement by reiterating his determination to break the strike.

"This threat of the strike leaders means nothing but insurrection and defiance of the constituted authorities," he declared. "There is no strike at the Bridal Veil mill. The employees of the mill are back at work and they are going to be protected. No crowd will be permitted around the mill to disturb the peaceful workers."

Judge James W. Crawford denied the union's plea to enjoin the sheriff of Multonomah county and the superintendent of state police from interfering with their right to picket the Bridal Veil mill on Monday, thus throwing the fight back to the picket lines.

Immediately following the judges ruling, Sheriff Pratt called in union leaders and told them he would permit "peaceful" picketing, which probably means he will allow but one picket. Whether the strategy committee will continue to rely on one man picket and efforts to obtain injunctions through the capitalist courts depends upon how much pressure the rank and file can bring to bear on them. The strategy committee, which was nicknamed the "tragedy committee" by the militant workers during the marine strike last year because of its do-nothing policy, is composed of old line leaders, who, while they will issue statements bristling with left phrases to try and hold in line the more

CHINA AGREES!



In the long run this step of Japan makes a conflict with America and perhaps also with England inevitable. War in the Far East is a certainty of the future.

The shameful act by the Nanking government of letting North China go is a new and serious blow to the prestige of Chiang-Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang. The Chinese Soviets thus appear as the only force capable of carrying thru the national defense of China.

militant workers will never take the next logical step, which is to call a general strike in support of the lumber workers, unless forced to do so by pressure from below. The rank and file must demand that their leaders cease to fritter away time and funds on legal battles and fight to maintain mass picket lines, and attempt to win every workers organization in the state for a general strike.

Woll Attacks Furriers Unity

(Continued from Page 1)

views is to undermine the very foundations of unionism precisely at the time when all efforts should be made to strengthen it against the vicious attacks of the employing class.

"Workers of Communist beliefs have just as much right to belong to the trade unions as workers of any other political viewpoint or none at all. Whatever differences there may be among workers on political or other questions of concern to labor, can be discussed within the trade union movement itself without any detriment to its unity, discipline or fighting power. Persecution of workers for their views can only create disunity and demoralization and keep the ranks of organized labor weak and divided. Does the leadership of the A. F. of L. realize that, in taking such action, it is merely copying the tactics of the worst open shoppers in the steel and textile industries who are attempting to outlaw a large section of their employees merely because they believe in the benefits of organization and unionism?"

"The tendency to eliminate dual unionism should be greeted and encouraged for it will remove one of the worst obstacles to the building up of a strong and united trade union movement in this country. Especially is this true in the fur trade where dual unionism has meant a bitter ten-year internal struggle bringing untold misery to the fur workers. The action taken by the Toronto convention of the International Fur Workers Union in laying the basis for unity in the fur trade was therefore a very welcome step and it is now up to everyone concerned to see to it that the unification of the fur workers, within the A. F. of L. is carried thru sincerely and honestly. Hindrances thrown in the way of such unity can bring benefit only to the employers and the enemies of unionism."

"At the present moment the labor movement is confronted with a concerted drive of the employers to slash wages, increase hours and destroy unionism. Having at last seen the folly of depending for salvation upon any 'magna chartas' such as the NRA, having at last learned that its only reliance can be on its own organized might, labor must now answer this attack with a determined nation-wide campaign to organize the millions of unorganized workers into the A. F. of L., to protect and extend the gains made in the last two years. Unity in the ranks of labor can make this struggle successful while disunity, as fostered by the attitude of Matthew Woll, may seriously cripple labor's efforts and lead to defeat and disaster."

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

Almost Unanimous

We have examined dozens of trade union journals, practically all speaking for A. F. of L. organizations and must confess that with only one exception all of them speak up for the Wagner Labor Relations Bill. Especially now, with the NRA knocked out, the unions seem to have grown even fonder of this latest Wagner product. The one exception we have seen—The Progressive Miner—is not to be taken seriously. It is well known that its editor arrives at an opinion by finding out what John L. Lewis thinks and then taking the opposite point of view.

Wagner Bill Passes

Right here we must make a confession, namely: that we are very glad that the Wagner Bill is passed. Not that we believe that the Wagner Bill will give anything or do anything for labor but rather because the labor movement seems to have set its heart on it. Who was it said that labor learns thru feeling the whip of experience on its own back? We believe therefore that the very passage of the Bill, its being written into the law of the land, will have a sobering effect upon the trade unions for it won't be long before the Wagner-Connelly Law is put to the test. It will then be discovered that where labor is not strong enough to take what it wants thru economic struggles, the Wagner Law will be useless and very likely even worse than that.

Cooling Labor's Ardor

Bob Wagner is no mean politician. In order to line up labor's support he got everybody in the A. F. of L. all worked up about the abolition of company unions and the strength to organized labor which would come from putting teeth into 7a (that's what the Wagner Bill set out to accomplish). But in the face of employer critics Wagner times a press statement to appear just before the House is to vote on the Bill and proves conclusively that the employers have everything to gain from this Bill. Just listen to Wagner do his stuff:

"... THE BILL GIVES ADDED PROTECTION TO WORKERS WHO WISH TO EXERCISE THEIR FREE CHOICE TO REMAIN COMPLETELY UNORGANIZED."

"... THERE IS NOTHING IN THE BILL WHICH FAVORS THE CLOSED SHOP. IT PROVIDES MERELY THAT CLOSED SHOP AGREEMENTS MAY BE MADE, BUT ONLY IN THOSE STATES WHERE THEY ARE NOW LEGAL, BY VOLUNTARY AGREEMENTS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES. IN FACT THE BILL SOMEWHAT NARROWS THE NOW EXISTING LAW SANCTIONING SUCH AGREEMENTS BY STIPULATING THAT THEY SHALL BE VALID ONLY WHEN DESIRED BY THE EMPLOYER AND THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKERS TO BE COVERED BY THEM."

We would urge trade unionists who are for this Bill to read these excerpts and do some heavy thinking.

Connery Has His Say

Mr. Connery stepped forward to assure the employers (incidentally, how solicitous everybody is of the employers!) that the chief aim of the Bill is "To Stop Strikes" and that the employers have not lost any rights and "therefore need have no fear."

This business of stopping strikes is nothing new. As a matter of fact it is the main feature of the Bill. But what does interest us is the following very complicated problem: The employers need have no fear, they are losing nothing; labor should be joyful because its gaining something, say both Wagner and Connery. And where, we'd like to know is "it" coming from?

Guess Who?

We present the following excerpts and we ask you who said it?

"The Wagner-Connery labor disputes act does not in any way infringe upon the rights of corporations and employers of labor."

If the employers of labor accept this measure "they will find that it will serve to promote industrial peace, cooperation and economic efficiency."

From what has gone before you will probably guess that either Roosevelt, Wagner or Connery made these statements and you'll be wrong three times running. The proud author of those sentiments is none other than William Green who shows much greater sensitivity to the opinions of the employers than to the desires of his own membership.

"Magna Charta" Of Labor

We imagine that everybody is pretty weary of watching Green stick "Magna Charta" labels on anything and everything that comes within his reach, but history, dear reader, must be recorded. On this 20th day of June, 1935, William Green decorated the Wagner-Connery Bill with the order of the "Magna Charta."

Heres' hoping the progressives get together and hang a few decorations on Green. We're speaking politically of course.