

NEXT WEEK:

ROSA LUXEMBURG:

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

THE ROOSEVELT BUDGET

NO ONE can accuse President Roosevelt of being pessimistic about the economic situation and economic trends during his Administration. In this light, it is very significant that in his budget message, the estimated revenue for 1940 is but \$149,000,000 greater than that expected for the current year. This estimated income of the federal government is still well under the actual revenue for 1938. Certainly, this small increase does not show that we can expect any economic improvement to speak of in the coming months. Otherwise, the prospects for much larger tax revenue flowing into the federal coffers would be infinitely brighter.

Yet, we find the President proposing an outright reduction of about \$859,000,000 from the W.P.A. total. The Congressional leaders are now proposing to make the W.P.A. cut a flat billion. The President himself has asked Congress to cut down the appropriation providing some work for the jobless, at a ratio six times that of the gain in federal revenue flowing from the improvement in the economic situation (859 as against 149). Actually, the ratio is even more lopsided against the jobless because recent years have shown an increase in unemployment coming with so-called "prosperity" as well with depression days. In fact, we are now developing a type of unemployment rooted in the very nature of so-called "prosperity" periods. At best, men are unemployed much faster in a downward trend than they are reemployed in an upward economic trend.

In toto, the "recovery-and-relief" items are to be cut down, according to the President's proposals, by \$921,500,000. While the niggardly social-security provisions, while our most vital interests at home are to be depressed outright by approximately a billion dollars in the coming year, "national defense" (of employing-class interests) is being boosted directly by over half a billion. And this is only a beginning and not the sole increase! For example, the National Youth Administration's expenditures are to be largely diverted to military purposes. For that matter, the entire N.Y.A. is now being militarized at so fast a clip that even some of the most ardent admirers of the President are getting worried.

In parenthesis, it must be said that the Stalin agency of this country posing as a workers party and as a friend of labor, has heartily endorsed the President's proposals.

OUR NOBLE "DEMOCRACY"

OUR unworthy contemporary, the Daily Worker, screams in its issue of January 8: "Tom Mooney, a Story of the People's Triumph Over Greed and Injustice."

There have certainly been few moments in living memory when most elementary truth has been so largely at discount as it is today. When one examines the speeches and promises of Hitler, the umbrella-diplomacy of Chamberlain, the fraud and studied deceit of Stalin and his shadows, he is bound to conclude that the whole situation is utterly revolting and that we are face to face with calculated dishonesty on a hitherto unheard-of scale.

A few years ago, the writer had the privilege of spending quite some time with Tom Mooney and going over things with him. Some conclusions and impressions gathered from these sessions are ineradicable in my mind. For instance, I shall never forget Tom's conviction that what saved his life was not faith in capitalist "democracy," was not the generosity of liberal government officials, but the revolutionary mass demonstration of the workers in Petrograd against the representative of American "democracy" in Russia in 1917—Ambassador Francis, if our memory does not betray us. Obviously, here was a triumph of working-class action and not of that nebulous, yet very definite, hodge-podge known as "the people."

No one should for a moment lose sight of the fact that it was in the world's purest and strongest bourgeois "democracy," that it was in a "democratic" dungeon, that Mooney spent twenty-two of his best years. There has been no more significant commentary on the true nature of American "democracy" than the imprisonment of Mooney and Billings.

Some of Mooney's false, tho at the moment active "friends," are today lined up with the very forces that sent Mooney to prison and would have sent him to the gallows had the revolutionary workers of Petrograd not intervened. The war-makers of 1916 continue to be the war-makers of today because the working-class revolution which conquered Russia in October 1917 was unable to extend its triumph westward. The Liberty Bond salesmen of 1917, some of whom are in the top ranks of the Communist Party today, will be the Liberty Bond boosters of 1939. There is just this to be added—and it is offered in the friendliest spirit, Tom Mooney cannot count on the forces and the interests responsible for his imprisonment as a fighter against imperialism in 1916 to stand by him in 1939 as another war to make the world safe again for the same sort of "democracy" is being prepared. In 1917-1918, Tom could have had his freedom in a jiffy if he had only come out and endorsed Woodrow Wilson's war. Very courageously Mooney told those who brought him the offer to go plumb to hell. We are confident that Tom will not be ensnared by the preparedness boosters of today, tho some of them now wrap themselves in a much-sullied and badly faded red flag.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

THERE is a mounting stream of evidence that the building-trades organizations of the A. F. of L. are about to intensify unionization efforts in the ranks of workers now subject to rates substantially under the union scale. It does not require any hardy optimism to sense in such sustained efforts consequences of major import. Should such underpaid building-trades workers be brought into these unions to any great extent, it will have a profound effect on the composition of these organizations. In time, this change in composition may serve to make these unions less conservative.

Then, should the hitherto extremely conservative building-trades organizations become somewhat more progressive, because of the influx of new workers hitherto considered as sort of second-class craftsmen, it would go quite a way towards strengthening the progressive forces in A. F. of L. ranks.

Until recently, building-trades unions in greater New York did not make any serious effort to organize workers on small jobs on the assumption that it was difficult to enforce the full union scale in such fields. Recently, however, Plasterers Local 314 announced a drive to unionize workers on one and two-family houses in Queens. The plumbing and electrical unions are beginning to follow suit. It will not be long before this will entail a demand for higher wages for these newly organized workers. The immediate job is to take measures to prevent jurisdictional disputes which have been the curse of the A. F. of L. Should that be done with any degree of success, sailing would be infinitely smoother.

The entire situation bears watching and encouragement.

Evicted Croppers Camp On U. S. Highway

Mass in Protest Against Loss of Land

State troopers dispersed the army of sharecroppers and their families camping along Missouri highways on Friday of last week under orders of Dr. Harry Parker, State Health Commissioner, who ruled that the situation constituted a "menace to public health." No steps have been taken, however, to alleviate the distress of the croppers that led to the demonstration.

Thousands of south-east Missouri share-croppers and their families, under the leadership of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, began their long march last week along U. S. Highway 61, as a demonstration against the mass evictions that

have been taking place recently as part of an effort to convert the croppers into day laborers and rob them of government payments under the federal cotton-acreage reduction program. The demonstration was decided upon at a conference of share-croppers held at Sikestown, Mo., on January 7.

The lines along the highway stretched over a hundred miles in length. Tents were pitched just off the road, kitchens set up and the large numbers of share-croppers and their families accommodated for the period of their exodus. One of the most significant features of the movement was the solidarity and co-operation between Negro and white.

Auto Workers Back Martin, Hit Board

Ford Local Endorses U.A.W. Head's Negotiations

U.A.W. DEVELOPMENTS IN BRIEF

- International Board convenes on January 9 with the intention of removing Homer Martin from the presidency for his negotiations with Ford allegedly to "form a company union." Martin reports on Ford negotiations and blasts the Board for factionalism and for disrupting the progress of Ford negotiations. (Sections of Martin's report are published on page 4.—Editor.) He demands an emergency convention claiming that the membership backs him as against the Board.

- Board is undecided on an emergency convention, fearing ouster by the membership. Signs are that it may favor a convention if it can first eliminate President Martin by impeachment.

- Ford Local No. 600 declares itself squarely behind President Martin. States it participated fully in all negotiations, hails achievements and condemns the Board meddling, which it terms "sabotage."

- Board removes President Martin as editor of United Automobile Worker. The Stalinist stooge, Henry Krause, removed as editor of Flint Auto Worker more than a year ago, is being groomed for the post.

- Board invites C.I.O. "participation" in sessions despite President Martin's demand for abolition of Coordinating Committee. C.I.O. representatives have not yet stepped in openly.

- Board reverses the action of 4,000 Plymouth workers who, in local meeting on January 8 ordered the removal of their Stalinist administration and authorized President Martin to appoint two administrators and to prepare for democratic elections of local officers within ten days. Delegations from Plymouth local defy the International Board and refuse to turn over the property of the local to Stalinists. Plymouth

spokesmen claim 9,000 of the 10,000 workers in the local stand by President Martin against the Board.

- Several thousand workers leave their jobs in Packard, Plymouth, Ford and Dodge, storm union headquarters when they learn that anti-Martin forces have taken possession of the International office of the union. Withdraw only when anti-Martin forces vacate premises. To escape the resentment of auto workers, the great bulk of whom are loyal to President Martin, the Board considers moving sessions to some other city.

(Special to Workers Age)

Detroit, Michigan

January 11, 1939.

HOMER MARTIN, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, told newspapermen at the conclusion of the afternoon session of the International Executive Board that he and his followers would exert all efforts to guarantee "that the right of the membership to speak on all issues will not only be protected but promoted." He confirmed the report that he had been removed as editor of the United Automobile Worker, the union pub-

lication, and vigorously reaffirmed his determination to press for a special convention. Charging that the present Board majority was in deadly fear of an immediate convention, Martin indicated that the Board statement approving a convention for an unspecified date was merely an attempt to dodge the issue and to save face.

BOARD DEFIES WORKERS

Early on Thursday, twenty members of the Ford Local, belonging to the group of 29 Ford workers ordered reinstated on findings of the N.L.R.B., attempted to see the Board and express their complete confidence in Homer Martin's handling of the Ford situation. Indignant, they waited in the corridors of the Griswold Building for hours, ignored by the Board. Finally the Board sent Loren Houser to see the committee. Houser said the Board would not meet with any "pressure committees" but was willing to meet with a delegation of five or six members. This the workers rejected. They told Mr. Houser that, as far as they were concerned, the whole committee would have to

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Teachers Union Aroused Against Clique Rule

College Group Leads Fight for Democratic Control

By D. BENJAMIN

NEW YORK CITY. CRISIS again in the New York Teachers Union! This time, because of the destructive hand of Stalinism. Introducing methods of totalitarianism, treating the union as an auxiliary of one particular political viewpoint, the Stalinist-dominated leadership of the College Teachers Union Local 537 has precipitated a crisis that has national significance for the teachers union movement. In protest against such methods, Professors Childs, Hacker, Raupp and others have resigned while Professor Counts has come out with sharp public criticism on the same score, deciding, however, to remain in the union for the purpose of "correcting evils and abuses there."

CAUSE OF REBELLION

The immediate cause of the rebellion on the part of these internationally known liberal and pro-labor educators was the article in the December 17, 1938 issue of the Nation, "Twilight at Teachers College," written by James Wechsler, Stalinist leader in the student and college field. There a vicious attack was

made on progressive educators at Teachers College, Columbia University. To those acquainted with Stalinist methods, it is difficult to believe that this was written without malice aforethought. A brief quotation gives the gist: "All these events (at Teachers College—D.B.) show two continuing elements—internal autocracy and pandering to external conservative interests. Among the progressive wing of the faculty is a deepening sense of gloom. . . . One hears morbid speculation over the Dean's next victims; one notes increasing reticence among some of those who were formerly boldest, a pronounced decline in progressive activity, perhaps best exhibited in the doldrums which afflict the Social Frontier and important defections from the Teachers Union."

Professors Counts, Newlon, Hartman, Childs, Curti and many others answered this article, its author and the methods of the Stalinists in a letter to the Nation, published in its December 24 issue. They called a

spade a spade, pointing out that a "certain political viewpoint" was determined to "destroy whatever it cannot capture." In an additional letter, Professor Childs made clear that his resignation from the Teachers Union was due to the methods of the Stalinist-controlled leadership. (Professor Childs had actually left the union earlier in 1938. Was the Wechsler article an effort to cover up the real reason for Childs' resignation, at the same time serving the strategy of "destroying those who will not go along"?)

At this point, it is interesting to note that the leadership of the College Teachers Union has found it necessary to dissociate itself officially from Wechsler's article. In a letter to the Nation, it said: "This union has too much confidence in the liberal members of the Teachers College faculty to believe in the 'Twilight of Liberalism' at Teachers College." It was also compelled to recognize that the Professor Childs is characterized at public meetings as a "fascist," "partner of Representative Dies," etc., and in its publications as a "defender of academic autocracy," was the leader in improving the "working conditions among Teachers College cafeteria workers."

The controversy immediately became public property. It comes with ill grace from those who but five years ago attacked the Teachers Union, organized the Classroom Teachers Group against the union, and sabotaged the union from within, to start a campaign against Professor Childs for publicly defending himself against Wechsler's attacks, made first and made publicly. It is to be regretted, however, that Professor Childs did not follow Professor Counts's example, remain within the union and fight to defeat the totalitarian methods of the Stalinists.

TEACHERS DISCUSS ISSUES OF CRISIS

Immediately, the ranks of union members not only in the College Teachers Local 537 but in Local 5 (public-school teachers, mainly) began to buzz because they sensed that there must be certain basic, underlying causes for the crisis. Furthermore, the national reputation of Professors Counts, Childs, Hacker, Raupp and the rest was bound to have a significant effect upon non-union teachers throughout the country. Instead of recognizing their own responsibility for such a development, the leadership of the three New York locals (5, 537, 453), all of the same character, are trying to silence

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NORMAN THOMAS
"AMERICAN SOCIALISM
TO-DAY"

Friday, Jan. 20—8 P. M.

auspices

INDEPENDENT LABOR
INSTITUTE
131 West 33rd Street
New York City

F.D.R. Asks More For Armament

But Relief Is Cut Again

President Calls For Half Billion In New Message To Congress

In a special message to Congress delivered last week, President Roosevelt asked for an immediate appropriation of \$552,000,000 to finance "a minimum program for the necessities of defense." Of this sum, he said, just a little under half would have to be spent before the end of the next fiscal year.

The money would be an "extraordinary" appropriation over and above the \$1,126,000,000 carried in the regular 1940 budget for the army, navy and Marine Corps. Even this latter item, however, is bigger than may appear on the face of it, for to it must be added at least half a billion dollars in military expenditures classed under other heads.

About \$300,000,000 of the "extraordinary" appropriation would be spent on army airplanes, providing it is estimated, at least 3,000 planes and raising the total to more than 8,000.

WAR SCARES

Mr. Roosevelt denied any attempt on the part of the Administration to whip up a war hysteria in the country. His assurances, however, were in sharp contradiction to the general tenor of the propaganda that has been coming from the White House and the State Department lately. Only two days before the President sent his special "defense" message to Congress, Ambassadors Kennedy and Bullitt testified before a Senate committee in a manner obviously calculated to arouse widespread panic throughout the country. The creation of recurrent war scares seems in fact, to be an essential element of the preparedness campaign of the Administration.

SLASH IN RELIEF

While President Roosevelt was urging an increase of the already record-breaking armaments budget, the House of Representatives was at work cutting the already depleted relief budget. Dominated by a conservative-Democratic and Republican majority, the House adopted by a vote of 226 to 137 the recommendation of the Appropriations Committee to take \$150,000,000 from the President's suggested \$875,000,000 deficiency appropriation for W.P.A., bringing it down to \$725,000,000. This slash, should it be approved by the Senate, would throw over a million jobless off W.P.A. rolls, thus depriving more than four million people of their means of existence. In making this slash, the first in the history of the New Deal on a relief appropriation, the House took care to avoid a roll-call vote so as to shield the reactionaries from the wrath of the people at the polls.

The trend of developments in the new Congress is now clear: huge appropriations for armaments, slashes in relief and other social-welfare expenditures. It is time for labor to unite its forces and act to stave off the reaction that is ahead.

(Read the article by Chas. S. Zimmerman on page 2.—Editor.)

Labor Fights Lynching

CIO And AFL Join To Back Federal Bill

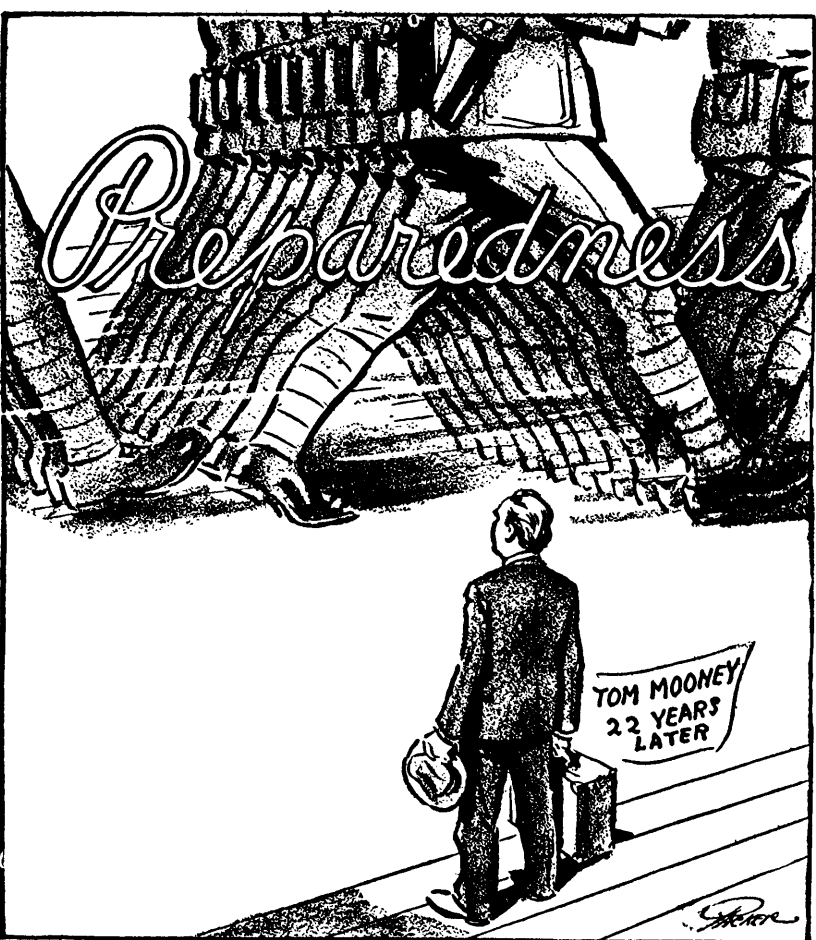
Both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. will support the fight for passage of a federal anti-lynching bill during the present session of Congress, it was revealed in Washington recently.

Passage of the bill is called for under the civil liberties section of the C.I.O.'s 1939 legislative program, according to an announcement made in Washington, D.C., on December 21, by John L. Lewis, president of the organization.

Replying to a telegram from Walter White, head of the N.A.A.C.P., urging that the A. F. of L. include active support of a federal anti-lynching bill and a non-discrimination clause in the federal government's program for the distribution of education funds to southern states in the Federation's 1939 legislative program, William Green said:

"The American Federation of Labor is in accord with the suggestions submitted in your telegram." Green's statement was issued in a telegram sent from the Washington headquarters of the Federation on December 21.

AGAIN PREPAREDNESS



TWENTY-TWO years ago, in 1916, when Tom Mooney was railroaded to prison on framed-up charges, the country was in the throes of a frantic preparedness campaign designed to drive this country into the World War. Next year, the country was in the war. Today, in 1938, when Mooney leaves his prison cell, the country is once more in the grip of a gigantic preparedness campaign, again facing the danger of being involved in a new world war.

Twenty-two years ago, Tom Mooney was a valiant champion of peace against the war-preparedness madness. Now he has been freed just in time to take up the fight again!

Zimmerman Calls for Unity of Labor Against Reaction

By CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN

(The following paragraphs are from a radio address recently delivered over Station WEVD by Charles S. Zimmerman, head of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.—Editor.)

THE 76th Congress is opening and there are signs that the recovery movement is beginning to slow down. On the action of this Congress, therefore, depends whether recovery will be further retarded or whether legislation will be adopted which will carry on the recovery movement and bring a measure of better times to this country.

In his message to Congress, the President outlines what in his estimation are the tasks confronting the nation in the sphere of internal and international affairs. It is very significant that virtually the only proposal for new legislation the President makes is increased armaments. Indeed, the President's own statement, "We have now passed the period of internal conflict in the launching of our social program," carries with it the distinct implication that the New Deal program has come to a complete halt and that no new legislation is intended or considered necessary.

No more disastrous mistake could be made. The President's failure to propose new legislation, his statement that such legislation is really unnecessary, will undoubtedly be understood by the reactionaries in Congress as an admission of weakness in progressive ranks. These reactionaries will be encouraged to proceed with their plans of revising and modifying important social legislation. If they are given a free hand, they will revise and modify these measures to the point where they become meaningless, and whatever benefits they have given labor will disappear.

This condition is extremely dangerous to the workers of this country. It can be met only in one way: it calls for drastic and courageous action on the part of the labor movement of this country. This situation makes it mandatory upon the responsible labor leaders of this country to bring about immediate united action on the part of all sections of the labor movement. The C.I.O. and A.F. of L. and the railway brotherhoods should call a national conference at once for the purpose of formulating a united legislative program and with united effort and strength, attempt to get Congress to enact this program into law.

It is possible for labor to get together and agree on a legislative program. There are many questions on which all sections of the labor movement agree. The following program is taken from the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. legislative programs and could well serve as a basis for united action:

1. No cuts in W.P.A. expenditures and employment—right of every employable person to a job. W.P.A. is necessary not alone to help the unemployed but to invigorate and strengthen recovery. W.P.A. employment even at its peak of 3,264,000 on November 5, 1938, was never sufficient to take care of all the unemployed. During the past nine weeks, W.P.A. employment has been reduced by hundreds of thousands. Unless there are new appropriations, all W.P.A. projects will be closed down by February 7. Congress will make some appropriations but strong conservative forces want to make it as small as possible. Labor demands appropriations of at least a billion dollars to provide work for 3,000,000 unemployed workers for the next five months.
2. More federal aid for low-cost housing. A national program of slum clearance must be formulated and larger federal appropriations must be made for a comprehensive,



CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN

long-range program of low-cost housing. This action would not only mean social betterment and higher standards of living but it would also strengthen economic recovery.

3. Federal action for railroad reorganization. There must be support of the legislative program of the railway unions for federal aid to solve the railroad problem.

4. National Labor Relations Act. There must be opposition to all amendments that would impair or destroy rights of the workers now guaranteed by law.

5. Extension of the federal wage-and-hour act. The act must cover increasingly larger numbers of wage-earners and salaried employees, with fuller protection of special groups of workers, including apprentices and learners.

6. Strengthening social security measures. As a minimum, there must be enacted the amendments proposed by the Advisory Council on National Security (a government body composed of 25 representatives of the public, employers and employees). In addition, other amendments are necessary to enlarge the number of beneficiaries of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance, to increase the benefits paid and to include agricultural and domestic workers.

7. Full rights for the Negro people. Enactment of legislation to impose civil and criminal penalties for discrimination in employment, leasing homes and public accommodations, jury service, relief, etc.

8. Federal health program. There must be legislative enactment of the proposals of the President's Committee on National Health. This would be a beneficial social measure and would provide employment for tens of thousands of professional people now unemployed and make it possible for them to use their training for the benefit of the people.

9. Federal farm-aid program. More comprehensive and planned legislation is necessary to aid the farmers, to increase their income and to make their products available for consumption by the mass of the American people.

10. Civil liberties. There must be increased and uncompromising protection of civil liberties and the rights of labor.

Let labor set the example now, as it has so frequently done in the past. Let all branches of the labor movement—C.I.O., A.F. of L. and the railway brotherhoods, representing in all nine million workers—convene in Washington and there formulate and announce to Congress and the people their own program of necessary legislation and fight unitedly any reactionary opposition to this program.

This is the time for labor to take the lead. If it leads intelligently and courageously, the people will follow.

Progressive Achievements In Knitgoods Union

Conditions Greatly Improved Thru Strong Organization

By PAUL TAUBER

THE New York Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, I. L. G. W. U., born during the N.R.A. period, has in the past five years of its existence, waged many valiant battles for a more abundant and better life for thousands of knitgoods workers. The progressives in this union won the support of the masses of the union members as a result of their active participation in all the struggles to improve the conditions of the workers, their constructive role in the building of the organization and their championship of progressive principles by which to guide the union in every phase of its life. In the very first election for officers of our union, held in September 1934, the knitgoods workers entrusted the leadership of their union to the progressive forces headed by Louis Nelson.

MANY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS

With faith in the determination and loyalty of the knitgoods workers, the progressive administration, immediately upon assuming office, began to face the

many and difficult problems confronting it. What were these problems? The knitgoods workers, newly organized and without union tradition, had to be inspired with confidence in themselves and in their union. The employers in the trade, having for decades enjoyed the open shop and being unaccustomed to union control, even tho they had signed union agreements, considered every union demand an invasion of their "sacred rights" to exploit the workers. Organizationally, the union was at that time in a very difficult situation. Four unions existed in the field—the United Textile Workers Union, the dual Industrial Union, and our own Local 155, I.L.G.W.U. The out-of-town knitgoods centers were completely unorganized and the New York market was only partly unionized. The union treasury was empty and tens of thousands of dollars in debts, incurred during the 1934 general strike by the former leadership, were due to the International.

The progressive administration, thru an energetic struggle to enforce the minimum wage scales and by a thoro check-up on the hours of work thru volunteer committees

which visited the mills on Saturdays, holidays and evenings, developed a militant spirit and a feeling of union loyalty and confidence among the knitgoods workers. Thru scores of stoppages and strikes, the employers were finally convinced that union agreements must be lived up to and workers rights could not be trampled upon. To involve the members closely in the life and activities of the union, the progressive administration immediately instituted regular monthly membership, shop-chairmen, and shop meetings. At all these meetings, the issues and problems confronting the workers are brought to the union members for discussion and decision.

UNITY ACHIEVED

The progressive administration successfully merged the four unions into one and thereby eliminated division in the ranks of the organized knitgoods workers. The progressive administration also immediately initiated an organization drive in which many mills were unionized, company unions smashed, injunctions broken down, and the union membership doubled. Thru a careful, responsible handling of union funds, the progressive administration paid back tens of thousands of dollars in union debts. To provide for the mental and physical development of the union members, the progressive administration established an educational department with classes in trade unionism and labor subjects, as well as numerous cultural and recreational activities. A Labor Buro, thru which the employers had to call the union to hire help, was established and, in this way, competition between workers for the job was abolished and many unemployed union members placed on jobs. To help workers in sickness and distress, the progressive administration established a Sick and Relief Fund, has since paid out tens of thousands of dollars in sick benefits and relief and has enabled many sick members, by sending them to sanitariums, to regain their health and again return to their jobs and families.

In the general labor movement, our union became a recognized progressive force, participating in the struggle for social and labor legislation, supporting the American Labor Party, aiding materially the anti-fascist fight in Europe and strengthening the labor movement in this country by every means in its power.

In 1935, the progressive administration, on the record of its achievements, was reelected to lead the union. In the next two years, the most unfavorable economic and industrial conditions arose. The deepening of the economic crisis, changes of style, development of new labor-displacing machinery and a lessened demand for our product increased unemployment for thousands of knitgoods workers. The employers, with the active assistance of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and the National Outwear Association, attempted to utilize this situation to smash our union. In the months preceding the 1936 general strike, induced by promises of cheap non-union labor, free rent, moving expenses and no labor troubles, 35 mills employing 2,000 workers moved away from New York City into small towns. Several mills locked out their workers for over a year, while others attempted to force company unions on their workers. Arrests by the hundred, attacks by thugs on union members, frame-ups, raids by police on the union offices and the confiscation of the union books by the district attorney, were frequent occurrences.

HIGH MORALE MAINTAINED

Despite such unfavorable conditions, the progressive administration succeeded in maintaining a high morale among the knitgoods workers. The few available jobs coming into the union were distributed in an impartial and just manner. Our union took vigorous action in following up the runaway shops and striking them. Some of these shops were organized out-of-town, others were forced to move back to the city and reemploy their former workers under union conditions. Some of these strikes lasted as long as 13 months, but the knitgoods workers continued the struggle on the picket lines until the union was victorious. To meet the problem of the out-of-town knitgoods mills, our union, with three other New York locals, financed 50% by the national office of the I.L.G. W.U., established the Miscellaneous Locals Out-of-Town Organization Department and thereby succeeded in organizing many out-of-town mills.

In August 1936, in preparation for the expiration of the collective agreement, the union set up a strike machinery and mobilized the entire membership for a decisive battle against the employers. In the face of the unfavorable economic conditions, the militant determination of the knitgoods workers smashed the anti-union employers association and forced the mill owners to sign new union agreements maintaining and

AS MOONEY WAS PARDONED



Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles

AN examination of the results in the recent Wagner Act elections of taxi drivers in New York City leads one to conclude that the Transport Workers Union is hardly in the impregnable position that one has been led to believe it was. The facts are quite disturbing, all the more so because the resulting majority against the Transport Workers Union was recorded by a number of organizations, unaffiliated with the A. F. of L., some of whose very standing as trade unions is very much in doubt.

What are the facts? Out of about 8,000 ballots cast, the T.W.U. polled 3,465 and the opposing groups totaled 4,343—a lead over the T.W.U. of almost 1,000 votes. Sure enough, the T.W.U. carried Parmelee, Terminal, Atlantic, Elmhurst, Hub, Leval, Lyric and Pacific, but of these only Parmelee and Terminal are important and these showed surprisingly strong oppositions. The combined vote in Parmelee and Terminal stood 2,906 for the T.W.U. and 1,685 against, but only one year ago the T.W.U. secured 2,027 votes as against only 293 for the opposition. What happened in the one year of T.W.U. activity to arouse the workers against it to such an extent that they turned out en masse to vote against it?

The Bell company which last year gave the T.W.U. a majority of 332 to 12, this time defeated the T.W.U. by a vote of 350 to 300. The precarious position of the T.W.U. is best indicated by the fact that its margin of victory in the companies it carried is slightly over 700 while the majority of its opponents in the other firms tops the 1,600 mark. Negotiations for a contract are now going on but it is hardly likely that the T.W.U. will secure conditions for its members much better than those in any of the concerns where it lost out. Since the T.W.U. is there in a minority, conditions in these latter companies will tend to set the pace.

The entire situation should be provocative of profound thought. Perhaps its position would be materially improved were the T.W.U. leadership less well known as Stalinist stooges and better known for its tolerance and democratic procedure within its own organization.

A NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENT

THE New York dress industry has just renewed its agreement with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. This is the first time in the history of the trade that an agreement was renewed before its legal expiration date—a sufficient sign of the respect which the employers associations have for this powerful and militant garment union.

The agreement remains the same in all respects—including also the 35 hour week. A number of technical changes were introduced for purposes of more efficient enforcement of the contract. Most interesting of the new provisions is the one providing for the establishment of a labor buro thru which the employers will

improving conditions. After our own general strike, our union took over the Textile Trimming Workers Union, which had been smashed by the employers, and succeeded in organizing these workers as an integral part of our union.

(Concluded in the next issue)

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STALINIST "SOCIALISM"

THE Soviet Union has been in the news quite a lot lately because of a series of unique labor provisions recently enacted. Some time ago Stalin ordered that every worker must be equipped with a "labor book," a sort of passport to be used within the country. On this passport are to be recorded the worker's entire history, his occupation, efficiency rating, responsibility, etc. This system was made necessary because of the many thousands of Russian workers who were constantly quitting their jobs in search for better pay. The passport system will make the free movement of a worker impossible if the plant foreman decides that he is needed in the shop and withholds his passport.

Having thus anchored the worker to his job by a sort of industrial-serfdom system, Stalin was then able to go further. A dispatch a few days ago informed the world that wages are about to be cut and speed-up increased because of the low productivity of Russian industry. A still more recent cable brings further enlightenment. Foremen and inspectors who, lacking training in the ways of Simon Legree, show the slightest let-down in driving the workers, will be severely punished by means of jail sentences.

All these measures, it is explained, were due to falling production, poor quality of goods produced, lack of interest and "shiftlessness" of the Russian workers. And, in typical Stalinist fashion, the solution is found, not in improving wages and working conditions but in converting the Russian worker to literal slavery.

Of course, the net effect of these bureaucratic-administrative measures will be to make things even worse.

WATCH EDISON

CONSOLIDATED Edison continues to make hay—tho they may pay for it later in terms of a complaint to the National Labor Relations Board. As we reported recently, official bulletin-board announcements called upon the men to sign cards asking the firm to check off dues to be turned over to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. But very few signed up and a new scheme was resorted to. The supervisors signed up with the I.B.E.W. and, armed with a stack of I.B.E.W. check-off cards, canvassed the workers in their departments and intimated that the big boys wouldn't like it a bit if the card wasn't signed.

The cards were signed. Only the most hardy of C.I.O. supporters held out.

COMIC RELIEF

DEVELOPMENTS in the Textile Workers Organizing Committee have taken a turn towards heavy-handed humor of the comic-opera variety. These can be grouped roughly into three acts.

Act 1. Francis Gorman and other former leaders of the United Textile Workers agree to utilize genuine dissatisfaction within T.W.O.C. ranks over contracts, conditions, and

(Continued on Page 4)

Winter School Term Opens

THE Independent Labor Institute begins the Winter term with a feeling of confidence and satisfaction. During the Fall term, it did significant work, despite all limitations, in the education of labor forces toward a more class-conscious point of view—a view leading to organized and intelligent action, towards the realization of labor's ultimate objective, a socialist society. During the Winter school term we hope to extend our efforts, to reach even a greater number of

workers, to be even more effective as a labor educational institution.

The instructors and student body will continue to be guided by the general principle that no dogma or belief is so sacred as to be beyond reexamination or further discussion.

We urge you to register for the courses listed below. Don't delay. Send in your registration to the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. (Tel. LACKawanna 4-5282).

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Monday, 7 P.M., beginning Jan. 30—10 sessions\$2.00
2. LABOR'S ROAD FORWARD: PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM M. S. Mautner
Tuesday, 8:15 P.M., beginning Jan. 31—10 sessions\$2.00
3. LARGER ASPECTS OF THE NEW DEAL Jay Lovestone
Wednesday, 8:15 P.M., beginning Feb. 1—5 sessions\$1.00
4. AMERICAN CIVILIZATION TODAY A Symposium course
Lecturers: Norman Thomas, Angelica Balabanoff, Roger Baldwin, James Rorty, Horace Coon, Nathaniel Minkoff, Lewis Corey, Bertram D. Wolfe, Benjamin Stolberg, Will Herberg, and others.
Friday, 8:15 P.M., beginning Jan. 20—12 sessions\$1.50

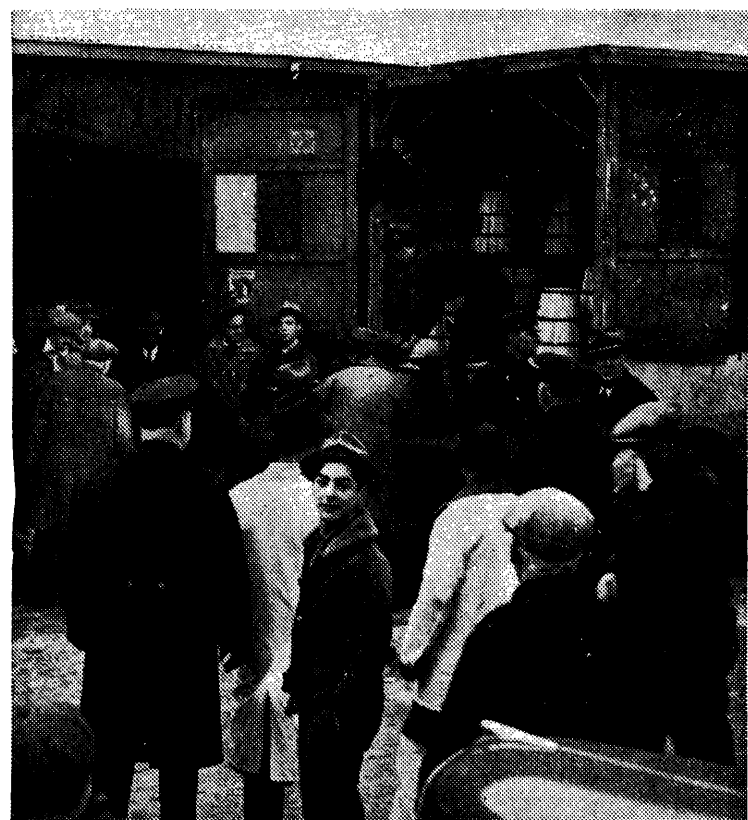
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TEAMSTERS WIN IN BOSTON



Seven-day strike of 5,700 Boston truck drivers ended in victory last week as truckers won \$2 a week increase.

Problem of Autonomy Confronts the C.I.O.

Dangerous Situation Is Created by Top Control

By WILL HERBERT

THE problem of what kind of set-up should prevail within the trade-union movement, has always been a difficult one, for there are apparently contradictory requirements to reconcile. On the one hand, in order to be able to stand up against modern big business, the labor movement needs a considerable degree of centralization and internal consolidation and control. On the other, democracy in its various aspects is even more essential. For not only is genuine democracy one of the great goals towards which the labor movement is striving and which could never be achieved were it absent in its own ranks. Democratic procedure is also the only way in which a free and voluntary movement of masses can possibly recruit and mobilize its forces as well as acquire maturity and stability thru its own experience.

TRADITIONAL SYSTEM IN AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Out of years of experience, the American labor movement developed a system of relationships to meet both of these requirements: centralized but democratically controlled international unions joined together on a voluntary basis in a national federation in which each affiliate retained its full autonomy. Only too frequently in the past, it is true, was this ideal plan ignored or violated. The international unions were many of them far from democratic and the American Federation of Labor would sometimes, under one pretext or another, go beyond its proper powers. But most of the criticism of the progressive elements in the trade unions was directed against violations of the rule rather than against the rule itself, which was generally held to be quite sound fundamentally.

When the C.I.O. emerged upon the scene, one of its big issues against the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was that the latter was illegally exceeding its powers under the constitution of the A. F. of L. and was invading the autonomy of affiliated international unions by trying to penalize them for banding together to propagate the idea of industrial unionism and promote the organization of the mass-production industries. We still remember the impassioned addresses and articles of the late Charles P. Howard, then secretary of the C.I.O., on this theme, especially at the time of the Tampa convention of the A. F. of L. in 1936. The traditional and well-tried system of internal relationships was thus not challenged by the

C.I.O. but rather taken under its full protection. Yet, from the very beginning, there were forces operating in a contrary direction. The great bulk of the work of the C.I.O. in the earlier days, at any rate, was organizing fresh fields—that is, calling new unions into existence. Naturally, its relation to these newly created organizations tended to resemble more that of an International Board to its locals than that of a federated council to its autonomous affiliates. That was, of course, inevitable but it was all supposed to be merely provisional and temporary. As soon as the new unions would be able to stand on their own feet, they would be freed from the leading-strings of the C.I.O. headquarters and be vested with all the rights and privileges of autonomy.

INTENTIONS AND REALITIES

Such was the avowed intention but the reality soon began to look quite different. The role of the C.I.O. in directly dominating what might be called its own creations, was so great and all-absorbing that the tendency was rather to perpetuate this type of direct control and extend it even to those unions that had voluntarily joined the C.I.O. with their own rights and privileges fully guaranteed. This trend was greatly aggravated by the thoroughly undemocratic regime that soon came to prevail within the top circles of the C.I.O.

There were ominous signs on the horizon from the very beginning. In May 1936, about a half-year after the formation of the C.I.O., the latter entered into an agreement with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers for the purpose of setting up a Steel Workers Organizing Committee to unionize the great steel industry. This step was a very welcome one and was hailed by progressives everywhere. Yet even here there was an aspect that gave thoughtful observers much cause for concern—the slight regard shown in the agreement for the autonomous rights of America. It was not a question of any tenderness for the moribund A.A. but rather a question of general policy and precedent. In effect, the S.W.O.C. agreement established a C.I.O. receivership over the A.A. and over any future organization in the steel industry, a receivership, by the way, that still exists.

This tendency we felt to be so dangerous that we called attention to it and criticized it upon its first manifestation. In the Workers Age

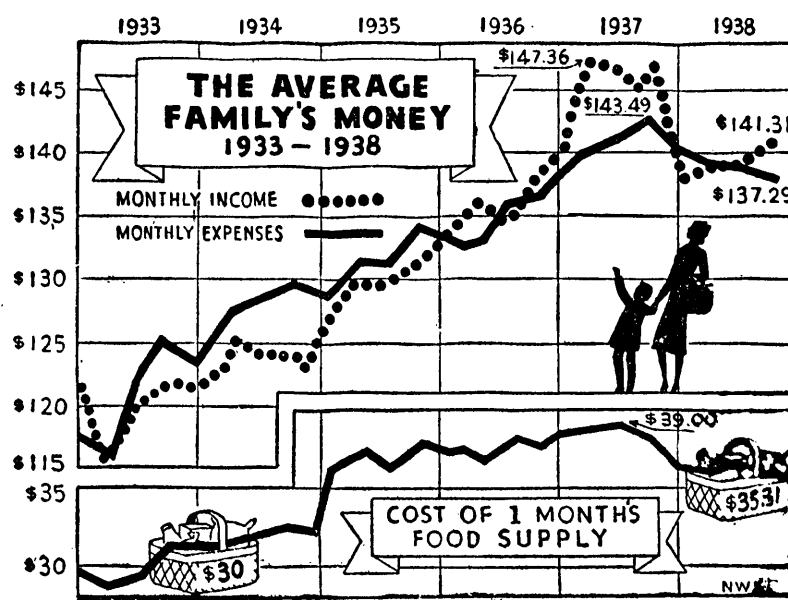
of June 20, 1936, George F. Miles wrote:

"But the rose is not without its thorns. We refer to the nature of the agreement reached between the Amalgamated Association and the C.I.O. . . . [This agreement] could have been drafted in a totally different vein. . . . The agreement tends to play into the hands of the most rabid foes of industrial unionism who have raised against the C.I.O. the cry of bureaucracy and disregard for the autonomous rights of international unions. Both issues can very well become battle-cries of the industrial unionists against the craftists, provided the C.I.O. guards its own methods of work and relations to international unions affiliated to it. . . . The C.I.O. must do nothing to create the belief among steel workers and other workers that autonomous rights of the union are being infringed upon and that a bureaucratic receivership over them has been established. . . . It is with this in mind that we believe that certain errors have crept into the drafting of the document. The C.I.O. can, however, do much to dispel such fears by the manner in which it will conduct itself in these trying days."

These words have turned out to be truly prophetic. The actions of the C.I.O. leadership in the two and a half years since have tended not to dispel the fears expressed in June

(Continued on Page 4)

LIVING COSTS AND WAGES



THE above chart, prepared by the Northwestern National Life Insurance Co., shows how living costs have run neck-and-neck with wage increases since 1933. The dotted line on the top chart measures the rise in the income of a United States family, averaging \$120 a month in 1933. The heavy line shows the increase in the cost of maintaining the same standard of living which the family could enjoy on \$120 a month at average 1933 prices.

Wage increases did not catch up with the mounting cost of living till early in 1936. Then came the new depression with curtailed working hours, which sent family income into a steep decline in the Fall and Winter of 1937-1938. When, a few months later, some recovery set in, the average family income once more climbed above living costs.

The graph illustrates vividly how wage increases and price rises can pretty well offset each other in their rise-saw race. After six years of the New Deal, average family income is in no better shape in relation to cost of living than it was in 1933. In other words, we're just about where we started. Of course, had the labor movement not fought and fought hard for wage increases, we would have been completely overwhelmed by the rise in prices. In short, in this topsy-turvy world of the profit system, you have to keep running full speed ahead in order to keep in the same place!

Behind the Recent Nazi Pogroms

Letter from Germany Describes Crisis

By FRITZ

THE anti-Semitic pogroms in Germany were a deliberate and well-prepared action of the government. The preparations reach as far back as last Summer. At that time, a decree was issued that all concerns and business houses in Jewish hands should be marked with a special sign. Jewish business houses were also ordered to make full property reports, which becomes especially significant in view of the recent "fine" levied on the Jews. On October 15, all Jews were deprived of their passports. The persecutions in July and August and the mass expulsions of the Polish Jews were a rehearsal, so to speak.

NOT "SPONTANEOUS ACTIONS"

There can hardly be a question that all the talk about "spontaneous actions" of the population is a fraud. After the death of von Rath, nothing happened in Germany for many hours—and then suddenly hell broke loose thruout the country at two o'clock in the morning. Nor could the residences of the Jews in the big cities have been known to ordinary "mobs." Yet the "mobs" did proceed straight to these residences, for there were lists prepared. Evidence of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

The anti-Semitic outrages did not find the slightest echo among the general population. Quite the contrary. The vast majority of the German people—above all the working masses—had nothing whatever to do with these bestialities, and showed their resentment almost openly. In spite of the danger, there were innumerable attempts to aid the victims of the terror. Even the Nazi leadership was not deceived as to this aspect of the situation.

The reasons why the attack on von Rath at the Paris embassy was

utilized by the authorities to unleash the pogroms are connected with the internal difficulties in which the regime finds itself despite its successes on the field of foreign affairs. There are the old difficulties of a financial and economic character brought about primarily by the incredibly burdensome rearmament program. These were multiplied by new difficulties created by the annexation of Austria and the Sudeten regions as well as by the great damage and disturbance done to economic life by the several mobilizations.

Anti-Semitic pogroms on such a vast scale would never have been possible without the Munich triumph. Its growth of prestige on the field of foreign affairs permitted the Hitler government to take a chance on throwing such a monstrous provocation in the face of world opinion without worrying too much about the consequences.

SITUATION WITHIN GERMANY

But within Germany the situation is entirely different. For a long time, the Nazis have known that it is absolutely hopeless to win the masses of the people, above all, of course, the workers. They know very well what is awaiting them should they risk a war. So they have raised the slogan: "If they don't love us, at least they must fear us." The campaign of persecution against the Jews with all its horrors is the answer of the Nazi regime to the hostility of the masses and to their defeatism in case of war.

Naturally, the financial aspect is by no means to be ignored. It is one of the main purposes of the entire affair. These methods are being continued. The next victims of financial extortion will probably be the recalcitrant clergy, and perhaps even the

To Mr. Chamberlain

GOD placed the Russian peasant Under the Great White Czar; God put the Prussian worker Beneath the Lord of War. But he sent the English gentleman, The perfect English gentleman, God's own good English gentleman, To make us what we are.

Our fathers once were freemen, And as freemen went to toil, To reap the fruitful harvest, And to gather golden spoil. But the greedy, grasping gentlemen, The land-grabbing gentlemen, The honest English gentlemen, They stole away the soil.

They drove us from our villages By force and fraud and stealth, They drove us into factories, They robbed us of our health. But the cotton-spinning gentlemen, The coal-mining, shipyard gentlemen, Stock-broking, banking gentlemen, They gathered wondrous wealth.

We toil to make them prosperous, We fight to make them great; But we know how they have robbed us, We bide our time and wait: While the fat, well-living gentlemen, The easy, well-bred gentlemen, The thoughtless, careless gentlemen, Forget that slaves can hate.

The patient Russian peasant Has overthrown his Czar; The patient Prussian worker Has smashed his Lord of War. And soon—ah! soon, our gentlemen, Our proud, all-powerful gentlemen, Our God-damned English gentlemen, Shall find out what we are.

W. N. EWER

evangelical churches and the Catholic Church in their entirety.

Outside of Germany there is apparently a great deal of horror and protest at the anti-Semitic pogroms. Yet there remains hardly a country today where the Jews are not denied entry or from which Jewish refugees, including women and children, are not turned back at the border or driven back to Germany.

A few "democratic" statesmen have made a move to intervene with the Nazi government that it should allow the refugees to take with them as much as 30% of their property. But the poor devils who have been robbed of everything or who never had anything anyway, nobody seems to worry about them.

The sympathy of the "democratic" statesmen for the persecuted Jews is more than dubious. But there can be no doubt about the concern of all capitalist elements, even those who are pro-fascist, even the "Aryan" capitalists in Germany, at the way the Brown hooligans are trampling all over "law and order" to the utter disregard of the "sacred rights of property." They are beginning with the Jews, it is said, and then the church and God knows where it will end. . . . What sort of "order" is it, anyway, that these "guardians of law and order" pretend to preserve? Robbery, plunder, murder. Large sections of the German bourgeoisie are very much disturbed at the spirit of unrestrained violence prevalent especially among the youth, and the dominant capitalist groups in other countries unquestionably share this feeling.

The first effect of the anti-Jewish persecutions upon the broad masses was undoubtedly to scare them. Certainly, in themselves, they will not lead to any significant movement against the Nazi regime. But when the fascist dictatorship is forced to resort to such methods in order to bolster up its rule and the bourgeois order, it really undermines the foundations of the social order to its very roots. This the future will show.

(Fritz is a German worker actively engaged in underground political work.—Editor.)

Martin Hits Armament Economics

Labor Regimentation Is Danger, He Declares

"It is true that labor wants work, but we object strenuously to a fictitious type of economic recovery brought about thru the manufacture of armaments."

This statement was made by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, in a speech recently before a business men's association in Detroit.

He continued, "There can be no lasting gains thru the production of goods which have no social value and which do not increase the wealth of mankind."

Disheartened to see the world rushing headlong toward "mechanized slaughter," Mr. Martin declared that "labor is more than mildly interested because it is chiefly from the ranks of labor that those who do the killing and those who will be killed will be drawn."

Pointing to the wave of fascist dictatorships created out of the last war, the union president warned that "with the coming war there will be even greater tendencies toward setting up military dictatorships even in the remaining democratic countries." Such tendencies, he cautioned, are likely to mean the final destruction of democratic forms of government in this country as well as in Europe.

"Labor looks forward with anxiety," he said, "to the coming months

DOVE OF PEACE: 1938



because we see that in the move towards armed conflict there is a gradual tendency to centralize and regiment the activity of all groups in society and subordinate all interests and all liberties to the main objective—that of mass murder."

Mr. Martin expressed labor's opposition to using relief workers and W.P.A. workers in war preparations as a substitute for public works projects.

UAW Membership Backs Martin

Ford Local Endorses Negotiations

(Continued from Page 1)

see the board and that they considered the special Board meeting nothing but a "pressure" move against Homer Martin. They left without seeing the Board but they emphatically let it be known that what the Board had done to wreck the progress made by Homer Martin with the Ford Company relative to reinstatements, ending strikes in several cities, etc., would result in bitterest opposition to the Board amongst Ford workers thruout the country.

PLYMOUTH WORKERS SPEAK

Late Thursday afternoon, forty members of the Plymouth local, headed by Chief Steward Pat McCartney, invaded the Board chambers after having been refused admission and told the Board in characteristic language that the Board decisions would meet with the strongest opposition of the Plymouth members. They protested any contemplated action by the Board reinstating Leo LaMotte and his gang as the heads of the local and insisted that the administrators appointed by Martin be retained. They said that, regardless of what the Board might decide, they would not turn over the local to the Communist Party.

McCartney charged that, during LaMotte's reign over the local, \$500 had been voted to the "unity" group, payable to George F. Addes. The audited books reveal that the "loan" has not been repaid. Asked whether he had any intention of repaying, Addes replied: "That's a question." McCartney confronted the Board members, who shook in their breeches with the charge that they were deliberately slandering and maligning Pete McGavin, of the Plymouth local, as a "Ford services-man." The Board was asked to publicly repudiate this charge. This request the Board rejected. McGavin had given up half a day's work to appear before the Board but was not admitted into their presence until his stalwart union brothers arrived and forced themselves into the Board session.

EXPOSE CORRUPTION

Leaving the Board chamber, Pat McCartney, in a interview with the press, declared that Martin had appointed administrators at the request of the majority of the Plymouth local members so that the action was entirely constitutional. Moreover, he

said, "we are circulating a petition of complete confidence in President Homer Martin and will tomorrow present the Board with that petition bearing the signatures of 9,000 out of the 10,000 workers in the plant."

McCartney recited a dramatic and factual story of the corruption under the LaMotte-Communist Party administration. He revealed that checks totaling \$7,025, made out to "cash," had been signed by LaMotte and were unaccounted for. (LaMotte claims the sum was invested in bonds.) Seventy-six shop-stewards had taken between \$3,000 and \$4,000 out of the treasury for personal use. Checks, never approved by the local, made out to some Communist Party affiliates, were also discovered. Sixty dollars a month was being paid to the Communist Party paper, the Midwest Record. McCartney said that an independent audit of the local's books was being made and that more revelations would shortly be forthcoming. He said that, thru such corruption, LaMotte and the Communist Party had hitherto maintained their machine in the local.

He further stated that the local would defy any attempt by the Board to deprive it of control of its own affairs or of its books. Only a court decision could do this, he said.

Coughlinites In Riot

(Continued from Page 1)

or subject of the meeting is of a controversial nature. . . .

The hearing was picketed by an assortment of Coughlinite outfits. Once the meeting began, these elements set up a clamor against opponents of the bill that seems to have been copied from the best of Nazi tactics.

Outstanding among the speakers advocating free use of the schools were Norman Thomas, John Haynes Holmes, and a representative of the state committee of the American Labor Party. Charles McDowell, speaking for the I.L.L.A., brought out in clear, forceful language that "as an organization fighting for socialism, the I.L.L.A. fights for full civil rights for labor and views the free use of the schools as a prerogative particularly needed by workers who cannot always hire large halls in the neighborhood they wish to hold a meeting."

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

THE POPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE, by Charles Vincent. Published by the L.L.P. London, 1938.

TODAY the French People's Front exists no more. The dead body was formally buried by the Radical-Socialists, since, after the Munich pact, they reorganized their cabinet and their program, repudiating the Communist Party and its support. Thus, the Radical-Socialist party, on whose behalf the C.P. and the S.P. had sabotaged social legislation, broken strikes and knifed the Spanish Loyalists, has itself broken the alliance and is now taking the initiative towards the right, organizing and uniting the French capitalist parties for support of Daladier's decree government.

This pamphlet, written by a member of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), is particularly timely. It represents revolutionary opposition to the class collaboration, to the opportunism, to the "collective-security" demagoguery, to the mobilization of the masses behind imperialist war, that are the main characteristics of the People's Front. Vincent writes the history of the French working class since the attempted fascist putsch of 1934 and the February 1934 general strike, down to the opposition of the Revolutionary Left of the S.P. to a "national-union" government, their expulsion by the bureaucracy, and the formation of the P.S.O.P. on the basis of repudiation of the Popular Front and advocacy of revolutionary struggle against war and capitalism. The pamphlet is also very revealing of the role of the Radical-Socialists and the compromises accepted by the working-class parties. It gives a detailed explanation of the backward march of events under the People's Front. It should be carefully studied by American workers today as we face the initial problem of establishing an independent political organization of labor and as we fight the Stalinist propaganda for a "democratic front."

The author points out that it was the reformist trade unions that called the 1934 general strike. The Communist Party was too confused and too "revolutionary" to know whom to fight. He emphasizes that the reactionary National government that came in as a result of the fascist putsch was supported by the Radical-Socialists and that Herriot (the latest C.P. hero) actually entered this government. The People's Front was preceded by spontaneous

local movements for anti-fascist unity, including the middle classes, around working-class organizations. These were not supported by the Radical-Socialists, who were then in the National government and did not enter the Popular Front until 1935, and then only in order to recover their lost prestige. At that time, the C.P. began to vote invariably with the Radicals against the working-class groups in the councils of the People's Front. And, in October 1937, altho the socialists won 155 seats at the local council elections, they took no advantage of their victory because, before the elections, they had signed an agreement with the Radicals that the composition of the Cabinet would not be changed whatever the results!

Charles Vincent does a good job in laying bare the reactionary, anti-labor character of the French People's Front. There is, however, one major point of difference with the author. He contends that the People's Front, as such, was not wrong "in principle" but wrong in practice. It was the reformist leadership of the S.P. and the C.P. he claims, that held back the working class, administering defeats instead of gaining victories, but this was not necessarily inherent in the very

This, and all other books reviewed in these columns, can be purchased at Workers Age Bookshop, Room 707, 131 West 33 St., New York City.

structure of the movement. He maintains that, if there had been a stronger revolutionary tendency within the working class, it could have kept the leadership of the movement in its hands and led the workers to an open attack on capitalism. Vincent considers it necessary for the workers to continue a coalition with the Radicals in order to win the support of the middle class. Experience shows the opposite. Coalition with a capitalist party—the Radicals—means acceptance of capitalism. The problem of winning the support of the petty bourgeoisie for the workers is that of winning the support of the petty bourgeoisie for socialism. The workers must, therefore, aim to win the middle-class masses away from the capitalist parties and not to bolster up the prestige of these parties while undermining their own power and demoralizing their own ranks in the process.

ANNE LAURIER

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Jan. 21.—Bolshevik fraction in Russian Duma draw up plans of work. Introduce bills on the eight-hour day.

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