

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 50.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1935.

Five Cents

HEIL BRUNDAGE!

German Fascism served notice on the American public at the Annual Convention of the Amateur Athletic Union. It served notice through Gustavus T. Kirby, in spite of the fact that he says "I don't trust Hitler any more than the most vehement of anti-Nazis do. I don't approve of his policies; I think they are awful."

But Kirby was by no means the only Nazi puppet at the A.A.U. Convention. He was an unconscious puppet and as such served Adolph's interests well. There were conscious toadies also. Among them were Ernest Schmitz, head of the German Tourist Bureau in New York and said to be one of the leading Nazi agents in this country; Dietrich Wortman of the German-American Athletic Club, who says (Deutsche Beobachter, January 10, 1935) as spokesman for the G.A.A.C.: "We have placed ourselves more than once upon the platform of new Germany. . . . Our sympathies belong to new Germany. . . . Under the sign of sovereignty of Nazi Germany"; and, of course, Avery Brundage who visited Hitler last year and who is now, according to the Chicago press, under a cloud in his own balliwick due to some shady financial transactions.

The history of the struggle over American participation in the scheduled 1936 Nazi Olympics is well known by now. On November 20, 1933 the A.A.U. passed a resolution in which it was admitted that the Berlin Organizing Committee "have violated the code of the Olympic Games and the fundamental ideals of sports competition." It went on to say that the A.A.U. would not certify athletes for participation in the games of 1936 "until and unless the position of the German Olympic Committee, of the Organizing Committee of Berlin and of the German Government is so changed in fact as well as in theory as to permit and encourage German athletes of Jewish faith or heritage to train, prepare for and participate in the Olympic Games of 1936." The A.A.U. Convention of last week met to review, among other things, the record of the German Olympic Committee during the past two years. The situation as far as German sports are concerned has, of course, been in no wise tempered during these two years and yet the A. A. U. went on record by a vote of 58 1/2 to 55 1/2 in favor of participation in the 1936 Olympics. The issues upon

the floor of the Convention were at no time clear. Throughout there was confusion and bitter debate on extraneous and meaningless issues. Parliamentary technicalities, introduced by Major Patrick J. Walsh, one of the floor leaders of the Brundage forces, kept the matter off the floor until late Saturday. By early Sunday afternoon the battle lines had been drawn up.

The pro-participationists supported a resolution offered by Kirby calling for participation but adding that "the A.A.U., the A.O.C., the I. O. C. and the international federations must investigate with vigilance existing and future conditions in Germany and . . . protect all prospective and actual participants in the Olympic Games against any discrimination." The resolution further states that "any certification by the American Athletic Union and the American Olympic Committee be not construed to mean or imply that by so doing endorsement is given to the principles or practices of the Nazi Government."

The anti-participationists backed an amendment to this resolution, offered by Charles Ornstein, which was as short and to the point as a now famous letter from John L. Lewis to William Green. It said simply that the A.A.U. is opposed to the Berlin Olympics. Finally, however, the Ornstein amendment was withdrawn in favor of a compromise amendment offered by Judge Steuer calling for the appointment of a commission to go to Germany and investigate present conditions there and make a report upon its return which would be binding upon the A.A.U. But the pro-participationists would not give an inch. The vote was 58 1/2 to 55 1/2 in favor of the Kirby resolution.

It is interesting to note, however, that the regular associations of the A.A.U. backed the Steuer proposal. The Convention was swung by the allied bodies which had 16 votes. Fifteen of these were pro-participation and pro-Kirby resolution votes. Among them were the Amateur Institute of Banking, the American Sokol Union, the German-American Athletic Union, the Military Athletic League, the Polish Falcons of America, the Polish National Alliance and the Slovak Catholic Sokol. Although the constitution of the A.A.U. demands registration of the delegates at least twenty

CZECH COMMUNISTS VOTE FOR MILITARY BUDGET

THE swing of the CP towards the right continues with a ruthless momentum. The delegation of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia in the Czechoslovakian parliament has voted for the report on foreign policy made by Minister of Foreign Affairs, Benes, and declared its readiness for voting for the foreign policy budget. This includes military appropriations as well.

Such scandalous behavior did not occur even in the worst days of the pre-war German Social Democracy. In a forthcoming issue we will present more material on this.

days before the Convention, some of these latter were not registered until 48 hours in advance of the Convention—when the pro-participationists realized that they were going to need outside support and went after the allied bodies. The Amateur Canoe Association, a paper organization, did not even enter the Convention until Sunday morning, which was the day on which the decisive vote was taken.

So much for the A.A.U. Convention! The situation is now closed so far as legal channels are concerned. Both the A.A.U. and the A.O.C. are committed to participation, but there is enough of a cloud over the entire situation so that Brundage will find himself in great difficulties in proceeding, as new president of the A.A.U. and chairman of the A.O.C., to raise funds to send the teams to Germany. The club owners of the National and American Leagues (baseball, in case you have forgotten) on Dec. 12 refused to appropriate any funds for the United States teams in Berlin Games. The elimination contests which will pick members of the A.O.C. teams and which also shall attempt to raise money for the teams will be boycotted by many American sports followers. A number of devotees of fair play in sports have resigned from the A.A.U. and the A.O.C.—so many, in fact, that Brundage was forced to declare that he was going to weed out of the A.O.C. all who did not agree with him. This procedure, one cannot fail to note, is not dissimilar to the customary organizational procedure of Avery's Comrade Adolph.

The fight shall and must go on. Nazi Germany has too much at stake in the coming Olympiad to lose it, and anti-

THE MOTOR PRODUCTS STRIKE

The following is a statement issued by the Progressive Auto Workers Club of Detroit, Mich., and deals with the strike in Motor Products which has attracted national attention.—Editor.

While the police were slugging striking workers at the Motor Products Corp. the directors of this "benevolent" company were presenting the stockholders with fat stock dividends equal to 100%. The stock closed December 9th at \$66.50. For every share of stock held, each stockholder received an additional share value of \$6.50. (See Detroit News Dec. 9th).

The workers at the Motor Products not only made it possible for the management to play Santa Claus to the unfortunate stockholders but produced, in the recent past, sufficient wealth to make possible the declaring of 50c dividends on current stock payable Dec. 31st. Stockholders are to receive two further 50c dividends declared in advance.

Having acted so magnificently towards the coupon clippers, the Motor Products management out of sheer gratitude rewarded the workers with a 15c to 20c per hour wage cut.

It is not the lack of labor unions in the auto industry that makes such brazen action possible, but rather the fact that we have too many unions—divide and rule has always been the policy of the employers.

Progressive trade-unionists have constantly stressed the necessity for one industrial union in the automobile industry. Such a union, however, to be effective, must have organic unity with the American Federation of Labor. Un-

Fascists everywhere have too much to gain, by keeping the Games out of Berlin and depriving the Nazis of financial and moral support, to stop her continued agitation regardless of the decision of the supposedly responsible sport bodies. Many of those members of the A.A.U. and the A.O.C. who have been most strongly against participation will now fall by the wayside, but the fight will continue to be one which crosses class lines and we should not let this fool us into calling Messrs. Mahoney, Ornstein, Rafferty, Berliner, Lill and others "comrades" without examining more closely their records on issues more basic in our social scene than this.

fortunately, the mistaken policy pursued by the narrow craft union leadership at the last convention of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, conditions were imposed which virtually rendered impossible the building of an industrial union in the auto industry. Today we see the reflection of this program in events transpiring at the Motor Products strike. The reactionary role played by Dillon in stampeding members of the A.F.L. through picket lines maintained by the A.I.W.A. and M.E.S.A. has brought about demoralization among the strikers. To the great mass of workers such treachery violates the most elementary principles of working class unity, and places the reactionary A.F.L. leadership in the category of strike breakers.

On November 22nd Mr. F. J. Dillon declared: "I think this is the most ill-advised and unpopular strike ever called in the City of Detroit." (Detroit Labor News Nov. 22nd). In the eyes of the boss all strikes are ill-advised and unpopular. Don't ape the boss, Mr. Dillon! Motivated by his hatred of independent unions and his faith in class collaboration policies, Francis J. Dillon mistakenly hoped that such action would result in his organization the collective bargaining agency. However, it was only after his "friends"—the management of the Motor Products—had double crossed him and pressure had been brought to bear by prominent A.F.L. members and other labor organizations that Mr. Dillon was forced to do a right about face.

Now in a press release dated Dec. 4th (after discovering he had been hornswoggled) he reluctantly admits that,—"The management of this corporation has earned and deserves the condemnation, not only of their workers but of the public generally. They have violated every solemn and holy precept of fair dealing among men."—After acknowledging the "treachery and betrayal" of the management of the Motor Products Corp., the statement concludes with a pledge of "whole-hearted and unqualified, moral and financial support of the International Union United Automobile Workers of America."

We hope you mean this support for the strikers, Mr. Dillon. Those who may question this should be forgiven, as evidently the jewel that is consistency has gone a-glimmering.

REVIEW OF THE WEEK

TORIES PREPARING DRIVE AGAINST LABOR; UNITED SHOE FACING BOSS OFFENSIVE IN HAVERHILL; USSR TAKES LEAD AGAINST HOARE-LAVAL PEACE MOVES

N.A.M. PLANNING DRIVE FOR THE OPEN SHOP

THE entire administration scheme for a little NRA received a stunning body-blow last week when the National Manufacturers Association carried out its disruptive strategy. The sharp fight between the two groups of the ruling class descended from words to action on the floor of the Conference, when Major Berry, "coordinator" of labor and industry, nearly mixed up with some of the NAM boys. Essentially the struggle concerns the best way to step on the necks of the workers and farmers—and the Tories, represented by the Republican Party and the Association, are utilizing this as the first shot in an open-shop war against unionism and labor.

This undoubtedly is one of the biggest flops yet staged by the New Deal, a producing organization that has hitherto provided some very showy spectacles. All attempts to rein these sections of capitalism must be carried out on a basis of programmatic concessions, not honeyed words.

On their side of the fence, the Association and the G.O.P. are prepared for a battle to the end. They recognize their chief weakness, as witness the Herald-Tribune which calls out to "bring up the infantry," i.e. get the mass base for an anti-Roosevelt movement.

JAPAN'S MILITARY ACTS NEAR SOVIET BORDERS

PEIPING, erstwhile forbidden city of China, will now be forbidden to every rapacious imperialism save that of Japan. Having cooked up an "autonomy movement," grandiose in its outlines, which would have a sheer but dip-

lomatically excellent cover over her grab plans, Japan has begun her campaign of "persuasion" by armed invasion. Starting out from Eastern Hopei, the generals have already annexed the very lucrative toll-station of Tangku, and have outlined a campaign that extends the Manchukuoan Empire dangerously close to the borders of Soviet Russia.

The Peoples' Republic of Outer Mongolia, most immediately threatened by Japan, is already holding conferences with its sister republic, the USSR. With the tie-up in the Mediterranean, Japan has a terrifyingly free hand in Asia, bringing closer than ever, an anti-Soviet war. In this connection, she may be able to do some bargaining at the London Naval Conference, altho the threat to England's and America's Chinese interests will probably be more weighty.

PEACE MOVES AROUSE WIDE DISCONTENT

THE "small nations" have come out almost unanimously against the Hoare-Laval Peace Pact for Ethiopia. Behind this lineup, however, extends a network of diplomatic ramifications, much more decisive than the false comparison between the independent (as yet) Ethiopia, and the European smaller nations, all hitched to larger chariots.

The motivating force in this latest move is clearly the USSR. Russia has been able to use the French satellites, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, against the imperialist proposals of France, thereby proving that alliances do not impair the proletarian nature of the Soviet Union.

England wants a speedy settlement because of the Egyptian crisis. It was not with any pleasure that Britain had to

concede the 1923 Constitution. And Britain has had enough colonial experience to know that this is not the end of the nationalist movement. Secondly, Japan's encroachments in China have not gone unnoticed by the "ruler of the waves," and the quicker Egypt is made "reasonable" and the fleet released from Mediterranean waters, the sooner Japan can be attended to.

The proposed peace for Ethiopia threatens the whole structure of the League of Nations.

SOCIALIST OLD GUARD IN TRADE WITH FUSION

As a reward for services rendered, Charles Solomon of the Socialist Old Guard has been appointed magistrate by LaGuardia. The tie up between these two forces, much deeper than was apparent, was nevertheless well known in political circles. Solomon's appointment, for 10 years and with \$12,000 for each one of them, was a foregone conclusion about 5 months ago. And Charlie once opposed LaGuardia on the S.P. ticket, on the grounds that Fusion couldn't do anything without a party machine—well, they're getting it now. Blanshard, Panken, Solomon. Who's next?

UNITED SHOE IN FIGHT ON OPEN SHOP

ON the eve of the reopening of negotiations for the renewal of the agreement with United Shoe & Leather Workers Union, the manufacturers have begun a drive to destroy unionism altogether. Under the guise of a union restricted to Haverhill the Chamber of Commerce attempted to oust the United. This maneuver having failed the employ-

ers brought in the Boot and Shoe. Lists are being circulated in a number of shops asking for the Boot and Shoe to represent them. The employers are of course threatening workers with loss of their jobs if they do not sign.

The United Shoe has struck back with excellent mobilizations of all local unions and is preparing to resist the employers and to secure a renewal of the agreement. Appeals are being directed to the Boot and Shoe officials and workers asking that they do not permit their union to be used by the employers against the United Shoe.

FLORIDA TERRORISM is receiving widespread condemnation from the organized labor movement throughout the country. Especially the death of Shoemaker, one of the three organizers of the Workers Alliance who were kidnapped and brutally tortured, has aroused the unions to action. Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. added its voice of protest in the form of a resolution and telegrams to Attorney General Cummings and to Governor Sholz. The telegram to the latter, signed by Charles S. Zimmerman, reads:

In name of thirty thousand members of dressmakers union local 22 I.L.G.W.U. we protest against inhuman outrage committed by a mob upon three labor organizers in Tampa Florida resulting in the death of one of them. There is ample indication of connivance of local authorities and state police in the kidnapping and attack. Can you as governor of the state ignore this outrage or will you take immediate action. We urgently call upon you to investigate affair and complicity of local officials and bring those guilty to speedy justice. We also call upon you to guarantee

the people of Florida their legal and constitutional rights of labor organization.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L. has threatened to remove the convention of the A. F. of L. from Florida unless satisfactory action is immediately undertaken by the authorities to investigate this outrage.

TOM MOONEY closed his case last week and upon reconvening of court on January 26 the state will present its side of the case. We urge all our readers to get behind the defense committee by way of raising finances for a successful end to this heroic struggle of almost two decades.

UNION DOCK WORKERS in New York obtained a decision in the Court of Appeals removing an injunction against them, obtained by the New York Lumber Trade Association.

GREY-HOUND LINES have refused to obey the Labor Board's order to cease interference with the rights of the workers to organize. The Labor Board has petitioned the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals to enforce its decision.

ANGELO HERNDON case is being tested once again by the appeal of the State of Georgia against the decision of Judge Dorsey in invalidating the old insurrection law. If an adverse decision is rendered the case will go to the Supreme Court of the United States.

BROTHERHOOD OF UTILITY EMPLOYEES in Queens has voted strike action against the New York Electric Light and Power Co. The vote grew out of a dismissal of three men for union activities.

JAY
LOVESTONE

Just Returned from Europe, Speaks on

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Irving Plaza Hall
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EUROPE IN
FERMENT

Opportunism in the Trade Unions Under Cloak of Unity

By WILL HERBERG
As a political tendency, opportunism has its own fatal logic. Tolerated at first on questions of an allegedly "academic" or "theoretical" nature, it presently only remotely connected with the actual conduct of affairs...

Recent developments in the New York cloakmakers and painters unions illustrate quite plainly the theory and practice of the new orientation. Let us review the events very briefly...

Also Among Painters
Among the New York painters, the recent turn of events is even more scandalous. For years the C.P. forces fought most bitterly against the notorious Zausner clique in the painters union...

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Quotation Marks

OF course, the fact that we consider fascism the typical form of capitalist reaction under the historic conditions of certain countries, has its very important political and strategic consequences.

Ericoli in the discussion at the SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (Impreco, Vol. 8, No. 53—1928)

When we get down to the facts, therefore, the "unity-with-everybody" strategy boils down to unity with the reactionary Heins against the progressive Levy...

Under Banner of "Unity"
Such a line of argument, which follows closely the official explanations in the press, shows only too clearly how thoroughly opportunistic the C.P. wing has become in its panicky swing away from sectarianism...

Dress Pressers' Statement

On Saturday evening December 7th, 1935, a meeting was called in Harlem for the benefit of the English speaking group of Local 60, at the New Labor Centre, 312 West 125th Street.

The progressives made the following demands:
1. That meetings be called more often and that general meetings of the membership of Local 60 be held to make mobilization more effective in the coming strike.

The International Meaning of the Stakhanoff Movement

By AUGUST THALHEIMER
The Congress of the Stakhanoffites was held toward the end of November. This movement which gained recognition on a national scale at this congress merits the closest attention...

The movement launched by a miner by the name of Stakhanoff and spread like wildfire throughout the Soviet Union. Stakhanoff carefully studied the process of drilling.

ITS LESSONS
What lessons can the international working class draw from the Stakhanoff movement? We wish to stress the following viewpoints:

1. Of course, there can be no question of transferring the Stakhanoff movement to capitalist countries. This is impossible and would be incorrect since in capitalist countries the fruits of increased productivity fall into the laps of the exploiting class.

2. The significance of the Stakhanoff movement for the working classes of the capitalist countries consists primarily in the fact that it demonstrates concretely, not only in the case of the Soviet Union but in general, how the change from a capitalist economy to a socialist economy makes for new incentives on the part of the masses which are far more effective than the means used under the capitalist system.

3. The change from a capitalist to a socialist economy has enabled the workers of the Soviet Union to rapidly overcome in a few years the gap which separated them from the workers of the more advanced countries.

4. Once power has been attained, the great massed workers of the technically advanced capitalist countries will not have to go through this period. They will start on a higher plane than did the workers of the Soviet Union.

5. In addition, the acceleration and improvement of socialist construction in the Soviet Union thru the Stakhanoff movement is a gain for the international working class inasmuch as it leads to a material and moral strengthening of the Soviet state.

6. Furthermore, it would be folly to assume that this conflict in the ranks of the ruling class over means of further stabilization of the capitalist system will not have decisive consequences and immediate serious repercussions for the working class.

7. This struggle for daily demands and for the re-establishment of the rights of the working people, however, has meaning only if it is looked upon as a means for the mobilization of masses and new as an end in itself.

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At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

ISSUES which divided the bourgeoisie of the leading European countries decades ago are now causing deep fissures in the ranks of the capitalist class in the United States.

Most fundamental among the problems over which disputes are now raging in the American ruling class is the question of introducing in the U. S. some system of social legislation.

The forces now firing broadsides after broadsides against the Roosevelt crowd are of the opinion that the U. S. does not yet need to resort to such a system of social legislation in order to help stabilize American economy.

LABOR has very much at stake in this conflict. But the labor movement would commit suicide if it hitched itself to the wagon of those capitalists who, in the interest of maintaining the present economic system, are prepared to enact some meagre social legislation.

Independent unions constitute an essential element of the Anti-fascist labor front. In order to revolutionize the Anti-fascist labor front it becomes necessary to infuse the trade unions with the spirit of the revolutionary movement.

The pre-requisite for the establishment of trade union unity is the guarantee that the Communists will not organize new trade unions which would represent a continuation of the former Red Trade Unions.

Only the Anti-fascist labor front whose nucleus must consist of the cadres of the class-conscious revolutionary proletariat will be able to act as a decisive force leading the middle class, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants, who have become disappointed in fascism, into struggle against Hitler.

"The struggle for daily demands and for the re-establishment of the rights of the working people, however, has meaning only if it is looked upon as a means for the mobilization of masses and new as an end in itself."

The People's Front without a Marxist struggle for power.

PEOPLE'S FRONT OR LABOR FRONT

We are glad to be able to present to our readers excerpts from the "Revolutionary Socialist League" official organ of the growing left wing group in the Socialist Party of Germany called "Arbeitskreis Revolutionaere Sozialisten".

The recent Comintern Congress has decreed a broad People's Front appealing not only to the working class for the mobilization of all anti-fascist elements.

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The indispensible pre-requisite for a People's Front, composed of tendencies basically in agreement, is the establishment of an anti-fascist united front of the working class.

In fascist Germany the most urgent task, at present, is the establishment of united action of the proletarian groups, the development of a powerful proletarian united front and its broadening out into an anti-fascist labor front embracing all sections of the proletariat.

Whatver the present victories of the Militants, whatever immediate membership gains and organizational strides they make, however, this split sounds their death knell just as surely as it does that of the Old Guard.

The revolutionary Socialists claim a modest share in the theoretical formulation of this life-and-death question for the proletariat.

The whole world is in turmoil; new unexpected forms of struggle and of organizations arise; almost daily, relations of forces and alliances shift on a universal scale.

After a long period of unemployment Art Stone, active C.P.O. member here, finally succeeded in securing a job in an upholstery shop.

A CASE OF POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION
After a long period of unemployment Art Stone, active C.P.O. member here, finally succeeded in securing a job in an upholstery shop.

It is interesting to note that while Art Stone has actively participated in many strikes in Hartford, and helped also in the 1933 strike of the upholsterers, Abzuza was scabbing on the job in that strike.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES
Last week there was born a new trade union group which presents certain very interesting angles if only because it is hailed by the Communist Party and blessed by the Old Guard Socialist Forward.

The story begins with the struggle in the Trade Union Center group over affiliation to the Progressive Needle Trades Center. The extreme right wing, led by Student and Heins, opposed this step bitterly.

On the other hand, the ultra-lefts were also in a difficult spot. Boruchowicz, the C. P. whip had announced his famous plan for liquidating all groups and was surprised that nothing happened.

The split in the Center Group was the long sought for opening for the "revolutionary" lefts.

True it is, as Herberg maintains in this issue of Workers Age one cannot maintain an opportunist political line without its expression also on the trade union field.

THE PAINTERS AGAIN
After a long period of silence on the Painters situation in which we proved that the C.P. supporters and the Zausner clique are in an alliance, the C.P. at last broke out in a number of articles which talk a lot but say little or nothing.

For An Anti-fascist Labor Front
We are on the eve of an historical decision. The united front movement once started will destroy all obstacles by virtue of its own inner laws.

It today our Communist friends would rescind their offer they could not do so because the idea of unity is already too deeply rooted in the minds of the desperate masses.

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NORMAN THOMAS ON WAR AND REVOLUTION

(A REVIEW OF THOMAS' LATEST BOOK*)

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Norman Thomas has moved somewhat left since his previous published writings, yet this book, like its predecessors, gives the Marxist reviewer an uneasy feeling that he is not dealing with the work of a working class leader and fighter, but rather with that of a left liberal who sympathizes with the working class without ever quite ceasing to wring his hands and deplore the necessity and sharpness of its struggle. The author's leftward development is manifest in many passages of the work. There is a shrinking approach to the recognition of some of the necessities of the proletarian revolution. A number of pages of warning of its cost and pain, and wishing, hoping, even suggesting that we might be able to end capitalism without it, terminates in such a passage as this:

"The Observer (Thomas always talks in this book like an observer rather than a participant and leader in the class struggle) . . . is warranted . . . in concluding that some type of violent revolution is more probable than peaceful revolution, just as new international war is more probable than peace. But here, also, probability is not inevitability." And still more forthright:

"The same revolutionist in a country like the United States will not feel that he can utterly renounce the use of violence as a weapon for the exploited while the exploiters still cling tenaciously to it." In this connection he quite properly emphasizes the necessity of reducing this violence to a minimum, not regarding it as a substitute for organizing, educating, and winning the support of the proletariat and other sections of the population, and putting the onus of violence where it belongs, upon the ruling class. This he follows with the illusory suggestion that probably the proletariat can win power by peaceful parliamentary means and use armed force only to maintain itself in power against counter-revolution.

Second Hand Marxism

Thomas has also moved towards a more Marxist attitude towards the state. On pages 108 and 109 we find the formulation:

. . . the political state had its rise in violence and has found in violence its final coercive power . . . Governments have acted as executive committees for the dominant class."

This is all to the good, but when Thomas comes to apply it in making demands on and proposals for the American government in war, he entirely forgets his new-found theoretical knowledge. Moreover, it is painfully clear from a careful study of every word and every footnote of his book, that he has not gone to Marx first hand, but has moved towards Marxism because of second-hand, superficial and journalistic sources like Mumford and Hanighen and Brailsford, and especially Laski have borrowed more freely from Marx since the depression. Indeed it is one of the curiosities of Socialist literature that nowhere in this 234 page book does Thomas once refer to Marx or mention his name, or, in a book stuffed with quotations, quote a word from him or give evidence in so much as a line of his own writing that he ever read a line of the writings of Marx.

Lenin Might As Well Not Have Written

But it is war, not the state and revolution that forms the center and bulk of this book. It is hard to imagine a serious writer on new developments on evolution who has not read and does not refer to the work of Darwin, Mendel, De Vries, Morgan, but only to magazine articles and popularizations on biology. In the same sense it is incredible that any informed writer should attempt to discuss imperialism, war and proletarian tactics in relation thereto, without referring to or utilizing (or at least polemizing against) Lenin's classic works on "Imperialism," "Socialism and War," "War and the Second International" and the entire material contained in volumes XVIII to XXI of Lenin's collected works. Yet this is exactly what Norman Thomas does. There is not even the slightest evidence in a line or a syllable that Thomas took the trouble to examine the most important works on the subject before formulating or offering his views!

And the views are what might be expected under the circumstances. The passages dealing with the horrors of war are good. The quotations from poets and novelists are moving. But the analysis of the causes of war and imperial-

* War, No Profit, No Glory, No Need, by Norman Thomas. Stokes. 234 pp. \$1.50.

JOIN!

Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition)

For information on the activity and policies of the Communist Opposition write to COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION) Box 68 Station "O" New York City

ism is as superficial and trivial as its sources (John Kenneth Turner, Walter Millis, Parker T. Moon, Carleton Hayes) and the guidance he offers to an anxious proletariat oppressed by the danger of impending war, is quite worthless.

What guidance is there in such phrases as this: "We have to wage peace, and risk something for peace."

Or in a five-point program which involves: "1) An immediate, solemn declaration of national policy by the President and Congress that the United States will not supply . . . arms, munitions, or financial support to belligerents . . ."

Thomas realizes that thereby a country like Ethiopia, which has no munitions factories, is condemned to defense-

lessness to the advantage of Italy but he proposes that the government might "then make any exception which may seem morally desirable by formal act." Which leaves the American capitalist government as the moral judge, in complete forgetfulness of Laski's "Marxist" theory of the State!

"2) . . . the largest measure of disarmament that the public can be persuaded to accept," And ". . . by making it clear that we would not fight for trade we would get more by good will than we are getting by competing armament."

But how can an imperialist power make that falsehood "clear"? Is that not the official declaration of every imperialist power? Is that not the substance of the fraudulent Kellogg Pact declaration? No answer from Norman Thomas.

3) The abandonment of imperialist policies. Thomas dimly feels their inseparability from capitalism but repeatedly appears to hope that the leopard can be induced to change his spots and his predatory habits.

4) Abolition of discrimination against Chinese and Japanese immigration.

5) "Isolation from all that makes for war; cooperation with all that makes for peace."

A whole book on the horrors and costs of war to culminate in such a deceptive and worthless program!

And then, if war comes anyhow, "I should, of course, favor seeing to it that no one should grow wealthy out of it as thousands did in the First World War."

Can the reader imagine Lenin, with his ceaseless preoccupation with the turning of the imperialist war into a civil war against capitalism and its war breeding system, coming to such piddling conclusions,

Anti-Soviet Bias

Norman Thomas' anti-Soviet bias has considerably softened, but it still sticks out thru many passages of his book. Most curious and revealing are his repeated strictures on the Soviet Union for not entering into a lone boycott of Italy with respect to oil and wheat when

contrasted with his note to page 177 defending the United States for not entering on lone sanctions against Japan in connection with the invasion of Manchuria. The tell-tale note reads:

"The use of economic sanctions, i.e., official embargoes—beyond those on war supplies—on goods going to or coming from an aggressor nation, might have brought Japan to an abandonment of her attack on Manchuria only if action against her included all the strong powers in the world. For the United States alone to have imposed it might have led to war. Even the continued refusal of recognition to the new puppet state, Manchukuo, is an empty, and perhaps dangerous gesture of righteousness."

If the helpless Daily Worker editors who have been trying to explain Browder's weak answers to Thomas on this question during their recent debate, would quote this interesting passage, they would have silenced Thomas at once!

LOSING THEIR CHAINS . . . by James Sand

Two Knights Without a Single Cause—U. S. Stephens and T. V. Powderly

ONE of the standing problems of American labor history is how a man like Terence Vincent Powderly was able to monopolize the national leadership of the Knights of Labor for fourteen years,—a period spanning the entire significant life of the organization. He did not, in any profound way, make the lot of the American worker better; his economic and social theory was ludicrous; and, as John Swinton, a penetrating labor-journalist of the time has remarked, he had none of the external characteristics of a labor leader. Ware, in his work on American labor from 1860 to 1895, has most satisfactorily supplied the answer to this historical anomaly. Powderly, he says, "was a good constitutionalist and in the General Assembly was always able to find some technicality to disarm his enemies. He appointed most of the committees of the assembly, the committee on credentials in especial, and in the later years he had a machine of his own." There is practically nothing of a large order that Powderly did for labor that was correct for the time and place, and his theories lacked the universality necessary to vital continuance after their author's passing. His errors were grandiloquent; his truths picayune.

BIRTH OF THE "KNIGHTS"

In early December 1869 "The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor" was founded in Philadelphia by Uriah S. Stephens and a small group of garment cutters, fellow-members of Stephens' craft. The Order was to be secret and involve complicated initiation ceremonies and meetings, along with high-sounding titles,—the last to be retained all through the history of the Knights of Labor. This continued until 1878 when the Knights came overground and established themselves on a national scale. Under Stephens' regime the Order grew very slowly, some few local assemblies being formed.

The Knights of Labor was not intended to be a trade-union organization; it was started as a fraternal order with humanitarian purposes, and Powderly and his henchmen later retained these aims long after the temper of the members had become unionist. The secrecy and ritualism Stephens carried over from the bourgeois societies of which he was a member, the Masons, Odd Fellows, and the Knights of Pythias. And Stephens' social views were wholly in accord with the organizational accoutrements. He had been educated for the Baptist ministry and injected religious obscurities into an already confused jargon. A Knight on being initiated took an oath which contained the following:

"Labor is noble and holy. To defend it from degradation; to divest it of the evils to body, mind, and estate which ignorance and greed have imposed; to rescue the toiler from the grasp of the selfish—is a work worthy of the noblest and best of our race. . . . We mean to uphold the dignity of labor, to affirm the nobility of all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. We mean to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor (the only creator of values). . . . To pause in his toil, to devote to his own interests, to gather a knowledge of the world's commerce, to unite, combine, and co-operate in the great army of peace and industry, to nourish and cherish, build and develop, the temple he lives in, is the highest and noblest duty of man to himself, to his fellow men, and to his Creator."

The Molly Maguires had in 1877 put all secret organizations, and particularly secret labor organizations, under a legal cloud, and consequently at the first national convention of the Knights in 1878 secrecy was dropped. The wave of strikes which had occurred the year before had aroused many of the American workers and they were ready for organization. The Knights of Labor was at hand and took advantage of the situation to transform itself into a national movement. A constitution was adopted creating local assemblies, district assemblies, and a national assembly or convention. A General Executive Board was created presided over by the Grand Master Workman.

ENTER POWDERLY

The next year Powderly was elected to this office and held it until 1893 when he was suspended and then expelled from the Order. By that time the organization had spent its strength and filled out its significant life-span.* Permitting petty-bourgeois elements to flood the assemblies,—small shopkeepers, farmers, lawyers, doctors,—militated against proletarian strength; the growth of the American Federation of Labor since its inception in 1886, the opposition of the Socialist Labor Party to the Knights of Labor personified particularly by Daniel DeLeon; and the premature industrial unionism which resulted in the skilled crafts constantly being called on to pull the unskilled out of strikes which they were losing, all helped to undermine the Knights. Moreover, the undeveloped state of capitalism which made it possible for a worker to become an owner, and the beginnings of great waves of European immigration were added factors. But not the least was the absence of a leadership understanding of the class-structure of the time, of the stage of capitalistic development and the forms of organization appropriate to it.

Grand Master Workman Powderly was born on January 22nd 1849 at Carbondale, Pennsylvania of poor Irish stock. At thirteen he was a railroad switchman; then he became a car repairer, and a machinist. He became a member of the Knights of Labor in 1874. For three terms he held the office of mayor of Scranton, Pennsylvania, and during most of that time he was also grand master workman of the Knights. During one of his fits of pique, he wrote, "The position I hold is too big for any ten men. It is certainly too big for me and I am only too willing to hand it over at once to whoever may be selected." Even though the job as head of the Knights of Labor was "too big for any ten men," the mayor's office of Scranton and his post in the Knights of Labor were only part of Powderly's simultaneous accomplishments. He was also health officer of Pennsylvania county and part owner and manager of a tea and coffee store. Throughout his official work in the Knights he showed constant symptoms of hypochondria. But he lived to the ripe age of seventy-five, dying in 1924, in June, a half-year before Gompers passed on. Like some latter-day labor prophets who turned New Dealers, Powderly ended his days in a soft job in Washington.

Various means of gaining concessions and improving the economic lot of the workers and petty bourgeoisie were tried in the Order. The most successful was

* The order was laid to rest in 1917 in Washington when the remains of its records and furnishings were stored in a leaky shed behind an insurance office.

the boycott, since it required no strike-fund, at the collecting of which Powderly was incompetent. In the matter of strikes, the Knights of Labor had three periods; from 1869 to 1878 they opposed them; from 1878 to 1883 they favored them; from 1883-1893 strikes were under a cloud. In the last period, however, they were constantly being called by the local and district assemblies over the heads of the General Executive Board which nominally had the power of calling them. The G.E.B. may not have called them, but it successfully broke them. The Chicago stockyards strike and the strike on Jay Gould's Southwest Railroad Powderly called off just as they were about to be won. It has never been ascertained what was thus gained, but certain other dealings Powderly had with employers against whom the Knights had once struck make the occurrences seem just a bit shady. One instance: Hayes, who was Powderly's right-hand man in the Knights until 1893 when he turned on him and helped throw him out, went west to solicit advertising for a little private money-making venture in which Powderly was also interested, and Powderly was asked to write a letter to Armour of Chicago packing-house infamy with whom he had become acquainted when the Knights had fought him in labor-battles. Giving Hayes a letter of introduction was a bit too thick even for Powderly, and he balks at that aspect of it. He writes Hayes: "You know I have been fifteen years fighting the men we are now asking favors from and it is a trifle against the grain to write some of them." Writing was against the grain but soliciting advertising was not.

DECLINE OF THE "KNIGHTS"

In 1886 the Haymarket bomb offered the Knights a chance to show their solidarity with labor and the anarchists who were being framed for the explosion in Chicago. Powderly, true to form, backed down on them, and the Knights were dealt one more body-blow to those already delivered to it. In that year they had reached their peak in membership with something over 700,000 but within another year they had lost a quarter of a million of them, and by 1893 the Order was a mere shell. Hayes, in conjunction with a farmer-labor clique, had Powderly ejected.

But he was not done showing his allegiance to the proletariat. At the age of forty-five in 1894 he was admitted to the bar of Pennsylvania, and in 1901 he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1896 he stumped for McKinley and the Republican Party and in 1900 for Teddy Roosevelt, the old henchman of budding American imperialism. Powderly was a spell-binder who could go on for hours and he served the G.O.P. with those talents for which the Knights had no effective use. For his stumping he was given the job of United States Commissioner General of Immigration, and until his death he held offices in that bureau. For thirty years he lived on the reputation that continual selling out of the American proletariat had given him.

The one great sign of intelligence Powderly showed was in a letter he wrote to Hayes after his expulsion, in which he sets down the reasons for the failure of the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor which the "sainted Stephens" had founded. He writes:

"Teacher of important and much-needed reforms, she has been obliged to practice differently from her teachings. Advocating arbitration and conciliation as first steps in labor disputes she has been forced to take upon her shoulders the responsibilities of the aggressor first, and when hopes of arbitrating and conciliating failed, to beg of the opposing side to do what we should have applied for in the first instance. Advising against strikes we have been in the midst of them. Urging important reforms we have been forced to yield our time and attention to petty disputes until we were placed in a position where we have frequently been misunderstood by the employee as well as the employer. While not a political party we have been forced into the attitude of taking political action."

To the world of labor letters he has left a compendious volume which was first published in 1889, called *Thirty Years of Labor*. It is without question the most soporific book in the field and will stand up with many competitors for this honor in other fields. He runs around from chapter to chapter in the "constructive" discussion looking for some one cure-all for the conflicts between capital and labor. During his lifetime he found a new cure almost every year. Once it was land, and then it was temperance. He was a crony of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. "The temperance question," he said, "is most important and sometimes I think it is the main issue." In crack-brains like Powderly the problem of labor is always getting confused with some crazy reform movement like temperance. Powderly, drunk as he was on his own verbiage, never needed the stimulation of whiskey.

"PARTY ABOVE LABOR"

Although he was the Greenback-Labor Mayor of Scranton and held a membership card as a Socialist, he is against a labor party. His genius for getting everything wrong breaks out again here. He says, "A labor party is not likely to become a success for the reason that it is not in accord with the genius of American institutions to form a party of any one class." The duty of the Knight of Labor is "to place citizenship above party." And for Powderly party above labor as he did when he stumped for the Republican ticket.

Engels thought better of the Knights of Labor than it really deserves. He felt that it could be worked with and turned into a Marxist labor organization. "I think the Knights of Labor," said Engels in 1886, "a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within, and I consider that many of the Germans . . . have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their own creation, to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of 'alleinseligmachendes' dogma and to keep aloof from any movement which did not accept that dogma."

But in historical perspective we can say that the Germans of whom Engels speaks showed that at least their estimate of the Knights was correct when they subscribed under Sorge's leadership to the principles of trade unionism as they were becoming embodied in the American Federation of Labor. The sickly humanitarianism, the ideological confusion, the petty-bourgeois leadership, of the Knights made it impossible finally to "revolutionize it from within."

N E X T W E E K

A Pre-Marxian In America: Wilhelm Weitling