

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 46.

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## A.L.P. POLLS HALF MILLION IN NEW YORK

### Union Ticket Wins 150,000 Votes In Detroit

#### Union Talks Are Resumed

##### A.F.L.-C.I.O. Group Probe Fields For Industrial Union Organization

Resuming negotiations on Thursday, November 4, the thirteen-man joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. committee concluded two days of discussion last week at Washington with a general report of "progress." Sessions will continue after the weekend. During the intermission, John L. Lewis and William Green will confer with their committees and work out a line of policy to be followed in later conferences.

The deadlock that had arisen during the first few days when C.I.O. and A. F. of L. spokesmen presented their proposals, still remained unbroken but discussion switched off in another direction. An attempt was made to explore in detail those fields of industry where the A. F. of L. would agree to accept industrial unionism as the official form of organization. While nothing definite was decided upon last week, it is understood that steel, automobile, cement, aluminum, and rubber, together with coal mining, street transportation, marine and clothing, were mentioned in this category. Indeed, it was recalled that the first group of industries had been definitely set apart for industrial-union organization by the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. in 1934. It was the failure of the Federation officialdom to carry out this decision that led to the formation of the C.I.O. and to the division in the labor movement.

Altho this line of attack made it possible to avoid such an abrupt end as had marked the first period of negotiations, it was clear that the same basic problem still remained and was no nearer to real solution. Today, even more than two years ago, peace is possible in only one of two ways: either by allowing free room for development for industrial unionism within the A. F. of L. or else by crushing the C.I.O., undoing its work and reverting back to the old craft-union system. The latter would be an incalculable disaster to the American labor movement; the former would really clear the way for vigorous life and progress.

A sinister element in the whole situation is the administration pressure being exerted on both sides in the direction of a "compromise" solution. Such a patched-up "peace," being merely superficial and ignoring the basic issues involved, would do much more harm than good for it would spell demoralization and an aggravated rupture later on. Administration interference in this purely union affair, is, furthermore, full of dangerous implications as far as the independence of the labor movement is concerned.

#### Third of Vote Goes Labor

By FREDERICK J. ARNOLD

Detroit, Mich.  
"City's Bonds Rise As C.I.O. Loses"—this headline in the Detroit press the day after the city elections here is an accurate indication of the anti-C.I.O. hysteria fomented and incited by the hirelings of the employers. For weeks before the elections, and especially after the primary vote showed the labor slate running strong, the campaign managers of Republican Richard W. Reading trained their campaign guns against the C.I.O. unions and the C.I.O. as a whole. The fraud of non-partisan government was given a new coat of paint to beguile unsuspecting voters; the C.I.O. endorsement of O'Brien was distorted as an outright attempt by the would-be "dictator" John L. Lewis to place his "sworn henchmen" in the seat of power; the middle-class voters were scared out of their wits by the mock-serious assurances of big business that a C.I.O. victory in Detroit would

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#### Lewis Hails Big Labor Gains

The statement of John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O., on the significance of the recent elections, follows:

"The election returns reflect distinct progress for labor. The accomplishment of the American Labor party in New York is outstanding.

"In Detroit, labor demonstrated its strength in its first test against the combined influence of massed wealth and an entrenched political machine. Labor in Michigan is prepared to expand the sphere of its influence in the future.

"In Pittsburgh, the election was a distinct triumph for labor. In a host of smaller communities thruout the country, labor was successful in electing its representatives to political office. Labor's Non-Partisan League will now devote its attention to preparation for the 1938 campaign."

#### Labor Assemblymen, Judge And Councilmen in N. Y.

WITH only a little over a year of existence behind it, the American Labor Party scored a tremendous political victory in the New York City elections on Tuesday, November 2, emerging as a mighty organization holding the balance of power both in city and state politics.

Nearly half a million votes were polled by the A.L.P. in the city, or more than double the 238,000 of a year ago. On the A.L.P. ticket, Mayor LaGuardia received 482,459 votes which, added to what he got on the Republican, Fusion and Progressive tickets, gave him 1,344,016 to Jeremiah Mahoney's 889,591. In other words, the A.L.P. was responsible for about 40% of La Guardia's total vote and for more than his entire plurality of 454,425. Of the total vote cast, the A.L.P. won just about 22%.

The A.L.P. also elected four state assemblymen directly on its own ticket and three others endorsed by it. Nathaniel M. Minkoff, executive secretary of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., was chosen for the Assembly from the 5th A.D. in the Bronx. G. J. Mucigrosso was elected in the 7th A.D. Bronx, S. P. DeMatteo in the 16th A.D. Brooklyn and F. Monaco in the 23rd A.D. Brooklyn. Arthur P. McNulty, an active A.L.P. worker, was elected to the Municipal Court in Manhattan. In many sections of the Bronx and Brooklyn, the A.L.P. actually ran first, outstripping both the Democrats and the Republicans.

In the Bronx, Isidore Nagler, who defeated for the boro presidency, polled over 150,000 votes, or 38% of the total cast. In fact, he ran about 12,000 ahead of La Guardia on the A.L.P. ticket in that boro and considerably ahead of the city-wide A.L.P. average of 22%. The victorious candidate, James J. Lyons, the Tammany incumbent, retained his office with 48% of the vote cast only because the reactionary Republican machine in the Bronx came to his assistance by making it a three-cornered fight.

The proportional-representation ballots for the City Council have not yet been counted but it is held certain that the A.L.P. will elect at least Michael Quill in the Bronx, B. C. Vladeck in Manhattan and Louis Hollander in Brooklyn.

These sensational gains came after an energetic and vigorous campaign made by the A.L.P. in which its independent labor character was much more pronounced than in the previous year. Altho the A. F. of L. unions had organized a separate "non-partisan" committee in support of La Guardia, large sections of the rank and file of these unions undoubtedly voted the A.L.P. ticket. The A.L.P. is sponsored by and based upon the C.I.O. unions to a very considerable extent, altho there are some A. F. of L. affiliates in it.

The smashing victory in the elections has greatly inspired the labor movement of the city and impressed it with a keener feeling of its own political strength. Among the A.L.P. leaders, it is emphasized that the powerful showing of the party on November 2 will lend a

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## LABOR IN POLITICS

from the Advance

(We reprint below an editorial that appeared in the November 1937 issue of Advance, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.—THE EDITOR.)

ORGANIZED labor has taken an active part in a number of city and state elections and, while at the time of this writing, there is no telling how successful labor's efforts will prove to have been, one thing, however, is certain even now, and this is—that the part labor has taken in the elections this time, has been significant and effective even where it may not have been successful in terms of final results. Labor is definitely on the war-path and its being there is felt by all concerned. Labor is becoming a great political factor in the life of this country in the measure as it is entering the political scene with a clear purpose and with a determination to place its stamp upon the course of events.

For decades, in fact, working-class leaders thought, talked and taught that labor should become articulate and well organized for the purposes of participation in the country's political life as it has been doing upon the industrial arena. Attempts made here and there to carry the wish into effect were disappointing but they did not discourage those of us who maintained that effective labor political activity would inevitably

come, as a natural by-product of effective economic activity. And this has now come true with striking rapidity.

This tremendous expansion of union organization, due to the drive of the C.I.O., and the awakening in some A. F. of L. unions under the influence of the C.I.O. drive, has set in motion a political mobilization of labor forces which is today even as irresistible as it looked to be, but yesterday, altogether unbelievable.

Next in importance to the entry of organized labor upon the political scene in New York City is the development in Detroit, Michigan. There the candidacy of O'Brien for Mayor of Detroit, and a labor slate for other offices, was advanced by C.I.O. labor cooperating with the A. F. of L. unions in the city. Later on, under the inspiration of anti-C.I.O. influences, the central body of the A. F. of L. unions in the city put up their own candidate to oppose O'Brien. But, in the primary elections the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. members supported the labor slate advanced by the C.I.O. and O'Brien won out, and, at this time, he is wrestling for victory in the final election. We hope the election on November 2nd will be altogether successful but, whichever way the result may go, there is no doubt that labor in Detroit has come to stay as a political force.

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## PUT OVER The Big \$10,000 Drive Money—Subs—Members

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LABOR IN THE ELECTIONS

ALTHO held in an off-year, the local elections last week were unquestionably of profound national significance in the striking evidence they gave of labor's rapid progress towards effective political action as an increasingly independent class force.

In New York City, the American Labor Party, hardly more than a year old, succeeded in doubling its record of last November, reaching a peak of nearly half a million votes. With this mass support behind it and with the election of a number of its own assemblymen and city councilors, it has become, virtually overnight, a decisive factor—indeed, the balance of power—in municipal and state politics.

In Detroit, a labor ticket, without an organized party behind it, supported only by the United Automobile Workers and a few other unions, sabotaged by the A. F. of L. officialdom, managed to win over 150,000 votes for its leading candidate out of a total of 415,000.

Not that we are opposed to severe treatment being meted out to reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements. But the methods of "investigation" that are used at Santa Ursula today were punishable by death in the Soviet G.P.U. under Dzerzhinsky, as grave crimes against the state.

Many things which should be strongly criticized under other conditions must be tolerated in war time. But the medieval torture methods daily employed at Santa Ursula are the methods of fascism, the methods that the capitalist system in its decline uses for the perpetuation of its class privileges. The interest of the anti-fascist struggle demands unequivocally of every socialist and revolutionary worker the decisive rejection of the methods used by the G.P.U. in Valencia. Yes, even if they were directed exclusively against the class enemy and not, as at Santa Ursula, against syndicalist, socialist and communist workers!

The examination of prisoners is generally conducted by the G.P.U. at night. The commissars testify to their incapacity to prove their accusations by means of regular questioning and preliminary inquest, by their bestial beating of the prisoners. These prisoners have the choice of confessing or being beaten and again beaten, with their hands tied to their backs. During entire nights, one can hear the cries of pain coming from the cells of the tortured. Scores of persons are dragged back to their cells by the guards, with teeth broken, head and body wounded, ribs fractured, these injuries often being followed by severe hemorrhage.

At the end of August, a foreigner who had been "questioned" in this manner in March, was still at Santa Ursula, emaciated to the bone due to the wounds inflicted during the torture. This man was accused of spying but, despite seven months of imprisonment, he had not yet been brought to trial. Today he is tubercular, seriously weak, and was therefore sent to a hospital for several weeks. But, without awaiting his recovery, he was again taken to Santa Ursula, on the pretext that he would now be placed in a "special cell" for the sick prisoners. But, in the whole prison, there is not a cell for the ill and he was placed in a cell as dirty as the rest. The same thing happened to an

anarchist soldier who was sent to Spain by his organization for the purpose of compiling "The Red and Black Book", a documentary presentation of the activities of Spanish fascists. A special section of the prison is devoted to the torture closets. There are various varieties of these closets; in some, the prisoner can only stand erect; in others, he can only sit; and, in still others, he can neither stand nor sit. The manner in which this torture is inflicted is illustrated by the following case. A young Belgian militiaman, having recovered from a wound in the hospital, wanted to return to the front. The evening of his departure he was arrested in the street and locked in a closet. This instrument of torture was but seven and a half feet and just wide enough to contain a medium sized man. A hole in the door, about an inch and a half in diameter, was the only opening for air. For three days the soldier was kept in this state and then he was sent to the front without questioning!

STALINIST TORTURE CHAMBERS IN SPAIN

(A great deal has been said lately about the methods the Stalinists use in Spain, directed not so much against the fascist enemy as against their own political opponents. We publish below the summary of a report of a revolutionary anti-fascist militiaman who was himself recently imprisoned in the private torture-house of the Communist Party of Spain, the Santa Ursula at Valencia. The reader must remember that the horrible cruelties detailed by this soldier are being daily inflicted not upon fascists or traitors but upon loyal anti-fascist workers who happen to fall into the clutches of the Stalinists.)

—THE EDITOR.

THE name of the former convent, Santa Ursula, enjoys an unfortunate renown well beyond the frontiers of Spain. The prestige of the Spanish republic has suffered the greatest injury from the methods practiced in Santa Ursula and in the headquarters of the G.P.U., Calle Nicolas Salmeron. It is not an accident that Santa Ursula has been renamed by its inmates the "factory of fascism." All too many of those who have entered its walls as friends of the anti-fascist cause, as partisans of the republic, have come out as its sworn enemies.

And, in this room, prisoners are locked for two or three days, with no other clothing (despite the cold), than trousers and shirt, without food or covering!

Other prisoners were told that they were to be shot in an hour. They would be permitted to write their will. Then they were led to the cemetery. Soldiers approached them, raised their guns to fire and then a commissar would arrive to postpone the execution until the morrow. The same scene would be enacted the following night.

The charge that fires are burnt under the soles of the feet in order to make the prisoners talk, is dismissed as the fantastic product of fascist slander. And yet this is actually the method of inquest used by the G.P.U. in Valencia!

Under the strong pressure of the anti-fascist movement abroad, the Valencia government was recently forced to order a stop to these latter methods.

(The conclusion of the report will follow in a subsequent issue.)

—THE EDITOR.

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The majority of those who stay without food—in such a closet literally fall away, incapable of moving their limbs. Women are tortured in like manner.

When it was a cloister, Santa Ursula contained a cellar for the dead. Today, this is an open grave of stone. The stink of decomposition fills the building, and the phosphorescent fragments of the corpses are likewise to be found there.

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By Lambda WORLD TODAY Hitler And Mussolini Conspire To Intervene In The Far East Crisis

London, October 1, 1937.

THE desire of Germany and Italy to bring the Sino-Japanese conflict to a speedy close is clearly expressed in a news dispatch from Tokyo published in the Frankfurter Zeitung of September 22, 1937:

"The hostile attitude of England and the Soviet Union, the growing economic and monetary difficulties of Japan, make a speedy termination of military operations desirable. The Japanese, however, will not modify in the least their demand that China cease its military and political opposition."

The Temps of September 24, 1937, official organ of the Quai d'Orsay, expresses the same wish, complaining of the pressure that is being exerted on Chiang Kai-shek "by progressive elements of the Kuomintang who are moving closer to communism and are influenced by the Bolshevik propaganda of the Third International". This paper also claims that secret negotiations are being carried on by Chiang Kai-shek with Japan.

The protest of the six powers against the aerial bombardment of Nanking, Canton, etc., was an empty gesture. The only effective way of checking Japan is an embargo of munition shipments to Japan and generous provision of China with armaments. But this, too, requires direct action by the working class in each country.

The Communist International is pursuing in China a course identical with its policy in Spain. An official article signed by Wan Min in No. 41 of the Rundschau of September 23, 1937 enumerates the objectives of the C.P. in China:

"Formation of a united all-Chinese democratic republic with an all-Chinese government of national defense and a united all-Chinese anti-Japanese army. Hence, the C.P. of China declares openly that it has given up the slogan of 'Soviet China' in the present stage of the struggle of the Chinese masses."

The article also reveals that the renunciation of revolutionary principles is opposed by a considerable number of workers and peasants, particularly the "old party cadres" who are the sons of the peasants who lived thru the armed struggle against the Kuomintang. For this reason, Wan Min is in favor of a process of "re-education" and the training of "new cadres."

The slogan of an "all-Chinese democratic republic" is, under these circumstances, a betrayal of the working class of China because renunciation of the agrarian revolution, which is the fundamental phase of the bourgeois revolution in China, means the actual recognition and support of a semi-feudal militarist regime of Kuomintang generals who rule in the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie and landowners and who, as their conduct in the beginning of the war has shown, are not opposed to a compromise with Japanese imperialism.

The workers and peasants of China can prevent the betrayal of their struggle for emancipation and unity only by adhering to their revolutionary program, by organizing into an independent class force and by taking over the leadership of a national war for emancipation if necessary in order to conduct a really revolutionary war.

TENSION IN JAPAN.

AS a result of the duration and growing difficulties experienced in their invasion of China, considerable tension has arisen amongst the leading circles of Japan. This is plainly revealed in the cabinet, where Premier Konoye faces the opposition of the Minister of War and the Minister of the Interior. Due to the financial and economic troubles of Japan, there is a manifest tendency on the part of high finance and industry to end the Sino-Japanese conflict as soon as possible.

The boycott movement against Japan is gaining ground in England and America. Its chief purposes are to intensify the split in the ruling class of Japan, to restrict Japanese military operations to North China and at the same time to safeguard the economic interests of Japan's rivals in China. Neither the Socialist nor the Communist Internationals has made any attempt to initiate independent working-class action against Japan, such as would not merely promote the imperialist interests of a capitalist power but serve the interests of the working class of Japan, China and elsewhere.

THE NEW DEAL PROGRAM FOR CONGRESS

By ROBERT WALTERS

WITH the opening of the special session of Congress on November 15, the big legislative problems that were so brazenly ignored by the last session loom particularly large in importance from the viewpoint of labor for not only are important labor issues, such as wage-hour legislation, proposed amendment of the Wagner Act, improvements in the social-security law, etc., likely to make their appearance in the proceedings but, with its rapidly mounting political strength, the labor movement is today in an unusually favorable position to exert decisive pressure in administration and Congressional circles.

The Roosevelt Six-Point Program

The general program for the special session of Congress was laid down by President Roosevelt in his most recent fireside address delivered on October 12. It is not unlikely that, in the present uncertain situation, especially in view of the sharp economic recession and the distinctly jittery mood prevalent in business circles, Congressional action may go beyond the six points laid down in the Roosevelt address or, on the other hand, may sidetrack one or two of them, not altogether without the President's knowledge and consent. But the November 12 program will at least serve as the starting point for the deliberations of Congress and it would be worth while to examine the President's proposals a little more closely as they appear from the class-conscious labor standpoint.

It is obvious at first glance that there is nothing essentially new in the Roosevelt program, however novel may be some of the twists that are given to it at various points. Crop control, wage-hour legislation, regional "planning," executive reorganization, a "curb" on trusts and the "search for peace"—all but the last are, to a greater or less degree, familiar planks in the New Deal platform and are still held together, in the latest fireside talk, within the familiar framework of New Deal economic.

Farm "Aid" Thru Crop Curtailment

Easily the most vulnerable point in the Roosevelt program is his plan of "farm aid" based on outright restriction of agricultural production under government auspices in order to keep up prices, or, as it is more politely known, "crop-surplus control." Nothing that the defenders of the New Deal can say can change the fact that it is a program of artificially created scarcity aimed at curbing production in corn, wheat and cotton while there are millions in this country suffering bitterly from the lack of food and clothing! President Roosevelt attempts to justify his "economy of scarcity" by noting

Regional Planning

A great deal of emphasis is placed by the President on what he calls "regional planning," the development by the federal government of electric-power and as-

sarcastically that "these same manufacturers" who criticize him "never hesitate to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work and cut down the purchasing power of whole communities whenever they think they must adjust their production to an overabundance of the goods they made." This—the President complains—they call "sound business judgment" when they do it, but an "economy of scarcity" when it is done by the administration! But in his very mode of justification, Roosevelt condemns himself and the New Deal program in agriculture. Does he want his program to be taken as an extension to agriculture of the familiar big-business practise of "conscientious sabotage" for profit, which the New Deal apostles so ardently exhort on other occasions? It is true that, within the framework of the capitalist system of production for profit, creating an artificial scarcity is just about the most reliable way of raising prices and fostering that peculiar, one-sided "prosperity" that is so characteristic of capitalism. But that only shows how irrational and inhuman the whole system is; it does not justify an irrational and inhuman plan of deliberately curtailing the production of the necessities of which millions are in want. We will have to leave to another occasion the formulation of a progressive program of farm legislation that will bring a measure of security and relief to the great masses of farmers and not merely to selected groups but we may indicate here that such a program would take quite other lines than the crop-entailment plan: relief from the crushing burden of debt, economic protection against the banks, insurance companies and big monopolies that hold the farmer in the deadly grip of commercial and financial oppression.

Wages-And-Hours Legislation

From the farmer, Roosevelt turns to the industrial worker and here he is on firmer ground with his proposals. He urges the enactment of the wage-hour bill in some form and even comes out indirectly against geographical differentials. If the proper wage and hour standards are incorporated in the bill as enacted, the pitfall of wage-fixing avoided and the recommendations made by John L. Lewis and others at the joint Congressional committee hearings some time ago taken into consideration, the administration measure should deserve and receive labor support. It would, however, be nothing short of disastrous simply to pass the bill that came, in its final and mutilated form, before the last session of Congress.

Executive Reorganization

The President's insistence on the reorganization of the executive department is quite natural but that, in itself, should carry no weight with the workers. It is not a question whether, from the abstract standpoint of efficiency, some sort of reorganization may not be in place; for labor, the problem is not an abstract one at all. From the standpoint of the class-conscious worker, it means primarily increasing the power of the executive in the governmental setup and the power of the executive is what a militant labor movement has all the reason in the world to fear, perhaps even more than the power of an irresponsible judiciary. Even the worshippers of the New Deal in the ranks of labor should consider that perhaps the White House will one day again be occupied by a reactionary like Harding or Coolidge or Hoover—and then what? Does it behoove us now to help build up a powerful executive machine which may one day be used to smash our movement and our organizations? Any worker who really gives the matter some serious thought will come to the conclusion that, until labor itself rules the land, the governmental machinery must necessarily operate fundamentally in the interests of the big-business and employing-class groups and that, no matter how liberal the administration may be, at the really critical moments, it will listen to the voice of its master—which is not the working class! Labor has no interest in strengthening the executive arm of any government that is not really

Regional Planning

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British Trade Union Law And U.S. Labor Movement

By ANNE LAURIER

THE post-war crisis in British capitalism and the general economic decline stiffened the resistance of the employers to labor and cut the concessions they could afford to make. Wages were slashed, the mining industry threatened in government passed an act to get martial law declared during strikes and to restrict picketing. The workers were determined to restore the wage cuts and prevent the owning class from throwing the burdens of stabilization onto them. Under these circumstances, the general strike was called in 1926—and called off again thru the surrender of the trade-union officialdom. This defeat was written into the Trades Disputes Act of 1927.

The Trades Disputes Act Of 1927

The provisions of this act are: 1. General and sympathetic strikes are illegal if called (a) for other purposes than furthering a trade dispute and not within the trade in which the original strikers are employed; (b) for coercing the government either directly or indirectly thru "causing grave distress to the public as a whole." 2. Government employees cannot join a union which includes workers from other industries. 3. If a union is conducting an il-

legal strike (a) only the Attorney General may issue an injunction restraining the use of union funds; (b) union will be liable for damages caused to the employer and funds may be impounded as in Taff Vale case; (c) members of the union who refuse to join in the illegal strike and are expelled may sue the union for damages caused by their expulsion.

4. Restriction of picketing rights. This applies to all kinds of strikes, whether legal or not. Picketing becomes unlawful if it is carried on by such a number or in such a manner as to intimidate or obstruct exit or entrance of scabs or lead to a "breach of the peace." The punishment is a \$100 fine or three months in jail. It may lead to a two years sentence if the striker is indicted.

5. A change in the relationship of the trade unions to the Labor Party, by forcing each member of an affiliated union to join the party individually instead of block membership with the right of contracting out.

The main function of the 1927 Act was to insure the owning class against labor's full use of its power and, at the same time, to restrict labor's rights during strike. Serious as this setback may seem, it is more in the nature of tightening up and an attempt to prevent further development of the strength of labor than a repeal of the gains of 1871, 1906 and 1913. The rights of trade unions in a collective bargaining sense still stand. Unions are not suable as in 1906; they remain unincorporated and, except for an illegal strike, no injunctions may be issued.

The demoralization produced by the surrender of the general strike, the policy of "industrial peace" and the suppression of all militancy, must be blamed for the recession in membership of both the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party. The 1927 act had little direct effect, apart from scaring labor away from another general strike. This act has not yet been repealed, despite the pledge of the 1919 Labor government, because the Liberals, to whom Labor was tied, would not agree to it. The repeal still remains for an independent labor government of the future to accomplish.

Lessons For American Labor

As far as legal status or right to organization is concerned, American labor has lingered way behind Britain. Tho there has been little direct anti-union legislation, attempts to unionize the basic industries have generally been quickly and effectively smashed by court orders, by the denial of civil rights by the local and state governments,

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by violence at the hands of the National Guard, deputy sheriffs and gangsters. The "non-partisan" political policy of the A. F. of L. prevented independent action where it could count most and brought forth fruit in the Clayton Act, which turned out to be a very welcome injunction weapon for the bosses. The first real gains came in the provision of the right to organize contained in Section 7a of the N.R.A. That, again, was hardly an unqualified blessing; strike-breaking and company unionism were hardly discouraged by the N.R.A. administration under General Johnson. Only those unions that relied on their own organized power, such as the I.L.G.W.U., the U.M.W. and the A.C.W., made consistent gains. The whole weakness of labor's legal position was demonstrated when the Supreme Court voided the N.R.A.

Following the militant upsurge of the C.I.O. and the first steps toward independent political action by Labor's Non-Partisan League, there are now arising new prospects and new problems concerning labor's legal standing.

1. The economic situation limits the concessions that the employing class can grant. After the worst depression in history, recovery has been fitful, with large unemployment figures and very little new construction. The recent halt in recovery, which is leading to big lay-offs, will also lead to an effort to take back wage concessions, made because of the new organization of the masses.

2. The new power, both economic and political, of organized labor has begun to scare the ruling class. They realize that if they are to survive they must smash labor at the start and they are organizing their counter-offensive.

3. With the working class militantly and enthusiastically organized in the C.I.O., there cannot be any longer much reliance put on the old divide-and-rule methods and there are limits to open terrorism. The employers have, therefore, chosen the policy of "regulation" by incorporation and governmental interference as a means of undermining the independence and efficacy of labor unions.

4. Labor's only defense is to organize politically on an independent basis—first of all, to secure the gains already won on the economic field and, secondly, to write into the law an extensive of labor's rights, covering the sit-down strike, mass picketing, the complete curbing of injunctions, etc. Especially important are two amendments to the Wagner Act providing for the definite prohibition of the company union and stipulating the signing of contracts in collective bargaining.

The big hall at the New York headquarters of the Independent Communist Labor League was jammed last Thursday evening, November 4, at a membership meeting at which Bertram D. Wolfe reported on the war crisis and its significance for the American labor movement in general and our group in particular. With intense interest, the members of the I.C.L.L., all occupying positions of active responsibility on various sectors of the labor front, followed the clear, Marxian analysis given by the reporter of the growing international crisis in the Far East and in Europe, his vivid description of the

attitude adopted by the various political tendencies in the labor movement and his conclusions as to the policies to be followed by the class-conscious workers of this country. Numerous questions and considerable discussion followed the report.

The New York membership meeting was the first step in the campaign now being launched to equip our group politically to meet the new situation created by the war crisis.

The report made by Bertram D. Wolfe will appear, in somewhat condensed form, in the next issue of the Workers Age.

GOLDEN BOY

A New Play by CLIFFORD ODETS BENEFIT FOR THE ANTI-FASCIST FUND

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Brooks Atkinson says: "Although Clifford Odets 'Golden Boy' has been a long time in the making it is worth waiting for."

ICLL Hears War Report

The big hall at the New York headquarters of the Independent Communist Labor League was jammed last Thursday evening, November 4, at a membership meeting at which Bertram D. Wolfe reported on the war crisis and its significance for the American labor movement in general and our group in particular. With intense interest, the members of the I.C.L.L., all occupying positions of active responsibility on various sectors of the labor front, followed the clear, Marxian analysis given by the reporter of the growing international crisis in the Far East and in Europe, his vivid description of the

## Britain Gives Franco De Facto Recognition

Prime Minister Chamberlain admitted in the House of Commons last week that Great Britain was arranging an exchange of diplomatic agents with the Franco fascist regime in Spain. Chamberlain insisted that these agents would have "no diplomatic status" but the move was generally interpreted as de-facto recognition of the Franco clique. Strong opposition to the action of the Tory government was voiced in the House by Liberal and Labor spokesmen.

The diplomatic correspondent of the Daily Herald, Labor organ, declared that official de-facto recognition of the rebel regime would be announced at the "earliest possible moment because the (government) ministers had decided in their own minds that Franco is going to win and because Britain wanted Spanish iron ore and other metals in insurgent territory."

It is rumored that Belgium and France are about to follow the British example.

\* \* \*

From Barcelona, there come reports that a cabinet shift of considerable significance is about to take place in the loyalist government. It is said that the new regime

will be headed by an ultra-reactionary "liberal" and that the Stalinists will be excluded. This new setup, so contrived as to be completely "acceptable" to the British and French foreign offices, is to serve as a transitional regime towards a "compromise" with the fascist insurgents and the establishment of a "national concentration" government resting on foreign bayonets. Seeing themselves outmaneuvered despite all their services to reaction, the Stalinists are attempting a new flirtation with certain conservative sections of the C.N.T. leadership, to whom they come with bitter complaints about the policies and practises of Indalecio Prieto, the very man they hailed only a few weeks ago as the "organizer of victory." So far, these manoeuvres have led to nothing.

The disastrous effects of the counter-revolutionary policies of the Negrin-Prieto regime upon the conduct of the war against Franco, are revealed in a United Press report of November 1. "Civilians and soldiers, including commanders," declares the correspondent, "frankly said that some 'radical change' must be made in the government of Barcelona if the Aragon front is to be held."

## NEW DEAL PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 3)

its own. Executive reorganization is, therefore, no cause of labor for it to champion or sponsor.

### A New "Bust The Trust" Crusade

On and off, in the past few years, President Roosevelt has shed a tear at the decline of competition and said a few brave words on the necessity of "curbing" the trusts and monopolies—which is somewhat ludicrous in view of the fact that everything the New Deal has yet done in the field of industry, from the N.R.A. onward, has been to foster monopoly and the concentration of economic control. But the whole thing is fundamentally grotesque. Anyone who has observed the course of economic development in the past decades and who has done any thinking on the nature of the economic forces at work in our society, knows that it is quite impossible to "end monopoly," as the President proposes, that it is utterly utopian to dream of turning the course of economic history backwards to the days of free competition—and that it would be undesirable, were it possible, for it would be dragging society back to a more primitive stage and depriving it of the great advantages of industrial efficiency and large-scale production that have come with monopolies and trusts. No, the task is not to break up the trusts into small competing concerns or to break up department and chain stores into corner groceries and neighborhood shops, but to take over these gigantic enterprises for the public use, to be owned and operated by society not for private profit but for the general welfare. In other words, it is neither possible nor desirable to go back from the monopoly and trust to free competition; it is necessary to go forward to socialism! In the mouth of President Roosevelt, the "bust the trust" slogans are not and cannot be anything else than a piece of rather decayed demagoguery to catch the little business man. It would be ridiculous for labor to degrade itself to point of helping him play this senseless game!

### Preparing For War

If the President's anti-trust program is grotesque in its lack of realism, his so-called "peace program" is positively dangerous.

Other writers have shown in these columns in past weeks how the administration's "active search for peace" is nothing but a new and more aggressive form of American participation in the imperialist politics of the moment, preparing the way for American participation in the war to which such politics may lead. The President's "active search for peace" has already brought us the biggest peace-time military and naval budget in history and it is now at the point of launching an armament drive of unparalleled proportions. It has given us the one-sided blockade of Spain, that is virtually strangling the loyalist government to the joy and applause of the fascists. It has brought us a new spurt of dollar diplomacy in the Far East which has met with the enthusiastic approval of Hoover's Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, and of virtually every reactionary element in the country. And it will bring us, unless we can take action in time, another war to "make the world safe for democracy"—this time allegedly against "fascism" instead of "Prussian militarism!"

An effort will probably be made at the coming session of Congress to scrap or modify out of existence the neutrality act. Over this we need shed no tears for the whole business of "isolation," in a world that is a political and economic unity, is nothing but a fraud. In this situation, labor has a few outstanding tasks: first, to exert pressure to prevent Japan from getting any assistance in the United States, in the way of credits, munitions, supplies, etc.; secondly, to dissolve the blockade against loyalist Spain and to permit the free shipment of arms and munitions; and, third, to oppose every step that the administration may want to take in the way of armaments and the further involvement in imperialistic politics abroad.

### Roosevelt Liberalism And Roosevelt Reaction

As the preparations for the coming war, moral and material, begin to occupy a central place in the policy of the administration, its liberalism will inevitably vanish and begin to give way to the regime of reactionary regimentation that war demands for its effective prosecution. Then will we begin to feel the mailed fist now

## Memorial For 1887 Martyrs

A labor mass-meeting to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the martyrdom of the Chicago anarchist trade unionists hanged in 1887 on the framed-up charge of bomb-throwing, has been arranged in New York City for Thursday evening, November 11, at Mecca Temple, 55th Street, near 7th Avenue. Among the speakers will be Arturo Giovannitti, B. C. Vladeck, Rudolf Rocker, M. Finestone, Harry Kelly, David Dubinsky, J. Baskin, Irving Potash and Bertram D. Wolfe. Harry Weinberger will be chairman. The full Chorus and Mandolin Orchestra of the I.L.G. W.U. will be on the program.

## U.S. Labor In Political Life

(Continued from Page 1)

Labor never had a chance in Detroit until the practically complete unionization of Detroit was brought about by the impact of the glorious struggles waged by the C.I.O. automobile labor in Detroit and everywhere in Michigan. Now, it is a major political force. So there it is, in the words of Chairman John L. Lewis of the C.I.O., "active political participation will just naturally come with growing economic organization." Independent political action will come to stay, not because of virtuous invocations, but when expanded industrial organization will have made political participation possible, unavoidable and capable of producing results. The moral is, if you wish for political organization of labor, organize industrially. And it may be added: to make effective political action when it appears possible, let us have unity in the labor movement. Which but means that those who obstruct unity of labor on the industrial field are also destroying the effectiveness of the efforts of industrially organized labor in politics.

But, we are told, this "newest independent labor action" in politics isn't at all what we used to think independent political action ought to be. Indeed, in New York City, La Guardia, the candidate of labor, is the nominee of the Republican party, and O'Brien, labor's candidate in Detroit, is running on the Democratic ticket, and such is the case in Akron, Ohio, another important center of labor's political battling. To get the real light on this point, ask both the Democrats and the Republicans in all these cities and they will tell you that they like this "dependent" political action by labor even less than they would like a totally independent labor ticket. In fact, they would much prefer the latter kind: there would be more of a chance of complete defeat for labor in that and disillusionment in the end.

Labor may go wrong, to be sure, on the road upon which it has now embarked, but it is on the right track. It is actually and effectively working to develop a taste for action and a habit of going it alone.

hidden in the silken glove, just as labor and anti-war movements from 1917 to 1920 had plenty of occasion to feel the oppressive weight of the Wilson administration that had, but a few years before, been the very pride of liberalism. Let labor prepare now, before it is too late!

(In subsequent issues of the Workers Age, articles will appear dealing in detail with the various issues that will arise at the special session of Congress.—The Editor.)

**SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE**

## Union Ticket Wins 150,000 Votes in Detroit Elections

(Continued from Page 1)

mean a wholesale exodus by the auto industry and other manufacturing concerns; the A. F. of L. workers were called upon to "save their jobs" and their right to belong to their own organization and warned against raids on their unions which a C.I.O. administration would condone. Of considerable assistance in carrying out this anti-labor drive was the aid of reaction rendered by the A. F. of L. central body headed by Frank Martel.

Given this type of campaign and the frantic, last-minute alarm call thru the columns of the local press, lure to vote, the results could have been foretold. A huge turnout of more than 415,000, the largest in any municipal election in the history of Detroit, defeated but far from "exterminated" the labor slate. O'Brien ran second with a vote of 154,000 as against Reading's 260,000 and the five candidates for the council came up with a surprisingly compact vote ranging from 145,000 cast for Maurice Sugar and 141,000 for Richard Frankenstein to 126,000 secured by Walter Reuther, the labor slate's bottom man.

This heavy vote came as a welcome indication that there exists in this city—but yesterday a very heaven of open shoppism—a mighty force of 150,000 working men and women who have expressed their determination to take their stand under their own banner on the political field. No matter how loudly the employing-class press may hail the defeat of the labor slate, they find neither cheer nor comfort in the prospect of a city and state labor party.

The 36% of the total vote cast in Detroit, secured by labor in its first attempt at politics, speaks well for the aggressiveness and political alertness of the labor movement here. For this, a great share of the credit is due to the United Automobile Workers Union, its officers and membership, who bore the brunt of the campaign, organizationally and financially.

But the campaign was not without its shortcomings. Primary among these was the uncertain political approach of the campaign. Under the impression that that was the way to win the middle-class vote, attempts were made to play down the "labor angle," which led to great confusion on all sides. Another mistake was the effort to pose simply as a New Deal organization fighting against the "economic royalists." The final posters decorating the bill-boards thruout the city stressed this issue to the exclusion of almost all others. Following out the same idea, the committee's own campaign paper printed stories under the caption "All Classes Back Labor Slate."

## HITLER PLANS COUP IN FAR EAST

(Continued from Page 1)

and menacing. Germany's intervention in the Far East as "mediator" is, from this angle, intended open the way for a joint German-Japanese offensive against the U.S.S.R. by freeing Japan from the involvement of the Chinese war and, at the very least, neutralizing the Nanking government in the conflict to follow. From Shanghai, the New York Times correspondent, Hallett Abend, reports that Japan is massing "two-thirds of the cream . . . of its army" along the Siberian border and that the whole fighting around Shanghai is regarded as "in the nature of an unpremeditated sideshow." The possibility of "a swift, bold stroke in an attempt to capture Vladivostok and the Siberian maritime area," is indicated.

At the final election rally in Cass Technical High School the speakers, with one exception, embroidered the same threadbare themes and left it to Bishop Edgar Blake to strike a keynote which should have been the battle cry of labor thruout the campaign. Said the Bishop:

"As I see it, the major issue in this election is that labor's right to representation in the city's affairs must be recognized.

"To deny labor this right is to deny all of the democratic principles on which our government was founded."

There is a movement afoot for an early conference to set up a local labor party. The manner in which the movement was gotten under way does not increase one's confidence in its possibilities. Whether or not such a local labor party is to become a real force in the political life of Detroit is dependent on the degree to which it avoids becoming a creature of the socialist, communist or any other political group in the labor movement. It must be based upon the trade unions of the city and the broad masses of working men and women within them.

## A.L.P. Polls Half Million In N. Y.

(Continued from Page 1)

big impetus towards greater political independence and more aggressive action in the future. "On the basis of our vote," declared Alex Rose, secretary and campaign director of the A.L.P., in a statement to the press, "we expect that, in a very short time, the A.L.P. will be able to serve the people on the basis of its own strength. We can go it alone from now on, if need be." David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U. and one of the leaders of the A.L.P., declared that the New York vote should show the way for labor thruout the country to engage in independent political action. "The success of labor in this election," he said, "should be an example to labor thruout the United States and Canada to organize for political as well as for economic purposes."

(Read the editorial on page 2)

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The municipal elections in New York resulted in a smashing defeat for Tammany and a victory practically all along the line for the A.L.P.-Fusion-Republican alliance. Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia was reelected by an overwhelming vote, 1,344,016 to 889,591, or by about 60% of the votes cast. Along with him, the landslide brought in Thomas E. Dewey as District Attorney of New York County, Joseph D. McGoldrick as Controller, Newbold Morris as President of the City Council and all boro presidents except Lyons of the Bronx. Aside from this boro presidency, Tammany managed to retain only a few minor county offices.

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