

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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A.F.L. COUNCIL FACES WIDE DISCONTENT

Minn. Strikers Spurn Co. Offers

Minneapolis
Trucking still continues to be completely tied up as a result of the firm stand of the 6,000 workers still on strike.

The Minneapolis Protective Committee, consisting of business men "not involved in the controversy" is frantically attempting to enlist President Roosevelt's aid in breaking the strike. The chairman of this committee, E. W. Cameron, wails that the price of keeping the workers down by military rule has already cost over \$400,000. The appeal to Roosevelt is apparently intended to have him undertake direct strike-breaking rather than thru the militia, which is too costly.

Last minute efforts to settle the strike by compromise failed completely when the strike committee of 100 turned down the proposal. The committee is now going to the membership for approval of its stand.

The details of this proposed settlement are not known, but two proposals have been made public.

The employers' refusal to recognize the union and its insistence on an election to determine who really represents the workers, has now been modified. They are now ready to grant that the union does represent the inside workers in 23 produce firms.

The employers agree to reemploy all strikers except those who participated in "unlawful acts" during the strike and those suspected of "communistic" affiliation.

PENN. STATE S.P. FIRES BLANKS

James (New Leader) Oneal and Leo (Amalgamated) Kryzcki have found a common ground at last. They both hailed the Pennsylvania State Socialist Convention as a model meeting of its kind because the delegates didn't quibble about principles but set out resolutely to achieve socialism without principles.

Not all of the hundred and eighty delegates who gathered in the dance pavilion at Sinking Springs near Reading were quite as happy. David Felix, Stewart Way and Leo Sitko of the RPC were so uncouth as to want to present resolutions from the floor on such non-socialist topics as War, Trade Unions, Russia and the Road to Power. The Keystone State is building socialism not quibbling about it.

The Old Guard failed to bring its lily-white substitute for the much-mooted Declaration of Principles to the floor, on Oneal's advice, fearing that such presentation would open the road for other resolutions. The platform committee brought in a straight reform platform which was rejected through the opposition of Felix.

On the election of the State Executive the Old Boys cleaned up. Out of fourteen candidates nominated the nine reactionaries won by big majorities, five of them being from Pittsburgh.

One of the most important meetings in the annals of the American Labor Movement has just been concluded by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in a session at Atlantic City. The significance of these sessions, in the light of their lack of accomplishments, turned out to be much more the occasion of the meeting itself rather than its constructive efforts in behalf of the workers.

During the session President Green pointed out there were at least ten million fully unemployed workers in the country at present. The Council for the first time, raised the question of "digesting the massed groups of workers attracted to the unions," in recent months, but nothing definite was offered there save the hint that the moribund Workers Education Bureau, headed by Spender Miller Jr. was to be revived.

COMPANY UNIONS CHALLENGE COUNCIL

In the midst of the sessions, the automobile magnates, headed by the General Motors corporation executives who dominate the Roosevelt administration, dealt a series of blows at the A. F. of L. in the automotive industry. Company unionism raised its ugly head and inspired a break-away of the A. F. of L. locals in the Hudson and Pontiac plants. Obviously, this was pressure on Green, Woll, and their stripe constituting the Executive Council to-day. The big employers are pushing the top leadership of the A. F. of L. to the wall in an effort to enlist them actively in the drive against militant and progressive workers in the unions. It appears beyond a shadow of a doubt that the big open shoppers will meet with success in this maneuver, as President Green has already taken a number of secret and public steps to guarantee the employers that he will engage in "purging" the A. F. of L. locals.

WOLL'S CONFIDENTIAL MESSAGE

In this light it is especially important that during the session of the Executive Council, Mr. Matthew Woll, who is by far the most employing class-conscious member of the dominant A. F. of L. leadership, saw fit to address the local Kiwanis Club at a luncheon. Matthew Woll assured the Kiwanis members that "American labor has never favored the general strike". During the address Mr. Woll urged the reporters to omit part of his talk from the press columns as "a confidential message to the business men present." The "message" dealt with the San Francisco and Minneapolis strikes and the development of a Left Wing in the trade union movement, particularly amongst the garment workers.

"NRA NOT A PRODUCT OF LABOR"

It is important to note that the Executive Council

no longer proposes to ballyhoo without reservation for the N.R.A. as they realize that many workers are seeing through the fraud of the N.R.A. and, therefore, the Executive Council must change its approach, though not its fundamental position. Thus Mr. Woll confessed that the N.R.A. was "not a product of labor nor of any so-called brain-trust but rather of our commercial and industrial interests"

COUNCIL SILENT ON GOVERNMENT STRIKE-BREAKING

The A. F. of L. Executive Council did not take note of the intensive strike-breaking activities of the Government in recent months, to wit, that in the last eighteen months the National Guard has been used as a strike-breaking agency more often than in the preceding fifteen years. Likewise, the Executive Council was silent on the proposal of the notorious anti-labor union outfit in New York, the New York State Economic Council, for "the withholding from all persons receiving public unemployment relief the right of suffrage during the period such relief is being received." Fearing to offend the most powerful employers, the Council was silent on the proposal made by Mr. Percy C. Magnus, President of the New York Board of Trade, in a letter to President Roosevelt for the institution of a system to have the government license labor leaders, and that "there be rigid requirements for licenses and applicants be especially tested as to their loyalty to the laws and business customs of the country."

DISCONTENT IN A. F. OF L. GROWING

In the ranks of the trade unions in many sections of the country and in various industries there is a growing discontent with the at best do-nothing and often harmful policies of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., particularly amongst the steel workers. Furthermore, amongst the hundreds of thousands of new members in the local unions there is developing a feeling that inadequate leadership and downright misleadership have all too often been the bane of their organization. Realizing this developing new dissatisfaction with their leadership, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in its sessions in preparation for the coming conference in San Francisco, has prepared a number of measures, as yet unrevealed, for stamping out the progressive forces in the trade unions.

Competent observers are of the opinion that this struggle within the unions will be sharpened considerably within the coming months. They believe that this struggle is an indication of the changed mood of the workers in many basic industries, as well as of the beginning of the development of new forces of leadership in the A. F. of L.

U.S.S.R. First in Gold Production

Buried in the inconspicuous columns of the financial section of the Wall Street press there recently appeared two items regarding the U.S.S.R., which are of vital import.

Mr. Jesse H. Jones, Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, announced that the Soviet Union had paid its cotton loan in full, and that the payments were punctual and without the slightest hitch. This is expected to have a beneficial effect on the trade negotiations now going on in Washington between the Soviet Ambassador and the Secretary of State.

For the first time the U.S.S.R. can become the leading gold producing country in the world. Soviet

gold output in June was over 300,000 fine ounces, as against 160,000 in the corresponding months of last year.

The United States is next to the U.S.S.R. as a gold producing country.

The Soviet Union has been using its increasing gold output for the purpose of buying the necessary machinery in its successful campaign of socialist construction. In contrast with this use made by the Soviet Union, the leading imperialist powers, particularly the United States and England, have been hoarding gold for the purpose of strengthening their respective competitive commercial positions in the sharpening conflict amongst the imperialist countries. Great Britain has stripped India of unfined gold to the extent of over half a billion dollars in the last two years.

Mellon Workers Go on Strike

For the first time in the history of the industry, 8,500 aluminum workers struck in six large plants of the Aluminum Company of America, a Mellon concern. The plants affected are the New Kensington, Arnold and Logan Ferry factories in Pennsylvania and plants in Massena, N. Y., East St. Louis, Ill. and Alcoa, Tenn.

The strike called by the Aluminum Workers Council and endorsed by William Green for the A. F. of L., arose out of the refusal of the Mellon concern to deal with union.

Both the workers and the company are holding firmly to their positions despite the efforts of Fred Keightley, of the Labor Board,

UTW Opposition Strong at Meet

The convention of the United Textile Workers opened in Town Hall on August 13.

The credentials committee report was the first definite indication of the tremendous growth of the organization. By vote of the convention 450 delegates have been seated and at least 100 are still on the way from the Alabama mill towns now on strike. The growth of the union is further illustrated by the number of locals and cities represented by these 450 delegates, as compared with the last convention two years ago: 266 locals as against 58 in 1932 and 208 cities as against 37 in 1932.

New Faces And A New Spirit

One has to walk among the delegates and listen to the conversations to appreciate the new mood in the ranks of American trade unionism. Browbeaten by the New Deal government and sold out by their leadership (ask the cotton and rayon delegates) they express their hatred of McMahon and his policies. It is not impossible that inexperienced as most of the delegates are the old bureaucrats may succeed to divide and befuddle them. Much depends on the manner in which the progressive forces work in the convention.

Convention Atmosphere

The sentiment of the delegates could best be judged on the first day of the convention. A telegram from Frances Perkins is read—utter silence. William Green wires an apology for his absence and greets the convention. Now the
(Continued on Page 6)

KNITGOODS STRIKE PARLEY BEGINS

The general strike of New York knit goods workers, involving some 15,000 workers is now in its second week.

The main demands of the workers are—the 35 hour week as against 37½ plus overtime, increases in wages and recognition of the unions involved (International Ladies Garment Workers and United Textile Workers). Negotiations with the manufacturers are beginning now after a number of very effective picket demonstrations were conducted around the largest mills.

A successful conclusion of this strike will be of extraordinary significance for the knit goods workers, since here division and disension was rampant. Beside the jurisdictional struggles between the I.L.G.W.U. and the U.T.W. (recently patched up by the A. F. of L.) there is also an insignificant but noisy group affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League. To cap it all the bosses had begun intensively to build company unions.

A favorable settlement will destroy these difficulties and make possible the enforcement of what gains may be won.

CPO PROTESTS CP ROWDYISM

Following the disruption of various street meetings in the last few weeks by the official party, the CPO has sent a protest to the American Civil Liberties Union, as follows:

To the American Civil Liberties Union
100 Fifth Avenue
New York City
Dear Friends:

May I call your attention to the disgraceful disruption of an Open Air Meeting which the Communist Party (Opposition) held last Friday, August 3rd, on the corner of Herzl and Pitkin Aves., Brooklyn, N. Y., and at which I was a speaker. In organized fashion, the members of the Communist Party and Young Communist League raised such a disturbance as to make it impossible for our meeting to continue. For no other reason than the fact that they had political differences, they expressed their determination that the "Lovestonites" won't be allowed to speak in Brownsville.

For two solid hours, several dozens of these persons carried on in such hooligan fashion that any honest worker must blush that such conduct is possible in the ranks of the American working class. Hurling abuses and vituperations, shrieking, booing, the most revolting I have witnessed at an Open Air Meeting since our Brownsville meetings were attacked by these same people two years ago with knives and blackjacks. That this meeting did not end in a blood bath, and in the eventual suppressing of Open Air Meetings by the police on the pretext of riot and disorderly conduct accompanying them, is due only to the remarkable forbearance of the members of the Communist Opposition, who refused to allow themselves to be provoked by such rude and brutal anti-working class conduct.

However, we are not to be prevented from exercising our right to speak to the workers in Brownsville or anywhere else because of hoodlumism. We will take all measures necessary to defend our meetings. The responsibility for whatever happens must fall upon those who have attacked everyone of our

meetings in Brownsville in recent weeks.

I feel that the American Civil Liberties Union should be cognizant of this situation, and should take steps to prevent a recurrence of such shameful violations of the right of workers' organizations in this country to hold meetings free from attack.

It should also be noted that at this meeting, as well as previously, the members of the Official Party one hour after we had started our meeting set up a platform on the other side of the street under the auspices of some affiliated organization of the Party for the purpose of recruiting forces for their attacks. In this particular case, large banners were carried: "Support the August 4th Demonstration of the League Against War and Fascism" by the opposing meeting. Our organization is represented in the League Against War and Fascism, which is supposed to be a united front, and

has members on the Executive Committee. The significance of this, clearly, is the organized character of this hoodlumism. The official Communist Party cannot disclaim responsibility or knowledge. Hoping for your cooperation, I remain

Yours sincerely,
BARNEY HERMAN.

Refuse Appeal for Robins-Gras

New York City.
Harold Robins and Andre Gras, strikers arrested in the recent general strike of hotel workers, were today refused a certificate of reasonable doubt, in a decision handed down by Justice Valenti.

Simultaneously, however, the fight for the appeal of the original conviction was broadened, with the announcement by M. Feinstein, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades, that his organization has endorsed the Robins-Gras Defense Committee. The appeal will be argued in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court on October 9th.

Justice Valenti's decision today was a refusal to permit the workers to be released on bail pending the appeal. The Robins-Gras Defense Committee issued the following statement:

"Certificates of reasonable doubt, enabling release of prisoners on bail pending appeal have in most criminal cases become the merest formality. The existence of sufficient grounds for appeal have been taken to be sufficient grounds for the certificate. However, this general rule is often violated in cases involving the rights of labor. While convicted racketeers roam the streets freely, responsible and well-known workers are deliberately kept jailed, thereby hampering the defense work, which would be immeasurably aided if the victimized strikers were free to appear on the issue before mass meetings and union meetings. Judge Corrigan's original charge to the jury, as the record clearly showed, amounted to a second summation for the prosecution. And now, Judge Valenti's decision, is out and out class justice."

The Robins-Gras Defense Committee, set up at the request of the two victimized workers, is a broad united front of organizations, including: Amalgamated Food Workers Union, Central Executive

300 New Subs

Three hundred new Age subs in two months is the record of the New York district in the drive closing today.

The Downtown unit led with one hundred and three twenty-five cent subs, the Dress unit was second with thirty-one and the Youth unit next with twenty six. Comrade Studnitz led the individual field with thirty-six subs, comrade Zeldin was next with nine, followed by Comrades Yaker, Tiger, Schlachter, and Cora Jones with eight apiece.

The drive for twenty-five cent three months subs has been put on a national basis extending to Sept. 15. During the coming month this Age drive will be one of the principal activities of the CPO units, with the goal of surpassing the record of New York. A gain of six to seven hundred subscribers for the Age during the slack summer months represents an organizational achievement of which the CPO may be proud.

Fascist Tendencies in NRA

by Gerald Hochman

The recent series of strikes, riots and labor disputes make all important the question of what the future under the NRA holds for us. From its very beginning, the NRA was both bitterly assailed and, at the same time, greatly acclaimed—depending entirely upon how one's interests were affected. It was attacked by the big business interests who based their argument upon the Coolidge era of prosperity, namely "rugged individualism." The Republican party at that time was against anything that Roosevelt attempted and naturally it was opposed to the NRA. The real fear of the big business interests was that the NRA would accomplish what it claimed it would and so give the workers greater power. On the other hand, it was supported by the representatives of the working class as an instrument for the recognition of labor as a dominant force in the American economic structure. At first it was believed that the NRA even with its obvious faults and weaknesses, would definitely set us back on the road to prosperity.

So far the NRA seems to have failed in its original aims. Its definition of prosperity was not that of the post-war type but rather implied a decent living wage for all classes. What was to be a protection for the working class and the small business man has resulted in a panacea for trusts and big business. This has been brought before the public eye by the Darrow report. This report states that the NRA has encouraged the formation of trusts and monopolies and that the small business man is being

to have had the right to determine the nature of their organizations or unions, and were to have had the right to join the organization of their own choice for the purpose of collective bargaining, have been prevented from doing so by their employers. This may be an exaggeration, but General Johnson, instead of answering these charges directly, confined himself to generalities by replying that Darrow was trying to undermine the confidence of the American people in the NRA and strongly intimated that Darrow and the whole committee were fit candidates for a lunatic asylum.

Labor, which was to have been afforded the right to collective bargaining, has yet to enjoy these benefits. This was the underlying cause for the Toledo and Minneapolis strikes, in which the militia was called out and two strikers were killed and many others injured for doing only what they had a right to do under the NRA.

The NRA it seems is leading to government control of industry not for the benefit of the workers as it claims it is, but for the benefit of big business interests, which in reality control the government. It seems to be leading to Fascism in contradiction to the "socialistic" leaning attributed to it by some people, at the outset. Fascism is a political and social system that calls for a dictator at the head of the government, as Roosevelt now practically is, and tends to maintain the same relative position between employer and employee as is the case in a capitalistic society. The NRA was once assailed for its "socialistic" leaning by some people but its Fascist tendencies must be fought by all.

Board; American Workers Party; Communist League of America; Communist Party Opposition; I. W. W.; General Defense Committee; I. Martello Group; Organization Committee for a Revolutionary Workers Party; Left Poale Zion (Jewish Workers Party); League for Industrial Democracy; Socialist Party, Local New York; Communist League of Struggle; Provisional Committee for Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

In addition to the endorsement of the United Hebrew Trades, announced today, the Committee has also been endorsed by the Wait- (Continued on Page 3)

THE WORKERS AGE IS UNFAIR!

Of course it is! The Workers Age does not believe in gentle words and honeyed phrases. Toward the exploiters, the warlords, the reactionaries, we have no mercy and no sympathy.

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AMERICAN LABOR AT THE CROSSROADS

The following address, delivered on Friday, August 3, over station WFTD, by Charles S. Zimmerman, Manager of Dressmakers Union, Local 22, and vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is a running fire of criticism of William Green and other conservative leaders of the A. F. of L. for their conduct and policies in the recent San Francisco general strike.—Editor.

My friends and fellow-workers: In San Francisco, in the city of Tom Mooney, there recently took place the second general strike ever to occur in this country. This great event is the symbol of the great days, historic days now setting in for American labor—days of spreading union organization, of rising strikes, of mounting militancy and aggressiveness. The San Francisco strike may be over and the men already back to work but the deep impression it has made on the labor movement can never be erased nor its profound lessons forgotten. For the workers of the United States, San Francisco is an inspiration and a battle-cry!

An Event Of National Significance

If ever there was an event of national importance on the labor horizon in recent years, it was the San Francisco general strike. To speak of this strike as of "local character," possessing no national significance," as did President Green of the American Federation of Labor, betrays an incredible narrowness, yes, blindness of vision. For the issues that brought the strike of the marine workers on the Pacific Coast and the general strike, were precisely the issues that are agitating the whole labor movement today, in every industry, in every part of the country. They are the great issues of union recognition and the right of collective bargaining, in other words, the very existence of unionism. Where is there a trade, an industry, a town, or a state, in which the workers are not fighting for these very things? Where are there any workers for whom the outcome of the great San Francisco strike was not of direct and vital importance? In San Francisco, American labor was fighting its own great battle.

The San Francisco strike was of national significance because it reflected the deep stirrings in the ranks of labor and its increasingly militant mood. But how different is this mood from the aggressiveness of a year ago! Then the workers were still chasing the rainbow illusions of the NRA. These have been dissipated by the hard knocks of reality, by the bayonets of the militia. Out of the disillusionment with the broken promises of the NRA there has developed a spirit of rebellion and resentment from which there has come a new, a more sober, more effective type of militancy. The workers no longer believe that what they want will be given to them by the NRA; they are beginning to realize that better conditions and union organization must be won, if at all, thru their own organized fighting power. This lesson, which we demonstrated exactly one year ago in the great dressmakers strike in this city, is now being learned by hundreds of thousands of workers who learn things, as always, through their own hard experience. The great wave of strikes in the last few months, climaxing in the great San Francisco general strike, is the clearest evidence of this profound change of mood of large sections of the American workers.

NRA—Enemy Of Labor

In San Francisco the NRA hardly proved itself the "great charter of labor" from which all blessings flow! It was the bitter and avowed enemy of labor. General Johnson rushed to the Coast to froth at the mouth in venomous attacks upon the strikers. Even the most conservative union leaders were forced to admit that the increased strength and consolidation which the employers organizations had gained through the NRA, were now being used against the workers in the crisis. But in behalf of labor,

the NRA could see nothing, or say nothing! If the San Francisco workers gained nothing else from the general strike, they certainly gained a deep practical understanding of the nature and workings of the NRA that will stand them in good stead in the future!

"Public Opinion" And "Law And Order"

"Public opinion," we are told, was against the strikers. But in San Francisco we saw more clearly than anywhere else how this thing called "public opinion" is manufactured to order for the purpose of breaking strikes. Together, with one voice, the newspapers shouted "Revolution" at the top of their lungs. John Francis Noylan, Chief Hearst counsel, was recalled from Hawaii to direct the press and publicity campaign against the strike, to create "public opinion". The most absurd stories of Red plots and Moscow agents and revolutions planned on the Pacific Coast, were given the widest publicity in every form known to modern advertising. When General Johnson arrived in San Francisco, he immediately got together with Mr. Noylan and soon began to belabor the same song.

In San Francisco, too, we saw the true meaning of "law and order". The newspapers never ceased raving against the "lawlessness" of the strikers and Reds, who were accused of having no regard for life and property. At the same time the Vigilante gangs, hoodlums paid by the employers and working hand in hand with the police and militia, raided the headquarters of radical labor organizations, endangering life and destroying property with a reckless hand and behaving in the most lawless manner conceivable. But, of course, in the press these acts of vandalism became patriotic deeds to "preserve law and order" against the strikers. As one striker put it: "Law and order means—what the bosses say is law and what the cops do is order."

The Bureaucracy Broke The Strike

No darker page in the history of American labor has yet been written than that describing the dis-

by Chas. S. Zimmerman

graceful conduct of the conservative labor leadership in the crisis. The old-line officials in San Francisco were against the strike, heart and soul, and did not hesitate to say so. They gave in to the general demand, as Mr. Ryan himself admitted, only because they wanted to keep their positions of leadership. It was the fatal misfortune of the San Francisco strike that the militancy of the workers was neither conscious nor organized enough to snatch the leadership of the struggle away from those who feared and hated it and entrust it to those who believed in it, were devoted to it and were determined to lead it to victory!

From the very first, the conservative leaders of the general strike committee used their control to demoralize and to undermine the strike, to whittle it down here and allow it to crumble there, to bring it to an end in the shortest possible time, regardless of consequences. They headed the strike only to behead it! and they succeeded!

The general strike was not broken from without. It was undermined and destroyed from within. The most dangerous strike-breakers—and I make this charge advisedly—were those who sat in the general strike committee with no thought in their heads but to end it at any cost.

The shame of American labor goes deeper. In the very midst of the strike, while the San Francisco workers were fighting, back to the wall, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor issued a public statement of the most shocking character. Not only did he try to minimize the great significance of the general strike, but he deliberately repudiated this inspiring struggle of labor, authorized and participated in by all of the bona-fide A. F. of L. unions in San Francisco. In the most thinly disguised terms, he actually denounced the strike! It would be an insult to believe that this shameful attitude represents the sentiments of the mass of American trade unionists, who aroused to pledges and demonstrations of solidarity

in all parts of the country. The statement of President Green, like the conduct of the conservative officials in the general strike committee, was direct aid and comfort to the labor-hating, union-smashing open shoppers in San Francisco and was recognized by them as such. It was a major factor in determining and demoralizing the strike, in breaking the strike. Let the workers remember this and learn the lesson!

The Strike

Could Have Been Won

Could the general strike have succeeded. The whole capitalist press has hammered away at the point that any sympathetic strike, whether general or not, is necessarily doomed to failure. Because, maintained Mr. Green in his statement of July 21, such a strike is no longer directed against a particular group of employers but is immediately transformed into a clash with the government, and of course, says Mr. Green, "government must be supreme". But surely President Green must see that this argument condemns almost any strike whatsoever to inevitable failure since most strikes, once they reach formidable proportions, meet with the opposition of the government, which rushes in to aid the employer. And indeed this very same logic has often been used to justify capitulation and surrender in quite ordinary strikes.

The fact of the matter is that, with proper policies and leadership, with careful preparation and solid organization, and above all, with the enthusiastic and active support of the whole labor movement, general strikes have been and can be successful. All available facts go to prove that the San Francisco general strike had considerable chance of success, had the leadership of the strike and the A. F. of L. lived up to its duties and responsibilities, had it tried to win the strike instead of being concerned solely with ending it. For instance, had President Green of the A. F. of L., and Mr. Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association, both directly concerned with the outcome of the struggle, sounded the alarm to the

labor movement, had they tried to arouse the unions to the practical support of the San Francisco general strike, the story might have ended differently. But they failed in their trust; they threw their power and influence on the other side and the great strike went down in defeat!

San Francisco—A Struggle For Unionism

I said before that the San Francisco strike was essentially a struggle for unionism, for union recognition and the right of collective bargaining. Allegedly Section 7a guarantees these rights to labor. But the events of the last year and a half have abundantly shown that the American workers will be able to build up their unions and win union recognition only thru determined and unceasing struggle against the government, against the NRA. It is this struggle that constitutes the central task of labor in the present period.

Following the Toledo strike, the Weirton case, the rupture of union relations on the part of the Republic Steel Company, and many other events, the San Francisco general strike makes it clearer than ever that the organized employing class of this country is fully determined not only to stem the progress of unionism but even to destroy whatever union organization now exists. It is this, and not, the mythical fear of revolution, that accounts for the savage bitterness with which the employers met the waterfront workers struggle and the general strike that followed. The collapse of the general strike, because it disclosed the inner weakness of the labor movement will only stimulate and encourage this union-smashing drive.

The Road Of Progressive Unionism

If labor is to meet this attack, if labor is to meet the menace of company unions, if labor is to close its ranks in the face of such threats as the licensing provision proposed last week by the New York police union representatives, then it must overcome its fatal inner weaknesses, the conservative policies and the backward leadership that have cost so dear. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the unions, especially those recruited in the last eighteen months, are growing impatient with policies and practices that benefit no one but the employers. They are demanding more militancy, more aggressiveness. A new leadership, representing this mood and these ideas is making itself felt in many sections of the labor movement. These developments, are, naturally enough, bringing consternation to the employers and to the leadership of the A. F. of L. as well, to the rock-ribbed, old line officials who have had their own way so long. Both are meeting the new developments in the same way, by a drive against the more militant and aggressive elements in the trade unions under the cover of a Red scare. The police, the Federal government, the courts and the vigilante hoodlums are cooperating on the West Coast to "wipe out Communism", in actual fact, to drive the militants out of the unions. President Green has just issued a statement to the same effect—the militants must be driven out of the unions!

The labor movement can and must weather this crisis. The workers must smash the drive to rob the unions of their aggressiveness and fighting spirit. We must not be deceived by the old and discredited Red herring. Without regard to political or other differences, all sincere trade unionists must now be united to defend the integrity and militancy of their organizations!

The labor movement is today at the cross roads. The San Francisco general strike shows us what splendid opportunities there are in the American workers awakened to action. If labor is to emerge victorious and pave the way to a better future there is only one road for it to take, the road of progressive unionism, the road of conscious militancy, the road of class struggle!

THE ECONOMIC TREND

During the first four years of the depression (1929-1932) the great disparity between the effects upon the working class and the employing class were quite evident. According to Kuznets in a survey of income during this period: Wages dropped 60%, salaries dropped 40%, the total physical output of goods decreased by 37%, unemployment was estimated at 14,400,000 but interest (the income category of the owning class) merely decreased by 3%.

NRA Accentuates Class Disparity

Under the New Deal this disparity has not been eliminated but it is all the more accentuated. Turning to the Wall Street Journal of August 6, 1934 we find the following:

Factory employment in June 1934 was 81.3 which is an increase of 13.9% over the same period a year ago. Payrolls increased 17.8%. Yet this increase is partly nullified by an increase of 6% in the cost of living according to the National Industrial Conference Board. On the other hand, if one turns to the figures issued by the Consumers' Guide, cost of living has increased by a percentage closer to 15. And furthermore, if one turns to the Fairchild index of retail prices, the increase gets closer to 20%. While these conditions are found amongst the wage earning class one finds that the owners have been able to turn a net deficit of \$45,802,000 in 1932 into a net

profit of \$440,643,000. This has been mostly due to an increase in the margin between costs and prices as a result of the whole NRA system.

What Price "Fair Competition"?

One of the outstanding features of the NRA regulation of business has been its attempt to institute "fair competition" by the fixing of prices as dictated by the trade associations. This has resulted in a greater tendency toward monopolization and greater increases in prices. We find, as of December 15, 1933, according to George Soule in "The Coming American Revolution":

1. Under no codes or codes free from price-fixing provisions prices were 18% below those of 1926 and 7% below 1929.
2. Under codes having outright price-fixing provisions prices were much more than 1% below 1926 and 3% higher than 1929.
3. Under codes having open price provisions prices were 11.2% higher than in 1926 and 23.3% above 1929.

Farm Prices Lag Far Behind

While such conditions prevailed in our industrial sphere one finds that agricultural prices are not much more than one-half of the 1929 levels. If one investigates the farmers conditions it becomes very clear that he has suffered in decreased purchasing power as the result of rising industrial prices.

The wholesale prices of farm products run as follows: February 1933—40.9; July 1933—60.1; December 1933—55.1.

Opening The "Scissors"

In the same period other commodity prices excluding farm products and foods rose from 66.0 to 72.2 to 77.5. Thus one sees the cleavage between the industrial price mechanism and the farmers return. More evidence of this weakened position of the farmer can be found in the National City Bank letter of June 1934 which states—"the farmer not only may have fewer dollars to spend but each dollar will purchase less, in view of the 20% advance in prices of goods the farmers buy, as shown in the Department of Agriculture indexes." This same report goes on to a generalization which depicts very succinctly the whole contradiction of the NRA and the AAA. It states concerning "the recovery program" that "it gives to the effort to reestablish the balance between agriculture and industry the character of a movement around a circle, each pursuing the other, but failing to meet."

Relief Program—A Capitalist Stalemate

The relief program of the present administration offers another example of the stalemate at which capitalism in NRA form finds itself. No more than 4,000,000

(Continued on Page 5)

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Portrait of America
By Diego Rivera
Text by Bert Wolfe

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Growing Crisis in the Spanish Republic

The Class Forces Behind Recent Events

by D. G. Singh

The air is full of ominous forebodings. On all street corners dozens of excited men are discussing, shouting, gesticulating with uplifted arms. How dare the reactionaries of Madrid override the inherent constitutional rights of autonomous Catalonia, so dearly won after years of struggle? Should Catalonia tolerate this humiliation at the hands of the government in Madrid? But, what could one do after all, should the central government declare martial law all over Catalonia and force the Generalitat, as the Catalanian government is called, to obey their decrees through military sanctions? Or, should Catalonia secede and declare itself a republic? There is hardly any difference of opinion amongst the multitude that it should do so. The same sentiment found its expression in the almost delirious applause caused by Senor Companys, the president of the Generalitat and a life-long friend and lawyer of the Barcelona Syndicalists when he said in one of his recent speeches that the Catalanians were ready to defend their independence at all cost, with "the last drop of their blood" if necessary. Indeed the situation is acute! So agree the excited men representing practically every shade of opinion.

Agricultural Law Causes Tension

The problem of Catalonia was thought solved, and the basis of the separatist agitation removed, once for all, when, as a consequence of the revolution which overthrew the semi-feudal monarchy, Catalonia got what it had been striving for—autonomy. But obviously the Republican government reckoned without its host. The present dispute which originated with the declaration by the Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees, a body cre-

ated by the Azana cabinet with the help of the Nationalist Esquerra deputies from Catalonia, of the law of agricultural contracts passed by the Generalitat, as invalid. This apparent lack of consideration on the part of the Central government of the constitutional rights of Catalonia to regulate its own cultivation laws has turned out a first class political impasse by the prompt reenactment of the law by the Generalitat with an additional clause making it retroactive to April. The political doves of Madrid are humming with conferences, meetings and all efforts are being made to evolve a formula that would leave the prestige of the Republic untarnished, and at the same time soothe the wounded feelings of its most important part.

The Tribunal—Instrument Of Big Landowners

The Tribunal was created to hear complaints and to interpret the Constitution in case of a dispute. But here one error had crept in. Although dedicated to decide disputes which demanded a high degree of juridical talent and neutrality, a party leader, Lon Alvaro de Albornoz of the Radical Socialist Party and a notorious demagogue was selected as president of the Tribunal. A fight ensued for the capture of the rest of the seats and before long it had become an open instrument of political manoeuvre controlled by the rights. The landslide of the left Republicans, although it did not change the relation of forces in the Generalitat, where the Esquerra still dominated, naturally changed the representation of Catalonia in the Cortes, the majority passing from the hands of the Esquerra de Cataluna

to those of the Liga de Cataluna, —the political organization of the big landowners and industrialists. With the precarious relation of forces in the Legislature a quarrel could not long be avoided. The Law of Agricultural Contracts which has precipitated the present conflict, has a good many points in favor of the cultivator—the rabassaire. The question of the rabassaire is typical of Catalonia. Under this system known as "abassa morta", the tenant cultivator retains a part of the crop in return for the cultivation, and disputes over the part to be retained and other manifestations, caused by the rabassaire's desire to become the owners of land they cultivate, have constantly been growing. This law now enables the cultivator to acquire land under certain conditions, a proper compensation to the landlord being one of the major ones, and also provides for the regulation of the division of products between the parties.

It further sets up machinery for the limitation in size of the holdings, and arbitration committees to regulate further relations of the parties. In short, the new law of contracts clears the way for the development of peasant proprietorship—a genuine advance towards the liquidation of outlived forms of feudal-agrarian economy. But the astute leader of the conservative Liga, Senor Camba, did not lose any time in calling the attention of Madrid to the objectionable law passed by the Generalitat, partly to consolidate the position of the Esquerra amongst the rabassaires and partly to spite the right-

republican government. Madrid appealed to the Tribunal and the Tribunal declared it null and void.

It would, however, be nothing short of folly to regard the crisis as a juridical one. It would also be futile to analyze the present complex situation, much less, mark out its general line of development without probing into the manifold contradictions and paradoxes that characterizes Spanish political life.

Catalonia—Politically Immature

One of the most important of these paradoxes is the political immaturity of Catalonia which is, nevertheless, the most highly industrialized part of Spain. Two factors are mainly responsible for this. Decades of nationalist movement and separatist agitation have fomented the nationalist aspirations to such an extent that the people as a whole do not comprehend anything except in terms of "our parliament", "our deputies". Their aspirations all converge on the selfsame goal, democracy—parliamentary democracy.

Secondly, the predominance of the anarcho-syndicalists in Barcelona with all their belittling of political questions has not contributed a little toward this lack of understanding of the limitation of bourgeois democracy. The workers of the industrial North, the steel workers of Bilbao, or the miners of Asturias or, the rebellious land proletariat of Andalusia, have already had the opportunity to see the workings of the Republican government. When their manifestations of discontent had been brutally suppressed they could not be told like the workers of Barcelona that it was all due to Madrid, the enemy of Catalonia. The Madrid metal workers know, however, that no matter how much "one's own" a parliament might be it cannot deliver the goods to the workers.

The Peasant Problem

We find a similar phenomenon when we come to the question of the peasants. The unification of Spain which was imposed rather than brought about through the destruction of feudal economy by a rising bourgeoisie, like that of France, a fact which always provided a basis for the different separatist movements of Spain and which so strongly finds its expression in the feudal land economy of Catalonia, also explains, why the rabassaire is less likely to respond enthusiastically to such Socialist slogans as "expropriation of landlord estates" which might be quite suitable to other parts of the Republic where capitalist concentration of land has been in operation, as shown by the huge estates and a growing mass of landless peasants.

The Bourgeois-Feudal Agrarian Combination

The complexity of the situation is demonstrated as well as made comprehensible by the role played by the Liga de Cataluna—the party of the Catalan bourgeoisie. The very combination of the industrialists, the textile magnates and the steel interests of Barcelona with the feudal interests, and their unmitigated opposition to a measure that, under normal circumstances, would create a broader home market, by converting struggling tenants into peasant proprietors and thereby helping industrial-

elementary rights of democracy as members of their union has caused a considerable amount of resentment in the union ranks. The next step is to demand the immediate reinstatement of all those suspended and a condemnation of the policies which Shane has introduced in order to muzzle any kind of constructive criticism.

The task of all progressives at the present moment is to bring to the workers the lessons of Shane's actions in order to rally them in their fight for a strong a militant union.

ization, unmistakably shows the inability of the Catalanian bourgeoisie to be the leader of national development even if free from the pressure of Madrid. And in this question, the elements which might appear as the authors of Catalonia's national suffering, the CEDA—a conglomeration of all types of reaction in the Cortes—monarchists, fascists, conservatives, led by that much discussed political figure Gil Robles, is found wholeheartedly fraternizing with the Liga members. And this inability of the bourgeoisie to break the chains of feudal-agrarian economy and the existence side by side, of an industrial economy, subject to world forces, form the two sides of a contradiction that must resolve itself through a clash. The imminence of the clash is the real cause of the crisis in the Republic.

Role Of The Proletariat

But what role is being played by the workers organizations? At first glance one might feel a little confused to see big headlines in the Communist papers advocating the separation of Catalonia from the rest of the Republic, national liberation, etc. Slogans propounded long ago by that indomitable nationalist leader, Macia. To anybody not conversant with the objective facts, this may appear as playing into the hands of the petty-bourgeois Esquerra and what is probably worse, isolating the Catalan proletariat from the almost unbelievably spontaneous nationwide movement of the workers. This fear would appear unwarranted if one remembered that this national democratic revolution could not, under any circumstances, be an isolated event, complete in itself. But, in view of the position of the bourgeoisie it has to be carried out against the Liga, and of necessity develops itself into a Socialist revolution. The declaration of a Catalanian republic in the teeth of opposition of the Catalanian bourgeoisie backed by all monarchists, fascists, landlord groups, cannot but be the first step for the initiation of a Socialist revolution involving the whole Iberian peninsula.

Who Will Lead?

But the question is, who will give the lead? Everyone, Esquerra as well as the working class parties, is not explicit on this point; and it is precisely this which constitutes the vulnerable point most likely to prevent the revolutionary way from developing into a successful revolution. The B.O.C., is the Workers and Peasant Bloc led by Maurin—the only Communist group in Catalonia which can claim a certain amount of influence over the masses, does not go beyond emphasizing the necessity of declaring a Catalanian republic, in case, only in case, Madrid should decide to ride roughshod over Catalanian autonomy. The executive committee of the "Alianza Obrera", representing the united front between the B.O.C., the Socialists, and the Syndicalists, passed a resolution the other day stating that they should be prepared to take the hegemony if a Republic were to be declared. This failure to draw a line of demarcation from the Esquerra, which also advocates a bitter fight against Madrid, under special conditions, would make more difficult the task of the workers to free themselves from being the tail of the petty-bourgeois radicals—a position which their own weakness forces them to occupy. Not less dangerous is the posing of the question of the Catalanian Republic, explaining it to the workers as their only chance to get what they have been fighting for, that is, their economic demands and simultaneously making it entirely dependent on Madrid's intervention. In this case, if the central government succeeds in avoiding a clash, and it is very probable that they would through a juridical formula, the position of these working class leaders would be far from enviable. Not less significant is the fact that while concretizing the

Burocracy in Montreal ILGWU

Montreal, Canada.

by A Progressive

To really grasp fully the significance of the present situation existing amongst the cloak makers of Montreal, a moment's glance into the very recent past is essential.

The disastrous general strike of February 1933 which was supported by less than 50% of the cloak-makers marked the beginning of the quick disintegration and demoralization amongst the workers. This situation remained unchanged for quite some months, alongside the continual lowering of the wages and increase of the working hours, till it reached unheard of proportions.

Organizational Campaign Started

Early in November 1933 an organizational drive was begun in which the progressives played a very active role. The campaign netted fair results bringing the Union membership to a few hundred where only a short time ago it could not boast of fifty. The activity and growth of the cutters as well as the pressers' local was of such a nature that it called for a show of their strength. The local officials appealed to the General office asking that a man be sent down to look the situation over and bring forward a plan of action to utilize all the possibilities at hand in order not to lose our present supporters.

General Strike Proposed

General Organizer Shane was sent down by Dubinsky in Feb 1934 and Shane proposed that preparations for a General Strike be made at once. This unprincipled proposal was turned down unequivocally by all progressives and active members on the grounds that it was premature and would lead to the same disaster that the strike a year ago brought. With this idea rejected, Shane took advantage of the cutters' preparedness to fight for better conditions and called a strike of this craft only on March 5th. This move was

successfully brought to a climax with substantial increases for all the cutters. This victory injected new life into the Union and helped dissipate the doubts as to the possibility of making a concentrated drive to win better conditions for the cloakmakers for the Fall season.

Preparing For The General Strike

The determination of the cloak-makers was evident at the beginning of the season when prices were settled on the samples, duplicates and early season work with substantial increases. The workers' main hopes rested on the General strike to really improve the working conditions, regarding these early settlements merely as a stepping stone to what actually was expected through the strike.

The Union was gaining membership at a tremendous rate culminating at a mass meeting on Monday July 23rd when a complete stoppage took place in the City at 4 P.M. President Dubinsky was present at that meeting where the cloakmakers overwhelmingly voted for a General Strike.

The next day the Union Committee headed by Shane went into conference with the employers. Instead of making it clear that the cloakmakers meant business the Union representatives dragged out the conference for a whole week and drew up an agreement in which practically none of the original demands were included. At the Strike Committee meeting the Progressives criticized Shane for his harmful actions, but the right wing supporters didn't hesitate to swallow everything, even tho they had resolved to be very critical.

Approval Of Agreement

At the mass meeting where this agreement was discussed the progressives pointed out that previous to the conferences the settlements

were made on higher demands than this settlement would allow for now. Before, the minimum per hour was to be \$1.10, now the settlement reduced it to 90 cents per hour. Minimums were set at below that which was passed at the Union meetings, but, even this meant nothing because no provisions were made to readjust the prices for this season. Increases of \$1 and \$2.00 were obtained for a small number of the very badly underpaid week workers instead of the demand for a \$5.00 or flat increase. All this was settled not on the 40 hour week, but, on the 44 hour week with a provision allowing for 6 hours overtime per week.

This discussion was stopped by Shane following a short brawl in which some misled workers attacked the progressives. He then took the liberty of hurling all kinds of slanderous attacks on them and raised a lynching spirit, urging the workers to oust the progressives from the meeting hall. He even raised the "red herring" before the workers by accusing the progressives of wanting to break up the International and help build an "Industrial Union" in spite of the fact that he knew with what spirit and devotion the progressives had acted in the Union. He also threatened to resign if the agreement was not accepted. Amidst this atmosphere the agreement was "accepted."

Progressives Are Suspended

Two days later Shane told the progressives that, acting on the approval of President Dubinsky, they stand suspended from all office indefinitely because of their "union-breaking" activities. This meant that about six members of the Strike Committee, 4 Joint Council members as well as a number of important local officials were divorced from all activity merely because they dared to discuss critically the provisions of the agreement.

This arbitrary ruling of Shane's in denying the Progressives their

Will Roosevelt's New Deal Succeed?

FENNER BROCKWAY: "Will Roosevelt Succeed." George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. London, 1934.

The outstanding leader of the British ILP presents here his impressions of his recent trip through New Deal America. The conclusions reached transcend in importance the mere reactions of an individual. They throw definite light on the political character of the ILP; in view of the fact that Brockway represents the dominant tendency (and not the extreme right, at that) in the political chaos that is the ILP. The book clearly reveals that a break with reformism may remain merely nominal in fundamental respects. The hold of reformism in important questions is clearly still there. As such the book should have quite a salutary effect upon those who have illusions as to the essential Communist character of the ILP as a whole, and of its being able to serve as a main base for the building of a new, representative international.

The True Character Of Fascism

First as to the question of Fascism. There is no surer touchstone to measure a man's revolutionary clarity than his understanding of this test to Brockway leaves much to be desired. Brockway is not immune from a well known liberal virus here. In liberal and even would-be progressive circles, there is a tendency to "decentralize" Fascism, as it were, into its supposed component parts. We hear talk of an Economic Fascism, Political Fascism, Cultural Fascism, etc. Not to understand that Fascism, as something qualitatively new in the sphere of capitalist control, consists specifically in the organic, simultaneous existence of all these supposed component parts: the economic coordination, the open, brutal, political control, the destruction of bourgeois-democratic institutions, parliamentarism and political parties, the destruction of the labor movement, etc.) is to commit a grave error. And it is not a mere theoretical abstraction. Apply this "decentralized" conception of Fascism to the U.S. and we have one of the basic arguments which "convince" liberals that New Deal America is Fascism, full blown. The extension of State Capitalism and the tendency to strengthen the executive arm of the U.S. government are not in themselves Fascism. Such a basically wrong conception in the evaluation of the New Deal, means to hog-tie in advance any effective fight against it.

demands of the national revolution the B.O.C. merely demands the expropriation of the "traitors of Catalonia" without mentioning who they are. This deliberate ambiguity is being justified on tactical grounds, so as not to give the Esquerra a chance to back out and thus weaken the nationalist front through which only could there be a fight on the other two fronts, the workers and peasants. While the wisdom of this tactic may well be doubted there cannot be any doubt about one fact, and that is, that B.O.C. recognizes quite frankly their lack of strength to give a lead to the masses and boldly take them away from the sentimental world of nationalism to which they are being continually pushed by the petty-bourgeois parties only to be betrayed at the first opportunity.

What Next For Spain?

But what indeed is going to happen? Anything. It may merely signal the downfall of the Semper cabinet and then through a series of cabinet crises be ultimately replaced by some kind of Fascist dictatorship covered or quite open. And it is also possible that under the given conditions of political turmoil, widespread and violent strikes, peasant revolts, and hosts of other manifestations significant of the existing discontent and intense desire on the part of the masses to fight, this little ju-

The Fallacy Of "Constructive" Fascism

To speak further of the constructive aspects of Fascism from the viewpoint of planned economy, as Brockway does, is to forget the A.B.C. of class analysis. Constructive for whom? How, from a broad social viewpoint, Brockway can commit this grave error, becomes doubly mysterious in view of his own statistical figures on the matter which lead him to speak, a little further on, of Fascism as little better than a slave economy.

Why Fascism Will Stay Away From Our Door

Further light on Brockway's conception of Fascism is cast, if even in negative fashion, by his ideas as to why Fascism probably won't come to the U.S. Most important among these are:

1. American rugged individualism.
2. Individual characteristics of women which are vs. "Church-Child-Kitchen" view of womanhood supposed to be basic to Fascism.

One rubs his eyes in wonder at the offering of such puny obstacles to a possible advance of Fascism, the objective factors for its maturing being assumed to be present. This most certainly betrays a lack of understanding of the driving force of Fascism, or its ability to harness such supposedly "national characteristics" (themselves socially conditioned) for its own purposes. So-called rugged individualism could no more stand in the way of Fascism, the objective factors being there, than a putty blower could kill an elephant. Nor is the K.K.K. conception of womanhood (Kirche, Kinder, Kueche, either a basic factor in a Fascist program or an inevitable outcome in every country.

The Atomization Of The United States

Finally I must mention Brockway's fantastic (or shall I say rather imaginatively original) conception of the probable outcome of the disintegration of the present capitalist bourgeois-democratic state of affairs in the U.S. Not a U.S. Fascism or a U.S. Communism, but a U.S. split up into sections, each of a different political character and all fighting it out amongst themselves for control. For instance a Northeastern Communism, a Southern Fascism, a Western bourgeois democracy all locked in a death grapple. As to which section will go where and

ridical trouble may herald the advent of a violent change in the whole political fabric. This, however, is not very probable. The whole affair may just as probably be amicably settled by the parties inimical to the revolution including the bellicose Esquerra. And this would be possible only because there is not in the field of battle the party of the working class strong enough to declare the Catalan republic—to make the revolution.

ECONOMIC TREND

(Continued from Page 3)

have been re-employed. This means that there are still 11,000,000, at least, unemployed. Most of those put back to work are on government projects. Private industry has not even begun to absorb any great proportion of the vast unemployed army. It has been estimated by Henry Carter writing in the August issue of the North American Review that if private industry should return to 1929 levels "it will still fail to provide occupation and purchasing power for 6,500,000 for whom, nevertheless, provision must somehow or other be made." Another aspect of this problem has been put forward by John L. Spivak in the August issue of the American Mercury. He points out that as a result of

why, that remains a mystery. Original conceptions to say the least for those of us who have an idea of the fundamental national character of American economic and political controls, concrete sectional difference notwithstanding. So much for Fascism and its related questions.

Brockway's Road To Perdition

Secondly consider Brockway's attitude on the maintenance by the proletariat of power once captured. Brockway says:

"... the Socialists though recognizing the probable (emphasis mine—J. C.) necessity for a dictatorship during the period of transformation. . . . Only probably? This implies the possibility of a dictatorship not being necessary at certain times and under certain conditions. Fatal concession to Centrist! Read the recent program of the American 'Militants' (who have not broken with the 2nd International) and you will find in substance the same formulation.

Roosevelt's "Disinterested Purpose"

And finally, Brockway's evaluation of Roosevelt, undoubtedly the crassest part of the book. One rubs his eyes in wonder here, at statements which even liberals of the New Republic School would shudder at as opportunistic. I quote rather copiously here so that there will be no mistaking the exact meaning. Brockway says:

"... the American people have continued to trust their

President and have never doubted his disinterested purpose." (emphasis mine—J. C.)

Roosevelt as disinterested, and above the battle! Starting with this amazing conception of Roosevelt it is of course not illogical, from Brockway's point of view, to urge upon Roosevelt the carrying through of a comprehensive program possible only after the shattering of the power of bourgeoisie. Brockway says:

"Pres. Roosevelt will have to move much further if he is to succeed in dealing with America's agricultural problem. He will have to concentrate upon a redistribution of the purchasing power so as to increase effective demand for agricultural products. He must get rid of the exploitation of the landowner, and the financier and the manufacturers. (my emphasis—J. C.) He must bring about a communal partnership between the producers in the towns and in the country by ridding them of the burden of maintaining a profit making possessing class and so enable them to enjoy the full rewards of their labor."

Can gross illusion be carried any further? Yes it can. Brockway is quite resourceful in this direction. For although recognizing that this would imply a change in the social system, he nevertheless can still say the following about Roosevelt:

"But that would involve a revolution in the social system which even America's revolutionary President shows no inclination of carrying through" (my emphasis—J. C.)

And that's not all. Listen further:

'The American Youth Congress'

by Saul Held

Whither America's youth? What shall youth do in the face of the severest economic crisis that has swept the world in modern times? It is the declared objective of the Central Bureau of Young America, initiators of the "First American Youth Congress", which opens its sessions at New York University, August 15th, to discuss a program for solving the problems of unemployment, of apprenticeship, militarism, etc., that plague youth today.

The problems of modern youth, let us be specific, the problems of the working-class youth, have been a subject of much consideration on the part of the Roosevelt Administration during the past year. Faced by an unemployed army of young persons in the neighborhood of 8 million, not alone the government, but also the working people have their attention riveted on youth problems. It is in this situation that the Congress will convene.

Represented at this Congress will be organizations interested or representing youth, over 100 of them, ranging from the organizations of the blackest reaction to those of the brightest red. The Central Bureau set up by a few youthful individuals have already revealed that their knowledge of youth problems is excessively vague, and where opinions have been expressed they are most decisively reactionary. Such individuals as Viola Lima, with a keen scent for the arrival of new things on the social scene, have smelt the birth of great interest in youth problems and

the steady disintegration of the American family and the breaking up of their homes a great proportion of the middle-class housewives have been thrown on the labor market. This element has been completely disregarded in unemployment statistics. The author goes on to maintain that this group which cannot find employment completely nullifies the whole 4,000,000 gain in employment.

—ECONOMIST

have rushed, in something of a mad panic, to capitalize on what is coming. The whole set-up of the Congress reveals that it will be nothing but a forum from which the "New Dealers" may present their program of stifling discontent and further enslaving the toiling youth. Such will be the case regardless of the intentions of the promoters. Let us glance at a few projected highlights of the Congress.

A "New Deal" Talk Fest

Speakers include: A. A. Berle, Jr., Governor Winant of New Hampshire, and Arthur Garfield Hays. Chairmen of the Round Table Conferences are as follows: The Transient Problems—William J. Plunkert, head of the FEBA, Division on Transients; Home-steads and Apprenticeships—John J. Seidel, Apprenticeships Division of NRA; Educational and Spiritual Renaissance (sic)—Harry McGuire, Instructor at Yale; Child Labor, Social Insurance, etc.—Albert E. Chanson (Attorney, Chanson & Wagner) and Murray Plavner; War and Peace—Ernest Peace Foundation. The line-up is one which indicates clearly that the "New Dealers" will hog the show and disseminate their new poisons before a nation-wide audience—an audience which the federal authorities failed to get for their conference in Washington on June 1st and 2nd of this year where identical questions were under consideration.

Panaceas To Be Offered

To cope with unemployment amongst the youth the following will be offered: extension of C.C. C's, the establishment of a hostel system on European lines, home-steads. No doubt the Blue Eagle is ready to do something on all these matters. But the question arises, is this the solution? Work camps, the hostel system in Europe, were instituted years before Fascism and neither solved the

"In theory the president has changed the whole policy of American Imperialism by declaring that the armed forces will never again be used on non-American territory to defend property interests." And again:

"... he has exposed the bankers and industrialists and limited their exploitation."

Roosevelt Illusions

Must Be Cauterized

Enough, isn't it? It sounds like nothing so much as a spirited defense of the Roosevelt regime by one of the "Brain Trusters" himself. Today in America the personal popularity of Roosevelt still continues unfortunately amongst the workers, in spite of the growing disillusionment with the N.R.A. Roosevelt is insufficiently identified in the consciousness of the masses, with the whole capitalist drive of the New Deal. At such a time the exposure of Roosevelt, the uncovering of his real role before the masses of workers becomes for Communists an immediate task of great importance. And exactly at such a time, Brockway helps to strengthen these very illusions. By so doing he commits a crime against the working class and, neither more nor less, offers objective aid to the ruling class of America. Such work must be repudiated by the real left-wing kernel within the ILP. For it is this type of thinking, crude mixture of centrism, reformism and even scraps of bourgeois liberalism that helps to explain the chaos and the disintegration rapidly taking place in the ILP. It is this type of thinking that is impeding the slow painful progress of the ILP toward Communism, and which must be mercilessly squeezed out if that desirable end is ever to be attained.

problem of unemployment or any other problem. Should we blind ourselves to the verdict of history! Further, in the Fascist countries we have witnessed an extension of these institutions—and the result?—the most brutal type of slavery. Still more in the countries where these institutions prevail on a large scale, Germany and Italy, the economic structure is the most precarious, and only Wall Street credit sustains life in the tottering structure.

What these institutions can give the workers' youth of America is precisely that which it has and is giving in Fascist nations—more starvation, greater slavery. These agencies for pacifying youth and subjecting them to a more intense nationalism and militarization, must be fought without quarter by all workers' organizations represented. The "humanitarian" veil must be ripped apart revealing the Blue Eagle in all its nakedness attempting to chain youth to a slave system in industry, to a nationalistic military machine thru the work camps. The war preparations of the Roosevelt Administration must be fought in like fashion—contrast the building of the great war machine with the utterances of "our" hypocritical, pacifist diplomats.

Labor Is Challenged

This Congress is a challenge to labor. Can the labor youth organizations do an effective job in clearly analyzing the menace of the "New Deal" for youth? Can the Young Communist League work together with other labor organizations for presenting a common program for youth as against that of reaction?

As against the plans of reaction: trade union control of apprenticeship and social insurance, state support for unemployed youth under trade union control, wipe out the C.M.T.C.'s and Civil Conservation Corps. Two worlds of youth—Fascist nations and the Soviet Union. Which road shall America's toiling youth travel?

THE EXPELLED LENIN

Since 1929 the world Communist movement has been in profound crisis. Organizationally the crisis has manifested itself by a series of splits and expulsions, by the strangling of inner party life, by failure to grow, by loss of membership and influence despite tremendously favorable conditions for communist growth.

In the theory and practice of the Communist International the crisis has shown itself in the abandonment of the Leninist tactical line, in a loss of the sense of revolutionary realism, in the adoption of ultra-leftist tactics that isolate the party from the masses. The various parties have not understood how to use their theory as a sensitive instrument to measure reality, as a lever to set the masses in motion, and thus develop their understanding. They have rather treated it as a collection of cut-and-dried formulae, as quotations for banners and talmudical exegesis, as a creed to be memorized and recited on high holidays, as a universal formula which solves in advance all problems without need of considering their special terms and conditions. The splits, the losses and failures, the blunders and defeats, the rising tide of fascist terror and the darkening clouds of coming war—all serve warning that the Communist movement must reform its ranks with all possible speed, and gird itself for coming battle by a return to a Leninist tactical line.

"An 'Expelled' Pamphlet"

The most important work of Lenin on the question of tactics is the famous pamphlet: "Left" Communism: An Infantile Disorder. It bears the subtitle: An Attempt at a Popular Presentation of Marxist Strategy and Tactics. It is the outstanding work on tactics and practical activity in all the literature of Marxism. Once the cornerstone of the tactical education of every party member, today the official party has permitted it to go "out of print"! Since 1929, the party has maintained a virtual conspiracy of silence against it, as if to dramatize the rejection of the Leninist tactical line and the expulsion of its defenders at that time; the pamphlet of Lenin which advanced that line.

In preparation for the tenth anniversary of the death of Lenin in January 1934, the party republished every one of Lenin's shorter works—with one notable exception. Other pamphlets still in print were reissued in special anniversary editions, but "Left Communism" was "overlooked" and when there was a demand for it, it was promised for "later". Therefore, the Communist Opposition, as part of its struggle to restore the party to the tactical line of Leninism, has decided to republish this pamphlet. It is to be hoped that our action may shame the Party into republishing it also. It cannot be too widely known nor too widely discussed. In a very fundamental sense it is the tactical program of the International Communist Opposition. (Since this was written the C.P. has published a new edition of the pamphlet.—Editor).

The Need For The Study Of This Work

All the questions that are matters of controversy in the Communist movement today, are thoroughly examined in this little pamphlet: the question of "exceptionalism"; revolutionary realism in the formulation of tactics; sectarianism and opportunism; the question of compromises; the necessity for communist work in the conservative trade unions; the fallacies of dual unionism; the role of the party; the relation of the party to the masses; Communist discipline; the avoidance and correction of mistakes as against the game of "self-criticism"; and certain important questions (such as Communist participation in electoral and parliamentary activities and the role of Soviets) which, while not for the moment subjects of acute controversy, are bound to become so again. That a party pro-

fessing to be "Leninist" should have permitted this pamphlet to become almost unknown to its new members, that is to more than 75% of its membership, is an eloquent commentary on its fear of tactical discussion and its neglect of the fundamental task of party education.

"How Tactics Are Formulated"

"Our theory is not a dogma but a guide to action." This Marx and Engels, and after them Lenin, were never tired of repeating. The problem of tactics is no petty question of a secondary order. It is the problem of giving life to Communist theory, the problem of carrying on the struggle, of actually advancing the working class nearer to its goal. Wrong tactics, untimely or inappropriate slogans, even though adopted with the best of intentions, actually injure the cause they are intended to serve.

Marxism, demands of its adherents that they be able to make the most exact, realistic, objectively verifiable analysis of actual class relations, of concrete historical circumstances, of actual situations as they vary from land to land, and, in a given land, from moment to moment. These are the only solid foundations on which scientific policy can be based.

"The Question Of Exceptionalism"

The most startling evidence that the American Party and the International have abandoned the Marxist and Leninist methods of arriving at and formulating tactical policy, is to be found in the ill-starred speech of Stalin on the American Communist Party, delivered in May 1929 the last speech delivered by him to the International of any of its committees up to the time of this writing (May 1934). It is revealing to compare the dogmatic, anti-Marxian viewpoint there expressed with Lenin's viewpoint in this pamphlet. Said Stalin:

"... Both groups are guilty of the fundamental error of exaggerating the specific features of American capitalism. (This at a time when our party was barely beginning to become conscious of the existence of specific features, barely beginning to outgrow infantile abstraction, just beginning 'to discover America'!—B.D.W.). You know that this exaggeration lies at the root of every opportunist error committed both by the majority and the minority group. It would be wrong to ignore the specific peculiarities of American capitalism. The Communist Party in its work must take them into account. But it would be still more wrong to base the activities of the Communist Party on these specific features, since the foundation of the activities of every Communist Party, including the American Communist Party, on which it must base itself, must be the general features of capitalism, which are the same for all countries and not its specific features in any given country. (emphasis mine.—B.D.W.). It is on this that the internationalism of the Communist Party is founded." (from Stalin's speeches on the American Communist Party, published by the Communist Party, U. S. A., p. 11).

This is the only political remark of a theoretical nature in Stalin's three speeches which, for the rest, descend to an incredibly low level of boudoir gossip, and this one remark is dangerously unclear and wrong! It goes far to explain the mechanical transference of tactics from land to land, and the consequent inappropriateness in recent years of Communist tactical policy everywhere but in Russia. Compare the above passage with the theoretical clarity and living breath of Marxism that permeates Lenin's analysis of the same problem in the present pamphlet. Writes Lenin:

"We must clearly understand that such a leading center (as the Communist International—B.D.W.) cannot under any circumstances, prescribe the tactical rules of the struggle after the

by Bertram D. Wolfe

fashion of a blue print, nor mechanically level them out, nor make them mechanically identical. As long as national political differences exist between peoples and countries—and these differences will exist a very long time, even after the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the entire world—the essential unity of the international tactics of the world communist movement demands, not the elimination of the varied nature, not the wiping out of the national differences (that would be at present a senseless dream) but it requires such an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (soviet power and dictatorship of the proletariat) as will correctly modify the specific details in applying these principles, and will adapt them correctly to the national and governmental differences. The most important task of all advanced (and not only advanced) countries at the present moment is to examine, to study, to find out, to sense, and to grasp the specifically national features of the concrete methods of each country in solving the identical international task: the victory over opportunism and 'left' doctrinism in the labor movement, the defeat of the bourgeois, the setting up of a soviet republic and proletarian dictatorship." (All emphasis Lenin's—B.D.W.).

"The Trade Union Question"

Another badly needed lesson from this pamphlet is the one contained in the chapter: "Should Revolutionaries Work in the Reactionary Trade Unions." Chapter VI warns against the ruinous "get-rich-quick" policy of leaving the craft unions "to create in their stead quite new and quite pure 'workers unions' invented by exceedingly nice—and for the most part, probably very youthful—Communists."

Lenin analyzes the roots of trade union conservatism and reactionary leadership and points out that the attempt to form rival unions of the Communists and their sympathizers is a method of running away from the struggle with the bureaucrats, of abandoning the difficult and necessary task of developing the conservative craft unions into militant industrial organizations, and that it actually helps the reactionary bureaucracy. He warns against setting up "revolutionary unions" with such "minor" requirements as acceptance of the Soviet system:

"A greater lack of sense and more harm to the revolution than this attitude of the 'left' revolutionaries cannot be imagined. Why, if we in Russia, after two and a half years of incredible victories over the Russian bourgeoisie... had demanded that entrance into the Trade Unions must be conditional upon the acceptance of the dictatorship we would have committed a stupid act, impaired our influence over the masses... For the whole of the Communist problem is to be able to convince the backward, to work in their midst, and not to set up a barrier between us and them, a barrier of artificial childish 'left' slogans. There can be no doubt that Messrs. Gompers (read today 'Green' and 'Wolf'—B.D.W.)... etc. are very grateful to such 'left' revolutionaries..."

After five years of violation of the elementary principles of Leninist tactics with their "quite new and pure unions" of the I.U.U.L. (Trade Union Unity League), the Party under pressure of the Communist Opposition and the failure of its "unions" to achieve any more than a paper "existence", pretends to change its line and "work in the A. F. of L." But what does it mean by "work in the reactionary unions"? The answer is given in The Communist, official organ of the Party:

"The fact that the class conscious American workers, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League, are building revolutionary industrial unions does not exclude the need for working in the reactionary craft unions of the American Federation of Labor, but on the contrary, makes such work even more necessary. Why? Because in certain industries (having mass American Federation of Labor unions)... our work in the reactionary unions, with the policy of independent revolutionary leadership of the economic struggles of the workers, is proving to be a highly effective weapon for winning the masses away from the reformists and for organizing them into the industrial unions of the Trade Union Unity League. (The Communist, January, 1932, p. 7—emphasis in the original—B.D.W.).

Still more clearly and more authoritatively, the question is answered by Comrade Lozovsky, chairman of the Red Trade Union International in his speech to the 8th Plenum of that organization, held in Moscow in February 1932. Said Lozovsky:

"There is no need to shout from the house-tops 'destroy the unions' as was done in Germany. But that we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that we want to weaken them, that we want to explode their discipline, that we want to wrest from them the workers, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and to destroy it—that there cannot be the slightest doubt." (R.I.L.U. Magazine, Feb. 15, 1932, p. 245).

The resolution of the 8th Convention of the Communist Party (held in Cleveland in April 1934), while it talked more than ever of "working" in the reactionary unions, refused to dissolve the T. U. U. L. and actually proposed to extend dual union activities still further by making the I.U.U.L. an organizing center for a new "Independent Federation of Labor."

"How It Came To Be Written"

It almost seems as if Lenin had written "Left" Communism with the present line of the Communist International and of the American Party in his mind.

When he wrote this pamphlet the Communist International was only a few years old. Into it had come a series of very young groups and parties, full of revolutionary enthusiasm but handicapped by youthful impatience and inexperience. Against the conservative and treacherous activities of the trade union leaders and socialist parliamentary representatives, and the nationalist parties that corrupted the wings which formed the Communist International reacted negatively. They wanted to "throw out the baby with the dirty bathwater" to split the trade unions

and form "pure, revolutionary unions", to reject all maneuvers and considerations of strategy, to cease all participation in parliamentary elections, to forget all about the specific peculiarities of each country and to adopt an abstract "internationalism" which would imitate mechanically the tactics being employed at the moment in Russia.

Against this "Infantile Left" faction in the young Communist International Lenin directed this pamphlet. It was written in May 1920 as a polemical document aimed to defeat the "Left" faction ideologically at the Second Congress of the Communist International to be held in July the same year. Some of the specific details treated by Lenin are today a little out of date; for instance the withdrawal of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain from the British Labor Party, has created a changed situation there. But in all its essentials the pamphlet is as fresh and timely as if it were being written today.

When we watch the present tactics of official Communism, it almost seems as if Lenin had never written as if this battle had never been fought, and won, before today. "It is not so bad," Lenin wrote, "if one can ascribe that (their sectarianism) to their youthfulness—it is to a certain extent the privilege of youth to utter such stupidities for a certain length of time." But today, alas, the stupidities cannot be attributed to youthfulness and inexperience. The movement has gotten off the right track, unlearned what was already learned, taken a step backward, done itself untold damage at a critical time.

Yet the tactical teachings of Marx and Lenin have not been lost. They have been preserved, fought for and utilized by one of the two main currents into which the Communist movement has been divided. They are the "platform" of the Communist Opposition. We republish this pamphlet in the hope that we can thereby bring nearer the day when the Communist movement is reunited on the tactical line of Leninism. Every Communist devoted to his party, every worker conscious of the needs of his class, will help circulate this pamphlet as a means of hastening that day.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE
May, 1934.

This article by Comrade Wolfe appears as the Introduction to a new edition of Lenin's "Left Communism: An Infantile Disorder" now being published by the Communist Party (Opposition).

The publication date of this communist classic is set for September 15 and will retail for 25c a copy. Advance orders are now being taken for single copies as well as for bundle orders. Special rates for bundle orders are, of course, provided. Write for further information to Literature Department, C.P.O. 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.

Strong Opposition at U.T.W. Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

silence is broken by a few boos! The same frozen silence met McMahon when he began and when he ended his report.

Some Burning Issues

Pressure for the general strike is extremely strong, especially from the cotton, silk and rayon areas, but all McMahon has to boast of is his throttling of "many serious industrial flare-ups".

Great is the demand for separate departments or federations (cotton, silk, dyers, etc.) and for the industrial form within them but McMahon threatens that this will "lead to destruction and chaos".

And the NRA, which, to the cotton workers has meant a 25% cut and a \$9.00 minimum wage (they don't get even that) and to the

silk workers periodic wage cuts, is something holy to McMahon. NRA is to him "a real protector of the workers against the entrenched forces of capital." That is why, he insisted in his report, the manufacturers are conspiring to destroy NRA and why the workers must fight for its extended life.

Bureaucracy In For A Fight

No matter what may develop during the further course of the convention, it is clear even now that the bureaucracy is in for a sharp fight. There are sufficient progressive forces for a continued effective struggle for a militant program of action.

Don't fail to read, in the next issue, the estimate of the U.T.W. convention and its decisions.

Letters from Workers

Steel Workers Break Up Co. Union Banquet Niles, Ohio.

Dear Comrade:

Bulletins just published indicate a settlement of the Republic Iron and Steel lockout by the Labor Board in Washington. This will not be satisfactory to the men all the way. They are very much alarmed at the rise of the rank and file movement in which so many young men are taking part. I would not be surprised to find that the retention of Tighe as President is part and parcel of the settlement.

In New Castle, where the men voted for the company union, the Geor mill shut down and the men were forced to double up in the Shenango mill. Petitions circulated against this were torn up by Dave Pyle, the district manager of the New Castle and Ellwood mills. When he tore up these petitions one worker with red blood in his veins said: "we voted for your damned company union and this is what we get."

At Dover, Ohio the company tried to stage a banquet. This was to be held in Ulrichville because they could not secure a hall in Dover. The workers from Massillon, Mansfield and surrounding towns turned out one thousand strong, picketed the hall and beat hell out of those who wanted to participate in the company union banquet. The workers then took the food intended for the celebration and gave it to the poor of Dover and Ulrichville.

The company union is doing "some good" if rumors are to be trusted. The Jones and Laughlin management is hiring "old men" from 45 to 65 and will not hire any young men because they claim the younger men are "too radical and are not in accord with the company union".

B. W.

A Worker Writes

On Frisco Strike

Dear Comrade:

By this time you have probably heard much about the San Francisco strike. I think I can give you some interesting details which I got from friends who were in the thick of things.

The general strike was called for Monday July 16. There was a remarkable unity among all factions of labor and in fact amongst all middle class elements in the city. Waiters, orchestra players, carmen, other trade union workers, all joined heartily with the longshoremen.

For two days the town was completely closed. On the second day 19 restaurants were open, each carrying a huge sign "Open By Permission of the Strike Committee". Some few trucks carrying necessary food carried similar signs. The city was truly in civil war, with barricades and the armed forces of the state, some six thousand of them. The bourgeoisie was very active. Vigilante committees were formed, the American Legion was ready, service groups were waiting.

I really think that the spark which set off the terror was the Western Worker's blatant and untrue brag that the Communist Party was the only group behind the strikers, and that the communists were the only ones who tried to be workers. This is a bold assumption but I have two reasons for making it. In the first place a friend of mine who had been in San Francisco three or four days previous, told me after reading the Western Worker "the strike is broken. Wait until tomorrow." The second reason is a communist friend's reply to a direct question of mine. He admitted that the Western Worker's statement probably started hell and he also admitted that from a short time view it was probably an error. But he stoutly maintained that from a long view such action was correct. In his opinion it brought a good many workers into sympathy with the party and those who turned away would have turned away eventually anyhow.

At any rate the strike was broken and San Francisco as well as all of California got a taste of the fascism which is coming. Vigilante committees raided communist halls followed by police who arrested communists. What the Vigilantes didn't break the cops did. Around the bay private homes were completely ruined first by vigilantes and secondly by cops. By Friday the 20th California was in complete terror. The Sacramento headquarters had been raided and 24 comrades arrested. San Pedro, Carmel, Richmond, Stockton, San Jose are only a few towns hit. The movement has been driven underground.

With a good many leaders arrested and charged with vagrancy or criminal syndicalism, the CP is in a pretty mess. It was decided that bail and aid should be denied

for a few days until the terror subsided. As a matter of fact any one even inquiring about the prisoners was immediately arrested himself and charged with vagrancy. At a San Francisco meeting those comrades who were free decided that the terror would subside sooner if aid were not given for a few days at least.

I think that the most amazing phase of the whole longshoremen's strike was the sympathy shown by middle class elements. For several weeks the International Longshoremen's Association was feeding 3,000 strikers a day most of the food being donated by small shopkeepers and interested individuals. But now I fear the middle class is all behind "law and order" since it "learned" that the communists were leading the strike. The strike may have been broken eventually but perhaps some of the demands of the workers would have been met if it had held out longer.

A. T.

International Notes

Czechoslovakian S.P.s Reject United Front

PRAGUE—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, following the example of the Communist Party of France, has made united front proposals to the Socialist Party under the slogan of "Against Fascism". The offer of the Communist Party contained very detailed proposals for joint action such as demonstrations against fascism in the larger districts and along the German-Austrian frontier. They also proposed that a delegation consisting of members of all four parties be sent to Berlin to visit Thaelmann and others arrested. The three Socialist Parties, namely, the Czechoslovakian Social Democrats, the German Social Democrats, and the Czechoslovakian National Socialists got in touch

with each other and arrived at a conclusion opposed to that of the French Socialists. They decided to reject the Communist proposal, doubting its sincerity, and stating that its purpose was to discredit the Socialists if they rejected it. The two Social Democratic parties will give a joint answer while the Czechoslovakian National Socialists will answer in their own special statement.

Division Looms In Belgian Labor Org.

A split is about to occur in the Belgian labor movement. The Belgian trade unions, embracing 620,000 workers at their congress, sent an ultimatum to the Socialist Party of Belgium asking it to stop its criticism of the trade unions otherwise they, the trade unions, would split. The reason is that the young Socialists, under the leadership of Spaak, accused the trade unions of indifference and foretold that their fate would be similar to that of the German Social-Democracy. The party leadership is told to restrain its members in the interests of the labor movement. Since the Socialist Party is financially and politically dependent upon the trade unions, it will in all probability avert a split. However, there will be a great many resignations of left SP members.

Swedish Soc. Reject C. P. United Front

Stockholm, July 27, 1934. The CP of Sweden made a proposal, for joint action to save Thaelmann and other persecuted anti-Fascists, to the Socialist Party (originally the left Stromm Opposition and the Kilbom Party) and to the Social-Democratic Party.

The Swedish Social-Democracy immediately rejected this offer, and declared in its central organ:

"There is a gulf between the revolutionary line of Bolshevism and the peaceful line of Social-Democracy. Reformism professes to realize a sensible and just system within the framework of democracy, while communism wants to overthrow capitalism by physical force and establish proletarian dictatorship. In view of this, how can the two unite?"

The Socialist Party has so far answered by saying that "in the resolutions demanding the freedom of Thaelmann no propaganda must be made for communism."

ART NOT FREE, KELLY DISCOVERS

Independence Hall still stands in Philadelphia but it tottered dangerously when on July 3 of this year, the Board of Education of Phila. rejected a mural (a P.W.A. project) painted by Leon Kelly of that city. The statement of rejection follows. "Your subcommittee on the acceptance of the mural for the Administration Building begs leave to report that the murals are unrelated to the surroundings in which it was intended that they should be placed. Your committee therefore recommends that the offer of the murals be and is herewith declined."

This is a sketchy reason for rejecting the mural of Leon Kelly. The artist was engaged to paint a mural. The sketch was passed on by the Board of Education. They followed the work step by step without making objections. . . and when the work is complete this same body of pseudo-educators rejects the mural.

Titled "Education and Industry" the painting of large dimension is a commendable piece of work. Among the groupings of figures is one showing workers, a woman holding a sickle and a man, a hammer. These are crossed as the symbol of the farmers and workers unity.

Whether it is in Philadelphia or in San Francisco where Clifford Wright's mural in the Gilt Tower has been rejected by the torch-bearers of Kultur the artist, as a worker unorganized, suffers.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

7. How does the Communist Party U. S. (Opposition) evaluate the Social Democracy and its American expression, the Socialist Party?

The sharpest basic antagonism in principle exists between the Communist Party of the U. S. (Opposition) and the Socialist Party of the U. S. The goal of the Communist Party of U. S. (Opposition) is the defeat of reformism and, with that, the destruction of the reformist, Social-Democratic Party as a Party.

8. On what are the Tactical Views of the Communist Party of U. S. (Opposition) based?

a) They are based on the adherence to the fundamentals of communist tactics as founded and theoretically laid down by Lenin. These tactics have, however, been to an increasing degree, abandoned by the Communist International in recent years, particularly since the Ninth Plenum of the ECCI and the Fourth Congress of the Profintern in early 1928.

b) They are based on a critical examination of the present position and the tendencies of the development of world capitalism in general and of American capitalism in particular. The tactics of the Communist Party of U. S. (Opposition) are the application of the principles of communism to the situation of the class struggle in the United States and to the objective conditions of the international situation.

CHAPTER II

WORLD CAPITALISM: ITS PRESENT CONDITION AND TENDENCIES OF DEVELOPMENT

9. In what historical stage of capitalism are we now?

In the epoch of imperialism, which is the last stage of capitalism, i.e., that stage in which the decay of capitalism sets in on a universal scale.

10. What are the most important general characteristics of imperialism?

According to Lenin the most important characteristics of imperialism are:

a) Concentration of production and capital which has reached such a high stage of development that it creates monopolies which become the decisive factors in economic life.

b) The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the creation of a financial oligarchy (rule of a handful of trust and bank magnates) on the basis of this "finance capital."

c) The export of capital, as contrasted with the export of commodities, assumes special significance.

d) International blocks or combines of capitalist monopolies are formed, dividing the world markets and resources among themselves (cartels, syndicates).

e) The territorial division of the world among the big capitalist powers has come to an end. In short, imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the rule of monopolies and finance capital has begun, when export of capital has assumed outstanding significance, when the division of the world by international trusts has begun and the distribution of the entire world-territory among the greatest capitalist countries has been completed.

11. What is monopoly capital?

a) Monopoly capital is based on the complete elimination of competition in certain branches of industry or parts of industry, in one country or in several countries, by coordinating the plants of these branches of industry into a capitalistic whole (trust), or by means of agreements among capitalistic enterprises involving prices, volume of production, kind of commodity, distribution of markets, (cartels, syndicates).

b) The monopolistic fusion of capital, having as its point of departure in industry and banking, shifts more and more to commerce and the circulation of commodities (wholesale and retail). Those branches of economy, particularly agriculture, not yet monopolized, are also subjected more and more to the word of command by finance capital, which regulates its supply of credits and dictates prices, freight rates, etc.

12. What is the main economic effect of monopoly capital?

Capitalist monopolies obtain a greater rate of profit, (i.e. monopoly extra-profits), than those branches of economy which are not monopolized.

13. From what source is monopoly extra-profit derived?

a) Monopolized branches of industry seize parts of the profits of non-monopolized branches of industry.

b) A part of the surplus labor of the small commodity producers (impoverished farmers, retailers) is appropriated.

c) From the appropriation of a part of the wages of the working class by paying for its labor power value and by selling the industrial necessities of life above value. Capitalist monopolies also obtain extra profits through the monopolization of technical inventions.

14. How does monopoly capital obtain its extra-profits?

By means of monopoly prices. Monopoly prices are, on the average, greater than those of non-monopoly branches of industry. Monopolies temporarily resort to the means of lowering prices against outsiders. Capitalist monopolies do not bring about an end to the law of value. They only interfere with or influence the distribution of the total national or international surplus value.

15. Does monopoly capital carry out a planned regulation of production? Is it capable of eliminating capitalist chaos?

a) Monopoly capital only momentarily subjects individual branches of industry, or sections of branches of one or more countries, to a planned regulation of production for exploitation and profits.

b) It is not capable of carrying out a planned regulation of either the national or the world market. Monopoly capital merely eliminates hitherto existing capitalist competition (smaller or lower forms of) in order to reproduce it in new forms on a higher plane and with sharpened means (trust vs. trust, industry vs. industry).

c) Within the individual monopolies stubborn fights involving production and market quotations are carried on. These conflicts, particularly in times of crises, lead to the breaking up of monopolies.

d) Individual monopolies fight each other within the framework of the individual capitalist country as well as in the world market.

e) These higher and magnified competitive struggles between monopolies are frequently reflected in and connected with sharp political conflicts, foreign or domestic, with crises and violent collisions.

f) An ultra imperialism, i.e. the permanent subjection of the entire world to the rule of a single capitalist monopoly, is theoretically as well as practically impossible. About this Lenin said in his classic, "Imperialism": "Monopoly capital, therefore, eliminates neither national nor international anarchy. It only limits it in some parts of economy, but sharpens it on the whole."

16. Does monopoly capital eliminate the possibility of economic crises?

No, because it is incapable of eliminating national or international industrial anarchy.

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A. A. A.

"Cotton Farmer Kills Self When Crop Exceeds Quota; Uses Shotgun as Agents Wait, Rather Than Plow Up 3 Acres"—New York Herald Tribune, August 14, 1934.

WE have repeatedly stressed that the drought is the most striking success of the New Deal. Today, friends of the A.A.A. are as vigorous in their admission of this as are enemies in their assertion. Thus boasted Secretary of Agriculture, Wallace, the other day in addressing the New Jersey Farmers Picnic: **"THIS YEAR WE ARE OFF THE HOT SPOT IN AGRICULTURE BECAUSE OF THE DROUGHT."** What is more, sympathetic economic experts have just hailed Roosevelt as a "man of destiny" and as a lucky-starred president by praying that **"PERHAPS THIS ACT OF PROVIDENCE WILL TEND TO END THE DEPRESSING EFFECT OF FARM SURPLUSES."**

Once again we see that god is on the side of the heaviest artillery, the biggest guns—President Roosevelt and his brain trust.

Obviously, no Marxian critic, no proletarian revolutionist could draw as devastating an indictment of the capitalist system as have its own champions. With millions in the cities hungry, with famine conditions gripping huge sections in the country side, the Secretary of Agriculture, who is by far the most intelligent person in Roosevelt's cabinet, thanks the heavens for the drought as a godsend. Why such excursions into social and economic lunacy? Well, let no one forget that the economic foundations of the New Deal are: first, the reduction of the surplus (unsalable) commodities thru the restriction of production (crop curtailment, etc.) and secondly, the consequent raising of prices.

In pursuance of this course the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has had millions of acres of corn, cotton, and wheat land plowed under. Systematically executing the New Deal program on the farms the Roosevelt administration has slaughtered in one year 6,000,000 pigs and 250,000 mother pigs. For the workers in the big industrial centers this will naturally mean more for but not more of pork chops. But we reckon the New Dealers will tell us that progress, like other virtues, has its price. We will, therefore, hasten to express our fervent hope that the true liberals will not overlook this genuinely progressive action of President Roosevelt in introducing and legalizing birth control for pigs.

But what about the impoverished millions of farm folk? More than 25,000,000 are in desperate need! It is not the actual agricultural producers who will profit by the drought. For the great mass of dirt farmers, not for the "farmers" in frock coats and cutaways sprouting in the produce exchanges of New York and Chicago or on Capitol Hill in Washington the drought will spell growing difficulties, dwindling income and higher prices for raw as well as finished articles of daily consumption. It is the big middlemen, it is the big fellows who control and corner the farm products who will profit as a result of the reduction of "surpluses" at the hands of the New Deal and the New Drought.

The millions of John Farmers are facing ruin and famine. Of course, something, no matter how little, will have to be done to ease the desperate plight of the farmers. The administration will have to rush some relief or its lid may be blown off in the coming Congressional elections. Already Republican politicians are reaping a bountiful harvest of votes in the rural areas by lining up religious dope-peddlers of all garbs to spread the belief that the drought is God's punishment for man's (Roosevelt's) destruction of wheat, cotton, corn, pigs and cows—the sacred creatures of the Lord himself. Hence, further currency tinkering thru "nationalizing" silver in order to help meet this drought expense.

However, it would be folly to blame solely the Roosevelt Administration for the sad state of affairs in the rural areas. The A.A.A., as a New Deal panacea, has merely aggravated the calamitous conditions. In this sense, we agree with Mr. Wallace when he told the New Jersey Farmers: **"REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON IS DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN DURING THE NEXT FEW YEARS, THE SAME POLICIES WOULD HAVE TO BE FOLLOWED BECAUSE THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS WOULD REMAIN UNCHANGED."** No phase of the country's economic life portends more fundamentally the decay which has set in the capitalist system as such than does agriculture. Here individualism, in its purest and most rugged expression, is the touchstone of economic relations. No one can sanely challenge the fact that agriculture has been the mainstay of American individualism. Precisely for this reason, it is in this fountain head of private capitalist enterprise and initiative that we find the costliest collapse of economy. In agricultural economy organized on a capitalist basis man appears most helpless not only before the enemies of nature but before the complexities, difficulties and contradictions arising out of the bourgeois social system—the present system of relations between man and man.

Only the most purblind can fail to see that there is lots of dynamite, socially and politically speaking, in the mounting distress in the rural areas. Other quick remedies will, therefore, follow the A.A.A. as substitutes or supplements but they will meet the same fate—bankruptcy.

Unrest in the farm belt will, in the coming months, assume proportions of more significant dimensions than the active resistance to foreclosure proceedings of yesterday. The dirt farmers' bitter disillusionment will especially mount once they realize that Roosevelt's general inflationary measures didn't and couldn't render them any effective relief. They will slowly but certainly begin to realize that their real hope lies not in reliance on Wall Street's "medicine man", Roosevelt, but on their own organized political and economic power joined with the like organized power of the workers in the cities.

In short, big things are in the offing for the farmers of the seared North and mid-west and the baked southwest. The trend of these events, accelerated by the disastrous drought, will have tremendous significance for the country as a whole, affecting vitally social and political, class relations in the U. S. It is up to labor, to the workers in the industrial centers, to take the initiative and leadership for joining hands with the impoverished farmers for a common struggle against a common enemy—the trusts, the monopolist magnates and their whole government setup.

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

Secession Shocks Executive Council

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, now in session in Washington, was shocked by two consecutive secessions from the A. F. of L. On August 6 the press reported the secession of 7,000 workers in the Hudson Motor Company and on August 7 the withdrawal of 6,000 workers in Pontiac, Mich. It is also reported that 2,000 workers have withdrawn in Lansing, Mich.

The cry of "taxation without representation" raised among the workers in Pontiac indicates a deep resentment against the determined resistance of Green and the rest of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy to the proposal for the setting up a national union of automobile workers.

New Recruits Menace The Bureaucracy

Indeed the tremendous growth of trade unionism in the country has caused considerable worry among the ruling clique. The masses of new recruits are looked upon with suspicion and distrust. They are the bearers of new ideas and great militancy, they are not educated to the "methods and procedure" which dominate the A. F. of L. Frantically they seek some means to make impotent these new forces.

It is with this in mind that we begin to understand the lack of enthusiasm in granting charters to federal locals; the intense opposition to permitting the organization of national unions out of these federal locals (You see, they are not yet ready for "self government"); the extreme indifference to the militant strikes in Minneapolis and among the longshoremen; and finally the open strike breaking of Green during the general strike in San Francisco.

Greer A Company Union Agent

This dissatisfaction with present conditions in the A. F. of L. has been utilized, however, by such elements as Arthur Greer, to steer it in the direction of company unionism. The secessions in Hudson Motor, Pontiac and Lansing were so timed and organized as to leave little doubt that the strings lead right back to the front offices of the auto manufacturers.

What is decisive in the statement of Arthur Greer is not his dissatisfaction with the "attitude of the A. F. of L. toward the Pacific Coast and other strikes" (an apparent attempt to win the militant workers) but rather his open company union pronouncements. When Greer says that it is unfair to the management to require it to deal with "persons who had no connection with the business" (meaning representatives of the A. F. of L.) he is speaking the language of company unionism. This is the cry of all employers who are organizing company unions.

The responsibility for these secessions lies squarely upon the shoulders of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

Pen And Hammer Gives Strike Statistics

The Pen & Hammer, in its monthly regular strike survey for the Labor Research Association

(both CP auxiliaries), submits some interesting statistics. The report for the month of May admittedly covering "only some of the strikes in this district" shows that out of 52 strikes the Trade Union Unity League led 33; the American Federation of Labor led 14 and 5 were conducted by independent unions.

We, of course, knew that New York is the center of TUUL activities but we confess that it was a surprise to us that the TUUL should have grown to such proportions and have extended its influence to such an extent as to be responsible for the leadership in 33 out of 52 strikes. So, our interest aroused, we pry a little more deeply into the figures submitted and are rewarded by the following extremely enlightening information.

Many Strikes But Few Strikers

The energetic statisticians of Pen & Hammer dug up figures for the number of workers involved in 36 of these strikes. It appears from these figures that 4,663 workers were involved in 5 A. F. of L. strikes or an average of 933 workers per strike; independent unions led 107 workers in 3 strikes—an average of 36 per strike and this great and mighty TUUL which boasts at least 100,000 followers in its organization here, led 882 workers in 23 strikes, a not so grand average of 31 workers per strike.

Granting that these figures are accurate the results will indicate that the TUUL is an insignificant force even in its stronghold. The TUUL desire to lead strikes is apparent the unwillingness of the workers to submit themselves to the CP stupidities on the trade union field is even more apparent.

In the coming issue of Workers Age we will take up in detail a number of very interesting questions about the trade union line of the Communist Party. The questions were submitted to us by SIDNEY WALLACE of Philadelphia.

HOW STEEL BARONS SECURED BIG VOTE

We print below excerpts from a letter from a steel worker in Indiana Harbor Mich. These remarks make fairly clear how the steel companies were able to roll up such a big vote for the company union and against the Amalgamated Association.—Editor.

A week ago we told the workers how the companies were going to try to use the vote in Washington to show that the boys wanted the company union and not the Amalgamated.

You know that according to the constitution of the company union nominations are supposed to be made on Tuesday and elections the following Friday. Well they nominated on Tuesday and halloted on Thursday and Friday. That gave them four days. They nagged and they threatened us.

You know how they get you into that outfit. When you ask for a job you sign a card and that makes you a member of the com-

Stage and Screen

by Lee Mason

If the theatrical renaissance teaches us nothing else, it should teach us that there is still plenty of life in the "corpse" of capitalism. Sailor Beware and She Loves Me Not, for all their faults, are more than the mere nerve reflexes of a dead body. There is too much energy, too much good-natured fun in them to make such an assumption tenable. Where O'Neil worries his head over the contradictions of the system under which he lives, the authors of Sailor Beware and She Loves Me Not, brush these subtleties aside and give us life in the crudely physical. To them war and fascism have no immediacy, unemployment and hunger no reality; it is so much more exciting, so they think, to explore the love life of a lusty sailor and the hectic career of a hot-cha dancer.

To this might be ascribed the success of "She Loves Me Not." Saturday Evening Postish in psychology and appeal, it has a "cute little trick" parade around the apartments of two Princeton boys in an abbreviated costume. Periodically, and for the edification of the customers, she coyly undresses. Higher class, that is, intellectual entertainment, is provided in the discussions on "Socialist Washington" and in the caricature of a Communist. With this skimpy formula as a magnet, plus a novel kind of set, the customers are attracted in large numbers.

"Sailor Beware" is less synthetic and more vital. Its animal spirits snatch you up at the very outset and carry you with a rush to the conclusion. The driving action and the dramatic spiritlessness of the playwrights are admirable. You swirl out of one situation into another, you gasp from the impact of one belly joke after another as Dynamite Joe bombards "Stonewall" Jackson's virginal defenses. But when the battle is over, and the smoke has cleared away, you search for the play's significance. This you find in the audience's total disregard for the social and economic issues of the day. Perhaps when the patient, capitalism, enters the critical stage in his illness,—now he is only in the serious stage,—the good patrons will become more interested in entertainment that appeals to higher parts of the anatomy.

pany union. Why, guys come around with membership books before you even get a job.

The straw boss came over and asked me if I was going to vote I told him I'd just as soon vote for Hitler. He said I'd better watch out or pretty soon I'd have to ask the Amalgamated when I could sleep with my wife. I told him it wasn't a bad idea. We'd have a damned strong union.

The first day six of our gang held out. The second day one fell off. But four of us did not vote.

I took a ballot because it meant my job. I was going to write in Dillinger or Mae West or Roosevelt. But they did not care. All they did was check off my name and that meant I had voted. Hell, I feel like a skunk.

Robins-Gras Case

(Continued from Page 2)

ers Union Local 1 and Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. All unions are being visited to enlist their material and moral support for this important case.

The Socialist Lawyers Association has placed Abraham Abramowitz in charge of the legal work, and is preparing the appeal.

All workers and workers organizations are asked to aid this fight. The office of the Robins-Gras Defense Committee is Room 731, 22 East 17th Street, N. Y. C.

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