A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 3, No. 16.

NEW YORK, N. Y. SEPTEMBER 15. 1934.

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BOSS TERROR IN TEXTILE ST

Morro Castle Fire **Under Probe**

The burning of the Morro Castle and the tremendous loss of life in the disaster has been a deep tragedy. To the horror of fire at sea was added the fact that this occurred almost within sight of New York in a modern ship presumably equipped with every possible safety device.

But the tragedy is in no way lessened by the vicious attempt to raise a "Red scare"—to try to lay the Morro Castle fire to the activities of Cuban communists. The investigation thus far has brought out various incriminating facts—but they incriminate the Ward Line rather than any mysterious Nihilists. The fire detecting and alarm system did not work. The hoses were weak. And the SOS call was not sent out until nearly half an hour after the fire was discovered in an apparent and not unprecedented effort to save the salvage fees.

We print herewith an interview with a member of the Morro Castle's crew whose name, due to the gag rule imposed by the Ward Line, must remain concealed. But this statement does, we believe, refute the charge that the crew "deserted", that the men saved their own lives at the expense of the passengers.

"I was waked up about three o'clock. The flames were already sweeping over the whole ship. I rushed to B deck where there was the most terrible fire I had ever seen in my life. I grabbed a hose—the first one burst, but I got another.

"I looked around for passengers.

Anti-Fascist Drive

A fund of \$25,000 is being raised by the New York dressmakers to aid the anti-Fascist movements in Germany, Austria and Italy, it was announced by Charles S. Zimmeran, chairman of the Anti-Fascist and Anti-Nazi Drive Committee of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers Unions, IL.G.W.U. in a stirring call to its membership issued today. The sumwill go towards the \$50,000 anti-Fascist fund decided upon by the last convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union of which the dressmakers union is a part. By snecial decision, enthusiastically ratified by the recent shop chairmen's meeting, the Joint Board pledges itself to raise half of this sum thru collections in the shops. Cutters, pressers, operators and drapers are called upon to donate one dollar each, while the workers of the other crafts, examiners, finishers, pinkers and eleaners, are asked for fifty cents each. The fund is to go to aid the field and the residence of the control of the sum of the underground labor movement there.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

PIRITED battles are not new to the Textile workers. The workers in the textile plants have time and again shown their metal, their determination, their courage, their self-sacrifice. But of all the historic struggles waged by the Textile workers, the present general strike assumes the greatest significance. No struggle of the American working people in recent years mirrors as well the needs and demands, the weaknesses and potentialities, the qualities and short-comings of the entire American Labor Movement as does the present general strike in the Textile industry. History seems to have chosen the Textile workers to be the banner bearers at decisive turns of the American Labor Movement. Thus, the first battle in the brilliant campaign of resistance—the great strikes of 1922 against the savage offensive of the employers was waged heroically by textile workers. To-day the first general strike in American industry in many years is fought by the textile working men and women—not only in defense of their own right to organize and live in a half-decent fashion, but essentially in defense of the most sacred and inalienable rights of the working people.

It is in this strike, therefore, that the relations between the worker and employer, between the working class and the capitalist class, between trade unions and employers associations, between trade unions and memployers associations, between trade unions and employers associations, between

(Continued on Page 8)

Death Dealers Exposed In Munitions Probe

by A. M.

Why The Investigations

From the viewpoint of Realpolitik the investigation has two
motivations. First, of course, it is
a typical mudslinging fostival,
with a Democratic investigation rocommittee raking over the noisome
carbage left by its Republican predecessors. But in a more important
aspect the investigation is a sten
foward discrediting the private
manufacturers of munitions—an
easy iob—in order to clean
menting direct fabrication of armaments by the government The war
mechine is to be overhauled and
tightened in in every joint in the

face of impending imperialist con-

o'clock. The flames were already sweeping over the whole ship. I rushed to B deck where there was the most terrible fire I had ever seen in my life. I grabbed a hose—the first one burst, but I got another.

"I looked around for passengers. I saw a number of the crew in the middle of the flames by the B deck pantry, breaking open doors and waking passengers. I (Continued on Page 2)

Joint Board in Anti-Fascist Drive

A fund of \$25,000 is being raised by the New York dressmakers to aid the anti-Fascist movements in Germany, Austria and tlaly, it was announced by Charles S, Zimermerman, chairman of the Anti-Fascist and Anti-Nazi Drive Committee of the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers Unions.

Why The Investigation

Joint Board in Anti-Fascist Drive

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Why The Investigation

Joint Board in Anti-Fascist Drive

Lection the bourgeois government was the Executive commit. The course of the Executive commit. The course of the course of the scenuse of the course of the sent through which Vickers and cartel through was the first flow course of the Senatorial investigation of arms and munitions sales, held during the last two weeks in Washington.—The role of travelling drummer for the merchants of

Taharoff vanished from the front barries.

Zaharoff vanished from the front pages however when King George se came onto the scene. Despite indignant denials by the British press his role was definitely established in a cablegram sent to the Driggs Company by its Warsaw agent, reading: "King of Great Britain summoned Polish Ambasador in London and intervened in three-linch or 75 mm gun on new mobile mount letter December 15, 1928 contract." While the Prince of Wales was on the road selling the Empire, Papa stayed at home and handled the retail trade that came to the store.

"At Your Service"

America's army, navy and dip-lomatic corps was at the service of the munitions makers. In May, (Continued on Page 2)

Keller Issues Warning On Arbitration Pitfalls

NEWS FLASHES

In an effort to break the strike armed forces are being used thruout the strike area. In Woonsocket and Saylesville National Guardsmen fixed at strikers. Out of eight workers shot three have already died. Arbitration negotiations have been rejected by the employers. Gorman sees a long drawn-out battle. Green appeals to all unions for financial existence for the strike financial assistance for the strike.

Keller of Paterson announces strenuous efforts made to pull out Passaic. Dyers of Patterson to strike Monday morning.

by Eli Keller

by Eli Keller

From the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, on a 1500-mile battiefront, one-half million textile workers are engaging the textile workers are engaging the textile barons in the greatest battle textiles has ever witnessed. What is outstanding in this mighty demonstration of the textile workers? The whole N.R.A. apparatus, codes and administration, stands exposed in all its brutality as an instrument of exploitation. Secondly, Unionism cracks the anti-labor south and the overwhelming majority of these slaves of the spindle flock into the United Textile Workers and demonstrate a fight and courage in the strike that is unsurpassed. Thirdly, every branch of the textile industry, every textile area in the United States responded and a general strike paralyzed the entire industry. Fourthly, the realization of the entire trade union movement of the great stake they have in this strike, and their desire to aid the textile brons when the strike scanses as the famed "flying squadrons" mop up the scab shops and their desire to aid the textile brands of the United Strikes in creating militia was swiftly mobilized by the textile squadrons" mop up the scab shops and their desire to aid the textile brands of the United Textile Workers are:

Paterson Prepares Early

reases as the famed "flying squadrons" mop up the scab shops and mills, the realization of the entire tasked union movement of the great stake they have in this strike, and the testile desire to aid the textile strikers in every possible manner.

Paterson Prepares Early
Weeks before the general strike, with light and wills.

Paterson Prepares Early
Weeks before the general strike what are the strikers fighting for? The demands of the United Textile Workers are:

"I. The establishment of a 30-hours acalled, the Paterson District of the American Association of Silk of the American Association of Silk of the Continued on Page 4)

N.Y. Silk Workers

Broaden Strike

New York, N. Y.
The silk workers of New York have been successful in spreading the strike to all sections of the industry—broad silk, ribbon and silk winding.

More than 300 workers are on on strike in the broad silk and ribbon sections and 1500 workers in the silk winding industry. The ranks of the strikers are growing daily as additional shops are being struck.

The broad silk and ribbon locals are conducting a joint strike, with loint strike committee and mass meetings. Meetings are being daily as additional shops are being struck.

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The stablishment of a maximum work load for operations in the silk

Rehind Southern Storm

It is the uprising and heroic militancy of the textile workers in (Continued on Page 7)

The NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

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comrade Roy writes us in particular and the properties of the control of the factority of t

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DEATH MERCHANTS EXPOSED

Keller Repudiates Press
Distortions

"Statements appearing in several
New York newspapers quoting me
as having attacked the Communlists and Communism are false"
declared Eli Keller, local secretary
of the United Textile Workers.

"What I actually did say was
this: in my opinion the trade union
policies of the official Communist
Party—particularly the building of
dual trade unions in opposition to
the American Federation of Labor
—is detrimental to the trade union
movement as a whole and weakens
the struggle of the workers to improve their conditions. I am interested (and I am certain that I
voice the position of our union in
this connection) in building a
powerful fighting trade union
movement in the United States—
the greatest weapon labor can
wield in its struggle. In line with
this, I do not hold the political affilia Jion of any worker against
him, regardless of my personal
convictions on political questions.
Our union has not deprived any
worker of membership because of
political affiliation; I would have
been the very first to fight such a
condition. Our union welcomes
into its ranks any worker who sincerely desires to fight and build
the union, be they Republicans,
Democrats, Socialists, or Communists, or what have you."

"It is unfortunate that my
statements have been garbled in

ists, or what have you."

"It is unfortunate that my statements have been garbled in such fashion that, I was quoted as having said precisely the opnosite of what I actually did say. I feel that it is my duty to define the union position and my position, in the clearest possible fashion to every worker in the labor movement."

OF THE SCHOOL

DELICIOUS FOOD? GOOD SERVICE?



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New York City

Fall Term, 1934

P. M.	MONDAYS	TUESDAYS	THURSDAY	FRIDAYS	
7-8:30	Foundations of Marxism WILL HERBERG	Radical Tendencies in the labor movement B. HERMAN	Fundamentals of Communism D. BENJAMIN	Trade Union Tactics G. F. MILES	
:40-10:10	Fundamentals of Communism E. DORF	Portrait of America JIM CORK	Marxist Classics in the Light of Current History JAY LOVESTONE	Marxian Economics BERT WOLFE	

Comrade Roy has sent us a gently called upon to send letters frank appeal for help. As can be seen from the except of the letter from Comrade Roy which we herewith reproduce, the British Imperialistic Authorities have gone out of their way to make life miserable for Comrade Roy wite us in part.

Comrade Roy writes us

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THE NEW DEAL - PAST AND PRESEN

This is the fourth article, by Jay Lovestone, in the series "The Economics Of The Roosevelt Program,"

Government figures indicate that more than fifteen million gainfully occupied are now bound by over six hundred "Codes of Fair Competition." This NRA alone would be a colossal creation. The New Deal, however, is much more than the NRA which will, in its present form, expire in June, 1935. It is with the New Deal in its larger we are concerned when we are seeing it whole, as it is, and in its perspectives.

"STABILIZATION FOR ALL TIME"

Much calumny and confusion have crept into the count-less attempts to estimate the program of the New Deal socially, historically. This is characteristic of champion and critic on right and left. A brief return to the background of the origin of the economic program of the New Deal will therefore, prove illuminating. In his recent book, "On Our Way", President Roosevelt, in Gabriel-like fashion, trumpets from the White House:

"History probably will record the National In-dustrial Recovery Act as the most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by the American Congress; it represents a supreme effort to stabilize for all time."

BIG BUSINESS CRIED FOR IT

What were the exact circumstances surrounding the conception and concoction of this "effort to stabilize for all time" which some brand as fascism, others hail as socialism, and still others as America's contribution to a world in agony? Even so violently reactionary an op-ponent of the NRA as Mark Sullivan can not but tell the readers of the New York Herald Tribune (Aug. 26, 1934)

"NRA was really brought about by big business. In April of 1933 when things were at their worst, big business came down to Washington to plead that the new administration save them from themselves. They feared a period of reduced consumption and they feared cut-throat competition with each other. They asked for NRA, they cried for it, they sobbed for it."

How panicky Wall Street was at the beginning of 1933 can be seen from this release issued by United Business Service on Feb. 18, 1933:
"Not since Lincoln took office in 1861 has as

critical a situation faced an incoming President. A suffering people, including many millions of un-employed seething with discontent and unrest, and millions more of farmers and small business men hanging on by a precarious hold, look to the new Administration for effective measures of speedy

REORGANIZING THE "CAPITALISTIC" SYSTEM

Before the last Annual Conference of Engineers, deputy administrator Walter A. Janssen of the NRA was frank enough to admit that this condition was brought "by the failure of our capitalistic system because production exceeded demand." It has been estimated that "we lost as much ground in three years of depression as we, (American capitalism—J.L.) gained in the twelve years preceding." Herein lies the manapring of the New Deal wnich the well-known Wall Street banking house, the Guaranty Trust Company, thus correctly evaluated in its

The Roosevelt Program - IV

by Jay Lovestone

Survey for April 1934: "Fundamentally, the New Deal is an attempt to re-organize the economic and political system in such a way as to permit the government to take an active part in bringing about co-operative action among all branches of business activity."

THROWING OFF GOVERNMENT INTERFERTNCE

No Joub, the New Deal has proved no small factor No Joub. the New Deal has proved no small factor in bolstering up the drooping morale of American business so noticeable a couple of years ago. Therefore, some big business interests now feel they no longer have any need for NRA. Resorting to the typical Rooseveltian dramatic license, the President's better-half, recently told the world what she thought of such ingrates. Said Mrs. President Roosevelt: "Industrial leaders were coming to the government at Washington and saying: "Take our business and run it for us. Now with the first whist of revival they are eager to throw off all government inter-

Such opposition doesn't change the nature or purpose of the NRA, doesn't make the New Deal pro-labor, so-cialist, or revolutionary in the most anaemic socioclaimst, or revolutionary in the most anaemic socio-conomic sense. Let no one be fooled, as to the character of the New Deal, by the emergence of the American Liberty League which Mr. Jowett Shouse, its secretary, calls "an attempt to organize property owners." We need but recall how Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, whom Roosevelt appointed as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, declared in his address of acceptance that business must under no circumstances be "harassed and annoyed and pushed around," and that it must be "given a chance to live, make profits, and grow." Secretary of Commerce Roper hastened to assure the capitalists, and to counteract the American Liberty League on August 22, by pledging that nothing will be done by the New Deal to interfere with his freedom to exercise his "initiative in planning for the future of his business in the light of an equitable profit system," and that "our Government and the masses of the people themselves resent unthinking statements or subtle suggestions that the profit motive in American Efe has been or is to be abolished." And Federal Emergency Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins cut through the maxe by bluntly telling the Anglo-American Press Club in Paris (Aug. 15) that "The Administration is making an honest and sincere effort to bolster up capitalism."

HARD-BOILED BUSINESS MEN WROTE CODES

In reality, Wall Street's recent cries about the socialism of the NRA have as their aim an even greater utilization of the government machinery to enhance their class interest at the expense of the workers. That the President was turning no deaf ear to these calls for bigger and better profits in his consideration of the re-organization plans of the NRA has been obvious for sometime. This was clearly seen by the authoritative London Economist (Aug. 11, 1934) when it said: "The NRA has almost entirely lost its character as a mechanism for re-distributing incomes, and the much more tepid support now given by the Administration to the claims of labor is evidence of some change of heart on this second aspect of policy

also." Nor is it of any small significance that Donald Richberg, Executive Director of the National Emergency Council, has vigorously broadcasted to the country that:

"Perhaps the most absurd myth developed by political fiction writers is that the process of establishing codes of fair competition has been a beneficial experiment carried on by a mysterious group of youthful brain trusters operating under a Presidential dictatorship. The truth is that the Codes were written by hard-boiled business men, the chosen representatives of trade and industry."

(August 28, 1934.)

Obviously, Wall Street has no serious grievance against the New Deal, as can be seen from what Charles M. Schwab, the big steel overlord, has said:

"The action of the automobile, textile and other industries in formulating and exerting their various codes is... the great practical result which has been accomplished thus far. The principles which they adopted are in line with what we have advocated and hoped for over these many years."

(N. Y. Times, May 25, 1934.)

STATE CAPITALISM RAPIDLY DEVELOPING

The emergence of the New Deal undoubtedly marks a new period in American social and political development. The U.S. is now beginning to go through a period of The U. S. is now beginning to go through a period of rapidly developing state capitalism on a mass scale. But what it took Europe decades to develop, the U. S. will attain in but a few years. The New Deal and its NRA attain in but a few years. The New Deal and its NRA have been introduced at this particular moment because economic development has reached a point of development in which privately owned enterprise is not expanding but contracting. Therefore, the stimulant of state capitalism is resorted to in order to help revive and expand private individual capitalist enterprise. The crisis in the NRA and therefore in the New Deal as a whole is due above all to the fact that the NRA has failed to stimulate sufficiently a revival in private capital expenditure. The boasts of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation regarding the unexpectedly high volume of repayments of loans are really empty. In reality this readiness to repay only indicates a lack of desire and unreadiness to invest in increasing purchases of consumption and durable goods increasing purchases of consumption and durable goods for expansion of production and consequently of employment. In fact, every one now recognizes the acute severity of the slump in production with at least eleven will of fully unemployed. Even President Green of the A. F. of L., who is an outstanding conservative force in the country, and who is certainly no bitter opponent of the New Deal, has recently been compelled to raise such embarrassing questions as these: "Will it be necessary for spright, to take over the execution of the New Deal." sary for society to take over the means of production? Will the Government be forced. . to invite the eager and willing workers to march into the idle shops? These are questions which industry must ponder now before it is too late. The crisis is on us."

ROOSEVELT PROGRAM AT CROSSROADS

Here lies the crisis of the New Deal, Herein we find the source of inspiration of the bitter controversy now dividing the capitalist ruling clique over the NRA and the rising tide of uncertainty and pessimism. The entire Roosevelt program is at the crossroads. It must either go forward or retreat. It cannot stand still. Hence the b.tter divisions over the past, present, and future of the New Deal. Hence it is most timely to look into the nomic consequences and perspectives of the New Deal.

The Economic Trend

Business continued to register further declines, as recorded by the New York Times index for the week ending September 1. The index dropped to 75.1 as compared to 81.6 of a year ago for the corresponding week. The details of the decline are seen in the statement of the Times (Sept. 9):
"Particularly heavy decreases were registered in the automobile production and the electric power output series. Power production for the week fell below the corresponding week of last year for the first time this year. Sizeable losses also took place in lumber production and steel activity."

Intercal Instability.

Internal Instability

of Capitalism

If one reviews the whole course of the business index since the inception of the Roosevelt program, one observes the essentially unstable nature of the curve. It indicates how narrow a margin business enterprise is working on at the present. These ups and downs, (which vary from the very heights to the depths at present), have no parallel in any other period in post-war activity nor in any former period of capitalist recovery. Such a condition points definitely towards the internal instability of capitalism which, on the surface, is in, what is termed,

Hours per week per worker per worker Average earnings 63.2c

Average earnings
per hour 63.2c 63.9c
All of which means that the
steel workers are now "burning
off the seat of the pants" at a
wage rate of \$15.42 per week.
This, we presume, could also be
listed in the Richberg report as a
part of the "tremendous gains"!

Relief Lists On Increase

Relif Lists On Increase

In this general decline that we have been witnessing in business during the summer months, the steel industry has reached extremely low levels. Whereas the operating rate in June of this year was 52.68% of capacity, the month of July showed a tremendous drop to 26.75. In this situation, the steel workers, who have gained undying fame by dubbing the NRA the mational run-around, have received further evidence of the "benevolence" of the capitalists in the form of reduced employment and earnings. We present below some figures from the report of the American Iron and Steel Institute (Aug. 31):

July '34

June '34

Wage carners 283,673

Wages \$26,150,272 \$40,630,314

Relif Lists On Increase

While speaking of "tremendous gains" one is compelled to ask the penial and optimistic Mr. Reinberg whether the following flame by two weeks to the highest level since Dec. 15, 1931. He further points out that "as compared with the index of 90.4 for April 1933, the lowest point reached since prevail 1933, the lowest point reached since prevail 1933, 4,500,000

June "3,451,874
Nov. "3,800,000

Auril 1933 4,500,000

Auril 1934 3,864,765

Nov. "3,800,000

Auril 1934 3,864,765

Nov. "3,800,000

Auril 1934 3,864,765

Nov. "3,800,000

Auril 1934 3,864,765

And he goes on to state that by peb, 5,000,000 families will be on relief. It seems that the health of economy is being measured these days by the number of people that days by the number of people that show the threat of the workers have been nullified by the rising price levels.

Profits Are Sky-Rocketing

In a past issue of the Worker's

Proceeds go to

ism when he pointed out that in periods of crisis those who were supposed to feed society reach such a state that society has to feed and take care of them.

Prices Rises Steeply

Prices Rises Steeply

Prices Rises Steeply

Concomitant with the sharp decline being registered in business a comes the steady advancement in prices. I. Lubin of the Dep't. of Labor reports on Aug. 28 that retail food prices advanced during the past two weeks to the highest level since Dec. 15, 1931. He further points out that "as compared if it is not which the workers had you consider the prices of the basic factors that prices are up by more than 23½ ½. This constant increase in the prices of the basic factors that prices of the basic factors that prices of the increasingly difficult straits into which the workers have been put by the New Deal, with its inflationary policies. Any friences that have come in wage returns have been nullified by the rising price levels.

Profits Are Sky-Rocketing

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Portrait of America By Diego Rivera Text by Bert Wolfe

WORKERS AGE

The Comintern and the United Front

At present a tactical turn of the C.I. is taking place in the field of united front tactics and to a certain extent the trade union tactics. A short review of the history of united front tactics of the C.I. will make for a better understanding of the present turn. United front tactics first developed in Germany due to the following situation. The organized sections of the working class were split into two main camps, communism and reformism. The direct struggle for power, for the soviet dictatorship had met with defeat and was relegated to the background. Immediate demands and revolutionary transition slogans were substituted. Then the militaristic and fascist counterrevolutionary forces, took the offensive (Kapp putsch, murder of Erzberg and Rathenau, etc.). A growing sentiment developed among the working class to concentrate all forces regardless of party lines for proletarian defense against reaction. Following the period of direct struggle for power,

Estimating the Recent Changes

as the revolutionary wave receded the Communist Party was forced to look for new methods of struggle in order to check the influence of reformism which could not be taken by storm but had to be overcome by persistent struggle. United front tactics were practically developed in Germany, with the help of Lenin. A beginning was a means for the preparation and execution of the Struggle for power. The Pendulum wings To The Left The application of the Grind World Congress). We emphasize that a beginning was made for the countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-ferring united front tactics, and to liquidate the ultra-left trade and thus preventing a repetition of the united front tactics, vacillating course between the united front actions, were accounted to the united front actions, were accounted to the united front actions, and the united front actions of the united front actions, were accounted to the countries of the united front actions, and the united front actions of t

Into this period falls also the formation of the CPO as an organized communist tendency which On Streets
On February 9th the CP of Prance organized its own demonstration on the Place de la Republique, in which several thousand Social-Democratic workers took part. The SFIO (Socialist Party) and the GCT (reformist trade union center) jointly declared for the general strike and demonstrations were held all over France on the 12th of February. The most gigantic general strike that France had ever witnessed took place. The

Comintern Pursues
Zig-Zag Course
Following the victory of fascism in Germany the CI at first pursued a zigzag course. In March 1933 it passed the well-known resolution which instructed all of its sections to address united front proposals against war and fascism to the leaders of the reformist parties. The non-agression pact was thought of then. This turn proved to be ineffective because of the after-effects of the preceding five years of ultra leftism. In April the Executive Committee of the CI passed a resolution according to which the tact'es of the CPG up to the time of Hiller's seizure of power were declared to be "absolutely correct" thus actually nullifying the March decision. The XHI ECCI plenum finally passed a resolution on the united front which combined these two contradictions in an eclectic manner. An inquiry revealed that to address proposals to the leadersh'p of reformist organizations was not rejected on principle, but was regarded as a rare exception; the rule being the "united front from below." Thus the sections were really without any real tactical guide on the basis of this decision. They were under the impression that appeals from one organization to another were again to be regarded as opportunist crimes to be carefully avoided. The "revolutionary trade union" tactic was again sanctioned by the XHI Plenum.

A New Turn In

came about as a result of February 6th, on which day the reactionary and fascist leagues of Paris overthrew the left-bourgeois government and nelped to establish a government of "national unity", the Doumergue government. In working class and even among petty bourgeois sections arose the determination to check the reactionary and fascist forces, which had so suddenly appeared in the open and had won a surprize victory. Masses Demand
Unity Of Action

"Fascism shall not win" became
the slogan of the working class.
Under the pressure of this mass
sentiment the leadership of the
French Social-Democracy (SF10)
which had until then supported the
left-bourgeois government was forced to propose to the CI, on that
very day, February 6th, negotiations for common action. At the
same time the SF10 instructed its
sacctions to keep away from the
streets and to let the armed forces
of the government (municipal
police, republican guard, regular
troops) rout the reactionaries and
fascists. This instruction was
agreed upon with the Daladier
government. The Parisian organizations got instructions to be
ready in their party locals. The
leadership of the CF of France rejected the proposal of the SocialDemocratic leadership for negotiations and (the following day) published an aggressive answer giving
the reasons for the refusal. What
they should have done is obvious,
namely, to enter into negotiations;
to propose that they jointly go out
on the streets and fight the fascists; and in case the leadership of
the SF10 refused to do this, to
send a few hundred communists to
the Social-Democratic party branches to appeal to the Social-Democratic workers who were being held
back by the leadership with great
effort, from going out on the
streets. Thus a most important and
decisive moment was passed up.

Mosses Go Out
On Streets

Ultra-Left Line

A further consequence was the renewed ultra-left period 1928-1933 when once more Germany was the main field of application. This period, the longest and most persistent period of ultra-leftism, coincided to a large extent with the period of the advance of fascism in Germany and in several other countries, having all the more drastic and catastrophic effects. The ultra-left course is responsible for the fact that in the period of the greatest economic and political crisis of capitalism, Communists in Germany did not succeed in overcoming the mass influence of reformism, or even checking it in a large measure, and that fascism seized power without resistance on the part of the working class.

Doriot Begins
His Struggle
In the Central Committee of the
CPF Doriot and others raised the
question of a change in tactics and
demanded a discussion on these
tactics in the party immediately
after the events of February 6th.
Doriot demanded that negotiations with the leadership be taken
up. He proposed a program of action which contained correct partinist demands as well as opportunist demands such as the nationalization of banks, basic industries, etc. His statement seemed to
imply that the united front was a
means of seizing power. Doriot's
demands were rejected. A general
discussion in the Party was not
permitted. On the contrarry, a
vicious campaign was started
against Doriot in his own organization, in St. Denis.

CP Expells Doriot—

CP Expells Doriot— Takes His Policy

Doriot Begins

A New Turn In
The Making
The beginning of the new turn

In June the Party convention at Ivry made the change. The convention of Continued on Page 6)

had ever witnessed took place. The CP of France and the CGTU (revolutionary trade union center) simply joined the general strike and the demonstrations. Throughout the country mass action committees, etc.

mittees, vigilance committees, etc. were formed in connection with the general strike, composed, as a rule, of representatives of communist and reformist organizations. In some localities free-thinkers and other local bourgeois-radical organizations participated.

Eli Keller on Arbitration

(Continued from Page 1) tically every textile worker in Paterson in the united union, with the Paterson workers experienced thru many strikes, the strike-machinery was set-up in short order and the decks cleared for action.

(Continued from Page 1)
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Paterson werkers experienced the
was set-up in short order and the
decks cleared for action.

Without Successful

Without Successful

Without Successful

With Grant Strike in the
stilk industry effective as of Susre
day Sept. 1st, 21:01 * M. No on
The first day of the strike and
is 10:00 textile workers responded
to the call which came by tell grant
and in the committee authorizes strike in the
stilk industry effective as of Susre
day Sept. 1st, 21:01 * M. No on
The Sustainant of the Authorize
A substructions. Your for
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A substructions. Your for
a now short of the susses or
a 100% shutdown. The issues are
as 100% shutdow

interference. Passaic is receiving aid from Paterson continually. When it was rumored this week that the Jacquard workers would return to work the union immediately spiked these rumors and organized a mass picket line for 6 o'clock in the morning to patrol the milly and keep these mills closed. We have consistently called to the attention of the National

their "non-interference." Rooselvelt's intervention took place and the inquiry board was set up. The strategy of the mill owners runs true to precedent: have the strikeers go back to work then we shall arbitrate. This has always resulted in a defeat for the workers. In this connection Gorman's proposal that the President's board be empowered to arbitrate the strike is not the best line of strategy for a victory. The only line to victory was given by Gorman himself in the telegram calling the strike: "Union recognition which means to us that the manufacturers will concede the above demands to us as members of the United Textile Workers of America". Arbitration must be fought. The National Run-Around will rely upon arbitration to break the strke. We must fight any such attempt.

The whole American labor more

of the U. T. W. Convention Results

This is the second and conclud ing article by A Delegate on the revent convention of the United Textile Workers Union. It was the action of this convention which forced the leadership into the nation-wide textile strike.

A number of resolutions presented by delegate Herman for local No. 2148 of New York, were caraiced—among these the resolution for a Labor Party, against Fascism, urging the A. F. of L. to call a World Labor Congress for struggle against Fascism, and opposing the granting of credits to bolster-up Nazi rule in Germany. Resolutions against child labor, for organization of the unorganized, for a campaign to whe out company unions, and for mass resistance to the menace of injuctions were adopted unanimously. The resolution of delegate Herman against imperialist war, calling for a general strike of the labor movement in case of war, was defeated by a vote of 209 to 177, after a sharpfight in which the issue of patriotism was dragged in to stampede the convention against a militant position. It is significant that certain Socialists, including one so-called "Militant," helped to defeat the resolution. But the arguments for the struggle against war have left their mark and will bear fruit turout the ranks of the organization in the future. If the Socialist Rieve had come to the support of the resolution it would undoubtedly have won by a big margin A major achievement of the Convention was the endorsing of the Lundeen Bill for Unemployment Insurance, Two resolutions, one by Herman, endorsing the establishment of a comprehensive system of federal social insurance, and the Hosiery caucus resolution for the Lundeen Bill were combined and carried together by an overwhelming vote. An attempt was again made to defeat this proposal by dragging in the red herring of Communist auspices of the bill, but without effect. Only on this one question did Rieve take a progressive stand, but it should be kept in mind that he was undering or the standishment of unemployed insurance was so powerful that even the McMahon floor immediate establishment of unemployed insurance was so powerful that even the McMahon floor immediate establishment of unemployed insurance was so powerful that even the McMahon floor immediate establishment of unemp

Question
The fight for the establishment
of Federations was won at this
Convention, compelling all locals,
in a given sect on of the industry,
to affiliate to the Federation in
that industry as well as to the
U.T.W. McMahon had fought this that industry as well as to the U. T. W. McMahon had fought this form of organization for years, realizing that it laid the basis for greater independence of the Federations in Silk, Dyeing, Wool, etc. in their efforts to defend the interests of the workers, and tended to avoid the obstruction put in the path of the strikes in these industries by the U. T. W. leadership. The hopes of McMahon for an organizational structure by Districts, cutting horizontally zeros federat on lines and under the centralized control of the International were defeated thereby. McMahon knew that the sentiment for federat ons was too strong to be defeated and therefore retreated wen the the federations are a grave threat to him.

Tasks of the Progressives

by A Delegate

scare again, claiming that the Resolution had come from the boiler-plate factory of the Communist Party, and had been introduced for the purpose of disrupting the A. F. of L. They were met with boos from every side. Keller of Paterson, Herman of New York, Lyding, and Stetin of the Dyers, and Miller of the Hossery Workers defended the resolution, accusing Green of having helped to break the strike. Arnold of Reading, the mover of the Resolution firmly denied C. P. auspices of the Resolution. The dragging in of the "red herring" on every issue was effectively exposed, so that the conservatives were afraid to raise it again in the Convention. There is no question that this line of attack on Progressive measures was able to sway certain sections, especially in the Southern delegation, and affect the vote considerably 190 to 103, but the demonstration against the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L. was one of the most inspiring that has yet occurred.

The General Strike

The General Strike

The demonstration for a general strike in the textile industry was another great climax of the Convention. The grievances of the workes in every branch of the industry had piled up to such heights that in spite of all the efforts of McMahon and Rieve, the Progressive proposals were the ones carried. Delegate after delegate reported on the infamous treatment of the workers in the industry, the \$6-7 weekly wages in the cotton industry, the nerve-wracking stretchouts, with one weaver operating 96 and even 100 looms in the cotton industry, the firing of 1,500 union members in Alabama precipitating the strike. The proposal of the McMahon administration was to leave the calling of the strike in the cotton industry to the discretion of the Executive Council. The amendment which Keller and Herman fought for was to make the calling of the strike in the Cotovention was against this amendment. The entire McMahon machine was mobilized to put over the proposal of the Executive Council. They felt as if forced to the wall—all their forces were mustered to prevent immediate strike action. McMahon even attempted to put the motion to a vote first. In spite of this, the amendment carried by a huge majority. The delegates had expressed their desire and the desire of the masses for immediate resistance to the attacks of the employers.

The Progressives, moreover maintained in their speeches and re-

press thruout the country. Moreover, not the slightest particle of explanation for his action was given by Rieve to the delegates who had come out for him. Even his closest co-workers in the Hosiery Federation had no knowledge of it until after he had withdrawn. Lack of really substantial differences with the McMahon administration, disappointment at the resistance of the Opposition to higher dues (Rieve's main plank), fear of being labelled an "Insurgent," and the pressure exercised by powerful conservative leaders in the Hosiery Federation caused him to the Hosiery Federation caused him to withdraw. That Rieve had no real intention of running was proved thruout the Convention by his refusal to offer any open criticism of the McMahon administra-

tion and by his bitter fight on the Progressives. His strategy was to bring pressure on Gorman to run, but when Gorman refused to desert McMahon, Rieve proceeded to de-sert his own supporters.

Viscose Corporation which they had promised to call out in Parkersburg, West Virginia and in Roanoke, Virginia, while the two locals of the Viscose Corporation in Marcus Hook and Lewistown hopelessly and heroically fought a losing battle by themselves against one of the richest corporations in the world. This represented one of the major labor crimes of the year. The entire no-strike policy of the Administration was scored, and the Southern workers were warned against a repetition of the same policy in the proposed cotton strike. Rieve, as temporary Chairman, attempted to stop this exposure.

Unfortunately, George, who had, until the last moment, expressed his willingness to run, declined the nomination, but stated that the facts presented by Herman were correct. The devastating charges of delegates Herman, Fordham, and George have not been challenged!

(Continued on Page 7)

(Continued on Page 7)

"A Little Less Arrogance"

The American Young Communist League has just published a new Program for American Youth, summarizing the decisions of their summarzing the decision of their recent convention. For those who expected sanity or realism from this convention, this new publication must be a said disappointment. It contains all of the absurdities of the past and some new ones, to boot!

In addition to an indictment of capitalism in general which he right to expect at least two other things of the YCL. First, that they understand the labor movement of the country in which they live, and second, that they have a program of action suitable to the needs of the working-class youth. An examination of the pamphlet in question shows how miserably the YCL falls both tests. In addition to an indictment of

Is The Roosevelt Government Fascist?

Is The Roosevelt
Government Fascist?

After citing police brutality in a number of cities, the YCL concludes rhetorically. "Is there any real difference between the murderus attack of the 'democratically elected' Roosevelt government and the dictatorial Fascist Hitler government?" If violence is characteristic only of fascism (and the YCL gives no other) then there never was a non-fascist state in the history of the world, for there never was any form of class society in which violence was not used by the oppressors against the oppressed. There is, indeed, very little difference between this political color-blindness and the classical viewpoint of Social-Democracy which refuses to see that workers is at all times an organic part of capitalist rule, even under the "democratic" form.

In order to defeat the Roosevelt governit is necessary to have a

are all that even the McMahn floor was a power-like the Convention was against the convention was against the convention was applied by part of the state of the ventions. The convention was an object to part of the called was mollified to part own that was mollified to part own the convention of the object of the ventions. The convention convent is convention of the convention of the object of the vention of the convention of the convention of the convention of the convention of the object of the vention of the convention of the

by M. Stone

izations and excludes "parties of capitalism."

The Trade Union

The Trade Union

Question

The height of absurdity is reserved for the trade union question. The sections of the pamphlet which deal with trade unionism betray not only an ignorance of the labor movement but also a misunderstanding of the very purpose of trade unions. The A. F. of L. together with the SP and YPSL is condemned for preaching gradualism! (As a matter of fact, the A. F. of L. doesn't even do that because it doesn't favor a new social order in the first place.) With this verdict, which condemns the A. F. of L. the YCL overlooks the great value of the A. F. of L. as an organization of millions of workers that fights for better conditions. With such a conception of the purpose of the trade unions, is it any wonder that the TUUL was swept away by the strike wave?

The application of the official Perty trade union line to the false.

further failed to send any com-rades within the existing locals of the UMWA. The result of these errors, was our isolation from the mass of young workers. Many of our own comrades shamefacedly went into the UMWA and broke connections with us."

Phrases and Arrogance

Phrases and Arrogance

If the YCL has no program to meet the needs of the working youth, at any rate, there is no shortage of high-sounding but meaningless phrases which give the uncritical YCLer the illusion of doing great deeds. Thus the manifesto abounds in phrases like "youth enters path of revolutionary struggle", "make the shop a revolutionary fortress." What do they mean? Where the situation requires patient, elementary work in the shops, agitating for unionism, "making the shop a revolutionary fortress" means exactly nothing. And where the situation requires working class youth to develop class consciousness and help build broad youth movements, they prate about present "revolutionary struggles of youth" and continue the narrow factional character of their own organizations (NSL, IWO, FSU, LSU, etc) and split organizations of youth that they do not control. Such activities need empty phrases for a covering.

International Notes

A New C. I. Turn In The Making

The most significant break with its ultra-left line has just been and by the Communist International in Germany. This break with leftist sectarinains is entirely in the direction of the line of ICO on the trade union field and united front tactices. It comes in Germany not only under the pressure of objective conditions, by particularly because of ICO on the trade union field and united front tactices. It comes in Germany not only under the pressure of objective conditions, by particularly because of ICO on the June of International in Germany not only under the pressure of objective conditions, or the Buro of the ICO formulated the following:

Since the removal from their posts of the Party secretaries and united fronts and trade union activities, the Social Democrats and members of all other working class organizations. The complete of the CPG and the properties of the ICO and the working class organizations are not be considered second-class citized by the ICO and the working class organizations. The ICO and the properties of the ICO and the working class organizations. The ICO and the ICO and the working class organizations are not be considered second-class citized by the ICO and IC

hastened and insured.

Even with this serious shortcoming and inadequacies we hail these changes of line by the CI as a victory for the struggle of the ICO and a vindication of our struggle to return the CI to the Leninist tactical line. We have here a smashing rebuke to those who have written off the CI as hopeless and incapable of changing and learning. For the ICO and CPO in the U. S. these welcome changes by the CI will only serve as an additional stimulus to wipe out the ultra-left course entirely—and particularly in the U. S. where it is still rampant and cost-ly—and thus to assure unification of the Communist movement.

The I.C.O. On The C.P.O. Of Alsace

A New C. I. Turn In The Making

The most significant break with its ultra-left line has just been made by the Communist International in Germany. This break

order to retain parliamentary mandates and leading offices in the city administration.

3. This position represents a clear break with the decisions even of the Strassburg regional conference, in which the CPO of Alsace is pledged to work for the establishment of a proletarian united front. The ICO has repeatedly warned both the leadership and the membership of the Alsatian CPO of the catastrophic results in continuing the "Volksfront" policy. With great patience and in a conradely manner the ICO attempted to convince the CPO of the necessity of a break with the "Volksfront" and its replacement by a policy of proletarian united front. The stand of the Buro of the ICO received the approval of all sections and more recently also the plenum of the CPO-USA expresed its agreement with the ICO on the Alsatian question.

Considering the open break with the fundamentals of Communism and the tactical position of the ICO by the leadership of the Alsatian opposition; considering the treacherous action against the revolutionary struggle of the French and international proletariat against fascism and imperialist war, the Buro of the ICO therefore decided:

1. Those responsible for this policy, in the leadership and in the editorial board of "Neue Velt", are to be expelled from the ICO.

2. To call upon the membership of the CPO of Alsace to break with these leaders and to set up a new leadership to represent the policies of the ICO; to break with the "Volksfront" and without delay to begin the struggle for proletarian unity in Alsace, side by side with the other communist and socialist workers.

3. To recognize as members of the CPO only those who have

3. To recognize as members of

3. To recognize as members or, the CPO only those who have broken with the leadership and its dangerous policies.
4. This decision to be sent to all sections for approval. Replies to be sent in by September 1. The decision of the Buro is to go into effect after the approval of the sections.

sections.
5. To make public this decision immediately.

A Reply to Roosevelt

"The simplest way for each of you to judge recovery lies in the plain facts of your own individual situation."

So said President Roosevelt on June 28, 1934, in his message to June 28, 1934, in his message to the American people. Taking this excerpt as its cue the Haverhill (Mass.) Gazette formulated a number of questions and began a poll of its readers (mostly shee write of its readers (mostly shee write of the "New Deal" claims.

That something unforeseen occurred and things just did not turn out as expected becomes claemed the minute we glance over some of the Gazette headlines. On July submitted and the replies received:

ne cancore nomination				
	Yes	No	Blank	
Are you better off than you were last year?	58	190	2	
Are your debts less burdensome?	50	191	2 9	
Is your bank account more se-	65	128	57	
Are your working conditions better?	55	175	20	
Is your faith in your individual future more firmly grounded?	61	177	12	
Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional free-	103	123	24	

It is quite possible that the majority which so definitely rejected the "New Deal" are in the main good Democrats who will probably once again cast their ballots from the recognition by the same majority that the "New Deal" as it effects them in their daily life has brought no improvement.

1934, the time lost rose to 10,920,811 days.

It is almost a certainty that the figures for the first six months.

The number of workers involved in strikes between January and June of this year has already exceeded, by approximately 200,000, the strike figures for any full year immediately preceding the crisis

With Their Feet

4.

To recognize as members of CPO only those who have en with the leadership and its terous policies.

This decision to be sent to all ons for approval. Replies to tent in by September 1. The ion of the Buro is to go into tafter the approval of the ons.

To make public this decision TO make public this decision ediately.

Buro of the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

Buro of the 10 community of 1933. The working days lost thru strikes was 2,506,657 during the first half of 1933 but during the first half of 1933 but during the same period of 1933 but during the same period of

It is almost a certainty that the latter half of 1934 will exceed the figures for the first six months. The number of workers involved in strikes between January and June of this year has already exceeded, by approximately 200,000, the strike figures for any full year immediately preceding the crisis. The causes for such widespread strike action by the workers "lies in the plain facts of your (their) own individual situation."

Such is the answer to President Roosevelt.

—G. F. M.

-G. F. M.

that all all efforts to reform the CI are bound to be fruitless. At the same time it refutes the tactical line of the CI from 1928 to 1934

tactical line of the CI from 1928 to 1934.
3. However, this represents only a partial victory. The change is accompanied by grave weaknesses and errors, due to the fact that the turn was made at the top without an admission and analysis of errors, without a thorough discussion in the membership, without the thorough, complete and exact working out of the practical questions of the united front, its limits and contents. That accounts for a number of weaknesses, the vagueness and opportunist deviations in the execution, (question of the democratic rights, of communist criticism and propaganda, of extraparliamentary actions against the emergency decrees in France.

4. On the basis of the victory which this turn of the CI signifies for the line of the ICO we must carry on the fight more energetically than ever. It is now a question of:

a. Utilizing the experiences and

the most important points of the pact, inadmissible from a Communist viewpoint are:

1. Giving up of the calling of assiles, it is given to the call strikes rests with the trade unions, no pledge of the membership and organizations of either party to agitate for the organization of strikes in the trade unions and factories against the emergency decrees.

2. Giving up of principle and the membership and organizations of either party to agitate for the organization of strikes in the trade unions and factories against the emergency decrees.

2. Giving up of principle and the members in interiors.

3. The question of the defense of democratic rights" is very unclear.

4. The question of the defense of democratic rights" is very unclear.

5. The question of the defense of democratic rights" is very unclear.

6. The question of the defense of democratic rights" is very unclear.

7. The question of the defense of democratic rights" is very unclear.

8. The question of the defense of democratic rights" is very unclear.

9. The question of the defense of democratic rights is orly unclear.

10. The turn of the C.I. in France is so far the most significant to provide the proposals to the respective Social-Democratic tent the members in the union. In the United States the Marine Workers Industrial Union of San Francisco was trail Union of San Francisco was trail Union of San Francisco was trail Union.

8. The question of the defense of democratic rights" is very unclear.

9. The question of the defense of democratic rights is or the proposals to the respective Social-Democratic tenter that the weaknesses and inadequacies of the execution of the change.

9. Carrying out concretely the general tasks proposed, it. work in the spoint is essential for the formation of the further struggle of the ICO is now the carrying out of democratic central union.

9. The question of the calling of the respective Social-Democratic tenter that the weaknesses and inadequacies of the execution of the the weaknesses and inadepuacies of the case

The CPF and CGTU are now simultaneously conducting a campaign for the reunification of the trade unions in France.

1. The turn of the C.I. in France is so far the most significant step towards the liquidation of the liquidation of the liquidation of the liquidation of the result of certain conditions. The turn of the CI is further illustrated by the events in Austria. The theory of social-fascism which confirm the criticism and tactical line of the ICO. The turn of the the CI and its sections of the CI of the congress, to do all in their of the CI is therefore an important step in the successful winning over of the the CI and its sections for the correct tactical line of the ICO.

2. This turn refutes the centrist view that the CI is "hopeless" and the cities questions and inner-party the CI.

The Comintern and the United Front

Continued from Page 4)
tion itself addressed an appeal to
the leaders of the SFIO in re joint
actions, On the basis of the resolutions passed at this Party convention a program of action against
fascism was worked out. This was
to form the basis of the negotiations with the leadership of the
SFIO. Its chief contents were: a
joint campaign throughout the
country with the following objecttives: a. Mobilization of all workers against all fascist organizations. b. Against the emergency
decrees of the Doumergue government. c. Against the terror in
Hitler Germany and for the release of Thaelmann and all other
imprisoned anti-fascists. Ways of
figning; joint meetings in as many
localities as possible; anti-fascist
street demonstrations; a campaign
against the emergency decrees was
to have been carried out in a series
of strikes. During these joint activities there was to be no attack
on the organizations; absolute disignine of action required. Independence of each party and right
to recruit party members to remain intact. The necessity for
principle and tactical differentiation in the joint meetings was put
down as a condition and the duty
of each party to take steps against
those who subotaged joint actions,
was recognized.

SP Makes Counter
Proposals

SP Makes Counter Proposals

Proposals

The leadership of the SFIO
raised a number of objections and
counter-proposals. The CPF was
to drop the theory of social-fascism. It must pledge itself to defend
'democratic rights.' The necessity
for principle and tactical differentiation was denied. The CP must
not conduct meetings in such a
server set lead to violence. The

campaign for the calling of strikes was to be dropped since the calling of strikes does not come within the sphere of any Party, but is the function of the trade unions. The united front was to serve as a means of preparing organizational unity. These were the decisions of the National Council of the SFIO at its session July 15th. Embodied in a pact they were published on July 28th. The representatives of the CPF were very lenient during the negotiations. They made no attempts to appeal to the membership against certain demands of the SFIO leadership.

Some Objectionable



THE MIGRATORY WORKER AND FAMILY LIFE, By Ma-rion Hathway. 240pp. University of Chicago Press, \$1.50.

In the precise, scientific lan-guage of a sociological thesis, Miss Hathway has shown the miserable Lying conditions and the miserate type continuous and the outrageous treatment of migrant workers in the model state of the population is native white, where filteracy is lowest and living standards are highest in the United States

illiteracy is lowest and living standards are highest in the United States.

The fishing and fruit industries of Washington are dependent upon migratory families who move as the scasonal labor market demands. When their labor is no longer needed, they are urged to move on. If they cannot take a hint, they are coerced into moving on by clever little expedients which the embryonic S. A. vultures of the territory are very adept at devising.

Miss Hathway, while correctly presenting the problem of the migrant worker, confesses her inability to find a solution and limits herself to indicating the direction which the "safeguarding" of the "family standards" should take.

However she does hint that something might be gained by the workers in organization. "The temporary nature of the employment, the hereogeneous nature of the group, and the lack of a common background of experience in industry handicap the migratory workers from utilizing the technique of labor organization." The factor of the Vigilantes, of the brutal, sadistic terrorism which is unleashed against these migrant workers when they attempt to organize and strike, Miss Hathway ignores. Such matters are not discussed in a polite thesis. —B. C. cussed in a polite thesis. -B. C.

INDIA'S SOCIAL HERITAGE. By
L. S. O'Malley, Oxford University Press. pps.188, \$2.00.
Mr. O'Malley chooses to be classed as a scientist, chooses to be classed as a scientist, chooses to be objective. Despite this objectivity, which leads to a careful avoidance of the labor movement, to an isolation of the colosal shame of India from the system of world imperialism in general and the role of Britain in particular. Mr. O'Malley can yet supply us with such a picture of caste and the depressed classes, the family and the village, as can easily be translated into terms of social science, of Marxism. Mr. O'Malley himself lays no claim to a theory of sociology—save that of enlightenment. But even this idea is hesitantly put forward, for "caste is a highly complex system... it is not only the basis of social order but in a large measure the source and inspiration of social morrality, and its destruction would be a dangerous revolution..."

According to the author, every sign of decay now characteristic of the system, was noted a century 200 by the Baptist missionary Ward. What then has prevented disintegration? It could not have collapsed automatically of its own weight, but certainly the pressure against it existed and still exists. But "its destruction would be a dangerous revolution." Only because India is a colony to the Pritish metropolis is the caste system maintained artificially by England against the pressure of those very forces of capitalism which it has introduced.

Caste does not obtain in factories. "In factories again men of different castes work together without any trouble arising, and they have few scruples about the materials they handle."

Further, even the very basic concept of the system, determination of nosition by birth, no longer exerts its influence. Yearly the concept of the system, determination of sociations, the "depressed classes", the "untouchables" who are alive to the old social system."

And it is of course, the "depressed classes," the "untouchables" who are alive to the old social s

General Textile Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

the Southern States that made the strike such a gigantic achievement, that has struck terror into the Textile Institute and sent them clamoring to Roosevelt for intervention. Generating this cyclone of unionism sweeping the southern textile mills was the dirty deal imposed upon the workers of southern mills, by the N.R.A. in conjunction with the Textile Institute, Incensed at the wage differential (with the northern minimum wage at \$14 per week while that of the south was put at \$13, then set aflame by the flagrant violation of all wage provisions in the codes, \$7 to \$10 had become the maximum and prevalent wage) and the life-destroying "stretch-out", they needed but the strike call to set the torch of unionism afire and stretch the strike battlefront over a 1500 mile front. The once downtrodden and docile 100% American the strike appears to the strike in the past of the strike such that make the past of the strike such as the past of the past of the strike such as the past of the strike suc trodden and docile 100% Americans showed their mettle and

strike squadrons strike at mill after will with amazing speed and effectiveness.

Strike-breakers were in great deicans showed their mettle and power by the introduction of a new tactic in strike strategy—the famed "flying squadron". By truck and auto and on foot these roving the fortifications with arms.

Garke-takers were in great defective agencies while the spread of the strategy—the darkers were in great defective agencies while the spread of the strategy—the strategy—the famed "flying squadron". By truck agencies mobilized scabs to man the fortifications with arms.

The attacks launched by Gold were all familiar exposés of non-existent happenings and gross mising the fortifications with arms.

Ben Gold Destroys Us - Again

At eight-forty-seven on the evening of Friday, September seventh Comrade Ben Gold dashed onto the platferm of Irving Plaza to face an audience which had waited forty-yfive minutes.

The chairman rose to introduce him but Comrade Gold waved him aside. "Ten minutes, comrades," he requested, smiling a winning smile. So he sat down on the stage, ruffeld his hair, wrinkled his be brow, thumbed through his manuscripts, lighted a eigarct, scribbled as rapidly. Comrade Gold was composing his speech. All the sceen needed was a sign, reading: "Creative Genius at work. Admission fifteen cents."

At the end of ten minutes he was all done. After hearing the stage speech "The role of the Lovestone-lite Renegades in the Needle Trades" one was inclined to ask what he did with the extra eight minutes.

The attacks launched by Gold were all familiar exposés of non-existent happenings and gross mising interpretations of actual events. But the speech was interesting as a study in the psychology of ultra-

U. T. W. Convention QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

When will the relative stabilization of capitalism end?

It will end with a new outbreak of the world

evolution; that is, when the working class and its allies will make a direct attack upon the rule of capital. This second outbreak of the world revolution is inevitably coming. The revolutionary struggle in China shows that the world revolution is already progressing in the East.

23. What are the objective conditions for a new outbreak of the world revolution?

The objective conditions for the resumption of the struggle for power, i.e. for a new acute revolution-ary situation, can be created thru economic crises or wars.

24. Does an economic crisis as such signify the end of the so-called stabilization period?

Not at all. Only when the working class utilizes the objective revolutionary possibilities for the over-throw of the rule of capital do we then have the end of the so-called stabilization period. For the bourgeoisie there is always a way out. If the working class fails, then the bourgeoisie will overcome the economic crisis at the cost of the workers, under certain circumstances thru the victory of the most extreme counter-revolution-Fascism.

25. Is it correct to speak of a special "third period of post-war capitalism" dating from 1927 as does the Communist International?

It is not correct. The theory of a "third period" is not based on a correct analysis of world capitalism, but on a schematic transference of the main stages of socialist construction in the Soviet Union to the capitalist countries. In the development of Soviet Union economy the following three main stages can be distinguished. stages can be distinguished.

a. The period of war communism.
b. The reconstruction period in which the wheels of industry began to turn again and they attempted

to reach the level of pre-war production.

c. The reconstruction period in which production was expanded on the basis of the creation of new featuring.

The transference of these periods to the development of capitalist countries is false, for the following reasons:

a. Because it is generally incorrect to judge capitalist economy by the standards of social reconstruction.

b. Because in capitalist countries, on the whole, the process of production was not disrupted as it was in the Soviet Union during the civil war. c. Because the pre-war level of production in capitalist countries had been based on the rebuilding of the production appearance.

capitalist countries had been based on the rebuilding of the production apparatus.

Furthermore, the assumption that there must also be a special third period in the collapse of capitalist stabilization is misleading because:

First of all, the impression is thereby created that capitalist stabilization in itself knows of no contradictions or collapse.

Secondly, this assumption forms the basis of the theory of the imminent revolutionary upsurge, the imminent revolution which is constantly being announced by the Communist International In reality, it depends upon the activity of the working class and the correct tactics of the Communiat parties whether the objective revolutionary upsurge and to a struggle for power. If the working class does not utilize the objective possibilities, then, the break-

down of stabilization passes and with it the "third period" which, according to official statements of the Communist International, is the immediately preceding stage of the revolution. The practical harm of the whole theory of the "third period" consists in that the Communist Parties are thus diverted from their task of realistically preparing the masses for the struggle for power—politically and organizationally. The only possible results of such a policy are either putchism or passivity.

26. How does the form of bourgeois rule change

during the decline of capitalism?

1. In times of revolutionary attack of the working class, the bourgeois counter-revolution, as a rule assembles on the ground of democracy (Germany, Austria). This is done chiefly for the purpose of splitting the petty bourgeoisie from the working class and splitting the working class itself. At such times reformism constitutes the main pillar of bourgeois class rule.

2. To the degree that the difficulties of capitalist economy increase and the field of attack of the bourgeoise is extended by the passivity of the working class, fascist tendencies grow up within the bourgeoisie. Fascism comes into being when the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of chaining to its rule great masses thru material concessions; when, on the contrary, profit economy can only be maintained thru a radical reduction of the standard of living of the avadeaus there are the contrary. living of the workers; when, furthermore, the bour-geoisie have already seen the direct danger of a proletarian revolution and, therefore, utilize a temporary decline of the labor movement for a civil war, a violent smashing of the working class, which is to prevent future revolutionary uprisings.

3. Fascism is the open but indirect dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Fascism replaces bourgeois democracy by the direct, violent, brutal rule of special party and military organizations composed chiefly of the petty bourgeoisie. The class content of the policies of fascism is the defense of the capitalist order thru the destruction of the proletarian party and the mass organizations, thru the violent sup-pression of all movements of the proletarian class struggle, thru establishing monopoly of organizing for the fascist organizations. The bourgeois state apparatus under fascist rule is based on the independence of the executive power and the subordination of all social organizations to it.

Bourgeois democracy, too, is the rule of force of the bourgeoisie against the working class. The characteristic feature of fascism is not violence as such, but its extension and constancy of its appli-

cation.

Fascism is, therefore, the sharpest, the most violent, and most "prostituted" form of bourgeois class rule. Just as bourgeois democracy, so is fascism based on the contradiction between the real class interests of the working class and of those sections of the petty bourgeoisie who, thru compulsion or voluntarily, form the supporters of the regime and interests of big capital and big iandowners.

The development and sharpening of these basic contradictions of capitalism must finally break this form of bourgeois class rule whether the impetus towards this breakdown is given by an inner class struggle or by an imperialistic war.

Fascism is an international manifestation during the period of decline of capitalism. Since, however, this decline does not appear concurrently in the various countries, fascism also does not appear simultaneously and uniformly in all countries.

simultaneously and uniformly in all countries,

U. T. W. Convention

(Continued from page 5)

Rieve attempted to rush thru a unanimous vote for MacMahon, but on a point of order by Herman, the vote was stopped and a yes and no vote secured. Thirty militants stood up to vote against McMahon as President of the United Textile Workers. More than a hundred failed to vise in favor of McMahon. The opposition candidate would have received well over a hundred votes against McMahon. This is borne out by the vote for the Executive Council, where George received 113 votes and Herman 111 votes, altho they failed of election. The highest vote for Executive Council was received by McMahon's floor leader and Bill Green's defender, Powers, with 279 votes. As a result of Rieve's capitulation, the entire slate of McMahon's Vice-Presidents went over: Gorman, Kelley, Peel, Rieve, and White. The Executive Council, which was increased (including officers) from 13 to 17 is composed predominantly of supporters of the old administration. McKown and Gorman were elected delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention.

Even after the elections had reestablished the McMahon leadership, the Opposition forces retained the initiative and on the last day of the Convention were able to defeat McMahon's dearest proposal for the increase in per capita. The Paterson dyers were also able to make a sweening exposure of the McMahon-Quinlan acceptance of an agreement in Union City far below that of Paterson, after the Paterson of the Paterson agreement would be signed.

Build Progressive

Build Progressive
Movement
The Convention showed the tremendous drive for struggle now
taking place in the ranks of even
the most conservative unions. It
showed that this wave of militancy
is still in an elementary stage—
nowerful enough to force thru an
inspiring call for a general strike
of a million workers but not conscious enough nor developed sufficiently to realize that a necessary prerequisite for such struggles is a leadership that is capable
and willing to carry on such a
great truggle. The Progressive
forces made a great strike forward as a result of this Convention. They must consolidate their
gains, build a Progressive movement in the United Textile Workers that will be able to lead the
masses from the elementary stage
to higher levels of consciousness
and militancy. to higher lev

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Forward to Victory!

(Continued from Page 1)
entire power of the capitalist class are brought into bold and ugly relief.

The textile workers have inscribed on their banner the right to organize, the demand for a thirty-hour week, and the wiping out of the life-sapping stretch-out or speed-up system. In essence, these are the basic demands of every labor union in the country to-day. Fundamentally, these demands reflect the most burning needs of the most page 1. Industries

the workers in all industries.

The Textile Institute, that anti-union organization of employers, sensed the real significance of the struggle immediately. The government felt certain that the response to the strike call would be feeble, that the United Textile Workers, led by the reactionary be feeble, that the United Textile Workers, led by the reactionary and incompetent McMahon would either not dare to strike, or would be unable to strike effectively. The White House has been bitterly disappointed to the very good fortune of the entire labor movement. Convinced that the textile workers would not answer the strike call sufficiently to paralyze the industry, Roosevelt played with a do-nothing-policy at first. Having received a blow in the face, as a result of the astounding effective response of the textile workers the Federal Administration lost no time "stenning in" and face, as a result of the astounding effective response of the textile workers, the Federal Administration lost no time "stepping in", and appointed a mediation board. Roosevelt is maneuvering to give the textile workers another New Deal pill—more professors will be appointed to study the question, more statistics will be produced, more peace and love talk will be mouthed. But all of these bickerings and manifestoes will spell for the workers only defeat.

Only a 100 per cent strike; only a shutting down of every mill in the industry cap being to the workers a full realization of their

in the industry can bring to the workers a full realization of their demands. Let no one be fooled—a complete closing down of textile plants can and will be achieved only thru the solidarity, first of all, of all textile workers in every division of the industry, and secondly and simultaneously with the aid of the trade union movement. Why? Page the National Guard-America's special strike-breakers Why? Page the National Guard—America's special strike-breakers in uniform, who have already murdered about a dozen strikers. Page the courts, which have begun to issue injunctions. Page the church, which is on the job, especially in Maine, playing the vicious alignment of dollars and bayonets against the striving strikers. Page the Relief Authorities who have to a man already told the strikers to work (scab) or starve. Yes, page President Roosevelt, that grinning-faced executive, who as Commander in Chief of all armed forces of the country, has not uttered half a syllable of protest against the reckless murder of unarmed workers in the south. Page the press, which has raised the hue and cry that the strike is a strike against the Government and organized society. Still, only the cowards, the traitors, would maintain that the obstacles to a victory for the textile workers, all the way down the line, are insuperable. With tenacity and determination in their fight, with active solidarity by all in the labor organizations, the most severe hardships, the biggest odds, the worst brutality, the most ingenious cunning and slick maneuverings of the White House, can

ingenious cunning and slick maneuverings of the White House, can not halt the march of the textile workers. Already the textile struggle has developed history-making forces. No one can exaggerate the import of the great response of the textile workers in the south. The South, the land of the most American of the American proletariat, the home and back bone of the political machine of the New Deal, the abode of the blackest wing of the Democratic Party, the domain of lynch law. It is in this tier of states that the nost inspired pages of American working class history are now being written in blood,

What more can be asked of the workers in the silk industry, particularly in Paterson and Eastern Pennsylvania who have joined

particularly in Paterson and Eastern Pennsylvania who have joined heartily in the struggle in the face of tireless efforts of employers Code Authorities. At present, the robed tyrants seek to befuddle them with a maze of problems of contract.

The flying squadrons detied death, smashing the ranks of gunmen in and out of uniform and have gone a long way to arouse the developing wave of solidarity in the ranks of the other unions. Witness the decision of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to pitch in to the tune of \$100,000 for strike region I likewise. Union to pitch in to the tune of \$100,000 for strike relief. Likewise, all must hail the decision of the unions to place at the disposal of the U.T.W. their organizations.

the U.T.W. their organizations.

In the last resort, the textile workers must be vigilantly on guard against forces undermining their solidarity. President Green of the American Federation of Labor is worthy of the stoutest condemnation of every trade union member for not going thru with the decision to convoke immediately a conference of international officers for the purpose of putting at the disposal of the U.T.W. the full resources of the entire trade union movement. It is up to the textile workers themselves to be on the alert, to be on the watch against their leaders monkeying with presidential mediation and arbitration proposals. Such tinkering can only chill the ardor of the fighting workers; it can only plague the strikers ranks with paralyzing illusions. Likewise, if any sections of the workers, be they cotton or wool, broad silk or dye, jacquard, or some so-called independent union, should stay out of this struggle to-day they will be committing Hari Kari and will be hurting the most vital interests, not only of all workers in the textile industry, but every working man and woman in each mill, mine and factory.

The best guarantee against such illusions developing in the

The best guarantee against such illusions developing in the ranks of the strikers is the organization of the militant forces inside the unions for a show down to the bitter end. It must be granted that due to more than five years of suicidal union-splitting policy by the Official C.P., the Left Wing in the U.T.W., in the ranks of the textile workers, is to-day weaker than it has been in many a

Trade Union Notes

UNITED SHOE AND LEATHER, which the trade union movement is paramated in the marked shoe and Leather Worker. Official organ of the United Shoe and Leather Worker of the United Shoe Worker undoubtedly takes its place among the best trade union papers, and as an expression of proorressive trade unionism, its standards in a class by itself.

The most recently workers with the United Shoe and the United Shoe and Leather Worker of the United Shoe and Leather Worker undoubtedly takes its place among the best trade United Shoe and the Grant Worker of the U

CPO HAUNTS THE

ARTY LEADERS
It is of considerable significance at in the course of the veritable cloudburst of strike

ought.

Our quarrel is, of course, not with the individual socialist delegates at the convention but with the policies of the Socialist Party. In practice it is still the same old pohe veritable struggles, of support of the burocracy.

New Workers School Forum Opens Soon

Forum Opens Soon

Louis Adamic, author of "The Native's Return" and "Dynamite," Heywood Broun, columniat, Lewis Munfo.d, analyist or American civilization, Jem's Wate man Wise, ditor of "Op nion", "Jucker P. Smith, had of Brookwood Labor College, Paul P. Brissenden of Cola. bin, and Jay Levestone are among these who have exp. essed willingness to speak at the New Workers School Forum new entering its sixth year.

The New Workers School forum held on Sunday nights at 51 West 14th St. has come to be recognized as the only forum in New York providing a platform for all important points of view.

The school itself will open on Sept. 24 for its twelve weeks fall session with a revised schedule of courses offering thorough training in the principles and tactics of the revolutionary workers movement. In addition to the standard courses in Fundamentals of Communism, Marxism, Labor History, Trade Union Tactics, etc., great interest is being shown in the course offered by Jay Lovestone on Marxist Classics in the light of current history and in Economics of Present Day Capitalism by Bert Wolfe.

Registration for the school is now going on. An attendance

Registration for the school is now going on. An attendance equalling last year's registration of 2,500 is expected.

KNIT GOODS SHOWS PROGRESSIVE GAINS

The incompetency of the present leadership of the Knit Goods Workers Union, has forced the union into a general election for all officers. In the recent elections for an Elections and Objections Committee the progressives showed very great strength.

In the Knit Goods local, affiliated with the LL.G.W.U., the progressive strength was 5 to 1 as against the combined vote of the "Lefts" and the administration. In the UTW local the progressive strength was more than 2 to 1. The progressive slate in both locals was elected.

If this is to be taken as an in-

was elected.

If this is to be taken as an indication of the sentiment of the workers it is clear that the progressives will sweep the elections.

In the Jewish Daily Freiheit, it is reported that Jay Lovestone attempted to crash a general membership meeting of the United She Workers Union, but the enraged membership caused Lovestone to be escorted out of the hall.

Powerful is the long arm of Diedenkapp and Rosenberg for Lovestone was very many miles from New York on the given night Why such fictions must be resorted to is beyond us.

It appears that the Freiheit must

It appears that the Freiheit must have hired a highly imaginative staff writer to concoct stories about Lovestoneites, for we find another gem in the issue of Satur-day September 8. Says the Frei-heit:

"In the 'Laundryman' of June-July, official organ of the New York Hand Laundrymen's Asso-ciation, one of the editor's, a pil-lar of the Lovestoneites, issues a call for war against the Chi-nese laundrymen."

We did not read the June-July issue of that paper, as a matter of fact we never read any issue of that paper and did not know that such existed. We do know however, that there is no such person as a Goldman in the Communist Party Opposition and we are therefore totally disinterested in the whole matter.

I.C.O. SUPPORTERS ISSUE WEEKLY IN ALSACE

The position of the supporters the International Communist Opp sition, has been strengthened to such an extent that the first issue of a weekly paper-"Arbeiter Politik" has already been published.

The paper supports the united proletarian front in France.

year. For the first time the CP plays no role whatsoever in the strike struggle of the textile workers. This is especially meaningful since the strike now is not isolated to one locality or to one craft, but is in innumerable localities and in practically all crafts.

Of course, we are not mentioning here the destructive and idiotic role played by the pitiful hand-full of the self-proclaimed defunct CP organization—the National Textile Workers Union.

We of the CPO are working to the very best of our ability utilizing fully every upper

We of the CPO are working to the very best of our ability utilizing fully every ounce of our energy and resources for the purpose of building up constructive militant forces in the ranks of the textile workers. We have but one aim in this struggle: To do our best and our all to insure the textile workers victory, to secure for the textile workers the right to organize, the right to decent conditions; hence thruout all unions our job has been and remains the mobilization of the full strength of organized labor in behalf of the striking textile workers—the workers battling against the textile operators in defense of the most vital interests and rights of the entire working class.

of the entire working class.

Our slogan is: 100 Per Cent Strike for 100 Per Cent Victory.

Our Policy is: One Union. A United Militant Strike.

Our Goal is: Full Victory by the Textile Workers for the Entire

Working Class,

The general strike in the textile industry marks n decisive hour in the life of American labor. In this hour all militant, progressive, constructive forces, especially all Communists, must throw themselves into the fight to help build the United Textile Workers into a powerful fighting union, which will be in the vanguard of American trade unionism. This will be the greatest victory, this will help not only textile workers immediately, but will go a long way to help all workers, in the long run, towards a society free from capitalist exploitation, free from new dealers, and other species of Wall Street tyranny.