

WORKERS' PAGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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DEEP RESENTMENT IN TEXTILE SELL-OUT

Paterson Protests Strike Betrayal

Paterson, textile storm center for decades, conducted its sector of the battlefront in exemplary fashion. Thirteen thousand deserted the mills on the first day of the general strike. Throughout the duration of the strike every attempt was made to involve every silk worker in the city and vicinity. Mass picketing, flying squadrons, demands upon national leadership for more aggressive strike tactics, were of everyday occurrence. Under the leadership of Eli Keller, flying squadrons struck several times at the mills in Passaic. Information on the strike developments throughout the nation and strike instructions were given every morning at the strikers mass meeting.

Dyers Out Keller Demanded

From the very first day of the strike, efforts were made by the Paterson Strike Committee, headed by Eli Keller, to bring the dyers, who numbered over 15,000, out on strike. National Strike Headquarters in Washington was telegraphed, day after day, by telegrams from Keller demanding the immediate calling out of every dyer. The persistent battle by Keller for involving the dyers kept the wires to Washington hot.

Attitude To Winant Report

No sooner had the presses spewed forth the report of the Winant Board, when Eli Keller exposed the entire report in a stirring speech to the strikers on September 21st. Keller's attack on the report was followed by his proposal to the strikers that a telegram be sent to Gorman and the National Strike Committee rejecting the Winant proposals. Unanimously adopted, the following wire was dispatched to Washington:

PATERSON STRIKERS IN MASS MEETING REJECT THE PROPOSALS OF WINANT BOARD STOP WE REQUEST THAT NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD DO NOT CONCEDE TO ARBITRATION UNTIL SOME BASIC DEMANDS ARE GRANTED STOP REAFFIRM YOUR FORMER POSITION AS STATED BY GORMAN ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

Eli Keller

Keller, Against Strike's Termination

When orders arrived from Gorman to terminate the strike the matter was taken up at a meeting of the Executive Board in Paterson on Sunday. Once again Keller made his fighting position clear: "I am against calling off the strike. I am for a fight to the finish." Again he made a slashing attack on the Winant Report characterizing it as "the greatest run-around" given workers under the New Deal. He scored Gorman & Co. for their strike tactics and ending of the struggle. In reply, Schweitzer glorified the Report as a "complete victory" for the union and demanded the immediate return to work of all strikers. The Executive Committee determined to carry out instructions to end the strike, over Keller's vigorous opposition.

Paterson Situation Today

On Monday the strikers filed back to the mills. With the exception of about 25 small shops em-

German CP and Opposition Form Bloc

Cooperate To Build Broad Class Unions And To Set Up "Organs of Joint Struggle Against Fascism"

After more than six years of most bitter strife, official representatives of the Communist Party of Germany (CPG) entered into a conference with official representatives of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), (CPGO).

The conference, held under instructions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, (ECCI), and the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition (ICO) marks the first serious break in the violent hostility of the Comintern to the ICO and its various sections.

While not bringing about world Communist unity, the conference is of tremendous significance in that it sort of breaks the ice, and paves the way for more comradely relations between the two tendencies of the international Communist movement.

Two questions were taken up and acted upon by the representatives of the CPG and the CPGO.

These were: (1) the problem of united proletarian action against Fascism and (2) the question of unity of the revolutionary forces in Germany. In substance the following agreement was arrived at and decisions made:

(1) The CPG and the CPGO are to issue appeals to their respective memberships emphasizing that hereafter the two organizations are agreed "to cooperate in the preparation of mass actions and to form organs of joint struggle all over the country for this purpose."

(2) "To begin jointly the building of illegal class trade unions." Agreement on this point is of particularly vital import, because, until recently the CPG had rejected this proposed policy for broad non-partisan trade unions and, instead, had clung to its policy of Red Unions.

This agreement is hailed by the

ICO, which endorsed the recent appeal of the CPGO (August 20), to the CPG embodying precisely the above proposals.

During the negotiations one of the representatives of the party brought up for discussion the question of the re-unification of the revolutionary forces. The ICO and CPGO had constantly kept in the foreground the problem of Communist unity. The party delegates rejected the idea expressed in the letter of the CPGO that the party "has now corrected its false tactics along our (ICO) line."

They maintained that democratic centralism prevailed in the party, that the former trade union and united front tactics of the ECCI and CPG were fundamentally correct and that "the present changes in the tactics of the Party are a result of the changes in the objective situation." The party representatives finally demanded a statement from the CPGO, particularly on the ground of "having fought against the Party for years."

In reply the spokesmen for the CPGO declared:

(1) "The differences (between the CPG and CPGO) are of a tactical nature and that we have never been for the creation of a new Communist party or any other party, that we are an organized Communist tendency."

(2) "We broke discipline at one time because there was no normal inner-party democracy and no opportunity was given to discuss these differences. It is imperative to assure the participation of all Party members in the execution and criticism of the tactics of the Party, as well as the control of the Party leadership within Communist discipline and principles."

The CPGO representatives finally declared that a statement of capitulation is out of the question and ridiculous, especially because "the CPG and the CI are now giving up their false tactics in the trade unions and on the united front and are forced to adopt the line represented by the ICO and the CPGO."

The discussion showed that the question of unity between the party and the CPGO was not yet mature, or immediately realizable; furthermore, that the ECCI and CPG are not yet ready to make the absolutely necessary changes on the question of inner-party democracy and the vital need for a change in the system of leadership in the CI and its sections.

All of this, however, does not diminish the great significance of the fact that a central agreement was arrived at "for joint preparations for mass actions and joint building of illegal trade unions." This big forward step towards unity of action by the two best organized and strongest proletarian anti-fascist forces in Germany is of tremendous importance for the entire international working class, as well as for the German toiling masses.

New York Textile Workers Score Strike Leaders

The Joint Silk Strike Committee of New York, including the Broad Silk, Silk Ribbon and Label Weavers Locals of the U.T.W. voted unanimously to reject the Winant Board's report as more run-around for the textile workers and demanded of the National Strike Committee that the strike be continued until the basic demands of the workers were won and that other trades such as the dyers, be called out on strike.

After the betrayal and desertion of the strikers by the National Executive Council, the N. Y. Strike Committee protested against the act on of the U.T.W. leaders and decided to arrange the return to the shops in an organized manner. The decisions of the strike committee were unanimously endorsed by the strike mass meeting.

The entire class-collaboration policy of the Gorman-McMahon-Rieve leadership, with its reliance on arbitration, on the NRA and on the strike-breaking government agencies, were scored by B. Herman, the reporter for the strike committee.

Workers in several shops have returned to work, but fully half

the workers, including those in the Mallinson Silk Co., the Culvers Silk Corp., and the Ratner shop are discriminated against and are still on strike.

ROOSEVELT TALKS INDUSTRIAL PEACE

New schemes to tie labor hand and foot are in the making. In a radio address on Sunday September 30, President Roosevelt proposes the "ending of industrial warfare." Conferences with employers and with labor are soon to be begun for the purpose of establishing "a specific period of industrial peace."

President Green, who is much disturbed by labor's militant defense of its rights, considers Roosevelt's proposal as "timely, appropriate and impressive."

A new "No Strike Pact" is in the making, which will limit still more the rights of labor. This effort must be resisted and smashed.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

ROOSEVELT'S PLEA FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

by Jay Lovestone

YOUTH UNDER THE CODES

by Saul Held

TROTSKY'S ROAD TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

by Will Herberg

Jay Lovestone

What's Happening in Comintern?

Oct. 6, 8 P. M. Stuyvesant Casino

Sweeping Victory Claim a Fraud

by Saul Held

"Stabbed in the back!" This is the unanimous verdict of every enlightened textile worker and member of the labor movement, as one-half million human appendages of spindle and loom trudge back to the mills in defeat. Sold out by their union leadership. Not a single demand won, above all no union recognition! Not a single crumb was wrested from the greedy and bloody clutch of the textile barons. Textile's greatest battle culminates in the most brazen betrayal perpetrated by the labor lieutenants of capitalism. Green, Gorman & Co., failing to strangle the surprising and unsurpassed militancy and response of the textile workers from within, sold out completely as the mill owners through President Roosevelt cracked the whip.

The rumor being spread amongst the textile workers that, the strike was receding and that the national leadership of the United Textile Workers had no choice but to end the strike, is a patent fraud. For even in the South, where a few thousand returned to the mills, new recruits in additional thousands poured out of the mills and joined the strike. Mills were being closed on the very last day of the strike. Such falsehoods cannot exonerate the national leadership's betrayal.

Government Strike-Breaker

Upsetting all early calculations, the general strike in textile brought a mass outpouring of workers over the half million mark on the longest single strike battle-front in recent times. The apple of the New Deal's eye, the highly touted textile code and the political capital of Roosevelt's politicians reached a disastrous low, as the strike spread and militancy of the strikers assumed victorious magnitude. Confronted by Unionism in the South, a national strike heading for victory, the mill owners intensified their demand on Washington to intervene. Roosevelt's claim of "non-intervention," in the early days of the strike, was only nectar for the gullible. As commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the nation he sanctified the brutal murder of over a score of strikers by the National Guard. Under the cloak of "non-intervention" plans were speedily in execution for open action.

Came the Winant Board and its complete vindication of the textile barons. The Report rejected every one of the union demands and promised nothing but more investigation—more run-around. Roosevelt had delivered the goods to the Textile Institute; the Green & Gorman machine feverishly grasped at the opportunity of a sell-out; Peter Van Horn found no further necessity for exhorting the mill owners to stand firm until "the strike is broken."

"Little Napoleons" Betray

Days before the strike ended, the 'trade paper, the Daily News Record, reported behind-the-scenes negotiations between the union leadership and the mill owners. It was reported that the great problem was that of finding a way for face-saving. This fact rips the pretense from the Greens and Gormans; they were ready to betray (Continued on Page 2)

Auto Conference Plans Fight for National Union

Trade Union Unity League Resolution Attacked; Objectionable Sections Are Deleted

A conference of federal local unions in the automotive industry, held in Cleveland on September 16, defeated efforts to swing it in the direction of dual unionism and decided to continue the fight for an international union of automobile workers, within the A. F. of L.

The initiators of the conference, apparently supporters of the TUUL, came to the conference with a resolution which would have caused expulsions and splits. The resolution called for the election of an "International Board", which, admittedly temporary, was to be the "highest authority for administering the national affairs of the union". This provision itself exposed some of the callers as desirous of setting up a dual union.

This is further substantiated by a section of the resolution which authorizes the Board to "call a National Constitutional Convention as early as possible."

The 17 local unions attending the conference, did so over the most strenuous opposition of the A.F.L. leaders. They came because of the widespread discontent with the policies of Green and Collins and because of their equally great desire to overthrow the receivership of Collins and set up a union with a leadership of their own choice. They were not willing, however, to set themselves upon the road of dual unionism, whose ravages they correctly fear.

The appearance of a delegation from the "Associated Automobile Workers Union, was of considerable interest. This is a company union led by Greer, a former organizer of the A.F.L. After a sharp and prolonged fight the conference decided not to seat them.

It became clear, quite early in

the conference, that there was considerable opposition to the resolution, particularly to the sections quoted above. This opposition was especially well expressed in the speech of a Detroit observer, representing an organized "Group of Automobile Workers For One Union In The Industry". The speaker warned against dual unionism and placed for consideration of the conference, the program of the Detroit Group. The main planks of this program are: (1) Defeat of company unions; (2) Unifying all the independent labor unions in the auto industry into one powerful United Automobile Workers of America, affiliated with the main stream of the labor movement, the A. F. of L.; (3) Rally the workers

for the following economic demands: 30 hour week, Unemployment insurance, wage scale average not less than \$15.00 per year, equal wages for women, no discrimination for union activity, no lay-off or dismissal without approval of various union bodies.

That it was the intention of the TUUL to use this conference as a base for its Independent Federation of Labor is clear from an article by John Schmies in the Daily Worker of September 8. He said:

"We have to raise the question whether we should have a perspective to make this rank and file movement among the auto workers within the A. F. of L. part of the movement for the building of an Independent Federation of Labor. In my opinion it can not be otherwise." (Emphasis ours).

The delegates to the September 16 conference decisively defeated this policy by deleting from the resolution all dual unionist formulations. The auto workers must continue to be on guard.

announces the formation of The New Theatre Workshop, T.N.T.W. is for students and workers interested in writing for the stage and acting. Inexperience should not keep anyone from registering for either or both activities. The Workshop will depart radically from traditional methods of the usual dramatic and playwriting groups and for that reason welcomes those who have had no professional training. Registration for T.N.T.W. may be made with Ray Michael at the New Workers School.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE COMINTERN?

Hear

JAY LOVESTONE

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Sunday Night Forum Begins Oct. 21

The New Workers School Forum opens Sunday, October 21, and its advance announcements promise the most interesting program in its history. October dates include:

October 21:

JAY LOVESTONE

on

"The A. F. of L. Convention and the Future of American Labor"

October 28:

TUCKER P. SMITH

Director, Brookwood Labor College
"What the New Deal is Doing to the American Labor Movement"

Events for November and December include a debate between A. J. Muste and Jay Lovestone on "Which Program for American Labor?" and lectures by J. B. Matthews, Ludwig Lore, Bertram D.

Wolfe, James Waterman Wise, and George F. Miles. Prominent among the speakers for the Winter season are Louis Adamic, Paul F. Brissenden, Morris Raphael Cohen, Will Herberg, and Lewis Mumford.

Watch for further interesting announcements of the Sunday Night Forums at the New Workers School. Send in your name and address for special announcements.

* * *

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Textile Victory Claim Exposed as Fraud

(Continued from Page 1)

long before the Winant Board made public its report. The activities of "Baptist Bill" Green and Mathew Woll, from the strike's very inception, was right down the mill-owners alley. While the mill owners denounced the strike as the result of "red" propaganda, Mathew Woll and Green unveiled their own red herring. Green, in addition to this little service to his masters, once again went on record against sympathetic strikes, this time in the very midst of the most inspiring battle ever waged by the textile workers—strike-breaking par excellence! Shooting still another arrow of defeat into the body of the strikers, he called off the A. F. of L. relief conference for the strikers. The only thing he failed to do was to publicly state that he was working overtime to kill the strike. Only one thing defeated the strike, the strangling policies of the Gorman machine and the final sell-out.

Despite constant pressure from Eli Keller of Paterson, the more than 15,000 Dyers in that area were not called out on strike; nor were the Hosiery workers. Hundreds of thousands could have been thrown into the battle had the leadership had the slightest intention of winning the strike. Further, despite immediate financial assistance from unions like the International Ladies Garment Workers and the United Mine Workers, no attempt was made to rally additional aid, though the trade union movement would have responded to the very bottom of the pocket. To the Gorman-McMahon-Rieve machine, the textile workers must say: "You have sold us out; out you shall go. You have betrayed us in our greatest battle."

Camouflaging The Sell Out

So glaring was the betrayal that difficulty is being experienced by

the mill owners and their pals, Gorman etc., in covering up their dirty deal. Today the mill-owners are pretending opposition to the Winant Report and the strike misleaders are attempting to palm off the acceptance of the Board's report as a glorious and "complete victory." But so obvious was the betrayal and so clumsy the attempts of the Greens and Gormans to hide it, that the mouthpieces of reaction, the capitalist press, sneer in derision at the statements of "victory" and cannot hide their disgust of the spineless A. F. of L. bureaucrats, despite their valuable services. The laughing stock of capitalist circles. Thus the New York Times editorializes on September 24th: "They (the strike leaders) seem, indeed, to have accepted the report with an almost suspicious enthusiasm and alacrity. The 'sweeping character' of the 'overwhelming victory' which Mr. Gorman and his associates find in its (Winant Report) recommendations is not apparent to an impartial reader." And the Journal of Commerce of the same date is beside itself with joy: "To call off the strike in accordance with the terms of the Winant report is tantamount to telling the workers that the union promises were worthless." And that's hitting the nail on the head. That scab-sheet of the mill-owners, The Paterson Evening News, analyzes the Winant Report and states: "It concludes that an industry-wide collective agreement between the employers as a group and the United Textile Workers is not now feasible, and recommends bargaining on a plant-to-plant basis." And that too is accurate.

No words can indict this sell-out leadership. It must be exterminated, it must be destroyed. The road to victory for the textile and all other workers lies in the building of a progressive movement in the trade unions.

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ON THE NEW LINE OF THE COMINTERN

Dear Comrades:

Profound changes are taking place in the line of the Communist International. These changes affect some of the most fundamental issues that have separated the official Communist Party and the Communist Opposition: the united front; attitude towards the Socialist Party; the trade union question.

UNITED FRONT IN FRANCE

In France, there is a united front of Socialist and Communist Parties such as we have been advocating for years and which we were denounced for advocating. The united front, despite serious opportunist errors (the non-aggression pact), has strengthened the fighting forces of the proletariat.

LIQUIDATION OF RED UNIONS IN GERMANY

In Germany, the central committee of the Communist Party has instructed its members to drop the ill-fated theory of social-fascism. It has entered into a bloc with the Communist Opposition and a united front with the Social Democratic underground groups, for the joint building of class trade unions. It has declared itself ready to liquidate the Red trade unions and the R. G. O. (corresponding to the T.U.U.L. in America) and pledged itself not to try to split the class unions to form new "Red Unions." In short, it has adopted the main outlines of the tactical views of the Communist Opposition in Germany on the United Front and Trade Union questions.

More important still, having adopted the trade union line of the Communist Opposition, the official party in Germany found it necessary to confer with the Communist Opposition which has not only advocated but taken the lead in building underground non-partisan, class trade unions in Germany!

C.P.G. CONFERS WITH "BRANDLERITES"

Yes, comrades, two representatives of the German Central Committee have had official discussions with the two outstanding leaders of the German Communist Opposition, with those two leaders whom you have been taught to hate (without knowing anything about them), with those two leaders who were denounced as "renegades," as "counter-revolutionists," as "paid agents of Hitler"—and the conferences have resulted in an agreement for united work.

The Communist Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) have agreed to work

LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

together in the building of underground class trade unions, to work together in developing a united front with the Social Democracy, The Communist Party and Communist Opposition have further agreed "to cooperate in the preparation of mass actions and to form organs of joint struggle all over the country for this purpose."

A STEP TOWARDS COMMUNIST UNITY.

Comrades, this will be gladdening news to all who value the unity of the working class and the unity of the Communist movement. This agreement on such important tactical questions, and this comradesly collaboration in struggle, are important steps which should lead to the elimination of further differences and to the eventual reuniting of the Communist movement.

CHANGES IN MANY LANDS.

There are many other signs of a correction of the fatal sectarian line which has been handicapping the growth and effectiveness of the Communist International and its sections.

In England the party is proposing a united front to the Labor Party and is taking steps to lead the Scottish "Red" Miners Union back into the general miners' union.

In Austria the united front policy the Communist Opposition has been fighting for, has been adopted, and the Party and the fighting force of the workers are growing by leaps and bounds.

There are important changes in the tactical line in Belgium, Italy, Spain, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, and a number of other countries.

WHAT OF THE UNITED STATES?

Even in the United States there are faint beginnings of the abandonment of the sectarian tactics of the so-called "united front from below" and of dual unionism.

In the past, the party leaders worked overtime to convince the party membership that our proposals in that direction were "opportunist," "left social-fascist," even "counter-revolutionary." Now they are trying to make a few little changes in accordance with the changing line of the Comintern—half-hearted, reluctant, piecemeal changes. The changes are not a result of discussion by

the party membership. There is no frank acknowledgment of error. No explanation is offered as to why the old sectarian line is being abandoned. No pledge is given to the working class that it will be abandoned for good. There is no honest, thoroughgoing correction of the line. A party of democratic centralism changing its basic tactical line without discussion or decision by and re-education of the membership! A party of the masses trying to change its line for mass work in the dark, by diplomacy, behind the back of the masses! This was not Lenin's way of correcting an error, of re-educating the Party, of regaining the confidence of the masses. No real change can be made in such fashion. No guarantee can be given by such methods against new errors.

Is it not high time that the Party tackled not only the errors, but the roots from which the errors sprang—the lack of inner party democracy; the expulsion of those who tried to criticize the sectarian line within the framework of democratic centralism; the handing down of all decisions from above, with discussion only as to how to carry them out; the mechanical transference of tactics and "left" and "right" turns appropriate to the Soviet Union to all other countries without consideration of differing objective conditions?

THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS

The Seventh World Congress, four years overdue, has just been postponed again. It has been postponed, no doubt, to make room for further changes in the line of the various parties. Comrades, this should give an opportunity for a real discussion in the various sections so that the decision of the Congress may come as a result of genuine collective discussion and decision by the various parties.

Comrades, ask for, demand (it is your right and duty as Communists) that a discussion of the sectarian line and errors of the past five years precede the Seventh World Congress. Discuss the "new" line (we put "new" in quotation marks because it is really a return to the old Leninist line that was abandoned at the time of our expulsion).

WHAT IS THE "NEW" LINE?

You will be told by party leaders who approach these changes factionally, that: (1) There is no change of line, and (2) that the sectarian line was correct up to now

(Continued on Page 7)

AMERICAN LABOR FACES THE FUTURE

We are glad to be able to present to the readers of *Workers Age* the reply of Charles S. Zimmerman, Vice President of the I.L.G.W.U., to a letter from William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor. This document, actually constituting the program of the progressives in the A. F. of L., was commented upon by Louis Stark in the *New York Times* of September 24. This document, unanimously approved by the Executive Board of Local 22 I. L. G. W. U., and Green's letter to Zimmerman, have been published in pamphlet form by Dressmakers Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

* * *

August 14, 1934
William Green, President
American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The questions raised in your letter of August 2 are certainly of paramount importance to the whole labor movement. As such, I feel they should be discussed in a calm and constructive manner without allowing any personalities or the spirit of recrimination to creep in.

It is not at all a question of what my personal political views may be. It is far more a question of what philosophy, outlook and tactics the American labor movement must adopt if it is to grow strong and fulfill its great mission or behalf of the working people of this country.

The Mission Of Trade Unionism

I take my stand firmly upon the great principle so clearly enunciated in the original preamble adopted by the American Federation of Labor:

"A struggle is going on in all nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combin-

ed for mutual protection and benefits."

The mission of trade unionism is to defend and advance the economic interests of the workers as against the employers. Such institutions as "collective bargaining, the making of wage agreements and the observance of them," to which you refer, are only means to this supreme end. They are there to serve labor and not labor to serve them.

Organized labor can achieve nothing for which it is not ready, willing and able to fight. It is not merely a question of striking "to enjoy the right to engage in the negotiation of wage agreements," as you state. It is rather a question of striking or being ready to strike for every wage increase, for every reduction of hours, for every general improvement in conditions. Unceasing vigilance and unwavering militancy are watchwords of organized labor.

Have not these tried and tested principles been fully justified by the recent experience of the labor movement? Where trade unions have placed their reliance upon the "good will" or "reasonableness" of the employers or upon the NRA to shower blessings upon them, have they not met with disaster? But where unions have relied upon their own organized might and militancy, have they not made great headway, built up their organizations and improved the conditions of the workers in their trades?

Is not this the philosophy underlying the American trade union movement? It certainly appears to me to be the only philosophy on the basis of which labor has made headway in the past and can continue to do so in the future.

The Sanctity Of Contracts

Your attitude to general and sympathetic strikes, and especially your utterances on the San Francisco strike, appear to me to be greatly at variance with the true purpose and spirit of unionism. It

by Charles S. Zimmerman

is not a question of the timeliness or advisability of this or that general or sympathetic strike. On this there may, of course, be wide differences of opinion. But you place yourself in opposition to all general or sympathetic strikes, of any sort, at any time, upon any occasion. You oppose them on principle, on a principle which, I believe, is quite foreign to the real principles of the labor movement.

You oppose general and sympathetic strikes first because they involve the breaking of collective agreement and contracts. But to elevate the sanctity of contracts with the employers to such a point as to tie the hands of the workers and deprive them of a powerful weapon in their own defense, is surely to lose complete sight of the great end and aim of the labor movement. The working people form one great army constantly arrayed against the hosts of capital and it would be the sheerest folly and lack of ordinary common sense and union loyalty for one section to refuse to come to the aid of another, where such aid is possible and practicable, merely because it has a contract with the employers. The employers themselves are not influenced by any such fine scruples. They are always ready to rush to each other's aid against the workers. We on our part must learn the lesson of labor solidarity, noting the inspiring response of the rank and file of American unionism in support of the San Francisco general strike. I am glad to say that labor appears to have a keen feeling of its duties and responsibilities in this field.

May I call your attention to the fact that this alleged principle of absolute and unconditional sanctity of contracts with the employers would lead in actual practice to the most shocking cases of mutual seething and strikebreaking on the part of groups of unionists who work in the same factories but

belong to different craft unions? Surely you will agree that such practices could not be tolerated no matter what the abstract principle may be. The unity, solidarity and welfare of labor must be the highest law!

Do general or sympathetic strikes, because they lead to the abrogation of contracts, "prevent the American Federation of Labor from organizing the unorganized," as you contend? I think not. Organizing the unorganized is not a matter of gaining the confidence and good will of the employers, as you seem to imply, but rather of winning the confidence and loyalty of the unorganized workers themselves. Will not these masses of the unorganized be won to the trade unions more easily if they come to understand that the whole labor movement is ready to stand behind them once they are in its ranks, is ready to back them to the limit where necessary and possible? All experience has shown that the appeal of labor solidarity is the most powerful instrument in awakening the backward, unorganized workers to the necessity of genuine unionism.

"The Government Must Be Supreme"

Your final argument is that general or sympathetic strikes are no longer directed against a particular group of employers but are immediately transformed into a clash with the government. "No sympathetic strike," you maintain, "can be won unless you succeed in defeating the government." And this, you say, is impossible—"the government must be supreme." Hence all general or sympathetic strikes are doomed to failure in advance. But don't you realize that this argument, if valid, would condemn almost any strike that ever took place to inevitable failure? No matter how limited its scope or its aims may be, practically every strike comes into direct conflict with the government once it becomes formidable enough, since

the government immediately throws in its forces to help the employers. Every page of American labor history testifies to this notorious fact and every worker knows it by heart. No important strike was ever won except by defeating the whole array of governmental forces, police, courts, militia, acting as strikebreakers. The truck drivers in Minneapolis are not out in general strike now; they are merely engaged in a limited economic strike. And yet the national guard is raiding strike halls, arresting strike leaders, dispersing strike pickets, breaking the strike all around. The Minneapolis truckers have come into conflict with the government. What shall they do? Surrender because "the government must be supreme?" Or fight on, realizing they must defeat the government if they are to win their strike?

If "the government must be supreme" no matter what side it takes in a labor conflict, how about the time-honored official A. F. of L. policy of defying and resisting court injunctions aimed at labor? It does not seem that American labor always held to this curious dogma that once the government steps in on the side of the employers, everything is lost and only surrender is possible.

Contrary to your contentions, general strikes have been successful in the past, either partially or wholly. I need only mention the Swedish strike of 1902, or the Belgian strike of 1913, or the German strike of 1920. I might recall the significant fact that in this very country the Adamson eight-hour law for railroad workers was won only thru the threat of a general strike thrown by American labor into the very face of the government. Nor does the failure of the British general strike in 1926 or, for that matter, of the recent San Francisco general strike, provide any argument against the efficacy of the general strike as a weapon of labor.

(Continued on Page 6)

New Policies or Old Fallacies?

Analyzing the Recent Party Statements

by Jay Lovestone

During the last five years of unparalleled opportunity for Communist growth, the C.P. of the U. S. was steeped in insane, if not infantile, leftist sectarianism, in bluff and bombast, in grandiose self-delusion. Recently, new winds began to blow in the Communist International. The suicidal theory of "Social-fascism" was buried in Austria some weeks before the interment of Dollfus. A short while after the rise of the Doumergue government in France, the Comintern under the pressure of objective conditions and under the lash of the constructive criticism of the IGO, made a complete right-about face and turned to united front action. Finally, even in Germany, which can rightly be called the graveyard of ultra-leftism in Communist ranks (graveyard in the sense that here we paid the highest price for the false sectarian line and in the sense that here the whole course of the Comintern met its Waterloo), there came a fairly complete break with the present sterile tactical course and a return to the Leninist strategic line advocated by the IGO.

No Visible Change In C.P.U.S.A.

Under these conditions we expected to find in the above mentioned resolutions of the Communist Party in this country similar signs of a return to sanity. We must regretfully state that such evidence of return to health, as portrayed in the Central Committee's latest trade union and united front resolutions, is confusing and perniciously anaemic. In Germany the Comintern has finally agreed to give up its Red Trade Unions, to drop all efforts to play with them even on paper, and to accept finally the proposal of the Communist Party of Germany (Op-

position) to build broad, non-partisan, underground, class trade unions. Not so in the United States. At least, not yet in the United States. We venture to enlighten, in advance, the membership of the official Communist Party that the Seventh World Congress will kick it, perhaps later than in other countries, but kick it nevertheless, much more in the direction of a correct trade union line and united front policy than is indicated by the heavy, but empty, trade union resolution and letter to the National Committee of the Socialist Party just adopted by the American Central Committee. (Daily Worker, Sept. 15th.)

C.P. Never More Isolated

First of all, we must frankly face the fact that, unless the official Communist Party drops its game of bluff, a serious diagnosis of the ailments of the Communist movement can not even be attempted. Never before has the Communist party been so organically isolated from the mass struggles of the workers in this country. The present general textile strike is rude evidence of this brutal truth. For years before the split in the Communist party, the Communist International repeatedly hailed the achievements of its American section, particularly amongst the textile workers. Until the advent of the present self-satisfied leadership of the party with its paralyzing union-splitting and social-fascist patent medicines, there was never a strike in any locality, section, or craft of the textile industry in which the Communist Party was not organically involved as a positive, constructive, important, or even decisive factor.

Today, we have a general strike involving practically every spot and phase of the spindle industry. But the only evidence that the Communist party can present of its influence in this historic struggle is the fact that strike-breaking Governors, open-shop leaders, and labor-hating employers yell Communist and shriek about Reds in order to paint a false picture of the strike.

Bluff and Bombast Still Prevails

In the face of this calamitous condition, the Central Committee of the party can do nothing but resort to costly bluff, plain misrepresentation, or unadulterated self-hypnosis. For instance, the newest trade union resolution brags:

"The overwhelming majority of the strikers in recent months were workers organized in the A. F. of L. unions, clearly showing that the A. F. of L. workers are more and more accepting the policies of the party and the revolutionary trade union movement." (our emphasis).

About such bombast my old friend and comrade, Stalin, would say: "It is enough to make a horse laugh." However, laughing horses are not the best ones to enter in a race, especially when the race is an ever-sharpening class war. Where are the revolutionary trade unions? In the mining industry? Perhaps the Secretariat of the party has organized some super-underground mines beneath the pits where the living coal miners

are digging black diamonds and dollar nuggets for their employers! Perhaps amongst the railroad workers, where the TUUL hasn't even a single member to take in a whiff of coal dust from an engine or run the risk of getting a grease spot on his overalls! Perhaps in the "Silk City" of Paterson, where that alphabetical permutation and combination, known as the NTWU, which recently, with much self-satisfaction, heralded its own demise! Perhaps in Gastonia, where once the party had a real basis for effective work! Very likely the Central Committee has in mind the "National Mirror Polishers Industrial Class Union of Oshkosh"! This much we are prepared to grant. What is fair is fair and what is true is true

Some Embarrassing Questions Come Up

We can not applaud too lustily the Central Committee of the party finally recognizing the fact that "the overwhelming majority of the strikers in recent months were workers organized in the A. F. of L. unions." At the same time, we can not condemn too heartily the fact that despite this trend, the Central Committee, in the same spacious resolution, thus hastens to doff its cap to union-splitting policies and to embrace warmly dual-unionism.

"This action of the M.W.I.U. further demonstrated not only that the M.W.I.U. is a force among the seamen, but in general the possibilities and the role that the T. U. U. L. Unions can play in the development and leadership of the struggles of the workers thru the application of the united front policy." (Our emphasis.)

Here a number of embarrassing questions appear on the scene. What is this "United Front" that the resolution speaks of? Is it the united front between the UTW with its 300,000 members and the NTWU, with its incalculable membership? Is it the united front between the non-existent miners' unions of the TUUL (NMU) and the hundreds of thousands in the U.M.W. of A. affiliated to the A.F.L.? Furthermore, how can the Central Committee explain away its present position of recognizing (against its will, it is true) the growth of the A. F. of L. when but a few years ago it denounced us from Moscow to Hollywood for resisting the theory that the A. F. of L. can no longer grow. We would appreciate it if Comrade Browder were to tell the membership of the Party what he now thinks of the following statement made by Comrade Foster in January, 1929:

"What is the future of the A. F. of L. and the craft unions generally? Are they definitely in decline as labor organizations? This question of perspective of the A. F. of L. becomes very important because in it is involved the question of whether or not there is a real base for the development of the new industrial union movement."

"The A. F. of L. is definitely in decline as a labor organization."

the land, but the "legal" right of the employers to rob and plunder must not be limited even in words. This becomes even clearer when the same editorial concludes arrogantly:

"It is no part of the business of any industry to support any number of employees, or to pay any rate of wages."

Prepare For New Battles

The great textile strike is over. The leaders of the union may have battered away many conditions but one thing they could not sell and that is the tremendous fighting spirit of the textile workers. These workers are bound to rise once again, better organized and under more honest and militant leadership, to strike down these feudal lords of the textile industry.

tion. It can not and will not organize the unorganized." (William Z. Foster, the Communist, January, 1929.)

Incidentally, would Comrade Browder to-day agree with Foster's following boast?

"The development of this struggle (the miners' strike) under the leadership of the National Miners Union, fully supports the program of building the new unions. It is a blow in the face to such people as the Lovestones. All the croakings that the NMU is isolated from the masses, has been dealt a deadly smash. It would be interesting indeed to see Lovestone come here and tell the workers to go back into the strikebreaking U.M.W." (From the Communist of July, 1931, William Z. Foster.)

And, of course, we would especially appreciate if Comrade Stachel, that venerable leader of the American trade union movement, would to-day express his judicious opinion of the following evaluation made by us as against Lovinsky's, which he then denounced as anti-working class, anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, anti-revolutionary and what is even worse, anti-Stalin:

"There could be nothing more fatal to the American labor movement in general and to the revolutionary movement in particular than the illusion that the A. F. of L. can no longer grow and has no future. It is silly to look at the existing American Trade union movement with its 3,000,000 members as stationary, unchangeable. . . The outlook is clearly for an ingress into the trade unions, for sharpened class conflicts involving millions of workers in trade unions as well as millions of sorely pressed unorganized. In the course of these struggles the unorganized are likely to pour into the unions a decisive force, the leaven germinating a new spirit of struggle, militancy, and power in these organizations" (Workers Age, May 14, 1932.)

What Kind of Work In The A. F. of L.?

Feebly and desperately the Central Committee strives to become a little more practical thru a new note, somewhat less jarring to the ear. In capital letters we find its resolution calling on the members: "To finally overcome and root out all under-estimation of work in the reformist unions." What kind of work? Constructive or destructive? Building and transforming the conservative unions into militant industrial unions or working inside to smash them? To do what Lovinsky proposed? The Central Committee of the Party must immediately make clear to the membership and to all workers whether it still accepts the following instruction of Lovinsky, the head of the Red Trade Union International:

"There is no need to shout from the housetops 'destroy the unions' as was done in Germany. But that we want to break up the reformist trade unions, that we want to explode their discipline, that we want to wrest from them the workers, that we want to explode the trade union apparatus and to destroy it—that that there can not be the slightest doubt." (Lovinsky in the RILU Plenum, February 15, 1932.)

Is this what the resolution means when it speaks of "the tremendous importance of developing work in the unions?" Fortunately, we need not wait for another verbiage document. In the wooded foothills of this resolution we can see what's at the bottom of it all by lifting the camouflaging foliage. Here we find the Central Committee cursing against "the hiding of the face of the Party!" Here we find the command "to strengthen the work and leadership of the T. U. U. L. and other independent unions under our influence." Here we find the Central Committee placing the same quantitative and qualitative emphasis on work in the company unions as

The Textile Strike in Maine

by Jack Wilson

Well, the great textile strike is over. The revolt, which is the greatest one that has ever taken place in this country, has shown us that the working class has not been reduced to abject and uncomplaining slaves to their capitalist masters. Quite the contrary, the textile workers have given as good an account of themselves as workers have ever done.

Here in the State of Maine it can be reported that altho the number who struck was far too small as compared with the number employed in the industry, it also shows that the mill owners can not hope forever to keep their workers under the iron heel of despotism in spite of the alliance of mill owner and church, press and government.

Among those places where the mill workers gave a good account of themselves were Augusta, Waterville, Brunswick, Skowhegan, Biddeford, Westbrook and Saco. In those places the workers proved their militancy to be as great as the workers in other areas.

In Lewiston, which is the largest textile center in Maine and one of the large centers of the country, the union did not make the showing that it should have. When the strike was called there was no organization and there had been none for some years. From the moment of the announcement that the textile convention had ordered the strike an attack was begun against the union and has continued to this very day.

Role of Church In The Strike

The first attack came from Father Marchand of the French Church (Peter and Paul). He warned the workers not to pay any attention to the stories they are told about the mill workers of the south, that they had nothing to do with them anyway. He said that it was these southern workers who were causing all the trouble. Where they lived, he said, they did not need any more than they were getting. All the union wanted was to get Lewiston workers out so

they may freeze to death. He further told them the organizers were riding around in Cadillac cars and were highly paid to keep them from working. He warned them that St. Vincent de Paul would not help them if they went out on strike and that Mayor Wiseman asked him to tell the workers that there would be no aid for them from the relief agencies.

This, of course, had a deterring effect upon the French workers especially because there was no leadership whatever in the mills. Among some workers, however, Father Marchand's tirade aroused resentment. In one instance a worker was explaining to a group of workers, gathering in the street, their rights under section 7a. A passing priest then took a hand shouting to the speaker "you're a liar." Immediately the crowd began to boo and shout. One expressed the sentiment of this particular group when he said: "What's the matter with you, are you afraid you will miss the 15 cents from the collection on Sunday? Go back to the church where you belong."

Even from the church there were some weak voices of protest raised. There is the case of Rev. Elwin S. Wilson, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Westbrook, Me., whose sermon on September 16, was on "The Price of Blood; The Case of the Striker." Stating that money was the great force in present day civilization he pointed out that the only influence labor can have is thru its own unions. During the course of his sermon he made one statement which is really remarkable considering the intensity of the open shop drive. He said: "When money can make laws to please the rich and to call out the militia, the last resort of the underpaid worker is the strike and violence. It is the only voice loud enough for the manufacturers to hear."

Clamping Down On The Strikers

But the predominant response

from the church was one of great hostility and energetic effort at aiding the employers.

J. S. Poiser, organizer of the U.T.W., received some valuable lessons in the powers of the employers. After renting the City Hall for a strike meeting, Mayor Wiseman cancelled the permit. The Central Labor Union Hall could not be hired because the "mill owners control the building." The last resort was a hall occupied by the Lithuanian Working-Men's Association but also this hall was finally refused because the mill owners threatened to keep all Lithuanian workers out of the mills.

On the eve of the strike a cordon sanitaire was established around the mills and all traffic stopped. Heavy police lines were formed and very soon the "friend" of labor Governor Brann rushed troops into the sector. Under such circumstances and remembering that there was no previous union organization the walk-out of over 9,000 workers out of a total working force of 22,000, was indeed a gratifying response.

No Quarter—Policy Of Textile Barons

The brutal frankness with which the open shop press conducted its lynch campaign against unionism can hardly be overstated. An idea of its viciousness can be gotten from the press comment at the very end of the strike. Here is how the Lewiston Daily Sun reacted to the proposal to end the strike by setting up the inconsequential and meaningless new Board:

"Far better that the strike continue, that many people go hungry, than many mills be idle, than that thru any action by the President of the United States the mills get busy again with the expectation that a new board, appointed by the President, shall have authority to administer the labor provisions of the cotton, silk and wool code. Such a board would be illegal." Hunger and misery may stalk

The Resignation of General Johnson

Richberg and Swope - Heirs Apparent

by Economist

The news has just come, in the polite language of the press that General Johnson has resigned from the NRA. In the opinion of the writer this was in the offing for a long time. The general is too out-spoken in his anti-labor policies for the administration's comfort. His diatribes against labor, in the form of condemning strikes in general and the Textile and San Francisco strikes in particular, correspond in essence to the anti-labor nature of the NRA. The general's bluntness however does not fit in with the administration's diplomacy and subtlety in soft-soaping its policies against labor. It isn't good politics, according to New Deal methods, to state ex-

plicitly the need for suppressing labor's militancy and the need for quasi-public unionism. Roosevelt's game is to say nothing and appear impartial. And, at the same time, to act partially in organizing capital (trade associations must formulate the codes) and disorganize labor thru recognizing minority representation, company unions, and non-recognition of the closed shop.

All this has been done by the president with the greatest of finesse and caution so as not to arouse the suspicion of workers who may fight, objectively, against

the NRA but are taken in by their mislabeled faith in an individual—Roosevelt.

In recent months there has been a mounting discontent against the general on the part of the trade unions, expressed in resolutions asking for his removal. It has reached the point where the president fears that the organized workers would begin to direct their animus, aroused by Johnson's policies, to the administration. If this happened, the pro-labor myth of the NRA would be blasted. In order to avert such developments he is sacrificing the individual, who is the center of popular discontent, and is preserving the virginity of the NRA in the eyes of the exploited masses. With this obstacle removed, Roosevelt can proceed on his way, hatching more schemes, cloaked in sweet phrases glorifying the role of labor and dedicated to the objective of preserving the rule of finance capital.

Recalls Cates-Johnson Controversy

This procedure of easing Johnson out has, what may be termed NRA precedent. In the early beginnings of the NRA there arose the famous Cates-Johnson controversy. Dudley Cates had come out, very openly, for vertical unionism under government control—a form of fascist unionism which would have usurped the powers of independent class unionism. If such an open avowal of reactionary policy were adopted by the administration, it would have brought the most bitter resistance from organized labor, including the conservative AFL bureau-

cracy. General Johnson, although fully endorsing Cates's stand, pronounced the view that the time was premature for such an outspoken policy. Therefore, Cates was forced to resign. One year later, the general finds himself in a similar position. His too explicit position against the working class requires that he be removed so that labor's faith in the NRA may not be shattered.

Another aspect of this action lies in the trends that are becoming more apparent within the NRA. The recent announcement bearing upon the re-classification of industries into four main groupings with twenty-two subdivisions represents an attempt at reorganization in the direction of greater cartelization and monopolies. Whereas, formerly, the main problems in the economic organization of industries under NRA were formulating codes of an intra-industrial nature, the questions now besetting the NRA are those of an inter-industrial nature. With over four hundred codes in operation, the problem now, is one of integration so as to make the codes dovetail rather than contradict or interfere with one another. (This attempt, of course, by the very nature of capitalism, is foredoomed to failure. Complete planning of the industrial set-up is impossible under a system where social production and private ownership exist as opposite poles within the same economic organization.)

The entire orientation of the NRA will necessitate, by its objective nature, a drive against small enterprise and against the interference of the labor unions and their possible strikes. As for these ideas, the general would

wholeheartedly agree. (The N. Y. Times of Sept. 26 states that he favored relaxation of the anti-trust laws so that "combinations could be made to eliminate unfair trade practices and cut-throat price combinations which is stilling what trade there is left.")

Richberg, Swope Heirs Apparent

But when it came to the present concerted drive in the direction mentioned above, "it became apparent that to recast the Recovery Administration General Johnson himself would have to be recast or resign." (N. Y. Times). Thus "Barney Baruch's boy" had to go the way of Cates to be supplanted, in all probability, by Richberg and Swope. The latter's ideas, of a trade-association-controlled economic world, jibe very well with the NRA tendencies. While the former supplies, very nicely, the qualities lacking in the blustering, undiplomatic ex-"cracker downer" (against labor), Richberg is the type of official who can speak of "tremendous gains" while predicting, that close to 5,000,000 families will be on relief by 1935, while retail food prices skyrocket to the highest point in three years, while the business index has been on the downgrade for six weeks, while the capital goods industries show no signs of recovery, while the industrial-agricultural scissors show no definite signs of closing, while unemployment has increased over the summer months. The point of all this is that he can say this and not injure NRA popularity. Richberg is the kind of diplomat that symbolizes the camouflage used to appease all classes while the monopoly juggernaut is being groomed. And so Johnson makes his exit while the NRA proceeds on its way of intensified state capitalism.

in the genuine A F of L unions. It commands: "To develop systematic work in the company unions and win the workers to the trade unions (naturally, T. U. U. L. unions—J. L.) on the basis of exposing the company unions thru putting forward of demands, participation in the elections, developing the struggles in the shops, etc."

Relation of TUUL to NRA

Now let us turn to the letter to the National Committee of the Socialist Party. Slamming the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., which of course can not be slammed too hard and too much for proper cause, this letter charges: "It demands support to the A. F. of L. participation in the NRA and its subsidiaries. . . This is rather strange talk, and thoroughly dishonest. Who was it but Ben Gold that monumental figure of that cemetery of "red unions" known as the TUUL, who, in desperate effort to win recognition for the CP's dual union in the fur industry, argued, pleaded, and demanded, before the Fur Code Authority in Washington, that the Fur Workers Industrial Union should be given representation on the NRA Code Authority in the fur industry. To clinch his case, this two-fisted, silvertongued orator of dual unionism, militantly proclaimed that there would be no peace in the fur industry until such time as the Fur Workers Industrial Union would be represented on the NRA Boards.

We have a hunch that it is not out of place to remind the official CP leadership about the story dealing with sauce, goose, and gander. It's an old story, but like wine, it improves with age—in some cases. This instance is an ideal case.

The CPO has consistently maintained the position that no labor union should accept places on NRA Boards and Code Authorities, which are crushing fetters on the mobility and organization of the trade unions. The above-mentioned class collaboration policy of the TUUL only shows that the logical consequences of dual unionism when practiced even by the most excited, self-deluded, and noisiest revolutionists lead only to an anti-working class position.

United Front From The Top.

Finally, we find the Central Committee of the Party stooping to conquer. It commits a most ghastly right-wing deviation. Horrors of opportunism! Catacombs of social-reformism! Shades of the Sixth World Congress! How come that the Central Committee of the self-confessed vanguard and only leader of the American working class can address an appeal to the National Committee of so reformist, so "bourgeois," so "social-fascist" an organization as the American Socialist Party? But six years ago, at the Sixth World Congress of the C.I. the Trotskyite Dunne, the ex-labor Democrat Dunne, the legal-minded and the legally-trained Browder, fiercely denounced the CP, then under the leadership of the present CPO, before the entire international revolutionary proletariat for committing that blackest of crimes, the crime of striking an open letter to the National Committee of the same American Socialist Party! We assure the membership of the CP, the overwhelming major-

ity of whom are less than two years in the party, that we bear no illfeelings against the present leadership of the party because it now proclaims as a virtue exactly that which it once branded as a vicious crime. Yet, we are compelled to demand honesty in principles and consistency in revolutionary action. How can the Central Committee speak in its Trade Union Resolution about "the treacherous role of the social-fascists" and, then, on the same page (page 15) of the same issue (September 15) of the same paper (Daily Worker) appeal to the general staff (National Committee of the SP) of American social-fascism to "come together with us upon an agreed program of the most immediate needs," and "to move boldly and decisively for uniting all forces of the revolutionary working class?"

Who Is Who Among Social Fascists

We greet even this turn, confusing, contradictory, and inadequate as it may be. There can be no real united front effort by the CP until it honestly and frankly declares that it has decided to break with its past anti-united front policies. In the same appeal to the National Committee of the SP, the Central Committee of the CP, in loyal but cowardly fashion, bows before the "authoritative words of Comrade Stalin," to the effect that the Social-democratic parties are a wing of the Fascist front. Is this the best road to the united front? The Central Committee of the CP is really heartless in the way in which it works its imagination overtime when it says: "We have never classed the members and adherents of the Socialist Party as social-fascists, but on the contrary consider them our class brothers. We have nothing to repudiate or correct in our expressed positions on this question. . ."

Well, well! Does the Central Committee of the CP still agree with the following statement which Pravda, the fountain head of all official Communist theory and practice, made about the united front and Social-democracy?:

"There can be no compromise or block with the Social-democratic workers against fascism and social fascism." (Inprecorr Vol. II, No. 23.)

Would the Central Committee endorse this line adopted at the Eleventh Plenum of the ECCI? Well, let's quit putting embarrassing and irritating questions. The CPO, is convinced that, under the pressure of objective conditions and under the pressure of the constructive criticism and practice of the ICO with its effective, tactical line, the Communist International will, sooner rather than later, return to sound revolutionary policies, to the Leninist strategic course. From what we know of our American party, which we helped found, which we led and build under the most unfavorable objective conditions, it appears that here in the United States the official Communist movement will make its return to a correct line more slowly, more hesitatingly, more confusedly and less consistently, less frankly, than in other sections of the Comintern.

The C. P. O. pledges itself to work with redoubled effort to smooth the way, to facilitate the course, to hasten the day of the return of the Communist movement

Arming Against the Workers

by William J. White

The Associated Press dispatch carries the news to us that an airplane, carrying machine guns, tear gas, bombs, etc. to the textile barons in the Rhode Island textile strike, was wrecked and its contents destroyed while making a forced landing in a mountain town in Pennsylvania.

The manufacturing of these weapons of war upon labor are at present largely the monopoly of the Federal Laboratories, Inc. of Pittsburgh, Pa., which boasts in its prospectus that it is the oldest and largest manufacturer of chemical protective devices in the country. What these mean to the working class can easily be gleaned from the pictures in the pamphlet and their captions. They show gas attacks upon strikers in the American steel strike, Fayette County coal strike, Los Angeles communists, New York State milk strike, Ambbridge, Pennsylvania—end of a stubborn strike, West Virginia coal strike, Weirton West Virginia strike and against California communists.

Their gas riot gun (price \$60) is highly spoken of by the Federal Laboratories, Inc. as a perfect weapon for dispersing mobs, quelling prison riots, routing barricaded criminals, guarding pay rolls, protecting public and private property.

Federal riot guns are used by leading state constabularies, most large penal institutions, Royal Canadian Mounted, Federal Reserve banks, United States Bureau of Investigation, Armored Car

in the United States to the tactical line of revolutionary, Leninist, realism. This is the main highway, really the shortest road, to the very much-needed unification of the Communist movement in the United States. Here is our historic mission. Here we shall fight to score a decisive victory—for our party and our class—the Communist party and the American proletariat.

Companies, large industrial corporations, and leading law enforcement organizations.

The Federal Laboratories, Inc. boast loudly of the fact that they received large orders from the U. S. Steel Company, the Republic Iron & Steel Co., Jones & Laughlin Steel Co., and other corporations during the preparation for the steel strike, which was booked to take place last July, but which never materialized. However, let our readers note that these steel companies were ready to give the workers a blood bath in case the strike did take place.

The Federal Laboratories, Inc. of Pittsburgh also boast the manufacturing of the Thompson sub-machine gun—the Tommies used by gangsters and racketeers. Cities are urged to buy these guns in order to give the police and detective an even break with the gangsters and racketeers. Let the worker note again that it was these guns, which are now being used with deadly effect against the textile workers and striking workers in general in the North and South. There is no Mason and Dixon line in these strikes, nor do these guns recognize race, color, or creed.

When used semi-automatically 100 aimed shots per minute can be fired by separate trigger pulls, but by a shift of the control lever the weapon becomes a full automatic machine gun firing at a rate up to 800 shots per minute.

The Federal Laboratories, Inc. assure their readers that these guns are sold only to law enforcement and other divisions of city, county, state and federal governments, but they also add that in exceptional instances banks and private corporations may buy these guns but such orders are subject to the approval of the Department of Justice.

We wonder what would happen if some organizations of steel workers, brick layers, or carpenters would try to lay in a supply

of these weapons to protect themselves from the scabs who are taking their jobs. It is our opinion that this would soon convince the most backward worker what the State is organized for and whom it helps in the case of strikes and lock-outs.

Note: Under the heading "Scab Tells How Strike Gas Is Sold," the New York Evening Post of September 21 carries an interesting account by the "scab" (its reporter, Leo Katcher) sent into a Paterson mill during the strike to investigate conditions.

The reporter asked the boss whether he was prepared for trouble. The reply, according to the Post, was as follows:

"Listen, if I wanted to, I could give those strikers the biggest surprise in their lives. . . See, this crowd, the General Protective Laboratories out in Pittsburgh, sent me some circulars. I understand they sent them to every firm in this district.

"They sell equipment to spray gas over rioters. All kinds, grenades, billies, rifles and pistols. They sell you the gas and tell you how to use it. As soon as word of the strike, even before it began, got around, these circulars started coming. If I'd wanted to, I could have loaded up enough weapons, for about \$200, to give the strikers the works."

JOIN THE CPO—

JAY LOVESTONE
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AMERICAN LABOR FACES THE FUTURE

(Continued from Page 3)

Neither was actually defeated or smashed. Both were undermined and called off by timid and narrow-minded leaders who, as a matter of fact, had been without confidence in the strike from the very beginning and had acquiesced only because of the insistent demand of the rank and file. A battle that is lost because the generals, having undertaken it against their will, surrender as soon as possible is surely no test of anything except of the calibre and trustworthiness of the generals!

Green's Statement Demoralized Strikers

But the criticism I have of your utterances in connection with the San Francisco strike goes deeper than mere disagreement with your contentions. By implication, you reproach me for having issued my criticism of your statement of July 18 to the capitalistic press. May I merely call your attention to the fact that your statement attacking not merely an individual labor leader but the whole labor movement of San Francisco had been issued by you to this very same capitalistic press a few days before?

Suppose that you were right in your belief that this particular strike was uncalled for and utterly inadvisable. Suppose even that you were right in your belief that all general strikes are undesirable and futile. The fact remains nevertheless, that the strike was there anyway, authorized and participated in by the whole bona-fide labor movement of San Francisco, by all A. F. of L. unions. The workers were fighting with their backs to the wall against the combined hosts of the employers. Great consequences for the whole labor movement hinged upon the issue of this struggle. Did not the most obvious considerations of union loyalty decree that, while the battle was on, the ranks of labor must stand solid in support of the struggle, reserving for a later occasion a discussion of such general controversial issues as to whether the fight was worth-while or timely or wise? But at the most critical point of the struggle, you issued a statement to the capitalistic press disavowing the strike in the name of the A. F. of L. and practically repudiating it. Was this conduct worthy of the head of the A. F. of L.? Is it not true that your statement, spread from coast to coast by all the publicity agencies at the command of the employers, helped materially to demoralize and dishearten the strikers and to confuse labor generally, thus giving the San Francisco employers and the open shoppers and union-smashers everywhere a weapon against the workers? In this situation, I felt it my obvious duty to let the labor movement and especially the San Francisco workers know that your attitude was not representative of the whole American Federation of Labor, that there were those in the A. F. of L. who had not lost all sense of responsibility to their fellow-workers in their most critical hour.

Firm Policy To Defeat Boss Attack

The issues raised in your letter and in this answer of mine are of the most vital consequence to American labor. The trade union movement today stands at the crossroads. The gravest problems face it as a result of the situation created by the NRA. The policies of class collaboration, of so-called peaceful partnership between employer and worker, which took such hold in the years before the crisis, are now admittedly bankrupt. They have shown that they can lead labor to nothing but disaster and defeat. Today a new spirit is spreading in the ranks of the labor movement, a new understanding of the necessity of aggressiveness, militancy and organizational power. It is this new spirit which holds the promise of the future for the labor movement. The great need of the day, in my opinion, is for the official philosophy, methods and tactics of the

American Federation of Labor to be brought into line with this new spirit of progressivism and militancy.

The labor movement is now facing hostile attacks from all sides. The employing class of this country, especially in the basic industries, is determined not merely to stem the spread of unionism but even to destroy whatever progress labor has already made. Company unionism is being feverishly promoted by the big trust and business concerns with this aim in mind. The rights supposed to be guaranteed to labor by Section 7a are no more than a scrap of paper in the most important branches of American industry. To an alarming extent even the right to strike or to picket is being challenged.

by Charles S. Zimmerman

vention of the American Federation of Labor should seriously consider the launching of a big nationwide drive to organize these basic industries.

Build Unionism Along Industrial Lines

3. The great advantages of the industrial form of organization are now generally recognized. I would suggest that the next convention lay it down as a rule that all future organization, in the mass production industries especially, be along industrial lines. The executive council, furthermore, should be authorized to consider ways and means of amalgamating the exist-

ing craft organizations into industrial unions.

For Labor Education and Union Democracy

7. In order to absorb the many hundreds of thousands of new members and to keep them in our

very welcome growth of the A. F. of L. in the last year and a half, it is generally recognized that the executive council should be enlarged to include representatives of some of the big international unions. It would be well, too, if this step were the signal for the adoption of measures to ensure greater democracy and membership control in a number of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. Especially should the trade unions be kept open to all workers without regard to political views or affiliation.

These suggestions, I believe, would find ready acclaim among hundreds of thousands of the members of the American Federation of Labor. May I hope that you will place them before the executive council for consideration?

Fraternally yours,
(Signed)
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

President Green's Letter to Zimmerman

Washington, D. C. Aug. 2, 1934.
Mr. Charles S. Zimmerman,
Vice President,
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union,
New York, New York
Dear Sir:

The statement which you gave to the capitalistic press on Sunday morning, July 22nd, shows that you are still the same Zimmerman who opposed the late Morris Sigman in his efforts to promote the economic welfare of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union some few years ago. Evidently, you have not changed. You were reported to be an avowed Communist then and your statements, your utterances and your actions lead to the belief that you are a Communist now.

There is a distinguishing difference between your attitude and that of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor. They believe in Trade-Unionism, collective bargaining, the making of wage agreements and the observance of them. You laud a policy of the workers which means destruction to their organization, the abrogation and repudiation of agreements and the pursuit of a policy which the records of history show has always led the workers to in-

evitable defeat. The American Federation of Labor cannot remain passive or indifferent when a group of workers, locally situated, engage in an economic conflict which means ruin and destruction.

The facts are that serious consequences are involved in sympathetic strikes. Those who believe in the over-throw of government will favor sympathetic strikes. I say this because of the fact that no sympathetic strike can be won unless you succeed in defeating the Government.

The general sympathetic strike which occurred in Great Britain a few years ago was launched under the most favorable circumstances. It was sponsored and ordered by the British Trade-Union Congress. It occurred in a nation where the workers were thoroughly organized. The strike was launched in support of the miners who had been on strike for the redress of grievances. The strike failed and the British Trade-Union movement received a blow from which it has not yet recovered and the Miners' organization was almost destroyed.

The American Federation of Labor believes in collective bar-

gaining, in the making of contracts. It favors strikes when strikes are necessary on the part of the workers to enable them to enjoy the right to engage in the negotiation of wage agreements. If the Officers and Members of the American Federation of Labor enjoy collective bargaining and make wage agreements they must abrogate those agreements if they engage in sympathetic strikes. These who engage in sympathetic strikes abrogate agreements and thus prevent the American Federation of Labor from organizing the unorganized. Every sympathetic strike undertaken, so far as historic records show, was lost and the workers suffered set-backs costly and distressing in character.

I am making this reference to your newspaper article because I want you to know I resent what you stated therein. In this expression of your personal opinion you did not convey the true spirit and letter of the policies which govern the American Federation of Labor. On the contrary, your remarks were subversive and malicious.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) WM. GREEN,
President,
American Federation of Labor

Proposal for the police to license or register labor leaders are being raised in many quarters. Only a firm and aggressive policy can hope to defeat these attacks on our movement.

In view of this situation, may I take this occasion to present for your consideration and the consideration of the executive council some suggestions for a program to enable the trade union movement to meet the very serious situation facing it today.

Strike Movement For Union Recognition

1. From the experience of the last year and a half, I believe we have learned the great lesson that labor can get nothing under the NRA unless it stands ready to fight for it, unless it stands ready to strike and strike hard. The American Federation of Labor should issue a clear call pointing this out as the only way in the present critical situation. The American Federation of Labor, too, should take the lead in stimulating a nationwide strike movement to achieve union recognition, a rise in wages to meet the rising cost of living and to increase buying power, the shortening of hours to allow for real employment, etc. The sentiment of the masses of workers is ripe for such a move and it would bring lasting benefit to the labor movement.

Organize The Basic Industries

2. The American Federation of Labor must entrench itself in the basic, mass production industries of this country. The opportunity to unionize these industries is here today, as we all know, but if we pass up this opportunity now, we may have to pay very dearly for it in the future. The coming con-

ing craft organizations into industrial unions.

Smash Challenge Of Company Unionism

4. The A. F. of L. has done a very good service in recent months in directing public attention to the monstrous evil of company unionism. This menace is growing graver every day and labor must make ready for a war to the death against it, without quarter or compromise. Labor should now prepare for a supreme effort and concentrate all forces to smash this challenge to genuine unionism, before it grows too big to be tackled. The coming convention should issue the call for such a grand campaign. The A. F. of L. should also make clear that it will not tolerate any attempt to recognize company unions as in any sense legitimate agencies of collective bargaining.

Against Government Supervision of Unions

5. Never was the need for the trade union movement to preserve its complete independence from the employers and from the government as great as today. Powerful forces high in the councils of the NRA are trying to effect plans for government supervision of the unions and there are others who would like the unions to enter into some sort of alleged "partnership" relation with industry, forgetting that the unions are there primarily to defend labor against industry. The A. F. of L. convention should make clear that American labor will not tolerate either of these schemes to undermine its independence and fighting power.

For Enlarging The Executive Council

6. In view of the notable and

movement, an effective program of progressive labor education should be put into operation in the international unions as well as in the federal labor unions. The regulations of many unions will have to be considerably liberalized, also, if these new members are to find their proper place in the service of the trade union movement.

Against Hooligan Attacks Of Bosses

8. The hooligan outrages of the San Francisco vigilante bands upon labor organizations and institutions of that city should be a timely warning to us. From Italy, Germany and Austria, we learn that the Fascist campaigns of extermination against the trade unions were always prepared in advance by just such hooligan attacks upon sections of the labor movement under pretext of alleged political views. The same tactics have been employed time and again by the open shoppers on the Pacific Coast. We must not allow ourselves to be duped by this camouflage. We must beat back these attacks on labor before they overwhelm us.

For An Independent Party of Labor

9. That the two dominant political parties of this country are controlled body and soul by the employing class, that both show themselves indifferent and even bitterly hostile to labor once they are in power, is only too clear from the events of the last few decades of our history. The official "non-partisan" policy of the American Federation of Labor has brought us no good; it has, in fact, merely shunted off the political influence of labor into futile and self-defeating channels. A large number of local unions and city

UNION PROTESTS GREEN'S RED DRIVE

At a regular meeting held Sept. 7, 1934, the following resolution was introduced by Brother Meyer Kramer and approved by Local Union 306, and instructed its delegates to present this resolution to this conference called by the A. F. of L. Trade Union Committee for Unemployed Insurance and Relief

WHEREAS: The Executive Council of A. F. of L. recently decided to call on the Department of Labor to deport all foreign-born workers and have them expelled from their unions, simply because they are defending a militant policy for American labor.

WHEREAS: Action like this would only serve the interest of our bosses and do harm to our unions, because our unions, in order to be strong, must include all workers without regard to their race, religion, or political belief.

WE RESOLVE: To voice our protest against the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for becoming a tool in the hands of the Department of Labor which is a detriment to the best interest of the American Labor movement.

We request all other unions to join us in our demand that the Executive Council rescind its action.

WE FURTHER RESOLVE: A copy of this resolution be sent to President Wm. Green, to the National Executive Council of A. F. of L., also, copies to the press.

C.P.O. Member Meet Endorses Buro Line On Comintern Turn

Nearly three hundred members crowded Mans on Hall for six hours to hear reports on the new developments in the Comintern and the Communist parties given by Comrades Loveston, Wolfe and Nelson. The substance of these reports and the plan of action based on them is given elsewhere in this issue of the Age and in a resolution of the National Buro which was passed by the meeting.

Discussion lasting over three hours was particularly stimulating. The comrades accepted the analysis presented by the Buro but accepted it in no lip-service fashion. One point after another was raised, debated critically and intelligently, lending a great deal to the clarification of all the issues facing the C.P.O. The entire spirit of the meeting was a realization of the tremendous tasks before us in our long struggle for unity is in sight but still only within sight requiring many arduous jobs before achievement comes.

An appeal by Comrades Benamin brought a collection in cash and pledges of \$485.00 for the fighting fund of the C.P.O. Every comrade left the meeting convinced of the necessity of working more strenuously than ever for the next step on the road to classless America—unity of Communist forces.

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

SINCE the betrayal of the textile strike by the Gorman-McMahon clique in the UTW, the Daily Worker, and all other organs of the party, have opened the flood-gates of abuse against the "Lovestonites." It appears that it is primarily we who are responsible for the sell-out.

We wish to point out a really remarkable fact which the party, of course, does not care to see. The only protests against the Winant Report and the sell-out came from those strike areas where the CPD had influence—from Paterson where Eli Keller led the strike and from New York under B. Herman's leadership. The CP showed no influence anywhere among the textile strikers despite all its bombast and bluff.

THE Progressive Miner of September 21 carries a report of the Progressive Miners Union convention of District One. In this long self-laudatory and back-slapping report there is one item of considerable interest. It appears that the Communist Party nucleus in the Superior mines distributed a leaflet in which is outlined a program of action for the P. M. A. Number six of these proposals (printed in full in the same issue of the Progressive Miner) reads as follows:

"That a conference be called by the P. M. of A. inviting all organizations and groups of miners, who are in opposition to Lewis, TO DISCUSS AND MAKE PLANS FOR THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL UNION OF RANK AND FILE MINERS, this conference to be called not later than November 15. (emphasis mine—GFM.)

Now, under "normal" circumstances we would, of course pass up this item as quite consistent with the whole criminally harmful trade union line of the CP, but many things have supposedly happened to this trade union line. On August 17 Jack Stachel boasted about the flexibility of the party line and asked—"Din't we liquidate the National Miners Union when conditions changed?"

And at the YCL convention Gil Green confessed that "we completely underestimated the possibility of the United Mine Workers Union sweeping the field once more..." and expressed his regrets that because of this "error"

many comrades "shamefacedly went into the U.M.W.A. and broke connections with us." In view of these, so loudly pronounced, changes of heart, now come such a speedy relapse into the morass of union splitting.

The CP here seems to have developed certain peculiar mental qualities—their forgetting powers are far superior to their learning faculties. With the fundamental changes in the trade union as well as the united front field, now tank place in various European Communist Parties, we feel certain that the aforementioned mental processes will be reversed also here.

WHAT we said above is borne out with a vengeance by recent occurrences in Paterson. It is well known that Paterson was one of the textile cities in which the CP experimented with a new trade union policy by liquidating its local of the National Textile Workers Union. This it was hoped was the first sign of a return to sanity on the trade union field. However, the CP very quickly took steps to dispel any such illusion.

The returning members immediately began a campaign of unequaled slander and disruption during the strike. The crowning act to this disruptive activity came yesterday (September 24). The CP members, under the brilliant leadership of Jay Rubin and Sazar, called a "mass meeting" of their supporters and executed a coup d'état. They declared all officers of the union removed and "elected" a brand new set headed by Moe Brown who, having been defeated for Mayor in the last election, condescended to take Keller's place.

This event undoubtedly has its humorous angles but we are quite certain that the members of the union will fail to see the joke and will take action against these irresponsible clowns.

What happened in Paterson is now being hailed by the CP as a "rank and file" revolt; but in the not so distant future the same party leaders will properly chastise the "hot heads" responsible for this burlesque and will point to it as a horrible example of sectarianism run mad.

THE Daily Worker is never hard put for an answer. It's just a matter of knowing how. Charles Zimmerman, as is well known to all readers of the Daily



THE FOUNDRY; by Albert Halper. 499 pp. Viking Press. \$2.50 In "The Foundry" Halper is writing about and describing scenes thru which he has passed and which have left their impression on his life.

Here we find a young man going out from a hard driven working-class family, seeking a job in order to help pay the bills of butcher and baker. He finds the job in this type foundry. The unhealthy environment which surrounds him and his fellow workers leaves an indelible imprint on his consciousness.

His mind, however, is not so completely taken up in his checking, weighing, and recording of the plates which pass over his desk, that he is not able to make some very engrossing observations about his fellow workers. Their struggle to give their children the many things which they themselves have been forced to give up or neglect, all troop by the reader as Halper develops before you their reactions to the complexities and difficulties of their existence.

This is in no sense "revolutionary art." It is a proletarian novel—that is a novel dealing with workers in regard to their problems as individuals and as members of a class. But Halper is traveling rapidly and healthily to the left. This is to be welcomed and its future fruits to be awaited with avidity.

W. J. W.

Worker, is Bill Green's closest buddy and most able assistant. Then what happens? Zimmerman issues a programmatic document in which he challenges the policies of Green and the bureaucracy and proposes his own program (printed in this issue). If you think this stumps the Daily Worker, you are wrong.

The editorial explanation (September 25) runs something like this: Green begins to feel the "ground-swell" (beautiful phrase) of resentment against him and immediately sends an S.O.S. to Zimmerman. The latter rushes to the front with a revolutionary program, places himself at the head of the enraged workers and, when they are not looking, leads them right back into the fold of the bureaucracy.

As nifty a piece of fiction as we have read in a long time, also it is marred somewhat by the concluding remark that the "Lovestonites" don't mean what they say anyhow.

Anti-Fascist Action Planned by Youth

Y.C.L. Rejects United Front Because "Lovestonites" And "Trotskyites" Participate

Radical Youth Organizations in New York are planning a huge anti-fascist demonstration on October 12, 1934. The occasion for this demonstration will be the celebration being arranged at Yankee Stadium for 340 students, of the official Italian university, who were sent here by the fascist government of Italy, ostensibly on a "good will" trip, but actually for the purpose of popularizing Italian fascism in the United States.

The action of the Youth organizations was initiated by the Young Peoples Socialist League when they sent out a call to the Young Communist League, National Students League, Student League for Industrial Democracy, Spartacus Youth League (Trotskyites), and the Communist Youth Opposition. All organizations but the first two mentioned readily accepted. The Young Communist League, slavishly followed by the National Students League, refused to participate in the united front.

One would think that after the "new turn" ballyhoo the YCL would rejoice at an opportunity for a real united front. But it seems that the new turns have not gone far enough for that. After keeping silent for a few days, they burst forth in the "Daily Worker" with a shameful rejection of the united front because of the participation of the "Lovestonites and Trotskyites".

The Y.C.L. "cannot, without compromising its revolutionary integrity and deceiving the masses of youth, have any dealings with these renegade grouplets." Says the YCL. It is not so long ago that we heard the same "excuse" for the YCL opposing the united front with the YPSL, now such a coveted united front companion. A lame excuse which will not conceal their essential opposition to a non-factional united front!

Those who doubt this conclusion need but examine the main argument of the YCL statement. "Our attitude to these people is well known. We consider these organizations are the worst enemies of the workingclass, (not the capitalists or fascists, mind you) whose sole aim and purpose it is to slander the Soviet Union, as well as to carry on a violent struggle against

the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and against the entire revolutionary movement... they have well earned the position of the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie..."

Putting the obvious slander aside, it is clear that this argument is not against this united front but against all united fronts in principle. Any movement which unites opponent and differing organizations will, in the nature of the case, unite organizations which bitterly fight one another on all questions except the common united front issues during the common action. The YCL hypocritically expresses a willingness to unite with the YPSL against fascism. Judging by the YCL standards, one is forced to ask: "Since when has the YPSL become such friends of the Communist Party and such defenders of the Soviet Union?" The standards of the YCL are wrong to begin with. They have yet to learn the meaning of the phrases they mouthe—that opponent organizations can work together on points of common agreement in spite of differences on other questions.

The conduct of the National Student League is even more despicable in that it is supposed to be "Nonpartisan" and yet behaves in the same factional manner as the YCL. It was indeed pathetic to watch the representatives of the NSL try to justify their policy and still pretend to be non-sectarian.

In spite of the miserable actions of the YCL and its satellite, the NSL, plans are going forward for a huge anti-fascist demonstration. Places are left open for the YCL and NSL on the arrangements committee if they decide to change their course. New organizations are being drawn in. A "united front pact" has been drawn up by the organizations cooperating in this action which guarantees a broad movement without factional control by any participant. Details are being worked out for the demonstration itself and all indications point to a most successful demonstration against fascism, for the freedom of all prisoners of Mussolini, and for the solidarity of all workers and students against the common enemy.

On the New Line Of the Comintern

(Continued from Page 3)

and is changing "because of changing objective conditions."

Comrades, is it not significant that as the situation becomes more and more acute, as fascism spreads and the war danger increases, as the masses become more radicalized and mass resistance grows, that at this time the Communist Parties and the Communist International find it necessary to turn more and more seriously towards the tactics they denounced as "less radical"? These tactics (united fronts between organizations; trade union unity; building the mass unions and winning them for militant policies in place of splitting them) have been condemned as opportunist, as not appropriate to the "third period," and the "revolutionary upsurge" of the masses. But when a real sharpening of the situation begins, when the masses begin to move and show signs of radicalization on an unparalleled scale, the party leaderships are forced to drop the denunciation of these proposals and are compelled to adopt the tactics they have been condemning.

WHAT OF COMMUNIST UNITY?

Comrades, we do not address this letter to you in any we-told-you-so tone. We call these facts to your attention in the spirit of comradeship, for the sake of the effective correction of the party line, for the sake of the improvement of party life, for the sake of bringing closer the day of unity of all Communist forces within the Communist Party and the Communist International.

We of the Communist Opposition have always been for Communist unity. Despite all the sharpness of the attacks of the Party leaders against us, despite all the shameful, incredible abuse, despite name-calling, physical attack, the breaking up of many of our meetings, and the unscrupulous misrepresentation of our views and

activities, we have never for a moment abandoned our goal of reuniting our party. Now, the differences between the two tendencies begin to diminish and the day of Communist unity is thereby brought closer.

THE BURNING NEED FOR UNITY

Now more than ever is there a need for Communist Unity. The ever-present, ever-growing war danger, the threat of spreading fascism, the widespread mass misery, the leftward movement in the ranks of the Socialist Party, the great wave of strike struggles, all make Communist unity a burning necessity. No one who is loyal to the interests of the Communist movement can oppose efforts for reuniting the Party.

WHAT STANDS IN THE WAY?

Comrades, what now stands in the way of party unity? Do you not see that the slanders against the German opposition as "agents of the bourgeoisie" must have been false if there can now be a bloc between the German Party and the Communist Party Opposition for joint mass struggles against German capitalism and fascism? Do you not see that the slander against our united front and trade union tactics must have been false if they can now be adopted?

For over five years the party and Comintern leadership have been predicting our degeneration, our going over to Social Democracy or the bourgeoisie. How much longer will this desperate uncommunist game of expulsion, name-calling, and factional abuse be kept up as a substitute for comradely discussion of differences? Does it not become more and more vile and unworthy, more and more unprincipled, now that the differences begin to diminish? Is it not clear that the Communist Opposition and the Official Party are bound together by the unbreakable bonds of common Communist principles? No differences on the tactical application of those principles, no amount of factional abuse, have been able to alter or conceal that fact.

WHAT IS NEEDED?

We do not wish to minimize our tactical differences.

They are beginning to diminish, yet they are still great. But we are convinced that a genuine party discussion, an honest, thorough, comradely analysis of the errors of the last five years, will clear up the reasons for the party's failure to achieve substantial growth during such favorable years, will remove all differences, will correct our party's line, and guarantee its correctness, unity, and growth for the future.

TIME TO ACT

Comrades, we call upon all party members to discuss the questions we have raised here. You have the right to know what is happening in the Communist International. You have the right to know why the line is being changed. It is your duty to discuss and evaluate and help to make the changes of line that are beginning. It is your duty to extend these changes to this country. This time they must be the result of a genuine collective discussion, in preparation for the Seventh World Congress. That Congress must complete the correction of the line. It must restore Communist unity. It must restore party democracy and collective leadership.

WE HAVE ELECTED DELEGATES

The International Communist Opposition has requested the right to send fraternal delegates from its various sections to the Seventh World Congress, to discuss joint work and lay the base for unity. See to it that the American Communist Party endorses the request to admit fraternal delegates from the American Communist Opposition to that Congress. It will hasten the day of unity and the forward march of our movement.

For a healthy tactical line!

For the end of sectarianism!

For the restoration of party democracy!

For a united Communist Party!

For international Collective Leadership!

For a united Communist International!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES
(OPPOSITION)

(Section of the International Communist Opposition)

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October 1, 1934.

The 54th Convention of AFL

WE have an urgent task for first line scholars. It is, however, a thankless task because it is impossible to fulfill. We would like to find that scholar who is able to produce, thru the most diligent research, a social movement which ever was cursed with a more incompetent and bankrupt leadership than is the A.F.L. today.

Millions of workers are astir. More millions are hungry. The richest employing class in the world arms itself for dealing deadly blows at the most vital rights and interests of the working people in the country. But here you have the capitalist world's biggest trade union movement not measuring up to a situation so full of dangers and opportunities.

The automobile workers show the first sign of organization. In comes President Green and the dirtiest double-crossing "friend of labor" the White House has ever seen, President Roosevelt, to cripple these efforts. Half million textile workers rebel against unbearable conditions, fight with inspiring determination and heroism against overwhelming odds. Here is a chance for a showdown where labor solidarity can prove decisive. President Green and strike-leader Gorman can see nothing else to do at the most critical hour than to stab the heroic strikers in the back. San Francisco labor closes its ranks and writes one of the most glorious pages in the history of the American working class—the recent general strike. Into the columns of the capitalist press rushes President Green to denounce the strikers precisely at the moment when every ounce of labor's energy and resources should have been mobilized for San Francisco's embattled strikers. One lone voice cries out in protest against these anti-labor actions of the dominant official labor leadership. President Green and international presidents hasten to band themselves together into a chorus of denunciation and slander against Charles Zimmerman for daring to protest against the sabotage of the San Francisco strike, for daring to propose a program of militant action for American labor in these decisive hours.

Last of all, equally shameful, is the effort by the Executive Committee of the A.F.L. to have Mayor Rossi, the scab herder-in-chief of the west coast, address the A.F.L. convention sessions. This is the same Rossi who, at a recent meeting of Longshoremen at the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco, yelled at the workers: "You apparently are looking for bullets and you probably will get them." The reactionary labor leaders' only answer to this threat was to arrange for the mayor to participate in the Labor Day Parade.

The American trade union movement needs a much broader and far more progressive leadership. Nothing will be done by the convention to meet this problem fundamentally. The American trade unions must be reorganized on a genuine industrial basis, if they are to survive the onslaught of the giant corporations. Some shilly-shallying agreement will be drawn up by topmost misleaders of the A.F.L. to sidetrack the issue of industrial unionism. Such side-tracking and detouring, arts in which the Greens and Wolls are past-masters, have led and kept American labor in a blind alley for decades. The government continually extends and intensifies its strike-breaking activities. The National Guard is openly transformed into the National Scab Guard. Hundreds of thousands of workers begin to see thru the frauds of the time-dishonored policies of the A.F.L. of reward your enemies and punish your friends. Over a million organized workers vote thru their union conventions for a Labor Party. Immediately an epic in bankruptcy is contributed by the misleaders of labor. All they have to offer to these aroused workers is: "So long as labor has such friends like Roosevelt and LaGuardia it does not need a labor party of its own."

Let no one minimize the significance of the A.F.L. convention and its decisions. Whether the battle for strengthening labor's front will be begun even in the faintest way at this convention is extremely doubtful. What is certain, however, is that the more than 30,000 local unions of the A.F.L. can change the situation very much for the better, if they begin to consider a constructive program of action. Teeth-grinding at the Daily Worker and T.U.U.L. may be convenient ways of self-gratification, but they do not prepare the way for well-planned, class conscious mass strikes. A serious, realistic, militant program for American labor has been offered by Charles Zimmerman, Vice-President of the I.L.G.W.U., in his effective reply to President Green. Let every local union of the A.F.L. compare the decisions of the 54th convention with the program outlined by the vice-president of the third biggest international in the A.F.L.

Given even half an opportunity to explain and defend this constructive program, we are more than prepared to rest our case and rely on the workers' choice.

The City Lottery Bill

THE proposed city lottery bill, sponsored by Boro President James J. Lyons of the Bronx, involves far more than the moral froth of churchly indignation. New York, the world's wealthiest city, in the world's wealthiest country, is forced to resort to the much-denounced lottery in order to raise some funds to meet, in even the most inadequate manner, some pressing jobless relief costs. What does it all mean? Is New York City bankrupt? Yes, in a way. The bankers have the city by the throat. The reform mayor LaGuardia, like his insatiable, itchy-palmed predecessor Walker, in the last resort can do nothing but the bidding of the Wall Street kingpins. And these big boys must have their interest paid. No

"Build for Unity!" - the Slogan of CPO Drive

CPO Girds for Further Advance

The CPO has entered upon a new stage in its struggle for Communist unity.

Recent developments and turns in the Comintern place us in a much more favorable position to fight for our tactical line and for correct methods of work in the Party and in the Comintern. The happenings in Germany especially confirm the fact that we can make ourselves such a force as must be dealt with in the achievement of Communist unity.

In America—Do We Do Our Part?

The American Communist Party has been and will be the last stronghold of ultra-leftism. There are straws in the wind here that show the faint beginnings of a return to a correct line but the "last mile" for America will be a long one.

We must not disregard the important developments in the American labor movement where our position on the trade union question will be the central point of discussion and controversy at the coming and most important convention of the AF of L. This has already been pointed out in the columns of the New York Times by Louis Stark, leading labor writer for that paper. Now more than ever must we redouble our efforts to build the group, build the Age, increase our activities and extend our influence.

We enter this campaign with six objectives. They are:

First: To make the CPO a stronger national organization.

Second: To bring in 400 new members.

Third: To secure 1000 new subscribers to the Age and thus help lay the basis for a weekly Age.

Fourth: To put the entire membership to work, especially in the mass organizations and thus multiply our effectiveness in the class struggle.

Fifth: To broaden our base in the trade unions and thus strengthen our position for the building of a progressive movement.

Sixth: To strengthen our fight for Communist unity.

Plans and Quotas Formulated for Units

Quotas for the drives are printed in another column. The membership must not consider this a mechanical routine campaign. Only to the extent to which we organize and get our fractions on the job, only to the degree to which we succeed in getting our units acting as political bodies with initiative, only to the extent to which the entire membership is involved in definite activity will we secure the maximum benefits from this campaign.

The period of the drive is from October 15 to December 15. It must be based upon our work in the unions and mass organizations,

Quotas For Fighting Drive Of The C.P.O.

	New Members	Age Subs
NEW YORK UNITS		
Downtown	100	245
Dress	50	100
Youth	25	45
Bronx	25	60
Harlem	25	60
Brooklyn	20	50
Newark	10	20
Paterson	10	20
OTHER DISTRICTS		
Detroit	25	80
Chicago	20	60
Boston	15	50
Toronto	12	25
Fort Wayne	8	20
Montreal	8	25
Hamilton	8	20
Hartford	8	15
Philadelphia N. 1	4	15
Philadelphia N. 2	2	6
Anthracite N. 1	4	5
Anthracite N. 2	6	10
Los Angeles	6	18
San Antonio	3	5
Nebraska	3	5
Pittsburgh	1	4
Troy	1	4
Brookwood	4	6
Commonwealth	2	8
Liano	1	3
Washington, D. C.	1	3
Uniontown	1	1
Buffalo	1	2
New Orleans	2	3
Seattle	1	1
Niles, O.	1	2
New Mexico	2	4

upon our growing influence as a result of the New Workers School and other educational work, upon the work of the CPO in relation to the line and methods of the CP, and upon the prestige of the CPO in the ranks of leftward moving workers in the SP.

This year should be the biggest year in the history of our organization. It marks the fifth anniversary of the launching of our group. In November we will be celebrating the fifth year of the Workers Age (formerly the Revolutionary Age). In the winter we will celebrate the fifth anniversary of the New Workers School. We are a significant factor in the trade unions. We have made many contributions to Marxism as applied to American problems. Our paper on the whole is the best Communist organ yet published. Our school and classes have done valuable work in defending Marxism-Leninism against revision and in spreading it among growing sections of the workers.

We can capitalize on our work, we must capitalize on our work. We must make this fifth year of our existence a turning point in our fight. Last year witnessed a big increase in our mass influence. This coming year must also witness a tremendous increase in our organizational strength. The coming membership and Age drive is the first shot in that direction. Let's make it a truly effective one.

1,000 Age Subs Set as Drive Goal

One thousand new subscribers! That's the mark set by the Workers Age as its goal in the fighting drive of the CPO. It's a high goal and a hard one, but a goal which the CPO with its ever-widening influence among the mass of workers should and must not only reach but surpass.

In the struggle for Communist unity and Communist victory the Age is of unparalleled importance. Only through the Age can the opinion, the analyses, the victories of the CPO be spread throughout the great circle of the American labor movements. Every comrade, every friend and sympathizer of the CPO, realizing this, should bend utmost efforts to putting the Age over the top in the drive.

"Left-Wing Communism" With Each Subscription

The old proverb says "Good wine needs no bush" and the Workers Age needs no premium beyond its own forceful, sane articles on the labor movement. But because we are interested not only in selling subs but in providing a Leninist education we offer with each new subscription a copy of "Left-Wing" Communism—An Infantile Disorder, by Lenin, in a new edition, published by the CPO with an introduction by Bert Wolfe. Since the price of the Age has been reduced from \$1.25 to \$1.00 for the duration of the drive this offer means that the subscriber receives a dollar fifty value for only one dollar.

Lenin's volume, which is subtitled *An Attempt at a Popular Presentation of Strategy and Tactics for Communists*, is the clearest formulation ever written of the attitudes and purposes with which Communists must co-operate with other organizations. It may be described very aptly as the handbook of the CPO.

Prizes For Sub-Getters Too

That sluggish comrades may be stirred and that energetic comrades may be rewarded we are offering prizes for sub-getters. Any comrade who gains twelve new yearly subs or their equivalent in half-year subs—these are priced at fifty-five cents for the drive—will receive a copy of "Portrait of America" by Bert Wolfe and Diego Rivera, containing sixty illustrations of murals done in this country by the greatest painter of our time. To those who secure six or more subs will be given a framed bas-relief portrait of Lenin together with a copy of "Left-Wing" Communism.

Drive Opens October 15

The dates set for the drive are from Oct. 15 to Dec. 15 nationally and from November 1 to December 15 in the New York District. During this period weekly bulletins on the progress of the drive will be issued to all units as well as stories in every issue of the Age.

The November 1st issue will be of vital importance not only to the drive but in the history of the CPO. It celebrates simultaneously the 18th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the 5th Anniversary of the Workers Age. It will contain special articles and illustrations on both of these events as well as birthday greetings to the Age. All organizations and units wishing to send in greetings should do so before Oct. 25.

Build The Age For Victory

We have a great responsibility and a great task before us. The CPO is redoubling its efforts in every direction in the drive for unity and victory. For a better Workers Age, for a more influential Age, for a bigger Age—for these ends we must work as we have never worked before.

**BUILD THE AGE
FOR UNITY**

unemployment for the coupon-clippers! It is they and not the Jesus-jazzers who set the tone for morality, the real morality that counts for itself and discounts all else. It is their code of morality, the basic ethics of capitalist relations, the unbroken flow of interest payment, that accounts in no small part for the "poverty" of the city government and the misery of the great mass of workers in the world's financial centre.

But what of the lottery proposal as a scheme for raising unemployment relief funds? No worker can utter a half a good syllable for it. It is a simply another one of those countless proposals which, in practice, takes something from each of the many and spares a lot for each of the few. It is a very "democratic" way of making those workers and lower middle class people, who still manage to keep off the relief lists, pay for saving from starvation their more unfortunate brethren already on the city poor lists. This is the way American democracy functions—spare the few and soak the many.

Incidentally, the very fact that the stronghold of world finance, New York City, has to resort to such fifth-rate schemes as lotteries in order to preserve the pretense of being a going concern only shows how much the germs of decay have gnawed at the vitals of the strongest section of the capitalist system. It is not the moral humbuggery of the clergymen and the rabbis that is significant in the controversy over the lottery bill. It is the economics and politics and the potential consequences involved therein that are of paramount import in this controversy now agitating New York City.