

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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COAL STRIKE ON DECLINE

Wilkes Barre, Pa.

The United Anthracite Miners Union voted unanimously, at its convention, for a proposal of Father Curran, to call off the strike in District One if President Roosevelt will appoint a commission to investigate the situation here.

At the same time an attempt will be made to spread the strike to District Seven and Nine.

It is already known that Rinaldo Cappellini, former corrupt president of District 1, U.M.W.A., organized the United Anthracite Miners of Penna. They at first spoke of mine grievances in order to fool the miners into joining the new union. They also praised the NRA in the hope of receiving recognition from the operators through it. After pleading with Wagner and begging at the door of the NRA, they discovered that Lewis was on the Federal Labor Board and has something to say on recognizing a new union in the Anthracite. They, therefore, now demand the removal of Lewis.

The strike arose out of the special convention held on January 13. The new union draws most of its strength from the unemployed. In the Glen Alden it controls half of the men. In other operations

(Continued on Page 2)

40 Join C. P. O. At Convention

During the sessions of the National Conference, to which a number of leading, sympathetic workers from various industries were admitted, forty joined the C.P.O.

Among these are to be found active and leading workers from such industries as mining, shoe, textile and needle trades.

Silk Workers In Nat'l Convention

New York City.

The American Federation of Silk Workers affiliated to the A. F. of L. thru the U.T.W., will meet in national convention on Saturday and Sunday January 27 and 28, at the Hotel McAlpin.

The recent national strike, involving some 100,000 silk workers and the tremendous influx into the union, makes this convention of outstanding importance.

Lessons of the recent strike point to the necessity of establishing a closely knit federation of all sections of the silk industry. The dyers must be drawn into closer working relations with the other sections of the silk industry. The problem of organizing the unorganized fields is one of the primary questions that face the convention.

HOTEL STRIKE IS CALLED

New York City.

A general strike of all hotel and restaurant workers has been called by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, for Saturday January 27th at 6 o'clock.

The detailed demands have not yet been announced but it is known that they will center around recognition of the union, wage increases and improvement of conditions. The general strike will involve about 100,000 workers in the industry.

The Waldorf Astoria Hotel was struck Jan. 23, some 600 workers walking out and tying up the hotel completely. The strike occurred because of the efforts of the management to force union members to become members of a company union. Several workers had been fired for union work. After negotiations with the management had failed the workers were ordered to strike and responded to a man.

Picket lines were thrown around the hotel immediately and the hard-boiled Waldorf Astoria management is due for a tough battle.

Shoe Union Merger Drives Forward

Newburyport, Mass.

President Nolan of the Protective sent Fitzgerald as his commissioner to examine the books of the local here. The local refused to recognize him and placed a motion on the books to disregard all communications from the Protective, recognizing only those communications received from the Coordinating Committee.

Learning that our local had swung into the United Shoe, President Nolan sent Fitzgerald to take over the property of the local. We refused to recognize him. A strong delegation of workers from the shops are occupying our union premises to guard against any tricks from the discredited bureaucrats.

At a big mass meeting, called by the Coordinating Committee, Dennis Kelleher, District Agent, attempted to keep the Coordinating Committee speakers out of the hall. In this he was defeated, the workers voting to admit the delegation headed by Secretary Zimmerman. The meeting went on record recognizing the Coordinating Committee.

Charges were preferred against Kelleher by a number of local unions and Kelleher was removed from office by the District Council. The Coordinating Committee recognizes the District Council and Haverhill continues as a part of the United Shoe.

Lowell, Mass.

Boston, Mass.

All the locals here have swung into the amalgamated union—the United Shoe—without any opposition whatever. Our big troubles are the bad economic conditions and the recent decisions of the State Board which meant an actual wage cut. Steps are being taken to resist this new offensive against us.

(Continued on Page 2)

SOS- from Underground Germany

The National Bureau of the C. P. O. submits to you the stirring appeal for help coming from our embattled comrades in Hitler's hell.

Within the last few months we have transmitted many hundreds of dollars to assist our comrades in rebuilding the shattered ranks of the revolutionary movement; to aid in building, thru inter-party collaboration, a new illegal trade union movement, to strengthen the proletarian core for the struggle against fascism.

This we have done at the expense of our own developing requirements. But even that has not been enough.

We must now appeal to every friend and sympathizer of our movement, to every one who desires to strike an effective blow against the Nazi brown plague, to rush funds immediately. No contribution is too large considering the task. No contribution too small considering mass unemployment.

Address all contributions to Jay Lovestone, 51 West 14th St., New York, N. Y.

NATIONAL BUREAU
COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

Paris, Dec. 21, 1933.

Dear Comrades:
It is in desperation that we inform you of the situation in which the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) now finds itself. It is now ten months that our group has been in illegal struggle. Our political consistency, clarity and firmness made it possible for our group to attain considerable political and organizational results. Our tireless struggle against the ultra-left line of the Communist International has brought us into the closest contact with the most important sections of the membership of the Communist Party of Germany, whom the defeat has encouraged to think.

We are initiating and accelerating the movement of many social-democratic workers toward communism and have been able to enlist in our organization social-democratic workers in every district. The C.P.G.O. is the initiator in the building of class struggle trade unions and has already achieved important results in the most important industrial regions.

This work, however, must be carried on at tremendous cost. Since the beginning of the fascist dictatorship about 280 comrades of the C.P.G.O. have been arrested. Some of these comrades have been arrested two or three times. At the moment there are still over 100 comrades in the concentration camps and prisons; among them are 35 who have been imprisoned since the very beginning of the fascist dictatorship. Over 50 comrades are abroad. In eight districts the political leaders and the secretary of the district organization have been arrested, and many comrades have been terribly mistreated. Since the November 12 elections the group has retained intact its important leadership in only three districts. In one district the entire district leadership, including the technical staff, were arrested, two weeks ago, and the organization disrupted. A member

of the national leadership of the C.P.G.O. was taken to a concentration camp, at the same time. A large number of functionaries has been condemned to long terms in prison. Among others a Leipzig comrade who has been sentenced to a year in prison and a Thuringian comrades who received a two year sentence.

A majority of the comrades are out of work and the district leaders have an illegal status, which means that they can not even get a few crumbs thru unemployment relief. Without a permanent residence constantly followed by the spies of the Storm Troops, relying upon the heroic support of hungry members and sympathizers, they continue their illegal work with stubborn fighting spirit. The national leadership also consists en-

tirely of unemployed comrades receiving no unemployment relief. Under the most miserable living conditions they carry on the dangerous and difficult national work of the group.

For the maintenance of the necessary illegal apparatus and for its political and organizational tasks, nationally, 375 Marks a month are needed.

The work of the National leadership has to a large extent been made possible by the donations from the C.P.O. of the U.S.A. despite the great unemployment in its own ranks. This money intended for the Foreign Committee and the I. C. O. had to be turned over to the national leadership in order to make possible the continuation of illegal activity. The political and organizational tasks of the Foreign Committee have thereby been made much more difficult.

The successful work of the C.P.G.O. is especially reflected in the regular appearance of its literature. While in the legal period Arbeiter Politik appeared weekly, with a circulation of 15 to 20 thousand copies, and Gegen den Strom appeared monthly, with a circulation of 3,500. The C.P.G.O. now publishes a larger amount of newspaper literature. In reading the figures below it must be kept in mind that every copy of an illegal newspaper is read by at least 10 to 12 workers. The following publications appear:

1. Juniusbrief—8 page bi-weekly.
2. Korrespondent—6 page bi-weekly.

3. Rundbriefe—monthly.
4. Rundschreiben of the Foreign Committee—monthly.
5. Arbeiterstimme, Berlin—bi-weekly. Circulation 700.
6. Einheit—Leipzig, bi-weekly. Circulation 600.
7. Der Kampf—Thuringia, tri-weekly. Circulation 400.
8. Einheit—Frankfurt a. M., tri-weekly. Circulation 400.
9. Arbeiterstimme—Stuttgart, bi-weekly. Circulation 700.
10. Der Neue Weg—West Germany, tri-weekly. Circulation 500.
11. Neue Zeitung—Ergelberg, monthly. Circulation 600.
12. Kampftruf—Breslau, bi-weekly. Circulation 500.
13. Kampftruf—Hamburg, bi-weekly. Circulation 500.

Trade Union Newspapers
14. Der Metallarbeiter—Berlin tri-weekly. Circulation 600.
15. Der Buchdrucker—Berlin, printed. Circulation 400.
16. Klassenkampf—Solingen, tri-weekly. Circulation 600.
17. Klassenkämpfer—Stuttgart, bi-weekly. Circulation 800.
18. Betrieb und Gewerkschaft—Leipzig, bi-weekly. Circulation 600.
The circulation of Juniusbrief is between 1,500 and 2,000 per issue. The greater part of the papers appear photographed in vest pocket size. In addition to the above, various regional groups publish local publications. From time to time the district and local groups issue leaflets and small pamphlet. From 1,500 to 2,000 copies of every issue of the printed publication, Gegen den Strom, are sold. In addition there are shipped into Germany printed pamphlets and the news service of the I. C. O.
The comrades of Germany, who

(Continued on Page 2)

IN THE NEXT ISSUE JAY LOVESTONE

Begins a series of three articles on the
THE ECONOMICS OF THE
ROOSEVELT PROGRAM

They will appear in the following order.

1. The Economic Program of the New Deal.
2. Economic Consequences and Fallacies of the NRA.
3. Perspectives of the New Deal.

GERMAN EXHIBIT

JAN. 26th to FEB. 12th
New Workers School 51 W. 14 St.

Fort Wayne CWA - A Hunger Scheme

by Harry H. Conner

The C.W.A. which has taken many thousands of workers off relief and has thrown them into forced labor camps at starvation wages, has very serious political implications for all revolutionary forces. Already workers are becoming disillusioned and are beginning to organize and fight in various localities.

Before one can write of the struggles in Fort Wayne, on the C.W.A. projects, it is necessary to analyze the past history of the unemployment movement. Since the beginning of the present crisis the struggles of the unemployed have passed through several stages. From self-help schemes the unemployed have passed over to militant action. At no time was there a nationally unified movement. There are a number of reasons for this condition.

The Communist Party is still in a period of lunacy and is unable to take hold of those peculiar and specific features of the unemployed movements so as to unify and lead them. The Socialist Party also has been proven bankrupt in this situation. With its total dependence on bourgeois democracy and its fear of mass actions it can certainly not become the leader of the unemployed masses.

Nevertheless the organizations of the unemployed did make some progress up to the coming of the New Deal. It is not surprising that approximately half the unemployed left the organizations since the NRA came into effect. This can be accounted for by the widespread belief that the NRA would give jobs. With the weakening of the NRA, all along the line, came a strengthening of the fighting spirit among the unemployed. Roosevelt, who is the best magician ever to sit in the White House, pulled another rabbit out of the hat—the C.W.A.

It is obvious that the C.W.A. was the administration's new approach to the question of unemployment. The C. P. came out and called on the workers to resist the C.W.A. What strike? You can't call a general strike if you are not in the unions, nor can you get united action if the workers are split. The C. P. is guilty of practicing both. The S.P. has openly praised the C.W.A. program. The C.P.O. has done very little. The Mustekites are completely bankrupt. It is time we wake up and look around us.

What has the C.W.A. done for the workers? First of all we must know that locally the same clique of anti-labor politicians which controlled the charities are also running the C.W.A. program. This means that if the workers permit it, the same old graft and discrimination will be practiced against workers. Over 4,000 workers have been taken off relief and put to work at \$15.00 a week. This actually constitutes a lowering of the living standards of the unemployed in Fort Wayne. For the workers had gained, thru struggle, free rent, light, water and relief besides this. Now all this is wiped out and from the \$15 the worker will have to pay for everything.

It has been the experience of this writer that the masses can be mobilized only on the basis of a very elementary program touching on the basic needs of the unemployed. The following are the questions that we are raising here.

Workers are to get paid from the time they report. This is important because now they are asked to report at 7 A. M. and are then transported in trucks to their place of work, anywhere between 6 and 20 miles from the city. They are travelling on their own time, their pay beginning when they actually start work. Transportation shall be made in closed trucks. At present workers are being taken to work in open trucks and are almost frozen by the time they reach their destination. The \$15 minimum be

guaranteed, rain or shine. At present workers are simply not paid for the time during which they can not work due to inclement weather. Their wages are thus considerably diminished. We demand provision for hot lunches in sheltered places. Today no hot dishes are available and workers are forced to eat in the open without so much as a windbreak, in bitter weather. We are also fighting to have single men and women included in the work projects. Around such demands it is possible to rally many sections of the workers.

How did the workers begin organizing? First a committee from each project had a house meeting at which demands were drawn up and taken to the projects. Mass meetings were then called rallying hundreds of workers.

A fight is also being put up for free rent and extra food. Some of these demands have already been realized and the workers are entering a new phase of struggle with a new tactical course.

In spite of the confusion in the revolutionary movement, the C.P.O. can play an important role in this new turn in the unemployed movement. The crying need is constructive, militant leadership applying a course suitable to the peculiarities of the American workers. With this kind of leadership the C.P.O. can become a real cohesive force in unifying the struggles of the unemployed.

HARRY OSTRINSKY EXPELLED

During the recent elections in Local 25 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers we found, much to our surprise, that Harry Ostrinsky had run on and was elected to the Executive Board on the slate of the administration of Local 25. This was done without any consultation either with the Communist Party (Opposition) or with the Progressive Group in the Local.

Ostrinsky appeared a number of times before the committees of the C.P.O. and stubbornly insisted that his election on the administration slate was totally without his knowledge or consent. That he had made no deal with the administration of the local and was ready to prove this by his work in the Executive Board.

We condemned the actions of Ostrinsky in remaining passive and in not protesting and demanding the removal of his name from the administration slate. Ostrinsky pledged to prove his integrity by fighting in the Executive Board, for a program of work for the improvement of the miserable conditions of the tailors and against the vicious bureaucracy with which the local is saddled.

During the last several weeks Ostrinsky has made not the slightest effort to carry out this program and thus condemned himself as a partner and a tool of the corrupt bureaucracy of the local and the A. C. W. generally.

Harry Ostrinsky is therefore expelled from membership in the Communist Party (Opposition).

We call upon all progressive forces to note this expulsion and to consider Ostrinsky as one who has definitely broken with the progressive and revolutionary movement.

National Bureau
Communist Party (Opposition)

GERMAN EXHIBIT

Nazi

Posters, leaflets and other propaganda material

Anti-Nazi

Communist, Socialist, Trade Union, papers, pamphlets etc. distributed illegally.

JAN. 26 TO FEB. 12

51 WEST 14th STREET
New York City

SHOE UNION MERGER ADVANCES

(Continued from Page 1)

Lynn, Mass.
Trouble was expected here from former general organizer of the National Shoe—William Mahan. At the biggest mass meeting of shoe workers here since the war, he was made to toe the mark. Until such time as district elections are held, the Coordinating Committee has designated Brother Mazmanian to handle our union affairs. He is doing a swell job.

New York City.

The efforts of the Coordinating Committee to carry thru the actual fusion here of the various unions, has temporarily been blocked by the Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union. They have proposed steps which would in practice mean not an amalgamation but rather the joining of all members of other organizations, into the Industrial Union. This was rejected by the other unions as not in line with the convention decisions.

It is expected that the Coordinating Committee will take further measures to bring about the amalgamation here in a manner acceptable to all parties concerned.

Brockton, Mass.

The Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen, which was not represented at the amalgamation convention, due to the manipulations of the local bureaucrats, is taking steps to affiliate with the United Shoe. In his own leading boards Goodwin—the Czar of the organization—was defeated and an official committee was elected to meet with the Coordinating Committee in Boston. This meeting has taken place and arrangements have been made for a speedy affiliation. The report of this committee is coming up for final action at the Control Board of the Brotherhood, which meets Saturday, January 20.

A number of locals here—Lasters, Cutters, Vampers, Edgemakers—have threatened to secede from the Brotherhood unless amalgamation is put thru.

HARD COAL STRIKE ON DECLINE

(Continued from Page 1)

In District 1 it has hardly 25%. The response to the present strike was even weaker than the above figures would indicate. In the Glen Alden many workers walked out, who were not with Cappellini but were opposed to working under police protection.

On the news of the pending strike, District President Boylan called a meeting of all mine committees in District One. There, plans were made to block the strike.

What a situation! One union calls workers on strike. Another union tells them to work. The officials of both unions say they are for peace and prosperity for the miners. While miners are clubbing each other and are being clubbed by the state police, the operators sit back and laugh.

DELICIOUS FOOD?

GOOD SERVICE?

go to

Field's

RESTAURANT

523 Sixth Avenue
N. Y. C.

The Daily Worker of January 12, carries the following headline: "Hard Coal Miners Threaten Strike Despite Leaders' Maloney Tries To Hold Men Back. Walk-out Due Saturday." This is of course, favorable for a strike. But a strike for what? Here is Maloney's statement on the purpose of the strike.

"1. Recognition of the union and local union committees. 2. Full investigation by a suitable National Labor Board Commission. 3. Reinstatement of all our discharged members. 4. Abolition of the check-off."

So, we see that there is no word on the actual demands of the miners for mine conditions.

Miners can expect no good out of this strike. Organizing new unions plays into the hands of the coal operators and of Lewis. Lewis comes out stronger and the progressives weaker.

At the present time there are also some strikes of U.M.W.A. local unions. These are without official sanction but for such demands as employment preference for old employees and against wage reductions.

—Frank

S-O-S CALL FROM GERMANY

(Continued from Page 1)

with heroic spirit carry out their communist duties under the most impossible conditions, now issue a cry for help. The terror of the brown bandits is becoming more vicious than ever before. The spying of the Gestapo becomes ever more highly developed. The losses of our group during the past several weeks have become very high.

The I.C.O. and all our sympathizers must send us their material support at once to enable to carry on the illegal fight in Germany. The successful work of the C.P. G.O. will be jeopardized if help does not come at once. The all-important question, however, is that financial assistance will make secure the leading comrades of the national leadership and the various district and guarantee them at least a minimum of security from persecution and arrest in this serious situation.

Comrades of the I.C.O.!

Show your revolutionary solidarity!
Do not leave your fighting comrades of Germany in the lurch!
Assure the activity of the C.P. G.O.!

Thru your prompt assistance prevent further arrests of our comrades!

Send us munitions. We urge you to appeal to all friends and sympathizers. Approach those emigrants, who, abroad, can in safety play the role of exiled anti-Fascists but who do nothing at all to deserve this noble title.

In our hour of need we direct this S.O.S. to all sections and members of the I.C.O. We appeal to all sympathizers. Act on this appeal everywhere. Do everything in your power. Help us immediately.

BUREAU of the I.C.O.

BUILD

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51 W. 14 St. New York City

Official Organ

Communist Party U. S. A. (Opposition)

For Communist Unity in the Revolutionary Class Struggle

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Gegen Den Strom

Underground central organ of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition). No. 9 just arrived.

Price 25c

Special bundle rates for 10 or more copies

LEAGUE HITS AT WAR PREPARATIONS

New York City.

In a call, issued recently, the American League Against War and Fascism, calls for nation-wide demonstrations on January 29th, in order to give mass support to the united front delegation which is appearing before President Roosevelt and the Secretaries of the Army and Navy to lodge demands against war appropriations.

The delegation going to Washington consists, among others, of the J. B. Matthews, Chairman of the American League Against War and Fascism; Donald Henderson and Francis A. Hanson, the League's secretaries; C. A. Hathaway, of the Communist Party; Charles S. Zimmerman, Secretary-Manager of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.; Nevin Sayre, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Dorothy Detzer, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Monroe Sweetland, of the Intercollegiate League for Industrial Democracy. The mass meeting in New York, will be held at St. Nicholas Arena on Monday January 29.

Dual Unionism Among the Miners

Some Lessons from Recent Fiascos

by George F. Miles

The United Mine Workers Union is in convention now in Indianapolis. It is difficult to imagine that this convention will make any serious attempt at a solution of the problems now confronting the mass of the miners, for this convention will be under the thumb of the old bureaucracy with John L. Lewis at its head. Nor is it to be expected that there will be sufficient progressive forces at that convention to seriously challenge the rule of ruin which this present leadership has made the lot of the miners. The powerful progressive movement, which seriously threatened the leadership of the Lewis clique, in years past, has been wrecked, largely, thru dual-unionist adventures, and the bitter resentment and hostility to the leadership of the union is in the main unorganized and leaderless. Yet, conditions in the mine fields call for progressive struggle as they never did before.

The U. M. W. Misses An Opportunity

The N.R.A. and the ensuing organization drives brought thousands of hitherto unorganized miners into the U. M. W. Mine fields which in the past had remained unorganized despite bitter battles fought and many miner's lives lost were now swept into the union. It looked as if nothing could stop this tidal wave of organization among the miners. These miners as one man were ready to fight and mainly for one demand—recognition of the union. But this movement has now been checked on the one hand by the determined stand of the coal barons against recognition of the unions (The Frick interests) and on the other by the NRA and the Lewis Bureaucracy which successfully scuttled the movements in defiance of the NRA orders and suppressed the strikes called in a number of counties in western Penna. The results for the union have been disastrous. Not only has the union missed a golden opportunity to make a clean sweep of the industry but the re-

verse has occurred. Disintegration and dual unionism are once again raising its head. To the dual-unionist Progressive Miners of America in southern Illinois must now be added the United Anthracite Miners of Pennsylvania and a number of revolts in western Penna., Ohio, Virginia and in the South West states. In the case of the Anthracite, it is Rinaldo Cappellini fresh from a two year "stretch" in the jug for incendiaryism, who steps forward as the stalwart defender of the interests of the anthracite miners. The benevolent neutrality, of a number of important coal companies towards Cappellini's opposition union, creates more than a mere suspicion as to the relation between them. Cappellini's old record as president of District 1 is still fresh in the minds of most of the miners. Most of the other revolts however have their roots in the refusal of the union bureaucracy to fight and their complete submission to the anti-labor NRA decisions.

National Miners Union—A Memory

It is not insignificant to note that all these revolts in the coal fields are in no way connected with the T.U.U.L. or with the National Miners Union. As a matter of fact the National Miners Union has completely disappeared from the mine fields, it is no more than a memory. Frank Borich, secretary of the National Miners Union has the following to say in the Daily Worker of October 17:

"... The National Miners Union has made its cause the cause of the miners. It is supporting the fight of the miners for recognition of the U.M.W.A. It is supporting the miners in their fight for organization. But the National Miners Union is alive. It lives in the experience of tens of thousands of miners..."

The official Communist Party

recognizes clearly the complete collapse of its outpost in the coal fields and altho here and there they may play with some developing opposition union (The Cappellini outfit in the Anthracite), its main approach today is as an opposition in the existing union. This is borne out by a whole series of articles in the Daily Worker by former leaders of the N.M.U. The C.P., however, failing to draw the proper conclusions from its defeat, does not give up its basic course of dual-unionism. The present change of front is merely an expedient for the preparation of a new exodus from the U.M.W.A. Says Jack Stachel, acting national secretary of the T.U.U.L.:

"It is also true that we have received a set-back in the mining industry and in other industries as regards building the T.U.U.L. unions, so that our main work in these industries takes on for the moment mostly the form of a revolutionary opposition." (Emphasis mine—GFM)—Communist, December 1933.

We thus see how one force, which might render significant assistance in reviving the struggle to make the U.M.W.A. an instrument for struggle, continues to stumble along, despite its defeats, on a dual unionist road.

Musketiers, Socialists Turn "Left" The official communists are not the only ones who refuse to learn from experience. Many months ago the miners of southern Illinois revolted against Lewis and, under the leadership of a group of Socialists, Musketiers and Trotskyites (now Musketiers), launched the Progressive Miners of America.

The P.M.A. was press-agented as the acme of progressivism, as the solution of all the evils of the

miners. If the miners would only join! What has the P.M.A. brought? Defeat and bitter disillusionment; bloody, fratricidal war in which mine workers on both sides have paid with their lives. On the economic field, underbidding the U.M.W.A. on wage scales, in a frantic effort to get agreements signed. And where are these "leaders" of the P.M.A. today? All are expelled by a bureaucratic and reactionary clique which now rules the organization.

What becomes of the sneers at the "Lovestonites," who refused to become partners in this merry jumble? The P.M.A. is a cross example of dual unionist adventurism. It further shows that dual unionism is not necessarily the monopoly of official communists.

Lessons Not Learned

We pick up "The Fighting Miner," the organ for the Miners Educational League, sponsored and supported by Gerry Allard, Tom Tippet, Powers Hapgood and others, and we read:

"The Progressive Miners of America, product of a militant and heroic struggle against Lewis and the rotten conditions of a frantic industry, is no longer a force of enthusiasm for the impoverished coal miners."

Some of these people were the leaders of the P.M.A. Yet, this is all they have to say. But why is the P.M.A. "no longer a force of enthusiasm"? They completely fail to see that the excellent movement of opposition, which could have been used as a base, for a national movement against Lewis, was destroyed, when they permitted or aided in shunting it off on the "dead-end" of dual unionism. There, it is vegetating and rotting today, isolated from the mass of the miners, a prey for bureaucratic buzzards.

"The Fighting Miner" (December 15, 1933) carries a programmatic declaration of the Miners Educational League. The first demand for which the League pledges to fight is "For one united class struggle Union." We might accept this as a worthy aim in a field so replete with revolts and opposition unions, were it not so delightfully vague. For clarity and blunt frankness we are indebted to Gerry Allard (Trotskyite, Independent-Communist, Musketier). In his swash-buckling manner, this "former" editor of the Progressive Miner says:

"But hell, a fiddle and a cup is a more effective instrument for class war than that relic they call the U.M.W.A."

So, with one fell swoop, Allard destroys the U.M.W. and relegates the remnants to the museum. Gerry also exposes, simultaneously, the demand for "one united class struggle union," as a fraud by means of which new opposition unions are to be foisted on the miners.

For A Fighting Opposition In The U.M.W.

Far too many times have the struggles of the miners, to make the U.M.W. a genuine instrument for effective fight for their interests, been disrupted by the periodic tapping of their militant and fighting forces. No agent of Lewis could do more than these well meaning "revolutionaries," who lead insurgents out of the U.M.W. and up a blind alley.

We have had enough, too much, of this. The need of the hour is to bring back into the U.M.W.A. all those who have left. To rid the miners of both well-meaning dual-unionists and such outright coal company agents as Cappellini. To weld, into one solid, fighting front, all the progressive forces for a determined stand against Lewis and his henchmen. To rid the union of the whole bureaucratic clique and make of it a powerful, militant union.

Decision on Local 9 Case

New York City.

After weeks of hearings on the charges against the so-called left administration of Local 9, I.L.G.W.U., the General Executive Board of the Union was forced to come to the rescue of its own investigating committee, which was evenly divided. The G.E.B. has ordered the ousting of the Local 9 administration.

At a membership meeting of Local 9, in Beethoven Hall, called by the G.E.B. to inform the workers of the decision and take nominations for the new administration, little was accomplished. The majority of the workers present were clearly opposed to the ousting. No questions or discussions were permitted.

At another meeting, called by the local administration, when many workers were not admitted into Beethoven Hall, a resolution was adopted, calling upon the G.E.B. to place the ouster decision to a referendum vote of the whole membership of the local. The resolution stipulates that the referendum shall be conducted by a committee from the labor movement to be agreed upon by the present local administration and the General Executive Board.

Brother Zirlin, who pursues an independent course in Local 9, proposed the acceptance, under protest, of the G.E.B. decision. That a demand be made for an honest election and that preparation be made for an appeal to the convention of the I.L.G.W.U. Other locals of the I.L.G.W.U. were to be urged to endorse and support this appeal in the convention.

Dressmakers Local 22 adopted a resolution which, dissociating itself from the so-called left administration of Local 9, nevertheless comes out in sharp opposition against the G.E.B. decision. The resolution claims that the beginning of a campaign of ousters and

25,000 in Dress Stoppage; Local 22 In Protest at Code Authority Ruling

DRESSMAKERS FIGHT FOR UNION SCALES

New York City.

Over 25,000 dressmakers came out in a most effective and disciplined stoppage here two weeks ago in a determined effort to preserve the minimum wage rates guaranteed in the collective agreement and to beat back the attempts of the jobbers to bring back sweatshop conditions in the trade. Practically all the workers in contractors shops working on low-priced dresses were called out by the New York Dressmakers Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U. The response of the workers and their spirit were splendid. After a few days of manipulations and negotiations the jobbers gave in and arrangements were made for a system of payments that would guarantee the minimum wage scales. Large sections of workers received considerable wage increases at the very outset of the new season.

From the very beginning Local 22 was the drive behind the whole movement in defense of the workers interests. It was the delegates of this local who raised the question in the Dressmakers Joint Board and who fought thru until decisive action was taken.

THE RESOLUTION OF LOCAL 22

New York City.
In the last issue of Workers Age

expulsions will harm the union and will strengthen rather than weaken dual-unionism in the union.

we reported on the efforts of the Dress Code Authority to revise the Dress Code and thus force certain concessions for the employers. At the protest meeting of the membership of Local 22, on December 22, 1933, the resolution printed below was adopted.

WHEREAS, the Dress Code Authority has issued a ruling permitting sample-makers to work one hour a day overtime for a period of three weeks, a ruling approved the same day by the Board of Directors of the Joint Board and later by the Joint Board itself; and WHEREAS, such a ruling is in clear violation of the collective agreement concluded after our recent general strike; and

WHEREAS, this collective agreement cannot be modified or amended by any authority or power, including the Code Authority, which we deem subordinate to the agreement; and

WHEREAS, if this ruling of the Code Authority is allowed to go unchallenged, the way is opened to other modifications of our agreement, which nullify our hard-won gains and make the agreement itself a mere scrap of paper; and

WHEREAS, the Executive Board of our Local, at its meeting held December 19, 1933, unanimously rejected the decision of the Code Authority and issued instructions to the sample-makers not to work overtime; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the membership of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., assembled in special protest demonstration on

Thursday, December 28, 1933, at Webster Hall, express indignant protest against the usurpation of power on the part of the Dress Code Authority and against the signing and compliance of the Joint Board leadership; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we express our disapproval of the stand taken by the Joint Board and by the Executive Boards of the three sister Locals in acquiescing to this high-handed decision, in utter blindness to the serious dangers involved; and be it further

RESOLVED, that we wholeheartedly endorse the position taken by our Executive Board and that we pledge ourselves to go forward under its leadership in defense of our agreement and for the maintenance of the minimum wage scales and the 35-hour week; and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be transmitted to the General Executive Board of the I.L.G.W.U., the Joint Board and the press.

LOCAL 22 HITS LOCAL 9 DECISION

New York City.

The following resolution was adopted by the Executive Board of the Dressmakers Union, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., on January 9, 1934: The Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., protests against the action taken by the special committee of the G.E.B. in removing the entire administration of Local 9 from office

(Continued on Page 7)

Terror in Fur Market

New York City.

A veritable reign of terror broke in the fur market this past week. The occasion was the distribution of leaflets and manifestos by a group of 200 members of the Joint Council.

No secret of these distributions had been made and for a whole week the Fur Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union mobilized all its resources in the way of strong arm squads and made frantic appeals thru the Daily Worker and the Freiheit to all its supporters to turn out into the fur market.

The result was a veritable blood bath in the market. Workers distributing leaflets for the Joint Council were slugged and brutally assaulted. The most peculiar event was that, in the main, the police was exceptionally active against the members of the Joint Council, many of whom were arrested.

The most active in the slugging for the industrial union are well known in the market as professional thugs. These are now on the pay roll of the industrial union, not as business agents either, and showed that they are earning their money. These facts are significant because the progressives and lefts have always fought vigorously against gangsterism in the unions. The industrial union's use of these sluggers does not make the sluggers any more respectable but it does show to what lengths the chronic union splitters will go when in despair, when they feel that their base is being undermined.

Gangsterism in the fur market has never stopped the fur workers before and it will not now, stop the A. F. L. workers from building and strengthening their union. What it will do, is expose the fiction of "pure" unionism as preached so very loudly by the leaders of the industrial union.

JAY LOVESTONE "Economics of the New Deal"
FEB. 2, 8 P. M., 51 W. 14 ST.

What Must We Learn from Lenin?

We are so accustomed to saying that, the dead, Lenin lives in his work and teachings, that we are in danger of allowing this profound idea to be degraded into a trite commonplace, mechanically repeated by rote. Yet never did this phrase represent a more vital and significant truth than today. Today, ten years after the death of V. I. Lenin, the revolutionary labor movement of the world has more to learn from the experiences and teachings of this great Marxist than perhaps at any time in its history; certainly it is in more acute need of clear and effective guidance than ever before. Today, if ever, let us learn from Lenin!

"Lenin, The Scourge Of The Opportunists"

The political axis of Lenin's life was the struggle for the ideological and organizational independence of revolutionary Marxism, for its ultimate and final separation from reformist Socialism of every stripe. It is only necessary to recall Lenin's unrelenting and successful fight against Economism and Menshevism in the Russian labor movement. It is only necessary to recall the period of Lenin's most intense political activity, the years of war and revolution. It is only necessary to recall Lenin's early years in the Communist International, particularly his programmatic appearances at the second and third congresses. "Lenin, the scourge of the opportunists!"—none other than Paul Levi is responsible for this thoroughly apt characterization.

In his unwearying battle against the poison of reformism in the labor movement, Lenin faced the problem of centrism at every point. In characteristic form, "reformism in left guise," as he dubbed it, reappeared at various stages in the history of the Russian movement—as early Menshevism, as Trotskyism, as the Martov tendency. But it was during the days of war and revolution that the problem of centrism became particularly central and acute and that Lenin's political attitude to it assumed its classical aspect.

The General Features Of Centrism

What are the general features of Lenin's estimate of centrism? With unexcelled Marxist acuteness, he probed the social processes basic to the realignment in the labor movement. The forces of radicalization, unleashed by the events of the war and after, were naturally reflected in the Social-democratic organizations, producing a profound dissatisfaction with the utterly shameless political treason of the official labor leaders. Millions were drawn into this forward movement, which soon broke the bounds of formal Social-democratic organization. Two tendencies appeared. The most advanced and politically clear elements pursued their course to its logical conclusion and laid the foundations of the world Communist movement. But more numerous were those who could not effect their full emancipation from reformism, who proved unable to complete their organizational break with the Social-democracy by an even more thoroughgoing ideological break. They remained stranded in an "in-between" position, the truest reflection of their political immaturity. At the head of this centrist tendency appeared leaders who were "in-betweeners" by profession, who systematically tried to "combine" principles mutually exclusive—chauvinistic Socialism and revolutionary internationalism, bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship! Their centrism did not represent an arrested stage of development towards Communism but rather a congealed and fixed dogma, pretending to be "something different" from both Social-democracy and Communism.

Centrism As Reformism In "Left" Form

Centrism, Lenin always insisted, is reformism in a characteristic "left" form. It preserves the essential point of view and doctrines of reformism, no matter what the form or the secondary modifica-

tions may be. It is not so much a half-way house to Communism as a dam, a barrier, to the unimpeded development of the leftward moving masses. If centrist organizations and ideologies are allowed to crystallize, they inevitably become the vehicles by which the rebellious masses are led back to the bosom of Social-democracy. In order to liberate these masses from such barriers, in order to make possible their systematic development to revolutionary Communism, the centrist organizations and the centrist ideology must be destroyed. Lenin was never tired of reiterating this fundamental truth. The road to Communism lies over the corpse of centrism.

Lenin placed the greatest emphasis upon ridding the young Communist movements of every remnant of reformism and centrism. The whole second congress of the Communist International was conducted under this sign. The famous "twenty-one points" (conditions for admittance to the Communist International) were framed and did serve to detect and to reject every form of centrist influence. Again and again Lenin emphasized that any effective and fruitful united front work with the reformist and centrist organizations was absolutely conditioned upon a clear and unequivocal political differentiation from them.

The Revival Of "New" Centrism

Can any one fail to see the living significance of these principles today? Under entirely different circumstances, there is taking place today another revival of centrism, on a much more restricted scale, it is true. Today, too, there are

by Will Herberg

those who are unable to penetrate to the reformist essence of centrism and who therefore virtually capitulate to it; indeed, there are those—the Trotskyites and others—who even look upon the new centrism as the basis for the creation of a "new labor movement"! The entire struggle of the Communist Opposition against these forces of ideological demoralization in our movement has been based on the fundamental principles laid down by Lenin as to the relations between the Communist party and the other tendencies in the labor movement.

A Leninist Groundwork For Communist Parties

The rooting of the movement in the tried and tested principles of revolutionary Marxism (Communism), untainted by any reformist influence, is basic but no one realized better than Lenin that mere firmness in principle was far from being enough to guarantee the development of an effective revolutionary mass organization, especially on a world scale. More than once, Lenin laid down in unmistakable form, what he conceived these prerequisites to be.

1. Marxist realism in analysis and the ruthless rejection of every form of "wishful thinking," of romantic phrase-mongering, were unceasingly emphasized by Lenin as vital necessities. Revolutionary tactics, he pointed out, are to be framed on the basis of a specific examination of the class forces and other factors involved and not in compliance with certain alleged

uniform and unchangeable dogmas.

2. In each country, revolutionary tactics must be rooted in the specific and characteristic features of the social-historical structure of that land and not in those more general, and therefore more abstract, features common to all countries. Lenin was the arch-"exceptionalist," to use the current political slang. With withering contempt, did he annihilate those who keep on repeating their principles in religious fashion but are completely incapable of finding the road to the realization of these principles in their own lands. "The revolution will proceed along a different road and at a different tempo in America than in Russia," he instructed us but this very fundamental truth is even more intelligible today to the bulk of American Communists than it ever was.

3. It goes without saying that Lenin vigorously opposed the conception of a Communist International as the tail-end of the Russian Communist Party, either in open form or hidden behind the screen of a dummy international apparatus. A genuine International must be a federation of parties standing on the basis of real equality, each guaranteed its proper sphere of political autonomy so necessary to it if it is ever to become the actual vanguard of the working masses. Lenin never tolerated the mechanical transference of tactics and methods from the Russian party to the Communist parties in the capitalist world, working and fighting under such totally different conditions. Still less did he allow the demoralizing artificial introduction of disputes

and factional fights in the Russian party into the Communist International and its parties. The sharp struggle against the so-called "Workers Opposition" in 1920 and against the Trotsky-Bukharin conceptions on the trade union question in 1920-1921 went by without any attempt to stimulate factions in other parties or to throw the whole C. I. into hysteria and panic. So it was in Lenin's days.

4. It is surely unnecessary to recall Lenin's unrelenting struggle against sectarianism and for those effective revolutionary tactics that have come to bear his name. The classical pamphlet on "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism" will always remain the indispensable manual of every Communist revolutionist. The whole subsequent development of the labor movement has served only to confirm most strikingly the basic principles of strategy and tactics formulated and championed by Lenin.

5. Centralism and party democracy were always emphasized by Lenin as the two foundation pillars of party organization. Without the former, the latter is bound to lead to anarchistic paralysis; without the latter, the former is bound to degenerate into arbitrary bureaucracy. But organically combined, they guarantee both the united fighting power and the democratic self-determination of the party organization; not only that but that they provide the mechanism whereby the party can learn from its own experience, obviate disruptive factional struggle, exercise genuine self-criticism and mature politically into a real vanguard organization enjoying the support and confidence of masses of workers.

For An Understanding Of Leninism

The vital relevance of all of these fundamental conceptions today is too obvious to require argument. The official Communist movement, in this country and internationally, stands defeated, in ruins organizationally, discredited and impotent politically, precisely because of its criminal violation of these principles. The whole struggle of the International Communist Opposition is essentially aimed at securing the recognition of these conceptions in practice on the part of the official Communist movement, whose gross disregard of them is rendered the more odious by the formal, purely ritual respect for Lenin's memory.

What we need is not this brand of hollow religious worship, which characteristically combines the mouthing of hallowed phrases with an almost contemptuous disregard of their practical meaning. What we need, what is today virtually a life-and-death necessity for the world Communist movement, is a genuine understanding of the principles of Leninism and a conscientious and single-minded application of these principles to the great problems of the contemporary labor movement. This, in brief, is the program of the International Communist Opposition.

of the steel workers, the miners or the textile workers?

The midwest farmer may totally lack a Marxian-Leninist theoretical understanding. This weakness is partly due to the fact that the midwest farmer has had no chance to see anything but the capitalists' propaganda. The few American Marxists have been too dogmatic in classing the tractor-age American farmer with the wooden-plow-age European peasant. They have considered the American farmer as an unimportant element.

Considering the revolutionary movement in America as a whole we find that the industrial element of the working class has yet just very small numbers under communist leadership. And is this leadership free from gross misunderstanding and gross misapplication of Marxian-Leninist principles to American problems? With the midwest farmer so far advanced in a militant way, is it not sensible to admit that the mid-

(Continued on Page 7)

The Farm Revolt And The Communist Movement

HOW SHALL WE APPROACH THE AMERICAN FARMER?

by E. B.

Omaha, Neb.

The Iowa Cow War of 1931 was an incident that marked the end of a twelve year period of discontent, muttering and the beginning of widespread action amongst the farm masses of the United States, particularly those of the midwest. So we see that the farm revolt was born no later than the summer of 1919 and that it is not a movement inaugurated by any special group or party, but it is a general reaction that grew out of economic conditions alone. Long periods of ever increasing oppression and misery are resented first in words then in deeds.

The farm revolt has been growing in volume and strength since its birth. The period of "Coolidge Prosperity" did not check or delay its growth. A majority of midwest farmers found themselves deeper in debt than ever at the end of that period in spite of nearly seven years of frugality and self denial carried on in an effort "to pay off the mortgage and other debts while times are good." "Coolidge prosperity" was never anything but a couple of mythical words to the farm masses of the midwest and it did not take four years of Hoover administration to demonstrate to midwest farmers that "good times" were apparently as far away as ever.

The Iowa Cow War was the first impressive demonstration of action. To those not familiar with the farm movement, the farm revolt begins with the Iowa Cow War. The first farm strike (1932) followed. Next came the First Farmers National Relief Conference in Washington, D. C.

Many different bodies (radical and conservative) are inclined to credit their separate organization with much of what the farmers, as a general mass, have done for themselves. Such a mistake amongst the radical element comes from the fact that these radicals did not (and do not now) realize how far the farmer had advanced

in a purely militant way. While practically all of the fighting against foreclosures, sheriffs sales, etc., took place after the Washington conference, it was not due to the "fact" that the farm delegates had gone to Washington and learned how to fight from a few groups of communists who were there to "instruct" them. The farmers march to Washington was a general move. It arose out of discontent and it was not a demonstration of (or controlled by) any party or organization. The farmers had been fed up on Hoover promises. They wanted a show down. They got it. They met the capitalist government face to face and they learned before they left Washington that they would get nothing. The farmers were bright enough to see the situation without having any special group or organization point out what had happened to them. The midwest farmers came back silent and determined. They knew that there was nothing else to do but fight—and the fighting has not ceased—there

will be much more of it. True, they give the enemy a chance to show what he can do at times, but the farmers are not beaten, they have just started.

Today some of the best posted communist leaders fail to understand and appreciate the advanced character of the first militant phases of the farm revolt. Here and there we read and hear from communists the idea of "unionizing the midwest farmers." We are forced to wonder what would happen today if the farmers had been organized into a thousand little union locals. Would they be dabbling around with isolated strikes at packing house gates, creamery doors and in front of commission houses for higher prices from individual concerns in the same manner as industrial workers strike around individual steel mills, auto factories and coal mines? What do these communists think they gain by "unionizing the farmers"? Being so steeped in trade union considerations in regard to eastern industries these communists are of the opinion that there is no element in the working class that can do better without the union.

The farmer today is fighting with the government—the centralized power of the capitalists. Some communists will say to this: "Don't be ridiculous! Don't tell us that the midwest farmer of today is ahead of the industrial worker in a purely militant way!" And to that we reply: What element in the history of the United States has worried the local, state and national government to such a degree, with their protests, as has the midwest farmers? Staffs, departments, sub-departments and agricultural problems alone, have been set up by the government. In Washington the national government is working night and day planning new schemes to save capitalism from the rapidly organizing and fighting farm masses of the midwest. Can the same be said

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C. P. O. CALLS FOR UNITY OF LABOR

To all members of the Communist Party! To all communist sympathizers! To all workers!

The Fourth National Conference of the Communist Party (Opposition) ended on New Year's Day. It was an event of no small moment in the development of the American labor movement, especially of the revolutionary forces, the communist ranks.

Delegates from the hard and soft coal fields, from the textile centers, from the garment factories, from the shoe plants, from the metal and machine shops, from the fields of class battle from Los Angeles to New York, reported on the struggles of the American working people in recent months. The problems and tasks facing labor in the U. S. and the world-over were approached objectively, in a healthy, critical spirit, in the light of the revolutionary scientific teachings of Marx and Lenin.

It was inspiring to learn how the C.P.O., despite its poverty of forces and paucity of funds, was able to lend leadership to workers and to mobilize them against the employers and the government under the banner of the N.R.A. It was particularly instructive to learn of the growing effectiveness of our members and ever-growing number of sympathizers in their struggle against the reactionary, and often corrupt, trade union officialdom. It was most encouraging for us to be able to register our marked progress in defeating the destructive dual-union drives of the official C.P. and thus not only save the name of communism from being discredited in the eyes of thousands of striking workers but also to get these masses to move left and to enhance the influence and prestige of communism as the only force which spells hope and shows the way out for the exploited and oppressed in the world-shaking crisis.

C.P.O. FORGES AHEAD

More than that. The year behind us, was a year in which despite all mistakes and shortcomings, many of which have been costly, we extended and consolidated our communist position and influence. The number of recruits we have won, (especially those with great influence in the ranks of organized labor) the notable progress of the New Workers School, as the outstanding centre of Marxist-Leninist education in the country, our clarification and solution of burning issues confronting the world communist and labor movements, our successful struggle against Trotskyism and centrism, our strength-

Join Communist Opposition

ened determination to fight for the reconstruction and unification of the American and international communist movements—all of these will surely serve as a great stimulus to an improvement and intensification of our own work, to an even firmer welding of the solidarity of our sympathizers and workers, fighting shoulder to shoulder with us, against capitalist reaction and its rising tide of war and fascism.

But we do not rest here. We have made only a beginning. More unified than ever, more clear in our tactics and objectives, more experienced and determined, thru years on the firing line of the workers against the bosses and their agents, we, with more effective organization and steeled morale, now appeal to the workers to close their ranks and fight harder than ever against hunger and war, against misery and fascist reaction.

UNITY IN FIGHT AGAINST HUNGER AND WAR

Our call for unity in the revolutionary labor movement goes out especially to our comrades in the C. P. How long will you, comrades of the Communist Party, allow the American and international communist movements to be broken in pieces by the stifling system of inner party life and leadership and by the sectarianism paralyzing our party in the face of countless opportunities for growth and influence? Comrades, our convention has reaffirmed our devotion to communist unity and our determination to hasten its realization. Let not our appeal fall on deaf ears! Let us learn, even from our most disastrous defeats, as well as victories. Let not the tragedy of Germany be repeated elsewhere, even in a limited form. Let us fight together for a return to the tactics of the first Four Congresses of the Comintern under the leadership of Lenin—to the tactics of the united front, to the strategy of fighting for the transformation of the trade unions into militant agencies of working class struggle. Let us join hands for unity in the revolutionary movement, for communist unity, as the first step towards unity of the working class.

To the members of the Socialist Party we say: Comrades, it is high time that you break with the false principles of reformism, which have brought incalculable dam-

age to the German and Austrian working classes and to the world proletariat.

Brothers and sisters in the labor unions! We are with you as one, for a fight for decent conditions, for clean and militant unionism.

Toilers on the land and in the mills, in the mines and in the factories! These are critical and decisive hours. Under the flag of the N.R.A. and the New Deal the ruling class of this country is strengthening the grip of trusts and is preparing new heavy blows against us all, preparing to lower our standards of living and to deny us even the right to organize and strike.

What we need most, today, is unity of action—militant united action by the oppressed and exploited Negro workers, by the impoverished farmers, by the workers in the cities—against their common enemy—the boss class, the rulers of industry and agriculture, the owners of the government.

RALLY TO THE C.P.O.

The C.P.O. is that section of the communist movement which resolutely adheres to the principles of world communism, the principles enunciated by Marx and Lenin, the principles on which the Soviet Union is founded and in which socialism, a classless society free from all exploitation, is now being constructed. We stand for tactics rooted in the soil of American conditions and the best of American revolutionary traditions as well as the experiences of our comrades and brothers in other countries.

We ask you to fight side by side with us. We ask you to join our organization. We urge you to take place in our ranks, as members, to help us hasten the unity and rebuilding of the communist and revolutionary movements, to speed up and insure the unity of the exploited against the exploiters and the victory of a new, a socialist, day in the United States.

Our convention keynote and message to the workers is: Forward to unity against capitalist reaction and imperialist war!

Forward to solidarity with the U.S.S.R.—the socialist fatherland of the working class of the world!

Forward to a victorious working class!

FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
COMMUNIST PARTY U. S. A. (Opposition)

Decisions of Convention

1. Resolutions on The Economic Situation in the U. S. A., and on The N.R.A. and the Labor Movement. Adopted unanimously as amended by the National Bureau.

2. International Reports. Love-stone for the Bureau Majority by Zam for the Minority. For the majority—45; minority—7; abstentions—1.

3. Resolved, that we condemn Trotskyism, in its new phase, as an extension of the doctrine of Thormidor to the Communist International and as the ideological leadership of new centrism. Voting for—41; Against—2; Abstentions—4.

4. Resolved, that we condemn the Trotskyist position and premises for a new party and a new Communist International. Voting for—44; Against—None; Abstentions—5.

5. To repudiate the conception that the centrist parties, like the S.A.P. of Germany, O.S.P. and I.S.P. of Holland, P.U.P. of France and the I.L.P. of England, as a whole, as an intact organization, and the "Bolshevik Leninist-Left Opposition" (Trotskyites) can serve as the basis for the new C.P.'s and a new C.I.

Centrist parties, as types of reformist parties, have to be liquidated in order to make it possible for the workers adhering to these parties to advance to communism.

However, in view of the great differences which exist among the centrist parties, their heterogeneous composition and the different conditions in which they arise, in individual cases it may become necessary for us to conduct our work for winning the workers of these

parties to communism by organizing and supporting inside a struggle for winning or transforming the centrist parties.

This means to conduct our activities for winning the workers in centrist parties for communism by having them organize themselves inside their party for turning their party into a revolutionary party. Tho, as communists we realize that the organization of such a struggle inevitably involves a split with the centrist leaders and thus means liquidation of the centrist party. Yet, we understand that with such tactics we can facilitate our winning the workers from the influence of the reformist leaders for communism.

The I.C.O., and its affiliated organizations stands ready to unite with any working class organizations which are in agreement with us on the fundamental principles of communism and on our strategic, tactical line, regardless whether such organizations have made up of former members of the Communist Party or workers who were never in the communist movement. Such a step would not be a substitute for national and international Communist unity, but an important means of increasing our strength as the Communist Opposition and thereby towards accomplishing that end. Adopted unanimously.

6. To recognize the Soviet Union as the base for the world revolution and to conclude therefore, that we cannot have a new Comintern without the party leading the victorious proletariat—the C.P.S.U.—being part of it. Voting for—42;

Convention Greeted Jailed Leaders

The Fourth National Conference of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (Opposition) sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the seven leaders of the Communist Party of Canada, now incarcerated in Portsmouth Prison.

This convention is unanimous in its approval of the inner prison struggles led by the comrades in protest against the holding of Comrade Cacic for a longer period than his sentence called for, and against the deportation planned and carried out by the Canadian authorities.

This convention looks forward to the day when our Canadian comrades will rejoin the ranks of the revolutionary party of the workers, and we pledge ourselves to work for the unification of the Communist parties under the banner of one international to the end that the revolutionary forces will be better able to provide communist leadership for the workers and farmers in their struggles against the dangers of fascism, imperialist war and the repressive measures of the existing capitalist state.

Against—6; Abstentions—1.

In the voting, on motion 3, 4 and 6, the comrades supporting the minority voted for specific sections of the minority resolution which in their opinion expressed their attitude.

Report of Convention

The Fourth National Conference of the C.P.O., during intensive three days of work (December 30, 31 and January 1st), considered the economic situation in the country, the N.R.A. as a recovery measure and its effect upon the labor movement, went exhaustively into the condition and status of the Comintern, Second International, the I.C.O. and the Paris Conference, and soberly considered the mass work and organizational condition of the C.P.O. in the U. S. The conference also discussed in great detail, the proposal of the minority for a reorientation of the C.P.O. and the I.C.O. in the direction of building new Communist Parties and a new International and overwhelmingly defeated this proposal and endorsed the present course of both the C.P.O. and the I.C.O. (See detailed decision elsewhere in this issue).

Composition Of The Convention

There were 53 accredited delegates seated, 31 of these, from New York and 22 from out of town districts. In the latter is included delegations from Troy, Antracite Mine Region, Los Angeles, Hartford, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, Philadelphia, Boston, Brookwood and Montreal and Toronto in Canada. The Detroit delegation arrived after the convention was closed. This was due to an automobile accident on the road. The San Antonio and Van Wert organizations were not represented. There were also present 21 alternates (15 from New York and 6 from out of town) as well as fraternal delegates from

Penn., Paterson, Passaic, Omaha and Washington.

Herberg Reports On Economic Situation And N.R.A.

In the absence of Comrade Love-stone, who was then addressing the Student Congress in Washington, D. C., Comrade Benjamin got the convention under way and introduced the reporter on the Economic Situation and the N.R.A. and The Labor Movement.

Comrade Herberg's report was delivered to a hall packed not only with delegates and C.P.O. members but also with a large number of workers sympathetic to the C.P.O. Comrade Herberg's report was based upon the document on these question, previously printed in Workers Age.

This was followed by special field reports. Art. Denslow reported on the shoe industry; Ben Lifshitz on the situation in the metal trades; Eli Keller dealt with the recent national silk strike; G. Peter explained the recent developments in the anthracite; Sasha Zimmerman discussed the needle trades situation and especially emphasized the dressmakers' recent successful strike and the present tasks; Comrade Miles reported for the Trade Union Department of the C.P.O.

About 20 comrades, active in various industries and in the present strike wave, discussed their experiences in the light of the report. What emerged from the day's reports and discussions was the proof of the virility of our trade union in the labor movement.

(Continued on Page 2)

For the Line of the I. C. O.

by Leon Lerner

The minority in our group has definitely stated its viewpoint that it proposes we adopt as our main objective the "working for the launching of such a (new Communist) party when we believe the forces are sufficient and that this is our main orientation. . . . It proposes, therefore, a reorientation towards a new Communist party in the U. S. A., additional Communist parties throughout the world and, in fact, a new Fourth International.

It seems that, as the representative of our group in its attempt to bring the Proletarian Party closer to us, something happened to Comrade Zam and he himself became a staunch adherent of the idea of a dual Communist party. What Comrade Zam says in his article (Workers Age, November 1, 1933) regarding the I.L.P. in England is no doubt what he also thinks of the Proletarian Party in the United States. With his present views, Comrade Zam cannot sincerely fight for the Proletarian Party to join our group, since his views are that our group ought to become a Communist party in opposition to the existing official C. P. Therefore, quoting from the article referred to, Comrade Zam writes: "We cannot propose to a party which is in the process of becoming a Communist Party, that it act only as a faction of a much smaller party, or as a faction of an International which refuses it admittance." According to this, the minority holds the view that we cannot propose to the Proletarian Party, which claims to be a Communist Party, such as it is, to join our group, since we are also a faction of an International which refuses us admittance.

True, Comrade Zam, as the leader of the minority, does not at present advocate an additional Communist party in the Soviet Union and, on this point, his program differs from that of the Trotskyites. If the minority actually succeeded in establishing a new party and a new Communist International, it would be interesting to know what disposition they would make of the anti-Soviet "left of the lefts", the Trotskyites, who are also for a new Fourth International, growing out of almost the same viewpoint as that of the minority (complete bankruptcy of the C. I., complete bankruptcy of the existing Communist parties, the belief that it is impossible to win over the Communist Party membership, etc.) but who also believe in a new Communist party in the Soviet Union. Comrade Zam does attack the Trotskyites, it is true, but so did Comrade Gitlow, and yet Gitlow today is openly negotiating with the Trotskyites with a view to joining them.

Would the Fourth International of this new "minority" in our group admit the Trotskyites, having in mind their objective of a new C. P. in the Soviet Union, and also bearing in mind their theory of Thermidor? This Comrade Zam has failed to explain. Or, since the Trotskyites are a step ahead of our minority in the proposed organization of a Fourth International and also the establishment of dual Communist parties, would the minority's program then call for a Fifth International?

It is foolish to believe that a Fourth, Fifth or Tenth International is the solution for Communist unity. The idea of a Fourth International comes from the minority's belief that "our efforts to win the party to a Leninist line . . . and that the C. P., thru its wrong line, would continue disintegrating, would become a mere shell. . . ." — have completely failed. The comrades who make such proposals at this time have taken a defeatist attitude, pure and simple. From such defeatist views come theories of new parties, new Internationals, with the result that workers become so confused that they prove easy targets for the capitalist parties.

The minority would appear to imply that, when our group was first established, we specified one year or four years in which the C. P. unless it corrected its errors, would become a "mere shell".

This is not so, tho the fact, that under the most favorable conditions for growth the official Communist party failed to advance, shows the correctness of our line. This does not mean that we must orientate ourselves towards a new Communist party, and thus bewilder the working class, for our group has no right to do so if it is to continue to adhere to a correct line.

There is no cause for defeatist attitudes, no cause for despair. Our primary job is to check the tactical errors of the C. I. of the official Communist party, to show up its mistakes and the results of such mistakes, to lead the way with a correct Leninist line and eventually bring about a change of line in the Communist International. How long will this take, no one can tell. Comrade Zam says we have failed to win over the membership of the C. P. That is true, of course, if "winning over the membership" means their wholesale leaving the Communist Party. But when we recall that only yesterday we were "social-fascists" and "Hoover's agents" according to the party leadership, and today Communist Party members attend our meetings (New York, Chicago, Montreal), not to heckle and break them up but to listen and learn and draw conclusions, surely we can count this as an accomplishment.

Report of the C. P. O. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

In his summary remarks Comrade Herberg emphasized the necessity of building a base for a national progressive and left wing movement in the trade unions.

Convention Greeted By I.C.O. And German Communist Opposition

At this point there was read to the convention a letter of greetings from the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition. In a clear and concise manner this document (printed in this issue) takes a firm stand on many questions agitating the revolutionary movement.

"It is inevitable" concludes the I.C.O. letter, "that this tremendously deep process of transformation (in the labor movement—Editor) embracing dozens of countries millions of workers, and a considerable period of time, should be connected with all sorts of signs of disintegration, vacillations and errors in the camp of the working class."

"Communist inflexibility, firmness and clarity are necessary, at such a time, in order to set right comrades who are vacillating, to clear up confusion, in order to prepare to win the final victory."

A letter was also received from the German Communist Party (Opposition) in which the advances of the C.P.O. in the U.S.A. are greeted. The letter also depicts the extreme difficulties under which our German comrades are conducting revolutionary propaganda under the Nazi terror regime. This letter will appear in the coming issue of Workers Age.

Lovestone Reports On I. C. O. Conference

The main political report was delivered by Jay Lovestone. In his report lasting over three hours Lovestone discussed the Conference of the International Communist Opposition and the condition of its various sections; The disintegration in the camp of the Second International; The Paris Central Conference; The Comintern, especially in the light of the defeat in Germany; The new role of the Trotskyites as "the ideological focal point for the new centrism" and the fallacies of the "new" Party and "new" Comintern adherents.

Comrade Zam, as the reporter for the minority, polemized against the position presented by Lovestone. He insisted that we had failed in our dual perspective i.e. we had neither won the party to a correct line nor had we ourselves, become the party. In the light of developments in the labor movement it was necessary, he argued, to reorient the C.P.O. and I.C.O. in the direction of building new

DISCUSSION ENDS

With the two articles on this page, we close the discussion on the "new" party and "new" International. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a report on the National Conference and its decisions.

Now, that the National Conference has spoken, all comrades must turn to with a will, for a vigorous and effective execution of the decisions.

ment to the credit of our group, and have the faith that eventually these comrades will not only listen and learn but also act. We know, also, what has occurred in Germany; there, we are not a party and yet entire sections of the official Communist party have joined our group thru a realization of our correct line.

As I see it, the need is not for a new Communist party, not for a Fourth International, but for a continued application of our correct policies, for taking the lead in the day-to-day struggles of the workers and for continuously and mercilessly exposing the wrong tactics of the party. Finally, the need is not for a new C. P. here, but rather for a Labor party—a broad Labor party where all sections of the labor movement would belong. The Communists would play an important role in such a party.

Communist Parties and eventually a new Communist International.

The discussion in which about 25 comrades participated, was thorough in every sense and on a high political level. The position of the minority being defeated by a vote of 45 to 7.

Benjamin Reports On The Organization

The final report at the convention on the condition of the International, was made by D. Benjamin, head of the Organization Department. He dealt with the necessity to build the C.P.O. on the premise of our excellent mass work; Insisted on intensifying our trade union work especially out of town; Urged greater activity in united front work; Extension of our excellent work on the youth and Negro field; Further penetration of C.P., S.P. and P.P. with our program; and the conversion of Workers Age into a weekly. He concluded by an appeal for tightening up the ranks and for more educational activities to arm our group for greater efforts and a more rapid advance.

Comrade Herman reporting for the Resolutions Committee urged the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. An appeal to the C. P. and its members, for communist unity.
2. A call to the members of the Proletarian Party to affiliate with the C.P.O.
3. A letter of fraternal greetings to our fighting Communist Party of Germany (Opposition).
4. Communist greetings to our comrade Manabendra Nath Roy, serving a six year sentence in India for leading the struggle against British Imperialism.
5. Greetings to Tom Mooney, serving his eighteenth year behind bars. Our pledge, to intensify our work for his liberation, and aid in developing a genuine united front in his behalf.
6. A letter to the Swedish Communist Party (Opposition) to strengthen those valiant comrades fighting to keep the S.C.P. on the communist path.
7. Greetings to Tim Buck and six other members of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Canada, now serving sentence in Portsmouth penitentiary.

A number of other resolutions were referred to the incoming National Bureau.

C.P.O.—United For Struggle

The C.P.O. emerged from its Fourth National Convention, ideologically and organizationally unified. There was a spirit of enthusiasm which accurately reflected the vitality of our group and our growth in influence. The mor-

For A New Perspective

by Alexander

For four years the C.I. has been crumbling away at a fast rate. The Czechoslovakian Party has lost 80% of its membership; Great Britain's Party has dropped from 12,000 to 2,000; France dropped from 56,000 to 45,000; Sweden from 18,000 to 2,000; The C. P. U.S.A. had 15,000 members in good standing, today it has 13,000 of which half are in good standing; South Africa last 90% of its membership; India has no official party to speak of.

The decimation at one stroke of the C.P.G. was the sharp crack that warned us that the entire edifice is in danger of giving way. It is this circumstance that says to us: "Patience with the incorrigible C.I. is not always the correct tactic. Prompt action is needed for the formation of a correct (democratically organized) Communist International."

Patience is what we need, according to some comrades, now more than ever, because of the present "accessibility" of the party comrades. At the rate with which we are making headway in the various parties throughout the world there will be no Comintern left by the time we win over the Comintern membership.

ale of the C.P.O. was never higher, and the prospects for extending our influence never better.

Those who have engaged in idle speculations on the disruption of the C.P.O. can secure little comfort from the results of this convention. We go forward, reinforced by many fighting recruits in the last several weeks, conscious of and determined to achieve our aim—the unity of the communist movement for proletarian victory.

—JIM CORK

STUDENTS IN NAT'L CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C.

The National Conference on Students in Politics was held Dec. 29-31, at the Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D. C. The ostensible purpose of the groups participating—such as the National Student League, League for Industrial Democracy, National Student Federation, Y.M.C.A. student organizations—was to answer the question whether students must take a political stand. Over a period of six sessions, only one of which was devoted to voicing of the student delegates' opinions, various prominent speakers of diverse fields, including Norman Thomas, Robert Minor, Jay Lovestone, E. Meyers, presented their individual proposals or analyses on such leading questions as Revolution, War, etc. It was presumed, one may infer, that out of such a one-sided approach the students were to reach certain definite and precise conclusions.

Prior to the main conference, the L.I.D. and the N.S.L. held their respective conventions out of which came the decision that both groups work together for the adoption of a common minimum program based on the fight for academic liberties, against racial discrimination, R.O.T.C. and War, and retrenchments in education. At the Saturday evening session, this united proposal was overwhelmingly accepted by the delegates. When the convention went on to instruct its executive committee to carry out this program in some written form, the chairman, Prof. Eagleton of N.Y.U., informed the gathering that such a procedure was impossible in view of the fact that the Chamber of Commerce had given instructions that no definite, affirmative proposals could be adopted within its walls. A primer lesson in bourgeois democracy for the uninitiated at the conference!

In connection with L.I.D.—N.S.L. relationship, it should be pointed out that the N.S.L. had presented a proposal to the L.I.D. conference calling for the liquidation of both organizations and the setting

Suppose that the Berlin district should go so far as to say that the lesson taught by the Nazi triumph is that the present tactics of the C. I. are suicidal. It would certainly be a victory for the opposition in Germany. But how much effect would it have in changing the line of the C.I.? If all the setbacks that the C. I. has received, until now, have not influenced its position, why should one more defeat cause a change? Today the "C. I." is back in the third period lunacy of 1930-31. Today there does not exist the slightest sliver of reason to believe that the C. I. is changing its line. Does the pamphlet of Piatnitsky offer any hope?

The C.P.O. has the perspective of influencing the C. I. to change its course and thus to effect unity. What influence has the C. P. O. comparable to the powerful lessons of the German debacle? It is necessary to abandon this perspective entirely and to proceed to the logical development of the second perspective as indicated in the following motion adopted at the September 1932 conference: "The C.P.O. clearly understands that in any single country only one Communist Party must exist and only one can exist over a long period of time. In the present critical situation in the C. I. it is possible for situations to develop where there will temporarily be two Communist Parties, where it would be desirable, provided there are sufficient forces, for launching an opposition party as well as the recognized party. In such a case our main objective would be the same—to bring about the unification of the communist movement."

We have been asked, what guarantee have you that we shall grow faster if we adopt the perspective of a new international? (Not declare ourselves the new international, as some comrades think.) It is silly even to think of guarantees.

Comrade Miles, however, goes too far when he says that such a new perspective would repulse those who are now close to us because of our own strenuous and well directed efforts. Miles says that those 30,000 who dropped out of the C. P., since we were expelled, did not join us because they did not care to strengthen a group that declared itself in opposition to the official party. Therefore there would be even less likelihood of these joining a group that declared itself for a new party and a new international. I believe that this is not at all the case but that the more discerning of the former C. P. members and such potential C. P. members, as exist in the I.L.P. and other organizations, realize that the C. I. is discrediting the entire communist movement, with its narrow sectarian line. They would join an independent communist movement which would have for its objective the restoration of communism in influence and prestige. The fact remains that the communist movement as a whole throughout the world has not gained in strength. In all probability there are many times more communists outside the ranks of any communist organization than within it. For instance in the C.P.U.S.A. there is a yearly influx and efflux of 10,000. Moreover it is the best and oldest members of the C.P.U.S.A.

(Continued on Page 4)

up of a new, unified student organization. (This proposal comes after 2 years of a sectarian, ultra-left position on the part of the N.S.L.) In answer to the proposal, the L.I.D. decided that the present was not appropriate for complete amalgamation. The L.I.D. counterposed that both organizations participate in united front actions over a long period of time with the ultimate objective of unification. Such an approach received concrete application at the general conference, which is a welcome step.

As an extra-conference event, the L.I.D. and the N.S.L. had a joint demonstration in the shadow of the White House protesting against R. O. T. C. any compulsory military training in the colleges.

IC O Greets Communist Opposition

We publish below the letter received from the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition to the recent fourth national convention of the American Communist Opposition. This letter, heartily approved by the National Committee, outlines a course that our group has maintained for many years and which the convention overwhelmingly endorsed.—Editor.

To the National Conference of the C.P.O. of the U. S.:
Dear Comrades:

The Bureau of the I.C.O. sends its comradely revolutionary greetings to your conference. We are glad to know that you have gained a number of significant and fruitful victories as a result of the working-out and application of correct communist tactics. We welcome the fact that in your theses on the N.R.A. and the labor movement you have attempted to formulate a program, enabling you to utilize the present upsurge of mass activity in America manifesting itself in an influx into the trade unions, the A. F. of L. and a wave of strikes, for the organization of successful revolutionary action and the winning-over of masses to communism. You have shown that you make every possible effort to realize this program in action. You have succeeded in gaining influence in mass strikes; you have informed the workers at mass meetings of the true character of the N.R.A. fraud. You have created a center for the Marxist training of American workers in your New Workers School. You have been able to gain sympathy for correct communist tactics in the ranks of the followers of the official C.P., and for communist principles among the social-democratic workers and non-party workers because you applied the correct tactics for the defense of these principles.

We especially welcome the fact that you have tried successfully to arouse and strengthen the spirit of international solidarity among the American workers. Your campaign against German and international fascism and your solidarity with the unfortunate victims of the Nazi terror have been exemplary.

We are especially thankful to you for your splendid efforts made to support financially the extremely difficult illegal work of the C.P.O. in Germany and the activities of the Foreign Committee of the C.P.O. Your efforts in this field will serve as a stimulus to other sections of the I.C.O.

Letter Outlines Tasks

SIGNIFICANCE OF GERMAN DEFEAT

We are convinced that on the line which you are following you will soon gain further political and organizational victories. Do not slacken in the struggle, however difficult it may be. Everyone of your forward steps is of great international significance; it is a material and moral strengthening of the labor movement in other countries; an encouragement of the illegal fighters in the fascist states, especially to the heroic fighters of the C.P.G.O.

The events of the last few years and the defeat of the German working class in particular have shown how absolutely necessary the struggle of the I.C.O. is. If the proletarian revolution is to succeed in those countries which are at present capitalist, the working class needs communist parties which are capable of discovering and working out the concrete tasks and the concrete road of the proletarian revolution corresponding to the particular class relations of each country and to prepare and organize them accordingly, as was done in Russia. The aim that the I. C. O. has pursued and is following, without being disconcerted, is to reform the C.I. so that its sections will be able to fulfill these tasks. The way in which the leading bodies of the C.I. reacted to the defeat of the C.I. can only be effected in the way in which the I.C.O. has persisted from the very beginning: namely, from below, thru acting as a nucleus which unites loyalty to communist principles with a correct tactical application of these principles and gathers the members of the

C. I. around itself and in this way wins over the C. I. sections.

For the I.C.O. to fulfill its task it is necessary that it guard against any concession whatsoever to such communist elements which like the Trotskyites organize a struggle against the Soviet Union and the C. I. under a supposedly communist banner; who want to build a centrist party and a centrist international and to further the desertion of workers from the camp of communism and keep social-democratic workers from going over to communism.

* * *

INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT IN CRISIS

The crisis which the international labor movement is going thru, as a result of the defeat of the German proletariat, has not left the I.C.O. untouched. The I.C.O. has had to break with the C.P. of Sweden because its leadership has gone over to centrism-Trotskyism and because they have acted contrary to the most elementary principles of international communist discipline. But precisely as a result of its irreconcilable struggle against all centrist and Trotskyite tendencies has the C.P.O. been able to continue its work successfully and united in that country in which the labor movement has suffered the severest blows. In Germany after the victory of fascism the C.P.O. has made progress in winning-over the members of the C.P. Thru its work it has forced the leadership of the C.I. and the C.P.G. to undertake a series of corrections of their ultra-left tactics. The German experience also shows that the objective of winning-over and reforming the C. I. makes it possible for the C.P.O. to gain followers and sympathy among the social-democratic workers, disappointed with reformist policies. Moreover, your own experience in the U. S. has proved that the policy of the C.P.O. as a communist tendency does not hamper but furthers the independent organization of mass activities and the independent approach to reformist and non-party workers.

* * *

I.C.O. FOR OUR LINE

For that reason the Bureau of the I.C.O. fully agrees with the resolution of the majority of the National Committee on "The new party and Trotskyism". The resolution proposed by Comrade Zam as a minority report of the national committee, on the other hand, contains a series of fundamental concessions to centrism and Trotskyism.

(Continued on Page 4)

The Party Discussion

A call has been issued for the eighth convention of the Communist Party and discussion in the units is beginning. Simultaneously comes the news that the Seventh Congress of the Communist International is to be held in November.

The C.P.O. will participate actively in this discussion. The first article on

THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM RESOLUTION OF THE E.C.C.I.

by B. Herman
will appear in the forthcoming issue.

Blue Eagle Over Latin America

(Continued from Page 5)

somewhere, some demagogic, bombastic declamation that would sound good in print, it might relieve mass pressure at home, temporarily at any rate. And so these cliques hoped that at Montevideo they might at least be given a chance to discuss—to discuss what seemed the most vital problems for their countries—currency stabilization, debts, tariff walls.

But the answer came with curt finality from the mouth of Roosevelt. All that the United States contemplated discussing at Montevideo was the Pan-American Highway, towards the completion of which the American Government was willing to give \$500,000; that was the only order of business for the conference—all other questions would be "embarrassing to the United States at the present time."

This blast had a very bad sobering effect even upon Latin America's cynical politicians. Since the Havana Conference in 1928, the depression had come; political revolutions had taken place in almost every land to the South of us; Machado, the butcher of Cuba, had been overthrown; cut throat bankers refused to renew large loans; all through the hinterland—mass misery and starvation—and all that the United States was willing to discuss at such a moment was the Pan-American Highway. The Latin press launched an attack against American dictatorship. Some of the countries seemed actually determined to place their problems before the Conference. To prevent such action Roosevelt and Hull called preliminary conferences with individual representatives at Washington, urging them not to bring up troublesome questions at Montevideo. Especially did they plead with Puig Casauran, of Mexico, to lay off on the debt question. They insisted that it would be exceedingly embarrassing to air all that in the midst of nice, decent, full-dress gentlemen, but Puig in-

sisted and sailed for Montevideo.

Hull sailed too. He was instructed to make as many friends on the way as possible, and he did, judging by the final line up at the Conference.

Foreign Minister Lamas of Argentina (although essentially the country leading Latin American sentiment against the United States) did most of the pinch-hitting for Hull. Evidently something big had been promised him.

Puig Casauran brought up the debt question all-right because like the "gentleman of honor" that he is, he could not go back on his word but he did not fight very hard when his motion died an expected death in a smaller committee.

Cuba and Haiti brought up the question of Yankee intervention and Haiti asked for the withdrawal of the American Financial Receiver and the American Officers from their country. But this embarrassing question was postponed to the next conference. Interventions we have always with us. Besides in Pan-American conferences postponements have become traditional. Each one postpones vital problems to the next. It is the official way of handling all touchy problems. Due however, to the special pressure of several of the smaller countries, a sub-conference is being called to meet in the summer of 1934 at Santiago, Chile to discuss (the agenda for each conference is always frozen in advance and if new problems should arise in the interim, well its just too bad for those problems):

1. Establishment of inter-American currency and banking systems
2. Inter-American debt problems
3. Inter-American economic organizations.

The Conference in Santiago will consist of a small group, working in secret sessions, which the United States will run. Any problems embarrassing to the United States will again be postponed until 1938

and thereafter. Here, the U. S. can work with less delicacy—there will be little publicity trained on its activities.

At Montevideo the work of the conference was distributed among eleven committees. These met in public sessions, made grandiloquent speeches about civilization and brotherly love and had their pictures taken. At these conferences they permitted the League of Nations observer and the Spanish and Portuguese observers to sit in, listen and they also let them get into the pictures. Then the eleven larger committees were broken up into 27 smaller sub-committees, which carried on the work in secret sessions at which no observers were permitted. It is here, in the small committees, that the dirty work of American steering was carried on. And so effectively was this handled that the ruling press of every Latin-American country hailed this as the greatest love feast in Pan-American adventures.

The conference had set up an "effective" peace machinery and had "settled" the war between Bolivia and Paraguay (which war, of course, broke out again as soon as the conference terminated its sessions).

And all that the Latin American politicians could take back home with them from Montevideo were Cordell Hull's honeyed words about civilization, sincerity and fellow-feeling; all about the evils of war and how it must be forever banished from the Western Hemisphere. Talk was cheap and the politicians had to make the most of it. The Latin press went into ecstasies over the "accomplishments" at Montevideo. "El Nacional" (the organ of Calles and the present Mexican government) stated that "President Roosevelt's declaration will remain engraved on the international conscience of Latin America. . . President Roosevelt has wiped out all unfavorable recollections on Mexico's part. The past is forgotten and we now, with

love and trust, join our powerful northern sister, for we believe in her." The kept press of other larger Latin American countries echoed similar sentiments.

Opposition Forces At Montevideo

But despite all these honeyed words the Montevideo conference did not terminate on a note of unity. The Caribbean countries, closer to the United States and more oppressed by it, with economic interests separate and distinct from those of the larger South American countries, came away disgruntled, determined to form a Caribbean Union of some sort, to defend their common needs. And just as the conference was breaking up in such a spirit of "peace and harmony" a despatch in the New York Times on December 27, reported that the delegates from Cuba and Haiti and Nicaragua were seeking to establish a bloc of eleven nations: Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, San Salvador, Panama, Colombia, Santo Domingo and possibly Venezuela. They are determined to call a preliminary meeting shortly, on the initiative of Cuba, to formulate a joint economic program for presentation at Santiago next summer. These countries criticized Argentina and Mexico for having swung over to the side of the United States at Montevideo, for deserting them in the struggle against American imperialism.

What will come of all this, remains to be seen. Such unions have been contemplated many times in the past and nothing has come of them. The odds against them are too great.

The seventh Pan-American conference at Montevideo marked a big step forward for American diplomacy in pacifying its rear in preparation for the coming war. But beneath the surface, the deep-lying forces of depression and oppression are constantly at work undermining the achievements of Yankee imperialism. And it is these forces that must be guided, strengthened, organized for the coming struggle.

MONTREAL GREETES GERMAN WORKERS

Montreal, Canada
To the German Proletarian Fighters against the Hitler Terror:

Dear Comrades:

A few weeks ago, Jay Lovestone of New York reported on Germany under the rule of the Nazi hangers-on, to a large meeting of over 900 workers and intellectuals in Montreal. The first-hand information brought to us by Comrade Lovestone who had recently returned from Europe, gave us a graphic picture of the awful terror instituted by the Nazis and also of the superhuman, heroic struggle being carried on by the front-line fighters of the revolutionary proletariat in Germany.

We, the workers of Montreal, together with the workers of all countries, extend our hand to you in proletarian solidarity. Unfortunately, our contribution to your struggle at the present moment is extremely small in comparison with your heroic fight. But every one of us must aid you and with joy we are sending you \$100 that was collected at our meeting.

The workers of Canada and especially of Montreal are already experiencing the effects of Hitler's bloody rule in Germany. Here too the backward petty bourgeois and some layers of the backward workers are trying to ape the Nazis in Germany. A Fascist movement has begun to appear. It is being tolerated and even aided by the governmental institutions. The workers here will have to organize their forces into a common united front to carry on a staunch struggle before it be too late. Our struggle against Fascism here and our moral and financial aid to you, we hope will hasten the day of the complete downfall of Fascism and its master, finance capital. That will come with the victory of the proletariat.

Workers Assembled in Mass Meeting Montreal, Canada,

R.P.C. Against "New" International

The Road to Revolutionary Unity

by G. F. M.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee of the I.L.P. has recently clarified its attitude to the Communist International and also to the proposed organization of a "new" International.

In a bulletin issued in the early part of December 1933, they say:

"The Revolutionary Policy Committee cannot agree that there is any justification for the formation of a new International, and urges members of the I.L.P. to oppose most strenuously any tendency that may widen the existing gap between any sections of the revolutionary movement and the Communist International.

"It does not, however, consider that unconditional association with the C.I. will in the present circumstances be most advantageous in the development of working-class struggle. But it suggests that the I.L.P. should welcome the suggestion made by the C.I. of association as a sympathetic body on the basis of the Twenty-One Conditions, if it is satisfied that the correct interpretation of those conditions is as outlined above."

This declaration coming, as it does, on the heels of the most frantic efforts at the organization of a centrist international (The Paris Conference and the later efforts of Trotsky) is indeed to be welcomed. Especially is this so in the light that Brockway, Maxton and Paton tend to look upon the Paris Conference as a sort of up-to-date version of the Zimmerwald Conference and will in the coming Easter congress of the I.L.P. attempt to commit the Congress to a policy definitely favoring the establishment of a new international.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee is to be congratulated on the firm and clear stand which it has taken for the unity of the world revolutionary forces as against the intensification of the political confusion now existing in the revolutionary and communist movement.

It is quite significant that the London Daily Worker in which this report is printed (December

18, 1933) has no comment to make on the above quotation. It does, however, wax very indignant at another quotation from the same bulletin, dealing with the trade union question. The bulletin of the R. P. C. quotes Lozovsky as follows:

"In creating the Red Trade Union organizations, have you strengthened the trade unions? Do you want to strengthen them? So long as we do not weaken and disrupt them (The reformist trade unions—G.F.M.) before the masses, so long as we do not disrupt their discipline, so long as the trade union apparatus is not destroyed, so long will they keep back a portion of the workers."

To which the London Daily Worker remarks that the quotation is one "which every good reformist trade unionist now knows by heart." Finally, in order to allay any further suspicions on the part of the R.P.C. it says:

"... Why not examine Communist practice in the trade unions in Great Britain during the last 12 months?"

This it must be admitted is an argument worthy of notice since the C.P.G.B. during the course of the last year has pursued a more or less constructive policy in the trade unions and has not applied the disastrous union-splitting line which became the official course elsewhere in the Comintern.

We must ask, however, why examine the trade union line of the C.P.G.B. only during the last 12 months? Why not before? Why not also the trade union line of other sections of the Comintern?

The answer must be apparent to every revolutionary worker. Also the C.P.G.B. had begun to practice a dual unionist course but reversed itself in time on the basis of its own disastrous experiences. On that score we have no quarrel.

But what guarantee is there that this course will not once again be changed. Just so long as the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. do not openly and frankly condemn dual unionism and union-splitting, and return, on an international scale, to Leninist tactics on the trade union field; just so long is there a legitimate and real basis for suspicion as to the course also of the C.P.G.B.

Does the C.P.G.B. maintain that its trade union line today is also the general trade union line of the R.I.L.U.? Then what has happened in Germany before the Nazis came to power? Was it not the course of the C.P.G. to build the R.G.O. as a dual center to the reformist mass unions? Is it not a fact that even today when the suppressed and tortured German workers are organizing underground inter-party trade unions, it is the

C.P.G. which is blocking unity of action thru its insistence on the organization of "pure red unions" to be affiliated with the R.I.L.U.?

As for the U.S.A., here the destructive trade union line of the R.I.L.U. has been carried out with appalling results which have brought discredit upon the name of Communism. Yet the C.P.U.S.A. persists in that attitude and conspicuously repeats that the building of the red trade unions is the main task of the Party.

The doubts of the R.P.C. on the trade union question are fully justified in the light of the whole course of the Comintern. If Comrade Pollitt feels that the trade union line of the C.P.G.B. can not be challenged it is his job to see that that line becomes the rule and not the exception, in the tactical course of the Comintern.

ment it is clear that the Canadian Workers League is a revolutionary working class organization, fighting for the abolition of capitalism and for a workers republic.

In its relation to other working class parties, the C.W.L. is against the reformist policies of the Socialists as well as against the sectarian course of the Communist Party of Canada.

Internationally, it is definitely opposed to the organization of a "new" centrist International as well as against the Trotskyist efforts to set up a Fourth International.

The C.W.L. pledges to cooperate with such organizations as are striving for a unification of all revolutionary and communist forces on the basis of a correct tactical line.

The organization will begin, soon, to publish a monthly paper.

In a future issue of Workers Age we will deal, more exhaustively, with the program of the Canadian Workers League.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE

(Continued from Page 2)

that have left its ranks.

Recently Comrade Brockway said he believed that the probability was that the I. L. P. would declare itself for a new international unless the C. I. would soon undergo a drastic change. He was against an opposition party in the C.P.S.U. and against a return to the Weimar Constitution for Germany. This fact and the fact of the Swedish C.P.O.'s behaviour is fairly good evidence that the new C.I. would get off to a good start in providing the unifying force, so much needed, to rally all communist elements outside the official parties. By not putting ourselves in the forefront of the fight for a new C. I. we are merely allowing Trotsky to mishandle the movement in his own sweet way.

Much has been said about "the logic of positions" and the inevitable road to Trotskyism. Since Gitlow and Trotsky had the same premise (Becker spoke to me of new Kronstadt rebellions) a logical course brought Gitlow close to the Trotskyites. But if Herberg is going to prove by logic that Zam will take the same course when Zam starts from a different premise (Zam says the C. I. is not a traitor to Communism) then his logic is powerful indeed. Can Herberg prove that when Zam says, no opposition party in the Soviet Union, he really means the opposite? If Herberg can prove this his entire fight is won.

One more point was raised by Brockway. If it is permissible, in certain circumstances, to call for a new party then why not a new international? If such new parties were formed on a democratic basis would it be wrong for them to constitute themselves a new international? It would seem that the C. P. O. is thankful that it has not enough mass groups thruout the world to make this a burning question.

I.C.O. GREETES COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

(Continued from Page 3)

skyism, the acceptance of which would have disastrous consequences for the C.P.O. The C.P.O. cannot adopt the view-point of Comrade Zam, that in relation to the centrist parties we use a "tactic aiming at the conversion of these parties to communism—rather than their destruction and the absorption of their masses in the communist parties" without giving up its character as a communist organization. The centrist parties are reformist organizations even if they have separated themselves organizationally from open reformism, and the winning-over of their members for communism is impossible without an organizational break with the reformist elements. It is not our task to guard the organizational unity of centrist parties. On the contrary, we must do everything so that their members will break with the centrists and will adhere to communist principles and correct communist tactics not merely in words but in deeds, i.e. to the Communist Opposition.

The founding of a new party which Comrade Zam proposes must lead to capitulation before centrism and Trotskyism and to the destruction of the hopeful beginnings which our American organization has made towards winning over members of the official C. P. The organizations of the C.P.O. must strive to become the communist parties of their countries, but only thru gathering around themselves the communist workers of their countries, thru winning over the official sections of the C. I. in capitalist countries.

The proposal of Comrade Zam to establish a new C. I. without the C.P.S.U. is from the standpoint of communist principle not acceptable. There can be no Communist International without the leading party of the first proletarian dictatorship. Even after the I.C.O. succeeds in winning over a number of important sections of the C.I. it cannot found a new international without the C.P.S.U. It will remain even then a communist tendency striving for a reformed C.I., i.e. the cooperation of the C.P.S.U. on the basis of correct communist tactics and the elimination of the monopoly of leadership by this party.

The proposal for the international broadening of the I.C.O. is that its organizations in individual countries fight as the C.P.O., fight as the advance guard for the reform of the C.I., that they win practical successes in

this struggle and show themselves to be the ablest fighters for communism.

WE ADVANCE IN GERMANY

Our German organizations, the C.P.G.O. has become, despite the most difficult conditions, a recognized factor in the illegal German labor movement. The ranks which our illegal literature reaches are greater than the number of readers we had during the time of legality. In America our organization has also strongly increased. If this work continues, if everything is done thru international cooperation and mutual ideological and material support in order to secure its progress, then, the I.C.O. will gain prominence in other countries too.

The victory of fascism in Germany, the growing fascist tendencies in other countries, the open bankruptcy of reformism in Germany, which was the strongest pillar of the Second International, the effects of the economic development and of the capitalist attempts to get out of the crisis—all these present new and complicated problems to the communist world movement and the international labor movement. They can not be solved by the ultra-left methods. They can certainly not be solved by the centrist-Trotskyite methods, which, consciously or unconsciously, lead to the destruction and liquidation of Com-

munist. The solution of these problems call more than ever for the greatest exertion of critical and positive work by the C.P.O. This work is progressing and is proving to be fruitful.

AGAINST CENTRISM IN GERMANY

In Sweden the leadership of the C.P.S. has gone over to centrism and opportunism. On the other hand, due to the intervention of the I.C.O. the fundamental problems of communist tactics in the world today have been placed before the membership of the C. P. of Sweden and the world of labor in general. Thus criticism from the ranks of the members of the C.P.S. has already begun to set in. The inconvenient insistence of the I.C.O. against any opportunist deviations or vacillations has everywhere aroused forces which oppose them, has increased the authority of the I.C.O. and has created new connections in several countries (England, Denmark, Holland, France).

CLARITY AND FIRMNESS—THE NEED OF THE HOUR

The international labor movement is at present in the process of great fermentation and transformation—thru which transformation the labor movement is to have the ability and readiness to lead the world revolution a step further, to fight for a new big break thru the capitalist front. This involves the decline and liquidation of reformism and the raising of the communist parties to a higher stage of maturity and ability to struggle. It is inevitable that this tremendously deep process of transformation embracing dozens of countries, millions of workers and a considerable period of time, should be connected with all sorts of signs of disintegration, vacillations and errors in the camp of the working class.

Communist inflexibility, firmness and clarity are necessary at such a time in order to set right comrades who are vacillating, to clear up confusion, in order to prepare to win the final victory.

We hope, comrades, that your conference will come forward with new proposals for the successful struggle of the C.P.O. in the U.S.A. and for the I.C.O.

With communist greetings,
HEINRICH BRANDLER
For the Bureau of the
International Communist Opposition
Paris, Dec., 10, 1933.

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The Blue Eagle Over Latin America

Pan-Americanism at Montevideo

by Ellen Ward

The world background has changed considerably since the 6th Pan-American Conference met at Havana in 1928. The depression has brought years of hunger to millions of workers and peasants. It has bred revolutions and toppled governments. It has forced an even more aggressive struggle for the world's shrunken markets. It has so deepened the economic contradictions and so intensified the national hostilities that today we are on the brink of a new world war.

In the Western hemisphere the principle struggle takes place between Great Britain and the United States for economic domination of that vast hinterland—Latin America whose economic map is like the old-fashioned crazy quilt and whose politics is anything but homogeneous. All of Latin America (colonial as well as semi-colonial) is based on an agricultural economy with just the faint beginnings of modern industry in countries like Mexico, Argentina and Chile. Mexico, to live, must sell its oil and its minerals; Chile its nitrates; Argentina its beef; Brazil its coffee, the Caribbean countries, their sugar and fruit. But the depression has slowed up the wheels of industry and we require fewer raw materials and pay incredibly less for them. Latin America, in turn, purchases less from us. Thus Argentina, for example took in 1930, \$129,000,000; in 1931, \$52,000,000 and in 1932 only \$31,000,000. Our millions of unemployed eat little meat, drink less coffee and take no fruits. In addition we have raised our tariff walls so high that the lands to the south of us find them difficult to scale. All this has immeasurably intensified the hostility against the Yankee, and the more independent countries, like Argentina, have turned to Europe in an attempt to find solution for economic problems. Great Britain sent Sir Otto Niemeyer, Vice-governor of the Bank of England, to Argentina as economic adviser in 1932 and in 1933 England signed a trade treaty calculated to eliminate American products almost completely from the Argentine market. The same Sir Otto went also to Brazil and after his extended "studies" of the financial situation there advised Brazil to default on her debts to the United States.

The U.S.A. after helping to blow up the London Economic Conference last year turned more eagerly than ever to Latin America for the little that could be reaped.

The Pan-American Conference

December 1933 was the date scheduled for the Pan-American Conference to be held at Montevideo. "What can we do to calm the atmosphere?" To set the stage properly? To convince these Latins that this time we really mean what we say?

Presto! President Roosevelt took down the Pan-American Union, blew on it, polished it up until, he said, it fairly shone with love and good-neighborliness. Then he pulled out the Monroe Doctrine, made a few passes over it and said—See, it isn't really as bad as you Latins think it is. For example, there's a revolution in Cuba now. We don't intend to send our marines. Let's all sit around this big table and talk things over. You see, I ask your advice—we are all good neighbors. We should all join together for whatever action may be necessary in Cuba. The Latins came, they sat, they listened, they nodded and the conference was adjourned. The next day our battle ships were in Cuban waters poking their cannons into Cuban faces. Our marines and officers were given special instructions to watch carefully all developments and the American delegation sailed for Montevideo with an easy heart.

The Structure Of The Pan-American Union

To understand why nothing happened at Montevideo or for that matter why nothing startling ever happens at any Pan-American conference, we must look closely at the structure of the Pan-American

Union and examine the developments in the Monroe Doctrine. The Pan-American Union is an organization composed of the accredited representatives of the Latin American governments in Washington. The American Secretary of State is its permanent chairman. Dr. Leo S. Rowe, an American, has been its Executive Secretary for over a quarter of a century. The permanent seat of the Union is in Washington. If you examine its periodic publications you will find them steeped in "brotherly love". The pages are replete with photographs of cactuses, llamas, coffee beans, Indian festivals, blue-blue lakes and picturesque Indian maidens. Each photograph transplants you to a patch of earthly paradise—no class struggles, no imperialism, no starvation, no misery, no peonage, no exploitation—all just beauty, happiness and perfect peace.

The Pan American Union was inaugurated in 1889 and has just celebrated its 35th birthday. It holds full conferences every five years and has just terminated the 7th at Montevideo. The 8th is scheduled to take place at Lima, Peru in 1938. Its structure is eminently fitted as an effective lever of American Imperialism. All of Latin America recognizes it as such. Normano, a Brazilian, at the recent conference held at Williams-town, Massachusetts, stated frankly that "Pan-Americanism exists only in Washington . . . The Latins call it a Congress of mice presided over by a cat." The students, the so-called liberals, the workers and those peasants who know anything

about its existence, recognize its full implications and are ready and willing to demonstrate against it—as they actually did in gigantic demonstrations all through Central and South America during the sessions of the 6th Pan-American Conference held in Havana in 1928, in protest against American intervention in Nicaragua; and as they would have protested in 1933 if there had been any effective communist leadership to guide them. It is only the governing cliques who, cynically, play the game with our State Department because it is to their personal interest to do so.

The Monroe Doctrine

The Monroe Doctrine is the sacred cow of the Pan-American Union. It was originally hatched "to prevent Spain (with the aid of the Holy Alliance) from recapturing her former colonies in the New World" and to prevent other European nations from settling in the Western Hemisphere.

But with the advent of American imperialist policy the doctrine has been stretched to sanction all aggressive acts of the United States. Secretary Root, discussing the Platt Amendment of Cuba in 1901, said: "The Platt Amendment is merely the Monroe Doctrine in treaty form." Incidentally, the Platt Amendment makes the Cubans virtual slaves of our State Department. It gives the right to the United States to intervene in Cuba's internal affairs on the slightest provocation. If the Doctrine can be stretched to cover the

Platt Amendment it is obvious what it sanctifies in the rest of Latin America.

In 1904 came Theodore Roosevelt's famous Corollary (in his annual message to Congress) strengthening the Root declaration of 1901. The first Roosevelt summarized his views on the Monroe Doctrine as follows: Internal disorders in Latin American countries give the United States the right of police power. It is the theory of the Corollary that has been given as the justification for American intervention in Nicaragua, Honduras, Cuba, Haiti, Panama, and Santo Domingo.

America's imperialist "philosophers" have also added to the meaning of the Doctrine in the post-war years. They insist that the spirit of the Doctrine forbids the League of Nations to meddle in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. It is under this "theory" that Cordell Hull forbade the League of Nations observers from sitting in, at any of the secret sessions of the Conference at Montevideo (and most of the sessions were of course, secret). But the unwelcome League muscled in through the representatives from Spain and Portugal. Only after a few words from Hull it was "decided" that they too would be excluded from the Executive sessions.

In 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the keenest instrument of America's baffled ruling class, became President. In his attempt to meet the problems of the depression and prepare a safe hinterland for the coming war, he cast about

for aid everywhere. Now, more than ever before, Latin American markets and alliances are of vital importance. What can be done to win them? Make a play to the Latin-American galleries! "Revise" the hated Monroe Doctrine! The post-war years have seen active opposition to the Doctrine led by Honduras, Salvador, Costa Rica and Mexico (on and off). This opposition, plus England's aggressive drive for Latin American markets, have served to disguise America's big stick. President Roosevelt now coveys the big stick in bright shining velvet in his Wilson Dinner speech on December 28th. He assures Latin America that he is willing to confer on the revision of the Platt Amendment; that the definite policy of the United States from now on is opposition to armed intervention . . . "It is only if and when the failure of orderly processes affects the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern, and in such an event, it becomes the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors." And all our liberals shouted paeans of praise. It was Lenin who once said that he who believes in words is a fool. And at Montevideo when Haiti and Cuba pressed for a resolution against intervention they were both defeated. Cordell Hull told our benighted brethren that while the United States is ready and willing to renounce intervention to protect property, it could not renounce intervention to "bring about evacuation of foreigners." This is the Doctrine's new 1934 dress and it has full skirts and it hides many reservations.

The Play At Montevideo

Although the depression weighs like an Alp on the world's workers it rests even more heavily upon the toilers of the colonial countries, for they live under a system of double exploitation, their own and that of the foreigner and because of their intense exploitation, and great poverty, the pressure of the masses is greater on the ruling cliques. These cliques are not interested in alleviating the conditions of their workers and peasants. None-the-less, they feel that if they could make a public speech

(Continued on Supplement Page 3)

coming since the inauguration of many of these Codes? The National Child Labor Committee reports that more than 100,000 children have been eliminated from industry since the Blue Eagle began its actual flight. Altogether 50,000 boys and girls between 16 and 18 will soon be removed from hazardous employment. Bituminous coal industry has set a 17-year age limit. "With a few exceptions all bar the employment of children under 16 years. The exceptions are the codes for the legitimate theatre and motion picture industries and the codes for the retail trades, including drug and grocery stores, which permit the employment of children between 14 and 16 years for 3 hours a day (or one 8 hour day a week) between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. but not during school hours." In view of the fact that stricter measures to safeguard learners and apprentices, and to make impregnable an attack on the child labor provisions, have been made in the recent codes, the Blue Eagle administration means business on this proposition. In this connection it is important to note that the Kiplinger Washington Letter for July 1, 1933, was in error when it wrote of a tacit understanding between the Administration and manufacturers to permit child labor "in cases of families where the maintenance of decent standards of living required employment of minors." Both the fact that in October the Federal Relief Administration urged relief administrations to accord special attention to families that might be suffering because a child wage earner had been removed from industry under the N.R.A. codes, and the overwhelming adherence to the code in the cotton textile industry (which contained the bulk of in-

The Future Of Children In Industry

WILL THE NRA WIPE OUT CHILD LABOR?

by Saul Held

Will the N.R.A. codes abolish child labor? Will the bright scarlet of children's blood be wiped off the social ledger?

The Blue Eagle administration while preparing to strangle American labor in its talons, made a magnanimous gesture—it threw a bone to labor; it proposed to abolish child labor in industry thru specific provisions in the codes. How has child labor fared under the wings of the Blue Eagle?

Looking Backward

Looking backward, we find that the salient facts in regard to child labor are these: "In 1900 there were 1,750,178 children from 10 to 15 years of age gainfully employed, or 18 per cent of the population of this age, as compared with 667,118, or only 4.7 per cent, in 1930. In 1900 the number of children engaged in mining was 24,000, as against a mere 1,184 in 1930, and 260,000 in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits as compared with only 68,266 in 1930. In addition we find the following significant occupational distribution: 1920-61% in agriculture, 17.5% in manufacturing and mechanical industries; in 1930—70.4% in agriculture, 10.2% in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The three basic factors making for the decline in child labor were: 1) new labor specifications for rationalized industry, 2) prevalence of a comparatively high standard of living, 3) labor's opposition to child labor and this opposition finding wide support in many sections of the people.

In connection with the last point, it is one of the utmost importance to be aware of the fact that the bulk of child labor exists in those sections of the country with a traditionally lower standard of living and in those industries less modern from the standpoint of technical innovation.

The New Requirements
The facts enumerated above are

already well-known with but one exception: the new labor specifications for rationalized industry. What are these qualifications? Mr. Walter N. Polakov has correctly summarized them as: sustained attention, correct perception, quick reaction. All too often have radicals and conservatives attributed the existence of child labor in industry upon the simplification of labor process without taking these factors into consideration. Thus the fact that "The strain involved in increasing automatic machinery is a repetition-strain, complicated by clutter. The operative does the same thing over and over, amid rhythmic sounds, in an atmosphere frequently stale with oil or dust," and that the adolescent does not possess the above mentioned qualifications, particularly in such a production environment, seem to have been completely forgotten. The years between 18 and 25 are the most desirable years for the rationalized industries as may be seen from all statistics.

What Has NRA Brought?

Now, we can ask, what has happened since the coming of the eco-

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nomie plague in 1929? Concurrently with the extension of the domain of King Hunger which flooded the labor market with youth laborers, we have witnessed the unceasing forging ahead of technical innovation. Reporting to the Society of Industrial Engineers in the Spring of 1933, Walter N. Polakov and his committee said: "Since 1929 . . . as the bulk of production was decreased, so was decreased the use of power, equipment and wages, but the application of labor-saving equipment and method continued." The fact that this process eliminates child labor from industry was recognized a goodly number of years ago by the Taylor Society as we have pointed out on a previous occasion.

This was the general situation when the Industrial Codes were born and put into operation. When the Codes were being formulated the fight between the representatives of the large industrialists and the small ones broke out on the question of child labor abolition. The pressure of big industry (fighting to eliminate competition) found definite form in the "Blanket Code" which stated: "After August 31, 1933, not to employ any person under 16 years of age, except that persons between 14 and 16 years of age, may be employed (but not in manufacturing or mechanical industries) for not to exceed 3 hours per day and those hours between 7 a. m. and 7 p. m. with hours of day school." But additional information does not yet indicate a victory for the industrialists. Amongst child workers as yet untouched by Codes are newsboys, juvenile workers in retail trades, farm workers, domestic servants, etc. Newspaper publishers and the rulers of the retail trades have been the most stubborn opponents of child labor provisions in their respective codes. Today, 150 industrial codes have been approved.

What results have been forth-

(Continued on Page 7)

Slavery in the Ford Empire

Within a radius of about six miles around the south-west section of the city of Detroit, is located an empire. You will not find this empire marked on the maps, but it is a very real one just the same. It is the empire of the Ford Motor Company, the domain of the industrial Emperor Henry Ford.

Building An Empire

This section of the country is quite uninviting—low, swampy, flat. It was pasture land twenty-five years ago. It lies a few miles back from the somewhat eye-pleasing Detroit River, and is shown on the map as the city of Dearborn, Lincoln Park, Melvindale and Allen Park. Workers' homes and shacks by the thousands are scattered loosely over this area. Working men and their families from every corner of the globe, from every part of these United States, were drawn to this spot. Because it became known that the huge River Rouge plant of the Ford Motor Company needed men; that instead of paying rent in Detroit, it might be better to locate on the south west edge of the city, as Brisbane has it, "Buy a piece of America and grow rich with the country."

From the rural districts of Kentucky and Tennessee came thousands of real, hundred-percent Americans. White people of "pure" Anglo-Saxon blood came and, for the first time in their existence, connected with a "steady" job in a modern industry. They came, with all their prejudices nourished and handed down in the hill country; they came, despising the non-English speaking "foreigner," with a loathing for the Negro workers, and with a feeling akin to worship towards Henry Ford, the man who, in their eyes, was giving them just exactly what they craved—steady work and wages bigger than they had ever dreamed of earning.

Ford was the king of the popular-priced car market. He had ridden into world-wide fame as a philanthropist, a lover of peace, a defender of the welfare of the common people. Was there ever such a man before?

But, as time goes on, other groups of automobile makers began to put out popular priced cars. A pig-headedness, which was always suspected in Henry Ford, the "Superman," now comes into the light of day. The Ford car was all-right exactly as it was. Color?—Sure, they could have any color in a Ford car so long as it was black! Henry said so himself. To a meeting of dealers who spent a day or so discussing suggested improvements in the old tin Lizzie of Model T days, Ford declared, that one thing only was the matter with the Ford car—the dealers couldn't sell enough of them! That was the end of the session. You see, Henry was beginning to take on the manners of a Czar or a Kaiser, which, of course, he is, but it took later developments to make this clear.

Forging Chains For The Slaves

A tightening-up and speed-up system is inaugurated thruout the immense Ford industries, employing men by the tens of thousands.

A private police and a spy system is developed, at the head of which is placed an individual known as Harry Bennett, an ex-prizefighter, who has very close connections with the underworld and gangsterdom of Detroit. A man who has been identified with labor-hating Ku Klux Klan, who has no hesitation in turning fire-arms upon groups of hungry and starving working men and women.

The fancy name given by Henry Ford to this department, over which Bennett rules, is the "Service Department" and the thugs known as "Service Men." They act as a police body in the plant, see that the workers do not talk to each other, report over-seers and foremen if they appear to be on friendly terms with the men, and enforce the hundreds of laws and regulations that are in force in the plant. Each of these men has a

definite location, a bear as it were, in the plant. Supervising these "Service Men" are the so-called "Free Lance" men. These thugs have no set boundaries. They roam around, spy upon and check up on everybody, worker and servant alike.

Then, last of all, Emperor Ford has a horde of secret service men. These fellows are supposed to be unknown to anyone except Harry Bennett and his chief aides. These secret operatives actually work all thru the plant, mixing with the workers, spying and making reports on everything and everybody. A wonderful atmosphere all this creates in the workshops of the Ford Motor Company. Fear and suspicion reign supreme among the toilers in these foundries and machine shops. No man knows just who is his friend, usually, they fore, he treats them all as his enemies, which of course is exactly what Emperor Ford desires.

The personal record of most of these service police, spies etc., is an appalling one. Bennett has drawn them from the prisons and the underworld of every large American city. Preference is given to sluggers, ex-prize fighters, discredited policemen. If one has a murder to his credit, so much the better. These thugs are usually elevated to the dignity of deputy sheriffs, have their star handy to overawe the worker. If this is not sufficient and the thugs are not deemed capable enough, the concealed blackjack is brought into action. Ford, by the way, has his own medical staff and also his own hospital. No news gets out of this institution to embarrass the Ford Motor Company.

Came The Present Crisis

With the coming of the business slump and the drop in production of Ford cars, tens of thousands of workers in this industrial empire, have been laid off. Payments on homes have stopped; evictions have taken place; workers, by the thousands, have moved back to such rural spots as they came from. Yet hundreds of thousands of unemployed or partly employed workers remain.

These men, catapulted into present-day industrial conditions, from the tranquility of rural life, do not yet know what it is all about. Some are resentful of the industrial and political barons. Others, of the are no worse and still consider that Marse Henry is doing all that he can for them. But the extent of the Ford influence has grown all thru the industrial crisis. Henry's unseen hand is everywhere.

The mayor of that section, in which the plant is located, is Henry's own cousin. He and the police department work smoothly along with the police and spies of Henry's own industrial empire. He controls them both.

The Wisdom Of Henry Ford

Now, Henry is not a particularly bright or well informed person. When in the witness chair, some few years back, he declared he did not know much about history. He thought that Benedict Arnold was famous as a "writer"; confessed that he knew nothing about the events that led up to the war of 1812 or the Spanish-American War. "I rarely read anything but the headlines" was another confession of our Emperor of today. Ford did not know much regarding public affairs or government, but, minutes, who could tell me all about it.

One thing Henry does know and he knows that as well as did that great industrial magnate of a generation ago—Jay Gould. When Gould was asked if he were not afraid of the actions of the multi-tudes during "hard times," he is these hard times are just the time workers to cut the throats of the other half. Similarly, the shipping cure for the outbreak of longshoremen's strikers! "Fill the hospitals

by George A. Watkins

Henry Wields The Knout

And so now, in these times, when even the most docile of his slaves are beginning to question the merits of our present industrial set-up; when militant unemployed organizations are demanding relief for the army of discarded workers; in these days Ford calls upon his private army of service men, his plug-uglies and murderers to terrorize the workers in the sections where they live. His drunken and armed gangs roam the territory comprising his empire, assaulting workers at their meetings, throwing tear gas bombs into unemployed gatherings, clubbing, slugging, yes, even murdering those who incur the displeasure of either the Ford officials, or what amounts to the same, the officials of the Ford controlled small towns where the workers live.

Let some petty tyrant belch forth threats of violence against rebellious workers and Ford's private army is at his command to slug and terrorize the workers. Should a worker, by virtue of his prominence in organization work, be threatened with death by the local henchmen of the powers, the Ford murderers are on hand to kidnap and murder him. On such occasions the local newspapers, the officers of "justice," the entire group of Ford camp followers are suddenly stricken deaf, dumb and blind.

Cases of assault and terror are continually occurring. This, not in some wild and woolly section of our glorious country but right here in suburban Detroit, where "life is worth living." (So they boast). At the crack of Ford's whip the police officials in the towns of his empire, send armed forces to supplant the Ford sluggers in beating down workers or pumping lead into them.

The Dearborn Massacre

On March 7th, 1932, Ford's pri-

vate army opened fire from behind steel bars, into the ranks of the hungry unemployed. Ford's son and his cousin, the mayor of Dearborn and former governor of the state, had seats of honor on this bloody occasion. Four workers died, before their eyes, and scores were sent to hospitals riddled by Ford's bullets.

That night workers homes were broken into and raided, thruout Ford's empire. Workers known to be hostile to the present capitalist set-up were herded to jail. Men and women were torn from their homes, kept in prison for a week or more and severely grinded.

The Detroit police were on hand at that particular blood bath of the workers. There are also present the police of other sections of Ford's empire. "Just in case they were needed" explained the Police meeting of Lincoln Park to a Council meeting of his town, after workers in that town had bitterly protested. This same police chief acted as employment agent for Ford about one year ago, while sitting in his police office.

As To The Right Of Free Speech

During November 1932, the organized unemployed, in addition to forcing extra relief and fuel from the administration of this same city of Lincoln Park, approached the school trustees and asked for the use of a school auditorium in which to hold lectures and debates. They were told that no school was available for that purpose. In any case, said the chairman of the Board, you will have to present a written petition with names of tax-payers on it, in proper form. He was told by the delegation that a petition would be drawn up and presented at the next meeting of the Board, early in December. Said Chairman Flynn: "Very well, and when you come I'll meet you with the American Legion!"

They were there. Not only the

gangster elements from the American Legion but also those known as the Ku Klux Klan. These sluggers and local men identified with the school trustees and the invasion of the school trustees and a postal. The workers delegation was present with their petition "in proper form". It was denied. On retiring from the Board room the delegation was set upon and slugged by two hundred of these potential murderers. One worker was permanently injured during this slugfest. The terroristic lesson struck home. The workers meetings were a good thing—to keep away from!

Terror Bands Are Loosed

In Dearborn City itself an outfit calling itself "The Knights of Dearborn" was formed. Ford gangsters are the backbone of this organization. We also have, in Henry's empire, terroristic bands known as "Night Riders." They take timid workers for a "ride" and amidst the glare of automobile headlights in the woods, and a waving of flags, they force their "guest" to swear to "destroy all communism" he comes in touch with. At any rate, it keeps the timid worker from coming too close to any genuine workers organizations.

Two days before the Christmas holidays, a well known worker among the unemployed, a foreign born militant ex-Ford worker, was kidnapped as he left his home. His body with a bullet hole thru the head was found the next day, in a piece of waste land. The local police were "baffled", naturally, they would be. With the newspapers deaf and dumb, workers say, "What next?"

Fiery crosses have been burned by these terrorists in front of the homes of some active Ford workers. Murder threats have been and are still being made against

(Continued on Page 7)

The Shoe Workers and the State Board

by Bill Shoemaker

The shoe workers in the Boston district are at present faced with serious problems. Only by taking lessons from our experiences of the past year can we learn how to avoid a repetition of our former errors and how to overcome our present difficulties.

A year ago in our campaign to organize the shoe workers we were confronted with many problems. The mistrust of the shoe workers in any form of leadership due to their experiences with a certain handicap yet, on the other hand, a favored favorably because it encouraged the workers to rely more on their own initiative. From the very first when the workers elected their strike leaders from the N.S.W.A. as a rank and file organization.

Since those days the workers have had much greater experience in what can be accomplished when the workers in the shop stand on their own feet and act on their own initiative. The recent movement for amalgamation was conducted and carried out successfully because of the active interest on the part of the membership. From definite tendencies, the extreme reactionaries, the T.U.U.L. forces, progressives, with the support of the mass of the workers, have shown themselves able to combat on the right and the disruptive tendencies on the left.

At present in the Boston district we are confronted with a serious situation. After the strike in August we went back to work with an agreement which gave us a 20% per cent increase in wages pending the decision of the State Board of Arbitration. When the Negotiations Committee reported to the General Board and all local

Executive Boards at a joint meeting held in Lynn, Mass., we fought against the section of the agreement which provides that prices should be decided by the State Board. We pointed out clearly our past experiences with the State Board. Leeds, an active member of the C. P. was present but, although generally ready enough to speak, did not take the floor on this question. Was he impartial or didn't he consider the matter of any importance?

The State Board came with its decision November 6, 1933. We expected—what should have been expected—a wage cut of twenty per cent throughout and more in some departments. After the decision was satisfied with this cut and as usual the State Board was very much interested in the welfare of the captains of industry, so they found a way of regaining the shoes, after the first decision had already been given to the shoe workers, from \$4.00 sellers to \$3.00 sellers, thus forcing upon the workers an additional cut of fifteen per cent.

The workers are now beginning to go back to the shops and the season is expected to start soon. Workers are disgruntled, all forces on the part of the manufacturers are doing their best to divide and further demoralize the workers.

The organization is faced with a very serious situation. What are we doing to solve the problems before us? The General Coordinating Committee (the body elected by the convention to act as the temporary general board of the new United Shoe and Leather Workers Union) came out against the State Board, with definite proposals for bettering the conditions of the shoe workers. The district is calling shop meetings to discuss the situation and to organize our forces to

combat the offensive of the manufacturers and their State Board. We are organizing an Action Committee composed of elected representatives of all departments in each shop. This committee is to work out plans together with the District Joint Council and the General Coordinating Committee to strengthen our union, do away with craft divisions, unite all for one purpose; to abolish the State Board and to force a wage increase for this season.

All forces are needed now to put up a solid front against our common enemy. Here again we find the party forces fighting against us on the proposed plans. What is their plan in the present situation? Wherever they have forces, as for example at the Marmon shop crew meeting, they advocate a walk out in individual shops absolutely without any preparation. Let's fight right now, without bothering to consider ways of winning the struggle. That is their sole proposal. Still they call us saboteurs and similar names because we come out with constructive concrete plans, and refuse to play into the hands of the manufacturers and certain other friends, such as the Boot and Shoe, who would like only too well to disrupt and defeat the new United Shoe and Leather Workers Union.

All of the shops which have met have accepted our plans enthusiastically and are organizing themselves to make a determined struggle and defeat the attempts of the manufacturers to lower the wages of the shoe workers. With these preparations and with consistent program we will rid ourselves of the State Board, improve our conditions immediately, and strengthen the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union, so that we will be in a position to carry on an effective campaign for the complete organization of the shoe industry.

NRA and Child Labor

(Continued from Page 5)
dustrial child labor), indicate that this statement was more of a DESIRE than a FACT.

Child Labor Wanes

It is the opinion of the writer that while in 1930 child labor constituted a negligible portion of the nation's labor force, the codes will speed up the process of elimination—a process dominant in the United States for several decades. Even without the codes, the existence of an ever growing army of unemployed, continuing technological progress, and growing resentment amongst workers against child labor while millions of workers are permanently displaced from industry, growing pressure of labor unions to eliminate a source (child labor) of cheap labor tending to lower adult wage levels, would in itself continue the process of eliminating child labor. It is important to note that only in a few cases have the learner's clauses in the codes been used to smuggle in child labor; in a majority of cases they have been used to fire adult workers and then rehire them as "learners" at learner's pay. Bad as some of the learner's clauses are in several codes (iron, steel, and textile) they have not been used to smuggle in child laborers. The iron and steel industries having slight use for such labor under any conditions. On the other hand are some codes with carefully safeguarded exemptions which not only limit the apprenticeship period to six weeks, and the number of learners to 5 per cent of the employees, but fix a minimum wage rate for learners. Some also carry provisions designed to prevent the discharge of learners after the learning period is over, or their employment by another firm as learners when they have once completed a learning period anywhere in the industry.

The most stupid estimate of child labor under the Blue Eagle came from the sanctum sanctorum of the young Communist League thru the pen of its seer, Gil Green:

"Capitalism has always used youth and child labor for greater exploitation; for deriving of greater profits. But never has this policy of the manufacturers been so finely systematized, and officially blessed, as in the National Recovery Act and its various industrial codes" (our emphasis).

In the same article in the Daily

Worker of August 10, 1933, he found that all the available evidence was contrary to this contention, so very conveniently he postpones the "systemization" and growth of child labor to a future date: "For a short period of time, there will be a temporary exclusion of some children under 16 from the factories. Then, these same children, because they must live (!), will be bootlegged back into industry, under assumed ages."

What evidence is brought forth to bolster this contention that child labor will be extended at a later date? Is it "because they must live"? Since when does capitalism decide industrial policies on the basis of humanitarian impulses? Or, is the answer, industrial "home work", or is it code "loop-holes", as Gil Green believes? But this prophet has stated himself that this could apply to "light industries" only. And generously assuming that this is true, by no means does the imagination can this be an argument for the extension of child labor on a wider scale than in the past. This loop-hole here or there in "light industries", without an examination of the basic tendencies relative to capitalist production, can only result in the above weird conception quoted. It is our viewpoint that in industry as a whole, the process is, and will continue to be, toward the elimination of child labor regardless of the success or failure of the codes. Codes rigorously enforced can but hasten an already swift process.

The Fear Of Capitalism

What capitalism fears most is that the abolition of child labor will set a precedent, a principle, against low-paid labor and exploitation of any type! Both the smallness of the existing child labor force, and its continual decreasing value for rationalized industry, hardly make it a priceless possession that must be bitterly fought for. While it is true that the U. S. climbed to industrial supremacy in part thru the widespread use of child labor (after the reconstruction period), its problems today are not of the same character.

Only the proletarian revolution can wipe out the child exploitation and labor as it has existed, and exists, under capitalism; and thru an early linking-up of productive work with education, transform society.

GERMAN EXHIBIT OPENS JAN. 26

New York City. Beginning Jan. 26 and continuing thru Feb. 12, the New Workers School, 51 West 14 St., on whose walls Diego Rivera has painted twenty-one murals, is staging an exhibition on Germany.

Actual underground literature now being distributed in Germany by the Communists, Socialists and the new illegal trade unions will be put on display. A special feature will be the showing, for the first time in this country, of a complete series of photographic papers of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) now having wide circulation in underground labor circles.

The exposition will also have on display Nazi, posters, cigarettes, "war stamps", stickers, leaflets, showing how Hitler stole communist slogans and songs with which to win workers away from the Communist and Social Democratic ranks. An elaborate map showing the location of concentration camps and number of prisoners in each, is part of the exposition. Hitherto unpublished pictures of "special" Nazi activities will be displayed.

The exposition, which will be open daily from 11 A. M. to 8:30 P. M. will open with a lecture on "One Year of Hitler Germany" by Jay Lovestone.

Exposition and lecture will be held at 51 West 14 Street.

New Workers School In New Term

New York City. The New Workers School is beginning its new term, the week of January 22, with eight classes.

Monday January 22, 7 P. M.: Theoretical System of Leninism. Tuesday Jan. 23, 7 P. M.: Fundamentals of Communism. At 8:30 P. M.: Prospects Roads to Freedom. (Which Program for the Working Class?) Thursday January 25, 7 P. M.: Strategy and Tactics. At 8:30 P. M.: Lenin and the Russian Revolution. On Friday January 26, 7 P. M.: two classes get under way—History of American Communism and Lenin and Philosophy.

Jay Lovestone begins his course on Current Events, on Friday January 26, at 8:30 P. M. The subject for the first session is "One Year of Hitler Germany."

Register now. \$1.25 for a course of six sessions. Single admissions, for the current events sessions, are 25c.

Slavery Under Ford

(Continued from Page 6)
any and all workers engaged in educational or organizational work.

The Impotence Of The C. P.

The official Communist Party, outside of a few bitter speeches, does nothing to rally the workers on some common ground and mobilize against this terror. The International Labor Defense, which interests itself in many cases, having little or no class significance, claimed to be able to do nothing in the case of the school outrage "because the workers delegates were not in prison". On this matter the official Communist Party had evidence collected, procured the workers that action would be taken, then declared, suddenly, that nothing was to be done.

So we wonder why the message of hope which we might bring to the workers is kept away from them. When we allow one overgrown industrial baron to use murderers and the dregs of civilization, to beat up, intimidate and murder active members of the working class, we wonder just where all our vaunted solidarity comes in. We see a whole metropolitan area under a state of terror caused by sadistic murder bands controlled by one of our so-called enlightened industrialists. We see the fundamentals of our boasted constitution of the United States, outraged by the very men paid to, and sworn to protect them. Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, are words only in Henry Ford's empire.

A Challenge To The Working Class

Here is a fine place to see just what fighting spirit can be mobilized to do battle with that arch enemy Henry Ford. Now is the time for intelligent workers to expose and defeat the local Hitler. He still has billions. There still are thousands of lower-strata workers for him to appeal to with promises of pay in exchange for butchered and murdered workers.

These things are happening right now, under our eyes, in one of our own American industrial centers. Here is a challenge to the workers of America, a challenge flung at us in the shape of our murdered, mutilated fellow workers.

Shall we prove ourselves worthy of the working class to which we belong, and to the glorious revolutionary age in which we live? It is up to workers everywhere to think over these things and to take

LOCAL 22 HITS G.E.B. OUSTER OF LOCAL 9

(Continued from Page 3)

and in forbidding all members of the present administration of Local 9 from running for office for two years, and urgently requests President Dubinsky to call a meeting of the New York G.E.B. to reconsider this action. We make this request for the following reasons:

1. The decision of the special committee of the G.E.B. appears to us to be a dangerous step along the road of a general expulsions policy, which once did such great harm to our Union.

2. We are not ready now to pass judgment on the acts with which the Local 9 administration is charged. But the way and the time these charges were raised and the conclusions arrived at by the special committee make the whole case look like an election maneuver.

3. The decision of the working committee will not help the unity of the Union membership, so badly needed to day, but will weaken it.

4. The decision of the special committee is just what the dual unionist enemies of the International, outside and inside our Union, desire most, since it gives them an issue thru which they can utilize feelings of dissatisfaction and discontent for dual unionist demoralization and disruption. We oppose the Local 9 decision not because it hurts the dual unionist and the Industrial Union but because it greatly helps them.

In taking this position, the Executive Board of Dressmakers Union Local 22 wants to make perfectly clear that it dissociates itself completely from the dual unionist aims, policies, methods and tactics of the Local 9 administration. In the interests of the Union, however, the offenses of any member or official against the Union should be dealt with as they occur on their merits instead of being made the ground for wholesale removal action against any political group or tendency on the eve of elections.

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HOW TO REACH THE FARMERS?

(Continued from Page 4)
west farmer today is one of the most important elements in the revolution? As for leadership, it must develop from the ranks of the farmers. It is doing this. Only those who thoroughly understand the farmers can successfully lead the farmers. Events of the past certainly demonstrate this. The basic of the basic industries can no longer be ignored!

COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE FARMERS by J. D.

In the December 15th issue of the "Age" there appeared a letter from a Nebraska farmer on the farm movement and the work of Communists in the rural regions. This letter is of considerable importance because it shows the point of view of a radicalized, revolutionary American farmer who has rebelled against the exploitation and oppression of his class, by the American bankers and bosses, and has determined to join the forces of the revolutionary proletariat to overthrow the oppressors. The letter is also important because of the problems it raises as to the methods of Communist work among the farmers, and the relation of the workers to the farmers in the class struggle.

A thorough discussion of these problems is necessary, because upon their successful solution depends the winning of the farmers

to the side of the revolutionary proletariat.

The first point of importance is the criticism which the comrade makes of the work of the Communist Party. A great deal of criticism is certainly in order. The line of the Party in farm work has been becoming more and more sectarian. The recent "Extraordinary Conference" of the Party, which also gave birth to the infamous "Open letter" denounced any good work previously done as "opportunistic", rejected any sensible approach to the farmers, and set a new record for political lunacy in the resolution adopted. The National Farmers Relief Conference, which had been organized and led by the Party, and which really had united thousands of farmers in one common fight, was denounced because it had not issued an "indictment of the whole capitalist system", had not attacked everywhere, but the Communist Party, did not propose "the revolutionary way out of the crisis" (proletarian dictatorship), did not come out for complete cancellation of all debts and taxes, said nothing about self-determination for the Negroes and worst of all, did not openly show that it was organized and led by the Communist Party. Again, the "danger" of a Farmer-Labor Party was vigorously denounced, because the need for such a party is especially obvious at the present time in the

farm movement.

In order to remedy these terrible mistakes the Party held another Farmers' Conference recently in Chicago. There, all these opportunistic errors were omitted. Not the slightest trace of "rotten liberalism" (Stalin) was permitted to enter. The meeting was held in a Party hall which was placarded with slogans having nothing to do with farmers' problems, general communist slogans which would be appropriate only at a Party convention. Every important Party official, who was available was brought down to address the farmers. Clarence Hathaway, whose intimate connection with farms is perhaps to be doubted, was placed in charge of the conference, and everything went on in the best manner.

It is obvious that the Party is determined to cut its own throat in the farm movement as much as it has done in the labor movement, and the need for a sensible, clear-cut communist program for the farmers as well as the workers becomes more evident every day.

In criticizing the lack of correct Communist work among the American farmers we must not make the mistake, however, of saying that the farmers are the really revolutionary class in America, and that the trouble with the Communist Party is that it concentrates its energy in organizing workers in the middle west instead of farmers.

It must be realized that the enemy of both the working class and the great masses of farmers is

trust capital, and that the great need of the day is an alliance of the workers and farmers against their common foe. In this alliance the proletariat will undoubtedly take the lead because of the decisive importance of industry in a capitalist country like America, and because the proletariat is the only class which is completely divorced from capitalism. Yet the role of the farmers must not be minimized in the struggle. The farmers in the United States are a factor which cannot be ignored. There can be no proletarian revolution in America as long as the capitalist class has the millions of American farmers under its ideological influence. And not only cannot the revolution be carried out successfully, but the day to day struggle of the farmers and workers cannot be properly conducted without an alliance of the two classes.

A farm strike has a far greater chance of success if railwaymen refuse to carry produce from the strike region, and conversely, workers on strike have much to gain from the organized help of the farmers of the region, both in supplying food and otherwise. The highest expression of this farmer-labor alliance under the capitalist system is the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party, a party uniting all the toilers on a common political front and definitely declaring its political independence of all those who work for the parties of the bosses.

The fault with the Communist Party lies not in that it neglects the farmers for the workers, but

rather that it makes itself incapable of leading either, by its unrealistic line and spurious analysis of the existing political situation. The duty of a Communist organization in the midwest is not "to stop dabbling with city-worker organization" but rather to give leadership to both the workers and farmers. On the one hand it must build the trade unions, organize the workers, spread the message of Communism in the cities, and on the other, provide the farmers with a correct program of action, fight side by side with them in their struggles, inspire them with a spirit of farmer-labor anti-capitalist solidarity.

In all its activities a Communist organization must work for the unification of the forces of the workers and the farmers, for the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party which will cement the alliance of those who work in the cities and on the farms. This, more than any other single task, is the central problem of communists in the rural regions today.

The lack of communist organization capable of carrying out these tasks is painfully evident today. The Communist Party, turning its face from the burning needs of the moment, has chosen tactics which can bring only harm to the workers and farmers of the mid-west. The only hope in sight lies in those revolutionists, who, like this farmer from Nebraska, have determined to find the root of the trouble and to build the foundation for real communist work among the toilers of the midwest.

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Jan. 15-Feb. 1, 1934.

ANOTHER BUBBLE BURSTS

NO one can challenge the fact that the present administration in Washington is much more cleverly managed and much more skillfully mismanaged than its predecessor. Roosevelt has "finesse" where Hoover was clumsy. Roosevelt is exceedingly bright by comparison.

All of which can and does give liberals and superficial observers of all political shades a thrill or a chill, depending on the orientations of the politically purblind. None of which, however, has any substantial bearing on the fundamentals of the economic crisis. With all his "witchcraft" and "brain-trusting", Roosevelt the II has not even scratched the surface of the basic problems of American economy in crises. Fortunately for his Administration the fraud and bankruptcy of his economic schemes and policies have been hidden by the tremendous resources of U. S. capitalism which enable him to make many, varied and swiftly-changing maneuvers and experiments—at the expense, of course, of some hundred million American guinea pigs (the urban and rural toiling population).

However, bubbles, no matter how colorful and big, cannot last for long. The biggest achievement of our laughing Executive has been the creation of the C.W.A., which, momentarily, put on public works several million men at practically the barest subsistence levels. Now comes the announcement of the Civil Works Administrator Hopkins that beginning February 15th, this Army will become an Army of no-occupation. The workers will be fired at the rate of half a million a week. Indeed, this is marvelous speed and mass production of unemployment at a tempo and volume unheard of before in any country. "America First"—always, as the hundred-percenters would have it.

What is the reason for this collapse of the C.W.A., which at best did not deal with the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, like the conflict between social production and private appropriation, or the gap between rising productive capacities and declining consumption possibilities? "There is no more money", says Hopkins. The country cannot afford to be spending \$75,000,000 a week on the C.W.A., say the brain-trusters. Of course, if it were a matter of firing torpedoes or bombing enemy cities, it would be different. Then there would be money until Hell froze over. Then the safety of the nation, civilization, democracy and other such blessings would be at stake, and any price in life, limb or cash would be too small.

This bursting bubble is a blow in the face of the workers. Probably the Administration will pull another rabbit out of its hat. But such rabbits do not last long nor taste well. The whole economic program of Roosevelt, aiming to strengthen the capitalist system and to secure a stabilization of poverty, is doomed to failure. Roosevelt is playing with the dollar, with the hope of shooting up prices of commodities. Still, last summer when the dollar was at about 74 cents and not about 60 cents as it is LEGALLY today, prices were higher in this country.

The tragedy of it all is that the workers are paying dearly for all of this blowing and bursting of bubbles. (Roosevelt's C.W.A., R.F.C., A.A.A., don't spell jobs, don't feed or clothe us or don't give us a roof over our heads.) No real improvement in our condition can come, even for a short time, unless we organize and fight for it.

MENACE OF COMPANY UNIONISM

THE Blue Eagle still has a strong hold on millions of workers. But daily we find fewer and fewer workers continuing to believe that the NRA is a friend of Labor. The disastrous experience in the auto, steel and textile industries and the coke area of Western Pennsylvania have in this sense proved an expensive but effective teacher.

We have never had illusions about the Roosevelt "revolution". We have foretold its coming, exposed its aims and methods, and analyzed its inherent contradictions spelling its doom. However, in the very course of this process, the American workers face a menace of infinitely more sinister significance than any challenge or threat they have faced in years. Under cover of Section 7a of the NRA, the very section which is supposed to guarantee the right to collective bargaining, the open shop, company unionism is marching on with seven league boots.

Since Roosevelt began his attempts to reconstruct the decaying edifice of American capitalism "employee representation" schemes—a soft name for the ugly company unionism—have risen 180%. At the same time the workers were able to secure an increase of only 75% in trade union agreements, in the recognition of genuine unions. Obviously, the relationship is one-sided, with the open shop having scored, to date, thanks to the NRA, a smashing victory.

The tragedy of the situation becomes all the clearer when we find that out of every hundred existing company unions only about eleven were introduced before 1920. Furthermore, it is in the big plants, those averaging 1500 workers or more, that company unionism has its greatest hold. This trend in itself should serve as a warning and the field of its spread is an alarm to all workingmen. It is far from too late to turn the tide. Organized labor with clean, virile leadership and militant policies can not only turn the tide in favor of bona fide unionism but can do much more. Now is the time energetically to organize the unorganized. Today company unionism can be defeated by united militant action of the workers. Tomorrow it will be much more difficult. The day after tomorrow it may be a hopeless fight. A further sweep of company unionism would spell disaster for the working class.

There is but one road for us to take: Into the unions and there fight for clean militant unionism as the only answer to the General Johnsons and the open shop army.

COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

51 West 14th Street
New York, N. Y.

Please send me information in reference to the policies and activity of the C. P. O.

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THE RIVERA MURAL OF ITALIAN FASCISM



Groucho-Marxism

The following is an analysis by an aroused Socialist Party member on the "education" offered by the membership card of those who join the S. P. in Illinois.—Editor.

In the Socialist Party membership book we find appeals for Socialism by Abe Lincoln, John Stuart Mill, Victor Hugo, Hiawatha.

Then we find the highest authority for a definition of Socialism—the Webster dictionary and the Standard dictionary. Then follows a list of "reliable books on Socialism". Here we find Socialism and Character by Vida Scudder, Socialism and Modern Science by E. Ferri, Elements of Socialism by Spargo and Arner, Karl Marx, His Life and Work by John Spargo and finally The Truth About Socialism by, none other than, Allen Benson.

What is interesting is that the Communist Manifesto is not referred to or mentioned in the entire list of "reliable" books, or anywhere within the membership book.

On the last page, we find the final appeal by Tolstoy, Hugo and Demosthenes. Demosthenes tells us, "The key to all success is action, action, action!" Hugo goes on one better by getting down to practical reasons why everyone should join the S. P. He says, "When times get hard a man can beg but a woman must sell."

In any organization where it is such "thoughts that count" we can get as far towards Socialism as the S. P. has been getting.

FURNITURE UNION KEEPS CONDITIONS

The combined efforts of 52 furniture manufacturers to return to the 40 hour week, after having signed agreements on the 35 hour basis, has failed. The regional Labor Board ruled against the manufacturers.

Representing the workers were E. W. Sinclair, Business Agent of Furniture Finishers' Union, Local 1; Business Agent Thies of Upholsters' Local 76 and President Hatch of the Upholsters' International Union.

Mr. Sinclair stated that it was not certain whether the manufacturers would comply with this ruling. He was certain, however, that the membership of his union which twice rejected the 40 hour proposal, could be depended on for an effective policing of the shops.

Asked, what was the basis for the favorable discussion, Mr. Sinclair stated that there were two reasons. First, the determination of the workers to resist what amounts to a 13% cut, and second, the united front of the Upholsters and the Furniture Finishers, an independent union. "Of course," he added, "the frankness of the manufacturers helped us a lot. They admitted raising a \$50,000 fund to fight all unions."

The Furniture Finishers are now negotiating with the Brotherhood of Painters for affiliation.

SILK WORKERS HOLD UNION ELECTIONS

New York City
The New York local of the American Federation of Silk Workers, held elections, at its meeting on Saturday January 13. Delegates were also elected to the national convention of the A.F.S.W.

The following are the officers elected: Chairman Hyman Landy, Vice Chairman Yammik, Financial Secretary Kenneth Melhado, Recording Secretary Sarah Berlinsky.

B. Herman and S. Berlinsky were elected delegates to the convention.

The Executive Committee elected consists of eleven. Besides the four officers the following were elected, George Oukil, Tom Battah, B. Herman, Joe Yanovsky, Joe Cori, Al Bossan and Julius Rubano.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY NITE

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BOOKS

WHY COMMUNISM? PLAIN TALKS ON VITAL PROBLEMS. By M. J. O'gin. (International Publishers, 10c).

Any critical review of a popular pamphlet always carries the suggestion that the reviewer aims to do a little hair-splitting reminiscent of the old-time economics or political science class. But O'gin commits so many errors in his efforts to become popular that we are justified in being specific and justified in using the term "sloppy" in respect to this pamphlet.

For instance, "The longer the working day, the more surplus value you produce." (He the capitalist) will sell it (the commodity) at the price fixed, not by himself individually, but by the corporation of which he is a part. "The wages of the workers are being cut in order that the employers may get bigger profits, . . ." Any student will recognize the shortcomings of these statements. (All on p. 14) Apropos of Wall Street, is it correct to say: "The price of stocks is based upon the estimated earning capacity of the unit that issues the stocks"? (p. 15) Of course it is incorrect.

On p. 16, when listing the 1932 factors of decreasing production, no mention is made of wage-cut. These were too important an item to the workers to be slurred over. Again, on the same page, the workers are told that with 17 million unemployed "the big heads of corporations were still reaping profits." The jobless should be told that such profits, when production had been cut in half, were made possible by drawing on the reserves which had been piled up out of the surplus values created during "normal" times.

When it is said that "wealth is owned . . . by those . . . who have amassed it out of others under the protection of the law" isn't there a danger that the humble worker, pumped full of the democratic theories of his masters, may draw the conclusions that a change in LAW is all that is necessary to put things to rights? (p. 18). Isn't it rank humanitarianism to describe the capitalist system in the following words? (p. 19): "a system where the primary purpose of labor—to satisfy the basic needs of humanity—is completely lost sight of in the scramble for bigger fortunes." And I'll swear O'gin was dreaming when he wrote: "all the goods accumulated in this country are the fruits of their (the unemployed) labor. They are entitled to all the wealth." (Our emphasis) So we are entitled to all the wealth, are we? May we quote a little Marx here? In the Gotha Program, the father of scientific socialism declared, (and emphasized), that "Labor is not the source of all wealth . . . A Socialist platform should not let such middle class phrases pass, and permit by silence, the conditions that alone give sense thereto to be suppressed." We beg to draw O'gin's attention to this.

But let's wind up this wearisome panning. One more and we're thru. "The government seems to be entirely inept to cope with the political and social difficulties." Lenin once said that for the ruling class there was never "no other way out." O'gin's statements completely understate the case. The capitalist state is on the job. It is maintaining order, i.e., keeping the unemployed quiet and wellbehaved. And any time the capitalist system shows signs of collapse, and the workers indicate, thru organization and otherwise, that they contemplate social change, then the government will resort to Fascism. The gun has been fired. The race is on between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. If the former are to win they must be led by the Communists, who, of all people, should be theoretically sound and clear-visioned in all they say and write. The pamphlet under review is muddy, sloppy, and confused.

W. M.