

WORKERS' AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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U. S. IN MOVE TO INFLATION

Washington, D. C.

The long-expected move of the Roosevelt administration in the direction of inflation came finally on October 22 when the President announced, in a general radio address, the intention of the government to control the industrial value of the dollar by establishing a government market for newly mined gold and by buying and selling gold on the world market if necessary, both operations to take place thru the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The new policy is also interpreted as a direct move against the franc, as an attempt to "defend the dollar from foreign influences."

No price for gold or for the dollar has yet been fixed by the President. He said that this must await a further rise of commodity prices. By fixing a higher price for gold than it gets on the market today, the government will be able to reduce the gold content of the dollar and thus raise prices. Gold today is quoted at about \$31 an ounce; to restore the 1926 price level, it is estimated that gold prices would have to be fixed at about \$40 an ounce.

Senator Thomas and the inflation (Continued on Page 7)

Sixteen Years of the Soviet Union

The sixteenth anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet government in Russia is an event that should make the labor movement of the whole world pause and take thought. For nothing that has happened in the history of mankind is of such fundamental importance to the workers of today as the great Russian Revolution sixteen years ago and the development of the Soviet Union since then.

The world-wide economic crisis and the awful misery that it has brought in its train for scores of millions thruout the world, have made it quite clear that the old social order, the traditional system of capitalism, must go; it can no longer be tolerated if mankind itself is to survive. What then?

Which Way Out?

There are those who declare that it is not the capitalistic order itself that is at fault but rather its "abuse" at the hands of those who have run it hitherto. What the world needs, we are told, is a "cleansing" of the capitalistic system, its "organization", the "elimination" of the chaos within it,

"national planning", and so on. This is the theory behind the NRA, behind the Roosevelt "New Deal" in general. The dismal failure of the NRA as a "reconstruction" measure, now admitted on all sides, is the best possible refutation of this theory. No amount of tinkering with the capitalistic system today can effect any substantial improvement in the lives of the overwhelming masses of the people. It must be completely scrapped and a socialistic order, based on the collective ownership of the means of production, on production for the use of society and on real economic planning, substituted in its place.

There are those who declare they see the necessity of scrapping

Vote Communist!

The municipal elections about to take place in New York City are more involved and more confusing than any in this city for many years.

The Curry faction of the Tammany machine has put up John P. O'Brien for reelection as Mayor. O'Brien himself is a nonentity; he stands, however, for the whole rotten system of Tammany politics that has wasted millions of public money in graft, that has treated the unemployed in the most brutal manner, that has run the city as a gigantic racket for the benefit of the politicians and their business men backers. That the leaders of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council should have endorsed Mr. O'Brien shows how completely sold it is, body and soul, to Tammany.

The Farley-Flynn faction of Tammany has put up Joseph V. McKee for the post of Mayor. For years McKee was part and parcel of the rotten Tammany clique ruining this city, putting over all of its deals and sharing all of its profits. Now he has suddenly become "Holy Joe." In his enthusiasm for economy, he has practically promised to abolish free education beyond fourteen years of age, to slash unemployment relief and other social benefits and to relieve the rich from tax burdens. He is a frank enemy of labor and of all progressive measures. He has drawn to his support disaffected Tammany chieftains, on the one hand, and ultra-conservatives from the Republican ranks, on the other. His election would be an unmitigated disaster for the masses of the people of the city.

Fiorello La Guardia is running on a Fusion ticket, supported by the Republicans and some "independent" Democrats. Despite his reputation for "radicalism", Major La Guardia is deliberately running as a conservative; indeed, his main aim seems to be to convince the

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capitalism but believe they can do this by collaborating with the capitalists, by gradually piling up reforms to the point of bringing about a change of system, thus overthrowing the capitalistic order behind the backs of the capitalists, so to speak, and without even antagonizing them. On the basis of such impractical utopias, the Socialist leaders, very practical men indeed, have for years been working hand in hand with the capitalist class to the great detriment of the interests of the working masses. And what has been the logical result of Socialist theory and practise? The "gradualism" of the British Labor Party paved the way for reaction and hoisted the Tory National Government into power! The reformism of the German Social-Democratic Party systematically undermined the resistance of the workers and opened the road for Fascism to power! By their fruits shall you know them!

The Road of Revolution

The third road is the road of revolution. The capitalistic sys-

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SILK WORKERS FIGHT ON

Port Jervis, N. Y.

A firm decision to continue the general strike now tying up the silk mills in Paterson and thruout the entire East until the silk code providing for \$12-\$13 minimum wage would be changed and the \$25 minimum scale for weavers, already agreed upon by the Paterson employers is made national, was made by the national strike committee of the American Federation of Silk Workers, affiliated to the A. F. of L., at a meeting here on October 28. Picketing, it was decided by the delegates of more than fifty cities, was to be immediately resumed as well as negotiations with the employers and the NRA.

Two sections of the silk strikers, the jacquard workers and the dyers, have already gone back to work on favorable agreements providing for union recognition and wage increases. The broad-silk weavers in Paterson have also been offered favorable terms of settlement, union recognition, the \$25 minimum wage and the 40-hour week, but they could not accept since the mill owners thruout the rest of the East refused to settle on

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Shipyard Workers Strike in New York

New York City

A strike of shipyard workers started several weeks ago in the Robbins Drydocks, Erie Basin, Brooklyn, when 1100 boilermakers and welders struck for recognition of their union, the International Brotherhood of Shipfitters, Boilermakers, Welders and Helpers (A. F. of L.), after six men had been fired for union activities.

The boilermakers called upon the allied trades organized in the unions of the Metal Trades Council (welders, plumbers, steamfitters, electricians and carpenters, machinists) to help them to win their strike.

The workers in the shipyards of Hoboken, Staten Island and the most important yards in New York have come out on a sympathy strike. They have suffered greatly from the non-union conditions in the yards. The wages are the lowest that have been paid in these crafts and the workers are realizing the importance of organization.

At present, the Robbins and Fletcher Drydocks are trying to bring in scabs from outside by means of tugboats. In the beginning the officials of the machinists union were hesitant in calling out their men and giving support to the strike. The sentiment of the workers in the shops, however, was for immediate action. At the present time the International Association of Machinists, jointly with the boilermakers and the other crafts, has called the machinists out and has taken the necessary measures to take out scabs on Monday, October 22.

The machinists and other metal trades unions had been carrying on an organization campaign in the yards for quite a while. The present strike has now developed into a general strike. The work-

ers have presented the following demands for all the crafts: a 30-hour week and \$1.45 an hour for first-class mechanics.

Two mass meetings were held by the strikers at Pilgrim Hall, Brooklyn. At the last meeting, held October 20, Mr. Niles, business agent of the International Association of Machinists, reported on the progress of the strike. He stated that he spoke to the machinists to come out in support of the boilermakers and to carry on the strike jointly.

There was very sharp criticism (Continued on Page 7)

NAZIS TO PUSH FAKE VOTE

The whole system of post-war international relations faced collapse when, on October 14, the German government announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations and from the Disarmament Conference then in session. On the same day, Reich-Chancellor Hitler ordered the dissolution of the Reichstag and decreed new elections for November 12 at which a referendum would also be held to endorse the Nazi foreign policy.

The declaration of withdrawal from the League and its bodies was officially motivated by the refusal of the League to grant arms equality to Germany, that is, by the obstacles the League powers

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New York Silk Workers Join Strike

New York City

For the first time in many years the broad silk workers of New York City have organized and come out on strike, tying up ten mills in Brooklyn and Queens. Six hundred workers are now out under the banner of the American Federation of Silk Workers, which is conducting the national strike. The strike began three weeks ago when the organizer, B. Herman, led a picket line of dyers and silk workers to the Mehridge Silk Mill, where the workers responded with immediate strike action. The strike rapidly involved all the

other broad silk mills.

The employers are putting up a stubborn and vicious battle to crush the strike in order to continue operating their plants in New York City at the starvation wage of \$13 and \$14 a week which they have been paying their weavers. Police attacks and arrests are daily occurrences. More than eighty workers have been arrested thus far for the "crime" of picketing. The most brutal beating of workers by the police has taken place in front of the Mallinson Company at 1919-24 Avenue, Astoria L. I., at the behest of this labor-hating concern. This police terrorism reached a climax last week when the motorcycle police deliberately ran down the pickets who were crossing the street near the mill. One worker was hurt and narrowly escaped with his life. The cops were heard boasting a little later that "next time we'll get them, and we won't miss." A delegation, together with witnesses of this murderous assault upon the strikers, has gone to the District Attorney demanding that this police terror must stop. The Mallinson mill has attempted to frighten workers back by sending letters threatening prosecution for having spoken to scabs urging them to come out on strike and calling such actions on the part of the strikers "assaults."

At the McCurrach silk mill, the employer has placed big signs across the front of the mill, declaring: "We are supporting the N. R. A. Some of our silk weavers are not." Another sign says: "Our employees are satisfied with their wages." In this mill, the most skilled jacquard workers in the industry have been slaving for as low as \$13 a week. The entire force came down on strike and the bosses have since attempted to import the scabs from out-of-town. The scab herder, McCurrach (Continued on Page 7)

RECOGNITION OF SOVIET COMING

Washington, D. C.

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States was made a practical certainty when, on October 20, the administration made public an exchange of letters between the executive heads of both countries in regard to the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. Arrangements had been made, the official announcement declared, for an early discussion between President Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs, who will come to Washington for that purpose.

The profound change in American foreign policy, the long expected, came at this particular time primarily because the adm-

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CELEBRATION 16th Anniversary of Soviet Union Nov. 4, NEW HARLEM CASINO

The National Anti-War Congress

A REPORT

New York City
Is it permissible for Communists to unite with pacifists and non-labor elements and Socialists in a united front for the struggle against war? And, if so, what is the nature that such a united front must assume? These are questions which must be answered in order to have an appreciation of the anti-war congress (the United States Congress Against War) recently held in New York City.

The Question Of An Anti-War United Front

There can be no united front between Communists and non-Communists, particularly pacifists in a struggle against war as such on a general anti-war program. This must be definitely stated. The Communist position on war is one peculiar to Communists. No other group, in or out of the working class, shares the position of the Communists with regard to turning imperialist war into civil war nor of the struggle against war as part and parcel of the struggle against imperialism. This is essential to the Communist attitude to war and there can be no united front on this basis, except between Communists and Communist sympathizers. But to place the question in this manner as do the Trotskyites, is to become abstract to the point of absurdity. The elaboration of a concrete program based on these fundamentals is essential to make a struggle against war realistic for the mass of the workers. And, on the specific points making up such a program of action, the establishment of a united front is no more ruled out than a united front on any other specific issues which are portions of an entire Communist program. Even though the united front is called an anti-war united front, if it is a united front on a specific program of action, it is not only correct for Communists to participate in it but it is necessary for such a united front to be organized. Can any one object for instance to a united front based on the following: Hands off Cuba. All funds for military purposes to be used for unemployment relief. Against the C. M. T. C., the R. O. T. C. and all other forms of militarization of the youth. Against militarist and jingoistic propaganda? Obviously, no one can object, certainly not a Communist! And yet the anti-war united front, whatever its name, will actually be based on such a program of action.

What should be the class basis of such a united front, when organized? Pacifists, liberals, intellectuals, middle class elements, all these can and should play an important role in anti-war work and should be included in a united front if they are sincere in their anti-war sentiments. But their best activity can have real value only if it is supplementary to and based on the organization and activity of the working class in the anti-war struggle. Only the workers, as a class, are capable of carrying on a decisive, consistent fight against war; only they can draw the necessary historical conclusions from such a war. Therefore, the organizations, thru their own organizations, must be the base for any genuine anti-war united front movement. To allow any other condition opens the movement to the danger of degeneration into a pacifist talkfest.

How Shall The United Front Be Organized?
The above two are the issues arising specifically out of the anti-war movement. Still a third, and as it turned out a more important one, arose at the anti-war congress: How a united front should be organized—an issue which has been in the forefront in all united fronts initiated by or controlled by the Communist Party, whose idea of a united front is for all other organizations in it to accept the program and

organizational proposals of the C. P. and make no effort to resist the efforts of the party leaders to use the united front for factional or purely party purposes. At the anti-war congress, this became the central issue of the congress as a result of the efforts of the party leaders to exclude the Communist Opposition and the organizations represented by the delegates, who were members of or sympathetic to the Opposition, from participation in the activities of the congress by excluding them from all the committees of the congress. The C.P.-O. immediately saw the danger of such a move, not for itself, but for the congress as a whole. For the congress to have acted in that manner would have laid it open to the attack of the enemies of the movement as being nothing more than a Communist maneuver and would have made further participation in it on the part of elements not connected of the Communist Party extremely difficult, if not impossible. The fight of the Communist Opposition against these strangle tactics was therefore a fight for the unity and maintenance of the congress. In this fight, the C.P.-O. was not alone. To the block of delegates, numbering about 150, who are members of the Communist Opposition or were sympathetic with its program for the congress, were added several hundred more delegates from Socialist organizations (the L. I. D., for example), trade unions, the C. P. L. A., the left Poale Zionists, the Young Circle League and others who, while not members or sympathizers of the Communist Opposition, realized that the move made by the party leadership was a move against the unity of the congress. After a sharp struggle, which at times became extremely bitter and after an entire block of organizations had presented an ultimatum to the party representatives, and in spite of theatrical declarations by Browder that he would never sit on the same committee with renegades, the party was compelled to yield. And Chas. S. Zimmerman, who had previously been defeated by a vote of the congress body for instance to a united front based on the following: Hands off Cuba. All funds for military purposes to be used for unemployment relief. Against the C. M. T. C., the R. O. T. C. and all other forms of militarization of the youth. Against militarist and jingoistic propaganda? Obviously, no one can object, certainly not a Communist! And yet the anti-war united front, whatever its name, will actually be based on such a program of action.

present "provisional and skeleton character. However, the Communist Opposition is far from being in entire agreement with the decisions of the Congress. The programmatic portion of the manifesto is not suitable for a congress established on a united front basis, including pacifists. It is, in fact, a Communist program on the question, not a united front approach. Should this become the basis of the work of the congress it will have great difficulty winning the support of the workers, particularly the organized workers, who are today not yet ready for the entire Communist program against war, even though there is great deal of sentiment against war in general. The portion of the manifesto which provides a program of action is in general satisfactory, is of a united front character and should become the basis of the activities of the Congress. That is the direction in which the C.P.-O. will strive.

The Decisions Of The Congress
The congress decided to call itself "League of Struggle Against War and Fascism". This was not entirely correct. No one can deny the close relationship between war and Fascism. But Fascism does not exhaust the war danger, as is demonstrated in the Far East, for instance nor does the struggle against war exhaust the struggle against Fascism. In the program for the congress, the relationship between war and Fascism has been explained, but it would have been wiser for the congress to remain a congress against war. There can be no doubt that a congress against war is a more united front movement against Fascism, can, both together gather far greater support than a combination of the two at the present time. This is a matter of tactics and not a principle and consequently there should be no question of a break over this issue.

In spite of all these differences all the decisions of the congress were in the end "unanimous". This is no commendation as to the methods which were applied in running the congress. In a normal conducted conference, with democratic procedure and tolerance of differences of opinion, without any efforts being made by one particular organization to dominate and control it, all of these matters would have been amply discussed and differences ironed out. This was not the case at the anti-war congress. There was no toleration of differences of opinion as was evidenced by the disgraceful booning and hissing demonstration against any one expressing other than the Communist Party viewpoint or representing an organization considered "enemy" by the party leaders. This disgraceful procedure found a climax in the vile demonstration when Zimmerman was given the floor, as a member of the presidium, to speak on the resolutions. In such a situation, and in the absence of any proper representation in the various committees, any real objective discussion was out of the question. The adoption of the decisions became a pure formality, not at all expressing organic unanimity but only formal agreement. The Communist Opposition did not vote the final decisions because to do so in the absence of any substitute proposal, would be a false representation of the position of the C.P.-O. At the same time, no opportunity was afforded to present such a point of view. The C.P.O. had prepared resolutions containing the point of view explained in the early part of this article but, on the first day it had no representative to introduce and defend them and, on the second day, after a delegate had been added to the resolutions committee who represented the Opposition point of view on the questions, the resolutions committee did not meet. Consequently, there was only one alternative—to throw all these issues on the floor of the congress, with the danger that the situation would become so tense as to lead to a split of the congress. This the C.P.-O. was unwilling to do.

Roy for the I. C. O. Line
In a letter dated July 14, 1933, Manobendra Nath Roy, Indian Communist Opposition leader, now serving a six-year jail sentence in a British jail in India, declares his complete agreement with the policy of the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition and with the attitude of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) to the German events. He takes a firm position against Trotskyism and centrism and against the whole "new" party and "new" International conception. He writes: "The idea of opening up a new shop at the present time is not only silly but it is an inexcusable crime. Only the monumental egoism of Trotsky could conceive of such a thing today. I agree entirely and completely with the political conduct of Thalheimer and Brandler and I am for the maintenance of this attitude under all circumstances."

District Conference Of The C. P. G. O. In Wuerttemberg
Berlin, Germany.
After thoro preparations of the groups of five in all local, the first Communist Opposition district conference of elected delegates took place in Wuerttemberg some time ago. For reasons of safety, the number of delegates was limited to eighteen, so that three or four groups of five averaged one delegate. The conference lasted five hours. After the political report, twelve comrades took part in the discussion. The resolution of the recent session of the Enlarged Bureau of the International Communist Opposition in the NRA. The main outlines of policy and tactics of American labor in the coming months will naturally have to be framed on the basis of the new situation created by the NRA.

Our Relations To The Party
Jena, Germany.
In Thuringia we have addressed an open letter to the Communist Party and have distributed it in all local groups. This letter examines the real causes of the proletarian defeat and sharply criticized the policies of the C. P. G. and of the C. I. Our relation to the official party has changed basically. The C. P. membership is realizing that the slander heaped upon us has not been justified. Our relation is now a very comradely one. The party members realize and admit that our group is a solid nucleus with effective policies. Recently an official party functionary in Jena said to one of our comrades: "I hear that the C. I. has decided to give you leadership of the party. We must work together more closely now." Of course, he merely voiced a baseless rumor but the fact that he and others are taking it seriously and are welcoming it shows what a change is taking place in the attitude of official party members to us.

The tremendous success of the New Workers School, just entering the fifth year of its activity is something of which the entire labor movement may well be proud. In a certain sense it is really unprecedented in the history of workers education in this country. The New Workers School was established under the auspices of the Communist Opposition towards the end of 1929. This step was made necessary not only because of the mass expulsion of the entire staff of the old Workers School by the official Communist Party bureaucrats but also because the sterile spirit of dogmatism and sectarianism was rapidly extending its grip over the entire intellectual life of the official Communist movement and transforming its Marxism into meaningless and ill-digested phrases. A vigorous and independent institution conducting its educational work in the true spirit of Marx and Lenin was needed and the New Workers School was born.

From its small beginnings, the New Workers School gradually emerged into one of the most significant institutions of its kind. By 1932, the school had made such progress that it became necessary to add special courses during the Summer to satisfy the demands of the students. The school began to run practically all year around. But it was with the Fall 1933 term that the school made its most spectacular progress. The administration had expected a considerable increase in registrations and attendance but what actually happened turned out to be far beyond expectations. It is yet too early to give a definitive report but it is already clear that there must be at least five hundred registrations for the current term. The classes are large beyond precedent. Bertram D. Wolfe's class in "Psychology and Marxism" is attended by nearly 115 students and Will Herberg's advanced class in "Dialectical Materialism" by more than 80. The classes in the "Fundamentals of Communism" and "History of the American Labor Movement" are also exceptionally well attended. Even such new ventures as "Basic Conceptions of Modern Science" have met with gratifying success.

An outstanding feature of the new term is also the greatly improved character of the New Workers School Forum, held regularly every Sunday evening at the school quarters, 51 West 14th Street. Some of the most prominent figures in the social and the

The Washington A. F. of L. Convention

American Labor Under the N. R. A.

by Will Herberg
The fifty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Washington towards the beginning of October was one of the most significant ever held by the federation in its more than half-century of existence. In a very real sense, the American labor movement is now entering a new period of its development, with new conditions, new issues, new problems, new tasks, new perspectives in the distorted mirror of the labor officialdom. In what it accomplished and in what it failed to accomplish, the convention of the A. F. of L. brought to expression the cross-currents and contradictory tendencies of development of the American labor movement today.

In The Shadow Of The Blue Eagle
The Washington convention of the A. F. of L. took place in the shadow of the Blue Eagle. The development of the labor movement in its new stage is proceeding within the framework of the NRA. All of the fundamental problems of trade unionism are taking on new form and coloring in the light of the fundamental social-economic changes in the NRA. The main outlines of policy and tactics of American labor in the coming months will naturally have to be framed on the basis of the new situation created by the NRA.

The Growth Of The Federation
The standpat officials of the A. F. of L., who had grown quite content to vegetate in peace in impenetrable craft unions in certain "sheltered" trades, were shaken out of their lethargy by the position of the federation in recent months. Over

1,200,000 members had been gained since March, reported the Executive Council, bringing the total up to about 4,000,000—with the 5,000,000 goal not far in sight. Under the impact of such numbers, a new tone became dominant. "Nailed to the masthead of the federation," boasted President Green, "is the slogan: Organize the unorganized in the mass production industries, with a membership of 10,000,000 as our next goal and after that 25,000,000, which will bring the majority of Americans genuinely and actually within the trade union family." Yet, at the same time, the convention went on record against the only course that could possibly realize these aspirations. By a role call vote of over two to one, the craft unionists carried the day in the test case of the brewery union jurisdiction. But the big vote piled up by those who advocated breaking away from the any form. Many delegates showed that they understood well that the consummation of the NRA aspirations on this field could only be accomplished thru the destruction of the existing trade union movement.

The Johnson Address And NRA "Unionism"
But surely the most significant event at the A. F. of L. convention was the address of Gen. Hugh S. Johnson and the reaction of the delegates to it. The highlights of the NRA chief's remarks were his threatening demand that strikes and labor militancy be stopped—"public opinion (that is, the government—W. H.) will not tolerate strikes"—and his first public explanation of the sinister program of NRA "unionism". This system of labor organization, as originally championed by Dudley Cates and now officially advocated by the NRA, involves the establishment of so-called "vertical" (industrial) unions, each entirely divorced from the similar organizations in other industries, completely deprived of their character as independent fighting organizations against employers and subjected to an official system of government supervision and control. In substance, these organizations would be nothing but Fascist "corporate unions", poles apart from even the most conservative A. F. of L. unions, which are at bottom working class bodies. The attempt to convert the A. F. of L. unions into such government bodies must necessarily fail, precisely because of the proletarian character of these organizations; so also must fail all attempts to establish Fascist or semi-Fascist government "unions" in general under any non-Fascist regime. But the determined campaign of the NRA to bring such "unions" will obviously soon take on the form of an attack, gradually becoming more and more open, against genuine unionism as such, against independent working class unionism, against the A. F. of L. itself.

The Balance Sheet
The fact that the top A. F. of L. leaders have been driven forward by the irresistible upsurge of the labor movement to a position they would have been shocked to contemplate only one year ago, does not by any means signify that they have changed their fundamental social character or their role in labor's ranks. Holding to their class collaborationist gospel, still dreaming of "no strike" pacts and for "influential" posts in the N. R. A. machinery, they still remain, in the strict sense of the term, labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. The balance sheet of the Washington convention shows this clearly.

A sensational development at the convention was the practically unanimous passage of the anti-German boycott. Without passing judgment on its merits as an effective blow to German Fascism, we must all recognize that this resolution, adopted in spite of definite pressure from the State Department, is of great importance as marking a definite break with the narrow provincialism of the American labor movement and the broadening of its international outlook. Nor should one underestimate the fact that the Washington convention failed to adopt the usual resolution against the recognition of the Soviet Union and specifically excluded the U. S. S. R. from the condemnatory resolution on Germany, in both cases against the open resistance of Matthew Wolff. On this field, too, things are happening in the A. F. of L.

Some dim inkling of this menace must have penetrated even the "practical" minds of the A. F. of L. leaders for they met General Johnson's remarks with undisguised hostility. Not only did the convention insist on the unrestricted right to strike and to picket but it made it perfectly clear that it was unalterably opposed to NRA government "unionism" in any form. Many delegates showed that they understood well that the consummation of the NRA aspirations on this field could only be accomplished thru the destruction of the existing trade union movement.

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Our Relations To The Party
Jena, Germany.
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An outstanding feature of the new term is also the greatly improved character of the New Workers School Forum, held regularly every Sunday evening at the school quarters, 51 West 14th Street. Some of the most prominent figures in the social and the

labor movements are scheduled for this season, including Fenner Brockway, Sidney Hook, Norman Thomas, Ira De Reid, etc. The expansion of the school is to be noted in another direction, in the establishment of the Harlem New Workers School, an affiliate of the central institution. At the New York Urban League, 202 West 136 Street, the Harlem school is now running two classes on Thursday evenings, one in American history and the other in social science, also with really surprising success. Total registration is well over 125, and attendance at each class reaches 50. The Harlem New Workers School is easily the outstanding institution of its kind in the community.

The very marked success of the New Workers School is due not only to the effective work of its administration, not only to the growing influence of the Communist Opposition in the labor movement, but in a very special way to the splendid murals which the great working class artist, Diego Rivera, is painting on the walls of

its main hall. Hundreds, thousands of people have learned of the New Workers School and have come into touch with its activities thru these great works of art, which represent the spirit of the school and of its teaching so effectively!

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Real weekly earnings of the workers thruout the nation declined 1.8% during August, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, a conservative employers group. The survey was based on the reports of 25 nation-wide manufacturing industries. This decline in real wages occurred while average hourly earnings of wage earners rose from 45.5c in July to 49.7c in August and average hours of work a week result of these two developments fell from 42.6 to 38.8. The net weekly earnings, which was offset because the cost of living rose more than earnings. The survey reported that the number of persons employed increased 8.6% in August over July while total payrolls rose 9%. The October 11 issue of The New Republic carries some significant statistics about the change of average weekly pay under the NRA. Figures are given for the weeks of July 15 and Aug. 15, the former before and the latter after the application of the NRA codes. Woolen and worsted \$17.36 \$17.83 Shipbuilding \$18.95 \$18.69 Cotton goods \$11.56 \$11.17

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The Strike of the Montreal Tailors

The First Fruits of Labor Unity

by I. Breslow

Montreal, Canada.
On September 17 over 4,000 tailors of the city of Montreal went on a general strike, which was made possible by and came as a result of the amalgamation of the two unions that had been in existence in the Montreal market for the last fifteen months. The unity was achieved two weeks prior to the strike, when the United Clothing Workers of Canada joined as a body the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The Demands Of The Strike And The Agreement

The demands which were put up by the union to the manufacturers were: (1) the recognition of the union; (2) the 40-hour week instead of the present 44-hour week; (3) no overtime; (4) 30% increase in wages in the inside shops; (5) to bring the condition of the workers in the contracting shops to the level of conditions in the inside shops.

These demands are not the original ones agreed upon at the time when unity was established. The original demands included: (1) week-work on a 40-hour basis and (2) unemployment insurance. The demands were changed because the seasons was almost half over and it was impossible to undertake a struggle to last for several weeks. This is one reason. Another reason is that the union was unable to prepare the general strike adequately because of the disunity of the tailors.

It was a tremendous walk-out. Hundreds of workers employed in the open shops for the last ten or twelve years responded to the strike call. The strike committees that went to organize the open shops had a very easy job. The tailors were actually waiting for a committee to come and take them down. And so we did.

The enthusiasm prevailing amongst the strikers was remarkable for they felt that at last one union was established which would be able to take up a struggle for better conditions. This spirit becomes more understandable, however, when we bear in mind the conditions that prevailed up to the strike. For the fifteen months that one union fought the other, the conditions in the trade fell to a level beyond imagination. Workers earned from \$6 to \$8 a week in the small shops and, in the larger places, from \$10 to \$15. The bosses naturally took great advantage of the disunited ranks of the workers, who in turn paid the price of dual unionism.

After a five-day strike, the union reached an agreement with the manufacturers which provides for: (1) union recognition; (2) a minimum wage of \$35 a week for the cutters on a week-work basis; (3) a \$25 minimum wage for the pressers on a piece-work basis; and (4) a 20% increase for the tailors. The 44-hour week remains until December 1. On that date the hours will be diminished to forty per week and the weekly wage will remain unaltered. This agreement was reached after a few long conferences that President Sidney Hillman had with one newly formed manufacturers association.

Some Criticism

Let me offer now some criticism on the strike in general and on the agreement especially. First of all, the leadership of the strike was too hasty in concluding an agreement with the bosses; they were too eager to send the people back to work. The strike just began to spread out and embrace more open shops, when the strike was brought to a conclusion. This, in my opinion was a mistake. The leadership should have utilized the enthusiasm of the strikers to broaden and deepen the strike. And then, the agreement was too general. It provides, for instance, for a minimum of \$35 per week for the cutters on a week-work basis. But there are shops where the cutters are working piece-work and the agreement does not provide that in those shops they should be changed to week-work.

The 20% increase which the agreement does provide for them is not satisfactory to the cutters working piece-work.

Now the pressers. During the strike the pressers employed strong pressure to induce Brothers Schlossberg and Hillman to demand a week-work basis for them. President Hillman told them that this was impossible to obtain. He did agree, however, to demand for them a minimum wage of \$25 on a piece-work basis and he got it. Now here arises the problem: While a minimum wage on a piece-work basis is possible in an inside shop, it is impossible in a contracting shop. In an inside shop, if the presser is short one or two dollars per week, the manufacturers have to make it good, whereas, in a contracting shop, the situation is quite different. There the contractor gets a certain price for a garment, say \$2.00; a certain percentage is deducted for his supervision, breakage, thread, etc., and the remainder is divided among the workers. Now then, if the pressers are short, who will make up for their minimum? Naturally, it will have to be deducted from the wages of the tailors. This clause in the agreement caused much confusion and animosity between one section of the trade and the other: for it is now obvious that a minimum wage on a piece-work basis is ab-

solutely impossible in a contracting shop.

And now the question of the contractors. They were granted 17½% for their supervision, etc. On a \$2.00 garment it amounts to 35c. The tailors in the contracting shops are dissatisfied with this point of the agreement with the contractors, for 17½% is far too much for them.

Usually an agreement is submitted to the membership for approval. In this case, however, it was not done. The leadership explained the agreement to the workers of the inside shops in the morning and told them to return to work in the afternoon. On the following day, the same was done with the contracting shops. There was no discussion whatsoever. The agreement was presented to the workers as an accomplished fact. It was obvious to the membership that the leaders were too much in a hurry to send them back to work.

There is also the question of the out-of-town shops. Were they organized or were they not? Is there an agreement with them or not? Whom did we organize there? The contractors or the workers? These questions must be made clear to the membership. If the out-of-town is organized,

why not state which and on what basis? If it is not, why should the membership be left under illusions? It is not a matter of criticizing why they were not organized; it is a question of clarity in order that the union should prepare itself to act there accordingly.

* * *

Immediate Tasks

It must be stated, however, that under the circumstances, the strike was quite successful. Better conditions were gained for the workers. But it must also be stated that these conditions can be maintained only when there will be a strong union. It is, therefore, up to the membership now to build up a strong organization.

The immediate tasks of the union at the present time should be to see that all the provisions in the agreement are lived up to: (1) Overtime should be abolished completely; (2) the 40-hour week must be enforced in December; (3) wages must not be reduced on the introduction of the 40-hour week; and (4) the organization must be prepared to put up better demands when the new season comes. If this is done, the tailors will be assured of a decent living and a strong organization to protect their interests. The matter is now in the hands of the tailors.

A Review Of His Recent Book

THE MARXISM OF SIDNEY HOOK

by Jim Cork

(Continued from the last issue)
I come now to a question which demands more extended treatment, the question of natural science in class society. Hook's viewpoint is the following (The Nation, June 21, 1933, page 706):

"Science as a theory of experimentation, eventuating in a body of verifiable truths, is independent of developments in other cultural and social fields: its truths are public—above individuals, classes, and nations. Science as a social and historical activity whose applications are controlled by a definite policy is only relatively independent of other aspects of culture. Society can determine whether science shall exist; it cannot determine what science shall find. Science concerns itself with physical systems which are completely neutral to social values."

This disposes of the question in entirely too brusque a fashion. The matter is not quite so simple. Certain questions must still be answered. First, if science as a social and historical activity is only relatively independent of general cultural values, just what is the effect upon science of social factors? Especially at a time like the present when the stability of traditional outlook and concepts is so shattered. Secondly, tho it is true that "physical systems" as such are completely neutral to social values, it is more than a slight non-sequitur to say that science is thus neutral. The two are not necessarily identical. Science is the body of doctrine built up as a reflection of this physical system by scientists working under definite conditions in a class society. As such, class society puts an indelible stamp on it. And it is most clearly revealed at a time of social stress like the present. The social restrictions put upon science (which Hook does not deny, of course), its being harnessed in large part to destructive purposes by the controlling bourgeoisie; the rupture of the vital relationship of science with practical material activity because of prevailing economic relations (i. e., theory-practice relationship)—this is to bind the giant effectively—to hinder further progress. If science is completely "neutral" to social values, can it keep on developing

in healthy and lusty fashion under present relationships? Science cannot go on endlessly spinning out thinner and more abstract theories. That way lies suicide. Hook would undoubtedly retort here: "Well, that's exactly what I mean when I say that 'society can determine whether science shall exist.'" To say merely that, however, is hardly to touch the question at all. To continue that "society cannot determine what science shall find", still begs the question as to the concrete relationship. This statement must be qualified in a definite, tho negative fashion. Historically considered, the possible content of scientific findings is definitely limited on one end by the industrial-technical achievements of the day. It is true this statement must itself be qualified in the direction of its being truer in a direct sense in the earlier stages of scientific development. For later periods, important qualifications must be made, without, however, changing the validity of the generalization.

Science And Culture

More important is the question as to the relationship of science to extant cultural values and the possibility of the reflection of the latter in scientific doctrine as "science". How would Hook answer the question as to Newton's insistence

on God as a motive and explanatory principle organically connected with his system as enunciated in the "Principia"?

But that is just the point, that, under the impact of the general character of the social consciousness ("spirit of the age"), anti-scientific ideas penetrate into science. Hook "proves" his point that science is unaffected by social influences by branding the effects of such influences as "not science." But this is too simple. They manifest themselves as integral parts of the continuous body of doctrine including what every one admits to be science. Take the theory of indeterminacy. That it arose out of recent scientific investigations and forms a part of contemporary science is undeniable. But the reason for its eager and widespread acceptance must be sought elsewhere, as well as the implications of its acceptance for the future of science.

Science does not develop in a vacuum. The spread of philosophical idealism and other forms of mysticism today has its profound effects upon science. Engels long ago warned the empirical scientists that philosophy neglected would take its revenge upon them.

Can any one doubt that the "temper of the times", an admittedly social product, has its effect upon the kind of canons of intelligibility and truth which will be most readily acceptable?

Not unconnected with Hook's view on these matters is this attitude on the questions of the relation of dialectics and nature. Hook's position here is certainly not clear-cut. In an early article, he practically denied outright the application of dialectics to nature. Later, he admitted this application in rather grudging fashion, without, however, granting it its proper organic place in the structure of Marxism. Marx and Engels themselves certainly applied the dialectic universally, both to nature and society, of this there is overwhelming evidence. But Hook still insists that the distinctive character of the Marxian dialectic is its social reference and tends markedly to relegate the natural dialectic to the background. In a real sense, the dialectics of nature can find no

comfortable place in Hook's interpretation of Marxism.

The Source Of Hook's Errors

I said at the outset that it was the distortion of an important and central aspect of Marx's thought, namely the activist, "doing", transforming element, that is the chief source of Hook's errors. This can be stated in somewhat the following form: Hook's chief errors are due to his deep leanings to Dewey's instrumentalism. In his first articles, his attitude was expressed in crass fashion as follows (The Modern Quarterly, volume 4, no. 4, p. 391):

"Marxism therefore appears in the main as a huge judgment of practise, in Dewey's sense of the phrase, and its truth or falsity (instrumental adequacy) is an experimental matter. Believing it and acting upon it helps to make it true or false."

This is entirely foreign to the nature of Marxism. In this sense, one cannot speak of objective truth until after the event. Before, there is only the vacuum of possibility. According to this view, the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat might quite possibly be a fiction. Before the realization of the Soviet dictatorship, there was apparently no ground for belief in the doctrine. The Russian Revolution succeeded. It is true. But had it failed? According to Marxism, tactical plans of action are worked out on the basis of a correct analysis of objective conditions. The success of the venture only helps to prove (test) the truth of the propositions. This confirmation of a plan of action based upon a correspondence with objective reality is essentially different from the crudely pragmatic instrumentalist criterion of truth. In his book Hook hardly casts off his Deweyan heritage:

"That is why the apparent paradox is inescapable that the truth of Marx's theory of the class struggle can be established only in the experience of the social revolution, i. e., after class society has been overthrown."

Historical judgments about the past can only be proven true by the future! This is an amazing statement. It is a sufficient indication of the "instrumentalist advocacy" of the instrumentalist logic. The same basis of approach leads Hook to a distortion of the Marxist epistemology, i. e., his theory of knowledge. The so-called "correspondence theory" of truth, about which Hook makes so much ado, has a definite place in Marxism. The reflection of objective reality outside is an integral part of the Marxist theory of knowledge, tho it does not exhaust it. The reflecting and transforming elements are both embraced in the Marxist theory, not in a simple, eclectic, additive fashion in point of succession in time but in an integral and organic manner. As Bukharin says ("Science at the Cross-Roads", page 6):

"The problem of the external world is here put as the problem of its transformation; the problem of the cognition of the external world as an integral part of the problem of transformation . . ."

I do not think Hook can establish the fact that Engels is guilty of holding to "the crude formula of Feuerbach, according to which sensations are images and copies of the external world without explaining how it is possible for ideas, if they are only reflections, to help transform and revolutionize things" (page 32).

"Only" is here decisive. The whole spirit of Engel's writings is opposed to any such view. On this basis Hook tries to establish a contradiction between the viewpoints of Marx and Engels and a contradiction between the practise and theory of Lenin, who is alleged to have followed slavishly Engels's mechanical-materialist viewpoint on cognition. The attempt is quite forced. Certainly if the characteristic emphasis of Engels, which Hook takes as the starting-point of Engels's deviations from Marx, was so rampant in the "Anti-Duehring", it is curious that

(Continued on Page 8)

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The Fiasco of Dualism in Paterson

Paterson, N. J.

A most shameful example of disruption and splitting is presented in the policies pursued by the National Textile Workers Union, under the guidance of the official Communist Party, in the general strike of the silk workers. Hiding their attempts to disrupt the ranks of the workers behind hypocritical phrases of "unity" these self-appointed "leaders" of the masses are carrying on an intensive campaign to split the ranks of the workers adhering to the unions of the American Federation of Labor. No one will deny, not even these disrupters, that an overwhelming majority of the silk workers on strike are members of the A. F. of L. union. About 98% of the weavers, 100% of the throwsters and at least 80% of the dyers on strike, are all members of the American Federation of Silk Workers. Yet the leaders of the National, in public statements to the press, at conferences in Washington and primarily in the Daily Worker, claim the leadership of 15,000 dyers on strike! At the beginning of one of the conferences in Washington, Ann Burlak claimed 15,000 silk workers under their leadership but a few days later the figure had been boosted to 23,000. What's a few thousand workers, more or less, to these people who have about as much honesty as sanity in their strike tactics?

Disruptive Trickery In The Name Of "Unity"

On Monday, October 16, the Daily Worker carried a head-line: "3,000 Paterson dye strikers vote down A. F. of L. sell-out." By Wednesday, the Daily Worker, in another statement issued by the National, had already booted the number of A. F. of L. dyers with whom they made "unity" to 7,000. "7,000 dyers sweep aside A. F. of

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN BOSTON

Boston, Mass. Over one hundred workers attended the meeting of the Communist Party Opposition in Boston at which Jay Lovestone spoke at the convention of the A. F. of L. recently concluded in Washington. The meeting took place on October 19.

Comrade Lovestone exposed the reactionary policies of the present leaders dominating the A. F. of L. Despite the reactionary policies of the A. F. of L., hundreds of thousands of workers are organizing themselves and are streaming into the A. F. of L. The numerous strikes that are taking place today are often contrary to the wishes of the A. F. of L. leaders. He showed that the workers themselves try to organize the workers and strike for better conditions. He further stated that in such industries where the workers have taken the initiative and carried on a militant fight like the dress-makers in New York and textile strike in the East they have been successful in forcing the bosses and the NRA to grant them shorter hours and higher wages. But in industries where the workers have not put up a militant fight, such as the building trades industry and the automobile industry, their wages not only have not increased but have actually decreased. Comrade Lovestone severely criticized the destructive splitting activities of the so-called "revolutionary" unions of the T. U. U. L. which play right into the hands of the bosses and reactionary officials. He called upon the workers to build progressive and left wing groups inside the conservative unions with the idea of changing them into fighting instruments of the working class. He sounded the alarm that the existing unions should not become part of the NRA trade boards but must remain independent organizations presenting their demands to these trade boards. Those present at this meeting were seriously impressed with the problems Lovestone presented to them. Questions and discussion followed from the floor.

The T. U. U. L.'s Record in the Silk Strike

by Minnie Lurye

L. chiefs." (Daily Worker, October 18, 1933). And in the very articles that appear under these captions they still claim the "leadership of the 15,000 striking dye workers." If they are leading the 15,000 where did the A. F. of L. suddenly get the 3,000 and then, within two days 7,000? Obviously at least one of these stories is untrue! Now, take the story in the Daily Worker of Monday, October 23: "John J. Ballam, national organizer of the National Textile Workers Union (Since when? Less than two months ago he was New York district secretary of the I. L. D.) announced new energetic steps for completely unifying the ranks of the 15,000 dye strikers. He declared that in the interests of unity the N. T. W. U. is ready to unite its 2,000 dye house members in Paterson and vicinity with the 3,000 OR MORE dyers in the U. T. W. local, together with the 9,000 unorganized dye workers."

Let us examine these statements: First they claim to lead all 15,000. Then they give A. F. of L. credit for about 3,000. Then, when they want to emphasize the importance of their "unity victory", they boost the figures to 7,000. Now they become "liberal" and claim a 50-50 division of the strikers (3,000 in the National, 3,000 in the A. F. of L., with the last number unorganized). Every single worker in Paterson knows that the National had only

a few shops partially, whereas the A. F. of L. has solidly organized into its union ninety-six shops.

No one knows it better than Johnny Ballam.

What are the facts of this so-called "unity"? The National was rapidly losing even the few shops that it had. Even the Weidmann shop started to move in the direction of the A. F. of L. union. Over 400 workers met with Rubenstein on Monday, October 16, and then joined the A. F. of L. The leaders of the National became panicky. They were losing even the few hundred they had. (Since the settlement, the workers in the Weidmann shop have returned overwhelmingly under the banner of the U. T. W.). So what can be better than proposing "unity"? One thing is certain, if they actually had support of the overwhelming majority of the dyers they would have no cause to propose unity to the A. F. of L.

With whom did the National make unity? Says the Daily Worker: "...a committee of the A. F. of L. including Charles Vigorito, president of the A. F. of L. dyers local, Pirolo, picket captain and other rank and filers, met with the N. T. W. U. at the N. T. W. U. headquarters."

Who is Pirolo? He is a Democratic politician, and has been fre-

quently attacked by the Daily Worker itself. He is not a dye worker. He wormed his way into the strike leadership by letting the striking dyers use Turn Hall and because the A. F. of L. union had inadequate leadership. Now, with elections approaching, he wants to stand in good with everyone. What could be better for him than some "unity maneuvers"?

The Daily Worker calls Vigorito the president of the local, a rank and filer. They don't tell you that he is one of the most conservative, weak-kneed officials in the whole union. They got him to agree to "unity negotiations" by threatening him with "bloodshed"—so Vigorito himself testified. And he's got the courage of a flea! These are the two lone A. F. of L. leaders with whom the National made "unity," which news they so jubilantly smeared all over the front page of the Daily.

What did they really do to "unify" the dyers? First, they advertised in all Paterson papers that a meeting of the A. F. of L. dyers would take place at Turn Hall, announcing only members of the National as speakers! Then they rounded up all members of the National, all Communist Party members, and came down early. All their speakers denounced the A. F. of L. as betrayers and misleaders! When Rubenstein, of the A. F. of L. dyers got on to the platform

and tried to speak, the National people booed, hissed, cat-called, shouted and finally broke up the meeting. That's "unity"!!

The A. F. of L. dyers strike committee met the next morning, unanimously condemned the actions of Pirolo and Vigorito, removed Vigorito as president of the union and issued a statement to all workers making clear the real purpose of the National's disruptive tactics. This "united front" was in actuality only an attempt to break the organization, demoralize workers who sincerely believe in unity, divide and split the union at a time when one union, one strong organization of all workers, is most needed.

And now the climax! Having lost everything, the National has now come out in favor of a "unity union", of a new, third union into which the A. F. of L. bodies and the National should "merge"—a union, of course, outside of the A. F. of L. Of course the silk workers find no difficulty in seeing thru this desperate trick and again the National is left high and dry!

The Workers Decide

The workers are voting on the official Communist Union tactics. They're voting with their feet... away from the National halls and their sect, towards unions affiliated with the main stream of the American labor movement, the American Federation of Labor. The biggest task, the task which the Communist Party Opposition is carrying out, is the building of a left wing within these unions, to make them militant fighting bodies of the working class.

Unity Is The Great Need Of The Hour

AMALGAMATION DRIVES TO VICTORY!

by M. Yablon

Since the article below was written, the Shoe Workers Protective Union officials have been forced to change their position. The pressure of the membership of the S.W.P.U. proved so strong that the Residence Board, which had previously refused to send out the ballot for a referendum vote, was forced to give in to the will of the union members. The ballot is being sent out and on October 31, the shoe workers of the Shoe Workers Protective Union, the National Shoe Workers Association and the Salem Independent Union respectively will vote on amalgamation.—Editor.

Boston, Mass.

For years the organized shoe workers in the United States have been divided into separate competitive unions. This in one of the chief reasons why the great mass of shoe workers are still unorganized. In the past, numerous movements have been developed for amalgamating all shoe workers unions into one. But each time these movements were killed by the bureaucratic officials of the separate unions, who placed their own narrow, selfish interests above the needs of the mass of shoe workers.

The Amalgamation Movement

But the lessons learned in these struggles were not in vain. During the past five months, a new movement for amalgamation has developed, known as the Planning Board. This movement is an expression of the discontent among the shoe workers with the little unions constantly fighting each other; it is an expression of the burning needs and desires to improve their intolerable conditions. The idea of amalgamating all shoe unions into one has captured the hearts and minds of the shoe workers. Today there is not a person among them who dares openly to oppose amalgamation. Nevertheless, the general officials of the Shoe Workers Protective Union, also being committed to the support of amalgamation, secretly are doing everything they can to prevent it.

The P. B. has so far refrained from talking drastic measures, hoping that the protective officials would not dare go against the will of the membership, that they would carry out their promises

made at the conventions of the National Shoe Workers Association and Shoe Workers Protective Union respectively. It is now clear that Nolan and Hamilton have broken their promises, have fooled the shoe workers and do not intend to go thru with amalgamation.

The excuse that the P. B. is led by Communists and radicals will not cover up their cowardice and betrayal.

The provisional committees of the various unions involved have labored for so many weeks and have finally agreed on a program acceptable to all unions. It must be remembered that the provisional committees were elected by the conventions of the respective unions, with instructions to negotiate and conclude an amalgamation agreement. These committees have loyally carried out their instructions. They have worked out a plan, how the referendum is to be carried out; they have set a date for the amalgamation convention, and have fixed the basis of representation to such a convention. Everything was set for the glorious day when the dream of the shoe workers would be realized. But the general officials of the Shoe Workers Protective Union have decided to keep the shoe workers organizations apart, by refusing to send out the ballots for a referendum vote. Thus they

have violated their convention decision regarding amalgamation.

The answer of the P. B. to the maneuvers and conspiracies of the Protective general officials is that the shoe workers have not said their last word yet, that the movement has gone too far to be stopped, that all those who stand in the way of amalgamation will be ruthlessly swept aside. The P. B. is well prepared to bring about what it has set out to accomplish: one union in the shoe industry.

The Next Step

Undoubtedly many proposals will be advanced, as in the past, that will endanger the success of the P. B. in bringing about amalgamation.

Every one agrees that the fight is not an easy one, that sheer enthusiasm and determination are not enough. In addition, one must have a correct program and suitable tactics. I am convinced that the P. B. will carry on this difficult fight in such a manner as to assure success. In the past, the P. B. rejected all false proposals, whether they were proposed by the extreme right or the extreme left. The P. B. delegates have learned how to fight the bureaucratic officials effectively. At all times, has the P. B. steered a course which made it popular and well-liked by the masses of shoe workers, irrespective of union affiliations.

From the very beginning all delegates to the P. B. refused even to consider a merger of officials. The delegates well understood that when officials get together, they would not discuss amalgamation but would bargain for position and jobs. If amalgamation is to be accomplished, it must be taken out of the hands of the officials. For this reason, a special authoritative committee was elected for the purpose of amalgamation only. The provisional committees were entrusted with this task. Another idea advanced—"Let one union swallow up the other unions"—was also categorically rejected by the P. B. The general officials of all the unions still cling to such a theory. But the same danger comes from another direction. Some people—yes! among the rank and file—say: "Let's smash the S. W. P. U. because its officials oppose amalgamation". If such a

measure be resorted to, it will play right into the hands of the same officials. Such a step would spell disaster to the amalgamation movement.

A third program was advanced by the adherents of the T. U. U. L., which sought to convert the movement for amalgamation into a movement for organization of a new union! They never had the courage to state publicly their real objective but they have employed such tactics as to cover up their real aim. Their proposal that the P. B. should call a so-called "amalgamation convention" is sufficient evidence of their real objective. They are trying to take advantage of the difficulties faced by the P. B. and the obstacles placed in the way by those who are opposed to amalgamation. They are trying to create pessimism and demoralization, by asserting that the program which the P. B. is pursuing at present will not bring about amalgamation. That it is a hopeless fight. They are encouraging hasty and premature measures which would result in still further splits. The delegates of the P. B. have seen through their schemes and have overwhelmingly defeated them.

As a result of the fight within the P. B., a clear program has been crystallized. Today, the P. B. clearly realizes that if genuine amalgamation is to be achieved, it must come directly thru the unions as a whole. The delegates of the P. B. are firmly convinced of this basic principle—that the trade unions belong to the rank and file and not to the officials!

The P. B. has already adopted an aggressive program with which to defeat the sinister attempts of the general officials of the S. W. P. U. to prevent real amalgamation. Numerous mass meetings have been arranged to inform the shoe workers of the treacherous acts of their general officials, that Mr. Nolan and Mr. Hamilton have violated the convention decision. The shoe workers must demand that the clause in the constitution which gives the right to one local, supported by four more locals, to initiate a referendum vote, be carried out.

Only the mighty voice of the shoe workers can force these bureaucrats to obey the convention decision. Such a campaign will bring the fight for amalgamation to a successful conclusion.

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WORKERS AGE

51 West 14th Street

New York City

Crisis in the Proletarian Party

by Herbert Zam

The Proletarian Party convention closed with that party in a severe crisis which may lead to the end of that organization. This crisis, reflecting even in this small and sectarian organization the need for a new orientation in the face of changed objective conditions as an alternative to complete annihilation, expressed itself both politically and organizationally.

The Crisis In The P. P.

For fourteen years the Proletarian Party had led a sheltered, more or less peaceful existence as a federation of local propaganda groups rather than as a working class political organization. But, with the coming of the crisis, the membership began to demand activity, contact with the masses, organization. "Immediate demands," which had been taboo in the organization all these years, became a debatable issue, with prominent members of the party championing the need for a new policy. Two years ago a split took place on this and related issues but, while the Proletarian Party hid itself of the most prominent advocates of the need for a new course, it could not rid itself of the conditions which drove them to advocate it.

On the eve of this convention, two years later, the party was again rent by discussion of these issues but on a higher and more extensive level and to these was added another basic issue—the issue of Communist unity, which was brought into the party by the initiative of the Communist Party (Opposition) for unity. At the same time, the advocates of a new course for the party also became convinced that a change in the party's policy must also be accompanied by a change in the party's structure, which was not of the generally accepted Communist character and in which a single individual, the secretary, had almost autocratic powers and was even beginning to look upon the organization as his private preserve. The administration clique naturally adopted a stand-pat position, which expressed itself in the pre-convention discussion and particularly in its actions at the convention.

On the eve of the convention (which had already been postponed once), the administration began to lose confidence in its ability to control it. The pre-convention discussion was going badly against it. Detroit, the largest local of the party, in fact its backbone, and the only local which had engaged in any sort of mass work and had contact with workers, thereby earning the enmity of the administration, was in revolt against the national office. The most prominent and active members thru-out the country were bringing forth powerful arguments against the stand-pat policies of the party and for a new course. The administration, therefore, decided upon a coup to assure for itself control of the convention. It decided that the basis for representation to the convention should be changed from one for every ten members, as at the previous convention, to one for every twenty-five members. This measure was obviously aimed at Detroit, whose representation was thereby cut while representation of the small locals of six to fifteen members, upon which the administration was basing itself, would remain the same. At the same time, in order to create the necessary "atmosphere" for the convention, the National Committee, on the day before the election of delegates was to take place in Detroit, took disciplinary measures against fourteen members in Detroit, of whom eleven were the leaders of the opposition, and three of whom were members of the N. E. C. Previously, the National Committee had also taken action against the leader of the Boston organization because that comrade had come out in opposition to its policies. The methods used by the administration in these measures are also extremely interesting. Out of fif-

The Results of the Detroit Convention

September 11, 1933
To the Proletarian Party of America, Local Detroit.

Dear Comrades:

We, the undersigned members of the Proletarian Party, Local Detroit, hereby place our resignations from the above party.

First: After observing the convention proceedings and noting the decisions arrived at, we came to the conclusion that the party had failed to project itself as a revolutionary political organization, that it still remains a sectarian group in spite of the sincere efforts to change it and bring it into line with objective and subjective conditions and needs. Instead of building itself on the principle of democratic centralism, the party has been maintained as a bureaucratic controlled and isolated group.

Second: The recent suspensions and expulsions of members of Local Detroit constitute a most flagrant violation of the party constitution which reads, Article 7, Section 6: "No member may be disciplined except upon written charges, a copy of which shall be presented to the accused, who shall

have at least one week's time in which to prepare his defense. The Local to which he or she belongs shall elect a trial committee of three members, which shall hear all evidence, make a complete record of same and transmit it to the Local, together with the committee findings and recommendations, all of which shall be subject to review by the Local, which shall render its decision as to guilt and penalty, said decision on appeal of accused to be subject to revision by the National Executive Committee."

Also Article 3, Section 4, which reads: "The National Executive Committee shall formulate its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution." This was done in order to keep these members out of the convention and allow the steamroller to work smoothly, as some of the members suspended without a trial would have been elected as delegates.

Also the resignations of members thruout the party, the obvious political maneuvering resulting in packed conventions, the apparently predetermined decisions arrived at during the convention just ended

(September 2-8, 1933) and the expulsions and resignations following the convention of June 1931, are sufficient evidence to substantiate our action.

Third: The utter failure of the N. E. C. to examine the matter of the Farm Project (the so-called U. C. L. Farm), with no effort on their part to find the cause of dissension among members, is another reason for our action. Dealing with effects and making decisions obviously biased against particular members, was not the way to remedy this situation but can only result in still further dissension.

We are convinced that further constructive work in the party is impossible and that we can no longer remain members.

(Signed) Fred Schock, Catherine Schock, Joe Schachinger, Elisabeth Schachinger, John Schachinger, Netty Schachinger, Pat Corsey, E. Corsey, Herman Beck, Carl Pederson, Mary Pederson, Ralph Gale, Eva Tuopin, Walter Tuopin, Joe Prockup, Flora Prockup Paul Jones, L. Gould, Dave Bennis, E. Field, Morris Field, Anna Kock, Bob Kanter.

teen members of the National Committee, ten were present. The three members involved were not permitted to vote at the meeting, one was chairman and had no vote, according to the committee procedure, while three abstained from voting. Consequently, really three members of the committee decided on such an important measure, including the disciplining of three other members of the committee.

In spite of these measures, however, the administration continued to insist that the party be firm and, towards the end of the convention, questions were being decided by a majority of one and two (twenty-three delegates were present) while on one issue, that of Communist unity, there was a 12-12 vote the tie being broken by the chairman casting the deciding vote. The administration was able to defeat the opposition but in doing so it also dealt a death blow to the Proletarian Party as a Communist organization, from which it cannot recover. This convention found the P. P. at the crossroads. To continue in the old path meant reaction, stagnation and death. A new road was needed.

The Communist Opposition And The P. P.
The Communist Party (Opposition) had raised the question of

The convention chose the old path. The decisions of the convention are, therefore, reactionary; they are the first steps in the funeral march of that party.

On every question which came before the convention, only one answer was given: to continue the previous policies, to treat in the footsteps of the forefathers. The question of immediate demands, the Negro question, agrarian work, party organization and structure—all were treated in that manner. A slight concession was made on immediate demands. The convention decided that it was not opposed in principle to immediate demands but that the present was no time for them! The Negro question was declared "non-existent" as a special problem, while the farmers were declared "bourgeois" and therefore of no concern to the revolutionists. The party structure was also perpetuated, the powers of the secretary were carefully respected and the same person re-elected.

The Communist Opposition And The P. P.
The Communist Party (Opposition) had raised the question of

Communist unity both informally and in a formal letter to the N. E. C. before the convention. It had also proposed an exchange of fraternal delegates and had sent a delegation of three to Detroit, which was there for the duration of the convention. The fraternal delegates were not seated, as a matter of fact the credentials were never brought to the attention of the convention but were pocketed by the secretary (in good old A. F. of L. style). Repeated requests were made by the delegates that a representative of the C. P. O. be invited to present its point of view to the convention for the benefit of the delegates but all such requests went unheeded. Nevertheless, the question of unity could not be evaded by the convention—the fat was in the fire and something had to be done.

The secretary, Keracher, shamelessly told the delegates that the proposal of unity must be rejected and there were several ways of doing it. But his own followers could not accept that position. They pleaded that to do so would disarm them and make it impossible to explain the thing away to the membership. Keracher there-

fore yielded and a very "clever" scheme was devised. (The P.P. was to declare its willingness to enter into unity "negotiations" upon certain "conditions" being accepted in advance by (the C. P. O.—and there is where the rub lay. The conditions, as many worked out, fourteen of them (a sort of "Marxist" fourteen points) were aimed at one thing—to give those at present in control of the P.P. control of any united organization which might result from the negotiations, regardless of anything else. Thus, one of the conditions is for the N. E. C. of the new organization to consist of the fifteen members of the N.E.C. of the P. P., its present secretary, and five members of the C.P.O.; that is the present leadership of the P.P. would have sixteen out of the twenty-one members and also the national secretary, and this would be the sole authority in the new organization for the next two years, when a convention would be called. Another "condition" was that the P.P. was to name three members of the C.P.O., who were not to hold office in the new organization for five years. The editorial board of the official organ was to consist of three from the P.P. and two from the C.P.O. The national office was to be in Chicago; These points were no analysis. They are not "conditions" aimed to promote Communist unity but rather to prevent it and the act is so crude as to be transparent even to a political tyro. By the adoption of these fourteen points the convention condemned itself in the eyes of all honest revolutionists.

And What Now?

The convention decisions make it impossible for a revolutionist interested in the forward march of the movement to remain any longer in the P.P. No other deduction can be drawn and this logical consequence was indeed drawn by a large section of the pre-convention opposition. At the convention itself, Ed Anderson, member of the N.E.C., and Serres, one of the founders of the party, tendered their resignations. Both were prominent members in the party of long standing. Since the convention, approximately thirty members in Detroit have resigned and also the delegate from Dayton, Ohio. Undoubtedly, the resignations will follow as they are unavoidable consequences of the convention decisions. The opposition members, both those still in the P.P., as well as those already out, cannot, however, be satisfied with leaving the almost-defunct P.P. If they are to continue revolutionary activity, they must align themselves with the organization which expresses their new outlook and which can provide them with the forms of activity in accord with the actual needs of the working class. The pre-convention discussion has already shown the political direction of the viewpoint of the opposition comrades. It is true that there is still a great deal of confusion among the comrades themselves and many are, naturally enough, still suffering from some of the "education" they received in the Proletarian Party. Clarity, however, can never be brought about thru inactivity and contemplation. Action itself is the best demonstrator of the correctness of policies. The comrades of the opposition must, if they are to move forward, be in one direction, already indicated by themselves—toward the Communist Party (Opposition). Any other step taken by the opposition comrades would not only be a contraction of their pre-convention course but would simply result in a repetition of their experiences in the P.P. The Communist Party (Opposition) calls upon the opposition members of the Proletarian Party to line up in the struggle for a united, powerful Communist movement and declares its willingness to do everything in its power to help them to find their rightful places in the movement.

(Continued on Page 8)

Sixteen Years of the Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 1)

tem can be scrapped not by "negotiating" with the capitalists but by giving up their position of power and profit without bitter resistance, but by determined and unceasing class struggle of the working class against the employing class, by using all means necessary to achieve the great end. This is the road that the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union took in 1917 and the splendid socialist achievements of the Soviet Union in the sixteen years that followed are the best proof that this is the only road for the workers of the whole world. This is the great significance of the Soviet Union; it proves without shadow of doubt that the revolutionary way out is the only way out of the blind alley of capitalism, with all its savagery, misery and horror!

The sixteen years of Soviet rule have been marked by veritable miracles of achievement in the face of enormous difficulties. The Russian workers and farmers, with their fate in their own hands, first beat back the united military assault of the capitalist world. Then, with incredible persistence and courage, they set to work to reconstruct their ruined country and its economic machinery. Finally, after more than ten years of unremitting toil, they started a grand nation-wide drive to build transparent even to a political tyro. By the adoption of these fourteen points the convention condemned itself in the eyes of all honest revolutionists.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Today, the Soviet Union stands in grave danger of an imperialist attack from two sides. In Europe, Hitler Germany is making no secret of its determination to become the spearhead of a reactionary coalition against the workers republic. In the Far East, Japan is hurling one provocation after the other, hoping to force the Soviet Union into a war situation. In the face of all this, the following Soviet Union has been following a consistent policy of peace, the only great power in the world to do so. But to be successful in its peace efforts, the U. S. S. R. must have the support of the workers of the whole world against the shameless intrigues of the capitalist war-mongers. Defend the Soviet Union!

SHIPYARD WORKERS STRIKE IN N. Y.

(Continued from Page 1)

on the part of many strikers that they were hesitant in calling upon the other crafts and that they were not pushing the strike with sufficient vigor. Questions were raised on the floor on the problem of getting the strike-breakers out and on picketing. Other speakers were Mr. Taylor and Ben Lifshitz, both of Local 416 of the International Association of Machinists. The remarks of Taylor incited the necessity of organization. The question of strike committees, etc. Lifshitz went that the workers must realize that the NRA was not an instrument for workers, that the only way to gain their demands was to get all the yards closed and thus to win the strike. The shipyard workers should follow the example of the dye workers in Paterson who closed every dye-house in the city. The real way, to spread the strike continued Lifshitz, was not only to have a few pickets with signs around the yards but by mass picketing.

The remarks of Lifshitz were

Vote Communist!

(Continued from Page 1)

bankers and business men, the "substantial" citizens, that he is "safe", that he is as conservative as McKee. He has certainly convinced Ogden Mills, the arch-reactionary Republican leader who is now supporting him. What can labor expect of a man, backed by the Republican machine and endorsed by Hoover's ex-Secretary of the Treasury?

Charles Solomon is going thru the motions of running on the Socialist ticket. Just as La Guardia is trying to hide his alleged "radicalism" and parade as a conservative, so is Solomon trying to shove his alleged "Socialism" into the background and parade as a non-descript liberal. The ingrained tendency of the Socialist Party to fawn upon the capitalists and compromise at every opportunity to condone and even abet to severest criticism on many points. But its principles are fundamentally sound and thoro pro-labor and by voting for it the workers of New York can not only express their break with the capitalist candidates, O'Brien, McKee and La Guardia, but also register their dissatisfaction with the compromising tactics of the Socialists, but also declare their support of the only effective labor policy—uncompromising and unceasing struggle against the capitalists.

The Communist Party ticket, headed by Robert Minor, is the only one standing fourquare and without compromise for the workers in these elections. The current tactics of the Communist Party are entirely false and suicidal; its elections program is subject to severest criticism on many points. But its principles are fundamentally sound and thoro pro-labor and by voting for it the workers of New York can not only express their break with the capitalist candidates, O'Brien, McKee and La Guardia, but also register their dissatisfaction with the compromising tactics of the Socialists, but also declare their support of the only effective labor policy—uncompromising and unceasing struggle against the capitalists.

The growing isolation of Germany internationally is having a double effect at home: on the one hand, it is stimulating jingoistic nationalism among large sections of the people but, on the other, it is also creating considerable misgiving with Nazi rule. But the latter sentiment will dissipate in entire futility unless it can be utilized by a strong and united anti-Fascist movement, which, unfortunately, does not yet exist in Germany.

GERMAN FASCISM AND THE WORKERS by Leo (Berlin)

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Hitler Leaves League and Orders New "Elections"

(Continued from Page 1)

are placing in the way of the resurgence of the new German imperialism. But primarily the move was made for home consumption. The aggravation of the economic situation and the domestic situation generally placed upon the Nazi regime the necessity of making some sensational move to ally discontent at home and to weld together the nationalistic front; the League of Nations situation provided the opportunity.

In the declaration justifying his drastic step, Hitler made an open bid to the West European imperialist powers for a block against the Soviet Union in which Nazi Germany would be the spearhead. It is rumored also that some sort of understanding aimed at the U. S. S. R. has been arrived at between Germany and Japan, who also quit the League recently.

Meanwhile an intensive propaganda campaign is under way in Germany to stimulate the jingoistic prejudices of the people and line them up behind the Nazis. Hitler is obviously counting on a tremendous popular mandate which he will be able to use to advantage at home and abroad. The election arrangements have been completed in true Nazi style. On the question of foreign policy the people are to be permitted to vote "yes" or "no" no secret is made, however, of the consequences to be visited upon anyone who "betrays the German people" by voting in the negative. But in the mock Reichstag elections to be held at the same time only one ticket, the Nazi ticket, is to be allowed; to fail to vote for this ticket means to invalidate the entire ballot!

The improved economic relations coming with Soviet recognition will be a great aid in carrying thru the Second Five-Year Plan in which the working masses of the Soviet Union are now engaged. The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States is an eloquent tribute to the effective and realistic international policy based on peace that the Soviet government has been following since its foundation. It is a big victory for the workers of the whole world!

U. S. TO RECOGNIZE SOVIET UNION

(Continued from Page 1)

stration, with the failure of the NRA staring in the face, needed some bold step that would not only attract favorable public attention but would also hold out some substantial promise of economic relief.

At the same time, an improvement of relations with the Soviet Union would serve as a counterweight to Japanese ambitions in the Far East, another important consideration for the United States.

Chief among the questions to be discussed before recognition is completed is the matter of American public and private debts contracted during the Czarist and Kerevsky periods and naturally repudiated by the Soviet government. In these days of wholesale repudiations and "moratoria" in international financial affairs, it will hardly be possible for the United States to make any case on the basis of the alleged "sanctity of debts." The position of the Soviet Union is a thoro practical one. While it does not recognize any obligation in principle to pay debts contracted by the exploiters and oppressors of the people under the old regime, it is willing to pay an extra percentage for credits granted which might be devoted by the recipients of the extra percentage to debt liquidation.

The recognition of the Soviet Union will have important economic consequences on a world scale. The considerable purchases of machinery and raw materials that the Soviet Union will make from the United States will occur at the expense of Germany and to some extent of Great Britain. For the United States, the recognition of the Soviet Union will mean a certain improvement in the economic situation as a result of the growing purchases that the U. S. S. R. is expected to make on the basis of the credits it will receive.

The improved economic relations coming with Soviet recognition will be a great aid in carrying thru the Second Five-Year Plan in which the working masses of the Soviet Union are now engaged. The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States is an eloquent tribute to the effective and realistic international policy based on peace that the Soviet government has been following since its foundation. It is a big victory for the workers of the whole world!

ROOSEVELT TAKES INFLATION STEP

(Continued from Page 1)

tionist block in Congress are halting the move as a step in their direction. In the words of President Roosevelt himself, the country, under new policy, is "continuing to move toward a managed currency."

Inflation, at first thru control of gold prices but later on thru other means, is one of the measures that the administration has held in reserve for use when the NRA would show signs of "weakness." Now that hopes of success from the NRA are growing dimmer and dimmer, and admissions of failure are heard even in Presidential circles, the administration is seeking refuge first in the expected economic effects of Soviet recognition, secondly in inflation and third, it is presumed, in a more extensive program of public works.

THE MARXISM OF SIDNEY HOOK

(Continued from Page 4)

Marx, who, as is well known, read the entire manuscript and even wrote parts of it himself, never offered any objection or criticism at all. Such circumstantial evidence has decisive significance for a man of Marx's theoretical sensitivity and insistence on intellectual clarity. Marx never hesitated to criticize and that sharply on other occasions (on certain judgements of events in the American Civil War). But Marx seems to have fully agreed with the "Anti-Duehring". Hook's instrumentalism leads him astray here also. (concluded in the next issue)

An Open Letter to P. P. Members

To All Locals and Members of the Proletarian Party of America..

Dear Comrades:

Only July 1, 1933, the Communist Party (Opposition) published in its official organ, The Workers Age, an article by Herbert Zam, in which the problem of the unity of the Communist movement in this country and, in particular, of the unity between the Proletarian Party and the Communist Party (Opposition), was raised. A little later, the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) sent a formal letter to the National Committee of the Proletarian Party raising the same questions and proposing that each organization select a committee for mutual discussion of these matters to see whether better relations between the two organizations could not be achieved. Our approach on this matter in the words of the Rochester local of the P.P., was "objective" and "comradely". In connection with the recently concluded convention of the P.P., we proposed an exchange of fraternal delegates and had our representatives in Detroit during the entire period of the convention in the hope that as credentials presented by them as

fraternal delegates would come before the convention for favorable action. We have since learned that these credentials were never presented to the convention itself. Nor was a request of the committee to be permitted to be present to state the position of the Communist Party (Opposition) to the convention on the question of unity granted. Under these circumstances, it is clear that the convention and particularly the officers of the P.P. did not have in mind any real desire for unity but, on the contrary, were concerned only with maneuvers to avoid unity, to prevent better relations between the Communist forces in this country and to perpetuate the sad split-up character of our movement. We have since received the answer adopted by the convention to our unity proposals and the answer itself bears out this contention. We are, therefore, compelled to appeal from the convention to the locals and members of the Proletarian Party. Any support given to the decision of the convention would be a crime against the Communist movement in this country, a betrayal of the aims for which the rank and file membership of the Proletarian Party, as well as of other Communist or-

ganizations, are now struggling. We state frankly that we do not hold the membership responsible for the reactionary decisions of the convention, which itself was in the stranglehold of Keracher and his clique. This clique resisted all the efforts to change membership for a more progressive line of policy by the P.P. In the present situation, when the entire labor movement is in turmoil, when every honest working class organization is overhauling its policies and machinery to be in accord with new conditions to be better able to operate in the interests of the working class, the convention of the P.P. decided to stand pat, exactly as it has stood for the last fourteen years. This decision is a reactionary one; it is a betrayal of the working class on whose behalf the P.P. pretends to work; it is a betrayal of the membership who want to build up a united revolutionary organization, capable of leading the American workers in the struggle against capitalism capable of becoming a part of the international revolutionary army in the war against world imperialism. For every honest revolutionist in the P.P. there is, therefore, only one path to chose—repudiate

(Continued on Page 8)

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November 1, 1933.

MORRIS HILLQUIT

THE career of Morris Hillquit, the recently deceased national chairman of the Socialist Party, mirrored in itself the entire career of his party from its auspicious rise at the turn of the century to its inglorious decline in the post-war period. And the signs are not lacking that his death may mark the beginning of a new alignment in the Socialist movement perhaps a "new deal" for the Socialist workers.

Hillquit sprang into general prominence in the labor movement thru his vigorous struggle against the deadening sectarianism and oppressive party autocracy that came to be known as De Leonism. It was under his leadership, among others, that the healthy elements in the old Socialist Labor Party broke with that outlived organization and helped to form the Socialist Party. It was thru his efforts that some elementary ideas of Marxism in principles and tactics began to penetrate the American Socialist movement, which showed itself characteristically impervious to such influences. It was in this period, culminating in the first decade of the new century, that Morris Hillquit and the Socialist Party played a valuable and progressive role in the development of revolutionary class organization of the proletariat in this country.

But this period was soon over. Within the Socialist Party, the struggle of tendencies broke out: between a left wing fundamentally revolutionary but tainted with syndicalistic prejudices and a right wing, fundamentally reformist but knowing how to make capital out of the sectarian excesses of their opponents. Morris Hillquit lined up, immediately and irrevocably, with the opportunists and thereby became increasingly a reactionary force in the Socialist movement. His unflagging energy and undeniable talents he dedicated to the cause of the emasculation of American Socialism and it cannot be said that his efforts proved unsuccessful. The Cleveland convention of 1912, the St. Louis convention of 1917, the Chicago convention of 1919 and the Milwaukee convention of 1932 were milestones in his steep decline. Often, as at the St. Louis emergency "war" convention, he knew how to assume "left" protective coloring and thereby brought into play the worst features of his character, but as time went on his thoroly reactionary role became unmistakable.

For a number of years before his death, Morris Hillquit was the Rock of Gibraltar of the extreme right wing in the S. P., its brains and its will. To the rebellious elements in the party he became a veritable obsession, the embodied tradition of reaction. And, in fact, it was he who held together the right wing majority of the National Committee, who arose as an indomitable force against every effort to turn the S. P. even a hair's-breadth to the left.

It is clear enough now that his death materially changes the balance of forces in the Socialist Party. It is hardly to be doubted that the old and somewhat demoralized "militant" movement will now revive and challenge the leadership of the badly hit reactionary clique in many sections of the Socialist Party, perhaps even nationally. It is hardly to be doubted, that insofar as the traditional "Militant" movement was simply and solely an anti-Hillquit movement, the death of its arch-enemy will become a loosening influence for its disintegration, a stimulus to recrystallization and differentiation.

It is here indeed that hope lies within the S. P. With its assumption of responsibility, if not of power, the traditional "Militant" movement will surely shed its last remaining pretense to revolutionary character and thus alienate the most sincere of its followers. At the same time, the collapse of the anti-Hillquit block will certainly liberate the more consciously radical forces and provide, for the first time perhaps, a real basis for the emergence of a genuine left, that is, revolutionary, Communist, wing in the Socialist Party.

From the German Battle Front

Revolutionary Trade Union Work.
Stuttgart, Germany.

A trade union committee has been set up in Stuttgart consisting of members of the Social-democratic Party, of the Communist Party, of the Communist Opposition and of non-partisan workers. This committee publishes a trade union paper. In the various parts of the town there are trade union leaderships whose representatives form the city leadership. A special editorial committee has also been created. Members of all political tendencies support the paper. The creation of genuine working class trade unions, illegal of course, confronts us now as a practical task. The objective conditions are already ripe. Official party members are already willing to cooperate. The party's change in trade union policy also brings us nearer to the C. P. G. members because they know that we took a correct stand on the trade union question from the beginning. The same holds true for the S. P. G. Leading S. P. G. functionaries consider the creation of illegal class unions as necessary and are showing open sympathy for our position. We have also the support of the Socialist Workers Youth.

Illegal Papers Of The C. P. G.-O.

In addition to the many local and district papers published by the C. P. G.-O. in Breslau, Ham-

burg, Frankfurt on the Main and Cologne, the Thuringian district organization is also handing out a district paper. In Gera, "Der Kampf" appears every two weeks; in Jena and Tiefenort, there are special papers. The West Saxon district publishes "Die Einheit", a weekly paper with a circulation of 1,000. In Berlin the "Arbeiterstimme" appears every two weeks; in the Solingen, "Der Neue Weg"; in Wuertemberg, the "Arbeiterstimme". The Reich leadership publishes the monthly "Junius-Briefe" as its official organ. Then there is the foreign monthly organ, "Gegen den Strom."

The Communist Youth Opposition Forges Ahead

Berlin, Germany.
The organizationally weaker than the C. P. G.-O., as Communist Youth Opposition is continuing its activity under the most difficult conditions with a united leadership in the entire Reich. It has suffered in individual districts because of arrests. The Reich leadership of the C. Y.-O. is resuming the regular publication of youth material. The C. B.-O. works more closely with the C. P. G.-O. than in legal times. The official Young Communist League has suffered heavy losses in the last few months; it is organizationally not much stronger than the C. Y.-O.

ANTI-NAZI PANEL IN RIVERA MURALS



OPEN LETTER TO THE P. P.

(Continued from page 6)

the decisions of the convention, repudiate the Keracher clique which has become a parasitic growth on the P.P. and treats it as private property of the clique. Break with the reactionary standpatter who have been able to move only backwards in fourteen years. Forward to Communist unity and a united Communist Party!

The decisions of the convention on the question of Communist unity lay down fourteen points as conditions for unity. We do not propose to enter into a detailed analysis of these points. To any one reading them carefully, their objective is clear—not to lay a basis for unity but to make unity impossible. In our appeal to the Proletarian Party we laid down no conditions. We said: You are a Communist organization; We are a Communist organization. We have many points in common but we still have many differences. Therefore, let us come together for an unprejudiced discussion. The convention answered with the infamous "fourteen" points. These "fourteen points" are an unashamed and unprincipled confession of the present clique in control of the P.P. that they are for unity only if they will be guaranteed control of the united organization for at least two years. It is for this reason that they insist on no convention for the next two years, the new National Committee to be made up of the 15 members at present on the N. E. C. of the P.P., 5 from the C. P.-O. and the present secretary of the P.P., that is Keracher—and this regardless of numerical relations, regardless of the desires of the membership, regardless even of the situation inside the P.P. itself.

Comrades of the Proletarian Party: We appeal to you not to let yourself become a party to this farce which can only make a laughing-stock of all those involved in it. Already the P.P. is in a severe crisis as a result of the reactionary character of the convention decisions. This is indicated by the resignation from the party of about thirty of the most active members in Detroit and by the resignation of two such outstanding members of the party as Ed Anderson and Serreine Lowe. These resignations do not perturb

the small clique in the national office—because they are interested only in preserving their clique hold and not in building a real organization of a working class character. But these resignations must be an alarm signal to the honest membership of the Proletarian Party—a signal that the P.P., as at present organized, and constituted, has outlived its usefulness and can, in the future, serve only as an obstacle in the forward march of the working class. No honest revolutionist can maintain any further connection with an organization which is fast becoming a mere corpse.

Comrades! Repudiate the Keracher clique! Stop giving it any support! Organize your forces for real, effective Communist activity! Come into the movement for Communist unity! Unite with the Communist Party (Opposition) in the campaign for a united, powerful Communist Party in this country and a united powerful Communist International!

National Committee Communist Party (Opposition)

THE A.F.L. CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON

(Continued from Page 3)

enough. No large-scale and far-visioned plan of unionization and of nation-wide strike action for union recognition, higher wages and shorter hours, was worked out, nor any campaign against the mounting open shop and company union menace. Craft unionism emerged triumphant, at least temporarily. The splendid militancy of the workers, the most promising sign on the labor horizon for years, was definitely discouraged and frowned upon, at least as much as the officials dared. The attempt to broaden the A. F. of L. Executive Council to include representatives of the most important international unions was defeated. The appeal to break down the barriers against colored workers and to eliminate the vicious jim-crow practises in many unions, went almost unheeded, in spite of the fine-sounding resolution passed. A mere routine resolution was considered enough on the burning question of unemployment insurance. And finally, the proposal for independent labor political action, raised in a half-



THE LITTLE GOLDEN CALF,
by Ilya Ilf and Eugene Petrov

Should the reader unacquainted with Soviet life accept this tale as representative, he would be as grossly deceived as if he were to trust its title and take it for a children's tale. It has, indeed, its elements of fantasy but it is surely fantastic to believe that the Soviet authorities would allow such a sly rogue, as the authors picture their hero, to interfere for any length of time with the upbuilding of the new world.

The authors omit almost entirely the background absolutely necessary for any picture of Soviet life today, the gigantic tasks of construction, of growth, with the accompanying hardships, failures, successes. Without such a background, the story is totally distorted, lacking perspectives. To the conscious Soviet worker, who knows what's what, the story can do no harm; indeed, it may provide him with a little fun at his own expense. But the worker outside can gain nothing from the book except a false outlook.

The story, in brief, deals with money as the sole ambition of a rogue who extracts it from a speculator who has himself accumulated millions thru speculation. But all he can do with it, is to keep it hidden in a valise. In Soviet Russia there is no room for private wealth; it is a burden and a curse to those possessing it. This much, at least, is made clear.

Satire is a splendid weapon, as Lunacharsky so vividly describes in his very fine introduction to the story. "The satiric scorpion is directed against philistinism and bureaucracy which, like dust carried in the air, interferes with the regular breathing of young organisms." But I doubt greatly if satire alone can really kill anything besides the arguments of an opponent in debate.

E.

hearted manner by some unions, was decisively defeated, the federation declaring its determination to stick by the bankrupt and discredited practise of being a tail-end of one or the other or both of the capitalist parties.

Realignments In The Officialdom

The Washington convention also brought to expression important realignments in the "official family" of the A. F. of L. In general the situation has made for the emergence to the fore of the more "up-to-date", "modern" and, in a certain sense, less conservative sections of the bureaucracy, as dramatized in the partial shelving of Matthew Woll at the convention and the revolt against craft fetishism. As at Cincinnati last year, so in Washington today, John L. Lewis succeeded in making himself the expression of this tendency, this time with the prestige of the powerful U. M. W. A. behind him. As against these elements, were the standpatters and ultra-reactionaries, who refused completely to recognize anything new and who bitterly resisted even the slightest modification of the hidebound and outworn traditions of the A. F. of L. Between the two, was the vacillating faction, including Green himself, which essayed to play the role of mediator and peace-maker. It is already clear enough that in the lower ranks of the A. F. of L. the first tendency is making definite headway and will gain strength in the future.

It was no less characteristic of the situation in the labor movement that, at the convention, there was not one left wing or really progressive delegate present. The old left wing movement in the trade unions is shattered, due primarily to the insane sectarianism of the official Communist Party. The Socialist Party makes no pretense at all of playing a progressive role in the unions. The Communist Opposition, in spite of the great headway it has made in the trade union movement, is not yet in the position to take the initiative in the organizational crystallization of left wing sentiment. This remains the great task of the future.