A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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NEW YORK, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 1, 1934.

PRICE 5 CENTS

UTW Calls General Cotton Strike

Sinclair Wins Primary

The political lineups of 1936 are entrenched in the California of

With the nomination of Upton Sinclair, erstwhile Socialist and author of the EPIC plan, as Democratic candidate against Republican reactionary Frank Merriam, the vague outlines of two new political machines may be seen. Sinclair's victory is especially significant coming only a few days after the formation of the ultra-conservative American Liberty League.

On the one side are the blind reactionaries—the Merriams, the Rossis, the Al Smiths, the Hamilton Fishes. On the other side are the "liberals," the men who stand for the "square deal," the "new deal"—the Roosevelts, the Hop- learn that a new society can-kins, the Sinclairs. It is on this not be achieved by methods "so basis that American parliamentarianism will run for the next

Sinclair won the nomination by gaining thousands of new Democratic votes, many of them from power by the destruction of its the ranks of Socialists and radicals. enemies. These people believed in his EPIC plan to "end poverty in California," and in Sinclair as the instrument of radical change. But the EPIC plan on analysis presents many old familiar features. It is, in its fundamentals, the stand of right wing Socialism lacking only the lip service right-wing Socialism g ves to the Marxian doctrine of class-struggle. EPIC has other

There is a vague reminiscence of Hitler's work camps in Sinclair's program of putting the unemployed to work on the land and into a more permanent form—the in the factories so they may be rein the factories so they may be removed from relief rolls and light-en the burdens on the taxpayers.

Sinclair's statements show the confusion, the misinterpretation of class forces characterizing the libpersons in our state out of work. den of that is driving the state to Further, he assures the goods fabricated by the unemployed because these articles will not come onto the market. Of the installation of EPIC, Sinclair states: "We have made it as simple as possible, as easy to under the state of the installation of these greater prers standing in the way of a hastern trend realization of these greater Frankensteins. With all governmental power being exerted to facilitate this process, the death knell for many small businesses stand. We have made it so grad-ual so as to be painless."

SHOPMEN DEFEAT COMPANY UNIONS

Washington, D. C. The company union has been defeated in a poll conducted among the shop men in the Illinois Central

The machinists voted for the leg timate union, 1.184 against 298; the boilermakers 337 against 84: the carmen 2771 against 746 and the firemen and oilers voted 810

All other crafts cast majorities against the company unions.

Th's is the position, not only of EPIC, but of the New Deal. Roosevelt can and will support Sinclair, if not openly, at least with a deftconcealed influence, because there is no conflict between EPIC and NRA. They're both letters cut

of the same type case. California is a state of extremes. The contest for governor will be bitterly waged this fall with the possibilities that Sincla'r will win. One clear gain will come from his victory—the freedom of Mooney and Billings. But beyond that we may expect to see Sinclair en-gulfed in the morass of his own contradictions just as the liberals of the New Deal have been engulfed. In turn the workers will gradual as to be painless"-that such changes must come, not through manipulating a Democratic political regime but through a class, set into motion to achieve

AL SCHAAP

As we go to press, we are informed of the death of Comrade Al Schaap, formerly member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Communist League. Comrade Schaap was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) and its organizer in Los Angeles, California.

Comrade Schaap had taken a leading role in the fight of the CPO for the reunification of the communist movement and in the struggle for a correct Leninist line.

The death of Comrade Schaap at the age of 32 is a great loss for the CPO especially at a time when its influence is beginning to penetrate large sections of the American labor movement.

We urge upon our California comrades to redouble their communist work so that movement for which we all fight may go

Silk and Wool Men to Follow

Washington, D. C. A general strike in the cotton industry has been called for Saturday 11.30 P. M. The following call was issued by Francis J. Gorman, Chairman, Special Strike Commit-tee, United Textile Workers of

"To All Locals:

"Strike of all cotton textile workers will begin at 11.30 o'clock your time Saturday night. Put all previous instructions into effect. Wool, silk and rayon and synthetic yarn membership stand by for further orders. Victory thru solidari-

This strike call comes after many days were lost in futile and servile bargaining on the part of the U. T.W. leaders, who sought by all possible means to call off the strike. Bound by a convention de cision and arrogantly spurned by the Cotton Textile Institute, they were finally forced to resort to a strike cf 500,000 cotton workers.

The strike call has aroused tre mendous enthusiasm in the ranks of the textile workers. Also other

sections of the industry are ready and awaiting the call to walk out. In a statement from Paterson, Eli Keller, progressive leader of the silk workers, and Yanarelli of the dyers, have announced that their membership is prepared to strike

and are awaiting a strike call.

A stirring call for a complete general strike has been issued by the Progressive Group of the U. T.W. In this call an appeal is also made to all trade unions to give their moral and financial assistance to the strike.

That the textile barons intend to use the most violent means of suppression became apparent when strike headquarters announced that it has learned that many mills have secured large orders of tear gas bombs, arms, and ammunition. At the same time it has become known that the Department of Justice has been asked to send agents into the strike area.

Numerous telegrams from local unions, pledging assistance to the strike have been received at strike headquarters. Among these were telegrams from the Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union and from Charles S. Zimmerman, pledging moral and financial assistance from 30,000 workers in the dress-makers union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. Also William Green, President of the A. F. of L. has announced his endorsement of the strike.

Richberg Reorganizes NRA

Big Business, lustful for still greater profits, is further strength. ening the deadly hold of the trade associations over the economic life familiar features from a much of the nation, by a reorganization more unpleasant source however. or a further organization of NRA. The enormous profits reaped by corporations under the NRA is spurring the organization of NRA

A new classification of codes into twenty-two groups is to be inaugurated. A typical example of such a classification is Division No. 10 eral position. After re-affirming under which will come all Textile, his fundamental faith in democra- Apparel. Leather and Fur Codes. cy he says: "There are 1.250,000 over 100 codes in all. This vertical organization of industry is nothing They cannot be permitted to but an accelerated development of starve. they are being supported by public charities, and the burhas long existed. The tendency toward vertical bankruptcy and the taxpayers to dustry is inherent in capitalism; the new devices of NRA will serve business men that they need not to automatically remove many barworry about competition from the riers standing in the way of a has-

The two great obstacles confronting Big Business are naturally enough its inevitable opponents, small business and labor.

That the coming reorganization is directed against the code "chislers" (small business) is openly acknowledged. Thus The Journal of Commerce with disarming can-

dor declares the objective:
"The new groupings give industries better competitive po-

bor provisions. In some cases, The genesis of a liberal. . . . the group might adopt the highest minimum wage and the lowest working hours provided for all their codes."

Even the pretense of "cracking on the big boys has now down'' been abandoned by the New Dealers, and the little fish are to be trapped in a much finer net and their life extinguished in a fashion so efficient that Frederick Taylor, the father of Scientific Management will probably applaud from his grave.

More highly organized these associations can spell nothing for labor but more ruthless attempts to undermine and destroy uniônism. The recent strike wave, San Francisco, Minneapolis, etc., has struck terror into the hearts of the Rob-So the anti-labor machinery is being over-hauled; new instruments are being created. their terror is translating itself into more efficient preparations for the greater battles impending.

Under the new dispensation the restrictions and outlawing of new machinery installation shall go the way of all flesh. Industry will reach still higher productive levels.

The self-acknowledged author of Theodore Roosevelt's campaign speeches, Donald Richberg, is an old hand at the surshine business. He wrote the rah-rah songs for the from his mellow twilight into the lective bargaining contemplated in bright sun of national fame, an ofsitions to establish uniform la- fice-boy for Wall Street's wolves.

The report on the "progress of national recovery" is purported to be a "broad view of the accomplishments of the objectives and accomplishments of the administra-tion program." We learn from the rejuvenated cheer-leader that, "the average per capita weekly earnings in manufacturing" (for individual wage-earners) rose only 8.5 per cent. "Therefore, the average manufacturing worker's purchasing power remained practically unchanged; although by shortening hours he 'shared his work' with new employes, without an individ-ual loss in 'real wages'. "Little ual loss in 'real wages'. "Little cause for joy here. Most astounding of all. the report still dares to imply that capital and labor have both been equally blessed by the New Deal. First it is implied that the growth of labor organizations (the A. F. of L.) has been encouraged by the New Deal. This is subtly done: after telling of the growth of the trade associations under the codes "which is essential to the administration of Codes of Fair Competition". the growth of the A. F. of L. follows in the very next paragraph. This is intended to demonstrate the impartiality of the New Deal. And this after Richberg has on several occasions denounced as anti-government acts, those militant actions which strengthened the unions! But Donald is far more pleased University of Chicago, became en- with the growth of the company meshed in the net of progressiv- unions because they mark "an inism, turned sour and pessimistic; crease in the mechanisms of labor then came Roosevelt to lift him association available for the col-

(Continued on Page 3)

Detroit Workers Score Green

The rank and file opposition to the strike breaking role of Green, in the San Francisco strike, is growing. Another indication of that is a resolution adopted by the Kelsey Hayes federal union of automobile workers, with a membership of 2,000, in which Green's action is scored as being in "violation of the ethics and traditions of the trade union movement." following is the resolution in full:

WHEREAS, the A. F. of L. Unions of San Francisco, uncooperation toward the long-shoremen, by going out on strike in an effort to compel the reactionary Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, and its affiliated organizations to recognize the Longshoremen's Union.

WHEREAS, these 50,000 or workers would more achieved their aim, had not William Green of the A. F. of L. denounced these efforts to achieve victory for the Longshoremen.

WHEREAS, William Green, by his acts has created dissension among all trade union members and assisted in retarding the growth of the American Labor movement, thereby giving aid and comfort to the enemies of Labor.
THEREFORE, BE IT RE-

SOLVED, at a regular meeting of Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Corporation, Local No. 18677, poration, United Automobile of America, that we formally go on record (Continued on Page 6)

The NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

REGISTRATION OPENS SEPT. 10

51 WEST 14th ST., N. Y. C.

Beginning this month, the "Arbeiter Kampf," jewish organ of Dubinsky Demands our group will again resume publication. Due to financial difficulties

viewpoints to the Jewish speaking masses in the various organization.

Cancelly those concells those concells the called to take up the question of list and Communist movements). nected with mass organization must mobilize to sell and distribute the magazine. The price per copy

All communications for the "Ar beiter Kampf" should be addressed to Jewish Committee, CPO, 51 West 14th Street, New York City.

> THE CANADIAN TOILER Published Monthly by the

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STEEL COMPANIES

FIRST NUMBER

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FOR UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMU-NIST MOVEMENT A letter to the I.L.P. of Great Britain

> **ESTIMATING AUSTRIA'S**

NOW IN PREPARATION THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM REVOLUTION by Jay Lovestone by Will Herberg

'Arbeiter Kampf' to Appear | NEW WORKERS SCHOOL OPENS

Paddock Removal the group was forced to suspend the publication of this important organ for several months. Arrangements are now being made to have the publication appear regularly every month.

In order to assure the regular appearance of the monthly the first few issues printed in mimeographed form.

The first issue of the publication as existed and development is the unprecent and developme

Lovestone To Give New Course To our New York friends who

SLASH WAGES looking forward with so much policies and aims of the Anarchist, eagerness to the resumption of the Syndicalist, Socialist and Communication of the Syndicalist and Communication of the Syndical Synd Under the guise of eliminating Current Events lecture series given ist movements, and of the various Saturday work the United States by Jay Lovestone who, as has been tendencies within the Communist Steel Communication by Jay Lovestone who, as has been movement. Sturday work the Officed States by Jay Lovestone who, as has been movement. A very important to begins the week of September the wing" and in whose lectures course dealing with the labor movement. A very important to begins the week of September 10. The fee for a 12 session course "the methods of Marxism are bril- ment is "Trade Union Tactics" to This was immediately followed by similar announcements by Jones & McLaughlin, Republic Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube.

"the methods of Marxism are brilliantly applied to illuminate hisbe given by George F. Miles, long is \$2.50, for an 8 session course, experienced in the problems and tasks of trade union work. This course analyzes the historic and the mass organization, the Complete Conomic background of American "Marxian Economics" is divided the mass organization, the Comin economic background of American munist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)

the mass organization, the Cominto two terms, so arranged as to an effort will soon be made to enhas succeeded in arousing, among causes for the recent trade union for these who desire to take one force this cut also upon the mill the workers, a deep interest in growth, the condition of the A. F. workers in the plants of the above Communism. Since these leftward moving workers have repeatedly voiced their desire to make a thorough study of the theory and method of Marxism, the New Workers School has arranged with Jay Lovestone, one of the founders and builders of the Communist Party of America, now

> ty (Opposition), to conduct a study course in the Marxist classics. This study course is to consist of 12 sessions, each session to be given over to an examination of an outstanding Marxian classic, i.e., one of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Each session will be devoted not merely to the consideration of the text and political content of the particular piece of writing, but primarily to an application of the political substance of this reading to current events, national and international. In view of the nature of this course, the class will be limited to those who have some acquaintance with Marxian theory and reading, and who are prepared to study in earnest. Unlike the

Current Events lecture series, there

will be no single admission to any

session. Enrollment for the entire

course of 12 sessions must be

Secretary of the Communist Par-

Wolfe to Teach Marxian Economics

Another course for which we have had repeated requests is "Marxian Economics," which will be given by the Director of the New Workers School, Bertram D. Wolfe, one of the few outstanding leaders in Marxian thought. Space does not permit of a detailed description of this course. This we will gladly send upon request. Nor can we devote much space to the to be given during the Fall Term. We can only sketch some of them

DELICIOUS FOOD?
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Many Other Courses Listed

"Radical Tendencies in the Labor Movement," a course to be given have gained so much from and are by B. Herman, will examine the of L., of independent, and of revo-lutionary (TUUL) unionism, of 12 sessions is \$3.50, for the second company and of NPA main in the A. F. or the other. The fee for the first 12 sessions is \$3.50, for the second company and of NRA unionism in term of 8 sessions, \$2.50; advance struggles, etc.

'Fundamentals of Communism"

with the opening of the Fall The Foundations of Marxism
Term on September 24, the New Workers School enters upon its Paddock Removal

With the opening of the Fall The Foundations of Marxism
A study of the ideological development of Marxism from its beginnings to the death of Marx

to be given by D. Benjamin and E. Doif. This course analyzes the eccthe first few issues printed in mimeographed form.

The first issue of the publication will contain a series of articles on the situation in the Jewish mass organizations and the labor movement. The purpose of the manufacture in ment industry.

A joint meeting of the General viewpoints to the Jewish speaking viewpoints with this post because he helped draft the statement of the manufacture to note, and very significant, that the outlines most frequently requested are for the courses "A Marxian Interpretation of American History." The remarkable frescoes painted on the walls of the New Workers School by the great revolutionary artist, Diego Rivera, as his gift to the workers of New York, serve to illustrate to Freedom" (an examination of the Anarchist, Syndicalist, Social-viewpoints, Syndicalist, Social-view proletarian classes, the farm question, the Negro question, etc.

Registration Opens

Classes are conducted evenings from 7 to 8:30 and from 8:40 to 10.10 P. M. on Mondays, Tuesdays, for those who desire to take one the light of the present sharp registration for the entire course is \$5.00. Special arrangements will be made for unemployed workers on any of the courses. Write for For those desiring to begin a detailed descriptive catalogue to systematic study of Communist the New Workers School, 51 West heory and practice, we offer 14 Street, N. Y. C.

LEFT COMMUNISM

AN INFANTILE DISORDER

An Attempt at a Popular Presentation of Marxist **Strategy and Tactics**

By N. LENIN

A new edition of Lenin's classic on the tactics of Communism, published by the Communist Party (Opposition) with an introduction by Bertram D. Wolfe, will appear on September 15 as a 132 page volume priced at 25 cents.

NATIONAL LITERATURE DEPT., CPO **New York City**

After you've read the day-by-day accounts of strikes and revolutions, you ask, "What do these events mean-what are their effects on the international situation—what will their

are interpretations of the American and international labor movement by Lovestone, Herberg, Wolfe, Miles, Zimmerman

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N. Y. C.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

In the Workers Age you find the answer. In its pages

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FIRST YOUTH CONGRESS IN REVIEW

Under the leadership of the have been the Communist strategy radical youth organizations, fight- to do so. This error is the blackest ing in disciplined and strategic one on the Congress record. fashion, the majority of genuine youth organizations captured the Browder, Alfred Bingham, Norseries American Youth Congress man Thomas and others. Browder

Shipping Clerks Union. A projected ference of opinion on a formula ference of opinion opinion opinion opinion opinion opinion opi and administered a smashing blow with all his deficiencies fairly at the attempt to convert this first radiated militant struggle in com-Congress of America's youth into parison to the pinks that preceded D. C. a docile receptacle of the Roosevelt plans. It was glorious, this demonstration of united effort upon the part of the radical and liberal Ilma—so dramatically pictured as "pipe-smoking blood" of "royal Abyssinian" vintage—and her coterie, an invaluable service was

Starvation, Ornaments, What the character of the Congress might have been was clearshould several million youngsters do likewise?) This is the kind of brain rust that comes from the more "liberal" of the Brain-Trust Dr. Nash of New York University found no difference between Russia under the Czar and under Communism; he therefore uiged youth to-guess what?-stretch out their | Business Blues hands and grasp for beauty! Ar- Become Black tnur Garfield Hays declared himself as being uninterested in "systems" but vitally interested in "civil liberties"! He too took a "liberal" poke at the Soviet Union by finding little difference between and Nazi Germany! So much for the curtain raiser.

Left Opens Fire

Speeches concluded, Miss Ilma is reaffirmed by "The Commercial proceeded to make some announce- and Financial Chronicle" of Aug.

The volume of rail-road freight are indeed deplorable. RAILWAY has not been making satisfactory has not been making satisfactory has not been making satisfactory are indeed deplorable. RAILWAY AGE then agrees that such conditions are indeed deplorable. ments, but was interrupted by 18, 1934, drawing upon a report of vigorous cries for the election of a chairman. Flustered at this "un the Cleveland Trust: "The third than it was a year ago." AGE then agrees that such conditions are deplorable—but only because it enables the bus owners the last point "experts made a fair accompanition trade of course than it was a year ago." a chairman. Flustered at this "un the Cleveland Trust: "The third last point, "exports made a fair couth" demonstration of her quarter of the year has definitely recovery last year but have relieved costs resulting in price-"guests" she summarily declared become a period of general recesthe session adjourned. Immediate-sion. . . The volume of industrial mained almost unchanged this cutting which the railroads canly it dawned upon all that even in output has fallen by distinctly politics she was but a novice. The more than the normal seasonal ide had turned.

At the round table session that growing, and the burdens of public Toboggan

very afternoon, four of the hand- relief payments is increasing in picked chairmen were ousted by the delegates when they refused to permit democratic election of chairpermit democratic election of chairpermit democratic election of the payments is increasing in ever greater degree. . . Building and particularly its present stage, general conditions for railway Ayres makes the following devasporable workers are also of the darker projects, is at a low level." men. Even Mr. Plunkert of the Transient Camps was bounced. But Status Of Six the real battle was staged that Vital Industries building, where the Executive Board was to meet. As soon as Miss Ilma stepped upon the plat-industry which "is Joint or the boom period reconcile their climic various becomes the solution of the severe depression of 1921." In the plate these mechanisms the solution of the severe depression of 1921." If families of railway men in various discovers that, except for the Auto boom period reconcile their climic various legalities. Beauty and in the accounting of contract the plate these mechanisms the mechanisms the mechanisms the mechanisms the solution of the severe depression of 1921." In the plate these mechanisms the solution of the severe depression of 1921." In the plate these mechanisms the solution of the severe depression of 1921. The plate Miss Ilma stepped upon the platindustry which "is doing well," in boom period reconcile their elimination of the business cycles and building the "volume is low and its in action of the business cycles and "Two-thirds of the manufacture of t delegates demanded that no gains of last autumn and of last their permanent stabilization with there business could be consider- month are mostly due to the exfurther business could be consider- month are mostly due to the exed until a chairman was democ-ratically elected. Ilma turned the chair over to Prof. J. B. Nash who Steel production there were good

Drouth Strikes
Workers Too under a heavy barrage of piercing returns "but in July it lost most points of procedure and eloquent of its gains of the past year and drouth has tended to add to the aladdresses for democratic procedure finally entertained nominations. Waldo McNutt of the Rocky Mounting Council of the V. M. C. A. Ordinary of the Council of the V. M. C. A. Ordinary of the Council of the V. M. C. A. Ordinary of the Council of the tain Council of the Y.M.C.A. and year "promises to be poor. In July sumers Guide has already pointed Miss Ilma were nominated. Ilma volume fell sharply." (The Textiles out that in the two weeks from and her handful left to seek peace are very important in our econo- July 3 to 17 the average for 4 at the Brevoort Hotel, where they mic scheme. Among the sixteen foods reported by the established a "Congress." End of sections into which the Census Labor Statistics was "the highest first round-Red leads Black by a divides manufactures, this indus-point food prices have reached

The Congress At Work

A grave error was committed on industry, which has been singled of the consumer's dollar. From the second day when the steering out as an example of a "Daniel laged to a mediation come to judgement" for the work-half . . ." Latest reports reveal a of differences! This was particular- ers, under the code, is in reality 15% increase in food prices cause disgraceful on the part of the nothing of the kind the Business directly by the drouth and the re-Y.C.L. which had even prior to the Week of August 4, 1934 reveals: sulting scarcity. And it is definite-Congress denounced Ilma & Co. as "Fascists." Now they marched forth to "mediate their differences" | 1930 with their bitterest enemies. Is 1931 this another "new line"? Communists never "mediate" their differences with the reactionaries of any color or brand! While it was correct to go to this conference called under alleged "democratic" auspices and fight to capture or smash it, had real Fascists inaugurated the venture it would not

Resolutions were adopted after Y.C.L. Runs True

level since Dec. 1933. This estimate

by Saul Held

a hurried and inadequate discussion To Form on Education, War and Fascism, organizations. In its efforts to expose the true character of the Roosevelt plans for youth, in its stinging rejection of the careerist Viola in the range of the laddership in the rang radicals. The outstanding feature the fight against the Ilma clique. of the unity achieved by all organ- Central Bureau which said, "The of the Congress was the unanimous rejection of the Roosevelt plans for youth. The resolutions failed, howrendered to America's tolling ever, to incisively analyze these fifteen so as to exclude such or plans and methods to combat them. ganizations as Spartacus Youth The resolution on War and Fascism and C.P.O. Youth Not much more It was not a defeat of "H is a disgrace. The one on Youth In Industry meanders along and In Industry meanders along and misses the essence of the Roose- tionists" (in private), who made MASSES, echoes Theodore Draper along strictly democratic lines." gress might have been was clearly revealed in the speeches opening the Congress. A. A. Berle, Jr. was elected: 3 from mittee. Still battling hard for democracy, it is clear. Only Noah waxed pessimistic over the economic reverse of the voltage of the speeches opening the Congress. A. A. Berle, Jr. was elected: 3 from mittee. Still battling hard for democracy, it is clear. Only Noah gram: "By adopting precisely those radical and a few liberal organizations of the Roosevelt program ations, which while representing m.c outlook and proposed this as a League; 1 Young Peoples Social- operative League, J. Carter of the which are most plainly fascist, Il- the best interests of America's solution to the unemployed youth: ist League; 1 Young Communist Spartacus Youth Club, and our ma was able to tie her kite to youth, when the state of the state of the played youngsters secured an old played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters secured an old proceeded to make metal to the played youngsters t ornaments; they made a fairly fice and Prof. Employees; 1 St. sented by them, but with the wider tory appear so much more impresgood living. (Wnat would happen, James Presbyterian Church; 1 view of still further broadening sive.)

The Economic Trend

by Economist

Business is definitely in the dold-rums. After the very low level the companies earnings as com-

reached in December, 1933, the business index registered monthly pared to the relatively minute launches an attack on the econo-

increases up to June which almost wage increase. The disproportion mic conditions of the bus drivers

regained the entire loss. At present, the Annalist reports that the index for July (72.4 as against 77.0 for June) reached its lowest

The catastrophic nature of th

year."

try leads in employing more work- during the past 30 months"; and

greater values of output.) This getting only a little over one-third

ers, pays more wages and produces at the same time "the farmer

Down, Down The

the small pay increase. We find, ive engineers who earn \$60 per

In relation to the economic crisis tear for the bus drivers, the

Y.C.L. Runs True
To Form
That the Young Communist
That the Young Communist
That the Young Communist
To First Touth Opposition definition and apology. (Where was the Y.P.S.L.?) The Y.C.L. the gal out to be a Fascist) strategy was obvious thruout:
Why did not Draper quote pages muzzle and isolate the "Loveston- 27-28-29 of "And Now, Youth!,"

It was not a defeat of "Fascism"

the dialectics of capitalist class

society is seen in the present situa-

tion of the railroad-bus industria

not meet. Far from being interes-

ted in maintaining adequate living

standards are these robber barons,

for while they may shed a crocodile

60% failed to reach \$1,500. . . .

educational opportunities aban-

the crowding of families into in-ferior accomodations, use of

the Congress base—attracting Fascist, but her program today is numerous other organizations of wholly that of the Roosevelt Administration, and cannot be conist Youth Opposition demanded a H.tler, Stalin, Roosevelt-all big movement in Europe is precisely the difference between a dictatorsaip and a democracy. The Central

Bureau for Young America was

tion Committee broaden itself to nclude any and every organizaion in agreement with its program? Shall the splendid beginning be dissipated in the strangling clutch of the Y.C.L.? Will the Young Peoples Soc.alist League fight for that kind of genuine united front which it has clamored for, and refuse to knuckle down under the Y.C.L. lash? Or is it, too, putting its own "prominence" above the interests of the toiling youth—the broadest possible united front? Will the Continuation Committee strive to broaden the Congress by urging the absorption into tself of youth representatives from every possible trade union and workers organization in the country?

A great deal depends on hov these questions are answered. And to the Y.C.L. our message is: "We accept Browder's declaration that Communist Party has always and is today willing to form a united front with every labor organization in America and ask you n the interests of America's toiling youth, to make good this declaration in practice or acknowledge your deceit to the entire American abor movement!

RICHBERG AND NRA

(Continued from Page 1) from the U.S. Chamber of Com time both the durable goods and consumer goods are at levels below normal about equal to those railway unions" and several fed-Analyzing what he terms the six they reached at the extreme lows eral bureaus, investigating 1000 to make these "mechanisms" the

> poration profits is reached does "Two-thirds of the men had Richberg wax ecstatic. "See," he suffered reductions in income of tells his masters, "how the profit at least 20% and one-half of curve has soured under the Blue them had suffered reductions of Eagle." There is no suppressing at least 30% between July 1929 his jubilation in those two paraand April 1933. . . . For the graphs. The rest is a dull recital year 1932 two-thirds had received less than \$1,500, three- priations made to each. eights less than \$1,000 and one-

tenth less than \$500.... Even Whatever gains labor has made when outside sources of income in the past period has been sole were added, such as outside ly thru those unions which fought work by the chief breadwinner and tore concessions from the emor members of his family, about ployers. These struggles were sucthe men attempted to meet the they were strong enough, not only emergency by economies which to fight the employers, but also resulted in a drastic lowering the Regional Labor Boards and the of their whole standard of living as is shown in the record of and destruction of labor.

doned, health needs neglected, Why The Codes Were Born

"Commerce And Finance" in shabby clothing and elimination of even the simplest and least formed the world on August 8th expensive forms of recreation that, "It was predicted when the NRA was formed that the establishment of maximum working Thus, while the various sections hours and minimum wage rates of the owning class fight for the would tend eventually to make spoils, the working class remains minimum rates the maximum. Economics Statistics, Inc., now states that this is taking place in many industries." A rather belated but unfinished tale . . . in many industries the "maximum" has become anywhere below the mini-

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-124

 ± 156

1933

Portrait of America By Diego Rivera Text by Bert Wolfe

ly asserted that as usual the profits

A very interesting example of exploited in all cases.

Payrolls are going to the "big" middlemen

R R. Workers Hard

and speculators.

Hit By Crisis

Proceeds go to WORKERS AGE

and social life.'

Estimating the U.T.W. Convention

The Biennial Convention of the ica, hela August 13-18, 1934, in of the reactionary policies pursued by the burocracy of the trade ship, with all its resources and multiplicity of organizers was tottering, thruout the Convention, on the verge of complete rout by the

After the disgraceful defeat of

the German and Austrian Social

Democracy, the Second Internation-

Progressives Show Great Strength

outstanding significance, not only for the textile workers, but for the entire labor movement. The effective right was not only organized South. The absence of Negro delegates, however, was a distinct specific tive nght put up by the progressives for a militant policy and for a general strike of a militant policy and the containing of the Construction for which the entire reactionary burocracy must be held to blame. The number of locals workers, and their condemnation

union movement, was an inspiration to all progressive forces in
the labor movement, even though
the labor movement, even though the labor movement and th Textile Workers, when 75 to 100 leadership in some respects, critic- bloc after the capitulation of they railed to oust the McMahon leadership at this Convention. McMahon's victory, however, was a Pyrrhic one. No machine can survive such victories very long. tionally necessary Convention routine, was extremely marked. Here,
there was an air of hope and expectancy—a change in the Adpectancy—a change in the Adp ministration was imminent! Here, first stage. Having no crystall zed a new days. there was felt a determination to organization or program, it rallied opposition until the very last moment when Rieve the candidate for President against McMahon, capitulated. The Convention has presented the leadership with tasks which they cannot and will not fulfill. The result can only be the further and more conscious development of the progressive and opposition forces in the United by the membership to a general strike. Here, the cut and dried endorsement of policy had given way to a struggle for new policies at every point in the Convention. It is no wonder, therefore, that the "old timers" speak with utter amazement of the progressive and opposition forces in the United by the membership to a general strike. Here, the cut and McMahon administration, including even certain reactionaries with whom Rieve was only too glad to make deals. Its strongest base was among the Hosiery Workers, with a delegation of over 60, the Dyers, the Silk Workers, the Upholstery Weavers, with utter amazement of the re-level of the delegates had come broughted to the struggle—the delegates had come McMahon administration, including even certain reactionaries with whom Rieve was only too glad to make deals. Its strongest base was among the Hosiery Workers, with a delegation of over 60, the Dyers, the Silk Workers, the Bayon Workers, the Upholstery Weavers, and opposed to the Another C.P. Fiasco

A fourth tendency was also proposed to reward the International opposed to the McMahon administration, including even certain reactionaries with whom Rieve was only too glad to make deals. Its strongest base was among the Hosiery Workers, with a delegation of over 60, the Dyers, the Silk Workers, the Upholstery Weavers, and opposed to the Another C.P. Fiasco

A fourth tendency was also proposed to reward the International opposed to reward the Internation of Internat

was ready to work with Rieve for by A Delegate only one common objective-organ-

represented had increased five fold since the last Convention.

A new spirit was immediately Rieve, President of the Federation grew in strength continuously, and

Discovering a Socialist Heaven was rejected without any struggle. When berated for not putting up any fight for their own position or on any progressive measures. But Mandled a major problem before the labor movement of this country. among the lowest paid workers, excepting the agricultural workers, however, that there was no different than the source of the convention was such, however, that there was no different the source of the convention was such, however, that there was no different the source of the convention was such, however, that there was no different the source of the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such, however, that there was no different to the convention was such as the convention which had failed every—where else, was being realized—pensated by increased prices of gradually and peacefully. The Danash and Swedish Social Democracy ventions, furtner devaluation of the spring of 1934 the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the spring of the seamen pealed from the decision of the spring of the and firemen (the national organi- McMahon in not granting him the

42 per cent of the vote. In Co- ent extra-parliamentary action. | class must be rallied in order to country, it gets two-thirds of the the employers in the spring of The butchers struck at the same vote, but what the Social Demo- 1933 demanded a general wage re- time as the seamen Bacon is the vage re- time as the seamen. Bacon is the

to its organizational Democracy, with the consent of in an extraordinarily favorable the Peasants' Party, passed a law strategic position. What did the * * * against all lockouts and strikes for Social Democracy do? Since there a year. The farmers party sewas no possibility to declare this government has a majority only in cured certain privileges, among the second chamber, and can not others higher rates of exchange. New way out in order to save the action on al Strike. therefore pass a single law without Through this miserable compromise distressed industries of Dermark. the consent of at least one of the the Social Democracy itself took The Social Democracy hurriedly reactionary parties who are in con- the first step towards the out- passed a law, which said that this lawing of strikes as a weapon of conflict was to be solved by through purely parliamentary In the autumn of 1933 the Someans without at the same time cial Democracy passed a new law ful development of society". The granting concessions to the bour- which, through a number of juridi- "interest of the ent're population"

geois parties. The Social Demo- cal maneuvers makes it well-nigh he said, "stands above the intercracy, however, is a determined opponent of all other weapons exject the proposal of the State Lathe butchers).

** * ** For every penny of very great majority of the work- cial Democracy has used the fol-State relief to the unemployed the ers vote against this proposal. This lowing means in order to check the bourgeoisie and particularly the big law is a great step towards the workers in their struggle:

It is clear from this alone that the working class. The bourgeoisie a compulsory arbitration board. Convention. From the outset it felt strikes in the hosiery had not the slightest improvement can will know how to use this preceted this action by saying that the position. The report of President made by the hosiery workers, not

In the last year and a half So

strikes for a year.

2. Laws which limit the inthe basis of the Social Decamong the working class.

further and more conscious development of the progressive and opposition forces in the United Textile Workers.

Textile Workers.

The United Textile Workers and progress and opposition forces in the United Textile Workers.

The United Workers and progress and progress and part of the Cotton delegation from both North and South; 3. The Progressive elements, relative to the kinigoods strikers of New York in which the Needle Trade Rieve opened fire against the Progressive on the question of indication to the control of the cotton delegation from both North and South; 3. The Progressive elements, relative to the kinigoods strikers of New York in which the Needle Trade gressives on the question of indication to the cotton delegation of the North and South; 3. The Progressive elements, relative to the delegation of the Cotton delegation from both North and South; 3. The Progressive elements, relative to the delegation of the North and South; 3. The Progressive elements are progressive on the delegation of the Cotton delegation from both North and South; 3. The Progressive elements, relative to the delegation of the North and South; 3. The Progressive elements are progressive on the delegation of the North and South; 3. The Progressive elements are progressive on the delegation of the North and South; 3. The Progressive elements are progressive on the delegation of the North and South; 3. The Progressive elements are progressive on the delegation of the North and South; 3. The Progressive elements are progressive and the North and South are progre ively few in number in the begin- Workers Industrial Union was en-The Convention reflected the huge influx of 230,000 textile workers into the Union during the last year and a half. A total of 400 delegates was present, includ
The Convention Forces

There were three maior forces in the Convention: 1. The Reaction to Rieve, for a genuine Progressive program, rejecting any compromise with Rieve on principles and any delegates was present, includ
The Convention Forces

There were three maior forces in the Convention: 1. The Reaction to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive program, rejecting any compromise with Rieve on principles and any delegates was present, includ
The Convention Forces

There were three maior forces in the Convention: 1. The Reaction to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the N.T.W.I.U. stricken out. Not a single one of the delegates of the Official C.P. line got up to defend discussion was necessary.

The Convention Forces

There were three maior forces in the Convention: 1. The Reaction to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the program, rejecting any compromise with Rieve on principles and any delegate Herman's position on the discussion was necessary.

The Convention to fight for industrial Union was carried, with all references to the program, rejecting any compromise with Rieve on principles and any delegates of the discussion was necessary.

The Convention to the dolegation to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the program, rejecting any compromise with Rieve on principles and any delegate Herman's position on the discussion was necessary.

The Convention to the dolegation to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the program, rejecting any compromise with all references to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all references to the Rieve, for a genuine Progressive with all official C.P. line got up to determine their resolution. Secondly, one other resolution presented by them at all in the U.T.W., which is for industrial unionism. It is in such on any progressive measures, whatsoever, the answer was, "We whatsoever, the answer was, "We couldn't get the floor." The tem-tor of the Convention was such pealed from the decision of Bedford, voting against.

ganization of the union on indus-

4. Compulsory arbitration. This is "Nordic Socialism".

firmly rooted in the Danish work- argument for equal representation ing class, and the policy of the government has not yet weakened still bears great weight among the basis of the Social Democracy trade unionists, even in the C.P.

McMahon was received with an icv silence showing the widespread hostility to the ruling machine. The delegation was willing to give an ovation to the president of every union but their own! McMaizationally, to oust the old reachon's report only accentuated this tended to be a real protector of the ministration. The more progres- "Many serious, industrial flaresentatives of this International.' And to cap the climax, McMahon proposed to reward the Interna-

gressives on the question of in-structing the delegation to the ism is a settled question" craft locals have received charters recently and are still being organized. The resolution for industrial unionism was carried overwhel-

the striking seamen was dispersed by the police by order of the Govscale by the action of the ultratile capitulation of the defender of the conservative position. In his anxiety to differentiate said, "has given us new life, new courage, new hope." Those who advocated the Labor Party this morning are those who now tell sistent offensive carried on by the us to keep away from Government action on the San Francisco Gener- not the withdrawal of our representatives, but equal representation with the employers on the various Code Authorities." Herman of New the placement of two representa-tives on the Code Authority. dependence of the trade unions. Rubinstein, of the Dyers, pointed 3. Police terror against the Board in 1918 had had a similar detrimential effect on the trade union movement as the present reliance of the trade union leaders The reformist traditions are on the NRA. Unfortunately, the dual Red Unions, who fail to see

A Few Pages from Comintern History

The letter of Sidney Wallace of Philadelphia raises some questions which are surely not new but are nevertheless just as significant to-day as they ever were. For the let was written (1919-1920)? day as they ever were. For the revolutionary movement in the United States no practical problem is anywhere near as important as the problem of what attitude to take to the trade union movement and what tactics to employ within it. The questions of Comrade Wallace focus direct atcomrade wallace focus direct at-thru precisely such a period again tention upon the fundamental clash Party and the Communist Opposiof Leninist tactics. 1. Were the so-called Red unions or the R.I.L.U. formed during Lenin's time? The R.I.L.U. was

obviously during Lenin's lifetime. But the R.I.L.U., as originally lutionary dual union center on a world scale, which it is today. It started out as an international center for existing unions and union federation which had adopted revolutionary programs. It firmly opposed and categorically repudiated any attempt to split unions, to dual unions formed in this counstimulate secessions, to encourage try? In the needle, textile and withdrawals, or in any other way mining industries — where they build up dual unions. It is well known that, at the very first gathering of the R.I.L.U., the question of dual unionism came up in acute of L. unions. In 1925 and 1926, form because of the sectarian at- the Communist Party really did titude of certain anarcho-syndical-ists. The attitude of the R.I.L.U. make a serious and successful atwas unequivocal from the very textile workers in Passaic. start, as can be seen from the foldid it organize them into a Red lowing paragraph from Losovsky's dual union. Just the opposite; report on the organization conferit carried on a long and hard fight

ence of the R.I.L.U.: to secure the affiliation of the "The question was: Should Passaic union to the United Textile class. . . . Our motto is: Not to form Red unions? Only unscru- plain and easily explained. the destruction but the winning pulous demagogues would venture of the trade unions.'

tional and the R.I.L.U. But from the very beginning there were dual unionist possibilities in the R.I.L.U. which, in time, became so pronounced that, by 1924 there was already serious talk leading Communist circles about dissolving it. Indeed, this was the dominant view for some time, and had the Amsterdam Interrational Federation of Trade Unions shown the slightest willingness to go even part of the way in th's direction, the R.I.L.U. would now be a thing of the past. tendencies began to grow more pronounced in C.I. circles and it was adopted, a resolution sanctiondid not take very long before the ed of course by Lenin, which is R.I.L.U. was completely trans- even clearer: formed into the very engine of dual unionism it is today

2. Do Lenin's arguments against dual unionism, as contained in his pamphlet on "Leftism", apply only

that this proposal really increases the illusions in NRA Code Authorities as protectors of the workers. and helps foster the capital-labor burocrats. The result was a victory for the combined Rieve-McMahon partnership dream of the labor forces. It is interesting to note, tonary unionis's. What was then not been for the fact that sincere a rank conservative, Dr. Springer, local officials and instructed to forces. It is interesting to note, however that most of the criticism of the NRA was retained in the resolution presented by Herman, only the reference to withdrawal only the reference to withdrawal

This is the first of two articles on the U.T.W. convention. In the next issue A Delegate takes up the resolutions adopted, the election and the balance sheet to be drawn for the progressive forces Some Important Questions Answered by Will Herberg

> trade union centers (France Czechslovakia) . . . In that case the task of reestablishing unity devoives mainly on expelled trade unionists and parallel or

ganizations." 5. Were the Red unions formed (at least in the United States), so because large numbers of radical of viewpoint on trade union tactics that the arguments against dual workers were expelled from the between the official Communist unions should be all the more strik-Party and the Communist Opposition, and enable us to judge how wide indeed are the deviations of the former from the traditional line of Leninist tactics.

But this is altogether beside the whole point. Lenin repeatedly emphasizes that his trade union taccics and his opposition to dual form conservative unions for their manner. unionism are the result of the ex- militancy. This was true in the ist International. It is all summed periences of the Russian and Eu- needle trades. It was not true in up in Lenin's famous maxim: "If periences of the Russian and Eu- needle trades. It was not true in up in Lenin's famous maxim: if of Lozowsky to revise Leninist ropean Labor movements over sev- the mining and textile fields. But you are thrown out of the door, trade union tactics. And vigorously eral decades of development under even where expulsions did take come in thru the window!" And formed towards the middle of 1920, all sorts of economic and political place, was it the business of the if the window is locked behind you, conditions. The most superficial communists to use the occasion for jimmy it open! The main thing is Lozowsky's chief defender at this reading of the pamphlet, The Informing dual unions? The tradi- to stay in the mass unions—to get reading of the pamphiet, the international policy of the Communist Communism, will show one how worthless the Stalinist argument of the pamphiet, the international signature of the Communist back into them at all costs!

International is just the opposite—

of the pamphiet, the international signature of the Communist back into them at all costs!

International is just the opposite—

of the pamphiet, the international signature of the communist back into them at all costs!

Of course, it is to stay in the mass among the piece of the mass among the piece of the pamphiet, the international signature of the communist back into them at all costs!

Of course, it is the pamphiet, the international signature of the pamphiet of 3. Was it the purpose of the so-ingly for reinstatement! At the valiantly against dual unionism as

would be a grave error on the | ninth plenary session of the ex- | count.

revolutionary unions.

had expelled them." Again and again was this sen-

timent repeated and emphasized by responsible bodies of the Commun-

fight against it, to strive unceas- well known that Foster fought called Red unions to organize the unorganized? The answer is there (July 1921) it was declared: variations and the Communist movement in the pressure of the Communist Inter-"Meeting half way the slogan first months of existence in this national leadership, caused Foster 'Leave the Unions!', the trade country. It was in this period that union burocracy began to ex- Foster rendered his greatest ser- deny his past and become the chief pell the leading elements of the revolutionary trade unionists. The first signs of This strengthened the pessimistic mood as well as the slogan on the part of the Communist In- What his personal feelings may be, cf 'Leave the Unions!' But it ternational occurred at the famous it is impossible to say. His actions

ecutive of the C.I., in February 1928. A month or so later took place the fourth congress of the part of the supporters of the RILU if, by falling victim to provocation, they were to abannead of the RILU, attack, most KILU where Lozowsky launched don the trade union movement viciously and unscrupulously, the and confine themselves in tiny American Communist Party tor evolutionary unions.
"The workers expelled from A. F. of L.", that is for insisting the unions should not be dison remaining inside the A. F. of L. persed. They must remain or at all costs. In May 1928 there ganized on the same plane as took place a plenary session of the they were before the expulsion, acting always as a definite, legal part of the union which to some sharp discussion in the for some sharp discussion, in the torm of a report of the fourth congress of the RILU. At this plenum Lovestone, as general secretary of the Communist Party, strongly resisted the attempts supporting Lovestone against Lozowsky was William Z. Foster! plenum, the chief defender of dual unionism was-James P. Cannon, now titular head of the American

But in the months that followed, the Communist movement in the pressure of the Communist Inter-

The Chicago Bakers' Strike

One more series of errors can be the old unions be split or cap- Workers, to the A. F. of L. The "credited" to the Communist Par-To leave unions and trade un on policy of the Commu- ty in the case of the Chicago

trade union movement. The with great success and the Schultz end to the usual routine support had double-crossed the bakers' slogan of unity is the best way of upsetting these plans for a split."

with great success and the Schutz end to the usual routine support and double-crossed the bare's end to the usual routine support and double-crossed the bare's end to the usual routine support union numerous times before. The port as moral persuasion, sitting officials, like a bunch of saps, fell in conferences, and laying down to their line when it was quite for their line when it was quite support as moral persuasion, sitting in conferences, and laying down to the usual routine support union numerous times before. The port as moral persuasion, sitting in conferences, and laying down to the usual routine support union numerous times before. The port as moral persuasion, sitting the port as moral persuasion and persuasion are port as moral persuasion. Does this look as if Lenin urged the splitting of the unions and the formation of Red dual unions?

The people went on strike. They were, with few exceptions, between the splitting of the unions and the formation of Red dual unions?

In conferences, and laying down rules before the bosses informing obvious they wanted an increase them that they would not in any on the price of bread sold by the way let their drivers use sales.

on the face of it. Where were the

were organized not out of prev-

iously unorganized workers but out

of split-off sections of the A. F.

tempt to organize the unorganized

But the split in the C.G.T. did bosses, police, thugs, and rack-

"This (the fight for unity and have been lost the first week. against dual unionism) does not only apply to countries

to assert this. On December 15 The Communist Party leader-"The revolutionary part of liberals gave their support and tween the bakers and the drivers. harm. the French trade unionists is went along, because they wanted It did worse than that. It broke quite right in fighting against to see the bakers' union grow and the morale of the strikers by play-

ness to go even part of the way in the splitting of the unions and the in this direction, the R.I.L.U. formation of Red dual unions? Would now be a thing of the past.

Meanwhile, however, ultra-leftist Meanwhile, however, of the RILL a resolution of the RILL a resolution in the role ages of 10 and 28. 36 % of the mad never been in any economic organization in their lives and knew little or nothing of organization in their lives and little ages of 10 and 28. 36 % of the match they would not in any on the price of bread sold by the way let their drivers use sales benefit, the officials called out the bakery products. They also would not in any on the price of bread sold by the match they would not in any on the price of bread sold by the way let their drivers use sales benefit, the officials called out the bakery products. They also would not in any on the price of bread sold by the way let their drivers use sales benefit, the officials called out the bakery products. They also would not in any on the price of bread sold by the them that they would not in any on the price of bread sold by the way let their drivers use sales.

n clearer:

of the local placed these people fight in the courts for the bakers, sold the strikers out and sent let
"In France the revolutionary out on the street with very little if any court case should come up. ters to each grocer telling them minority of the General Con-Ipreparation on their part. There Moreover, if the company should the strike was over and the strik federation of Labor (C.G.T.) were not even enough picket signs apply for an injunction, they ers went back to work. took the correct stand in con- on hand when the strike was call- would immediately go on strike. demning the Council of the ed. No preparations were made for None of these forms of support, Rhone unions for leaving the funds to keep up the strike and, which had been shown in the past, began losing confidence in the Confederation. The winning of worst of all, the strikers were were present in this strike, because leadership of the local and began the unions in France is proceding rap dly and there is no to how to conduct the strike. The

officials toward the drivers' ofship called in the general organground for forming separate or- strike was called and the strikers ficials and toward the membership izer, Zanpfort, so that they might were left to the mercy of the of the drivers' union.

* * * where the overwhelming major-ity of revolutionary workers be-long to reformist trade unions going to do to the bosses. They him broadcasting. Whenever one but also to countries with paral- made long-winded speeches con- of the strikers got into jail conducted and planned the whole lel reformist and revolutionary demning the bakery wagon drivers' through the brutal treatment of strike.

by Henry Oppen him out. Then, in the evening to set up small independent nist Party must certainly be in a bakers. The strike of the Livings- union and the Chicago Federation broadcast, Dr. Springer would unions is an evidence of weakness; it is a policy of despair support upon such obvious distorcomplicated in detail, but the out- tions were worse than no good, tion in letting out the strikers. In and, furthermore, shows a lack tions of notorious facts! complicated in detail, but the out- tions were woise than no good, toon in letting out the strikers. In were a detriment to the strikers were a detriment to the strikers were an entire to the strikers were an entire to the strikers were an entire to the strikers. In which is the complicated in detail, but the out- tions were woise than no good, toon in letting out the strikers. In were an entire to the strikers are were an entire to the strikers are were an entire to the strikers. In which is the complicated in detail, but the out- tions were woise than no good, toon in letting out the strikers. In which is the complicated in detail, but the out- tions were woise than no good, toon in letting out the strikers. In which is the complicated in detail, but the out- were a detriment to the strikers were a detriment to the strikers were always standing features of the strikers were a detriment to the strikers are were an entire to the strikers are were an entire to the strikers are were an entire to the strikers. cause. While we of the Communist an object of prey for the police, Party (Opposition) believe that for, would they not be flattered tnese organizations are in need of over the radio by the "Doctor!" criticism, the fact remains that the For the marvelous support the 1921, the Communist Internation ship, which came into power in the C.P. officials of the bakers' local, shyster doctor gave the local, he It is clear that the original program of the R.I.L.U. was quite in haimony with the viewpoint of if not written by Lenin. What do local in January of this pamph. The converged in his namph. The conv these theres say about the situather support of the conservatives the support of the conservatives the destructive tactics have was done so that he might sit in let on "Leftism" but was altogether opposed to the present tactical er opposed to the present tactical movement?

These destructive tactics have was uone so that he employers and ty members. The conservatives and monious relations existing below the bakers' union additional

the spl.tting of the trade regain the power lost in 1921. So unions. The policy of the reformists and the centrists is now threatening the unity of the restaurch of the strikers by playing up the lack of support of the drivers, which the organization knew it would not get, before the striker was called. It also put an strike was called. Among many other blunders, too not let the company use any unfair is a chain store bakery. As usual, methods or practices in dealing when the P.G.A. received its in-The Communist Party officialdom with the strikers and they would crease in the price of bread, it

After eight weeks, the strikers save their own necks and be able to put the blame for the loss of the strike on some one else. The The leadership cast its lot with organizer was called in by the only the reference to withdrawal from the Code Authorities being altered.

* * *

International (1925) it was declared:

United the reference to withdrawal revolutionary C.G.T.U.! At the picket line with the strikers, encouraging them, telling them how to fight, and how to conformation about the striker. Among them how to fight, and how to conformation about the strikers was also duct themselves, the strike would clared:

Chicago rederation of Labor 101 jobs back without descrimination by this racketeering policies. He broadand and an agreement was drawn up strikers, encouraging them, telling them how to fight, and how to conformation about the strike. Among them the strikers was also duct themselves, the strike would clared: such things as mother-in-laws, granted, but no closed shop conchildren, bankers, newspapers, and tract was signed.

While the fight was going on, also praised the police department After the strike had been misled

best organized in the world. Every

contrast strength.

be gained for the working class dent. cept parliamentary negotiations bor Arbitrator regulating wages "on the basis of the law and con- and working conditions, even if a farmers have been generously re- complete subordination of the trade

is the price of the Second Interna- crown, etc.

Danish working class is one of the is not all.

paid. This policy is carried thru by means of "emergency decrees" paratus.

population of 3½ million. At the elections the Social Democracy gets the working class from independ- but that all forces of the workingpenhagen, the only metropolis in the When the central organization of maintain the Government.

by H. Boserup

worker is organized into unified trade unions of which by far the trade unions of which by far the greatest proportion is in a central the working class without compensions of the workorganization under exclusive Social- sation. It expects from the work- ing class, particularly the long Democratic leadership. While the ing class party that it maintain shoremen, most of whom became C.P. has only a few thousand mem- "law and order." The Danish So- victims of the demagogic position A marked feature bers the Social Democracy has cial Democracy, as subsequent ex-nearly 200,000 members out of a amples will show, has used every According to them the time was

the government in alliance with a coffee substitutes, sugar, meat, the state police. A perfectly peace-failed to get up to vote against full demonstration in sympathy with members and constitutes and so-called "impartial" Boards. Her state police against full demonstration in sympathy with members against the capitulation of left again the consequence of the consequence o

The seamen in Denmark are whereby the most necessary relief and have, through the 50% deval- ficulty in getting the floor on most tries and discovered that here So- is given on the condition that big uation of the crown, received a cialism, which had failed every- farmers and estate owners are com- steep indirect wages reduction, Especially was this so in the case

is the pride of the Second International and its policy. "Nordic Socialism" is used as a proof of the Unemployment Relief are covered covered with the control of the Unemployment Relief are covered with the control of the Unemployment Relief are covered with the covered covered with the covered covered with the covered covered covered with the covered co correctness of the policy of the not through taxes on property own-increases and other improvements Second International despite all its ers, but unrough indirect taxes on defeats. Let us see, however, what the most necessary food materials strike for these demands. The Go Second International despite all its defeats. Let us see, however, what Danish Social Democracy really means.

* * *

Social Democracy in Denmark is by 1ar the largest party; for the past five years it constitutes the government in alliance with a coffee substitutes, sugar, meat, the government in alliance with a coffee substitutes, sugar, meat, the government in alliance with a coffee substitutes, sugar, meat, and decided by a great majority to strike for these demands. The Social Democratic Government pointing to the above mentioned law, declared the strike to be illegal. The Social Democratic organization of the NRA as an agency of the big employers, demanding the withdrawal of union representatives from the Code against that is, on the occasion of the vote that is, on the occasion of the vote that is, on the occasion of the vote against the U.T.W. But these delegates the state police. A perfectly peace-

1. General prohibitions

A marked feature was the con-Progressives. It was they who raised issue after issue: General strike in the entire industry for a strike industry for a 30-hour week, increased pay and political action of the workers orreduction in machine load, reor- ganizations, independently of the trial lines with the establishment Street). "If the hosiery workers cracy has accomplished for the duction of 20 per cent and threat-working class stands in sharp ened a general lockout, the Social mark. The workers, therefore, were Executive Council, criticism of the ments in their conditions, it is due NRA, attack on the anti-strike to the fact that we have two policy of the union leadership, and the attack on Bill Green for his Code Authority. What we want is

McMahon's Report The McMahon burocracy was in York showed how independen full retreat at the beginning of the union action and hard-fought Convention. From the outset it felt strikes in the hosiery industry had

to the period in which the pamph-

Unraveling the Line

by A. M.

Comrade Stachel's oratorical abiliganized are rolling into the A F ties. It was a group of intelligent of L, Comrade Stachel continued,

Stachel opened his review with what purported to be the Leninist what was unsaid and, indeed, in those revolutionary workers, bring- mergue government, workers and held in Bombay at the end of Janstatement on the international less the last that this particular special ling pressure not from the Bolsons to be drawn from the Bolson should ever have been made at all. but from the inside. The party has fore have shevik revolution, with what was, There is significance in the fact in reality, a vicious attack on the that the long suppressed pamphline of the CPO, on the doctrine let "'Left Wing' Communism"

Turn and Return of so-called "exceptionalism." In the gospel according to Stachel the "Lovestonite renegades" have de-based and vulgarized Lenin by nounced by the CPO for publica-nounced by the CPO for publicapointing out as an international tion on September 15. And there is seeking a mass base? Our answer difference, setting American capeven greater significance in the italism apart from the capitalism in other countries, its greater in the pages of the "Daily Work-resistant powers. This is all wrong, er."

A Communist Party cannot function above the ideological level of its members. And a Communist Party cannot function above the ideological level of its members. And a Communist Party which shrouds its past says Comrade Stachel, blissfully ignoring the fact that after five A Burlesque History years of depression, after five years of the "third period" American capitalism is still fat of paunch, burlesque history of the TUUL.

seeks new exploitation. ternational differences? The official formation of independent red trade bership in its present confused Leon Blum, leader of the French strike leaders took place. Of Communist Party and only the official Communist Party is Stachel's
answer. And what differences do
they recognize? Here is the list
they recognize? Here is the list

Tommunist Party and only the ofstate, with the leadership only
adding to the confusion, with all
the rocts of left-sickness left unling it is picked up by the lefts of
Blacklegs were kept in confinement
for two months without trial.

Blacklegs were exerted to and
Blacklegs were exerted to and Communist Party and only the ofanswer. And what differences do the recognize? Here is the list al question but was practically the revival of sectarianism. The cry the revival of sectarianism.

The cry truction of the data major tactic the roots of left-sickness left unling it is picked up by the touched, expulsions will mean a the lefts, the followers of Trotsky. In the left of the cry touched, expulsions will revival of sectarianism. Polyglot nation made up of many racial elements. Second, the great American revolutionary tradition.

All of this, of course, was merely frosting for Comrade Stachel's

Lenin's "'Left' Wing Communism" is a clear and unmistakeable This is not merely a "slight distor- revolutionary goal. indictment of the whole course of dualism, of union-splitting, of sectarianism, of isolation. Even so experienced a twister as Comrade Stachel could not twist Lenin into anything else. So he did not try. Instead Jack Stachel, secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, ers in the Doll & Toy industry were quoted Lenin's polemic against slaving under the most brutal consectarianism and said that this was ditions in the history of the indus-

While the audience was swallowing this, Stachel proceeded to elaborate. "True," he said, "from to time to time there have been of doll workers began to organize set up an organization which was unofficially controlled by the Trade Union Unity League. Both unions fought and begged for recognition from the bosses, TUUL In slight distortions in the line of the a union, the Doll & Toy Workers while the workers conditions were Scab Role party. But we are flexible as befits Industrial Union. Several months bargained away in the process— In September 1933 the workers a rather advantageous position in

You had about as much choice the workers in the trade. Members shops was lost. Bosses utilized bed while the overwhelming majoras a plate of ice cream on a July of the official Communist Party this opportunity to force yellow-dog ity of the workers were on the off splitting the workers and rais-

As Stachel spoke, the Trade therefore, remained independent, loudest kind of "unity", the trade Union Unity League took on a Finally the realization upon the unionists of the T.U.U.L. brand. more shadowy form part of the workers that they had until it too had practically melted much to gain by affiliation forced A Step away before the eyes of the audi- a decision for affiliation to be Forward ence—an audience many of whose members had fought and suffered through a mistaken loyalty to the TUUL. Forgetting the resolutions munist Party, rebuffed in their attempts to the munist Party, rebuffed in their attempts to ence—an audience many of whose passed. of the Sixth World Congress of the Cominter n and of every ECCI Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement, split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement split the Plenum since and of every conlican labor movement split the Plenum split Stachel painted the TUUL as al sort of faint historical accident, Two Unions In The purely temporary in character.

and to provide a union base for the by A. M.

and to provide a union base for the great numbers of Communists who had been expelled from the A. F. of L. "We did not," he added, "On the front page, on the editorial page, on all the other pages are stored in the control of the contro 'Left' Wing Communism" on "organize new unions on principle." file" committees, on A F of L op-

still dripping at the jowls as it Anyone who has read party his-Who does recognize the true inof the Comintern knows that the large transfer of the Comintern knows the large transfe And third, the crowning difference, the existence of large numbers of Negroes in America for whom the party has raised the "exceptionalist" slogan of "self-determination for the Black Belt."

problem. Look at a "Daily Work-want us. Back to the red unions. The new turn and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the CPUSA faces the membership frankly saying, "Comrades, our frankly saying, the Compress to functioning, live organization. The government has lifted the ban and is allowing the Compress to functioning, the Compress to functioning and assaulting those who would be formed the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the correct turn will come only when the comment and assaulting those who would turn will come only when the comment and the correct turn will come only when the comment and the correct turn will come only when the leadership of the Comintern and the correct turn will come only when the comment and the correct turn will come only when the comment and the correct turn will come only when the comment and the correct turn will co

Prior to February 1932, work-

tion of the line," Comrade Stachel. But look again at a "Daily Worker"—a current one this t.me. The TUUL has dropped to seven

Shail we call this a New Turn? Shall we say that the CP has aban must be, "Not yet."

realized this momentarily at least.

Party which shrouds its pas course in a fabric of falsehood, which conceals its tuture in a maze of confusion is a Party headed for disaster.

A new wave of expulsions from closely as it did the general united front attitude and the labor party problem. Look at a "Daily Work-want us. Back to the red unions."

Indian C.P.-O. In Strike Strike

DOLL WORKERS FORGE AHEAD

by S. H.

International Notes

French Ultra Lefts

struggles of labor in Minneapolis, general strike to overthrow the more intelligent and a great, great deal more confused.

Stachel Discusses

Exceptionalism

here, first, because of lack of space and the necessity of some analysis, secondly, because each new point he covered only added to the appalling confusion of previous points

Comrade Stachel attributes the torical analogy instead of nistorical boints.

There is, however, significance in fluence would have been with ready to substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would have been with ready to substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute for the Dou- India Textile Workers' Conference would be a substitute fo

> years thru universal suifrage demands being won. ... subject to recall ... and based on local assemblies...

"Such is the only measure that can lead the workers forward instead of setting them back. A larger measure of democracy is necessary to facilitate the struggle for workers 1934.)

workers "a larger measure of de- force. Arrests and persecutions

On the back page you will find editorials exhorting good party members to build the TUUL, to members to build the TUUL, to issue the congress to fine the strike gress leaders have assured the breakers Additional agrees. The ment has lifted the ban and is allowing the Congress to function indiscrim nate beatings, in the end facilitated the work of the strike gress leaders have assured the breakers Additional agrees. cake. Having annihilated the CPO smash the reformist trade unions. beyond the shadow of a squeak he in the "Party Life" column you the leaders to say. It is not an easy thing for journed, at least for the time being measures, huge unemployment, the Went on to give the "authorita- will find an article by one or an- easy thing to re-educate the mem- the direct action, and have also as- treachery of such strike leaders as tive," the only genuine, the party other D.O. urging the carrying out bership to acceptance of it. But it sured that they will be able to take have, Kandalker and Kasale and of the open letter and more mobile is something that must be done if with them the entire Congress in the method of the open letter and more mobile is something that must be done if with them the entire Congress in the method of the open letter and more mobile is something that must be done if with them the entire Congress in the method of the open letter and more mobile is something that must be done if with them the entire Congress in the method of the open letter and more mobile is something that must be done if with them the entire Congress in the method of the open letter and more mobile is something that must be done if with them the entire congress in the method of the open letter and more mobile is something that must be done if with them the entire congress in the congress in the congress of the congress in the congress of the of the open letter and more mobi- is something that must be done if with them the entire Congress in the quarrels which broke out, tolization for the TUUL fractions. the party is to advance to its this new venture of constitution- wards the end of the strike, in the alism. The revolt within the con-strike committee itself.

force. During this time, two

tlement was secured which was

(Continued on Page 7)

adherents of opposition groups and work there—although, he is Socialists who wanted to know what this "new line" in the trade was never for a moment abanwhat this "new line" in the trade was never for a moment abanthe past few months—the inspiring in the united front of the Commustron in the united front of the united fr Stachel said a great deal more, in Toledo, in Chicago, in San Fran-Doumergue government. With ing the last two months and a half After four hours of Stachelian rhetoric they left, certainly no here, first, because of lack of space they left, certainly no here, first, because of lack of space of lack of

should be elected to it for two

Ultra Lefts
Go Far To Right

gress, however is growing. It is expressed by the formation of the Congress Socialist Parties in a The crisis in which the French number of provinces. bourgeoisie finds itself out of which In October the open session of August 17 was not in tribute to But now that many of the unor-position work. What is the back-Comrade Stachel's oratorical abili-ganized are rolling into the A F ground of this? We need not seek far for the answer. First must be cited the answer. First must be cited the answer. The many conditions and doors and doors of the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors and doors of the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors and doors of the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors and doors of the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors and doors of the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors of the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors of the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors of the the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors of the the Tallium and the right wing leaders and doors of the the Tallium and the right wing leaders are the right wing leaders and the right wing leaders are the right wing leaders and the right wing leaders are the right wing leaders and the right wing leaders are the right wing leaders and the right wing leaders are the right wing l but confused party members, we must intensify our opposition adherents of opposition groups and work there—although, be it redecay and death of the TUUL.

We need not seek far for the that group so proud of calling it—will no doubt carry the day. But they are supposition work there—although, be it redecay and death of the TUUL.

French Trotskyites propose that they are supposition work.

statement on the international lest the fact that this particular speech ing pressure not from the outside peasants soviets, so we must there uary. The strike began on the peasants soviets, so we must there began on the peasants soviets. 23rd of April and within one or "A single assembly must con- two days it became general in centrate the legislative and ex-ecutive power. The members about two months but in the end disintegrated without any of the

> Thruout the strike the police repressions were very great. The working class section was an armed camp. Every mill and every street junction was guarded by strong police detachments. Meetings and demonstrations were prohibited expower." (La Verite, Aug. 3, cept in specific areas and by specific routes. On May 23rd all meetings and demonstrations were This proposal for giving the banned and this ban is still in

> > lice. In some places police even Strike Struggles workers chawls and threatening went to the extent of entering

Our comrades were very active during the strike and in the two round-ups of strike leaders 9 of our comrades were arrested.

The official party played double role thruout the strike. A August 1933. This unity, how- united front was established with ever was viciously opposed by the them for the strike. They joined handful of C.P. members and when not with the desire of developing and always had been the basis of the Party line.

What Is The T.U.U.L.?

While the audience was swallow.

ditions in the history of the indushad decided to affiliate with the had decided to affiliate with the week generally far below ten dollars, and the bosses grinding the workers Union Local 18230, the workers into a state of virtual which was unofficially controlled which was unofficially controlled again they demonstrated their depoints and of discrediting their opponents and said that this was ditions in the history of the indushable with the movement or of bringing the strike to a successful conclusion, but with the only purpose of securing a few recruits to their party and of discrediting their opponents. -including ourselves.

They were keen on making fiery speeches and courting jail. Unfortunately for the strike they were party. But we are flexible as befits a revolutionary Communist Party. But we did not hesitate to change our tactics—for example, we have liquidated the National Miners Union into the United Mine Work—rs."

In September 1933 the workers a rather advantageous position in working day increased by six hours, wages slashed about one-third. Workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total lasted four weeks and resulted in the organization of about 60% of the workers in the trade. Members in the trade Members shops was lost. Bosses utilized

In September 1933 the workers a rather advantageous position in working day increased by six hours, wages slashed about one-third. Workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total lasted four weeks and resulted in the organization of about 60% of the workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total lasted four weeks and resulted in the organization of about 60% of the workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total lasted four weeks and resulted in the organization of about 60% of the workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total lasted four weeks and resulted in the trade. The strike is a number of disastrous mistakes unions in disgust until the total between the strike and while the organization of about 60% of the workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total lasted four weeks and resulted in the trade. The strike is a shop to the organization of about 60% of the workers deserted both unions in disgust until the total lasted four weeks and resulted in the trade. The strike is a shop to the organization of about 60% of the workers deserted both unions. The strike under the lead-to the strike under the lead-to the strike unions in disgust until the total union. Every shop responded to the strike call with but two exceptions—two thirds. The strike controlled by the TUUL. For three weeks these two shops scaled about one-thirds are the strike of the strike under the lead-to the strike under the lead-to the strike under the lead-to the as a plate of ice cream on a July of the official Communist Party day, Comrade Stachel. To be eaten and others in the Union fought up or to melt to nothing; that was against the affiliation of the Union

strikers were slashed by knives HAYES-KELSEY RESOLUTION wielded by members of the C.P. near the Gund Tov Co. (Continued from Page 1)

as being opposed to the action of William Green in denouncing the workers on strike, and consider such action as disloyal to and in violation of the ethics and

workers in the union and in the workers and had bettered condi-struggle and against the betrayal trade in creating the desire for one union in the trade and its being degree. But barriers to militant A. F. of L., William Collins, De-The TUUL had been formed, he Disaster followed in the wake from their disgust, the doll worksaid (speaking in the muted voice of this destruction of workers' ers rallied to the slogans initiatione uses in talking of the recent dead), to organize the unorganized ed to the worst days of the pre- a merger of the two unions in sonnel of the union leadership. The L., called a conference of his organizers and adopted a resolution of confidence in Green and Collins.

BOOKS

morals,-an indictment sweep-

ing and effective in its attack upon

capitalist ideology in sexual rela-

tions and the general field of men-

tal hygiene. Mr. Williams has seen

Soviet Russia and, now, longs for

And, yet, throughout both books,

there keeps recurring the basic

problem for persons convinced of

the complete inadequacy of capital-

can occur. Both authors are con-

vinced of the necessity of Social-

ism-neither for the same reason

Soule, through the usual em-

piricism peculiar to the modern

followers of Veblenian economics

(yet in contradiction to the Veble-

nian theoretical conclusions and

deductions) has built up, in his

connection with debts, purchasing

chapters on economics, evidence in

power, productive technique, un-

employment, etc., that bears out with remarkable exactness the

-sincerely, intelligently—for the way out. His whole approach to

this question is vitiated by his

ships and forces in society. Soule

keeps referring to "classes," to

groups who are contending for

sus workers) leads to the most

fantastic conceptions concerning

does have a distinct revolutionary

tinge, just because it indicates a

American social revolution.

brain trust is the harbinger of the lution—the working class!

conception of class-relation-

This concept similar to

nor as to the requisite methods.

a Soviet America.

17. What are the effects of these partial regu-THE COMING AMERICAN RE- lations of production by Monopoly Capital? VOLUTION, by George Soule. The effect of the partial regulation of produc-

The MacMillan Company. \$2.50. tion by monopoly capital is that a number of eco-RUSSIA, YOUTH AND THE nomic phenomena, formerly characteristic of per-PRESENT DAY WORLD, by iods of acute economic crises, now accompany all Frankwood E. Williams. Farrar phases of the business cycle, i.e. they become chronic. In times of decreasing demand, declining prosand Rinehart, Inc. \$2.50.

Both these books offer interes- perity, monopoly capital limits production, factorting similarities and contrasts. ics are closed and mass unemployment is created. Through different mediums and However, at the same time the falling price is approaches, the two authors have checked. Even in times of economic rise, monopoly given incisive and sweeping indict-capital sometimes has recourse to limitations of proments of the capitalist way of life.

Mr. Soule through a mustering of economic facts and observations means of an artificial limitation of the supply. blasts any pretensions as to the Capitalist monopolies, therefore, retard and tie-up those forces which, in free capitalist competition, stability or desirability of a capitalist economy—whether it be the "rugged individualism" of a Hoover my, the temporary solutions of crises, i.e. serve to or the "enlightened," "regulated" create the basis for new periods of prosperity. capitalism of Roosevelt. Mr. Willioms, a physician and 18. How, then, do capitalist monopolies effect chiatrist, exposes the crushing nature of "individualism" upon inthe general economic crises? dividuality and personality, the hypocrisy and sham of convention-

Capitalist monopolies may be able to retard temporarily the beginning of general economic crises, but this they may achieve only through such means as will momentarily detour certain phenomena of crises only to turn them later into permanent phenomena. When, therefore, finally, general econom'c crises do occur, they become all the deeper and more general. They change into deep social crises and catastrophes. They increase the tendency of the capitalists to seek a violent solution—be it the violent suppression of the working masses in revolt, be it the strengthening of the bourgeois state powism economically, intellectually, and morally as to how the tranof new markets, sources of raw materials. markets sition from one society to another for investments of capital, i.e. imperialist wars.

19. In what essentials does post-war imperialism differ from the imperialism before 1914?

In pre-war times, (beginning with approximately 1890-1914), the general inherent tendencies of imperialism toward decay and stagnation, toward the decline of capitalism, were concealed and outweighed on the surface by the rapid increase of productive forces (storm and drive period of imperialism). However, this rapid increase of productive forces only led to a tremendous intensification of the inherent contradictions of world capitalism. The catastrophe of the last world war was the concrete expression of this development. The world-war of whole critique of capitalist econo- 1914-1918 exposed and brought to a further head my written by Marx in the last the tendencies of the decline of imperialist capitalcentury. Yet Soule is still groping ism.

20. What are the most important manifestations of the decline of imperialism after the world war?

a) The contradiction of capitalist economy between the capacities of production and the possibilities of consumption, of marketability, which the world war was supposed to solve, was not solved Tugwell's idea of groups—farmers, workers, consumers, etc. and then but was actually sharpened by it. Productive forces divided and redivided into other of world capital have grown greatly, absolutely. On units, which overlooks or ignores the other hand, not only did the world market fail the objective base of capitalism to expand at the same rate, (in comparison with that makes for the constant the growth of productive forces), but it relatively polarization of society into two contracted. Above all, because of capitalist developconflicting classes (capitalists ver- ment in colonial and semi-colonial countries and because of the falling out of the Soviet Union from the N.R.A. and its relation to the revolution. Soule states: "In a bread correction in the capitalist economic system. The consequences of this disproportion between the possibilities of broad sense, then, the New Deal production and markets are a constant and widegives us a foretaste of the rise to spread standstill of the productive machinery. a collar worker) and this foretaste tive forces. Even in times of prosperity there are ments to-date.

today millions of unemployed and the capacity for are growing into humility for beproduction of industry is not completely utilized.

b) The parasitic features of capitalism have i.h.. Yet the conclusions he ulb) The parasitic features of capitalism have timately draws at the end of his grown. The most important are:

1. War tributes.

2. Artificial, hothouse, development of new youth nothing more than an illuslayers of coupon-clippers, rentiers; for ex- ory solution. ample, subsidies to compensate the owners of Rado traces two forces making for

ing interest rates).

c) The agricultural crises have become particular- of the Ghettos, the other the proly extensive and chronic in post-war capitalism. The development of agricultural economy today collides violently with the limitations and barriers of ing masses with the cry "Go kill capitalist private property.

by the further advance of the monopolistic com- of language. But when he looks position of big capital. Monopoly capital controls to the future the author reveals a the industries of the most important capitalist coun- softness unsuspected from his vitries. Thus, the highest expression of monopoly, the trusts, has advanced absolutely as well as H: rejects the attempt at the rerelatively. The extent of national and international crudescence of a non-existent race capitalist monopolies has expanded enormously, in implicit in the Zionist movement. the size of consolidated capital, in its territorial sphere of activity, and in the number of industrial of the classless society where the branches controlled by monopolies.

ment of capitalism after the world war?

by the first open outbreak of the world revolution. This post-war crisis manifested itself in the ab- | Jewry, as a typical example of the solute decrease of production, in the decline of world trade, the disintegration of the international credit system, and the collapse of the currency system. credit system, and the collapse of the currency sys- it is little more than an elaborate tem in a number of countries. The first open out-fraud. break of the world revolution led to the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet The Trotskyites Union. In Central Europe, the incipient proletarian revolutions were defeated with the aid of the social democracy. The victorious bourgeois counter-revolutions, however, have more or less completed the (Aug. 11, 1-934) hails the boss inhitherto unsolved tasks of the bourgeois revolution, spired secession of the Hudson and (Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland). The Pontiac workers, from the A. F. of first open outbreak of the world revolution was ter- L., as a leftward move. Blinding minated by the overcoming of the post-war crisis itself to the company union charand the re-establishment of the political rule of the acter of this move, it greets the bourgeoisie in all countries outside of the Soviet split as a revolt of the workers

The end of the first stage of the world revolution in Europe was the overcoming of the inflation in mouths, the Trotskyites neverthe-Germany in 1923-1924; in Asia the defeat of the less cling to dual unionism. revolutionary workers and peasants by the Chinese ourgeoisie.

b) The so-called stabilization of capitalism is auto workers union becomes apbased on the overcoming of the post-war crisis and parent even to them, they will disthe re-establishment of the shattered political rule miss it as a "premature" split. of the bourgeoisie.

The so-called stabilization of capitalism is, there- DOLL WORKERS fore, not merely an economic phenomenon. It includes the political as well as the economic relative stabilization of capitalism. The relative stabilization is merely a stage in the general decline of was ever turned into the union, capitalism. The recognition of the general period of and gave the bosses plenty of leedecline of capitalism, however, does not mean that way in the shops. Once again the capitalism in all countries is in the same stage of more progressive unionists took decline. On the contrary, the decline of capitalism takes place just as irregularly in the individual countries as did the rise of capitalism. For example, the collapse of capitalism in Europe resulted which is food by decline. On the contrary, the decline of capitalism | matters into their own hands and in its rise in North America. Mankind is faced by this question; Either progress thru the world revo- Tasks For lution toward Socialism or reversion towards bar- Progressives power of a new class, (the white- deadening paralysis of actual and potential produc- barism thru the destruction of all human achieve-

shift in class power. . . . Washington offices are now full of and alienates most of the leaders would have been understood by few members of previous administramembers of previous administrations. These persons do sense that great changes in our ways of conducting affairs are overdue and less than the stage of the way in ducting affairs are overdue and less than the stage of the stage of the stage of the stage of the way in ducting affairs are overdue and less than the stage of the stage of the way in developed out of the way in develope ducting affairs are overdue, and they are at home in problems of economics, statistics and jurisprugueless former governmental our ways of conducting affairs are overdue, and hesitatingly!—its necessity; and human "problems" that it becomes things, to the end of ripping up the still unclear, uninformed and precedence and former governmental pudiced towards the class and the dense former governmental pudiced towards the class and the solved but which in reality are no such the strengthening the union has solved but which in reality are no such the strengthening the union has solved but which in reality are no such the strengthening the union the strengthening the uni dence as former governmental organization or that class that can of his whole approach when one staffs have not been." Thus, the brain trust is the harhinger of the little of the dynamic factor in the revolution of the little of t rain trust is the harbinger of the merican social revolution.

Without drawing upon the Soviet see that the difference between all would be no loss and no bor movement

planning experiences (exactly one theories concerning people and difference between life, or the sentence in the book refers to the revolution, and the relation of philosophy of life, in America, and both authors ought to get ac-In conclusion, we should say that Soviet Union and economic plan-ideology to economics, has been life, or the philosophy of life, in quainted. Soule could straighten ning), without ever once stating completely "sold" on Russia. With-Russia." He then goes on to show out Williams in redirecting the latbluntly, without equivocation, the out any pre-conceived ideas, Mr. how this new unified philosophy— ter's approach to an interpretation impossibility of planning under Williams went to Russia—casual- "No exploitation"—has begun to which would emphasize the basic capitalism, although intimating ly, he says, after a trip to Ger- do away with most of the evils- and dynamic force of economic and proving it empirically, Soule many-and became overwhelming- economic, moral, intellectual-that factors in the social and ideological goes on to completely misrepresent ly impressed by the new life, the capitalism has generated. His re-spheres of life; while Williams Communism (due partly to the new philosophy, the whole com- cognition of what Russia means to could show Soule the way out of Communist Party's insane tactical plete re-integration of individual- the world is best exemplified when line and to the author's lack of ity and the group. In a word, Wilinformation and knowledge conliams has seen through the whole is not the loss of impartial justice ideas that were motivated by the cerning the whole Leninist and morass of lies and prejudices about or of equal liberty for all, which Soviet system, based on the proletroach) and its attitude towards the Soviet Union and has become never did exist, but that the vio-larian dictatorship. Revolution and the organization of wholly absorbed in its challenge to lent increase of injustice and il-ECONOMIST

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS William Rado has dedicated this

history of Jewish persecutions to "those young boys and girls who harrowing panorama of pogroms offer to these innocent hopeless

SINS OF THE FATHERS, by Wil-

Co., New York.

liam Rado. Empire Publishing

Jewish isolation and persecution-3. Higher bank and financial usury (increas-one the professional Jew, the Rabbinical parasite sucking the blood d) The contradictions of capitalism are intensified picture, even if a little overwrit-Jew is a worker no different from 21. What are the main stages in the developianism, based on Spinoza's concept a) The immediate post-war crisis was accompanied of right reason. As a fairly authentic history of

On Company Union Pausing only to warn against the reactionary Greer, the Militant against Bill Green. With the bitter taste of the Pro-

gressive Miners Union still in their Perhaps, when the reactionary character of this disruption of an

FORGE AHEAD

(Continued from Page 6) union funds for which no account

The progressives unfortunately are not yet all of one mind. In fact a conscious progressive group is still a thing of the future rath-

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September 1, 1934,

General Strike in Textiles

ESPITE the combined efforts of the conservative union officials .and the boss-controlled government agencies to prevent a strike, which may well develop into a mighty onslaught of a million textile workers against the textile barons, the rising tide of discontent among the workers is driving relentlessly toward strike action.

In June it was possible for MacMahon and Gorman to prevent action of the cotton workers by accepting an NRA arbitration board to determine, by investigation, whether or not the cut of 25% should be rescinded.. The bitter fruit of reliance upon NRA, rather than the organized power of the workers, was harvested in the form of an "impartial" decision confirming the wage cut and defending the upward revision of the present 40 hour code provision.

While the burocracy of the U.T.W. preached class peace and throttled strike action, the employers proceeded to exterminate unionism in the south. Despite the boasted right of the workers to unions of their choice" 1500 members of the U.T.W. were fired out of Alabama mills for union membership. The NRA turned a deaf ear to this action and the Alabama cotton workers struck 20,000 strong. Alone and single handed conducting a battle against the bosses with-cut the slightest effort on the part of the U.T.W. leaders to check this union smashing drive by calling for general strike.

It is difficult to find an industry in which NRA has so arrogantly exposed itself as an instrument of the bosses, yet MacMahon and Gorman still place their sole hope upon it or the President. Even after the convention of the U.T.W. ran roughshod over the burocracy and ordered the general strike by the beginning of September. Mc-Mahon still declared: "President Roosevelt is the only man on God's green earth who can prevent this strike." And echoing him Gorman said: "If President Roosevelt were only aware of the real conditions in the cotton industry, these things would not take place." They are actually praying for such strike-breaking Presidential intervention as occurred in the Automobile and Steel industries. They are being forced to go into battle, by the great masses of textile workers, but they are doing so on bended knees.

The bosses announce thru Mr. Sloan, who is both President of the Cotton Textile Institute and Chairman of the Cotton Code Authority, that they cannot submit to a change in the Cotton Code, "now the law of the land." by threat of "force". When the textile barons so desired, the Code Authority immediately cut down the measly \$12 minimum by 25%! Now that the workers make demands the code becomes an unalterable taw!

Against such a ruthless enemy there must be hurled the full power of the united ranks, not only of the cotton workers but also the silk, rayon and woolen workers. All suffer the same intolerable condition and all have common demands—30 hour week, higher minimum wage and reduction of machine load. The very interlocking nature of the textile industry demands the joint action of all sections of the workers, if the strike is to succeed.

The militants and progressives have a particular task and responsi-It was primarily due to their efforts at the U.T.W. convention that a strike decision was forced upon the leadership. It now becomes their duty to guard against compromise and betrayal.

The battle, of which the lines are now forming, will have far reaching results. Never since the inception of NRA has so large an army of labor been mobilized for struggle-almost a million-against the open shop. If the textile workers are successful they will have struck a blow not only for themselves but for the whole labor movement, for they will have defeated the broadest open shop drive yet faced by American labor, in any industry.

Every trade union, every workers organization, every friend of labor must rally to the support of the textile workers.

Anarchism and Reaction

them reactionary trends in bourgeois political thought. For this reason the editorial comment of the Jewish Anarchist weekly, Freie Arbeiter Stimme, on the recent deliverances of Professor Robert A. Millikan,

is especially significant.
Professor Millikan, an outstanding physicist, is notorious for his thoroly reactionary outlook in philosophy and religion, in economics and politics. He has, in fact, been held up as a sort of "horrible example" of how a first-rate scientist can be most completely unscientific, most thoroly benighted on every question outside his specialty. A few weeks ago this Professor Millikan, acting quite in character, decided to come to the assistance of the Old Guard Republicans against the Roosevelt "New Deal." He therefore delivered a perfectly Rotarian homily on the virtues of individual initiative and the wickedness of governmen-tal "interference" or "control"—

That Anarchism, in its essential "statism," as he elegantly called it. philosophy and outlook, is a thoroly petty bourgeois doctrine, that it papers dutifully applauded the is. in fact, "rugged individualism worthy scientist's little sermon; all run mad," has long been a familiar of the liberal or pro-Administra-idea to all Marxists. It is rare, tion papers just as promptly condemned it as painfully reactionary selves openly parading their fundand absurdly out- of-date. Now damental agreement with the most comes the Freie Arbeiter Stimme (August 17, 1934) and welcomes Professor Millikan's Hooverian bromides with open arms—as confirmation of Anarchism!

> "One of the greatest scholars not only of America but also of the whole world, Dr. Robert A Millikan, president of the California Institute of Technology, recently delivered a remarkable address which surely deserves to be reprinted in the F.A.S. even tho we cannot agree with Professor Millikan in everything he says. Since this (to reprint the address) is impossible at the present moment, we will give a small extract from this speech which will not only give the reader an idea of the character of the whole speech but will also show, by the way, that the idea of statelessness can find a place in one of the greatest minds of the day." Comment is surely unnecessary!

Trade Union Notes

TUUL Splits Knitgoods Strike - C.P. Fiasco at U.T.W. Convention — Lost—A National Shoe Conference. Finder Return To Biedenkapp — Stachel Looses His Footing — We Join The Gold-Chanin Debate

the CP press is shouting sell-out, as usual. This revolutionary indignation is particularly reprehensible when we recall that it was the converte CP controlled Needle Trades changed." Workers Industrial union, which first opened up the strike front.

Whatever few shops the Knit-goods section of that union controlled were sent back to work after the first couple of days, on an agreement which stipulated that conditions in these shops shall be subject to the general provisions of the general settlement in the industry.

If this were done by a conservative union in an industry in Which the TUUL controlled the Leather Workers Union. This was majority of the strikers, the cry of outright scabbery would resound thruout the country, but since it is done by a very revolutionary TUUL union it immediately becomes the highest type of revolutionary strike strategy. Fortunate ly the only effect that this scabbery had upon the strike was to still further discredit the already tainted N∘edle Trades Workers Industrial Union. the standpoint of the number of workers involved the TUUL was too weak to affect the issue one way or another.

THE recently closed U.T.W. convention was of tremendous significance for the trade union movement at large (see estimate of convention elsewhere in this issue). What concerns us at the moment is the sorry role played by the Communist Party.

We look thru the files of the Daily Worker and are very much pleased, for despite the deliberate distortions of the dull Karl Reeve it still is apparent that whatever militant struggle was made at that convention was due to the very Lovestoneites. who, as the Daily Worker will tell you, are part of the McMahon machine.

After reading all the slurs and slanders against the Lovestonite leaders in the convention, we are justified in asking—where were the C.P. delegates? Where was

THE general strike of Knit- McMahon. It is a sad commentary goods workers having been settled, on the trade union work of the .P. when Karl Reeve can write "with one truly militant (read C. P.) floor leader the complexion of the convention might have been

As long as the C.P. continues to olay with rag dolls, labelled TUUL unions, just so long will it continue to be as insignificant as it is, in the conservative unions.

WE have been so busy handling other trade union matters that an event of considerable import, has been allowed to go by uncommented. We refer to the national conference called by the New York to have been a coup d'etat in which the national officials were to be overthrown and the New York crew was to take over the union. July 15 was set as the time for this

The plan was very simple. New York organization (TUUL supporters) was to adopt a resolution which was immediately to be submitted to all the locals for approval. The resolution called for the election of delegates to the conference to be held in Boston.

However things went all wrong. The highly colored reports from New England failed to materialize and when July 15 rolled around New York could lay claim to only 4 local endorsements out of a possible 40, and the conference was just forgotten in the shuffle.

If the General Executive Board had been formal it could very easily have ruled out the whole mat-The local organization here. in its haste, failed even to submit a copy of its resolution to the G.E.B. for the purpose of having it sent to the locals. Instead it sent the resolution direct to the locals. Another little matter which the GEB did not pick up is the fact that local New York was not then and is not now in good stand-

The CP members claim the endorsements of Local 23 (New York), Local 18 (Chelsea). Local 9 (Haverhill) and the Mixed Local this powerful C.P. with its TUUL of Lynn. Local 23 of New York and its rank and file committees? never did endorse this resolution. There were 2 or 3 members of the It was endorsed by one of the nu-TUUL in the convention. What a merous top committees of the lomiserable, gutless, spineless crew cal. In Chelsea the CP members they were. In all they brought in talked into the wee hours of the 2 or 3 resolutions but did not even morning and finally when most of have the courage to defend them. the workers had left. carried their So weak kneed were they that they resolution. This action Local No. did not even rise to vote against 18 reconsidered at its very next

meeting and has not changed its position at this writing. Local 9 of Haverhill never took up this communication at all and could not act either for or against. And as for the Mixed Local of Lynn, well here just ain't any mixed local in Lynn, and therefore there could be no endorsement.

It is rumored that the July 15 conference was to have resulted in he organization of a new union controlled by the CP The discourging results of their referendum may have a sobering effect upon the TUUL crowd, at least temporarily.

THE CP has suddenly become extremely "Left Communism" conscious. Jack Stachel was rushed forward recently to "interpret" Lenin and incidentally to make up for the failure to print an introduction to the same pamphlet published by the CP. We are not now concerned with the painful antics of Stachel in his attempt to torture Lenin into the devious twists and turns of the present trade union line of the CP. What does concern us deeply is that Stachel seems to be slipping. With not seems to be slipping. With not one word did he so much as tip his hat to the Independent Federation of Labor. Has he forgot-ten so soon the Theses and Reso-lutions of the Eighth C.P. convention, in which it is distinctly ordered that the building of the Independent Federation of Labor is the main task of the party. Coming as it does, from the nominal head of the TUUL, such lapses of memory are absolutely inexcusable. What a n'ce pickle Jack would be in if someone should happen to mention it to Browder or Lozowsky.

Ben Gold and H. Chanin have been polemizing the question of whether the Joint Council or the Fur Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union are using gangsters in the struggle between the two unions. would hesitate to enter into this controversy were it not for the fact that Ben Gold has drawn upon the Lovestoneites to prove a number of h's contentions. If we are to be a witness we first of all insist on being quoted correctly and secondly we reserve our right to speak on other questions.

Says Gold: "We would like to refer Chanin to a circular issued by the Lovestoneite leaders in the Joint Council. The circular openly admits that the 'so-called organization committees' sway by corruption and gang-sterism". Quite right, and as Quite right, and as un on members we have fought against this condition in the Joint Council. but we are fighting with equal vigor against the thuggery and gangsterism, against a verittable reign of terror let loose up-on the fur market on Ben Gold's orders. The gangster attack upon the NTWIU offices some two years ago has been more than matched by the persistent slugging and crippling of workers over a period of months. Gangsterism is just that regardless of whether Ureman

or Gold does the paying.
Says Gold again: "Actually there were 48 furriers that took part in The Lovestonethose elections. ites who claimed that they were cheated by the other officials, say that 100 votes were cast. . This statement is a delibera on the part of Gold. what statement did the Lovestoneites say that 100 votes were cast? The progressives, or the Lovestone-ites, as Gold prefers to call them, secured 200 votes, some candidates running even higher. This 200 odd votes constituted some 30% of the total vote, so how could there have been 48 votes cast as Gold insists or 100 votes as Gold would have us say? The answer is that it is a simple fabrication for gullible fur workers. Whatever irregularities there

may have been, there were many hundreds of workers participating in the elections, yes many more hundreds than participated in the election of delegates to the national conference of the NTWIU, held uring the I.L.G.W.U. convention. When it comes to question of urion democracy we would seriously advise Gold to "skip it" because there are no worse burocratically ridden and mechanically controlled unions than the industrial unions of the TUUL,

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