

Demand Troops Withdraw From Textile Strike Area

WORKERS' AGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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BOSS TERROR IN TEXTILE STRIKE

Morro Castle Fire Under Probe

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

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

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

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

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

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Joint Board in Anti-Fascist Drive

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

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

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

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

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Death Dealers Exposed In Munitions Probe

by A. M.

To Lenin the bourgeois government was the Executive committee of the capitalist class. But government has revealed itself in a new role in the course of the Senatorial investigation of arms and munitions sales, held during the last two weeks in Washington,—the role of travelling drummer for the merchants of death.

Among the amazing revelations unearthed in the letter files of the Electric Boat Company were the personal intervention of King George V, to sell the products of Vickers, Ltd. to Poland, the use of the United States Navy's vessels and personnel as agents for the Driggs Ordnance Company, the incorporation of anti-aircraft gun refinements, developed at tremendous cost by the U. S. Army, into guns sold to foreign governments, and the tremendous and chronic graft involved in selling munitions to almost every government in the world.

Why The Investigations

From the viewpoint of Realpolitik the investigation has two motivations. First, of course, it is a typical mudslinging festival, with a Democratic investigation committee raking over the noisome garbage left by its Republican predecessors. But in a more important aspect the investigation is a step toward discrediting the private manufacturers of munitions—an easy job—in order to clear the way for direct fabrication of armaments by the government. The war machine is to be overhauled and tightened up in every joint in the

face of impending imperialist conflict.

Basil Zaharoff's Activity

The existence of an international cartel through which Vickers and the Electric Boat Co. split up the submarine business of the world was the first fact brought to light in the questioning of Henry Carse, Electric Boat president. Through this slimy morass of world monopoly moved the mysterious figure of Sir Basil Zaharoff, "the world's greatest armaments salesman." Zaharoff earned his huge commissions, on which he paid no income tax, by acting as procurer-in-chief for the cartel. He was the agent of the wholesale corruption of officers, diplomats and administrators attendant on the selling of submarines.

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

"At Your Service"

America's army, navy and diplomatic corps was at the service of the munitions makers. In May,

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Keller Issues Warning On Arbitration Pitfalls

NEWS FLASHES

In an effort to break the strike armed forces are being used thruout the strike area. In Woonsocket and Saylesville National Guardsmen fired at strikers. Out of eight workers shot three have already died.

Arbitration negotiations have been rejected by the employers. Gorman sees a long drawn-out battle. Green appeals to all unions for financial assistance for the strike.

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

by Eli Keller

From the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, on a 1500-mile battlefront, one-half million textile workers are engaging the textile barons in the greatest battle textiles has ever witnessed. What is outstanding in this mighty demonstration of the textile workers? The whole N.R.A. apparatus, codes and administration, stands exposed in all its brutality as an instrument of exploitation. Secondly, Unionism cracks the anti-labor south and the overwhelming majority of these slaves of the spindle flock into the United Textile Workers and demonstrate a fight and courage in the strike that is unsurpassed. Thirdly, every branch of the textile industry, every textile area in the United States responded and a general strike paralyzed the entire industry. Fourthly, the realization of the entire trade union movement of the great stake they have in this strike, and their desire to aid the textile strikers in every possible manner.

Paterson Prepares Early

Weeks before the general strike was called, the Paterson District of the American Association of Silk Workers Union was preparing for the critical time ahead. With prac-

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N.Y. Silk Workers Broaden Strike

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

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

The broad silk and ribbon locals are conducting a joint strike, with joint strike committee and mass meetings. Meetings are being held daily at strike headquarters, 22 E. 22 St. An urgent appeal is being made to all labor organizations to come to the support of the New York strikers, both morally and financially.

by S. H.

The slaves of the spindle have risen in revolt and the greatest textile strike in history has paralyzed the entire industry. The South, in the past the citadel of "docile and contented labor", has been cracked by unionism. The strike call brought the overwhelming majority of the textile workers out of the mills on the first day of the strike. This mighty response to the strike from New England to the deep South was met by the textile barons with a volley of gunfire which murdered ten strikers and wounded scores of others. Hired scum of the underworld and the strike-breaking militia was swiftly mobilized by the textile lords in all strike areas. Day by day, the number of strikers increases as the famed "flying squadrons" mop up the scab shops and mills.

Textile Demands

What are the strikers fighting for? The demands of the United Textile Workers are:

"1. The establishment of a 30-hour maximum work week consisting of six hours per day, five days per week with the same earning power that the workers received under the 40-hour week. Definitions and classifications of occupations must be made and graduated minimum wage scales set up according to skill of the worker. Wages in different sections of the industry must be made more uniform to stabilize competitive as well as labor conditions.

"2. The establishment of a maximum work load for operations in various divisions of the textile industry.

"3. The reinstatement of all workers victimized for union membership, in violation of Section 7a of the National Recovery Act.

"4. Recognition of the United Textile Workers of America as the bargaining agency of the workers in the textile industry and the signing of an agreement between the international office of the union and the various divisions of the textile industry governing the labor relationship between both groups.

"5. The establishment of an arbitration board mutually agreeable to both parties to settle all disputes that the parties are unable to adjust themselves. The decision of said arbitration board to be final and binding on both parties."

Behind Southern Storm

It is the uprising and heroic militancy of the textile workers in

(Continued on Page 7)

The NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

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Roy Makes New Appeal

Comrade Roy has sent us a frank appeal for help. As can be seen from the excerpt of the letter from Comrade Roy which we herewith reproduce, the British Imperialistic Authorities have gone out of their way to make life miserable for Comrade Roy in jail.

Comrade Roy writes us in part:

"... Now a new misfortune has befallen me, the worst possible and the most unexpected. I have been deprived of the facilities, which were very limited, to do my literary work. According to the jail regulations 'B' class prisoners are not automatically entitled to these facilities. I hope, however, had them all along. Therefore, the blow has been very unexpected and more severe than any other that could be implied in my present position. I am not allowed to have any blank papers, pen, or even a pencil. For example, is given to me for writing this letter. I must return it as soon as the letter is done. Not only am I no longer in a position to do any writing whatsoever—even making random notes of the result of reading and reflection. Even systematic study with a scientific purpose is impossible because I can not even make necessary marks in the books read, for ready reference in the future or make marginal notes. You will easily imagine how I feel in this situation. It makes my ordeal almost intolerable. The news will distress you nearly as much as me. Therefore, I hesitate to mention it. But I am constrained to because I wish the friends in England and the United States to make some vigorous efforts so that my punishment is not aggravated by absolute restriction of my intellectual life. Make it clear that I have been writing on scientific matters which cannot be objectionable from the political point of view; and that my literary occupation did not interfere with my duties as a prisoner. I have all along performed the jail task in full—as much as done by any ordinary prisoner.—This is not a very auspicious conclusion of my third year of my ordeal."

gently called upon to send letters of vigorous protests to the British Embassy in Washington protesting against this mistreatment of Comrade Roy. Copies of these protests should be forwarded to the Age.

The case of Comrade Roy is of international significance and hence must have the highest international solidarity.

Morro Castle Under Probe
(Continued from Page 1)

saw members of the crew carrying passengers over their shoulders and both dropping in the flames—no possible help could be given them.

"While my pal held the hose I threw a lot of deck chairs overboard for some one to hang onto in the water. None of the officers could get near us—we were completely shut off by the flames.

"I was almost trapped by the flames in the B deck gymnasium. I pulled three girls out of the flames and led them to a lifeboat. A lot of the crew came running up, saying, there's nobody around, can't find anybody else. Hurry up for your life.

"We were lucky. Five out of six lifeboats on the portside were in flames. I don't know anything about the other side of the ship. We couldn't get across; everything was on fire, hotter than hell. If we'd delayed another five minutes we'd have been burned alive.

"One of the electricians was trying to lose another life boat, number Six or number Eight. While the boys were working on our boat I tried to get to help him but I couldn't get near. So I threw another half-dozen deck chairs overboard.

"When we got into the water one of the cables was still fast. We were dragged along by the ship going full speed ahead toward shore. Lucky the life boat was strong or we'd have all been crushed against the side of the ship. Hot glass from the promenade deck was falling all around us. The burning lifeboat was right over our heads full of fire. We thought it would fall at any minute. That was the only time I was really scared.

"We worked for fifteen or twenty minutes before we could get the cable loose. Finally when we were only a few minutes away from shore we cut loose. Then we rowed ashore."

DEATH MERCHANTS EXPOSED

(Continued from Page 1)

1928, in answer to a request from Louis L. Driggs, C. B. Robbins, Assistant Secretary of War, wrote granting permission to the Driggs Company to offer for sale guns, mortars, sights, instruments, etc. developed by the U. S. Army. These developments had cost over \$2,000,000 but the government extended its aid to Driggs even further by sending the cruiser Raleigh to Istanbul as a travelling demonstrator for the Driggs anti-aircraft gun.

There is little unique about the other stories told—stories of American diplomats and naval officers acting as armaments agents, of bribery of admirals and war-office attaches—business is, after all, business. But the purpose of the investigation deserves notice.

In this connection it is remarkably uninteresting to note the reaction of the Militant to the arms investigation. After a very cute, hot-cha-c'ha-story, the Militant concludes by saying, "All that is being required of American armament manufacturers is not to be hoggish. 'Sell if you must but for God's sake don't sell too many guns and ammunitions to our direct enemies.'"

The Militant should subscribe to the New York Times. In the September 8 issue it could find fully quoted the above mentioned letter which specifically enjoins the Driggs company to accept only large orders—the interest of the war department lay in seeing that foreign governments gave bona fide contracts, which were not designed merely to get models of American guns but would actually

develop American productive capacities.

The Congressional Resolution

The Nye-Vanderburg resolution, under which the committee is working, calls for the control of munitions manufacture by the government. However strange this may sound it is not "socialized" production. Armaments in America are lagging. In the face of the war danger the government feels the need of national self-sufficiency in this field—a self-sufficiency which cannot be attained under private ownership in the face of cheapened and expanded German, Czechoslovakian and English production. So the government is going into the arms business. Clearing the path of public opinion for this step is a delicate task but a task which the Nye-Vanderburg committee is accomplishing pretty thoroughly.

Keller Repudiates Press Distortions

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

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

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

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Fall Term, 1934

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

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THE NEW DEAL -- PAST AND PRESENT

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

The Roosevelt Program - IV
by Jay Lovestone

Survey for April 1934:

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

THROWING OFF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE

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

"STABILIZATION FOR ALL TIME"

Much calumny and confusion have crept into the countless attempts to estimate the program of the New Deal socially, historically. This is characteristic of champion and critic on right and left. A brief return to the background of the origin of the economic program of the New Deal will therefore, prove illuminating.

In his recent book, "On Our Way", President Roosevelt, in Gabriel-like fashion, trumpets from the White House: "History probably will record the National Industrial Recovery Act as the most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by the American Congress; it represents a supreme effort to stabilize for all time."

BIG BUSINESS CRIED FOR IT

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

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

How panicky Wall Street was at the beginning of 1933 can be seen from this release issued by United Business Service on Feb. 18, 1933:

"Not since Lincoln took office in 1861 has as critical a situation faced an incoming President. A suffering people, including many millions of unemployed seething with discontent and unrest, and millions more of farmers and small business men hanging on by a precarious hold, look to the new Administration for effective measures of speedy relief."

REORGANIZING THE "CAPITALISTIC" SYSTEM

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

The Economic Trend

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

Steel Reaches New Low

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

Internal Instability of Capitalism	July '34	June '34
Wage earners	383,673	415,547
Wages	\$26,150,272	\$40,630,314

Hours per week per worker	24.4	35.7
Average earnings per hour	63.2c	63.9c

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

Relief Lists On Increase

While speaking of "tremendous gains" one is compelled to ask the genial and optimistic Mr. Richberg whether the following figures on unemployment relief indicate a flourishing condition of capitalism. According to the report for the NRA the number of families receiving relief are as follows:

March 1933	4,500,000
June "	3,451,874
Nov. "	3,800,000
April 1934	3,864,765

And he goes on to state that by Feb. 5,000,000 families will be on relief. It seems that the health of economy is being measured these days by the number of people that can be put on relief in the speediest possible time! This recalls Marx's sharp indictment of capital-

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

Prices Rises Steeply
Concomitant with the sharp decline being registered in business comes the steady advancement in prices. I. Lubin of the Dep't. of Labor reports on Aug. 25 that retail food prices advanced during the past two weeks to the highest level since Dec. 15, 1931. He further points out that "as compared with the index of 90.4 for April 1933, the lowest point reached since pre-war days, current retail food prices are up by more than 23 1/2%." This constant increase in the prices of the basic factors that go to make up the cost of living of the masses is a sure indicator of the increasingly difficult straits into which the workers have been put by the New Deal, with its inflationary policies. Any increases that have come in wage returns have been nullified by the rising price levels.

Profits Are Sky-Rocketing
In a past issue of the Worker's Age we took the occasion to point out the tremendous increases that took place in profit returns in 1933. This process has kept in full swing in the first six months of 1934. In the New Nation (Sept. 12, 1934), M. S. Stewart reports that "net profits of 506 corporations rose from \$157,579,000 in the first half of 1933 to \$408,572,000 in the first six months of 1934 an increase of 260%!" Furthermore the National City Bank letter "estimates the average annual rate of return of 250 companies having a net worth of \$9,724,000,000 to have been 5.7% in the first half of 1934 as against 1.7% in 1933." And the industrial magnates have, at the same time, raised the hue and cry about labor costs under the new deal eating into profits. From the looks of things it seems the process is decidedly the reverse!

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

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

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The Comintern and the United Front

Estimating the Recent Changes

by G. S.

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

as the revolutionary wave receded, the Communist Party was forced to look for new methods of struggle in order to check the influence of reformism which could not be taken by storm but had to be overcome by persistent struggle. United front tactics were practically developed in Germany, with the help of the C.I. and above all with the help of Lenin. A beginning was made in generalizing and transferring united front theory to other countries (Theses on Tactics-Third World Congress). We emphasize that a beginning was made because at that time one of the most essential points was not clarified. That was the question of the party lines of the united front tactic during the seizure of power, the question of the limits as well as the content of the united front tactic. The C.I. set up the slogan of a "workers government" in the sense

of a joint utilization of the government by Communists and reformists for the execution of immediate demands and transition slogans and as a means for the preparation and execution of the struggle for power.

The Pendulum Swings To The Left
The application of this false theory led to the Communist-Social-Democratic government coalition in Saxony and Thuringia in the fall of 1923. However, instead of analyzing the errors committed and thus preventing a repetition of the party under the leadership of Maslow-Ruth Fischer abandoned the united front and substituted the "united front from below" policy. Along with this the party gave up the objective of conquering the

reformist trade unions and began to build revolutionary dual unions. This experiment carried out on an international scale collapsed after two years and was abandoned. Again, without a frank admission of the errors committed and covered up by the C.I. without a thorough analysis of the mistakes, "A few lefts" they said had committed errors.

Change Without Critical Analysis
Then followed a renewed effort to apply the united front tactics and to liquidate the ultra-left trade union tactics. (1926 to 1928) Characteristic of this period was the weak execution of the united front tactics, vacillating course between left and right deviations carried on by those responsible for the ultra-left course under Maslow-Ruth Fischer. Often the CPG, in carrying out united front actions, became the tail end of the reformists (campaign for the expropriation of the nobility). This was the result of the uncritical stand on the errors of the ultra-left period.

The Recent Ultra-Left Line
A further consequence was the renewed ultra-left period 1928-1934 when once more Germany was the main field of application. This period, the longest and most persistent period of ultra-leftism, coincided to a large extent with the period of the advance of fascism in Germany and in several other countries, having all the more drastic and catastrophic effects. The ultra-left course is responsible for the fact that in the period of the greatest economic and political crisis of capitalism, Communists in Germany did not succeed in overcoming the mass influence of reformism, or even checking it in a large measure, and that fascism seized power without resistance on the part of the working class.

Mosses Go Out On Streets
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Doriot Begins His Struggle
In the Central Committee of the CP Doriot and others raised the question of a change in tactics and demanded a discussion on these tactics in the party immediately after the events of February 6th.

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

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CP Expells Doriot—Takes His Policy
In June the Party convention at Ivry made the change. The convention (Continued on Page 6)

DAILY BOOSTS AGE

"Your story in pictures leaves nothing untold," would be a good slogan for the Daily Worker. In a recent issue it published a typical Paterson strike scene. In the foreground was a comrade from the C.P.O. selling the Age, on every side were strikers reading the Age. In the picture one Daily is reading it but even its owner wasn't evidence it.

The Record Speaks Accurately
In Paterson the union has conducted the strike along militant lines thruout. Mass picketing we have striven and worked for consistently. Not content with this we have sent committees and squads into the out-lying region to pull out additional mills. On Monday, Sept. 11, I led a "flying squadron" into Passaic where we picketed the Botany mills sweeping aside police

Eli Keller on Arbitration

by Eli Keller

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

Walkout Successful

The first day of the strike and 13,000 textile workers responded to the call which came by telegram from Francis J. Gorman: "Strike committee authorizes strike in the silk industry effective as of Saturday Sept. 1st, 11:30 P. M. No one reports for work after this date. You have instructions. Yours for a 100% shutdown. The issues are 30 hours two shifts. Machine load, non-automatic, no more than four and where there are less than four being operated the number shall not be increased; automatic looms, 6 with minimum wage of \$28.00. Wages \$25 minimum for weavers on four looms or less. A proportionate increase for other occupations. Union recognition which means to us that the manufacturers will concede the above demands to all members of the United Textile Workers of America."

With the exception of certain jacquard shops and the Dyers, who were bound by contract, the workers responded without urging or exhortation.

Passaic was and is at this writing the weakest spot on the eastern front, with the mills still operating. Measures are being taken to blast thru at Passaic. On Monday, I led several "flying squadrons" and picketed the Botany mill in order to break the ice. Paterson is located out-of-town, in the Paterson District, have been tackled and successfully so by committees from Paterson.

The Dyers Must Come Out

With over 15,000 Dyers in the industry in Paterson it was essential that they join the strike. Contract or no contract, their duty was to join the ranks with the others and present one united front to the mill owners. This did not take place, nor did the National Strike Committee demand that the Dyers go out. I therefore sent a telegram to Francis J. Gorman in which I urged him to have the Dyers come out on strike immediately. The remaining of the Dyers in the mills weakened the struggle. Our greatest difficulty at the moment here in Paterson is the mobilization of mass-picketing. Far be it for me to minimize the splendid response to picketing by hundreds of our Paterson strikers, but we feel that this is inadequate and we are taking steps to have thousands on the picket lines where we have hundreds today.

Boss Press And Official Communists

The capitalist press of New York and elsewhere has not only distorted remarks of mine on Communism and Communists, but has

utilized the noisy disruptive activities of the former members of the National Textile Workers Union (CP members) to picture great internal dissension in the Union. A leaflet distributed by the Communist Party "What Communists Fight For In Textile Strike" lists a number of demands which are lower than those demanded by the Paterson strikers! The leaflet calls for "Skilled—\$22.50 per thirty hour week" and "Highly Skilled—\$30.00 per thirty hour week" while the union demands in Paterson are: Skilled—\$25 per thirty hour week, and Highly Skilled—\$35 per thirty hour week! This is not surprising, however, since we were treated to a similar "revolutionary" action last year when the National Textile Workers Union set demands below those being fought for by the Union. "Why are the Dyers working?" these people now demand, why does not Keller call them out on strike? First, Keller has no power to call them out; secondly, I have done everything possible to get the National Strike Committee of the urgent necessity of the Dyers walking out, and lastly, I will continue to make every effort within my power to have the Dyers enter the ranks of the strikers. But everyone knows why these people are being denounced by Keller for this and that rather than helping to win the strike. Are these people anxious to build the union and win the strike? Not at all! They have admitted thru the mouth of Earl Browder that these Paterson strikers, on September 7th, that the N.T.W.U. was liquidated in Paterson solely for the purpose of "preventing the 'Lovestonite' Keller from misleading and selling-out the workers." Under the cover of this they have created disturbances at union mass meetings, hindered the mobilization of mass picketing and played into the hands of the mill owners by providing them with ammunition about "internal dissension," etc. But their activities have only disgusted and enraged the union membership. Despite all their detrimental activities, our union shall not discriminate against them in any fashion. We are proving to them and to the workers generally that the democracy within an A. F. of L. union is a thousand times more real than in any union scarred by the T.U.U.L. brand.

interference. Passaic is receiving aid from Paterson continually. When it was rumored this week that the Jacquard workers would return to work the union immediately spiked these rumors and organized a mass picket line for 6 o'clock in the morning to patrol the mills and keep these mills closed. We have consistently called to the attention of the National Strike Committee the great necessity of having every textile worker in Paterson—jacquard, dyer and everyone else—out on strike (the Daily Worker's falsehoods notwithstanding).

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

The whole American labor movement has its eyes riveted upon the general textile strike. A victory will bring courage and determination for bettering conditions thruout the working class. What the armed forces of the states, hired thugs, have failed to accomplish the arbitration board will attempt to successfully accomplish. The Roosevelt Administration stands condemned as a mill owners agency. The murder of the ten textile workers in the South has filled the textile workers with the resolution to conquer this battle and defeat their enemies—the mill owners and their government boards.

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Results of the U. T. W. Convention

Tasks of the Progressives

by A Delegate

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

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

Organization Question
The fight for the establishment of Federations was won at this Convention, compelling all locals, in a given section of the industry, to affiliate to the Federation in that industry as well as to the U. T. W. McMahon had fought this form of organization for years, realizing that it laid the basis for greater independence of the Federations. In some localities free-thinkers and other local bourgeois-radical organizations participated.

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

CP Expells Doriot—Takes His Policy

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

Resolution

One of the stirring climaxes of the Convention was the demonstration against William Green for his disloyal actions against the San Francisco general strike. When the resolution committee headed by Frank Schweitzer, Secretary of the Silk Federation, announced its approval of a resolution condemning Green for his disloyal actions, a burst of applause and cheers swept the Convention. Reactionary opponents of the Resolution attempted to scare again, claiming that the Reso-

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

The General Strike

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

The Progressives, moreover maintained in their speeches an realistic view of the situation. They pointed out that a general strike involving a million textile workers in silk, rayon, wool, as well as in cotton, could prove effective in changing the miserable conditions in the industry, and in changing the provisions in the codes, because of the interlocking of the various sections of the textile industry. This demand was not won until the following day when the Convention went on record in favor of a strike in these sections of the industry during the cotton strike. It was Rieve who led the fight against extending the general strike, who warned the delegates of the lack of resources, and declared that they were "biting off more than they can chew." But the tide for militant action, significantly swept over even the Rieve-McMahon joint resistance.

Rieve Withdrawal

The delegates then proceeded to re-elect the administration which was the best guarantee against the well prepared and a successful conduct of the strike. Rieve withdrew as candidate against McMahon at the very last moment, after secret conferences with Gorman and McMahon, and after his candidacy had been announced in the

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

Progressives. His strategy was to bring pressure on Gorman to run, but when Gorman refused to desert McMahon, Rieve proceeded to desert his own supporters.

The Elections

The last minute candidate chosen to run against McMahon proved an unhappy choice. Maurice L. George, President of the Lewistown; Pa. local of Rayon Manufacturing Plant workers, the leader of the recent rayon workers strike was recommended as candidate by the militant rayon workers. He was nominated by Herman and seconded by Fordham, delegate of the Marcus Hook local that participated in the same strike. Herman, in his speech nominating George expressed the way in which the International had broken the strike thru keeping at work two locals of the

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

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

(Continued on Page 7)

"A Little Less Arrogance"

by M. Stone

izations and excludes "parties of capitalism."

The Trade Union Question

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

The application of the official Party trade union line to the field of youth labor makes it no less destructive. And so it is entirely natural for people in an isolated position to "view with alarm" the step forward of the American working youth (joining the A. F. of L. in large numbers) and to "point with pride" to an evidence of weakness (tendencies toward separation from the A. F. of L. under boss pressure). Thus, their purpose in coming to the YCL is to destroy. A commendable purpose in the former—a vicious one in the latter.

A significant change is taking place in America with the entrance of young workers into the unions. A change, having favorable effect upon the young workers themselves. But the YCL can see only "betrayal" and cause for complaint in this condition. After five years of work of the TUUL, events have shown that when youth as well as to the A. F. of L. that they turn to the theory of Social Fascism. "The leaders—not the rank and file" is the slogan of modification. But if good intentions or honesty is the criterion of the YCL, why not approach the first and second parties of capitalism for a united front, or the American Legion, whose rank and file, too, is honestly misled? What the YCL refuses to see is that the other organizations are anti-capitalist, working class bodies, even though with a false and reformist outlook. As long as this misunderstanding exists, the achievement of a united front is made more difficult, for the only permissible united front is one which unites working class organ-

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

Phrases and Arrogance

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

One is reminded while reading this pamphlet, of a speech Stalin made some time ago to the Russian Young Communists in which he said, "Let the Young Communists be known less for their arrogance and more for their modesty." It would have been well if the YCL here had heeded this advice. Then, perhaps, they would not have spoken out with such arrogance on the question of "National Youth Day." Says the YCL, "In the past three years (the YCL) succeeded in transforming Memorial Day into a traditional (!) day of struggle against war and fascism." How easily are traditions born! National Youth Day is indeed a tradition—but only with the YCL and its sympathizers, certainly not with the mass of youth to whom May 30th is still Memorial Day. To pretend, by the action of a tiny minority of the youth, that the action of the mass is accomplished is indeed the height of arrogance and indicates a dangerous contempt for the masses.

There is need for a pamphlet which analyzes capitalism today as it affects the youth, and offers a program of action and a way out. But this pamphlet of the Y. Mine Workers Union sweeping the field once more, and around the theory that the National Miners Union had mass influence even if organizationally weak. To see the influx of new youth into the mines. Thus we did not carry on a campaign of exposure of the UMWA misleaders and young workers.

International Notes

A New C. I. Turn In The Making

The most significant break with its ultra-left line has just been made by the Communist International in Germany. This break with leftist sectarianism is entirely in the direction of the line of the ICO on the trade union field and united front tactics. It comes in Germany not only under the pressure of objective conditions, but particularly because of the growing influence of the CPGO.

In brief, this new turn is featured by the following:

1. Provides for the liquidation of all Red Unions.
2. Complete dropping of the theory of "social fascism."
3. In all united fronts and trade union activities, the Social Democrats and members of all other working class organizations and groups, regardless of their differences with the CP are no longer to be considered second-class citizens.
4. CP members are instructed in their building non-partisan unions to vote for functionaries on the basis of their ability and devotion rather than merely on the basis of their political affiliation.

This turn was arrived at thru a decision of the Presidium of the ECCI which recently held a meeting. At these sessions the Central Committee of the CPG was sharply criticized for its sectarianism and failure to react to the events of June 30 in Germany. The Central Committee of the CPG subsequently held a meeting and adopted the Presidium decisions. (To symbolize organizationally this change of line, especially on the trade union field, Fritz Heckert who had been leading the trade union work of the CPG before, was removed from this work and put into Red Aid work. Khorin, who had been the "expert" on German affairs for the CI since 1929, is hereafter to be relieved from participating in this field.)

In France, Czechoslovakia and Austria, the CI has recently made serious breaks with ultra-leftism in the direction of the tactical line of the ICO. At the above mentioned Presidium sessions Com. Piatnitsky held up the American Communist Party as a model of how not to conduct united front activities. He gave, as an example, its negotiations with the SP.

What is most deplorable about these welcome and serious changes in line by the CI is the failure to combine them with steps making for a change in the system of leadership and the restoration of Party Democracy. Were this done, world Communist Unity would be hastened and insured.

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

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

During the past year, the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition was forced to repeatedly consider the political line of the Alsatian C.P.O. The policy of a united front with the Austrians, thus creating the "Volksfront" (people's front) has in reality now become a policy of coalition with bourgeois parties tending towards fascism. This policy is in violent contradiction to the fundamentals of Communism. The Bureau of the ICO demanded a break with the "Volksfront" and its replacement by a policy of proletarian united front. The leadership of the CPO rejected this proposal, prevented a discussion on this question by the membership, threatened

with expulsion those members supporting this communist policy and recently began a shameless struggle against the united front set up between the Communist and Socialist Parties of France.

On the basis of this situation the Bureau of the ICO formulated the following decision at its session of July 26, 1934:

Since the removal from their posts of the Party secretaries and editors of "Neue Welt", especially since the realization of the united front in France against fascism and the war danger, the "Neue Welt", official organ of the CPO of Alsace, entered upon a course which is definitely against the fundamental position of the ICO.

On the 19, 20, and 21 of July there appeared in the "Neue Welt" editorial articles (Notes on the new united front—Cachin-Blum; Notes on the united front Mohn-Jabs; United front yes, but not with police agents; etc) which reject in the crudest possible manner the united front set up between the Communist and Socialist Parties in France.

The Bureau considered these matters and establishes that:

1. The position of the "Neue Welt" represents a complete break with the fundamental policies and tactics of the ICO which, since the beginning of its resistance to the ultra-left course of the CP, has fought so strenuously for the proletarian united front against war and fascism.
2. This position of the CPO of Alsace is nothing short of treachery in the struggle of the French working class against the danger of Fascism in France and against the Nazi dictatorship in Germany.
3. This treason and strike breaking against the French and international proletariat is executed in order to continue collaboration with the bourgeois parties of the "Volksfront" some of which are supporters of Hitler fascism while others assist the government of the National Union by repeatedly voting for the Doumergue government. The treachery and strike breaking is perpetrated for purposes of political horse trading in

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The Comintern and the United Front

(Continued from Page 4)

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

SP Makes Counter Proposals

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

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

3. This position represents a clear break with the decisions even of the Strassburg regional conference, in which the CPO of Alsace is pledged to work for the establishment of a proletarian united front. The ICO has repeatedly warned both the leadership and the membership of the Alsatian CPO of the catastrophic results in continuing the "Volksfront" policy. With great patience and in a comradely manner the ICO attempted to convince the CPO of the necessity of a break with the "Volksfront" and its replacement by a policy of proletarian united front.

The stand of the Bureau of the ICO received the approval of all sections and more recently also the plenum of the CPO-USA expressed its agreement with the ICO on the Alsatian question.

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

1. Those responsible for this policy, in the leadership and in the editorial board of "Neue Welt", are to be expelled from the ICO.
2. To call upon the membership of the CPO of Alsace to break with these leaders and to elect a new leadership to represent the policies of the ICO; to break with the "Volksfront" and without delay to begin the struggle for proletarian unity in Alsace, side by side with the other communist and socialist workers.
3. To recognize as members of the CPO only those who have broken with the leadership and its dangerous policies.
4. This decision to be sent to all sections for approval. Replies to be sent in by September 1. The decision is to go into effect after the approval of the sections.
5. To make public this decision immediately.

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5. To make public this decision immediately.

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

Some Objectionable Conditions

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

1. Giving up of the calling of strikes; agreement that the decision to call strikes rests with the trade unions, no pledge of the membership and organizations of either party to agitate for the organization of strikes in the trade unions and factories against the emergency decrees.
2. Giving up of principle and tactical differentiation in the joint meetings.
3. The question of the defense of "democratic rights" is very unclear.

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

New Turn Also In Austria

The turn of the CI is further illustrated by the events in Austria. The theory of social-fascism was silently dropped at the behest of Dimitroff in his letter to the Austrian workers. The creation of "broad trade union fighting or-

A Reply to Roosevelt

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

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

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

	Yes	No	Blank
1. Are you better off than you were last year?	58	190	2
2. Are your debts less burdensome?	50	191	9
3. Is your bank account more secure?	65	128	57
4. Are your working conditions better?	55	175	20
5. Is your faith in your individual future more firmly grounded?	61	177	12
6. Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action or choice?	103	123	24

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

Workers Vote With Their Feet

No national poll, along these lines, has been attempted, but that the same attitude is widespread among the working masses, is indicated by the sharply rising strike curve. A clear indication of this is given in the figures made public by the United States Department of Labor. During the first half of 1934, 523,107 workers on strike as compared to 182,449 during the same months of 1933. The working days lost thru strikes was 2,506,657 during the first half of 1933 but during the same period of

24, it was modestly announced that "Gazette To Conduct Poll On Condition of American People." The next day, some of its modesty having worn off, the Gazette tells its readers that "Poll Expected To Exert Influence On Politics of the Administration." Then the returns began to come in and the Gazette is somewhat knocked out of its stride. It reports (July 26) that "Poll Shows Opinion Varies On Effects of New Deal." But on July 28, this newspaper is forced to admit that the "Majority Voting 'No' In Gazette's Poll On President's Questions."

The following are the questions submitted and the replies received:

	Yes	No	Blank
1. Are you better off than you were last year?	58	190	2
2. Are your debts less burdensome?	50	191	9
3. Is your bank account more secure?	65	128	57
4. Are your working conditions better?	55	175	20
5. Is your faith in your individual future more firmly grounded?	61	177	12
6. Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action or choice?	103	123	24

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

It is almost a certainty that the latter half of 1934 will exceed the figures for the first six months. The number of workers involved in strikes between January and June of this year has already exceeded, by approximately 200,000, the strike figures for any full year immediately preceding the crisis.

The causes for such widespread strike action by the workers "lies in the plain facts of your (their) own individual situation."

Such is the answer to President Roosevelt.

—G. F. M.

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

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

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

- a. Utilizing the experiences and theoretical contributions by the ICO in its long fight to eliminate the weaknesses and inadequacies of the execution of the change.
- b. Carrying out concretely the general tasks proposed, i.e. working them out in detail.
- c. The decisive point for the further struggle of the ICO is now the carrying out of democratic centralism. This point is essential for the further fate of the newly begun turn. More than that—it is essential for the formation of Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, which will be able to cope with the tasks of the proletarian revolution.

The Turn And The VII World Congress

It is obvious that the events in France will form the main topic of discussion at the VII world congress of the CI to take place on September 28th. It is the task of the sections of the ICO, in connection with the proposal of the ICO to the congress, to do all in their power to bring about a discussion in the sections of the CI, before the Congress takes place, on the tactical questions and inner-party democracy involved in the turn of the CI.

BOOKS

THE MIGRATORY WORKER AND FAMILY LIFE. By Marion Hathway. 240pp. University of Chicago Press. \$1.50.

In the precise, scientific language of a sociological thesis, Miss Hathway has shown the miserable living conditions and the outrageous treatment of migrant workers in the model state of the Union; a state where 81% of the population is native white, where illiteracy is lowest and living standards are highest in the United States.

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

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

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

INDIA'S SOCIAL HERITAGE. By L. S. O'Malley, Oxford University Press. pps.188. \$2.00.

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

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

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

Further, even the very basic concept of the system, determination of position by birth, no longer exerts its influence. Yearly the peasants are driven off the land to seek employment in the cities, "outsiders are introduced who are alien to the old social system."

And it is of course, the "oppressed classes" the "untouchables" who are being proletarianized, carrying over the stigma of the ancient society into the super exploitation of the new. M. S. M.

General Textile Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

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

Ben Gold Destroys Us - Again

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

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

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

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

leftism.

During the course of the formal speech Gold remembered the new explanation of the TUUL now being promulgated by the party—that is, that the TUUL was formed merely as a tactical maneuver to provide a restful haven for the Communists expelled from the A. F. of L. during the middle twenties. But came the questions and discussion period and Comrade Gold's new line collapsed. He forgot that the National Textile Workers Union had just been ordered back to the U.I.W., that the NTWIU is in process of vanishing, that Lenin's "Left Wing Communism" is now a party textbook. He re-lapsed into a fit of acute dual unionism and started talking like last year's issue of "Labor Unity."

This is significant as an indicator of the confused state of the party mentality. Gold is no amateur spell-binder. When the party line is in such a chaotic state that even a leading comrade cannot unravel it, something is wrong. That something is the dense secrecy shrouding the strategy and tactics of the American Communist Party in its trade union activities.

Paterson, New Jersey, battleground for many decades struck practically en masse on the very first day. With the exception of the Dyers, who were under contract, and the jacquard and family-shops, there was a complete tieout of the industry. Well disciplined and organized as the result of numerous strikes in the past, the Paterson section of the United Textile Workers had a well-oiled and efficient strike apparatus in readiness for the battle. Adopting the tactic of their southern brothers flying squadrons were organized on the eastern front and invaded not only the home front but charged into outlying towns to bring additional thousands into the ranks. Between 13,000 and 15,000 are on strike in Paterson while 151,000 are reported out in six New England states. Strike-breakers were in great demand by detective agencies while barricades were erected before many mills in the East as the agencies mobilized scabs to man the fortifications with arms.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

22. When will the relative stabilization of capitalism end?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- a. The period of war communism.
- b. The reconstruction period in which the wheels of industry began to turn again and they attempted to reach the level of pre-war production.
- c. The reconstruction period in which production was expanded on the basis of the creation of new factories.

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

- a. Because it is generally incorrect to judge capitalist economy by the standards of social reconstruction.
- b. Because in capitalist countries, on the whole, the process of production was not disrupted as it was in the Soviet Union during the civil war.
- c. Because the pre-war level of production in capitalist countries had been based on the rebuilding of the production apparatus.

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

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

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

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

26. How does the form of bourgeois rule change during the decline of capitalism?

1. In times of revolutionary attack of the working class, the bourgeois counter-revolution, as a rule, assemblies on the ground of democracy (Germany, Austria). This is done chiefly for the purpose of splitting the petty bourgeoisie from the working class and splitting the working class itself. At such times reformism constitutes the main pillar of bourgeois class rule.
2. To the degree that the difficulties of capitalist economy increase and the field of attack of the bourgeoisie is extended by the passivity of the working class, fascist tendencies grow up within the bourgeoisie. Fascism comes into being when the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of chaining to its rule great masses thru material concessions; when, on the contrary, profit economy can only be maintained thru a radical reduction of the standard of living of the workers; when, furthermore, the bourgeoisie have already seen the direct danger of a proletarian revolution and, therefore, utilize a temporary decline of the labor movement for a civil war, a violent smashing of the working class, which is to prevent future revolutionary uprisings.
3. Fascism is the open but indirect dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Fascism replaces bourgeois democracy by the direct, violent, brutal rule of special party and military organizations composed chiefly of the petty bourgeoisie. The class content of the policies of fascism is the defense of the capitalist order thru the destruction of the proletarian party and the mass organizations, thru the violent suppression of all movements of the proletarian class struggle, thru establishing monopoly of organizing for the fascist organizations. The bourgeois state apparatus under fascist rule is based on the independence of the executive power and the subordination of all social organizations to it.

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

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

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

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

U. T. W. Convention

(Continued from page 5)

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

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

Build Progressive Movement

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

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Forward to Victory!

(Continued from Page 1)

entire power of the capitalist class are brought into bold and ugly relief.

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

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

Only a 100 per cent strike; only a shutting down of every mill in the industry can bring to the workers a full realization of their demands. Let no one be fooled—a complete closing down of textile plants can and will be achieved only thru the solidarity, first of all, of all textile workers in every division of the industry, and secondly and simultaneously with the aid of the trade union movement. Why? Page the National Guard—America's special strike-breakers in uniform, who have already murdered about a dozen strikers. Page the courts, which have begun to issue injunctions. Page the church, which is on the job, especially in Maine, playing the vicious alignment of dollars and bayonets against the striving strikers. Page the Relief Authorities who have to a man already told the strikers to work (scab) or starve. Yes, page President Roosevelt, that grinning-faced executive, who as Commander in Chief of all armed forces of the country, has not uttered half a syllable of protest against the reckless murder of unarmed workers in the south. Page the press, which has raised the hue and cry that the strike is a strike against the Government and organized society.

Still, only the cowards, the traitors, would maintain that the obstacles to a victory for the textile workers, all the way down the line, are insuperable. With tenacity and determination in their fight, with active solidarity by all in the labor organizations, the most severe hardships, the biggest odds, the worst brutality, the most ingenious cunning and slick maneuverings of the White House, can not halt the march of the textile workers. Already the textile struggle has developed history-making forces. No one can exaggerate the import of the great response of the textile workers in the south. The South, the land of the most American of the American proletariat, the home and back bone of the political machine of the New Deal, the abode of the blackest wing of the Democratic Party, the domain of lynch law. It is in this tier of states that the most inspired pages of American working class history are now being written in blood.

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

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

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

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

Trade Union Notes

by G. F. M.

UNITED SHOE AND LEATHER WORKER APPEARS

The American labor press has been recently enriched by the appearance of the United Shoe and Leather Worker, official organ of the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union.

From our experience with trade union papers we can safely say that the Shoe Worker avoids the shortcomings common to most trade union papers.

It is of course an excellent mirror of the organization it speaks for. The condition of the union, the problems and difficulties of organizing are graphically, even dramatically depicted. From a reading of the articles from the field one gets the impression that the union is both virile and resourceful in its tackling the problems of the industry.

The Shoe Worker, however, is more than a mere self centered craft paper. It reflects also, in an adequate manner, the struggles of the workers in other industries. This would be a surprising phenomenon, since most independent unions fail completely to grasp the significance of struggles in industries other than their own, but for the fact that in the main the national leadership of the union is distinctly progressive in its policies within the union and its attitude to general labor problems.

We cannot refrain from mentioning particularly one article in the first issue of the paper. It is well known that with the introduction of NRA, the leadership of American trade unionism completely lost its head. It sang peans of praise to NRA, created the most disastrous illusions and became the outstanding apologist for it. We therefore began to read the article by Albert J. Shore on "The NRA and Labor Unions" with considerable misgivings. However, we were pleasantly surprised. The article represents a clear progressive stand on the NRA. After analyzing the experiences of the shoe workers with NRA, the author concludes that the "hope of shortening the hours, increasing wages and improving conditions, lies in the strength and efficiency of the union we build."

Judging by the first two issues, the Shoe Worker undoubtedly takes its place among the best trade union papers, and as an expression of progressive trade unionism, it stands in a class by itself.

The members of the United Shoe and the editor of the paper, Israel Zimmerman, are to be congratulated on their contribution to progressive trade union thought.

CPO HAUNTS THE PARTY LEADERS

It is of considerable significance that in the course of the veritable cloudburst of strike struggles,

which the trade union movement is passing thru, the Trade Union Unity League considers as its most important task the "exposure" and "unmasking" of the "renegades". The "renegades" it turns out are none other than the Lovestoneites who had been, in the past "thoroughly exposed" and frequently pronounced as "dead".

The most recent "murderous" offensive against us came in an announcement from the Trade Union Unity Council that a series of four lectures have been arranged "on activities of the renegades". The first two materialized in a verbal barrage by Jack Stachel and Ben Gold, the latter dealing with the needle trades. Apparently realizing that we are still very much alive and kicking we are promised that "The next two will be: The Role of the Lovestoneites in the Shoe Industry; The Role of the Lovestoneites in the Textile Industry."

Having weathered the first two broadsides in good health, we will follow with considerable interest the process of our "destruction".

Just in passing we'd like to remark that the T.U.U.L. has been so busy denouncing the renegades that it has completely forgotten to discuss its own role in the various strike struggles. Or is it possible that this powerful TUUL is running around on the very fringe of the crowd trying to find out what's happened?

S. P. SHOWS SAME TRADE UNION LINE

Impatiently we have been waiting for the "New Deal" in the Socialist Party to translate itself also in the trade union line of that party. We have waited in vain. The New Leader continues to carry the same twaddle and recently carried highly laudatory articles on such outstanding "progressives" in the trade union movement as Thomas McMahon.

Even worse was it at the U.T.W. convention where the relatively large number of Socialist delegates played a most despicable role. With very few exceptions, the Socialist delegates either supported McMahon outright or ultimately climbed on the band wagon via the Socialist Emil Rieve, who, as the New Leader will tell you, is the fighting leader of the hosiery workers. Fighting leader indeed. He fought against most of the progressive measure proposed in the convention and was responsible for the break-down of the opposition block which had excellent possibilities for defeating the bureaucracy.

Our quarrel is, of course, not with the individual socialist delegates at the convention but with the policies of the Socialist Party. In practice it is still the same old policy of "Laissez-Faire"—a policy of support of the bureaucracy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Workers School Forum Opens Soon

Louis Adamic, author of "The Native's Return" and "Dynamite," Heywood Broun, columnist, Lewis Mumford, analyst of American civilization, James W. W. Wise, editor of "Opinion," Tucker P. Smith, head of Brookwood Labor College, Paul F. Brissenden of Columbia, and Jay Lovestone are among those who have expressed willingness to speak at the New Workers School Forum now entering its sixth year.

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

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

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

KNIT GOODS SHOWS PROGRESSIVE GAINS

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

* * *

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

"In the 'Laundryman' of June-July, official organ of the New York Hand Laundrymen's Association, one of the editor's, a pillar of the Lovestoneites, issues a call for war against the Chinese laundrymen."

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

I.C.O. SUPPORTERS ISSUE

WEEKLY IN ALSACE

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

The paper supports the united proletarian front in France.