Vol. IV, No. 5.

Saturday, February 2, 1935.

Five Cents

At First **GLANCE**

By JAY LOVESTONE

THAT will come out of the delibera tions of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. now in session at Washington? It is difficult to be optimistic. One thing is certain: Labor faces a very grave situation. Its experience with the NRA has been disastrous. Workers in such basic industries as automobile and textile have paid an especially high price for the policies of the official union leadership, headed by William Green. President Green now recognizes that "The labor sections of the Automobile Code have been unsatisfactory from the beginning . . The automobile workers are chafing against a sense of injustice . . ". But why doesn't Green assume some responsibility for He put across the infamous pact with Roosevelt, marking one of the blackest betrayals in the annals of American Labor.

We welcome his change of position; even the blindest bat can now see clearly the ravages of the Roosevelt-Green code in the auto industry.

And what about the textile situation? It is high time that Green and his partners in infamy denounce the double-cross administered to Labor by Roosevelt. The trade union movement is fighting for its life. Stealthily and skillfully the Government encroaches on its right to existence. Only stronger and more militant unions, fighting every inch of the way stubbornly and plannfully, can save the At least promises can be expected from the Executive Council sessions. Now it is our job to force the leadership of the trade unions to fight on or get out of the way.

HE eminent British economist, Sir Henry Strakosch, has written an interesting and somewhat constructive manuscript entitled, "The Road to Re-At the moment we are not concerned with his examination of the collapse of the gold standard and his views on the prerequisites of exchange stability. What is of vital import to all of us is his conclusion that "A debasement of no less than 12 per cent has taken place in the standard of life of five years ago, in place of an improvement of ten per cent if there had been no depres-

This is enlightening. In reality the situation is infinitely worse. Wage standards in many industries have gone back four or five decades. Sir Henry himself admits that his own calculations indicate an actual decline of "no less than 22 per cent." The law of average is often standing an economist is far from flawless. No statistics based on averages or arbitrary yardsticks can disclose with sufficient accuracy the misery inflicted upon the great mass of workers and poorer farmers by the crisis. No doubt, even some of the topmost layers of the ruling class in capitalist countries have had some losses. But there are losses and losses. Compare the losses in the stock market by Rockefeller, Jr., with the loss of a job by the average miner. Even the most erudite of bourgeois professors cannot invent a common denominator or common unit of measurement for weighing or gauging the effects of the crisis on the standards of living of such opposite poles in society. Far more accurate standards are loss of wages, employment. In these respects, the social and economic consequences of the by professor Strakosch.

N the light of the victory bonfire ordered by Hitler after the Saar Many of these are members of the Complebiscite, the figures for Germany's munist Party and of the Agricultural foreign trade in 1934 appear all the more awesome. Despite countless regulations and currency manipulations fathered by "Der Fuehrer" and furthered by Hjalmar Schacht, Germany's position in the world market is constantly growing worse. The year's record will show an adverse bal-ance of 630 million marks. The loss is organizations: Communist Party. Diseven greater than the figures indicate, because of the drastic reduction in Ger- Workers Party; International Labor De many's foreign debt service. In the case of U. S. loans this is a complete moratorium, except for the Dawes and lied Workers Industrial Union and Can-Young loans. Regardless of how much boasting Goebbels may resort to, what bonfires Hitler may order, how many circuses and assassinations Goering may organize and inspire, it is indisputable that the economic machine in Germany is in a worse plight than before Hitler took power. In this situation are rooted the opportunities for the rebuilding of the German revolutionary labor movement. Despite increasing ferocity of persecution in recent weeks, it is encouraging to note a growth and improvement in the underground movement against Fascism in the Third Reich.

AUTO MEN RESIST RENEWAL OF PACT

General Strike Sentiment Spreads as Organization **Drive Spurts Forward**

DETROIT, MICH .-- In the name of 80 federal locals of automobile workers President Roosevelt was informed that labor withdraws all suport of and partcipation in the Automobile Labor Board. At the same time Wiliam Green has announced that organized labor will not tolerate the extension of the present agreement for another three months. Hearings on the automobile industry were to begin on February 3rd but in view of the bombshell thrown by the federal locals the very existance of the labor board as now constituted, is very much in doubt.

Workers Consider Board As Open Enemy

In the ranks of the auto workers there s increasing conviction that the Board is an outright tool of the employers. This became clear especially after its attempt to force "Panel Unionism" upon the auto workers, which would have granted re cognition to the company union. The Board continues its cynical anti-labor attitude in a recent statement, in which the board points out that the locals of the A. F. of L. have no justified claim for union recognition because an insignificant percentage of the workers had cast their ballots for the A. F. of L. in a number of factory elections. This has enraged the auto workers even more because it is common knowledge that the A. F. of L. organizations were opposed to the elections altogether and called upon the workers to designate no affiliation.

The sentiment for general strike is growing in the Detroit area. The matter s being seriously discussed at federal ocal meetings as well as at the meetngs of the officers of the federal locals. The conviction is growing that the Labor Board serves only one purpose and that is to paralyze any direct strike action by the workers in the industry.

The growing strike sentiment and the fighting attitude of the locals have caused larger numbers to stream into the federal locals. Within the last numper of days the Kelsey-Hayes local has succeeded in organizing the whole factory. Some 1,200 workers were taken into the union, bonus and piece work was abolished and substantial increases in the hourly rate was won. The Motor Metals Local faced a severe test and came out with colors flying. The company had brought in a manager from Briggs with the understanding that he was to wipe out the local. He began by as treacherous as bad translations. This firing 28 active workers. The local impercentage calculation made by so out- mediately threatened to strike unless the 28 were reinstated and the manager fired. This had the desired effect the company rehiring the fired workers and

LABOR UNITES FOR CALIFORNIA FIGHT

United Front Developed to Free 18 California Victims of Frame-Up Persecution

SACRAMENTO. California. - Altho he cry for the release of Tom Mooney loss of conditions, and irregularity of still haunts the authorities of this "sunny state." a new attempt is being made to railroad 18 militant workers crisis are infinitely worse than indicated into jail for long prison terms. As a result of a number of agricultural strikes these 18 workers were arrested and charged with Criminal Syndicalism. Workers Industrial Union.

This case has aroused widespread interest and has resulted in the establishment of a united front organization to defend these workers. A call for a con-ference to be held in San Francisco on trict 13; Socialist Party of California fense; Non-Partisan Defense; Machinist Local 68 A. F. of L.; Shipyard and Alnery and Agricultural Workers Indus-

The Non-Partisan Labor Defense announces that Caroline Decker has just been released on \$3,000 bail furnished by them. Two weeks before the same committee had bailed Jack Warnick. In addition two other defendants are out on bail. The remaining 14 are in jail since July 1934 when the arrests occurred.

OUTSTANDING EVENTS at the NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

JENNIE LEE
Former member House of Commons, member
National Committee Independent Labor Party
speaks on
"Dictatorship and Revolution

in Europe" Friday February 1, 8 P. M. GEORGE STREATOR Well Known Revolutionary Socialist

"Tackling the Race Question" Sunday February 3, 8 P. M. ELLEN WILKINSON
Internationally renowned leader of the
Brilish Labor Party

'British Labor Prepares for Power' Friday February 8, 8 P. M. RIVERA HALL 51 West 14th Street

New York City

WARRING SHOE UNIONS REACH PEACE AGREEMENT FOR ONE ORGANIZATION

Washington Conference Adopts Unanimous Resolution Calling For Amalgamation of United, Boot and Shoe and Others; Merged Group Will Represent 125,000

WASHINGTON, D. C. - Events of | found it necessary to present a common shoe industry and for the labor movement as a whole are taking place here. Representatives of all shoe workers unions, gathered here in Washington, have found a common basis for the amalgamation of all the existing unions.

Eight Against Code Helps Merger

In the fight for the reopening and the revision of the Shoe Code the unions had

great significance for the workers in the front in the working out of demands to be made upon the NRA Authorities. After the adjournment of the open hearings in Washington, representatives of the various unions met and after discussing the problem of unification of the workers' ranks, the following resolution was approved:

"Whereas, there are several organizations of shoe workers in the United States and Canada and, whereas, they compete with one another and beat down wages and working conditions to inhumanly low levels, now:

"Be it resolved that there should be a single international union in the boot and shoe industry, embracing all shoe workers in the United States."

The resolution was signed by John J. Mara for the Boot and Shoe Workers Union (A. F. of L.); William J. Mackesy for the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union; John D. Nolan for the Shoe Workers Protective Union; Stephens Workers Protective Union; Stanley P. Mixon for the American Shoe Workers' Union and John Murphy for the Brother-hood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen.

PROGRESSIVES EXPOSE RACKETEERING; ASSAIL TAILOR'S UNION BUROCRACY

Charge Amalgamated Leaders Chase Bluebird As Workers Starve; Union Heads Aid in Smuggling Bundles to Cheap Markets at Expense of New York Tailors

We print below a statement of the Pro- Even the leaders of the union are now pressive Circle in the Amalgamated Clothing forced to face facts. Workers Union. For a long time it has been known that there are forces at work within the Amalgamated that threaten the very existence of the union as an instrument of the workers. There was no force, however, within the Amalgamated to take up the cudgels against this menace. The Amalgamated Progressive Circle and its membership is to be greeted for the courageous and merciless manner in which they expose the conditions in the Amalgamated. This, we maintain, is the first prerequisite for correcting such evils. The Progressive Circle deserves the full and unstinted support of every worker in the Amalgamated who wants a better and cleaner union to fight the battles of the tailors .-

That conditions in the trade are exremely bad is a well known fact now.

For instance, Brother Louis Hollander general manager of the New York Joint Board made the following statement in the press:

"We did not get much in the code, because we had no definite minimum scales . . . We had nothing so we got nothing."

And in a second statement he declared: "Would we know that the tailors

can make a living in the trade, we would strongly agitate for the tailors bringing their sons into the shops." Brother Hollander is quite right: In the tailoring trade it is impossible to make a living because, in relation to the

code, "we had nothing and we got no-(Continued on Page 4)

Our Weekly European Letter

thing."

EUROPE TODAY

By AUGUST THALHEIMER

January 9, 1935.

THE FRANCO-ITALIAN

The Franco-Italian agreement concluded on January 7th in all probability contains some secret points. One of the less sensational but very important provisions is a French loan to Italy. The miserable economic and financial situation of Italy makes such a loan necessary. On the other hand the fact that such a loan is provided for serves as evidence that Italy's foreign policy has suffered severe blow at the hands of France altho France by no means got all she wanted. The imperialist aspirations of Italian fascism were aimed at hegemony ver the Mediterranean, after the model of Imperium Romanum. The agreement reached signifies that for the present Soviet Union had nothing to do with the Italy has given up these plans. The Franco-Italian agreement. Hitler-Ger-African possessions which she gained are many tried to utilize this by proposing most frugal when compared with the (behind the scenes, of course) an Eastgrandiose picture of the reestablishment ern Pact without the Soviet Union, i.e. of the Roman Empire in the Mediter-

IMPERIALIST COMPLICATIONS IN ABYSSINIA

The secret provisions obviously include an agreement whereby Italy is given a free hand to conquer Abyssinia. As a matter of fact the colonial war be-, many, have not been without interest tween Italy and Abyssinia is in full swing now. Peace in Europe could only be established by giving Italian imperialism a chance to engage in colonial aggression.

In order to make this possible not

KUIBYSHEV

Valerian Kuibvshev, member of the Political Buro and Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., and vice chairman of the All-Union Council of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R., died in Moscow from a heart attack.

Kuibyshey, who was 47 years old, was one of the thinning group of the Bolshevik old guard whose revolutinary activities date back to 1906 when he was first arrested and sent to Siberia.

only France but England had to give her permission since the latter is greatly interested in Abyssinia. France was interested in preventing Italy from encroaching on Central European territory. England had still another motive, namely to prevent Italy from turning towards the routes to India, and to encourage it to check the Japanese who had settled in Abyssinia. In line with good old English diplomacy it is safe to assume that England will at the same time see to it time fighting them.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EASTERN PACT

there is particular rejoicing because the class should follow these maneuvers very

NAZI GERMANY FACES INFLATION

Recent rumors current at the Paris bourse, on the situation in Hitler Ger-Schacht is threatening to resign because of the increasing demands of heavy industry. Heavy industry demands inflation in order to revive the constantly decreasing export trade and to effect a explains the resignation of Krupp and Siemens, big industrialists, from their official positions. Rumor has it that the big industrialists were told by the Reichswehr ministry that they were to credit the state for 5 or 7 years on the armament orders. The industrialists immediately turned to Schacht, the director of the Reichsbank and Minister of National Economy, who refused their de-

payment of their bills, would, even if paid in devaluated currency, bring about a collapse in currency. These rumors are not completely false.

mands and told them that the immediate

Where are the tremendous sums to come (Continued on Page 3)

Discuss Details

Union Representatives

With this resolution as a basis the representatives of the shoe unions met in the morning of January 24th for preliminary discussion of the problems involved in the process of unifying the organizations. A second conference was held the same day at which Wiliam Green, President of the A. F. of L., was present. He informed the assembled representatives that the primary consideration for the conference as he saw it, was to discuss informally the possibilities for unifying the ranks of the shoe workers into one organization. In discussing the problem of affiliation Green stated that altho it is his hope that such a unified international organization could and should find its place in the American Federation of Labor, the primary problem was that of one union in the industry.

The representatives of the unions discussed the intolerable condition in the industry and emphasised the burning need for one union in order to effective-ly fight for improved conditions. Among those who spoke for the United Shoe and Leather Workers Union were Mackesy, Wilson, Shore, Bearak and Zimmerman. Zimmerman hailed the conference as a ray of light for the thousands of shoe workers. He stated that the only road was the amalgamation of all unions, including the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, into one international He dealt with the deep rooted prejudice among the shoe (Continued on Page 4)

that the Abyssinian forces are well armed and that Italy will have a hard N. Y. TEACHERS SCORE JOB VICTO

In certain capitalist circles of France Unappointed Teachers Win Regular Places With Full Pay **Ending City Substitute Racket**

The most spectacular victory of years for teachers has been won by the New against it. The international working York Association of Unappointed Teachers. This victory, giving all teachers renewed courage in fighting for further demands, effectively stopped the Board of Education from pursuing its vicious policy of imposing a disguised wage cut of approximately 50% on about 2500 teachers. The subterfuge used by the Board of Education in putting over the wage cut was the illegal classification of new teachers as "substitutes" instead of as "regular" teachers. As "substitutes," although doing exactly the same work as "regular" teachers, they got paid a new automatic reduction of wages. This low per diem wage, got no pay for summer vacation or holidays to which "regular" teachers are entitled, and got no tenure or pension rights due them.

The fight on this front began in 1932 by the N. Y. Ass'n. of Unappointed Teachers. Several legal actions were lost though the rulings on them partially helped lead to ultimate victory. Thru all these years, the unappointed teachers carried on a persistent publicity campaign against the unjust practice. Victory was finally attained in the decision handed down by Commissioner Graves on Jan. 15 in the now famous Vanderwoude Appeal sponsored by the NYAUT. The ruling in this Appeal forbids the Board of Education from using substitutes to fill vacancies, thus forcing regular appointments.

The campaign to win the Vanderwoude Appeal showed the value of effectively (Continued on Page 4)

Jennie Lee

"DICTATORSHIP AND REVOLUTION IN EUROPE" Friday Feb. 1, 8 p. m., Rivera Hall, 51 West 14th Street

WORKERS AGE

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February 2, 1935.

On the Right Track

CLEAR indications of what is coming in the American labor movement can be gleaned from some of the proposals for unity of action now being considered by certain important trade unions. We have in mind the talk of an liance of the textile, oil, tobacco, steel and automobile unions for joint action in defense of the right to organize.

Needless to say, this is still in the stage of talk. Furthermore, this talk emanating from the United Textile Workers to officialdom is confused. Worse than that, this trade union burocracy goes so far as to propose that the contemplated alliance solicit the aid of Attorney General Cummings in enforcing Section 7a. These officials are either short on memory or long on their refusal to learn. Have they forgotten the Houde and Weirton cases, among the countless others in which labor was paralyzed by the "judicious" action of the Roosevelt administration? To put faith in Section 7a or Cummings or Roosevelt is as worthless

as putting water in a sieve.

But with all that, even the mere hinting of such an idea as an alliance of unions to facilitate joint action is a forward step of no mean significance. It is a sign of the times. American labor is beginning to change and to move. The manner of moving may for some time be hesitant and confused, vacillating and circuitous. Nevertheless, the direction is definitely towards greater class conciousness, towards a higher unity of action. That the Gormans and the Greens begin to nibble at such an idea as an alliance of five unions is in itself of no mean import. But what is of infinitely greater importance is the combination of several forces, the impact of economic forces sweeping these conservative union officials into flirtation with or participation in new types of action. It is the impact of the gathering pressure of the mass of workers that is the key to the whole situation.

WE are approaching a turn of the road—and a turn to the left—in the history of the American working class movement. In this turn the role of the trade unions, of the A. F. of L., with its millions of organized workers, is decisive. We communists, and all other class conscious workers, can do much to clarify and hasten this welcome process. Constructive, responsible, militant action in the union, against the government and the employing class, must be our contribution towards this end. Combine this with sound working-class, Marxist-Leninist, education and obstacles which appear today insuperable will be overcome much sooner than the skeptics and weakhearted in our midst can

ever conceive or will ever grant. One thing above all we must always keep in mind when we work among the masses, when we run into difficulty after difficulty in our efforts to strengthen the weak unions, to transform archaic, conservative craft unions into up-to-date, and steel unions of the A. F. of L., criticised these settlements sharply—as resistance for the first time. The cry of they well deserved—were howled down unity of the farmers against the fascist weak unions, to transform archaic, conservative trait unions into different archaic, conservative trait unions into different thinds in the different transform archaic, conservative trait unions, to transform archaic, conservative trait unions into different training and and steel unions of the A. F. of L., the different training archaic training and and steel unions of the A. F. of L., the different training archaic training and and steel unions of the A. F. of L., the different training archaic training archa

Millions of workers could not be expected for ever to be resigned to being and the loud demands of the auto work tegy" of the highest labor leaders has answer of the fascists is a bloody masqueued up to soup-kitchens and bread-lines. And not even Roosevelt's fact-finding commissions and the Bureau of Labor Statistics could deny that the real wages and you get an idea of the temper and generated and outmaneuvered at every only a few survive to flee to the mountainty of the auto work, been proven bankrupt. They were outstands of the auto work, been proven bankrupt. They were outstands of the brave Fontamaran rebels. of textile workers have been declining. Why, not even President Green, co-mood among the workers in these indus-turn by the open shoppers and their tains or into exile. father with Roosevelt of the infamous auto pact of last year can now say half tries.

a good word for the auto code. It is precisely in the objective conditions that we mmunists have the very best opportunities for playing such a role in the class tion is the pronouncements of the leaders these struggles. onflicts as to become in every day life and not on paper or in our dream worlds of labor. Green refuses to recognize the vanguard of the working class.

Here their story has been ended and Gorman the automobile, steel and other workers graved with great art and penetration the vanguard of the working class.

Labor is moving towards the right track, towards the road of its self-emancipation. Our job, the task of all forward-looking workers, o hasten and guide the beginning of the next, a new epoch in the annals of the American labor movement. Multiplying signs point to the awakening of that mighty giant—the American working class. Opportunities for our going forward are daily becoming greater and more numerous. To help and assure the whole working class movement going forward must now, more than ever, become the primary aim of all of us.

Stage and Screen

picture where we see him sink at last unique in Russian film history.

Comrades, I bring you happy news! | ideal before them. No longer are they Chapavey lives again! For the talking afraid to see their heroes as they actualpicture at the Cameo of the illiterate ly existed. Within the ranks of the Reds peasant leader who immortalised himself as well as the Whites were those who in Soviet history when he led a few would steal and plunder. True they hundred of his followers against the White Army of Admiral Kolchak near Chapayer we see a leader who is amust he Chapayer we see a leader who is a must he Compion See hims to life a here imply averagent untitated and rolling to life and rolling to l the Caspian Sea, brings to life a hero and a hero's personality. From the fierce magnificence of its opening shot in which we see Chapayey riding wildly acrossl is the grace of this humor that lends the

the most thrilling human exploits are set. Indeed, so beautifully is this work literally by grinding the workers under Imagine what this means. The great emtold with all the simplicity a great story constructed, that although it is said to be its heels. Only by increasing the ranks playing class of America is fundamental.

here none of the elaborate montage strety, is the mist know are famous.

No director with theories of approach intellectualizes his subject for you beprepared and developed in picture form prepared and developed in picture form cause it is all here as thrilling as you crackdown will be due.

Those workers whom it does retain now that it means very little to us, save of all modern cities, the housing themselves in the effort to keep their facilities, cry out the need for reconstitution. But for the capitalists it is prepared and developed in picture form with infinite care and the consummate with infinite care and the consummate skill which defies real analysis or detection. Only where truly creative work is matched with visionary powers of people dedicated to a high task could the result who is "Chapayev" to the life, and to his "Chapayev" to the life, and to his "Compared and developed in picture form the matched with infinite care and the consummate could want, as beautifully told as you crackdown will be due.

Three sources have submitted statistics agreet achievement to get the plants increased. The A. F. of L. reports that from 1933 to 1934, production increased delicated to a high task could the result who is "Chapayev" to the life, and to his "Chapayev" to the life, and to his could say out of the stories of speed-up are restriction. But for the capitalists, it is agreet achievement to get the plants increased. The A. F. of L. reports that from 1933 to 1934, production increased delicated to a high task could the result who is "Chapayev" to the life, and to his could not supply in a socialized the worker utterly spent—to enjoy the "Company" to the life as thrilling as you are could want, as beautifully told as you crackdown will be due.

Three sources have submitted statistics agreed achievement to get the plants running at half-capacity, in the face of elementary needs which a 300% production could not supply in a socialized the worker utterly spent—to enjoy the "Company" to the life as thrilling as you are could want, as beautifully told as you crackdown will be due.

Three sources have submitted statistics agreed achievement to get the plants running at half-capacity, in the face of elementary needs which a 300% production could not supply in a socialized the worker utterly spent—to enjoy the "Company" to the life as the company as an index of which as you crackdown will be due.

Three sources have submitted statistics agreed achievement to get the plants running at half-capacity, in the face of the English work be as successful as it is here.

There are no villains in this piece as we have been accustomed to see them

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thru the eyes of the zealot. Its charac- in the smallest part were brilliantly alive gargantuan report to the President upon rise. thru the eyes of the zealot. Its characters are all alive. They partake of all the foibles of the human race and crowd the fallery of human portraits with an rilla fighters, which commemorates his commemorates service to the Revolution, here indeed is it was 92; then the bourgeois were tarian jubilation. Steel makes good us will remain the mainspring of our "Chapayev" represents the Soviet talk- a rededication, for now he lives again in riding high wide and handsome, on the guns; steel makes battleships; steel land, certainly affects him very little.

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

CHEERING NEWS

FROM WASHINGTON Representatives of all existing unions Representatives of all existing unions gathered in Washington, in connection with the reopening of the Boot and Shoe Code, resolved that it is high time that the multiplicity of unions in the industry be done away with and one union be established. What is most significant is that among the signers of this resolution was Mara, the president of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union; and among the participants in the following conferences was William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor.

To the superficial observer this may

labor, these developments are pregnant with tremendous possibilities. It gives promise of wiping out decades of multi-unionism, long years of internal strife— it holds out a promise, for 250,000 work- it holds out a promise, for 250,000 work- really see into its doubths. ers, of a unified and coordinated drive really see into its depths. against the masters of industry and the Thus they believe that wages deter- have endured the ceaseless round of

still to be overcome before one union is inherent in the nature of the present peasants protest against these outrages in the industry will become a fact, but social system? these are not insurmountable. The conditions of the broadest masses of shoe book (that could be justified) but ap- wives and daughters. workers demand it.

THE WORLD CHANGES

A recent story in the press tells us in a concerted drive against the employ- they well deserved—were howled down unity of the farmers against the fascist peculiar, exceptional historical development of the U. S. and its working class. the steel workers for a show-down fight gressives were correct. The "higher stra- ances of the oppressed farmers.

Books of the Age

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF secondary phenomena; and 2) as clear THE NEW DEAL, by Benjamin Stol- a grasp of the fundamentals of the

Brace. 85pp., \$1.00.

To the superficial observer this may But the book is not so strong in con- and its defense of the "little man." With seem of slight significance but to the hard pressed shoe worker, who has been have been entirely legitimate had these portrays the life of the poor peasants nard pressed snoe worker, who has been steadily losing ground in the race for a living wage and human conditions of labor, these developments are pregnant are naturally regiminate had these lost their developments are pregnant and land workers under the terrible lash of fascism. With crushing irony he strips bare the hypocrisy of the fascist

The merger of the existing organiza- would automatically lift the commodity under the rule of fascism a "revolution" izing the remaining 50% of the indus- more loans, the authors observe: "What always depended upon for the irrigation

> parently in the equipment of its authors is: 1) as clear a grasp of the nature tamaran peasants is arrested and mur-

says another general strike is not out may soon be involved in new economic into the life, hopes and desires, disilof the question. Surprise indeed!—for it was Green who shouted loudest that the Roosevelt agreement, which he signed about one year ago, was a most brilliant their actions that they lack both work- labor organizations, art, culture and victory for the workers. Then the work- ing class vision and working class science. Italy is passing thru a dark ers discovered that the agreement was loyalty. Now is the time for the pro- age from which emerges neither litera double-cross. It gave them no improved conditions but did saddle them with company unionism. Gorman's claims of pany unionism. Gorman's claims of sweeping victories after the textile strike are today as flat as stale beer. fices—and that victories won thru eco- from the dynamic reality of revolution-

berg and Warren J. Vinton. Harcourt economic structure of capitalism as they undoubtedly possess of some of the most Stolberg and Vinton must have had a swell time writing this book. And the In short a little more Marx would be of

Italy where for centuries the peasants ions would bring into the field a union prive level. Or, after neatly disposing occurs. The capitalist promoter, with of over 125,000 members with very of the theory that small business men, the help of the fascist troops, diverts greatly improved possibilities of organtry. The inclusion of this organization they need is a redistribution of wealth into the A. F. of L. for large sections of the shoe workers are strong for progressive and militant unionism.

We realize that great difficulties are the reconcentration of that wealth which is present in the reconcentration of the respect to the respect t and burn the fences, the blackshirt riff-What is lacking, not in this little raff invade the village and violate their

When one of the leaders of the Fonof crises as they have of many of its dered by the police in Rome because of the contact that he had made with the

labor boards with disastrous results for There are hundreds of Fontamaras The element of surprise in the situa- the trade union masses participating in centers of revolt where masses rise again and again despite trémendous

Both Green and Gorman prove that by nomic struggles are not lost around contains ary opposition to the fascist barbarians.

The difference tables are not lost around contains ary opposition to the fascist barbarians.

—B. HERMAN

WHOSE RECOVERY IS

we see Chapayev riding wildly across is the grace of this humor that lends the plains in his wagon gathering his whole picture a fascination and a delight some workers would be driven to the wall, and whose pockets this benefits, I need some workers would be driven to the wall, and whose pockets this benefits, I need and whose pockets this benefits, I need some workers would be driven to the wall, aged 2½% above 1933, and 23% above 1933, and 23% above 1933, and 23% above 1935. the end of the that is, to this department at least, wayside, but the system as a whole im sink at last unique in Russian film history.

Some workers would be dropped by the largest 27270 above 1333, and 2070 above 1333 picture where we see him sink at last into the waters of the sea, his followers victorious nevertheless, scene after scene testifies to the greatness of the man and the epic quality of this picture. Thru it surges the rich humanity of the Russian film history.

One cannot praise the directors and the epic quality of this picture. Thru it surges the rich humanity of the Russian temperament and out of it comes the understanding of forces which served to nurture heroes. Here flames again the passion for great deeds out of the workers cast off, unable to buy that or any passion for great deeds out of the workers cast off, unable to buy that or any other commodity; each profit persuance of the sea, his followers victorious nevertheless, scene after scene the actors too highly for their remarkation of the workers cast off the New Dealers) of the New Dealers) and profits can make the front page of the Times weekly, nevertheless each the Times weekly to the working class? I would like to the working class? I would wonder of a simple peasant heart and herein is depicted the power of a master strategist risen to break the backs of his oppressors. Moreover, in "Chapayev" the most thrilling human exploits are that the scene before you is staged or the most thrilling human exploits are that the scene before you is constructed with all the simplicity a great story.

told with all the simplicity a great story deserves and it employs only the simplest methods to tell them.

Here there is no celebrated technique, here none of the elaborate "montage" for which Russian films are famous.

Here is a heavifully determined segrence in the least of the unemployed, and raising taxes and prices, can there be a "recovery." begins. And there are no tricks. This surjey, is the finest kind of art.

No director with theories of approach the widely strewn data of to approach the widely strewn data of the unemployed, and raising taxes and prices, can there be a "recovery." begins. And there are no tricks. This surjey is the finest kind of art.

No director with theories of approach the widely strewn data of to approach the widely strewn data of the unemployed, and raising taxes ploying class of America is fundamental.

The properties of

| security Program needs for its war purposes. The workers, for this reason alone, cannot see any panacea in the It is interesting to examine another

factor which goes to explain the nature

ican capitalism affects the worker as the ing film in its maturity. At last the Russian people have the security of their of the land of the Soviet.

India in the sign in the sig

THE LABOR PARTY MUDDLE

Facing the Future by Forget-ting The Past Brings Head-party. This had become so manifest that aches To Communist Party

By WILL HERBERG

the real nature of the latest shift in the far it would go. policy of the Communist Party as much as the recent sensational turn on the Labor Party question. In these paragraphs, I do not propose to examine the at the Washington unemployment ingreat political issues involved in this surance conference on January 6, 1935,

sound today, but they were the very staple of party "analysis" in 1292, 1350 and 19311), the Labor party slogan had become an actual menace. "The radicalization of the working masses," the seventh convention of the C.P. decided in 1930, "which leads definitely to an ideological separation of the working that the change on the Labor party slogan into a possible instrument with which capitalism can delay this separation." In explaining this position, Comrade Bedacht reached the conclusion that "propaganda for a Labor party can no longer represent propaganda for an under-cover instrument of imperialism" (The Communist, December 1902). The state of the communist in the special security program of prosides, had made up their minds that a the end of 1934, 28 nations had 20,000,00 unemployed workers, a decrease of about 1,000,000 during the cross of abo propaganda for an under-cover instrument of imperialism" (The Communist,
December 1929). This thing is clear: The
was simply to go back to America and
writes Lenin. "There are not and there
tack upon the American labor moveunited front, embodied in the American
ment as a whole. If this developing atwrites Lenin. "There are not and there
cannot be any pure phenomena either
united front, embodied in the American
ment as a whole. If this developing at-December 1929). This thing is clear: The party definitely and categorically rejected the Labor party policy.

Browder to this effect; Browder's job united front, embodied in the America and let the party know its new views! Does unpersonant policy.

Browder to this effect; Browder's job united front, embodied in the America and let the party know its new views! Does unpersonant policy.

Browder to this effect; Browder's job united front, embodied in the America and let the party know its new views! Does unpersonant policy.

Browder to this effect; Browder's job united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-general, and therefore, in relation to the united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-general, and therefore, in relation to the united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-general, and therefore, in relation to the united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-general" the united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-general" the united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-general" the united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole. If this developing attack results in the failure of the "Save-general" the united front, embodied in the American tabor move cannot be any pure phenomena either ment as a whole in the failure of the "Save-general" the ed the Labor party policy.

forms us that the party never really say, can ever develop into the recognized vanguard of the American working party it morely supplied it into the Labor class? party; it merely pushed it into the background. "If this slogan was not in the foreground during the last period of years," he tells us (Daily Worker, January 9, 1935), "it was not because of any fundamental change of the Communist Party on this question. It was rather because it was not a practical slogan of action until now." Is it necessary to emphasize that this is mere evasive trickery and political chicanery? To declare that a slogan is an "instrument of capitalism" and an "undercover instrument of imperialism" is hardly equivalent to saying that it is not a "practical slogan of action." But there is something even more significant hidden in Stachel's argument. Why was the Labor party slogan not a "practical" one up to the historic moment of Browder's speech in Washington? Because, we are informed, objective conditions were different. Which objective condi-

"If at present we see in the slogan for a Labor party," Stachel tells us,
"a means of beginning the mass separation of the workers from the capitalist parties, it is because the changes that have again taken place in the labor movement (... the entrance of new millions of exploited masses into the struggle, their partial experience in the struggle) already lead these masses to take the first steps in the direction of independent political action" (Daily Worker, Jannolitical action" (Daily uary 9, 1935).

The Problem Of Radicalization
In other words: Up to 1935 the work
The Problem Of Radicalization

ty? It has always been dominated by this the new policy remains just as the old. The change is, ers were relatively passive since they ways excluded the Communist Party. above all, a shift to a new line have only just begun to enter the struggle. Up to 1935 the workers were still
entirely under the influence of the
with it? Why do the British Communmany executed the Communist rates, above an, a smit to a new many and means of
realizing the old tactical objectives. In
phraseology and technique there is a
many entails? It is obvious that in the
ists, have until now neglected to attack capitalist parties since only now are ists today support Labor Party can-change, in basic attitude and tactical they beginning "to take the first steps didates, in a rather shamefaced manner, aim, there is none! in the direction of independent political it is true, and still without the political action." From 1929 to 1935, Stachel as- courage to draw the logical consequence sures us, the workers were too inert and of their own acts? To make the genuitoo politically backward for the Labor ness of the Labor party depend not or party slogan to mean anything! Strange! its mass trade union base, its character How does this gibe with the notorious as a federation of labor organization or "third period" fantasies about the "na- upon its objective break with capitalist tion-wide and deep-going radicalization" politics, but upon who are its leaders

A series of 5 Articles beginning in the that was alleged to be sweeping the and whether it excludes Communists, next issue. that was alleged to be sweeping the American working class precisely at the time that the C.P. was most violently opposed to the Labor party policy? How does this gibe, furthermore, with the resolution of the seventh party convention (1930) rejecting the Labor party policy because of the "radicalization of the working masses which leads definitely to make the party communists, and the party communists, and the party communists and the party leadership really has in mind is a Labor Party "from below," a working masses which leads definitely to make the excludes Communists, and whether it excludes Communists, made whether it excludes Communists, althor party in actual substance, althor retaining the phrase. From the words of Stachel and phrase. From the words of Stachel and stirring heroism of the phrase. From the words of Stachel and phrase, represent the latest official viewpoint, it is clear that what the party leadership really has in mind is a Labor Party "from below," a watch as the party leadership really has in mind is a Labor Party "from below," a working masses which leads definitely to make the class forces involved in the phrase. From the words of Stachel and phrase, from the evolution, the stirring heroism of the class forces involved in the phrase. From the words of Stachel and phrase. From the words of Stachel and phrase. From the words of Stachel and phrase from the resolution, the stirring heroism of the class forces involved in the phrase. Struggle for power, the vacil-lation in auto-trucks going into Amiens and proletarian struggle for power, the vacil-lation in auto-trucks going into Amiens on the far from Paris. Communists and Social Democrats issued a call for a sutnomomists, and the leasung on the "Croix-du-feu" staged a regular fascist punitive expedition in auto-trucks going into Amiens on the far from Paris. Communists and Social Democrats issued a call for a sutnomomists, and the leasung of the "Communists and Social Democratic in the leagues in France the "Croix-du-feu" scation, the re working masses which leads definitely to mere shadow of the Communist Party, sequences of the Spanish revolution. exact opposite of Stachel's present line innumerable paper organizations together

Bankruptcy Caused Change But, really, all this complicated alibihunting is quite beside the point. The fact of the matter is that the shift in policy was dictated by the complete bankruptcy of the old outright anti-

it was utterly out of the question to maintain the old policy in the same old form. Some modification simply had to come—the only problem being what the Perhaps nothing has helped to clarify nature of this change would be and how past week. This was mainly due to the

> Some Questions On Party Democracy Up to the moment of Browder's speech

ization (how strange these phrases workers who are led to believe that the South!! sound today, but they were the very

Today, in attempting to cover up the last-minute retreat, Comrade Stachel informs us that the contract of the

Nature Of Change

estion? Let us see.

by the conservative trade union official-Then how about the British Labor par- lying attitude and orientation. In all with the very few genuine unions it may control here and there. Such a "Labor party" would be a miserable caricature

The **ECONOMIC WEEK**

The New York Times index of business activity registered a decline for the fall in cotton cloth and carloadings. Auto and steel production continued to

found in the government appropriations. Business Week states "Looking back at "The to an analysis of that aspect of the matter, took it for granted turn really is, how it has been brought about and what it actually means for the future.

In evast majority of the party member-ship, as well as all workers at all interested in the matter, took it for granted that the Labor party policy was thoroly false and opportunistic, that the party the future.

In evast majority of the party member-ship, as well as all workers at all interested in the matter, took it for granted that the Labor party policy was thoroly false and opportunistic, that the party the future.

In evast majority of the party member-ship, as well as all interested bourgeoisie who have no equal through the workers of dual unionism, the problem of a labor of dual unionism. The problem of a labor of dual unionism, the problem of a labor of dual unionism. The problem of a labor of dual unionism, the problem of a labor of dual unionism. The problem of that the Labor party solicy was a persistent issue in our movement in the years after 1925. Except for a brief interruption in 1925, our party was unequivocally for the Labor party by members told what they were to get rainism reached America and the middle of 1929, when the deluge of escetarianism reached America and the party crisis broke out. As in so many other questions, here too, a veritable right-about-face occurred. It was suddenly discovered that in the heat of the the party of the party policy and the party believes and the party with the workers in the gright application (how strange these phrases seamed tolow but the workers in the party than the party is made up of unthinking robots). The International Labor Office reports.

The questions of last year. Rail production of which over decome which over depondence of Sortera and the party sale about-face of the Carpinal favor it and the correspondence of Sortera decomposition of the party and the controversy between the party is made up of unthinking robots.

The article is remarkable for the long raince perspective as to American exceptional airs." the everknesses in American and and the party and the correspondence of Sortera and the party and the Co

The lessons we can draw from all this elopments, accompanied by expulsion of each generalization." The unevenness of

dom and excludes the Communists? fundamental tactical aim or in under-

4. The General Strike. and would tend to discredit the whole 5. Forward To A Socialist Spain.

LENIN AND AMERICA

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

C. P. Opposition in 1935

was simply to go back to America and let the party know its new views! Does anyone really think that a party, thus anyone really think that a party, thus have served to discredit the very idea of robbed of every bit of initiative and self-the united front!

League Against War and Fascism, the tack results in the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or unimportant the united front!

League Against War and Fascism, the tack results in the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or unimportant the united front!

League Against War and Fascism, the Union' campaign in the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or unimportant the united front!

League Against War and Fascism, the Union' campaign in the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lifting of the charters in the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Union and the lattire of the Miners' given, special case, unsatisfactory." Or the Miners' given, spe Lessons To Be Learned

> apply not only to the Labor party ques- communists and governmental raids capitalist development in general and tion but to the whole recent change in upon them, there is the danger of new particularly its unevenness in the period party policy.
>
> 1. The change in policy takes place in the field of trade union work, deviations cropping up within our party of imperialism (something which should be particularly clear to us in the period

But how far, after all, has the party in an effort to make up for the complete changed its attitude on the Labor party collapse of the old tactics and the con-"A 'Labor' party dominated by sections of the trade union hyperson of the trade union sections of the trade union burocracy Labor movement. All attempts to ex- tendency, which, impressed by the proand the Socialist leaders and excluding the Communists," Stachel tells ing the Communists," Stachel tells leged change in objective conditions are us in his second article (Daily Worker, January 10, 1935), "could not trickery." leged change in objective conditions are cause it no longer has any basic industries or unskilled workers organized in tries or unskilled workers organized in

be used against the workers. A party dominated by John L. Lewis, Gorat at all, that the new policy is no more at all, that the new policy is no more leading to the large tendency must be combatted even the building of a cumulative working class new organizational forms for the untradition. In this connection our resemiman, Dubinsky, Waldman, Panken and company, even if it were based on tion" of the old course! Naturally, on the trade unions, would not be a this basis, the party members cannot contain the skilled workers and it is a weaknesses, represents a gigantic step genuine Labor party. It would not result in independent class political action on the part of the workers...

A genuine Labor party consisting of A genuine Labor party consisting of any sort of confidence in its sincerity all trade unions, national and local, and genuiness. Whatever significance mass organizations of the unemploy- the shift in policy might conceivably ed, etc., . . . led by such militant have had, is thus completely destroyed. elements in the trade unions as the 3. The change takes place completeleaders of the rank and file movement ly behind the back of the party members among the steel workers, miners, who are not consulted or even informed strides, yet they are only first baby long-horemen, etc. . . , such a Labor about it until the time comes for them steps in comparison with the enormou

REVOLUTION IN SPAIN

By JUAN ANTONIO (The Pseudonym of one of the out A series of 5 Articles beginning in the

1. On The Eve of Great Struggles. 2. The Catalonian Insurrection. 3. Insurrection in Asturias.

An Article Written In 1926 study and therefore glorified empiricism, Confirms The Position of the pragmatism, rule of thumb and eclectic "practicality" into a philosophical system; our class is so steeped in bour-geois ideology thru the illusions promoted by the hitherto great possibilities of escape from the working class which This is the second and concluding section ended only on the eve of the present of an article written by Comrade Wolfe in generation and because "in these coun-1926 for the "Workers Monthly" (predeces-tries (England and America) the politic-Steel has reached almost 50% capacity production. The basis for this rise is January 1927 under the title "Towards Lenin-labelian absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena, in view of the almost complete absence of bourgeois-democratic historic labelian and published in all arena and arena and arena

of L. will lose its last really important perfectly specific things," and "each mass base. . . In the face of such dev-

"Americanization" of Marxism

In the field of study of American ideology, we are still worse off. We are serve the interests of the masses in any way. It would, on the contrary, he were against the workers organized in now, in the last couple of years, beginappreciable numbers (assuming the desing made, the entire party rings with astruction of the miners' union). Such a history which is a prerequisite to the skilled and the basic industries may develop, for the A. F. of L. will still centennial campaign,* in spite of its

> Working Class" in 1918: "The best representatives of the American proletariat . . . are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. The tradition originated in the war of independence against the English in the 18th and the civil war in the 19th century. Industry and

Note: Celebrating the 150th Anniversary of the Revolution of 1776. (Continued on Page 4)

EUROPE TODAY

problem by heavy industry.

Backwardness Of American

On the field of the ideological develop

ment of our party, we have made grea

AN OPENING IN

did come, however, 6,000 of them.)

ing. The reformist unions, as organizations, are not part of the united front.

long run inflation is inevitable. The within the unions the sabotage of the social and political consequences of a united front by the trade union leaders. new inflation are so apparent that the The reformist trade union leaders are Nazis hesitate to take this step. How- the most dangerous and strongest force ever, Germany's financial situation has which is opposed to the united front become such that the question of infla- within the working class. They are tion is being posed as an immediate given passive support by the leaders of the S.P. In order to gain a true picture of the working class movement in France one must realize that only a section of the reformist forces is in the united A few days ago one of the Fascist front, namely the SP while another Fascists would not come. (The Fascists it was not surprizing that the "moderate and wise" regime of Flandin was apply-This incident should be a serious warn- ing the same laws to both organizations That such a situation, which has very dangerous potentialities, exists is partly due to the effect of the trade union policy pursued by the CPF until the spring of 1934. Tho this policy has been liquidated the effects of the errors in the past cannot be eliminated over night.

George Streator TACKLING THE RACE QUESTION Sunday Feb. 3, 8 p. m, Rivera Hall, 51 West 14th St.

PROGRESSIVE TAILORS--

Amalgamated Progressives Charge Racketeering In Union

(Continued from Page 1)

But why? Why should we not be able to make a living in such a large and rich industry? Why did we get nothing from the code? Why did other needle trades workers win conditions? To these questions the leadership gives no answer. What is more they cannot give an answer because to answer these questions would be to indict themselves.

Let us speak quite openly. The responsibility for our miserable conditions lies, in large measure, on the methods and policies of our leadership. While other needle trades unions fought on the picket lines, our leading officials were busy in Washington, dragging after the coat-tails of NRA officials and begging for justice from the manufacturers. Sidney Hillman has achievements to record. He has become almost a member of Roosevelt's cabinet but the conditions of the tailors are not one bit better.

Enough about what has been. Let us take up what has to be done to improve the conditions of the tailors during the coming season.

1. First of all no wage cuts must be permitted, for altho the wages of the the manufacturers is quite big. For solve all our problems, years at peace with the bosses, it is very How our problems w difficult for our leaders to refuse a de-Clark Gable" reduction. famous film star, had initiated a new at the code hearings and is well prepared style of coat in which a lot of labor is for the fight." required. A lot of labor means more costs and that's just what the manufacturers do not want. So they demand reductions. They demand and the leaders grant. We say there must be an end to these wage cuts. * * *

2. One of the worst evils in the New York Amalgamated is the out-of-town question. Thousands of garments are daily being smuggled out of New York into the small surrounding towns. We say smuggled advisedly, for very many more garments are being sent out than the union agreement permits. Especially the knee-pants makers are very hard hit Thousands of tailors sit in the halls sure" will fight for us! waiting for work while the work is being shipped out of town. Why is it impossible to control this evil? The cutters are organized and even the truck drivers have been recently organized. Why not stop the smuggling?

It is an open secret among the tailors that officials of the out-of-town department canvas the shops in New York for bundles for out of town shops. Needless to say they find them, for the bosses are always willing to send bundles out of town where they are manufactured at less cost. Certain officials in New York are cooperating gladly with the out-of-town officials in this lucrative business This has developed into a "regular" racket and where there are rackets there are also racketeers. We make the definite charge that a gang of racketeers has wormed its way into the union and is conducting this detestable business at the expense of the New York tailors. Our great leaders-local and nationalknow about this situation but are silent. We therefore hold them responsible for not driving the racketeers out of the begin the struggle for the full control of the bundles by the union and this is possible only when the union rids itseif of the racketeers.

3. In contrast to the miserable condition of the tailors we see the prosperous

Unappointed Win Decision

(Continued from Page 1)

aroused public opinion and strategically applied mass pressure. The N. Y. Ass'n. of Unappointed Teachers was able to rally all the major teacher organizations to publicly endorse the Appeal and to pass resolutions asking for a favorable decision. Special note must be made of the Teachers Union which proved of constant assistance. Public endorsement was obtained from the United Parents Associations, as well as from many of its locals. Support from organized labor was given by the United Hebrew Trades Joint Board of Dressmakers, Joint Board of Knitgoods Workers Union, Central Trades and Labor Council, and State Federation of Labor. Prominent educators also endorsed the Appeal. The only discordant note was struck by the Unemployed Teachers Ass'n., fostered by the Dual Union tendency in the Labor Movement, which disrupted a conference of organizations supporting the Appeal and attempted to undermine the confidence of teachers by charges of racketeering. These irresponsible actions were effectively exposed. A petition with thousands of signitures asking for a favorable decision was sent to the Commissioner of Education. Only the mass pressure applied in this campaign was able to force a favorable decision from the governmental authorities, thus leading to victory.

condition of the contractors. The union saw to it that they be not imposed upon. They were granted such swollen "overhead" that they have not only a respectable profit for themselves but also enough for a "kick-back" to the manufacturers. This "kick-back" system develops competition among the contractors and the price of the garments is thereby lowered—at the expense of the tailor. We propose drastic cuts in the contractors' "overhead" in order to eliminate the "kick-back" and the competi-

4. The tailors are vitally interested in the revision of the Clothing Code. We are in agreement with Brother Hollander that "the minimum scales for all section work, in all shops thruout the country, is a life and death question" and that the question of minimum scales is the main demand. But how will we get this "life and death" demand? know from experience that our chief leaders of the union are enthusiastic patriots of the NRA and just dote on the blue eagle. The blue eagle, they believe, will automatically bring all kinds of good things for the tailors; the blue tailors are quite small, the appetite of eagle is a sort of new saviour who can

How our problems were solved heretofore all tailors know. As Hollander mand of a boss. Only a short time ago says—"we had nothing and we got no-a reduction of 6 and 7 percent, was thing." But Hollander and Catalanatti granted to S. D. Jaffe, the president of hasten to assure the tailors that this the union manufacturers. This was a time the union means "business" because Weeks ago "the Joint Board has decided to fight Hollander wrote that Clark Gable, the hard for its demand for minimum scales

And how will this fight be conducted? workers, more workers means greater Will the union perhaps mobilize the organized strength of the union member-ship behind this fight? Nothing of the sort. The same statement by Hollander

> "The union is even prepared to propose to the Code Authority the appointment of a commission to investigate the earnings of the tailors in the country, because it (the union) is sure that when the miserable earnings of the tailors are investigated by a commission, it (the union) will win the minimum scale."

There is the "hard fight!" An investigation commission which "the union is

We must have no illusions about these 'study commissions." They have done nothing for the textile workers and no thing for workers in other trades. We ourselves are the instruments for improving our conditions. Only thru our organized power and only thru struggle can we win our just demands.

* * * We therefore propose:

a. An end to dependence on the good-will of the code commissions. The union leadership really prepare the organization for a decisive struggle for our just demand-the mini-

mum scales.
b. The minimum scales be based on a dollar per hour for skilled workers and 70 cents for semi-skilled workers. This would eliminate the frequent re gradings which means wage cuts.

* * * 5. In conclusion a word about the union's "Labor Bureau" which distributes or is supposed to distribute jobs.

Th Labor Bureau was proposed in order to eliminate Hester Park—the union. In order to partially solve the order to eliminate Hester Park—the out-of-town problem the tailors must slave market where the manufacturer or contractor would come to choose his worker. But how has it worked? The unemployed lists are not being followed. While the tailors sit in the halls day after day awaiting their next, the shops are filled with learners who are not entitled to these jobs. In other cases tailors from out of town are placed without so much as a card from a business

Such a condition must not continue. The Labor Bureau must be so reorganized as not to serve clique interests. The lists must be strictly adhered to and in order to do so we propose a control board to consist of elected representatives from each local. Only in this manner can we lighten the burden of the tailor.

Brothers and Sisters:

We, of the Progressive Circle, are a constructive opposition in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. As such we find it necessary to come out publicly to clarify the problems of our union and to point to remedial measures. This public statement would not be necessary if our union would carry out progressive policies and would conduct itself as befits a trade union. But such is not the case. We therefore appeal to you to help us realize this program; to help us improve our conditions and our

AMALGAMATED PROGRESSIVE CIRCLE

MIDWINTER DANCE SATURDAY EVE. FEB. 2 Bermuda Ass'n. Hall 402 West 146th Street Music by Albert Johnson and his playboys
A D M I S S I O N 3 5 ¢

Auspices: Harlem Section CPO

HOOLIGANISM!

Dorothy Dare Tells of C.P. Slugging

"Comrades, let's have order. Do not allow yourselves to be provoked by these disrupters, these agents of the bureaucrats and bosses.'

This was the gentle phrase used by Louis Weinstock, AF of L "rank and file" leader in quelling Communist Party members engaged in beating up delegates of the Communist Party (Opposition) at the Washington Congress for Unemployment Insurance.

The "disruptive" tactics of the CPO at the Congress consisted of distributing resolutions to the delegates—a perfectly normal procedure at any conference. One of these resolutions was on the United Front, the other on the Labor Front. Unfortunately for the health of the CPO comrades this resolution was passed out a few hours before Browder made his Labor Party speech—therefore they were renegades, counter-revolutionaries and deserved slugging for advocating such an opportunistic policy.

For the treatment given them on Sunday afternoon we quote from a statement by Dorothy Dare of Baltimore, the chief victim of the attack.

"I stood by the door at the rear of the auditorium giving the resolutions to the other delegates. After a while a group of persons approached me. They were ribbons around their arms, signifying that they were delegated as ushers. They told me I could not hand out the resolutions for a Labor Party I was distributing. I explained I had received permission the day before and that the handing out of resolutions was a perfectly normal procedure at the Congress. They asked me to walk upstairs with them to Room 6. Feeling this was the simplest solution to end the opposition I walked with the committee into the lobby on our way upstairs. In the lobby the ushers tore the leaflets from my hand and began to beat me up. One of them got me by the throat and began to choke me while the others kicked me. The worst kicks were on my knee which has caused me to limp for a week. I was choked until I was unconscious and then carried upstairs and revived about ten minutes later.

Fundamentally this affair was of a piece with the Madison Square Garden battle—the fruit of years of substitution of slugging and slander for political discussion and intelligent argument

SHOE UNIONS--

(Continued from Page 1) against the A. F. of L. because of the intolerable practices of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. He also expressed the belief that there is another thing that shoe workers would never tolerate, because of their experiences with the Boot and Shoe, and that is burocratic control. With these considerations in mind, he concluded, and with the burning desire and need for one union, he had no doubt whatever that one international union can be built.

Union To Discuss Merger Problems

Just as soon as this sentiment for amalgamation is crystallized into definite plans, these will be submitted to the membership of the various unions for discussion and vote.

The delegations of all the unions were highly satisfied with the progress made and expressed the certainty that when the proposals for complete amalgamation are submitted to the membership they will be overwhelmingly endorsed.



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COMMUNIST PARTY (Opposition)

FULL PROCEEDS TO ASSIST OUR EMBATTLED GERMAN COMRADES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HITLER TER-ROR REGIME

LENIN AND AMERICA

An Article Written in 1926 Confirms the CPO Line of 1935

(Continued from Page 3) commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But can you find on American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic as to deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American civil war of 1860-1865."

I venture to answer that we can find a great many such Americans in our party even today.

In the same sense of not holding on o our revolutionary traditions we have let the knowledge of the American origin of May Day almost die out, have not been able to successfully ridicule the contention that "the general strike is un-American," know less about Haymarket than do the Latin workers, and let such outstanding events, so rich in lessons and traditions, as the Seattle Strike and the mutiny of the Detroit regiment in Archangel, sink into immediate oblivion as soon as they are over.

Our "Marxians" can give much infor-

mation and Marxian interpretations of such religious movements as those of the Anabaptists, The Waldenses and Albigenses, primitive Christianity, the Protestant Reformation, Puritanism and perhaps Mohammedanism. We can explain why the North of Ireland is Pro testant, why certain portions of Switzerland are not Calvinistic but Catholic and so on; but none of us can give a Marxian interpretation of such religions as Mormonism, Christian Science, frontier revivalism, fundamentalism (something has been done on this) and other religious movements which bear the impress "Made in America" all over them. There is no history of American religious development as there is none of economic development, adequate to the needs of a Marxist-Leninist party. Or in philosophy we can give a Marxian analysis of Kant and Hegel but we have nothing to say on empiricism and pragmatism. specifically American two philosophies.

The Question Of Stabilization

On the question of capitalist stabilization there are many illusions as to the degree of stability of American capitalism. Yet its stability was less permanent than was England's in the last century, for the United States has established its hegemony in a decadent capitalist world and is linked up by an ever-growing chain of investments and exports with the shaky capitalism of Europe, the growing nationalist unrest of Latin America and the Orient, and is faced with antagonism on many fronts—the challenge of England, the challenge of Japan, the challenge of the debtor nations (which challenge is lessened by their own mutual antagonisms), by the "jumpy" growth of backward nations like China, Canada, Australia, etc., and by the existence of the Soviet Union. In its very strength lies America's weakness as well. The mountain of investments and loans beget the problem of payments, which ultimately must be payment in goods. Such payments menace our own industry, And the countries that

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imitate what they understand to be American "rationalization," in order to cheapen and increase their production, compel American capital to imitate their "imitation" in order to successfully conpete with them. The mountains of investments beget fresh antagonisms and sharpen imperialist contradictions and war dangers. The ripening and overripening of American imperialism begins to reveal and develop antagonisms within the big capitalist sections, between industrial and finance capital (on the tariff, on the world court, on foreign policy, etc.). This tends to cause even a breakdown of that great political safeguard-the two party system. There is a growth of monopoly with its parasitic and decadent aspects, a great growth of burocracy and taxes-and so the contradictions multiply. And a Leninist party will know how to utilize these growing contradictions, the opportunities they offer, the allies they provide and the divisions they create.

Towards A Mass Party

It is true that our party is weak in numbers, limited in influence to certain sections of the country, ill-equipped with the necessary body of knowledge, young and inexperienced and poorly organized. It is true also that our class is so backward that "the elementary and fundamental task of the party is to accelerate the class formation of the American working class . . . (aid the working class) to break from the capitalist political parties" and organize a class industrially that is perhaps 85 percent unorganized. It is true also that American capitalism is the most powerful in the world. But our party is offered a revolutionary method which is at once science and guide to action in Marxism-Leninism; a guide in the Communist International; an inspiration in the Soviet Union, and allies in all the internal and external victims of the oppression of American finance capital. Already, in the light of the little progress our party has made and its increased sensitivity to specifically American problems and its increased practical activity in the unions, among the unorganized workers, in connection with the Labor Party, in the beginnings of its attempts to find allies among the farmers, the non-proletarian Negroes, the colonial peoples, etc., we are justified in echoing the sober and yet confident judgement of Lenin and weighing the perspectives of the American labor movement and the difficulties facing it:

"The American workers will not follow the bourgeosie. They will be with us for the civil war against the bourgeoisie. In this conviction I am supported by the entire history of the world and the American Labor movement."

This Lenin wrote in 1918. And if he had written in 1926 he would no doubt have added: "And by the development of the young Communist Party of America."

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JAY LOVESTONE for the COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

A. J. MUSTE

for the WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S. A. HEYWOOD BROUN, Chairman

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 17, 1935

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