

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

NO amount of rationalizing can face the seriousness of the opportunist deviations now being made by the Comintern sections in their panicky flight from ultra-left sectarianism.

We have at hand two pieces of campaign literature portraying the policies of the Canadian and American Communist Parties in their respective election campaigns. Merely to cite the type of propaganda resorted to by our comrades in arms is sufficient for a scathing indictment.

In Canada, our comrades have unfortunately come forward with this sort of an appeal: "To all progressive elements, who truly love their country and who wish to save her from falling into the abyss . . ." And "This circular is graciously offered to our Candidate . . . by a group of friends and defenders of individual liberty." True Jacobins—but of more than a century before yesterday! Certainly not of today.

Now to Paterson, New Jersey. Here a leaflet issued by the local Communist Party organization boastfully explains why the C.P. indirectly supports some candidates on the Republican ticket: "In the statement of the Labor Party Executive Board is revealed the fact that the Labor Party slate of candidates in the coming election will not oppose those Labor men running on the Republican and Democratic tickets and soliciting labor's votes. At the same time it does not endorse them because they are not running on the Labor Party program or ticket. This decision proves the skill and ability of the Labor Party to take away the grounds for conflict in the ranks of labor . . ."

What a nice how do you do! The Paterson Labor Party is nothing but an anaemic creature of the local C.P. That is why the latter entered no candidates in the local elections. Thru the Labor Party in Paterson the C.P. withdrew its candidates in favor of so-called labor men on the Republican and Democratic tickets. And all in the name of labor unity! We venture to say that such tactics are as helpful towards achieving labor unity today as the C.P.'s tactics of union-splitting were yesterday.

Neither strategy has any place in a Communist Party.

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WHERE DO THE SP MILITANTS STAND?

By WILL HERBERG

The "The Draft Program for the Socialist Party of the United States", presented to the recent Socialist Call Institute (September 6, 7, 1935) "as a basis for discussion at the Institute and throughout the party", is easily the most serious document issued by the Militant faction of the S.P. in the nearly five years of its existence. This time it is no "mere" factional platform or even declaration of principles on disputed questions; it is a basic program for the whole party, for the whole movement, at a time when programmatic questions are precisely the questions at issue. Since it aspires to such scope and authority, the document naturally falls subject to a more fundamental and more critical scrutiny than would otherwise be the case. It is in this spirit of comradely criticism and in the hope of contributing something towards helping along the process of revolutionary self-clarification going on in Militant ranks, that I write the following paragraphs. While the document may be presented, in form, as a draft program for the S.P., in fact, however, it represents essentially the viewpoint of the more advanced elements in the Militant leadership.

Whatever may be thought of the practical advisability of attempting to draft a program for the S.P. at the present stage of its inner political development, the mere fact that Militant leaders undertook the effort is of some significance for it means, in effect, that this group is making a demonstrative bid for ideological independence and leadership, claiming the right to recast the whole party politically in its own image. This is considerable progress for those who, at the beginning, refused to formulate anything more than a "program of action" and have tended all along to look with more than indifference upon a thoroughgoing discussion of the theoretical foundations of the Socialist movement. It is welcome, indeed, as indicating a deepening of theoretical consciousness in the most decisive Militant circles.

LACK OF ANALYSIS

Looking at the matter in this light, I will not attempt to deal with questions as to form and content which would certainly be in order were this document to be regarded primarily as a draft program for a revolutionary Marxist party rather than as the Militant statement of principles which it is. It is nevertheless impossible to proceed to the main issues without some comment

An Analysis of their Latest Program

in passing on a number of general matters of importance.

The schematic description of capitalism, its contradictions and its decay, itself not altogether free from errors and crudities, is not followed by any real analysis of American economic or social conditions. Very little is said on this head and that little is open to serious objection. When, for example, we are told that: "Just as American capitalism was, for a time, the outstanding representative of capitalist development and the model which all others desired to imitate, it is now the outstanding representative of capitalist decline." (Emphasis mine thruout—W.H.), what are we to conclude? If these remarks are to be taken in any concrete sense at all, they are not only false in fact but they lead directly to the most ultra-leftist consequences, for our tactics must surely be adapted to the extremely advanced stage of capitalist decay alleged to exist in this country. That the Militants do not indeed draw such conclusions may be a credit to their tactical common sense but it certainly does not reflect favorably upon the soundness of the estimation of American capitalism contained in the Draft Program.

INACCURACIES ON FASCISM

Even more defective is the analysis of Fascism contained in the document. It certainly escapes the crude blunders of the right-wing Social-Democrats who tend to make of Fascism either a super-class force or else a really independent petty bourgeois movement. But, in avoiding these errors, the drafters of the program manage to fall into pitfalls of another kind. They seem to miss altogether the fundamental fact that, altho Fascism is certainly an open, naked dictatorship, it is nevertheless an indirect dictatorship on the part of monopoly capital which functions not thru its own traditional organizations but thru Fascism, a predominantly petty bourgeois mass movement, as its political trustee. Without this clue it is impossible to understand the social role of Fascism or to grasp the real meaning of the most important developments in Italy or Germany. The conception contained in the Draft Program tends to obliterate the very specific features of Fascism as a manifestation of contemporary capital-

ism in the crisis of decay; nor does it differentiate it sufficiently from other forms of capitalist dictatorship. It would be easy to extend this criticism of the section on Fascism much further, to show that there is no attempt at examining the objective situation out of which Fascism arises, no mention of the collapse of the customary political regime of the bourgeoisie (parliamentary democracy) without which it is impossible, no indication of the profound fermentation, the spontaneous upheaval in the depths of the petty bourgeoisie, on which it is nourished. Again, the only reason that this whole confused and inadequate analysis does not lead to dangerous tactical conclusions is that, like so much of the general section of the program, it is not put to any practical use as far as policy or tactics are concerned.

THE sections concerned with the New Deal and the American labor movement suffer from a number of similar shortcomings. The failure of the New Deal is attributed, among other factors, "particularly to the active opposition of some of the most important sections of big capital," but no hint is given that it was precisely these elements (U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Gerald Swope, etc.) who, back in 1932 and 1933, brought forward and championed the most characteristic features of the New Deal, such as the NRA. By offering no indication as to this shift of sentiment or its reasons, by failing to call attention to the fundamentally different attitudes of various sections of the capitalist class towards the New Deal, the distinct impression is left that Roosevelt rose to power and launched his policies in the teeth of the big capitalist opposition. It is obvious that the Militants do not believe this typical Cahan myth; but the unclarity of their thought betrays them into this false position.

ABSTRACTIONS ON LABOR MOVEMENT

"The American labor movement, in view of its general backwardness, will very likely pass thru a period of reformism" is certainly true enough and can be challenged only by the hopeless dogmatists of the Trotskyite school. But exactly where does it get us? Instead of a concrete analysis of recent trends

in the labor movement or an explanation of the specific forces at work, instead of a clear picture of what is new in the situation, we are presented with some sketchy generalizations, such as that "the class struggle will grow more intense . . ." The few words on American imperialism are of the same vague and general nature and could, with appropriate changes, be applied to almost any imperialist power or to the U.S.A. at any time in the last two decades or so.

Taken all in all, the opening sections of the Draft Program suffer from a general inability to come to grips with the concrete facts of American reality, to isolate and bring to the fore those differentiating features of American economic, social and political life that are so essential to a revolutionary Marxist analysis. As a consequence, it all remains abstract and sterile, with no compelling implications for the "practical" part of the program.

THE CENTRAL ISSUES

We come to the essence of the document when we reach the paragraphs dealing with the nature of the state, with the road of the proletariat to power, with the attitude towards war. These are the questions that serve as a touchstone to distinguish the fundamental tendencies in the labor movement from each other; by its answers to these questions can we judge the stage which the Militant movement has reached in its political development. That this section is intended by the authors of the program to be a presentation of the revolutionary Marxist position, there is certainly no reason to doubt; that it does indeed openly break with some of the gross reformist perversions of official Social Democracy is also obvious. Unfortunately, however, the formulations of the Draft Program on these questions contain so many serious shortcomings and errors in principle that the intentions are frequently nullified by the result.

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The whole discussion of the nature of the bourgeois democratic state suffers from a thoroughly false point of departure. Instead of subjecting this institution to analysis in its concrete form as parliamentary democracy, the authors of the program fall into the reformist trap and speak generally of "democracy". The result is that their criticism of bourgeois democracy, while certainly sharp enough, is not essentially different from that of

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REVIEW OF THE WEEK

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM ORGANIZED; ETHIOPIANS STILL DODGE OPEN BATTLE; ELECTIONS SHOW ROOSEVELT'S HOLD ON VOTERS IS LOOSENING

A. F. of L. Opposition Organizes Itself For National Fight For Industrial Unionism

MUCH sooner than many expected the opposition at the fifty-fifth convention of the A. F. of L. has taken steps to organize itself nationally in the struggle for industrial unionism. A conference of supporters of industrial unionism was attended by representatives of the following organizations: United Mine Workers, Typographical Union, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, United Textile Workers, Oil Field, Gas and Refinery Workers, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

A statement issued by this conference says that it will work in accordance with the "principles enunciated by these organizations at the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor." The statement goes on to say that "its functions will be educational and advisory."

The conference, organizing itself as the "Committee for Industrial Organization" elected John Brophy, of the Miners as Director, John L. Lewis, of the Miners as President and Charles P. Howard of the Typographers as Secretary. In addition to these the committee consists of Sidney Hillman (ACW), David Dubinsky (ILGWU), Thomas E. McMahon (UTW), Harvey C. Freming (Oil Workers), M. Zaritsky (Cap and Millinery) and Thomas E. Brown (Metal Miners).

DRAFT THE AUTO MERGER

As if to emphasize the importance of such a center for industrial union agitation and advice comes the news from Detroit that during the course of last week representatives of various inde-

pendent unions (inclusive of Father Coughlin's union) have agreed to a merger of their organizations. A referendum to the various organization is about to be issued.

That this represents a positive menace to unionism in the auto industry is clear. Yet it must be said that the failure of the A. F. of L. to set up an industrial organization early in the organization drive was mainly responsible for this condition. Altho the unions now merging profess no opposition to the A. F. of L. yet the very situation will force them into the anti-A. F. of L. stand. The workers in such organizations as the Mechanics Educational Society and others must fight against this merger with organizations whose connections with the employers is more than mere suspicion.

ELECTIONS A PUZZLE TO DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

The recent elections are the source of considerable worry among the leaders of our Democracy and of solid cheer to the hungry camp followers of the lean elephant. Farley can and does point to Kentucky, where normally Republican counties were swept into the columns of the Democratic majorities, as a sign that Roosevelt is holding his own. But Chairman Fletcher of the Republican Party gives facts and figures indicating that more than its share of WPA and other funds were allocated to Kentucky to insure this victory. Also he points to surprising Republican strength in Ohio, an increased hold in Jersey, a majority in the assembly of New York and the return of many cities of Massachusetts to the Republican column.

It is our opinion that the Republican

Soviets In Danger As Laval Plans Pact With Nazis

EUROPEAN diplomacy has once again taken to the back-alleys and an evil smelling concoction may be expected. Italian and German representatives have been negotiating in Munich and German and French representatives are hard at work to knife the Soviet Union.

The French press is on edge over the deliberate attempt of Laval to break the Franco-Soviet pact preliminary to an agreement with Germany which would endorse a war of Germany and probably also Poland and Japan against the Soviet Union. Thus would Laval keep the wolf from French doors by having it feed on Russia.

A storm of protest has broken out against this proposal and it is doubtful whether it will be put over. Edouard Herriot, Cabinet member and leader of the Radicals, has come out sharply

Party must get the decision on this argument. The recent elections do indicate a change of sentiment on the part of sections of our population. This was foreshadowed by the growing opposition to the New Deal. The very forces which in 1929 and 1930 cried for governmental interference (aid would be better) now declare they have had enough. They are back upon their feet or think they are and will brook no more interference. Hence the refusal of industry after industry to agree to voluntary codes. Hence only 2 of 28 Chambers of Commerce endorsed the New Deal in a poll now proceeding. These changes have been reflected in a shift of votes.

Whether this change is general enough to endanger Roosevelt's re-election in

Italian Troops Take Undefended Cities; Still Look for Decisive Victories

against such plans; Pertinax (Andre Geraud) famous Nationalist journalist calls it a most dangerous folly; but the clearest presentation of the case came from Count Wladimir d'Ormesson, considered one of the ablest students of German politics. Writing in "Le Figaro" he insists that while the Fascists may be sated with eastern conquest for a time it will ultimately result in disaster for France. "Having installed her preponderant influence from the North Sea to the Black Sea," he says, "Germany then would turn on us and demand, at the least, a division of our colonial empire."

Incidentally it should be noted that in his mind the Franco-Soviet pact becomes therefore an instrument for maintaining undivided the French colonial empire. It proves what we have contended that for France that pact represents imperialist aims and it proves equally well the false and dangerous notions about the progressiveness of French imperialism.

1936 is doubtful. We believe that tho the race may not be a runaway, Roosevelt will still have sufficient resources left to bring him back into the Presidency.

As for the working class vote, little if any progress has been made. Bridgeport and Reading (outposts of extreme reformism) are more opposition votes than socialist. In New York City the Communist vote showed a slight increase (from 42,000 to 51,000) while the Socialist vote showed a sharp decline (from 90,000 to 60,000). A ridiculously poor showing was made by such C.P.-controlled Labor Parties as the one in Paterson. The question of a real labor party remains the burning need of the American workers.

THE war in Ethiopia continues to drag along with the Italian army marching deeper and deeper into the country but as yet meeting no resistance and still seeking that elusive decisive victory.

The only new factor in the situation is the contemplated advance of the Italian army into the Lake Tana region—a British sphere of influence. This is the region of the source of the Blue Nile. Also it is the region where Great Britain contemplated the construction of a gigantic dam to control the waters of the Nile. It is to be expected that Great Britain will strike back against this menace when the Italians pass over from talk to action.

In the meanwhile the League of Nations committees are still finding things to talk about. Altho the original proposals for sanctions are not to begin until November 18 still, new ones have been brought up. However the new proposals calling for an embargo on oil, coal, iron and steel, is conditioned on Germany and the United States agreeing to join. This is not likely to occur especially on the part of the U.S.A. According to the report of the New Orleans customs district reports, exports to Italy during August and September have been 384,437 barrels of refined oil as compared with 65,478 in the same period of 1934. Crude oil shipments were 150,364 barrels against none in the same period of 1934.

Neutrality seem to be good business as well as good politics.

Build the Weekly
"Workers Age"

Situation in France Nearing Open Clash

By AUGUST THALHEIMER
October 23, 1935
The fascist movement in France has received a strong impetus as a result of the Ethiopian conflict.

Quotation Marks

With this item we begin to print pertinent quotations from decisions of the Communist International on such questions as war, pacifism, etc. which agitate the working class everywhere.

We appeal to our readers to assist us by sending in such quotations as they think would help to clarify these and related questions.—Editor.

OPPORTUNISM OF THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS

Rude character were committed by Communists in many countries recently in applying the tactics of the united front as an example from France.

At this meeting a number of our comrades spoke in the fine company of representatives of the Radical Socialist Party, and of other parties, and yet a resolution was unanimous...

FOR DEFENSE GROUPS

The left Social Democrats of the Paris district are not of the same opinion. The Seine Federation of the SP of France has openly come out for the formation of organizations of the working class...

"Eyes Right" Order Causes Confusion

By JACK HERRING
It was winter, 1934. The leaders of the C.P.U.S.A. had commenced the undercover retreat from their dual union Waterloo.

AND NOW!
The official Communist Party has at the same time renounced its "traditional sectarianism," and disposed of the "glorious" period of dual unionism.

Without the understanding of these problems, the understanding which distinguishes the Communist from his brother workers, the Party comrades marched blindfolded. And so, on a winter night, 1934, in reply to a question, a Party District Organizer from Chicago shouted in Detroit: "We never had dual unionism!"

RELATION OF RADICALS TO COMMUNISTS

The most recent elections to the Senate held in the Seine department throw a good deal of light on the relation of the Radical Socialists to the Communists—both partners of the Peoples Front.

THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

From O. Kussinier's Report at the Thirteenth Plenum of the Communist International, December 1933

SOME C.P. TRICKERY IN MILLINERY UNION

ever, instead of printing my statement in Freiheit I expressed the facts by my own statement that I approved the program of the Rank and File Group.

"It seems that despite the change of line by the Party its press and its rank and file groups have not overcome their sectarianism and are still working in a dishonest manner.

The program for the inner organizational life of the union must be: (1) To establish regular monthly union meetings and free discussion at these meetings.

I call upon all millinery workers to vote in the present election for the following rank and file workers: I. Musin, P. Radosh, R. Shulman, P. Weisman, H. Zukowsky, Bertha Sher, Ruth Ostrowsky, Lillie Rubinstein, and Fannie Quetzman.

I as one pledge myself to fight for this program and for the above-mentioned changes in the union together with all millinery workers.

The program of immediate action for the union must be: (1) Stop the moving of shops out-of-town thru militant strikes against these bosses.

WHERE DO THE SOCIALIST MILITANTS STAND?

An Analysis of their Recently Published Program

course, this statement is not true for the foundations of the parliamentary system were laid not so much in the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie as in the struggle of the democratic bourgeoisie, supported by the proletariat, against feudal-aristocratic reaction.

ROAD TO POWER
The sections "Transition from Capitalism to Socialism," "Form of the Workers and Farmers Government" and "How to Achieve a Workers and Farmers Government"

"I AM SHOCKED BY SUCH AN ATTITUDE"

By Y. C. L. MEMBER
For years we, in the Young Communist League, have been eagerly awaiting the 7th World Congress of the C.I.

And now Comrade Browder speaks about "changed conditions" and gives this as a reason for the advocacy of a Labor Party and the liquidation of the "Red" unions.

Instead of democratic centralism we have centralism without democracy which incapacitates the membership for thought.

DEMOCRACY AND STATE
A striking example of the confusion to which the Militant position here leads is to be found in the last passage of the section headed "Capitalist Democracy and the State."

THE PRESENT LINE
These suicidal tactical errors have now been rejected by the Seventh Congress. But does the Comintern tell us that the old formulations and tactics were wrong?

Charity Begins at Home

The progressive Circle of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has just issued a statement dealing with the role of the A.C.W. delegation at the A. F. of L. convention.

"We hope that our leadership will continue to fight for progressive policies in the Federation. We also hope that Brother Hillman, Brother Schlossberg and the other leaders of our union will now begin to carry out reforms in the Amalgamated itself; such reforms as will breathe a new life and spirit, so much needed in our organization."

GREETINGS to the WORKERS AGE ON ITS SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

to the SOVIET UNION ON ITS EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY DETROIT UNIT COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

ON THE OCCASION OF THE Sixth Anniversary of WORKERS AGE

WE PLEDGE TO CONTINUE THE FIGHT FOR A HEALTHY AND UNIFIED COMMUNIST MOVEMENT HARTFORD UNIT COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

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WORKERS AGE Our Greeting To It On Its SIXTH ANNIVERSARY BALTIMORE UNIT COMMUNIST OPPOSITION

BOSTON UNIT C.P.O. Greetings The WORKERS AGE on the occasion of its SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

WORKERS AGE has been a real teacher and leader during these six years of ultra-left confusion.

WORKERS AGE on its SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OSCAR SCHLEIFER

PITTSBURGH C.P.O. Greetings WORKERS AGE on its SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

WORKERS AGE on its SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OSCAR SCHLEIFER

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You are always sure of obtaining the MOST DELICIOUS FOOD and MOST LIBERAL PORTIONS at the FIFTH AVENUE Cafeteria

HAMILTON UNIT C.P.O. Greetings the WORKERS AGE on its SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

WORKERS AGE DO YOU NEED? A dress, sweater, knitted dress, infants wear...

WORKERS AGE THEN COME TO NEW WORKERS SCHOOL BAZAAR & DANCE Saturday Afternoon and Evening, Nov. 30, 1935

Social Security For Whom?

By SAUL HELD

Three vital aspects of the "social security" bills now being passed or planned in these United States have received clear cut commentary in these columns under the omnibus federal "Social Security" Bill was under consideration. These three were: 1) the bills are to be directed against trade unionism; 2.) an attack on wage standards; 3.) the burdening of the working class with the entire financial cost of "social security".

This analysis is now being vindicated to the very hilt in the preparations of the various employers' organizations throughout the nation to discover how to "legally" carry out their objectives. In this they are aided not only by the Chamber of Commerce and scores of experts, but by the government itself.

Let us go behind the scenes and listen in on a discussion that is highly illuminating. On Sept 30, 1935, Charles E. Wyzanski, Jr., Solicitor, United States Department of Labor, delivered an address at the Fortieth Quarterly Meeting of the New England Council, at Crawford Notch, New Hampshire, on "Unemployment Compensation Under The Social Security Act."

Gathered at this conclave were all the industrial monarchs of New England—Walter S. Wyman, President, New England Public Service Company; Richard W. Sulloway, Treasurer, Sulloway Mills; Benjamin Williams, Vermont Marble Company; John F. Rolfe, Publisher, Hartford Times; Henry D. Sharpe, President, Brown and Sharpe Manufacturing Company, and many others.

At the conclusion of the main address a discussion took place. We quote the discussion in part:

Workers Must Accept "Suitable Employment"

Mr. Henry D. Sharpe: I have enjoyed the exposition of this law, and I readily appreciate that Mr. Wyzanski, who has so well described it, cannot be made to take the burden of the wisdom of the law. In considering this matter, I have worried a good deal as to the administration of the law, and I would like to ask first, if there is anything in the national law, the national provisions, which forces a man to work if there is work. Can he refuse work in order to draw compensation? Is there any provision which will back the state in saying to him, "Here is a chance for employment if you will take it." Or can he take 16 weeks of compensation because the spring fishing happens to arrive at the time he becomes unemployed? How is the state going to keep him from taking a vacation at the expense of the treasury of the state?

Mr. Wyzanski: The federal law requires that every state stipulate that the contribution shall be paid through pub-

lic employment offices. Every state statute which I have seen requires that the worker, as a condition of receiving any benefits upon application to the public employment office, should register as willing and available for work. In he is unwilling to accept suitable employment offered to him, he may not draw a benefit.

Mr. Lawrence: Who decides this? Mr. Wyzanski: It is to be determined, of course, under the various state laws. I think I am accurate in stating that the deputy commissioner determines this in New Hampshire, although on that point I would ask Dr. Feldman.

Dr. Herman Feldman: The administrator of the organization. President Winthrop L. Carter: Well, isn't it true that if he is a union man he can refuse to take a job in an open shop? Aren't there special privileges that apply to union men?

Mr. Wyzanski: It is not true that he can refuse to take a job in an open shop. It is true he can refuse to take a job if the job is offered to him on condition that he join a company union. Now that is a very different thing, of course.

President Carter: I thought the law said that benefits would not be paid except in certain cases; and then it went on to say that union men had the right to refuse any job to which the union objected.

Mr. Wyzanski: No. I will read the exact wording in order that there may be no misunderstanding: "Section 903 (a). The Social Security Board shall approve any state law submitted to it within 30 days of such submission, which it finds provides that (b) compensation shall not be denied in such state to any otherwise eligible individual for refusing to accept new work under any of the following conditions: (c) if as a condition of being employed the individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from or refrain from joining any bona fide labor organization." In other words, if the company will take him on an open shop basis, he has no reason to refuse. If he does refuse, he is cut off from benefits.

No comment is needed here. Perhaps the most enjoyable bit of frankness was the free advice given by the trade journal, *Hide & Leather*, Sept. 28th, to shoe manufacturers, on how to palm-off their financial obligations for "social security":

"Make sure that the purchaser will be the one to pay any assessments affecting your production costs, by including the amount of the assessment in your costs."

First the worker pays his assessment by a reduction in pay; secondly, he pays the employer's assessment in the higher prices he will have to pay for commodities! Verily, it's a great system!

DOLL WORKERS UNION TO CELEBRATE GAINS

About a month ago the Ideal Novelty and Toy Co. had a stoppage for time and a half for overtime. We workers have been working as high as ten and twelve hours a week overtime and as the Ideal is a union shop, we tried to obtain the wages stipulated in the union agreement.

Although the workers could make more money working overtime for straight pay than not working at all, and although the workers needed the added money to add to the meager wages they were getting, they held out solid for a whole week, despite the threats on the part of the bosses. This solidarity, considering the opposition forces of the few contractors remaining in the Ideal, was very good. But because of this opposition, the workers weakened and again started working for straight time.

Before the Union organized the Ideal, these contractors operated in the shop at a huge profit, some making as high as \$300.00 a week. They made this by exploiting the unskilled workers by paying them as little as \$9.00 per week. The Doll and Toy Workers Union, after a consistent struggle, succeeded in wiping out the majority of these contractors. There are still a few of these contractors left. Due to the fact that these few are still allowed to operate, they succeeded

in weakening the struggle, and by influencing some of the workers, brought about the end of the stoppage.

What we workers must do is abolish the contracting system completely. Only through our organized strength, and through our active participation in the union, which initiated this struggle, can we ever hope to abolish this system and still further gain a better standard of wages. Only by participating in the D. & T. W. U. activities, and supporting all the programs of the union will we be able to do this. The Union has shown by its activities that it is trying to raise our standard of wages. It cannot do this alone. This is our Union, and we must strive to work in harmony with our union leaders, and ourselves carry on activities to strengthen our organization.

Our Union is not only confronted with the problem of keeping the New York shops living up to union agreements, but is also carrying on a constant struggle in shops out of town, which is very important. These out of town shops, which are unorganized, furnish competition to unionized shops in this city and undermine the strength of our Union. As we all know, by report from brother members, the union has done good work in Clinton, Mass. by starting organizational work in Ralf A. Freundlich's. In order to raise funds for this out of town work the union has arranged a first Annual Ball. This Ball will be the first get-together the Union has had the opportunity to have since the short time it has been organized. It is the duty of every loyal member of the D. and T. W. U. to support the affair and help to make this first get-together a success. By doing this we will also build the Doll and Toy Workers Union.

BERT WOLFE

lectures on

COLLAPSE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

A discussion of the revolutionary struggle against war, dealing also with pacifism and chauvinism.

Friday, November 15
8 p. m.

RIVERA HALL
51 West 14 Street

GREETINGS TO

WORKERS AGE ON ITS SIXTH ANNIVERSARY

Especially on the trade union field it taught us to be militant and constructive fighters.

ANTHRACITE MINERS UNIT
COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE STARS LOOK DOWN: By A. J. Cronin. Little, Brown and Co., Boston. 626 pages. \$2.50.

(Reviewed by DAVID SCHEYER)
Dr. Cronin's enormous new book is not a "proletarian" novel in the sense that the little red art reviews use the term. It is something much better than that—a good novel, a novel about people in love, at work, in politics, in war and disaster.

You may accuse Cronin of a certain defeatism in this book. His title gives a suggestion of the utter futility of all this human scrambling—a suggestion which is carried out by the rounding of the cycle in the lives the characters. Most of them end up, either dead, or just where they started, completely routed. These are not the conclusions a Marxist would draw from the struggles in "The Stars Look Down." But Cronin, purporting to be a reporter of fact, can find plenty of factual material in hoggish war-profiters, in Ramsay MacDonald's betrayal, in starvation meekly accepted, to give color to defeatism.

Tied to the life of the Scotch mining town which is the scene of "The Stars Look Down," is all of England. From this village goes Joe Gowlan to a life of adultery and war profits, goes Arthur Barras to a passive resisters prison cell, goes David Fenwick to the shameful Labor Parliament which saw MacDonald's apostasy, from it go hundreds of boys, named and nameless, to the holocaust of France. To the village come strikes, unemployment, starvation, a ter-

rific mine disaster, killing a hundred men, brought on by the greed of the owner who dug too close to an abandoned working. It is this disaster that lends color to the whole book and gives it one unforgettable scene—the picture of ten trapped and helpless men starving to death in a blocked shaft. There is no open conflict in this scene, there is no sermonizing on why these men must die, but there is, quietly and completely, an indictment of the whole system that kills for profit.

All of this makes a very big book. It is written in snatches with various sets of characters given a few pages here and there. This is a method that doesn't lend itself readily to full length portraiture. This, plus a little over-reliance on coincidence, leaves Dr. Cronin's characters a little flat like cardboard cutouts moving against an economic history of England in the twentieth century.

Despite these criticisms Dr. Cronin has written with so honest an effort to win a serious attention to the problem he poses that "The Stars Look Down" must rank as by far one of the best social novels that has come from England in a long time.

PORTRAIT OF AMERICA, by Diego Rivera with 60 illustrations. Text by Bertram D. Wolfe. Only a few copies of this book are left and no immediate reprint is expected. If you do not have it yet place your order immediately thru the New Workers School, P. O. Box 68, Station "O", New York City. Price \$3.50.

New Workers School Bazaar To Start In Afternoon of Nov. 30

In response to many requests, the New Workers School Bazaar Committee, has decided to advance the opening of the Bazaar to Saturday afternoon in place of Saturday evening.

Silk dresses, cotton dresses, sweaters, knitted dresses, infants wear, dolls, toys, ladies hats, shirts, ties, Russian art goods, fur collars, cuffs, muffs and many other articles too numerous to be

listed here will be on sale at ridiculously low prices. They have been contributed by our comrades and sympathizers working in these industries.

The New Workers School advises its friends to hold off buying until they have looked over our stock at the Bazaar on the afternoon of Saturday November 30 at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place.

AT FIRST GLANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

THE noted Professor Frederick Soddy, winner of the Nobel Prize in chemistry seems to be much perturbed over the destructive role science is now playing. Recently Professor Soddy fumed: "It is a ghastly reflection both on the public and the Government, that they seem less concerned with what science is able to do to uplift the whole standard of life than with its uses in maintaining the existing state of things."

Why such consternation, Mr. Nobel Prize Winner? There is no mystery to the ghastliness which you condemn. Socially and economically speaking, the entire system under which five-sixths of the world are still living is most unscientific. In fact our whole socio-economic order of capitalism is today, a fetter on all progress in science. For the same reason, we find so much of science devoted, first of all, to outright destructive purposes. Moreover, whatever scientific achievements are not credited to the outright destructive side of the ledger of social accounts are used for private, for capitalist, enhancement at the expense of all society.

IN our present social and economic order wars are no accidents but accidents are often wars. Judging by the casualties entailed in the factories and on the highways, one would have to maintain that accidents in the big capitalist countries often tend to assume the character of good-sized wars.

Specifically, we have in mind the trend toward accidents on the highways in the United States, the world's most motorized and efficient capitalist country. In the last fifteen years the number of men, women, and children killed on the highways by motor vehicles totaled nearly 400,000—to be exact, 389,000. This exceeds by nearly 150,000 the number of Americans killed in action or died of wounds in all the wars waged by the U.S.—right straight clear down from the Revolutionary War thru the Great World War! The toll of workers killed in the factories, while on the job grinding out profits and dividends, is even more appalling.

To the superficial observer these phenomena may appear to be mere accidents having nothing to do organically with the social and economic relations. Such a viewpoint is fallacious, as a more serious analysis will reveal. The very fact that safety measures (which cost money when taken) serve to reduce these casualties instantly reveals the disastrous effects of private profits here. When we say this we do not, in the least, deny the element of accident as such playing its part in the factories as well as on the highways. Yet, in countless ways, the quest for profits is decisive here thru speed-up, faulty material, and overworked individuals.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

The organization of a "Committee for Industrial Unionism" with the participation of the leaders of many international unions, such as Lewis, Hillman, Howard, Dubinsky, McMahon, is without parallel in the history of the labor movement. This step tends to indicate that the battle begun at the Atlantic City convention is not to remain within the confines of the convention hall but is to be brought to the mass of the workers themselves. It indicates further that the leaders for industrial unionism have decided to take the offensive.

There did exist in 1923-24 a movement aiming at the reorganization of the American trade unions along industrial lines—the famous Amalgamation movement. However, it was a rank and file movement receiving widespread support. None of the national or international unions were involved in the struggle. Another difference is that the Amalgamation movement aimed at reorganizing the existing unions while the present movement aims at the organization of the unorganized mass production industries along other than craft lines.

However, the difference is not as great as may appear at first sight. Just as the original Amalgamation movement would ultimately have led to the organization also of the unorganized industries along industrial lines, so is it impossible to imagine the organization of the mass production industries along industrial lines without a similar solution for the industries now organized fully or partially.

If anyone doubts this conclusion let him reread the speeches especially of John L. Lewis and Dan Tobin. Approaching the question from opposite points of view both recognize clearly that the decision in a final analysis will apply to the A. F. of L. as a whole.

The Amalgamation movement of 1923 could be and indeed was howled down as the work of reds and agitators. It is unnecessary to prove that he who would today raise the cry of reds and agitators against this organization would become the laughing stock of the labor movement. In this lies the strength and future of the movement.

If the progressives in the trade unions will get behind this drive it will become a living issue in every local union throughout the land. And this it must become before the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

BUCROCRATIC METHODS IN ONE EASY LESSON

In case you are interested in discovering how a bureaucracy works at an A. F. of L. convention we gladly provide the following example, one of many, put over successfully at the Atlantic City convention.

It seems that Delegate Tom Finnegan of Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio, was not satisfied with the way organization work was proceeding back in the home town so he introduced a resolution (No. 109) which after the usual number of whereases reaches the

"RESOLVED, that a Special Committee be appointed by the President of the Fifty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to confer with the Canton delegates on the situation in Canton; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That if the Committee finds the facts as set forth above, they shall report and recommend to the convention that a full time A. F. of L. organizer, who shall be of proven ability, progressive in ideas, and have had experience in organizing of Industrial Unions, shall be sent to Canton to assist existing unions, reorganize weak unions . . ."

And how do you think the Resolutions Committee handled it? Very simply.

"YOUR COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE FIRST RESOLVE BE STRICKEN OUT AS THERE IS NO NECESSITY OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE. . ."

"YOUR COMMITTEE ALSO RECOMMENDS THAT THE LAST RESOLVE BE STRICKEN OUT . . ."

Thus leaving three very informative whereases with absolutely no proposals to do anything. If Tom Finnegan knows what's good for the Canton unions he'll go back there and organize a powerful progressive movement. Power is the only thing these fat boys respect.

WORLD LABOR at the CROSSROADS

on this subject

George F. Miles

Editor Workers Age

will speak on

Friday, November 15

at

AMBASSADOR HALL
3875 Third Avenue, BronxAupices: BRONX SECTION
Communist Party (Opposition)

ADMISSION

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