

WORKERS' WAGE

A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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50,000 Silk Workers in General Strike

Soviets Make Big Headway in Agriculture, Reports Show

We publish below a report of Walter Duranty on the triumph of collective farming in the Soviet Union and on the role of the political department of the machine-tractor stations. The report appeared in the "New York Times" of September 11.

ROSTOV-ON-DON, U. S. S. R. Sept. 10—If the North Caucasus is the touchstone—and by all accounts it has been not only that but the Verdun-Gettysburg of the Bolshevik struggle for the peasants—then the Bolsheviks have won. That much can be said from quite cursory observation.

There is no opposition left except small sneaking thefts, delay or sabotage, and the Bolsheviks have the confidence which only assured success can give. That the rich soil and good weather have helped mightily this year no one denies, but the Soviet instrument of victory has been human—that is, the political department of the machine-tractor stations.

The latter serve upward of two-thirds of the farms in this whole region, and the influence of the political department is universal and decisive. The writer saw it in action today and got a picture of what has been done and how.

5,000 Families In Collective

The department was functioning in a small tractor station having only forty tractors, thirteen harvesting combines and thirty-one threshing machines, of which one is driven by electric power. These machines serve fourteen small collective farms with a total of 90,000 acres under grain and with a membership of nearly 5,000 families.

Those farms have done rather better than most of the others this year because there has not been much kulak opposition among the poor Russian and Rumanian peasants who form the mass of the collectivists.

Their crop deliveries to the State so far total 73% of the program, which is above the average for the whole region, and each individual member will receive an average of 22 pounds of grain, plus, corn and vegetables, and about 3 rubles in cash for every working day. In some parts of the North Caucasus the average runs as high as 66 pounds of grain per working day, which is only 22 pounds above the average for the Soviet Union as a whole.

The net result has been beyond what all except the richest kulaks have ever received for a year's labor. The commander of the political department of this particular tractor station, M. Dokuhin, a Moscow Communist who has been a member of the party for twelve years and has had experience in political work in the Red army and the factories, tells the following story:

"I came here in March and found not so much that the collectives had been disorganized by the events of last year as a lack of organization. There was unwieldy management in the departments of

each collective, and the managers did not deign to work on the land. There was too much talk, too many documents and too many orders, often conflicting.

"The local Communists and Young Communists were poorly organized. In short, there was no proper organization. We have

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FORM TERZANI DEFENSE

New York City. Plans for united action to rally mass support and funds to defend Athos Terzani, young anti-Fascist accused of murder, will be formulated at a representative conference to be held here Saturday, Sept. 16, in Irving Plaza Hall, 15th Street and Irving Place. Starting at 2 P. M., this will be attended by delegates from numerous labor organizations, radical political parties,

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RIGHTS WIN IN SPAIN

Madrid, Spain.

After five days of uncertainty following the resignation of the Azana Cabinet, Alejandro Lerroux, leader of the party of big business, the Radicals, was able to form a government on September 12. This government consists of a block of the more conservative republican parties and even includes some semi-monarchist elements. The Socialists are conspicuously in opposition.

In hardly disguised language, Lerroux immediately announced his plans of "moderation" and "pacification". Asked if he would execute the laws separating church and state and destroying the political power of the church, he declared that he would "subject them to a reasonable interpretation." The open counter-revolutionary orientation of the new government became obvious from the very first.

The rapidly growing strength of the monarchist and semi-monarchist elements throught the country,

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U. T. W. Leads Workers as Movement Spreads

by JACK ROSEN

Paterson, N. J.

On Thursday, September 7, thousands of silk workers answered the strike call of the American Federation of Silk Workers in Paterson, N. J., Pennsylvania, and sections of New England. It is estimated that over 50,000 silk workers answered the call of the national

organization for the following demands: first, the recognition of the union; secondly, for a \$36.00 minimum wage per week; thirdly, for a 30-hour week; fourthly, for the two-loom system; fifthly, for the abolition of night work.

It is the first time in the history of the industry that a national strike has taken place with such good response on the part of the workers. The strikers feel that this is their chance to put a stop to the prevailing slave conditions in the mills.

On Thursday morning, mass picket lines were formed around every mill in Paterson with the result that the turnout was a 100% success. Workers flocked to the union immediately. Mass meetings were held; the strike machinery started to function; and a new spirit of vigor spread amongst the workers. Thruout Paterson and the other parts of the country, more workers are coming out and joining the union, especially in this true among the Syrian workers. They are a very important factor in the present strike and are doing their best.

The NRA And The Strike

The NRA openly demonstrated that it is a strike-breaking proposition to the workers. Wednesday night, before the strike call was issued, the local NRA body issued a statement to the effect that the strike had been called off. This was done in order to demoralize the ranks of the workers but the workers paid no attention and answered the call of the union to strike. As the strike was spreading, Senator Wagner developed a new scheme of demoralizing the workers. He demanded of the strike committee that the strike be called off and a conference to take place in Washington to settle the differences between the workers and the employers. But here again the workers, at a mass meeting, answered in a very effective manner: "We do not go back to work until our demands are granted by the employers." A committee of rank and file workers were elected at this same mass meeting to proceed to Washington and face the silk manufacturers with the demands of the strikers. As yet no settlement has been reached and the strike is still spreading.

Role Of The National Textile Workers Union

For the last few years the National Textile Workers Union, the T.U.U.L. union, has been completely dead. But a few days before the strike, this dual organization started to show its face. Desperate because of its realization that the silk workers would respond to the call of the A. F. of L. union, it started a campaign of slander against the union and its leadership in order to demoralize and mislead some of the workers into a dual strike. But this alone was not sufficient, so they started a campaign against the demands put forward by the silk workers under the leadership of their union. One would expect the Na-

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4,000 DYERS OUT IN N. Y.

New York City

Four thousand dyers, bleachers, finishers and textile printers went out on strike in New York City, Monday, September 11, tying up the entire industry. The strike is being conducted by Local 1793, of the United Textile Workers of America affiliated with the A. F. of L.

At a huge meeting of Local 1793, at Clinton Hall, on the Saturday preceding the strike, 1,500 mem-

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Soft-Coal Miners Strike as NRA Breaks Promises

Thousands of miners in the Western Pennsylvania soft-coal fields struck on September 12 and 14 in growing realization of the deception that had been practised upon them when they were prevailed upon, some weeks previously, to go back to work on the appeal of Edward F. McGrady and other A. F. of L. leaders to "trust in President Roosevelt." Beginning with a walk-out of 4,600 men in Westmoreland County on September 11, the movement spread rapidly to the bituminous fields in Fayette, Washington and Allegheny Counties. Well over 25,000 men are out already.

The First Great Strike

Towards the end of July there began a militant strike movement of the miners in Western Pennsylvania aimed primarily at forcing recognition of the United Mine Workers of America on the part of the companies, mostly affiliates of the United States Steel Corporation. The drive of the miners became more and more extensive and promised to tie up the entire industry. It was just at this point that the NRA stepped in, got Lewis to call off the strike and sent down emissaries, speaking in the name of President Roosevelt, to get the miners to return to the pits and trust to the NRA to deal fairly with them in the soft-coal code. After some resistance, the coal dig-

gers agreed to the "truce" on the express understanding that no one was to be discriminated against in returning to work because of union affiliation and that they would be allowed to elect their own checkweighmen. The ink was hardly dry on this agreement before the viciously open-shop operators violated it; hundreds of miners were driven from their jobs because of union membership and even the fair election of checkweighmen was denied. The NRA did nothing!

The Code Negotiations

Meanwhile, the code negotiations were proceeding in Washington. The operators, acting under instructions for the steel trust, insisted upon an open-shop guarantee to be included in the code in the form of the notorious "merit clause"! Recognizing that such inclusion would rouse the coal miners to general strike, the NRA repeatedly banned any such clause, altho it just as emphatically opposed the union (closed) shop. During the negotiations, the press reported that Lewis and the U.M. W.A. officials had "given up all idea of a closed-shop contract, whereby the operators would agree to employ only United Mine Workers members." The obstinacy of the coal operators, the delay in adopting a coal code and the weakness and spinelessness of the union officials soon became intol-

erable and towards the first week in August, a full month after McGrady's fiery speeches and President Roosevelt's "promises," one local union after another began to declare "holidays" until a code guaranteeing union recognition was adopted. This movement immediately met with the opposition of the conservative officials of the U.M.W.A. who urged the miners to "be patient"; however, the more militant faction, led by Martin Ryan, had the upper hand from the beginning.

The soft-coal miners of Western Pennsylvania are slowly but definitely learning a big lesson that should be grasped by the entire labor movement: that labor can get something out of the NRA only if it fights and fights hard, while the slightest show of weakness is fatal. It was the big strike movement of a month ago that struck such respect in the breast of the NRA and the operators and it was the easy yielding of the union leaders that steered the determination of the operators to enforce the open shop. If union recognition will be won in the soft-coal code finally adopted, it will be won because of the recognition that the miners will accept no less and are ready to strike for their demands. The present movement in Western Pennsylvania is a heartening sign. It shows that the miners are beginning to grasp the realities facing labor under the Blue Eagle!

Jay Lovestone on "LIGHTS OUT IN GERMANY" Stuyvesant Casino, SEPT. 23

S. P. Sectarianism in Full Blast

Cont. Congress In Connecticut

New Haven, Conn. The Connecticut Congress of Workers and Farmers, the state division of the Continental Congress, was attended by 124 delegates representing 60 organizations. Of these the Socialist Party, the Y.P.S.L., the Workmen's Circle and other S.P.-controlled organizations had between 95 and 100. The only other force at the congress was the Communist Opposition, which had two delegates itself but was able to rally more than fifteen others to the consistent support of its policies. There were also present one farmers group, a grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, and five trade union groups. The only real jobless organization represented was the Hartford Association of the Unemployed.

John Lonergan, president of the Building Trades Alliance of the Hartford Central Labor Union acted as chairman. He, Alfred Bingham, editor of "Common Sense," and Kenneth Epstein, secretary of the Hartford Association of the Unemployed, were the only non-Socialists elected to the executive committee of fifteen.

The first real fight of the session developed on the report of the credentials committee, which consisted only of machine Socialists, not elected, but appointed by the provisional committee. They refused to seat any of the organizations barred by the Washington conference, thereby excluding the Unemployed Council of New Haven. With the district organizer of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the International Labor Defense sitting with open mouths and amazed expressions in the back of the hall, the C.P.O. led the fight to seat all working class organizations. The S.P. steamroller succeeded on the motion to accept the report but immediately began to show signs of breaking down.

The first important division came on the resolution on civil liberties. The resolution expressed the pious hope that capitalist democracy was the way to a new social order and condemned all dictatorship. When the C.P.O. moved to differentiate between a Fascist and a proletarian dictatorship, the Socialists felt that we were being "unfair." The steamroller puffed wearily on. Several Yipsels supported us on this issue as they had on the seating of the Unemployed Council.

Alfred Bingham reported for the continuation committee. He introduced a resolution for a Farmer-Labor party and for cooperation with the newly formed National Farmer-Labor Political Federation, of which he is secretary, and similar organizations. The Socialists moved to strike out all mention of resolution on the Farmer-Labor party, being ready to come out vaguely for independent labor political action. On this issue the C.P.O. delegates were the only ones, except Bingham, who fought for the original resolution. The right wing became bitter. The steamroller was falling apart. Afraid to vote for or against a labor party, they ruled the whole discussion out of order!

On a second motion by Bingham to accept the Socialist amendments, they let the cat out of the bag. In speech after speech, moved to fury by one denunciation of their selfish political motives, they defended themselves with such political arguments as: "they had no mandate," "the discussion was out of order," and finally, the crowning gem of all, McLevy adopted Communist Party strategy and claimed the Congress didn't represent the farmers and workers at all! A fine denunciation of his own machine.

On the only roll call of the day we were defeated 39-28. The question of a Farmer-Labor party is out of order at an S.P.-controlled conference.

Our resolution on the NRA was accepted by the committee and the congress, except that part which came out flatly against participa-

THE FOURTH RIVERA MURAL AT THE NEW WORKERS SCHOOL



4,000 DYERS OUT IN N. Y.

(Continued from Page 1) bers of the union voted unanimously for the strike after being addressed by Herman, Frisken, MacMahon, President of the U.T.W., and by workers reporting the strike call adopted by the dyers in Paterson.

The demands of the strikers are: recognition of the union, the 6-hour day and 5-day week and a scale of minimum wages ranging from \$21 a week for the girls in the plants, \$33 a week for dye helpers, \$44 for screen printers, to \$60 for head dyers. These demands are the same as those adopted by the Paterson dyers organized in the U.T.W. The disruptive T.U.U.L. dual union, the National Textile Workers Union, has proposed demands substantially lower than those of the U.T.W.—the 40 hour week and 75c an hour for the men and as low as \$15 a week for the women in the industry. These demands of the "revolutionary" union are regarded by the workers with contempt. The N.T.W.U. has absolutely no foothold amongst the dyers in New York.

The enthusiasm and militancy of the workers are at a high pitch. All crafts in the shops are out. Picket lines, embracing scores and hundreds of workers, march from plant to plant. Big meetings of the strikers are being held daily at 10:30 A. M. at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.

for anything. The writer could see what M. Dokutin had done by the appearance and the feeling of the peasants in several collectives toward him and his attitude toward them. He is not a master but a friend, not an arbiter but an adviser. Thus with tardy but effective wisdom the Bolsheviks are winning the "agrarian war."

tion of labor leaders on the NRA boards. The Socialist machine was willing to talk about the necessity for the class independence of the unions and a working class policy for working class organizations but not to make the resolution concrete on this point. McLevy claimed that might offend the great leaders of American labor and anyhow the bunch of trouble-makers on the left didn't "know anything about unions anyway." It was immediately pointed out to him that it was our resolution which his committee had reported for acceptance, that we were a sort of rural G.P.U. That is not so. My job is to criticize wherever we felt necessary.

The C.P.O. made a number of valuable contacts, sold literature, and served notice on the S.P. that there is a growing force in the state for working class unity and

SOVIETS SCORE IN AGRICULTURE

(Continued from Page 1) given them organization. Today there are only two members of the managing administration who do not work on the land—the president and the economic manager—and it is their job to run around and supervise and give orders.

"Perhaps, you thought in Moscow that because we were political agents we had punitive powers—that we were a sort of rural G.P.U. That is not so. My job is to coordinate. We have developed a rivalry system among Young Pioneers in the collection of left-over grain as well as the guarding of it which has been adopted throughout the region.

"Better Life" Is Aim "You understand, our job is not punitive—anyway, that part is over—it is to organize every man and every sentiment that make for progress and that want a better life. And we are doing it, but we have really only begun. The main job is to train, instruct, organize and arrange things. "I worked in Moscow before and did not think much of country work, but I wouldn't swap this job

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Don't miss the series of most timely articles by Jay Lovestone on the international Communist and labor movements and on the Fascist developments in Europe. Comrade Lovestone has just returned from an extensive tour in Europe where he made a study of the political and economic situation and is therefore excellently equipped to deal with these subjects.

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Fascism and Democracy in Hitler Germany

Trotsky as Champion of Reformism

by Will Herberg

The article of Leon Trotsky on "Fascism and Democracy" (The Militant, August 26, 1933) may not be a very important contribution to the discussion of the "German question" but it certainly provides a valuable indication of the speed with which Trotskyism itself is travelling along the steep incline to the crassest form of contempt for parliamentary democracy; otherwise the advance and triumph of Fascism would have been impossible. Who remain? The miserable remnants of the professional champions of democracy—impotent, confused ideologists, who still can't understand what happened on January 30 and March 23.

Trotsky's Contentions False Stripped of the customary verbiage, what are Trotsky's main contentions? (1) "Politically, the Fascist regime preserves democratic prejudices, recreates them, inculcates them into the youth and is even capable of imparting to them, for a short time, the greatest strength." (2) Therefore, the transition program of struggle against Fascism must be based on the demand for the restoration of bourgeois democracy, (3) even to the point of making the "demand for the convocation of the Reichstag, with the inclusion of all the banished deputies," or, in general form, for the restoration of the Weimar Republic.

This is the viewpoint of Trotsky, the leader of the "International Left Opposition!" The Fascist regime preserves democratic prejudices in contention for which Trotsky can not give the slightest theoretical argument or practical evidence. From Trotsky's analysis one would be led to believe that the "democratic" ideology (i.e., the bourgeois-democratic outlook) is some sort of universal human sentiment universally arising under the whip of despotism, instead of being, as it is, a definite, historically conditioned, historically prescribed form of social consciousness. Trotsky cannot maintain this today there is substantial faith in bourgeois democracy among any important section of the German people. The Communist workers have broken with it; the Socialist workers are largely disillusioned with it, as the "left" manoeuvres of their leadership indicate. The petty bourgeois masses are filled with a profound

contempt for parliamentary democracy; otherwise the advance and triumph of Fascism would have been impossible. Who remain? The miserable remnants of the professional champions of democracy—impotent, confused ideologists, who still can't understand what happened on January 30 and March 23. Trotsky says these notorious facts? No! He therefore, seeks refuge in the "youth" (of what class?). By some mysterious process, the youth growing up under Fascism is going to be imbued with the bourgeois-democratic parliamentary ideology, is going to be imbued with democratic prejudices." But why? Trotsky gives no reason for his belief; he evidently regards his bare assertion as sufficient. He does, indeed, refer to "the example of Spain and Italy" but unfortunately the example turns around and defeats the argument. Italy has been under the Fascist heel for over ten years; have democratic prejudices been "recreated" in the youth? Nonsense! There are a number of organizations, making some propaganda of liberal and democratic ideas, such as the "Liberta e Giustizia" group, for example, but their influence is extremely limited and hardly extends to the "youth." Whatever opposition to Fascism there is, is certainly not taking the channels of traditional bourgeois democracy. Spain represents an entirely different situation. It is quite true that the bourgeois-democratic movement grew and grew rapidly under the Rivera dictatorship but, as Trotsky admits, the Rivera dictatorship was certainly not Fascism, and, furthermore, as Trotsky seems unable to grasp, Spain was facing a bourgeois-democratic revolution in its social development.

The trouble with Trotsky's article is that, in this article at least, he takes "despotism" and "democracy" as mere abstract entities, the former necessarily giving rise to the latter. Nothing of the sort! The German Communist Opposition has correctly emphasized the necessity of raising democratic demands in the struggle but primarily those democratic demands which are of direct significance and utility for the workers, such as the right of free speech and free press, the right of trade union organization, etc. Advocating these demands is poles apart from championing the restoration of the defunct parliamentary democratic system! On the question of power, which he recognizes that the course of history in the last fifteen years has had some effect on the German people, especially on the German proletariat. The triumph of Fascism in Germany marked the end of one epoch and the beginning of another, for one thing, it indicated the exhaustion of the Weimar Republic and of the whole ideological system built upon it, not only "theoretically" but in the social consciousness of the various classes. Combinations of circumstances may conceivably bring about a temporary bourgeois-democratic

the Crux Of The Problem And this is the crux of the situation! Autocracy or dictatorship quite "naturally" stimulates the growth of "democratic prejudices,"

restoration but never of classical kind again, only in a distorted, degenerate form. The very weak and uncertain democratic traditions of the German bourgeoisie only add force to this contention.

The Communists & The Question Of Power

Nor has Trotsky shown that, even a bourgeois-democratic restoration in some form is a possible variant succeeding Fascism, it is the task of the Communists to aid in the realization of this variant. On the contrary, it seems fairly obvious that to urge the restoration of the Weimar Republic in Germany today, the Weimar Republic out of which Fascism grew, to urge the reestablishment of the discredited system of parliamentary democracy, is only to make the road of the proletariat to emancipation more difficult and more painful. Indeed, to place the struggle against the Nazis on the discredited basis of parliamentarism and liberalism, is only to weaken it and objectively to strengthen the hand of Fascism. Does that mean that democratic slogans can play no role in the fight against Fascism? The answer is clear enough: Trotsky's "new" position on Germany (the demand for a "new" party, the advocacy of a return to the Weimar Republic as a "transition" program, etc.) is the political basis for his rapprochement with centrism, with Left Socialism, for the merging of the "Fourth International" and the "Second-and-a-Half International" tendencies. It is not the first time that Trotsky has spun out an elaborate system to justify some more than doubtful political manoeuvres and, as things look, it is not going to be the last! We need but recall the notorious "August block" of 1912 when the special doctrines of Trotskyism became the binding force to hold together the crassest opportunists of the Menshevik stripe and those who were so "left" that for them Lenin was no more than a reformist!

as well as from the C.P.G., which wants to jump over all intermediate stages and can speak only of the proletarian dictatorship. If we succeed in pushing forward the united front struggle right up to the establishment of political councils (soviets) and if we succeed, through such a united front, in smashing Fascism and the capitalist offensive, then the government question comes into the foreground as a practical question. In the councils there will probably not be a Communist majority in the beginning and, without a Communist majority in the councils, the proletarian dictatorship cannot be realized. We will tolerate a Social-democratic transition government (based upon and receiving power from the councils—W.H.), if it allows us freedom of criticism and if it adopts a minimum program of real struggle against Fascism and the offensive of capital. In this we are learning from the experiences of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Whither Trotsky?

What has driven Trotsky to take so completely a non-Markian attitude, an attitude to a great degree indistinguishable from vulgar democracy? The answer is clear enough: Trotsky's "new" position on Germany (the demand for a "new" party, the advocacy of a return to the Weimar Republic as a "transition" program, etc.) is the political basis for his rapprochement with centrism, with Left Socialism, for the merging of the "Fourth International" and the "Second-and-a-Half International" tendencies. It is not the first time that Trotsky has spun out an elaborate system to justify some more than doubtful political manoeuvres and, as things look, it is not going to be the last! We need but recall the notorious "August block" of 1912 when the special doctrines of Trotskyism became the binding force to hold together the crassest opportunists of the Menshevik stripe and those who were so "left" that for them Lenin was no more than a reformist!

The Negro and the N R A

by Th. Lewis

We publish below some paragraphs from the article on Negro labor and the NRA by Theophilus Lewis, appearing in the latter's column "Harlem Sketchbook" in the "Amsterdam News" (August 30, 1933).—Editor.

One of the first results of the NRA program in the South has been the loss of many jobs by Negro workers and the threatened loss of many more. Southern employers have preferred Negro workers because they could be hired for lower wages. In many instances the lowest wage the NRA will accept is twice as high as the pay Negro workers have been receiving. Employees are inclined to take the stand that, since they must pay all workers the same rate, they might as well give employment to members of their own race. Already thousands of Negroes have been discharged and white workers hired in their place. It is a serious situation and Negro leaders are quite naturally alarmed.

In some quarters it has been suggested that the existing blanket code, and the permanent codes to follow, should be modified to permit employers to pay Negro workers a lower wage than they are required to pay white labor. Other leaders insist that equality of wages be maintained even if it means the loss of many jobs by the race.

Equality of wages will certainly cost the race thousands of jobs. On the other hand, if Negro workers are held in jobs by a legal wage differential it will cause widespread resentment among white workers, which, in turn, may express itself even more intense race friction and more frequent mob violence than have existed in the past. Experience has shown that

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have no friends but themselves. But white workers are their natural allies.

Ft. Wayne Jobless Fight!

by H. H. C.

Fort Wayne, Ind. Out here in Fort Wayne we are going thru some important struggles which are very important to the unemployed movements throughout the country. The Fort Wayne Unemployed League, recently formed, is carrying on a militant struggle against the bosses and charities racketeering is now the target for a vicious attack from the bosses.

At the first meeting of the League, held in Memorial Park in Fort Wayne, 75 policemen were sent out to break up the meeting at the request of the organized charities. They came to the meeting with sawed-off shot guns, tear gas bombs and all the implements of attack to break up the meeting of workers who were out in force. This, however, failed and the workers proceeded with the meeting and elected Harry H. Conner, one of the leaders here in Fort Wayne, chairman and E. J. Yeager, another leader in the unemployed work, vice-chairman. The capitalist press, true to form, came out with a vicious attack. This was answered by the workers who refused to be fooled. The unemployed then carried the fight into the commissioners court—the first time in Fort Wayne that a working man had the right to defend a class in the court—against two cases of forced labor. Over 500 workers packed this court and the charities heads were forced to listen to E. J. Yeager and Andy Slack, two workers, expose them. They tried to postpone the cases for two days but the workers insisted that they be heard in or they would take the matter to their own hands. The charities heads then agreed to give these workers cash relief until the final hearing. On the day of this hearing, E. J. Yeager was arrested on a frame-up charge of loitering. This brought the workers into the fight and they insisted on the trial going thru and Andy Slack exposed them once again before the crowded court room of 600 workers.

At Yeager's preliminary hearing the workers packed the court but the case was postponed. At his regular hearing over 1,000 workers packed the court room and, when the city attorney made a vicious attack on the unemployed in general and especially its "Red" leaders, the unemployed booted and hissed and staged such a demonstration that the court room was cleared on the insistence of the trial judge and the workers present were given a lesson in American "democracy" and how the force of the state is used against the workers in the capitalist courts. Yeager was fined \$10 dollars and given 30 days in jail, the court shifting to a charge of disorderly conduct when he saw that they could not go thru with the charge of loitering.

Yeager appealed the case and asked for a jury trial. He is now out on bail awaiting trial. The Unemployed League intends to get the best legal talent available and asks the unemployed and employed workers of the nation to support the Fort Wayne unemployed workers in this struggle, for if this case is allowed to stand it sets a dangerous precedent throughout the country to be used against every unemployed organization.

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The Metal Strikes in New York

The crisis which has shaken the entire economic foundation of American capitalism has affected the machine and metal industry in the most acute form. The machine industry, being mainly an auxiliary of the basic industries of steel, railroad, shipbuilding, automobile and aircraft, was actually paralyzed and presented the most dismal picture in this crisis.

The metal and machine industry is always the barometer of expansion and contraction of industry as a whole. It was quite natural, therefore, that since the machine and metal industry was one of the basic industries which had already in 1928 reached the highest point of mass production and saturation, the effect of the general crisis should register itself in all of its branches: (a) steel plants, foundries, heavy machine shops, railroad shops, shipyards, the large automobile and aircraft plants and (b) lighter metal branches, radio, office machine supplies, household equipment, ladies compacts and vanity cases, pocket books, metal frames, novelties, etc.

If not for the ever increasing building program of the Army and Navy amounting to approximately \$2,000,000 a day (over \$700,000,000 a year), which has kept a number of steel mills, machine shops and shipyards going, there would have been almost a complete standstill in the metal and machine industry.

From the above very brief sketch of the nature of the metal industry, it must be clear to anyone who has any understanding of organization in the trade union movement that the basis for orientation in this industry must be those large machine plants and factories which make up the backbone of the industry. This, of course, does not imply that we neglect organization in every other branch of the industry.

The Metal Workers Organize

Because of the very acute exploitation in the light metal shops, sweatshop conditions actually existing in most of the shops, it was quite natural that the workers in a number of these shops should resist and began to form shop organizations. There is no question that the general drive for organization manifesting itself in a number of the industries in connection with the NRA has also its effect on the metal industry. Thousands of workers, who under normal conditions have been very slow and hesitant about entering labor organizations, are at the present time streaming into the labor unions. Shop organizations are being formed over night. The initiative of one or of a small group of workers in large factories is sufficient to effect organization of the workers in the entire shop. Then, with the development and working out of the codes in the various industries, the workers are instinctively beginning to realize that the only way they can get any substantial gains under the NRA is by forming their own labor organizations. The most dangerous point at the present time is that the employers are trying to divert the spontaneous urge on the part of the workers for organization into the channels of company unionism. The main problem, therefore, at the present time is to direct this unprecedented drive for organization into the channels of genuine labor unionism. We must also bear in mind that the metal and machine industry as a whole is known and has been operated mainly as an open shop industry. The workers, especially those in the large machine plants, shipyards, railroad shops, automobile and airplane factories, are mostly Americanized elements and are quite conservative. Some of these workers, it is true, did at one time belong to A. F. of L. unions.

The Policy Of The Metal Workers Industrial Union

Because the officials of the A. F. of L. unions always orientate themselves mainly on the skilled workers and on the craft form of organization and because they

Problems of Unionism Under the NRA

by Ben Lifshitz

were generally unwilling to organize the unorganized, it was possible for the Metal Workers Industrial Union, a T.U.U.L. union, to get a hold of and lead a number of shop strikes. In New York City, at the present time, there are from 2,000 to 3,000 workers in the light metal and hollow-ware shops out on strike. Among these are four shops of the compact and vanity cases line.

The Metal Workers Industrial Union is pursuing a policy fully in line with that pursued by the National Textile Workers Union and other so-called "revolutionary" T.U.U.L. unions. This policy is: to try to get settlements with the employers under any and all conditions. The settlements that it has already effected in some of these metal shops are of the most shameful character.

We should carefully study the settlements in the United Metal Co. of Brooklyn and in the Sunset Mutual Lamp Company as it appeared in the "Daily Worker" August 17 and August 30. The main features of these agreements are: (1) no recognition of the union; (2) acceptance of a minimum wage of \$12.00 when the code is from \$14.00 to \$15.00; (3) acceptance of discriminatory clauses against the active workers in the shops; and (4) as in the case of the Sunset Mutual Lamp Company, only a "promise" of no dis-

crimination and some increases in wages in certain departments.

The two agreements above mentioned are "model" agreements when we compare them to the agreement worked out by the leaders of the M.T.W.I.U., together with the Louis Hyman of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, which was recommended to a shop meeting of the Majestic Metal Specialties on August 31 for acceptance.

The limited space for this article will not permit us to reprint the entire agreement. A few of the outstanding points are: (1) minimum wage of \$12.00 per week; (2) workers on small polishing lathes to get \$16.00 per week minimum—medium workers to be standard; (3) workers on heavy polishing lathes to get \$24.00 per week minimum—medium worker to be the standard; (4) A proposed scale for the workers in the machine shop department which divides them into various groups, some of them given a slight increase, some of them actually receiving a reduction—the highest paid workers getting the most increase and the lowest paid workers getting the least increase; (5) in case of no agreement to be considered the action taken by both parties, such parties to choose an arbitrator.

The "unique" point of this agreement is the new formulation of the minimum wage: "medium worker to be the standard."

This clause gives an opportunity to the boss to set wages to the medium worker, which means that the slower worker in the shop will either have to work for a lower wage or will be discharged by the employer on the pretense of incapacity to produce the amount of work provided for in the agreement.

In addition to this it has to be noted that the \$24 a week minimum for the polishers is \$16 a week less than the demand put forth by the workers of the Majestic and the Sagamore plants, and is about \$10 a week less than the workers of Sagamore would ever consider as a basis of settlement.

The most important feature of this agreement, however, is the point of omission. On August 29, the negotiations broke off with the employers on the point of hiring and firing. This very important clause, which is the crux of every agreement of a union shop, was conveniently "forgotten" and left out from this agreement.

It is no wonder, therefore, that, on the second day after they realized the full meaning of the agreement, the workers of the Majestic reconsidered the action taken by the shop meeting on a day previous and defeated these proposals

by an overwhelming vote!

The Strike In The Sagamore Metal Shop

The "Workers Age" has already carried a news item on the strike of the Sagamore plant. The important point to be emphasized here is that the active workers of the Sagamore, who were responsible for the 100% organization of the official Young Communist League to the leftward moving youth, especially the Socialist youth. Finally, the convention witnessed an attempt at a reformulation of principles under the influence particularly of the German events.

The Bankruptcy Of The Larks Group

The so-called left wing, led by Sol Larks and George Smorkin, conducted their fight mainly on the basis of the expelled Chicago Yip-sels. Basing their position primarily on the idea that the expulsions in Chicago and elsewhere came as a result of united front participation with Communists, the Larks group had gathered about 35 or 40 Yip-sels around itself. They proceeded to the convention after having previously issued a statement not only condemning the S.P. leadership but also defending a dualist, splitting position in the trade union movement. The Larks group expelled from the Y.P.S.L. while national secretary, was given the floor for 15 minutes to defend himself, he failed to make the most of his opportunity, even allowing for the restriction of time. Instead of retiring step by step to charges of the administration concerning inefficiency, inconsistency and breaches of discipline, he presented a talk of an agitational nature which merely alienated the audience. With such a poor defense, added to the clever denegations of Umansky and Levenstein on the weak organization of the left wing, the lefts were completely routed and the administration was upheld by an official count of 110-9.

The stupid tactics, just reeking with sectarianism, and the downright ignorance of the lefts concerning the labor movement (see their manifesto, the printed part in "Daily Worker," Thursday, August 24, 1933) is not only attributable to the immaturity of the Y.P.S.L. left wingers but must serve as a scathing warning to the Y.C.L. and the Y.C.P. to guide the leftward moving youth towards Communism. That Sol Larks and his handful of followers have received more than inspiration from the Y.C.L. is obvious (a number joined the Y.C.L. a day after). If what remains of the left is to go ahead towards a successful building of the left wing in the Y.P.S.L., then it will be necessary for them to understand that they must root themselves in their organization as trusted workers in the class struggle while relying on a revolutionary Marxist principles. The Hartford Unemployed Association fight for clear revolutionary Marxist principles. The job of winning over Yip-sels is one that takes a long period of time, based on education and experience derived from the day-to-day events. Not by one convention nor by one issue but by steady, persistent work throughout the year can a real left wing be built!

The Y.C.L. Resolutions

Further evidence as to the character of the Sol Larks group and what Y.C.L. "theoretical" guidance means can be discovered in the resolutions submitted by this group to the convention. All are characterized by a shallow and incorrect working class approach to the working class problems of today. Take the resolution on the NRA. In typical bombastic Y.C.L. style, it declares that the NRA denotes a "Fascist threat" to the working class! Not satisfied with this general piece of superficiality, the resolution goes on to insist that a real fight against the NRA can be conducted only on the basis of the farcical Cleveland Conference called by the Communist Party! In the jobs and rallying and the slogan work of the Association! But attitude is fairly well stated in the end a plea for the support of the

On the other hand, the A. F. of L. unions in the metal trades which were sound asleep during the crisis are now beginning to realize that, unless they wake up and wake up quickly, they will be wiped off by the company union organization. They also realize that, under the NRA where the bosses are trying to build up the so-called vertical unions in industry, they must scrap their old craft forms of unionism and organize the workers according to factory units embracing all the workers in the factory irrespective of craft or occupation.

The Metal Trades Council of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization! Both "participation in imperialist wars" and "all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars" are to be resisted.

Please! Not The Class Struggle! A new taxation policy was followed by the plank on "Freedom" (Continued on Page 7)

The Y.P.S.L. Convention in Reading

Whither the Socialist Youth Movement?

by A. E.

The Young Peoples Socialist League convention, held on August 16 and 17 at Reading, Pennsylvania, is of great importance, more than one aspect. It is very helpful in clarifying the trends of development within the Socialist youth movement. In connection with the manifestation of the left wing there, it throws considerable light on the approach and attitude of the official Young Communist League to the leftward moving youth, especially the Socialist youth. Finally, the convention witnessed an attempt at a reformulation of principles under the influence particularly of the German events.

The Y.P.S.L. Moves Left

Turning now to the main body of the Y.P.S.L., the convention showed significant developments that must be taken account of by those who want to win the Socialist youth to revolutionary Marxism. As submitted by the committee, the resolutions represent a definite turn to the left. On the question of war, there is open support to the Leninist doctrine of turning imperialist war into civil war for the victory of socialism. On a rejection of the fetishistic belief in constitutionality and the recognition of the necessity of illegal revolutionary Marxism and Kautskyan revisionism, there is still a hangover of urging the "widening of the democratic base in Soviet Russia." The Y.P.S.L. theoreticians "cannot distinguish between the bureaucratic within the C.P.S.U. and the thoroughly democratic base of

movement and then goes ahead to criticize in veiled terms—no names mentioned—the reformist policies as symbolized by both the Thomas group and the Hillquit administration. In so far as such facts can be recorded, they represent something to be welcomed by all real Communists. However, one cannot merely let things rest here. Serious opposition must be raised to what is essentially a centrist position on the part of the Y.P.S.L., and directly inspired, in the United States, by Haim Kantorovich. The position of the Y.P.S.L. as stated, in reality represents what can be termed an attempt at "Marxist liberalism." Instead of striking out openly as to a positive position on important issues—the dictatorship of the proletariat, soviets, armed insurrection, etc., the Y.P.S.L. convention treated us to a striking example of political tight-rope walking. Nothing positive stated, therefore nothing concrete to be held to. Advanced revolutionary Marxism and Kautskyan revisionism, there is still a hangover of urging the "widening of the democratic base in Soviet Russia." The Y.P.S.L. theoreticians "cannot distinguish between the bureaucratic within the C.P.S.U. and the thoroughly democratic base of

The Communist Youth Opposition And The Y.P.S.L.

The Communist Youth Opposition made itself known to the Y.P.S.L. delegates by distributing a statement, very well received, and by other means. In the light of the fiasco of the Larks left wing, it becomes very evident that the Y.C.L. on its present basis will never prove to be a force capable of winning over any decisive section of the Y.P.S.L. The Communist Youth Opposition represents about the only group that has been able to influence ideologically some of the Y.P.S.L. members. In the light of what has happened, the leftward trend in the Y.P.S.L., the collapse of the Y.C.L.-left wing, the peculiar nature of the Y.P.S.L. centrist opposition, it becomes absolutely incumbent upon the Y.C.O. to watch very closely the Y.P.S.L. and the thoroughly democratic base of

the Soviets.

In the main the membership of the Y.P.S.L. remains completely oblivious of what resolutions result from conventions. The essentially unstable centrism of the Y.P.S.L. goes hand in hand with a membership that is politically immature and uneducated. Obviously what the Y.P.S.L. leadership will do will be to try to steer between the two "extremes" of revolutionary Marxism and outright reformism. But it should remember that this game cannot be maintained forever . . .

The Unemployed Movement In The U. S. A.

When we review the whole line of the party in the united front activity, the strike, the arrests and subsequently—there is one fact that stands out. All their activity has been directed to smash and split the Association. The party comrades, do they call that a revolutionary line? They have followed a line which made them strike-breakers, scabs, and stool-pigeons. Today, forced by the logic of events into the open, they declare: "We are out to smash the Association." At street corners, for the benefit of the cops, they give out the names of the members of the Communist Opposition. A paid agent for the Department of Justice couldn't do any better than they are doing.

The Unemployed Movement In The U. S. A. ONE YEAR OF THE HARTFORD ASSOCIATION

by G. Phillips & D. Grey

"We want work—but also a decent living wage". Headquarters of the Association (by this time occupying an entire building) were the center of the movement. But the silence of the Council sent Powers and Lasker, indiscriminately the face and body of both the party and the Council, scurrying to the Association for a united front. These people were ready to call a strike within twenty-four hours. With no responsibilities to the working class, they had no need for serious preparation. To them it was another grand adventure to play around with. These people were in their right element, shouting militant phrases, doing no serious Communist work.

And while they danced and pranced, the Association was preparing. Contact was made with key-men on each job. Meetings of the workers were called and the question of a strike discussed with them. Meanwhile the Unemployed Council kept sending its committee. At first the Association decided, and correctly so, that a united front with the Council was not in the interest of the workers. Sentiment for a strike was running high. But the class struggle cannot be waged on mere sentiment. The unemployed workers on forced labor were definitely unprepared for a strike that could last long enough to be at all effective. But the comrades of the party considered none of these questions. To them this was just another game to be played. In their irresponsible manner they had announced a strike for Monday. Into the activity and work against the forced labor plan they threw a monkey wrench which has set back the spirit and militancy of the unemployed for months to come. About the strike itself there is little to write. Unorganized and unprepared, it lasted until sentiment ran out. In three days the whole strike fizzled out.

"What Is the Communist Opposition?"

by B. D. WOLFE

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For some weeks previous to this, the marionette Unemployed Council had displayed a real friendly attitude towards the members of the Communist Party (Opposition) and the Socialist Party. During this entire period of activity against the forced labor plan, the "revolutionary" Unemployed Council was, naturally enough, silent. The jobs and rallying and the slogan work of the Association! But "slavery was abolished in 1863—brought back by Rankin in 1933",

movement (which has been growing steadily and today embraces about 204 circles), its activity, its educational programs, etc. The Y.O. can then go on to give guidance, to constantly criticize, in a patient, careful manner the ideological position of the Y.P.S.L. and to its political policies. Such an approach is the only one that offers any prospects for the spread of the influence of revolutionary Marxism, Communism, among the Socialist youth.

These arrests. Fined in police court, the cases were appealed to superior court, with the means of Civil Liberties Union handling the appeal. The decision to appeal was reached with the party and I.L.D. representatives. Fifteen minutes before the cases came up in superior court the party district organizer, Wofsy, said that Lasker would go thru with the appeal. Five minutes before trial time, Wofsy withdrew the appeal for Lasker and rushed him over to the county jail to serve sentence in place of paying the fine. At the trial, the charges were nolle prosequi by the state attorney, the case against these workers. But the party made a 48-hour martyr out of Lasker in order to differentiate him from Young and Farber. Later the party began a dirty campaign of lies against these two workers, charging that they had an agreement with the District Attorney to nolle our cases and send Lasker up. This campaign of lies has got them nowhere. When they paid Lasker's fine after keeping him in jail long enough to make a martyr out of him, they held a meeting downtown to "agree Lasker on his freedom from jail—and to learn about the treachery of the Association." Exactly twenty-eight people responded to this mass "greeting" at a downtown corner: 20 C. P. people and 8 massers by.

When we review the whole line of the party in the united front activity, the strike, the arrests and subsequently—there is one fact that stands out. All their activity has been directed to smash and split the Association. The party comrades, do they call that a revolutionary line? They have followed a line which made them strike-breakers, scabs, and stool-pigeons. Today, forced by the logic of events into the open, they declare: "We are out to smash the Association." At street corners, for the benefit of the cops, they give out the names of the members of the Communist Opposition. A paid agent for the Department of Justice couldn't do any better than they are doing.

The Association is coming out of this a better and stronger organization. Within the past three weeks a Women's Auxiliary has been organized. The executive committee is very much gratified at the enthusiasm and energy which this division is showing. Rank and file women of the working class who never before belonged to any sort of organization have been drawn into activity. Plans have been laid for an intensive series of open-air meetings in all parts of the city. Just recently the Association decided to institute classes for the members in subjects of interest to workers and before long these classes will be under way.

Tasks Now Ahead

Several important tasks must be tackled and solved. Most of these are organizational problems and involve a tightening up of the strings of the Association. A new and more intensive campaign against the city store has to be started. With inflation and the NRA prices at the city store are going up and consequently food allowances are going down. Since the strike, a large number of our conscious members of the Association and the efficiency of the grievance committee have prevented the welfare heads from cutting these workers off aid. In the past two weeks there has been an influx of Negro workers into the Association. So far there have been no signs of race prejudice in the Association. A remarkable spirit of (Continued on page 6)

The Labor Movement In Canada THE REGINA CONVENTION OF THE C. C. F.

by W. Moriarty

Toronto, Canada. Around 140 delegates convened in Regina, Sask., during the closing days of July, for the first national convention of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. The delegates came from the six major Canadian provinces.

It is scarcely a year since the C.C.F. was first organized. In that time the Federation had experienced a remarkable growth—particularly in the Tory-riden province of Ontario has it made giant strides. But it must be said that the social composition of the first organization is distinctly middle-class. The influx of this element into the individual membership section, known as the "clubs", was reflected in the attendance and discussion at Regina.

The whole tenor of the convention was reformist. From the first crack of the whip, J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., leader of the C.C.F., appealed to the delegates not to build up a "Canadian Socialism." "The untrained masses are incompetent to pass judgment upon the complicated problems of capitalism." So, it was not surprising to discover that a "Brains Trust" had been at work upon a 14-point program. This was flung into the convention and considered right off the bat.

A "Brains Trust" Program

The program was a skillfully prepared document. It reflected the patient care of its university godfathers. Tho to the left of the simple 8-point program of the past year, much more comprehensive, it is a thoroughly reformist thru and thru. The present writer went to the mat on the preamble, moving the deletion of two references: "We do not believe in violent change" and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods." Comrade Winch, Socialist Party delegate from British Columbia, seconded the amendment. Little support was secured. The convention was just as solidly against my attempt to have provision made in the ultimate planning commission for worker and farmer representation.

Social Control—By Your Leave!

The next major explosion followed an attempt to revise the section on social ownership. "We do not propose any policy of outright confiscation for the taking over of these (basic) industries from private into public control. The transfer of businesses and industries to public ownership should be made at a fair valuation." My amendment called for the deletion of this asseveration. Other comrades supported and the clause was referred back. The subsequent revision differed only from the original in that it was even more evasive. The convention stuck to its compensatory guns with strange arguments. The desire to "base practise upon sound theory", as the president put it in his introductory address, seemed to have got lost in the desire on the part of some delegates to recognize the ethics of compensation, the just claims, that savings provide new equipment, to afford to be generous, and most of all, to avoid class hatred. Are we not seeking to establish a classless society? Answering his own question with a ringing "yes", our defender of compensation and the higher political tact, urged that we do not carry antipathies over the border.

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of our idealistic commonwealth:

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Then to agriculture. "Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm. . . ." "The immediate cause of agricultural depression is the catastrophic fall in the world price of foodstuffs as compared with other prices. To counteract the worst effect of this the internal price level should be raised so that the farmers' purchasing power may be restored." What does this mean? A gesture in favor of the inflationists, who are numerous in the farm organizations? External trade is to be regulated in accordance with the national plan "thru import and export boards". An "encouragement by the public authority of both producers and consumers cooperative institutions" and then the Labor Code. "A national Labor Code to secure for the workers maximum income and leisure, insurance against illness, accident, old age and unemployment, freedom of association and an effective voice (amended to participation) in the management of his industry or profession."

Socialized health services were covered by Plank 8. Next calls for "the amendment of the Canadian Constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate provincial claims of autonomy so as to give the Dominion Government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate." External Relations proposes the "regeneration" of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization! Both "participation in imperialist wars" and "all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars" are to be resisted.

In the light of these developments only one answer can be given. Every Communist, every left wing worker, every class conscious worker in the metal industry must join the union of the Metal Trades Council of the A. F. of L. there to help to organize the driving force, which will lead the workers in the coming struggles in the metal, machine and automobile industries.

Present Situation and Tasks of the I.C.O.

We publish below the main resolution adopted by the Enlarged Bureau Session of the International Communist Opposition held recently. The foreword is the one that appeared in the *Strassburg "Neue Welt"* upon original publication of the resolution.

In July there took place an enlarged session of the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition. At this session there were present representatives of the Communist Opposition groups in Germany, France, Holland, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and the United States of America. The Swedish and the Norwegian organizations affiliated to the I. C. O. were not present.

After reports on the political situation, the situation of the Communist International and in the Soviet Union and the conditions in Hitler Germany, as well as after reports from the other countries, there took place a serious and comradely discussion in the course of which a stand was taken on the great tasks facing the Communist and labor movements today.

Special place in the discussions was given to the events in Germany and the lessons for the Communists of all countries arising therefrom. The session expressed the belief that for the victory of Fascism in Germany, the reformism of the S. P. G. was decisively responsible but also the ultra-left

The Bankruptcy of Reformism

I. The victory of Fascism in Germany is an alarm signal for the entire international working class. The German events have shown that Fascism is the result of backward agrarian countries but is a general, international tendency of the bourgeois state in the period of the decline of capitalism. They have shown that bourgeois democracy is no defense of the rights of the workers and that it rather creates the conditions for the growth of Fascism. Under bourgeois democracy, as under any other form of the rule of capital, the state apparatus is an instrument for the defense of capitalist private property and capitalist profits. Once the profit interests of the bourgeoisie call for the destruction of the democratic rights of the working masses, this state apparatus becomes the trail-blazer for Fascism and, in the end, its tool; it cannot, therefore, be any kind of effective instrument in the struggle against Fascism. The fight against Fascism must be conducted as a fight against this state apparatus, against the rule of capital in any form.

The entire international working class stands before the historical alternative: Fascism or Communism! Dictatorship of the Fascist murder-bands or the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat! Only if they use all methods of extra-parliamentary mass action in the struggle against the bourgeois state and for the establishment of the Soviet dictatorship, can the workers of the still remaining bourgeois-democratic countries escape the fate of their class in Germany and Italy.

Only in the struggle for the establishment of the Soviet dictatorship can the Fascist dictatorships in Germany, Italy and Poland be overthrown. The German events have exposed the complete bankruptcy of reformism in principle and practise. The "democratic road" of the working class to political power and to socialism has disclosed itself as the road to Fascist slavery. In spite of its claims, Social-democracy has not saved the German workers from the sacrifice of civil war but has surrendered them defenseless to the Fascist butchers. The German working class must now make more sacrifices and suffer more hardships than the Russian workers did in the civil war, without making the same tremendous gains. Thru its policy of coalition and toleration, thru its

Resolution of the International Opposition

Both the reformism and the C.I. course of the C.P.G. and the C.I. Both reformism and ultra-leftism are bankrupt, while the events in Germany confirm the standpoint of the Communist Opposition and justify its long struggle against ultra-left sectarianism.

Rejecting most firmly the attempt to revive reformism in its centrist form, and particularly the efforts of the S.W.P., the Trotskyites and other centrist groups to create new "Communist" parties and a new centrist International, the session of the I.C.O. showed the way, thru its decisions, to the rehabilitation of the labor movement.

In the political resolution, which we publish below, the I.C.O. has again and most decisively, taken its stand on the basis of Communist fundamentals. On this ground it will continue to carry on its struggle for the rebuilding of the C.P.G. and for the rehabilitation of the C.I. It will at the same time firmly oppose all vacillations arising in its own ranks because these vacillations can only make the road of the proletariat to emancipation more difficult and more painful.

On the basis of this standpoint the conference directed a letter to the Communist Party of Sweden; it also adopted a resolution of the question of the boycott of Hitler Germany.

The Refutation of Ultra-Leftism

II. The German events constitute an annihilating judgment of the fundamental attitude of reformism; they confirm the Communist position. The German events show in practise that there is no other road to socialism than that which the Russian workers have taken. But the German experience is at the same time the practical refutation of the false tactics of the C.P.G. and the C.I. and the evidence of their incapacity to carry the Communist fundamentals to victory. As a consequence of its false tactics the C.P.G. was in a position to utilize the objectively revolutionary situation present in Germany; it was incapable of preventing the Social-democracy from sabotaging the struggle of the workers against the capitalist offensive and Fascism; it was incapable of organizing extensive and firm revolutionary mass actions of the proletariat, the weight of which might have attracted to the side of the workers the desperate petty-bourgeois masses following Fas-

cism. As the 1923 German experience show, the Communist Party, may be in a position to prevent or victory of Fascism even when it is not able itself to set up a proletarian dictatorship; this it can do thru the development of revolutionary mass actions, embracing strata of reformist workers, influencing the petty bourgeoisie and isolating Fascism. But such mass actions must be organized and led in sharpest opposition to the bourgeois state in general and from the

The Confirmation of C. P. - O. Line

4. Developments in Germany have confirmed the political outlook of the C.P.G.-O. on all points and have shown that it is the politically clearest and firmest nucleus of the Communist movement in Germany.

5. The resistance of the leadership of the C.P.G. and the C.I. to open and full criticism and to liquidation of its mistakes committed before the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship is a confirmation that the tactics of the C.P.G. in recent years have been entirely correct, will have the effect of crippling the struggle of the Communists against the Fascist dictatorship and against the growing Fascist menace in the bourgeois-democratic countries. The partial corrections that the Executive of the C.I. has made under pressure of events in Germany must remain ineffective under these circumstances and add to the confusion. Thus the united front tactics, i.e., offer to the leadership the reformist organizations, are again permitted by the C.I. but at the same time the completely bankrupt theory of "social-fascism" is retained and, what represents an opportunist deviation, there is readiness to conclude "non-aggression pacts" with the reformists to abstain from basic criticism of reformism.

6. The conduct of the leadership of the C.I., after the victory of Fascism in Germany, has again shown that an extensive and basic correction of the tactical mistakes of the sections of the C.I. in the capitalist countries cannot be accomplished from above but only from below, that is, thru the activity of the Communist Opposition rallying the members of the Communist parties around itself in order to reestablish freedom of criticism within the ranks of Communist fundamentals, to reestablish democratic centralism and to replace the monopoly of leadership of the C.P.S.U. in the C.I. by a strong leadership representative of the entire International. Only thru the struggle of the Communist Opposition to win the C.I. and its sections for a correct Communist policy can Communist parties be created as really bolshevist organizations, i.e., parties which are in a position to lead the masses of the workers in their countries thru all difficulties to victorious revolution.

7. The I.C.O. takes a stand most sharply against the centrist and Trotskyist organizations and groups, which are now attempting to set up in Germany a new, allegedly Communist party, in reality a centrist-liquidatory party, and a new International in opposition to the C.I. and the Soviet Union.

The I.C.O. confirms its resolutions adopted last year on the relations to the centrist organizations and to Trotskyism in which it declared that the Trotskyites do not represent a tendency within Communism but are a group which has broken with the fundamentals of Communism thru their attitude to the Soviet Union. The Trotskyites challenge in fact the character of the Soviet state as a proletarian dictatorship; they maintain that in the Soviet Union there reigns a bureaucratic caste with special interests opposed to those of the proletariat; they deny the socialist character of the state and cooperative (collective) enterprises of the Soviet Union. Only he who endorses

within the bounds of Communist fundamentals. The decisions constitute the guide for the entire political activity of these groups. 10. The I.C.O. stands for the establishment of the united front of all workers organizations against the offensive of capital, Fascism and imperialism war preparations, nationally and internationally. This united front must be set up on the basis of a definite and clear program of struggle, without, of course, compromising on basic questions and retaining full freedom of mutual criticism. The force capable of organizing such a united front against the resistance of the reformist leaders, can only be a Communist movement uniting firmness in principle and correct tactics. The creation of a new, centrist International, of an organization opposed in principle to Communism, but being planned by the International and to the Soviet Union, cannot stimulate the establishment of an international proletarian united front but can only hinder it.

11. The I.C.O. demands the re-establishment of national and international unity of the Communist movement on the basis of the realization of democratic centralism, i.e., the right of free discussion and criticism within the bounds of Communist principles.

12. Developments after the triumph of the Fascist dictatorship in Germany have shown that the members of the official Communist Party, under pressure of events and in spite of the resistance of the party bureaucracy, are approaching the Communist Opposition more and more closely, are supporting its tactical views and are even partly following its political leadership. This practical experience shows the possibility and the correctness of the course of the I.C.O., to win the sections of the workers of the West Coast was a landmark outfit. Pritchard, once imprisoned for his activities in connection with the famous Winnipeg strike of 1919, seemed anxious to forget his past. He climaxed a reactionary stand thruout the convention by introducing a motion of thanks to the capitalist press for its treatment of the convention proceedings. The resolution on class war prisoners, (Mooney, Billings, Roy, the Meerut prisoners, Scottsboro, victims of Fascist terror) was tabled on the motion of Woodsworth, who made the extraordinary statement that such resolutions making an appearance at all conventions, were not worth the paper they were written upon. Forgetting apparently, that were it not for such protests by the workers, that Mooney and Billings

The Soviet Union

8. Especially is it necessary to expose all attempts to attribute the tactical mistakes of the C.I. and the C.P.G. and the defeat of the German working class to the alleged national interests of the Soviet Union. The assertion that the theory of the construction of socialism in one country has made the Russian Communists sacrifice in the sections of the workers of other countries, must be branded as dangerous anti-bolshevism. The false tactics of the C.P.S.U. in questions of the C.I. stand in contradiction to the real interests of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and, precisely in the interests of creating a socialist society in the Soviet Union and its safeguarding against imperialist attacks, must they be liquidated. The I.C.O. fights to liquidate the false tactics of the C.I., not, however, to oppose the policy of the C.P.S.U. in the Soviet Union.

The I.C.O. approves and supports the policy of the C.P.S.U. which aims to create a classless socialist society in spite of all difficulties. It opposes the hero-cult, which is being cultivated in the Soviet Union, but at the same time, rejects the Trotskyist characterization of the party regime. The recent events in Germany show that, after the victory of the proletarian revolution, the working class here will be able to maintain power only if the Communists, the leading and organizing force of the proletarian dictatorship, assure iron firmness in their ranks.

The I.C.O. supports the consistent peace policy of the Soviet government, the aim of which is to protect the strongest bulwark of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union, from imperialist attacks; it sharply rejects all the contentions of the reformists and the Trotskyites, which brand such a policy as anti-Fascism. The peace policy of the Soviet Union is a phase of the struggle of the international working class against the war preparations of imperialism, a struggle directed with equal force against the Fascist and the bourgeois-democratic imperialists.

9. As a tactical tendency within the international Communist movement the I.C.O. must have unconditional firmness in questions of principle and tactics. The decisions of the sessions of the I.C.O. are binding for all affiliated organizations, without infringing, of course, the freedom of criticism

and supports the first proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union without any reservations can really fight for the proletarian dictatorship. The standpoint of Trotskyism therefore signifies a break with Communist fundamentals. The declaration of the Trotskyites that the C.P.G. has met its August 4, that it has surrendered the Communist principles and has betrayed the working class, is an impermissible exaggeration to provide the excuse for the formation of a new, allegedly Communist Party, with other principles than those of the C.I., i.e., on an anti-Communist, centrist-reformist basis. All of the organizations affiliated to the I.C.O. are obliged to fight unremittently against the centrist and the Trotskyites for what they are, anti-bolshevist, hidden reformist organizations.

10. The I.C.O. rejects participation in the international conference of centrist parties now being planned. The I.C.O. demands the re-establishment of national and international unity of the Communist movement on the basis of the realization of democratic centralism, i.e., the right of free discussion and criticism within the bounds of Communist principles.

For Unity!

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13. On the basis of the German experience, the I.C.O. proposes to the C.I. and its sections the setting up of a working block, which, without wiping out tactical differences and with the retention of the full freedom of mutual criticism, can establish joint action for carrying out united front tactics, for a common struggle against reformism, centrist and Trotskyism.

C.P.-O. HOLDS BIG N.Y. MEMBER MEET

The biggest and one of the most important membership meetings of the Communist Opposition ever held in the history of the group took place all day Sunday, September 10. The meeting was a real demonstration of the strength and influence of our group as well as of its political development.

The meeting heard a three-hour report of Jay Lovestone on the labor and Communist movements in Europe and on the recent session of the Enlarged Bureau of the International Communist Opposition. His account of conditions in Germany, which he visited, England, France and Spain and his analysis of the political problems and tasks of the international Communist Opposition, met with the greatest attention and was carefully followed by every member present.

In the intermission following Comrade Lovestone's report considerable enthusiasm was aroused by Charles S. Zimmerman's address (Continued on Page 7)

The Regina Convention Of the C. C. F.

(Continued from Page 5)

This calls for freedom of speech and assembly for all, repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code. This illegalizes any organization advocating the overthrow of the government. It was under this section of the Criminal Code that the Communist Party of Canada was declared illegal and amendment to the Immigration Act to prevent the present inhuman policy of deportation. The emergency program (immediate demands) very weakly demands that programs of public works and adequate maintenance for the unemployed be financed by "the issue of credit based on the national wealth". Failure rewarded my efforts to have this changed to read "based on the proceeds from a steeply graded income tax, and an assessment upon such interest and profits which flow from the operation of all industries, banks, insurance companies, etc." I reasoned that the capitalist class was directly responsible for the present breakdown and that it was an evasion to speak of social credit. Rather than shirk the promotion of the class struggle, this was the time to promote it. By focusing the attention of the workers on the responsibilities of the capitalist class, and urging them to struggle to secure amelioration, we could the better mobilize the working class in the class war. This was enough for the convention! Out it went!

Tactics And The Toronto "Worker"

Then the resolutions. Miss Agnes MacPhail, farmer member in the Federal House, waxed indignant at the tone of one calling for independence of action by the C.C.F. members in the parliament. She was going to continue to use common sense. The Socialist Party of Canada, British Columbia Section, submitted that immigration be restricted. Back of this was the anti-Oriental sentiment of the Pacific Coast reformists. The delegation from the West Coast was a landmark outfit. Pritchard, once imprisoned for his activities in connection with the famous Winnipeg strike of 1919, seemed anxious to forget his past. He climaxed a reactionary stand thruout the convention by introducing a motion of thanks to the capitalist press for its treatment of the convention proceedings. The resolution on class war prisoners, (Mooney, Billings, Roy, the Meerut prisoners, Scottsboro, victims of Fascist terror) was tabled on the motion of Woodsworth, who made the extraordinary statement that such resolutions making an appearance at all conventions, were not worth the paper they were written upon. Forgetting apparently, that were it not for such protests by the workers, that Mooney and Billings

COMMUNIST OPPOSITION IN BIG MEMBER MEET

(Continued from Page 6) A announcement of a group of eight needle trades workers who had just joined the group. Ten more, it was declared, would join immediately. Then came questions. About forty such were asked, covering all phases of the problems raised. Comrade Lovestone's answers to these questions concluded the meeting. In the near future another membership meeting will take place for a thorough discussion of the report.

THE POLITICS OF THE 'NEW DEAL'

by Jay Lovestone

(Continued on last page) 4. Maintenance of legal powers of the parliamentary weapons. It would be a fatal error to conclude that the New Deal proposes to thrust aside the legal powers of parliamentary weapons as is done in Fascism. The New Deal definitely proposes to, and does, continue the system of parliamentary legalism.

The Role Of The State

5. Strengthening the illusion about the shared power. It is basic with the New Deal to develop a halo around the State as a sort of a saviour, a sort of a sacred power, which shall prove omnipotent where the best individual brains have completely failed. Thus, the New Deal piles mask upon mask on the state, covering the state apparatus with coat upon coat of camouflaged desperately to have the state appear as a gentle, humane power and not as a brutal, smashing, frontal offensive machine, as in the case of Fascism. Around the Constitution being torn to shreds, is revivified the most sacred illusion. We have a paradox of the "Forgotten Man" President, of the President swung into office by the so-called radical block actually rebuilding the government structure to suit big business. In recognition of these new services, as it were, the New Dealer, "hides" his real face behind a mask of sham liberalism. A well-known Washington correspondent has drawn this picture of the whole show: "A poetic statistician estimated that after forty years in office, Franklin D. Roosevelt possesses, is seeking and has been offered more absolute power than the sum of the arbitrary authority exercised at various times in history by Generals Washington, Lee Grant and Sherman. President Jackson, Lincoln and Wilson and all the Emperors of the Ming Dynasty."

All of this tinkering has been done, of course, within the framework of the Constitution. No apostle of the New Deal will say that the Constitution has been put

50000 WORKERS ON STRIKE

(Continued from Page 1)

Here in Fort Wayne, Ind., militant workers, fighting for better conditions for the unemployed, agitate against the "starch diet" handed us by the county. As a result our unemployed organizations have compelled some degree of recognition of our grievances. But down South in Georgia (what is true there is probably true of a greater part of the South) the Negroes and the "poor white trash" aren't even permitted the luxury of starch. They merely exist as best they can. "Why, the kids can't even get out of doors to go to school," remarked the Negro woman from Georgia, "unless they are sent out as they were born—the world!"

Two men from Ft. Wayne who drove down to Georgia brought back the report that people crowded around their car everywhere they stopped, curious about this car with the Indiana license. Some of them were "white trash" where did you all find the money to get 'way down here?" When they heard of our efforts in Ft. Wayne to organize, they begged the men to send some one down there to teach them the trick. They even promised to house, feed, and clothe such a person. One woman distraught by the wretched conditions, declared that she would have got out of that awful country by hanging onto the end of the visitor car if she hadn't had children to think of!

In "sunny" Georgia, and probably thruout much of the South, a farm-hand receives from 20c a day for field labor beginning at sunrise and ending in dark night! The factory wages range from \$1.00 to \$2.50 a week. One lucky fellow got \$5 a week bottling and transporting Coca Cola. High wages, than any colored friend of workers' holler loud when they get 50c a day on a farm." Negro children picking cotton get 25c for 100 lb. They can pick about 75 lb. daily, thus making around 20c a day. A white man picks 100 lb. to 150 lb. daily with a daily wage of about 37 1/2c.

What about unemployment relief in the South? Our Negro friend said that after a great deal of pleading and begging she succeeded in getting two sacks of government flour in a year's time. She begged that some official come out and investigate the conditions of the unemployed. The Relief Committee would be either themselves. Sometimes she was even without cornbread for her family. Why this state of affairs? Simply because the officials in charge of the government flour had reached such a stage of cupidity that they sold flour or traded it for whiskey and gasoline. That the flour authorized by the U. S. govern-

ONE YEAR OF THE HARTFORD UNEMPLOYED ASS'N.

(Continued from Page 4) class solidarity has been shown. The best compliment to the Hartford Association of Unemployed was given by M. Raymond Griffin, Assistant Superintendent of the Welfare Department. In a report to the welfare commissioners on the National Conference of Social and Welfare Work, he stated: "A hindrance rather than a help is caused in many instances by unemployed men and women who are pushing the strike on to the road of militancy and victory."

8. The government strike-breaker. The reorganization of the American government makes the American political apparatus a much more effective machine for mobilizing the masses for war. The merging of the machinery of government with the machinery of big business as an integral part of the war preparations launched by the New Deal. The extension of state capitalist enterprises as a positive move towards making America much more easily susceptible to a war footing.

9. Better leadership for the capitalist class. One thing can already be said about the New Deal. At least for the moment it has succeeded in providing some leadership for the American capitalist class. Particularly in the last days of the Hoover administration did it appear that the executive committee of the American employing class was rulerless and captainless. The faith of even the bourgeoisie in the New Deal is far from unbreakable and the coming months will see the New Dealer sailing into stormy waters. Yet, history will record that in the midst of the worst crisis to date, overwhelming Wall Street, the New Deal Administration has provided a certain amount of relatively or temporarily stable leadership.

Life in Dixie - the "Land Of the Free"

Fort Wayne, Ind.

ment to be distributed free among the needy! In Georgia clothes are not made up by the relief centers. The cloth is handed out to the unemployed with the instructions that, if there is any goods left, from one-fourth to one third, the pieces must be returned. The worst of it is that the unemployed do not begin to get their backs from nakedness. Most of the cloth and clothes are given directly to the school teachers so that the worst cases of need can be taken care of in the schools.

The educational conditions are indescribably bad, one teacher having charge of 74 children! A colored teacher gets \$25 a month. When complaint was made about this low salary, the commissioners made the excuse that no more could be paid as they were now paying these colored teachers "out of their own salaries!" Most of the Negroes can do very little reading and writing, and many can't either read or write their own names.

Here is an example of the manner in which the Southern "aristocrats" use a few of the colored race as a weapon against the rest. A colored school investigator visited the home of our negro friend and, upon making an investigation, she assure this woman that she would see that the children's needs were satisfied so that they could go to school. After several days of fruitless waiting, the colored women went to the department head of the Relief Bureau and asked why nothing had been done for her. The department overseer answered: "She (the colored investigator) said that you had everything you needed." And, seeing the anxiety on the face of our colored friend, she continued: "And, you know, I have implicit confidence in her."

One colored woman who was reported to be in need of nothing is a widow with five children. What she calls "Home Sweet Home" is a house full of naked kids, an old sow and a cow. A cat could be thrown thru the cracks of the outside wall very handily. When the sun shows on the tin roof of the shack—a tin roof that play a flapping melody all the time—it barked the occupants to a nicey! In eighteen months this woman got just these articles from the relief center, cloth enough for one suit of underwear and one shirt for each child and one sack of flour!

Many times, in utter distress, this widow and a white neighbor sat down and cried together both declaring that they'd rather die than be in this shape. In the South, our friend says, there is little difference between the status of the Negro and the "poor white trash"; it's only the (Continued on Page 8)

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September 15, 1933.

THE NRA AND THE OPEN SHOP

IT is no accident that the open-shop issue is coming more and more prominently to the fore as the implications of the National Industrial Recovery Act are beginning to be realized. For indeed it is the very central question of capital-labor relations, the very touchstone by which the significance of the N.I.R.A. for the labor movement is to be judged.

In effect, and in spite of all equivocation, the NRA has declared the open shop universal and has banned the union (closed) shop. To "abolish" the terms "closed shop" and "open shop" from the NRA vocabulary, as General Johnson has done in his recent pronouncement, is more than confusion or shabby evasion to "please both sides"; it is a well-calculated move to enthrone the open shop by indirection, even tho the name may not be uttered in the dread presence of the Blue Eagle.

For, what is the open shop? It is a shop in which workers are hired, fired and promoted "without regard to union affiliation"; in practice, of course, it means a shop from which union members, and especially "agitators", are excluded, being easily gotten rid of on the ground of "inefficiency." Every experienced worker knows that no union is established or really amounts to very much until it has won the union shop, where only union workers may be employed or at least receive preference and where the union has something to say about job tenure. Until this is achieved, union recognition is hardly more than a phrase.

Before that unpleasant term was "barred", General Johnson had a good deal to say about the open shop. "As I understand it," he took occasion to remark, "the open shop is a place where any man who is competent and whose services are desired will be employed, regardless of whether or not he belongs to a union. That is exactly what the law says. Is anything clearer than that needed?" No, not even "clarifying" statements by General Johnson himself!

The "interpretation" of Section 7a in the automobile code, altho it does not use the censored word, really entrenches the open shop in the industry. The "labor statement" of General Johnson, issued on August 23, goes even further. It makes clear that, under the law, the employer cannot be deprived of the right to make "individual agreements with those (workers) who choose to act individually." But it was in his Labor Day address before the Illinois Federation of Labor in Chicago that General Johnson made the meaning of the law and the attitude of the administration so perfectly clear that even the most NRA-intoxicated trade union official can understand. "If an employer should make a contract with a particular (labor) organization to employ only members of that organization, especially if that organization did not have 100% membership among his employees, that would, in effect, be a contract to interfere with his workers freedom of choice of their representatives or with their right to bargain individually and would amount to employer coercion on these matters—which is contrary to law." The logic of this contention is precisely the traditional logic of the open shoppers, that the union shop is really an "infringement on the rights of the workers." That General Johnson and the NRA should make use of this logic is significant enough of their orientation and outlook.

What shall the trade union movement do in this situation? Shall it take this threat to its very existence lying down simply because "it is the law?" That is what Lewis and the U.M.W.A. officials seem to be doing; they are reported as "having given up all idea of a closed-shop contract, whereby the operators would agree to employ only United Mine Workers members." But that would be the grossest capitulation and surrender; it would be committing suicide to avoid destruction!

No! The only way out for labor is to fight and fight hard for the preservation and extension of the union shop, NRA or no NRA. That it is quite possible to win the union shop in spite of all of General Johnson's rulings, if only the workers are determined, organized and militant, the splendid example of the New York dressmakers has shown!

DUALISM REACHES ITS DEPTHS!

THE recent sensational developments in the New York fur market hold a big lesson for the workers: The system of dual unionism, of rival competing unions, is a menace to the conditions of labor and to the very morale and integrity of unionism, even of that variety which prides itself on its "revolutionary" character.

For many weeks, the Fur Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the dualist organization affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League, carried on a much-advertised campaign for the 35-hour week. Imagine the astonishment of the fur workers, therefore, when it became known that this union had reached an agreement with the Trimming Manufacturers Association for the 40-hour week—with the right to "reopen" the question on September 15 as a face-saving sop! And this at the same time that the big Associated Fur Coat and Trimming Manufacturers Association, together with the A. F. of L. union in the trade, the International Fur Workers Union, announced the establishment of the 35-hour week with pay undiminished!

The "revolutionary" union grants the bosses 40 hours while the A. F. of L. union obtains the 35-hour week. The answer is simple and clear: In order to maintain its very existence as a dualist group and rival to the A. F. of L. union, the "revolutionary" T.U.U.L. union has been obliged to make shameful concessions to the bosses, to undersell the A. F. of L. in unvarnished fact. Thus the workers are sacrificed to dualism and unionism itself is being debauched in its interests!

The official Communist Party and the T.U.U.L. have been making a big noise about their "victories" among the furriers in order to bolster up the collapsing structure of dual unionism. Are they ready now to be judged by what the Industrial Union has done? By their fruits shall you know them!

Just because of the notorious incompetence of the present officialdom of the A. F. of L. furriers union, just because of the corrupt and even anti-labor methods that these officials have been employing in trying to build up the union, the place of all furriers, militant, and class conscious workers especially, is in the A. F. of L. union. For it is only when the furriers are united within the A. F. of L. union and the union itself is won for militant policies and leadership, that the degrading game of rivalry of "underselling" will be ended and the furriers enabled to regain the position they once held in the ranks of labor!

Roy Speaks from Jail!

Letter Of Indian Communist Leader

We publish below a letter of Manabendra Nath Roy, Indian Communist Opposition leader serving a six year sentence in Allahabad Prison, to a comrade in Great Britain.—Editor.

Allahabad Prison.

Dear Comrade:-

Here is the first available opportunity for me to send you a few lines thanking you for all your interest and kindness.

I wonder if my conditions in prison are all known to you. Since my conviction in the beginning of 1932 I have been kept in such strict isolation that it has been impossible for me to notify my friends outside prison of my difficulties. I am glad to see that some agitation is being carried on in Britain on behalf of the Meerut prisoners.

I have never been given treatment like even the Meerut prisoners. I am kept in a prison for the so-called habitual criminals, undergoing long-term sentences. I am not allowed to mix with any political prisoners. I am locked up in a small room with two men convicted of manslaughter and high-way robbery. They are not with me as company, but as a secret guard.

For fifteen months I have been confined in a small yard, providing a walking space of 50 steps. I am obliged to live on the meagre jail ration (value, 9 annas a day). I am not allowed to have anything at my own cost—not even the very elementary sanitary and toilet articles. There is a very strict control over books I may have.

The single letter I am allowed to write and receive monthly is strictly censored. All reference to my health is scored out. In the incoming letters what is not considered "purely domestic matter" is struck out.

I am put to the task of spinning unclean wool on the most primitive wheel. This is a task very injurious to health. My lungs are affected.

Last summer, owing to the intense heat, I had several heart attacks. Ever since then I have been ill, my health going from bad to worse. Yet, whenever I have not been actually confined to bed, I have been put to this work. I have been losing weight all the time, going down to 160 lbs. from 189 at the time of my conviction (I am 6 ft. 2 in.).

For more than half a year I have had a sharp pain in the region of the heart and a dull pain in the chest and back. Constant headache. Low fever in the evening. Inflammation of the thyroid glands. Yet all this time I have received no medical treatment worth the name, not even a proper examination. No heed has been paid to my request for transfer to a cool and high place.

Please excuse this tale of woe, but you surely understand my feelings, don't you? I hope you and other sympathisers will continue the kindness of sending me some intellectual food from time to time. In spite of difficulties, I am working on two books; the first on Materialist Philosophy for Indian readers (there is so much misunderstanding of this), and second on the Social Background of Indian Philosophy and Culture. I need some of the latest scientific publications for this purpose (Russell, Jeans, Eddington, Flammarion, Einstein, Thompson, etc.) I have managed already to prepare roughly two small treatises, but owing to the absence of books and other facilities I cannot work out the rough materials into the final version. In any case, my work will not find its way to the world as long as I am in prison. Not only the body, but also the spirit is imprisoned. With very best wishes and heartiest greetings.

M. N. Roy

FORM DEFENSE BODY FOR TERZANI

(Continued from Page 1)
anarchist associations, and liberal and fraternal organizations.

Fierro was shot and killed while defending a friend who was being ejected from a meeting of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America in Columbus Hall, Astoria, Queensborough, New York City, on July 14. Two eye-witnesses pointed out a member of the Khaki Shirts as the slayer a few minutes later, but Assistant District Attorney Joseph Loscalzo let that man leave the state, Terzani's defenders aver, and accepted the word of "General" Art J. Smith, national commander of the Khaki Shirts, that Terzani was the guilty man.

A call for the conference, headed "Fight Fascism!" has been sent out widely by the united front Terzani Defense Committee, of which Norman Thomas is chairman and Lawrence Emery secretary. The committee represents the American Civil Liberties Union, the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., the International Labor Defense, the Italian Defense Committee, and the Socialist Party.

RIGHT WING ELEMENTS TRIUMPH IN SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)
which led to the collapse of the Azana Cabinet is directly due to the political bankruptcy of the republican-Socialist block behind this cabinet. With the Socialists acting as a restraining force on the masses, the Azana regime betrayed one promise after the other, did nothing for the bitterly suffering unemployed or for the utterly poverty stricken peasants and refusing to disarm the royalist Civil Guard. Disillusionment and disgust began to spread among the masses and monarchist-clerical demagogues found a fertile field for their counter-revolutionary propaganda.

LIFE IN DIXIE—THE "LAND OF THE FREE"

(Continued from Page 7)
plantation owners who live in state in the town while the Negroes and "poor whites" farm their land. The plantation owners and the business interests do the voting while the so-called emancipated Negro and "poor whites" do the slaving. There are many whites who, because they cannot read or write, are placed in the same category as the Negroes. They can't vote either. The wages of the blacks and the whites are about the same, their relief is the same. And their sympathy for each other is growing as they realize their common misery.

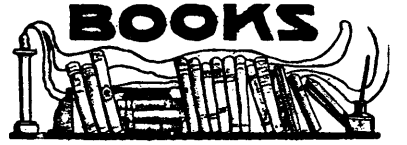
JAY LOVESTONE
just returned from Germany, will give an intimate report on "LIGHTS OUT IN GERMANY" The Inside Story of the Reichstag Fire, etc.
SATURDAY, SEPT. 23, 8:00 P. M.
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THE NEW BACKGROUND OF SCIENCE, by Sir James Jeans. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

Those who have read Jeans's "The Mysterious Universe" will find nothing new here. Its essential character, namely, the attempt to harmonize the latest findings in the physics with outworn idealistic metaphysics, is the same. The only difference is that this book brings the story further up to date as far as the most recent advances in physics are concerned. If previously Jeans fell back for his philosophic buttressing upon Bishop Berkeley and Plato, he adds another star witness to his galaxy in ranking over the dead ashes of idealism—the English metaphysician, Bradley, who harmonizes quite well with the idealist chorus.

Jeans has been killed dead so often of late that it hardly pays to go into an extended analysis of his position. I would refer those who are interested to my review of "The Mysterious Universe" ("Revolutionary Age", Vol. II, No. 12), which can serve just as well for this book (the two are identical in fundamentals). I would just like to point out, however, a new quirk or two in Jeans.

Certainly Jeans, in attempting to draw anti-materialist, subjectivist conclusions from the theory of relativity falls foul both of the facts and the authority of those most qualified to know. Jeans says:

"... the theory of relativity has shown that neither mass nor motion nor extension in space can qualify as true primary qualities. They depend one and all on the special circumstances of the percipient."

As a matter of fact, the direct opposite is the case. The theory of relativity with its welding together of categories hitherto regarded as opposed (space and time, mass and energy, etc.) has made for greater materialist objectivity. It has established the conception of the absolute invariance of natural laws for all space-time transformations regardless of the observer. At least that much Jeans could have learned from Planck, ("Where Is Science Going?"):

"The foundation of the relativity theory lies in the fact that in the four-dimensional space-time manifold there is a measure which for all measuring observers and for all reference systems has the self-same value and is therefore... entirely independent of any arbitrary action of the human will."

He could have learned the same from Einstein whose position is exactly the same. As a matter of fact Jeans himself is much nearer the truth (and incidentally refutes himself) when he says:

"Thus the history of physical science in the twentieth century is one of a progressive emancipation from the purely human angle of vision."

Yet all of Jeans's efforts are in the direction of proving the exact opposite: that science cannot emancipate itself from the subjectivist outlook of the scientist, that it cannot go beyond sensation, all else is unknowable in a real sense and the rest of the well-known formula.

The impasse into which Jeans has gotten can be tellingly illustrated by one quotation (which, however, is quite typical of many). In discussing the still moot question of the wave vs. particle conception of matter, Jeans, defending the wave conception, says:

"The wave does not permit of representation in space and time, and so cannot be said to possess any physical reality. Yet in spite of this want of physical reality, this wave picture is in many respects more true to nature and so is presumably more fundamental than the particle picture."

Such is the insane conception of nature held by idealist metaphysicians who call themselves scientists.

JIM CORK.