

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 6.

Saturday, February 9, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

South Wars On Unions

SO many conferences have been taking place and so little has been done by them that no one can really be blamed for not taking these confabs even with a grain of seriousness. Still some exceptions must be noted. Below the Ohio and Potomac Rivers there was recently held a conference of the Southern States Industrial Council which arrived at decisions worthy of serious consideration by all workers throughout the country. The resolutions adopted by these Southern robber barons are a challenge to Labor. They are a declaration of war on the growing trade union movement below the Mason and Dixon line. Thus speaks the owning class of the South: "We propose to defend with all our strength the right of our Southern labor to manage its own affairs, and to remain at peace with those at whose hands it enjoys its opportunities to work. We maintain that the right to work is as sacred as the right to strike." The Council also stressed that the wage differentials under the NRA must be retained, that it will recognize only such social legislation as the Supreme Court approves, and that the NRA codes must consider the entire South "as a distinct and homogenous unit." Too great significance to these decisions cannot be attached by organized labor. Here is an attempt to depress wages, to worsen conditions, to smash the right to organize not only of the workers in the South. Here is a menace to the workers in the whole country. It must be treated as such.

N.R.A. A War Measure

NOT many will be found today to deny that the NRA is as much a war measure as a relief measure. But that the NRA in its very structure, that the New Deal in its minutest details, is being organized right now on an immediate war basis some socialistic Liberals and Liberal socialists will refute vigorously. We have in mind the petty censorship scheme now in vogue in the Department of Interior. Two of its confidential instructions, recently come to light, are illuminating. One, dated November 27, 1934, categorically binds all department employees to secrecy of operations and provides that "No information is to be given out regarding the service unless it clears first thru Mr. A. . . ." The other, a dated December 5, 1934, decrees that "Matters relating to personnel must not, under any circumstances, for any reasons, be discussed with members of Congress." Of course, Congress will very likely make some noise about these documents shortly. That is not so important. The orders in themselves are much more decisive. The executive arm of the government is being strengthened at a feverish pace at the expense of the legislative. Capitalist democracy is becoming as concentrated as capitalist ownership and exploitation. Likewise, capitalist democracy is becoming as worthless for the great mass of the people as is private ownership in these days of rapid monopolization. Clearly the New Deal is timed and attuned to meet war situations abroad and at home—against foreign competitors and domestic strikers.

Tangled Lines

IT doesn't require any cynicism to conclude that the American section of the Communist International, the official Communist Party in the U.S., has in recent months been twisting its line like a cow swishes its tail in fly time. Some of its latest resolutions contain paragraphs copied almost accurately from the columns of the Workers Age, sentences culled almost verbatim from the resolutions of the Communist Party (Opposition). For this we are grateful. We agree with Lenin that even the tiniest bit of progress is to be welcomed. However, it's the confusion that is disastrous. After every sound idea, so belatedly and half-heartedly put forward, there usually comes a cluster of beclouded and befogged notions leading straight to nowhere—that is, anchoring the Party to its old ruinous sectarian conceptions and policies. It is this failure to break sharply and honestly with its old dual-unionist and anti-united front tactics that is so largely responsible for Communist unity not being achieved to date. It is this failure to admit openly the mistakes of and to break definitely with the ultra-left sectarian course that is responsible for the chaos in the Party ranks nowadays, for the failure of the C.P. to grow anywhere near commensurately

(Continued on Page 4)

AUTO MEN DEFY PRES. ROOSEVELT

GREEN WANTS NEW DEAL ON INSURANCE

A.F. of L. Head Rejects Roosevelt Social Security Scheme As Inadequate for Workers

"Insurance must insure" is the slogan American labor has flung at the Roosevelt-sponsored let-'em-eat-crumbs social security proposal.

Green Against Roosevelt Plan

William Green, reactionary leader of a non-too-advanced labor movement, demanded the scrapping of the entire Roosevelt plan now pending before Congress and the substitution of Federal subsidies to states which set definite compensation standards.

Green revealed that the suggestions submitted by an advisory board of which he was a member had been thrown out by the Cabinet Committee including Secretaries Perkins and Wallace and Relief Administrator Hopkins. Green's proposal was for a five per cent payroll tax, no contributions from employees, State pools of funds instead of single plant pools, and a twenty six weeks benefit period paying at least 50 per cent of normal wages.

Recalling that two years ago the American Federation of Labor rejected unemployment insurance completely, Green's stand represents a tremendous progressive step. But he still accepts completely the fundamental thesis of the Social Security bill—that job insurance can be calculated on an actuarial basis and that reserves must be built up by those now employed.

Is Job Insurance Possible?

On the margin of every unemployment insurance proposal must be noted the tremendous relief problem we now have. New York announces 220,000 families on relief, an all time peak which is

(Continued on Page 4)

SOVIET CONGRESS OK'S SECRET BALLOT FOR ALL USSR ELECTIONS

The All-Union Congress of Soviets, now in session in Moscow, has approved a proposal for the extension of democracy for the toiling masses of the Soviet Union. According to changes in the Soviet Constitution all elections will be conducted by secret ballot instead of by show of hands; the leading Soviet bodies will be elected thru a direct rather than the indirect method; and the representation of the collectivized agricultural communities will be greatly increased.

These decisions indicate that capitalist elements within the Soviet Union have been sufficiently eliminated, and the socialist base of Soviet economy is strong enough to warrant the extension of Soviet democracy.

STUFFED TOY WORKERS STRIKE IN NEW YORK; ALL SHOPS COME OUT

A general strike of all teddy-bear workers in New York called by a federal local of the A.F. of L. received the almost unanimous response of the workers in the trade. Within two days of the strike call 12 shops involving over 700 workers walked out.

The following demands were worked out by the strike committee: Union recognition, increase in pay for the various crafts according to the following schedule—Cutters \$50; Operators \$48 and \$38; Finishers \$28 and \$20; General help \$18.

The strike is in excellent condition and applications for settlements are beginning to come in.

at the
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
51 West 14th Street
New York City

FRIDAY FEB. 8 8:30 P. M.

ELLEN WILKINSON

Former Member, House of Commons.
Internationally Known Leader of
the British Labor Party

Speaks on
British Labor
Prepares For Power

Admission 25c

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

LEADERS AND RANK AND FILE OF AUTO UNIONS DENOUNCE PRESIDENT'S EXTENSION OF WOLMAN BOARD AS BETRAYAL

DETROIT, Mich.—Plans have been proposed here to prepare for a general strike of all auto workers. A mass meeting of automobile workers will be held shortly. Green has been invited to speak.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. continues to fire broadsides at Richberg and Wolman. Green has characterized the action of the Administration as "fascist tactics" and insists that labor will fight these methods.

Richberg has been smoked out. In answer to labor's attacks on him he replied that he places the interests of the "nation" above those of labor.

DETROIT, Mich.—A storm of indignation and protest has broken among the mass of the auto workers and it is directed not only against auto manufacturers and their "baby" the Auto Labor Board but also against our "labor loving" President Roosevelt.

Adding Insult To Injury

The presidential "ukase" ordering the extension of the present agreement without giving labor a hearing is a direct slap in the face to the entire organized labor movement. The inclusion of the Auto Labor Board in the Code is adding insult to injury for it is common knowledge that among all the Labor Boards none is more discredited in the eyes of the workers than the Auto Labor Board headed by Wolman.

Labor Leaders Are Shocked

Our "leaders of labor" were dumfounded at this brazen and cynical act of the chief executive, for they had once again depended for redress of grievances, upon the good will of the boss' agents in the White House. They lost and they will continue to lose so long as the masses of auto workers are not organized to fight for their demands. Once again has it been proven that the employers and their NRA agencies will grant nothing out of the kindness of their hearts.

Richberg A Liar Says Green

The statement of Richberg that labor had been consulted before extending the agreement was immediately branded as a lie by Green, when he declared: "Labor was given no opportunity to present its views, offer objections or make recommendations. Despite this the order attempts to impose on labor the Automobile Labor Board, which is highly ob-

jectionable."

F. J. Dillon, General Organizer of the A. F. of L. says he is "shocked and cannot conceive of the President approving the present record of the Automobile Labor Relations Board, presided over by Dr. Wolman, which has been repudiated by labor."

The A. F. of Labor also makes the additional charge that the investigation of wages and conditions in the auto industry has been suppressed by Richberg who refuses to make public any of the findings without an order of President Roosevelt.

Roosevelt Snubs Own N.I.R.B.

The auto manufacturers must have had Roosevelt under terrific pressure since in order to carry out the will of his masters he did not hesitate to override the National Industrial Recovery Board which by a vote of 3 to 2 had rejected the renewal of the Auto Code.

Strike Sentiment Rises Sharply

Roosevelt's attempt to sugar-coat this bitter pill by claiming to have won for the auto workers the extension of work and time and a half for overtime, will not succeed. The auto workers have learned to look gift horses in the teeth and they well know that the time and a half for overtime, even if carried out, applies to only 20% of the workers and does not change the present base scales which are so objectionable to the mass of the workers.

The movement for general strike preparation is gaining momentum in all auto centers. They have learned thru painful experience that altho the Executive Council may "go to the Capitol for relief," it will secure empty and meaningless promises if even that.

A New Page In Labor History

Roosevelt's order in the auto industry marks a new stage in the attitude of the Administration to organized labor. Every pretense of pro-labor policy has been discarded. The Roosevelt Administration stands exposed for what it is and was—an administration ruled by bankers and industrialists—a labor hating administration.

The auto workers must meet this issue squarely. There is only one answer to this anti-labor offensive and that is to paralyze the entire auto industry by means of the general strike. The whole trade union movement must be rallied now behind the auto workers if the drive against organized labor is to be defeated.

EUROPE TODAY

by August Thalheimer

The Saar Plebiscite

The results of the Saar plebiscite were a surprise to anti-fascists as well as to the Nazis themselves. 90.08% (477,109) voted for return to Hitler Germany, 8.87% (46,513) for the status quo, 0.4% (2,124) for France. The anti-fascist forces had counted on at least 20% of the votes cast while the Nazis expected between 80 to 85%.

Why The Landslide?

How are we to explain these results? There are objective as well as subjective factors involved.

One of the common slogans of the anti-fascists in the Saar basin was: Defeat the Nazi regime thru defeat in the Saar! No matter what one's opinion may be of the agitational value of such a formulation, the facts have shown that Hitler Germany could not be attacked thru the Saar, that on the contrary the victory of the Nazis in Hitler Germany was of decisive significance to the Saar. The vote was an echo of the Fascist victory in the rest of Germany. It was not as expected the beginning of the collapse of the Nazi regime in Germany. The victory of Fascism in Germany proved to be decisive for the Saar.

Strength Of Nationalism

The success of the Nazis in the Saar basin demonstrates the strength of nationalism in the Saar. It was further strengthened by the fact that the anti-fascists fought the slogan "Back to Germany" with the slogan for the "Status Quo" (continuation of the League of Nations regime) which was looked upon, by large sections of the Saar population, as an anti-national slogan, as a slogan for the continuation of foreign rule.

Catholics Supported Germany

The catholic clergy evidently gave its votes for Hitler Germany. "The Vatican desired the victory of the Nazis" says

Leon Blum, the leader of the French Social Democracy. Correct, but it was wrong to have harbored illusions about the role of the Catholic church. The Vatican thru its German bishops, accepted the slogan "Back to Germany" in order to gain concessions for the Catholic church in Germany.

Weakness Of Opposition In Germany

The fact that the opposition of the working class in Germany against the Nazi regime had not yet assumed mass proportions, is an additional factor to be noted.

The Fascist Terror

The Fascist terror was strong and had its effects, but there was certainly less terror than at the most recent elections in Germany and was, therefore, not decisive in the outcome.

The following facts should be kept in mind. At the last elections in the Saar for the National Council or Landesrat (an advisory body representing the population generally) on March 13, 1932 the center (Catholic party) received 156,615 votes, the C. P. 84,112, the Social Democracy 35,966, the Nazis 24,455 votes.

There may be some Socialists or Communists who will cite the results of the Saar plebiscite as an argument against the united front. They will say that the united front was a failure.

C.P.O. Criticism Justified

The results of the plebiscite unfortunately fully confirm the criticism of the Communist Opposition which was directed not against the united front as such but against the basis on which the united front was agreed upon and carried out. We opposed a united front on the basis of the Social Democratic slogan

(Continued on Page 2)

NRA SHOE HEARINGS SHOW BOSS RACKET

Time Clocks Mean Nothing in Life of Workers in Code Gypping Shoe Factories

How shoe workers have been gypped out of a considerable part of their wages was revealed in the most astounding fashion at the recent NRA public hearings on the Shoe Code in Washington. Below is a birds-eye view picture of how the shoe manufacturers steal working time from the workers, thus slashing their wages considerably.

One of the most prevalent methods was that of having the workers punch in and punch out on their time cards when the work was ready for them at their benches. And after punching out, they were still required to remain in the factory in the expectation that, more work might be ready for them later on. In this way, the manufacturer does not have to pay for their waiting time, and when the NRA investigators come along, the time cards will show that the firm has been complying with the Code.

In several factories, the time clocks had been removed at the personal suggestion of an NRA investigator, and the hours were written on small slips of paper by the worker at the end of the day and approved by his foreman. This led to the following practice: the foreman would not approve of any time which did not conform exactly with that represented on the workers' piece-rate cards. In other words the workers were required to write down only the number of hours which he actually spent working at the bench, disregarding all the hours required to wait for work in the plant.

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PERSECUTION FACES FARMER'S LEADER

Ward Rodgers, Fighter For Share Croppers, Charged With Anarchy in Arkansas

Ward Rodgers, a revolutionary socialist of Arkansas, organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, has been found guilty of the charge of "anarchy" by a Jury consisting of landowners and was sentenced to six months jail and \$500 fine. An appeal against this decision has been taken and will be heard in March. The main crime of Ward Rodgers seems to be that while a teacher among the share croppers for the FERA, he actively participated in and became an organizer for share croppers in their struggles against the planters.

The Rodgers case as well as the one now proceeding in Sacramento, California, are indications of what the communist and socialist workers can expect in these days of rising militancy among the industrial workers and among the exploited tenant farmers. All indications point to an intensified drive against all radical elements to whom the workers and farmers look for help and guidance.

The primary need, in a developing situation of this sort, is one powerful organization to coordinate the work of defense. Still, neither the Sacramento case nor that of Ward Rodgers have caused any move in that direction. In the first case the Communist Party seems to be intent on going it alone and in the case of Rodgers the Socialist Party found it expedient to set up still another (strictly socialist) defense organization.

There is a crying need for the merger of all existing defense organizations into one non-partisan body to defend all victims of capitalist terror regardless of their political affiliation. Only in this manner can we prepare to meet the increasing wave of militancy and struggle.

at the
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
51 West 14th Street
New York City

SUNDAY, FEB. 10 8:15 P. M.

ROGER BALDWIN

Chairman, American Civil Liberties Union

Speaks on

Adventures With The United Front

Admission 25c

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

(Continued on Page 2)

REPORT SHOWS CAPITALIST DILEMMA

Poverty and Unemployment Grow While Rationalization Cuts Job Chances

"Last year, the fifth year of the depression, and as it dragged on, the resources of individuals have been cumulatively exhausted. Hence the relief rolls are longer than ever before, including almost 19,000,000 persons and 1/4 of the relief load is falling on the Federal Treasury." So says the National City Bank monthly economic bulletin. It goes on further "Everyone realizes that there is a limit, not precisely determinable to be sure, to Government expenditures, and naturally there are apprehensions as to what the situation will be when the limit is reached . . ."

"This may fairly be described as the dilemma of the recovery program. Government enterprises are intended to bridge the gap until private enterprise will take hold and the people support themselves; yet Government expenditures discourage private enterprise."

"What solution can be found for this

LINES HOLD IN STRIKE OF 6000 AGAINST UNION SMASHING BISCUIT CO.

Six thousand workers of the National Biscuit Company have been on strike in New York, Philadelphia, York, Newark and Atlanta, since January 8th. The strike, which is being led in New York by the Inside Bakery Workers Federal Labor Union 19585, A. F. of L., is still solid as it goes into its fourth week.

The company systematically prepared for the strike and for breaking the union by stacking up on biscuits for a number of months so that the plant could be closed without loss. When they were prepared the employers broke the union agreement and attempted to return to the miserable conditions before the plant was organized. The union is demanding recognition, equal pay for equal work, and longer rest periods.

The strike has received the support of the Joint Board of Dressmakers, the Federal Labor Union council, and other unions. The United Hebrew Trades, thru Brother Feinstone, Socialist, refused to have anything to do with the strike because of a suspicion that the "Communists are in on it." However, the Jewish Daily Forward did not find it difficult to accept advertisements for NBC products.

The Daily Worker, which has been popularizing the strike and supporting it without raising the usual cry of sell-out, did strike a disruptive note when writing that Hochman and Vladeck, "are endangering the strike by raising the red scare" (Jan. 25th). As a matter of fact, this edition of the Daily was on sale an hour before the meeting where Hochman and Vladeck were scheduled to speak and to raise the red scare. Vladeck could not arrive, and Hochman made a militant and enthusiastic speech which did not so much as mention Communism or Communists.

NRA CHISELLERS

(Continued from Page 1)

In several plants, the workers, especially bench girls, were not given any time cards at all to punch. In this way they were being paid under the minimum rates without any record of it being shown on the time cards or payroll records.

Another most common practice is that of requiring the workers to go back to their benches after they punch out at 4 or 4:30 in the afternoon and then work until 6 and sometimes 8 o'clock in the evening. This extra time, of course, does not show on the payroll books and is only paid for at the regular piece rates and not at the overtime rate. Such violations as these cannot easily be discovered by an NRA investigator unless, of course, he is present at the plant and actually sees the workers at the benches after the regular closing hours.

From the above it appears that, the NRA Code Compliance Division's conviction that they were doing their work satisfactorily arises from their investigating procedure of studying books and documents which can easily be trumped-up to show compliance. Only when we begin to investigate plants after regular working hours, only when we go into the factory proper and speak to the workers at the bench, only when we speak to the workers in their homes, only then—will we see the true picture.

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dilemma?"

Obviously the solution is to place the 19,000,000 unemployed to work. The solution is simple but its accomplishment is rather difficult for capitalism. The January 1934 issue of the same publication points out, "In machinery industries of all kinds the depression has been a period of intensive progress in design and out of this progress have come tools and equipment far advanced over 1929. It is claimed that the heavy Diesel tractors, used in construction, agriculture, logging etc., will show a few savings of \$3 to \$7 per day . . . and instances are cited of reductions of 75% in the Labor (emphasis mine) and fuel cost of tractor plowing."

Thus the very essence of capitalism its competitive drive for profits, at the same time produces unemployment—the cancer that will lead to its death. "The modern laborer, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that, the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society . . . It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him instead of being fed by him. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (Communist Manifesto).

AT FIRST GLANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

with the splendid objective possibilities at hand.

"Fluctuation"

LEST we be accused of factional bias in our criticism of the Communist Party, in our evaluation of the consequences of the Party's inner life and tactical strategy, we hasten to reproduce an official confession from the Communist International No. 24, December 20, 1934. On page 891 we are told: "In January 1934, our party registered a dues-paying membership of 26,727. In the months following (including January) our Party took in 11, 907 new members. That means we should now have 38,634 members. The figures for May, 1934 are 22,564 . . . That means that only in five months we have lost 16,070 from the ranks of our Party! If you multiply these figures of lost members within the last five months with the last several years, you will see how strong our Party would have been if not for this curse called 'Party fluctuation!'"

So now it can be told—only in part. A certain amount of turnover of membership is natural in every organization and cannot be avoided. This is a case, however, of life-sapping fluctuation. It is a sad commentary on the impotency of the Comintern in the U.S. to meet the possibilities, to seize and exploit the opportunities for steady and stable growth. With a stifled inner party life, with party democracy torn to shreds, with confusion and unprincipledness in its approach to the central task of winning the masses, not even the finest spirit of devotion, militancy and revolutionary ardor can save the Party from the above admitted deplorable condition. Through the Communist International there must be a drastic revision of the system of leadership and tactics, if a healthy, stable growth of the various sections is to be achieved.

WHOSE RECOVERY?

(Continued from Page 2)

incomes of corporations had increased 35.5%. Out of a total income of about thirteen billions only half went for wages and salaries. And if we keep in mind that under salaries go the huge sums of directors and executives, it is likely that only a quarter of the national income went to the industrial proletariat, the white-collar workers, and others, who make up more than 90% of the population!

What's Our Share?

Sums are being turned over in tre-

PHILADELPHIA
BERTRAM D. WOLFE
Director New Workers School
Will Lecture On
ZIONISM
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FRIDAY, FEB. 22, 8 p.m.
at 329 Pine St.
Auspices: Philadelphia Branch,
Communist Party (Opposition)

mendous quantities—but not to those who earn them. Amidst all these dividends and profits computed in terms practically unknown to the masses of America, their own incomes, wages and salaries, are lost. But it is these amounts that are supposed to keep alive the millions of toilers. How they compare with the juicy slices of the boss class, we shall examine in the next article.

INSURANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

increasing from day to day at a terrific rate. And unemployment figures have now reached the 19 million mark. Do 3 per cent payroll deductions, fifteen week benefit periods, state versus industry pools mean anything to these 220,000 families, to the 5,000,000 families on relief in America? A plan which leaves these to the tender mercies of local charity as Roosevelt proposes, or to absorption in industry through a thirty hour week law as Green demands, is evading a fundamental issue.

Economically the theory of unemployment reserves is very shaky. The accumulation of funds during a boom serves to accentuate the sky-rocketing, the withdrawal of funds as depression sets in and the reserves are needed has the effect of intensifying the crash. Reserves can only be useful in ironing out the rigors of seasonal or single-industry unemployment over short periods. In a period of economic chaos they are lost in the landslide.

For The Lundeen Bill

Under capitalism unemployment insurance is doomed to become a dole—an outpouring of Federal funds to bolster up a reserve system that will not stand by itself. Recognition of this fact means the abandonment of a mythical actuarial basis for reserves. Of the schemes current in Washington only the Lundeen bill has incorporated a frank recognition of this situation.

The Social Security bill will emerge from Congress as a compromise of the views of Green, Roosevelt and the National Association of Manufacturers. Their views are not so diametrically conflicting that they cannot agree upon a workable solution. Workable—but little more. The answer to the problem of unemployment is employment and the guarantee of employment for all, all of the time is solved only by the socialist state.

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(Opposition)

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COMRADES IN THE STRUGGLE
AGAINST THE HITLER TER-
ROR REGIME

TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Marginal Notes on the Resolution of the C.P. Central Committee

(Continued from Page 3)

goes, "to be grateful for small favors." At any rate, I think we can detect in this Resolution the first sign of troubled Communist conscience in the matter of lack of inner party democracy. That seems to be the motivation for the following passages:

1. "It is necessary to carefully explain inside the Party the tasks of the reorganization of trade union work, avoiding taking steps without preparation, which can only hinder matters."

2. "First of all, the Party must explain to its own ranks the significance of the united front . . ."

3. "The INITIATIVE of the lower Party organizations must be developed in every way, giving them leadership MORE ON THE BASIS OF CONVICTION. . ."

However, actions speak louder than words. Would it not have been better if the Labor Party question had been freely discussed prior and con in the Party ranks and press PRIOR to Browder's speech committing the Party without decision by its members? (Think of the lengthy, free, labor party discussion in the days of our leadership of the Party! Where would you have been, Comrade Browder, if we had decided without discussion against your opposition, and you were opposed, and then expelled you?) Would it not have been better if the liquidation of red unions had been freely discussed and decided by the membership? (We had to expel no Zacks in our day!)

New Dangers

These methods of "correcting" mistakes and errors by chicanery, by chvostism, by "changed conditions," by fiat from above with no previous discussion by the membership and no previous decision by them, entail new dangers:

1. "Corrections" that do not correct.
2. No re-education of the Party. Serious demoralization and dropping out or expulsion of great numbers of honest but misguided, ultra-leftist elements.
3. No convincing of the alienated non-party masses that the Party's errors have been abandoned.
4. No guarantee against return to old errors.
5. No change in inner party life here or in the International.

Some Immediate Necessities

What must be done? A few things that should be done immediately to further a correct line and Communist unity are:

1. A real change in the Trade Union line. The immediate abolition of the T.U.U.L. as a dual union center; a speedy liquidation of ALL dual unions without exception; an abandonment of the perspective for the formation of an Independent Federation of Labor*; a public pledge not to engage in union

Read the Literature of the Communist Party (Opp.)

- What Is the Communist Opposition? By Bertram D. Wolfe 15 Cents
What Next For American Labor? By Jay Lovestone 5 Cents
The NRA and American Labor By Will Herberg 5 Cents
I Accuse. By M. N. Roy 10 Cents
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3. A speedy correction of the "left labor party" caricature.
4. A direct speedy answer to our letter on Jan. 15, 1935. We can recognize that the Central Committee's resolution of its sessions of Jan. 15 to 18, is in part an attempt to meet some of our proposals, a kind of unaddressed "answer." But that is no way to discuss differences, clarify problems, and remove obstacles to joint work and ultimate unity. Comradely discussion, ideological clarity, an open correction of errors, the restoration of inner party democracy, Communist unity—these are not duties to us, nor to yourselves, so much as they are life and death necessities of the movement and the working class. No number of paper resolutions or ideological wriggles and twists and squirms can discount those obligations. They must be settled in full. The good of the movement nationally and internationally requires it.

* The resolution reads: "It is now inadvisable (!!) to put the question of forming an Independent Federation of Labor."

BOOKS RECEIVED

ART AND THE LIFE OF ACTION, by Max Eastman. Knopf. 230 pp., \$2.00
Max Eastman "discovers" new arguments for the old theory of "art for art's sake." (Review later)

WHO GETS THE MONEY, by Walter Rautenstrauch. Harpers. 99 pp., \$1.00
A statistical analysis of the distribution of the national income, with certain implications for speeding recovery and combatting depression. (Review later by Economist).

UNION-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION IN THE "STRETCH-OUT," by Richmond C. Nyman and Elliott Dunlap Smith. Yale University Press. 210 pp., \$3.00.
(Review by B. Herman)

CHRISTOPHER LORRIS, by Jerome G. Locke. Christopher Publishing House, Boston. 260 pp., \$2.50.
Shows how to "abolish profit and preserve incentive" by rewarding everybody with merits instead of money!

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Boyer		4.00
Boston C.P.O.	(23.90)	12.75
Baltimore C.P.O.		5.00
Christie C.	(3.00)	1.00
Cheskin R.	(1.00)	2.00
Bostic Clarissa50
Eisenberg Anna	(1.00)	1.00
Fox Harry	(1.00)	1.00
Greenwald Estelle	(2.00)	3.00
Howard J.	(3.00)	2.00
Harris	(5.00)	5.00
Hartford C.P.O.		2.00
Leonard Mary	(3.00)	2.00
Martin M.	(6.00)	1.50
Montreal C.P.O.	(103.04)	3.00
Mager50
Pittsburgh C.P.O.	(20.00)	5.00
Phila. Unit No. 2. C.P.O.		19.45
Rubinstein Harry		5.00
Richman Sam	(4.00)	.75
Ransome E.		1.00
Rosenthal Louis	(5.00)	5.00
Scharf K.	(50.00)	20.00
S. E.	(5.00)	2.00
Stone Julius	(4.00)	1.00
Salmon M.		2.00
Wucher Hanna	(6.00)	4.00
Wiseman Reva	(1.00)	1.00
Zeldin I.		2.00
Z. H.		5.00

COLLECTION LISTS

Leichman Nat, Tucson Arizona .. 1.00
Mason Lee, Tucson Arizona 2.00
Vasquez N.55

TOTAL\$ 129.00

Previously Listed\$2,012.73

GRAND TOTAL\$2,141.73

debate
— on —
"WHICH PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN LABOR"
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 17, 1935
2.30 P. M.
At IRVING PLAZA AUDITORIUM, 15th St. & Irving Pl. N. Y.
ADMISSION 35c
Secure your tickets from Communist Party (Opposition)
51 West 14th St., or from members of the C.P.O.

JAY LOVESTONE
for the
COMMUNIST PARTY (OPPOSITION)
A. J. MUSTE
for the
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S. A.
HEYWOOD BROUN, Chairman