

WORKERS' AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

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General Dress Strike in New York

NRA Suppresses Strike of Miners; Workers Restive

The growing strike movement of nearly 60,000 soft-coal miners in Western Pennsylvania, one of the most extensive and militant actions of labor in recent years, was suppressed after two weeks of constant spread, when, on August 8, the NRA, with the assistance of the United Mine Workers officials, finally "prevailed" on the miners to go back to work on the promise that their grievances would be considered by a special NRA arbitration board.

The Unionization Drive

The strike move began and continued primarily as a drive to unionize the miners and obtain recognition for the U.M.W.A. The region had been unionized in 1922 but the miners were excluded from the agreement which Lewis concluded with the operators. This shameful sell-out served to create a profound anti-Lewis sentiment which remains to this day. In 1927 the Save-the-Union Committee attempted to stimulate an organization drive in these fields but with little success. The region remained almost entirely open shop.

The adoption of the Recovery Act and the rush of the coal companies, especially the big H. C. Frick Company, a United States Steel Corporation subsidiary, to establish company unions and have them recognized, directly or indirectly, in the coal code, stimulated the union officials to start an organization drive. The response of the miners surpassed all expectations. Soon the region was pretty well organized in the U.M.W.A. The operators immediately began a war to the death against the spreading union movement. The answer of the miners was the call for a general strike on the sole issue of recognition. Beginning with about 10,000 workers out, the strike soon spread so that it finally included practically all miners in the fields and shut down all of the H. C. Frick Company's mines.

From the very beginning, the local officials, openly in the pay of the operators, spared no brutality in attempting to suppress the strike movement. The state militia sent by Governor Pinchot soon found itself engaged in the same work of suppression, in spite of the Governor's declarations of sympathy for the miners. A state of actual war dominated Western Pennsylvania but the miners refused to be intimidated and the strike was well on the way to success when the Federal government, the NRA, intervened.

The NRA Steps In!

General Johnson publicly declared that the issue of the conflict, that is, unionization, did not "interest" him, that what he wanted was a "cessation of the warfare that was endangering recovery." After prolonged negotiations he got John L. Lewis, president of the U.M.W.A. and member of the Labor Advisory Board of the NRA, to agree to call off the strike on

the following conditions: the miners were to return to work without discrimination because of union affiliation, the miners were to be allowed to elect checkweighmen of their own, the issue of the struggle was to be submitted to an NRA arbitration committee composed of Gerard Swope of the General Electric Company and Louis E. Kirstein of Edward Filene's Sons Company, both notorious anti-union concerns, and George L. Berry, reactionary pres-

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CLOAK CODE FOR PIECE WORK

New York City.

A sharp fight against the recently adopted NRA code for the cloak and suit industry was put up by members of the Cloakmakers United Progressive League at the joint meeting of the executive boards of all cloakmakers locals (Locals 1, 3, 9, 10, 17, 35, 48, 64, 82) of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union held on Monday evening, August 7, 1933.

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TWO LYNCHED IN ALABAMA

One of the most wanton and brutal lynch murders of recent years took place on Sunday August 13, in Tascaloosa County, Alabama, when Tom Pippen, 18 years old, A. T. Harden, 16, and Elmore Clark, 28 indicted for murder and in the custody of a sheriff, were virtually handed over to an infuriated mob, which shot the two boys to death and seriously wounded Clark.

Whatever evidence has been produced tends to indicate that the boys were not guilty of the charge against them. The International Labor Defense immediately offered legal assistance but the court refused to admit the I. L. D. lawyers. Lynch sentiment began to rise high under the slogan "This must not be another Scottsboro!"—that is, the Negroes must not be brought to trial. Acting hand in glove with the lynchers, Sheriff R. L. Shamblin took his three prisoners over an "isolated road", as he himself explained, and, when confronted by a masked mob, unhesitatingly handed them over to it, without even the pretence of resistance. The bloody business then took place.

To cover up their own complicity, the county authorities immediately

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I.L.G.W.U. in Big Struggle For Workers Demands

New York City.

About sixty thousand dressmakers are out in general strike in New York City and suburban communities in New Jersey and Connecticut. The strike broke out on Wednesday morning, August 16, upon call of the Dressmakers Union of the I.L.G.W.U., under instructions of the referendum held two days previously in which the organized dressmakers in Manhattan and Brooklyn voted overwhelmingly, 12,146 to 463, for the general strike.

The strike comes as the culmination

of a period of vigorous organization activity designed to mobilize the dressmakers for an effective struggle for tolerable conditions. The demands of the union in the present strike are:

The 30-hour week, in order to immediately relieve unemployment; and definite guarantee of the minimum wage scale, incorporated in the existing agreement; the responsibility of the jobbers for conditions in contracting shops; and collective agreements and proper work standards to regulate the status of the workers in the industry. The union has already established an effective strike machinery.

The National Association of Dress Manufacturers, a strong open-shop group composed largely of jobbers, attempted to head off the strike movement at the last minute by announcing its acceptance of the NRA blanket code but the union is not to be swerved by any such maneuvers and stands unshaken by its demands. It is significant, however, that even for this formal gesture on the part of National Association the whip of strike threat was necessary!

The general strike of dressmakers in New York City acquires tremendous significance in view of the recent "no-strike" edict of the NRA. It comes as a sharp challenge to the attempt to deprive labor of its most powerful weapon, the right to strike, at a time when the workers need this weapon more than ever before. Reports are that the NRA offices in Washington have been flooded with appeals of the dress manufacturers to "stop" the strike but the dressmakers are determined to yield to no pressure from the NRA or to allow any NRA interference with the winning of their demands. The firm stand of the dressmakers for the right to strike is certain to inspire the labor movement in the rest of the country and stiffen its resistance to the bosses' offensive under cover of the Recovery Act.

The Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, the dual union controlled by the official Communist Party, is at its usual work trying to spread demoralization and confusion. At a time when the greatest possible unity of the dressmakers is so necessary, it is going thru the motions of calling its own strike, holding its own "strike meetings", and so on, as if it were a serious factor in the trade. But fortunately all signs go to indicate that this time its work of disorganization and division will have little effect.

The general strike of the dressmakers is of grave importance for the whole labor movement, especially for the workers organizations of New York. It is the duty of every trade union and of every labor organization to give the greatest moral and material support to the dressmakers who are today fighting not only their own battle but also the battle of organized labor as a whole under the regime of the Blue Eagle!

SHOE WORKERS IN STRIKE

Boston, Mass.

August 13, 1933.

The big shoe strike is over. The union representatives, who had been summoned to Washington for a conference at the Department of Labor, returned home yesterday. A meeting of all joint councils was held at which it was decided to accept the settlement of a 20% flat increase until September 15. Before that time the Massachusetts

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For the Right to Strike!

The setting up of the so-called National Labor Board as part of the NRA machinery, is a threat to labor that every worker can understand, no matter what may be his opinion about the National Industrial Recovery Act as an effective recovery and reemployment measure.

The unrestricted right to strike is the very life of unionism. Without the possibility of resorting to this weapon if necessary, a trade union is powerless and all its demands are mere empty words. Take away its right to strike and you destroy its very existence!

Never was the right to strike more necessary for labor than today. Prices are already skyrocketing upwards. Only determined action for higher wages can prevent the workers from sinking lower and lower into the depths of misery. The Recovery Act is supposed to guarantee the right of union organization and of collective bargaining. But what are these "rights" worth, if the basic right, the right to strike, is abolished?

And now the Federal government has stolen this right of labor! Frightened at the recent wave of strikes and organizations drives, that came as a fresh breeze of militancy into the stagnant atmosphere of late

years, the NRA has decided to suppress all labor militancy, to make all strikes and even all vigorous organization campaigns impossible. Strikes are now "unpatriotic" and against them the full of the government is to be used. Unionization drives, if they go "too far", that is, if they are effective, are in the same boat. The National Labor Board and similar bodies to be set up in the states and localities, are to decide all issues and matters of dispute between capital and labor!

Senator Wagner, Tammany politician, heads the list of the seven members of this national strike-breaking board. Dr. Leo Wolman represents the "experts." And who are the other members? Walter C. Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey; Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company; Louis E. Kirstein, general manager of William Filene's Sons Company of Boston—all representatives of notorious open shop and company union concerns, and John L. Lewis and William Green, "representing" labor! What can the workers expect from this tribunal which is to have their fate in its hands for final decision.

Surely the ill-famed Hoover-Green "no strike" pact of 1929 has not yet been forgotten, the pact that Green him-

self was later forced to renounce and condemn. And now the A. F. of L. leaders, who claim to represent unionism and the interests of labor, have again acted true to form, rather as lieutenants of capital than as spokesmen of labor. The spectacle of Edward G. McGrady rushing to Pennsylvania to break a strike called solely to force recognition of the U. M. W. A., is enough to indicate the despicable role the labor leaders are playing today!

There is only one way out! Every union, every labor organization,

must immediately declare itself unalterably opposed to any sort of governmental restriction of the right to strike,

must specifically brand as anti-labor the policy of the NRA in virtually outlawing strikes and setting up the National Labor Board,

must express its sharp disapproval of the conduct of the union members of the Labor Advisory Board of the NRA in supporting the policy of strike suppression,

must call upon the union members of the National Labor Board to withdraw from it in protest,

must declare in no uncertain terms that it does not consider itself bound in any way by any sort of restriction of the right to strike!

Join the Communist Opposition!

Declaration of Louis Baum

We publish below the declaration of Louis A. Baum, for many years an outstanding Communist worker in New York City. Comrade Baum and a number of other comrades in the Lower Bronx section have joined the Communist Opposition.—Editor.

New York City. In appealing to the District Secretariat of the Communist Party of America for a rehearing of the so-called charges against me, I stated that "loyalty to the wrong class and the Communist Party is the road to expulsion." How true this is can be readily seen by an understanding of what happened to me, as well as to the hundreds of others who were framed by the bureaucrats and swivel-chair functionaries of the C. P.

They everlastingly preach discipline but their particular brand of discipline is calculated to render the comrades spineless and cowardly. Anyone with backbone and courage is far from being wanted by the clique in control. My troubles began when I received an assignment to build an I. L. D. branch in the Lower Bronx. I went at the task with hammer and tongs and in less than six months enrolled eighty-one members. A few undesirable elements crept into an organization, especially during its formative stage, but I soon exposed one individual, a supposed marine worker, as a detective and spy and another unscrupulous business woman out for cold cash. Then the fur began a-flying which ended in my separation from the Communist Party of America.

By the way, documentary evidence against said detective was obtained from the Marine Workers Industrial Union and the woman in question was tried five times, including two trials by a Communist Party fraction (also not a party member) and in each and every instance found guilty. Was she expelled? Hardly! In fact the bureaucrats suddenly put on a spurt and soon made her into a full-fledged member of the party and then proceeded to charge me with "slandering a leading comrade."

Mr. Glass, big boss of Section 5, sent for me and ordered me to resign as organizer of the Jim Connolly I. L. D. branch, naively believing that the comrades would accept my resignation during my absence. But such was not to be, for the membership absolutely refused to accept my resignation for the second time. This naturally infuriated the big boss and summoning a rag, tag and bobtail army,

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CURRENT EVENTS, by Jay Lovestone. Friday nights at 8:30. Single admission—25c.

PSYCHOLOGY AND MARXISM, Bert Wolfe. Friday nights at 7.

CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM (Fundamentals of Communism - I) Monday nights at 7—D. Benjamin. Tuesday nights at 8:30—Ellen Ward.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM, Will Herberg. Monday nights at 8:30.

BASIC CONCEPTIONS OF SCIENCE, M. C. Stewart. Monday nights at 7.

FASCISM, B. Herman. Tuesday nights at 7.

HISTORY OF LABOR INTERNATIONALS, Herbert Zam. Tuesday nights at 8:30.

DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, Jim Cork. Tuesday nights at 7.

led by the detective who was armed with a leaden pipe, they proceeded to drive all the loyal elements from the hall.

This led to the formation of the Lower Bronx Workers Club which immediately but vainly applied for a charter to the District of the I. L. D. and, as a last resort, they connected with the City Club Council—a Communist Party-controlled body. The Lower Bronx Workers Club continued to loyally support the Communist Party and to contribute liberally to I. L. D. defense work. "Daily Workers" and "Labor Defenders" were sold at its open-air meetings but, notwithstanding all this, they were hounded as opposition elements and always denounced at party-controlled street meetings. Altho absent from the meeting at which the break occurred and at this time not a member of Lower Bronx Workers Club, I was charged with organizing an opposition group and expelled by Mr. Glass and his satellites from the Communist Party of America without any sort of hearing.

But something strange occurred shortly before my expulsion. Perhaps the deal was altogether too raw for the comrades to swallow. The burr of Unit 2, Section 5, sent for me and told me to get back into harness once more and to completely forget all the unpleasant incidents of the past! But this arrangement evidently proved unsatisfactory to the bureaucrats, for they immediately reversed themselves again and ordered my name stricken from the rolls. I then received a communication summoning me to appear before the district control commission which I did with five witnesses and learned to my dismay that the workers court of justice had been tampered with and everything fixed in advance.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I can overlook and close my eyes to many unimportant shortcomings but I can never, never forgive the framing of any worker by a control commission of any so-called revolutionary organization. After all is said and done, why appeal to the framers of class-conscious workers. In the last analysis, is it not the revolutionary workers and farmers of America that constitute the court of last resort? It is to them that I direct my final appeal, I know that they will render a true and correct verdict in due time.

Louis A. Baum.

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WORKERS AGE

New Wave of Expulsions Breaks Out in Communist Party

The demoralizing succession of turns, half-turns and re-turns in Communist Party policy and tactics in recent months has stimulated a widespread protest movement in the party and has led to a new series of expulsions in various sections.

Goldman raised a protest against the party's sectarianism on the unemployed field almost a year ago, on the basis of the experiences in Chicago. Readers of the "Workers Age" will remember the article of B. Herman in the February 1, 1933 issue, greeting the fact that "the article of Comrade Verblin (Goldman), in the 'Communist' of December 1932, exposes the sectarian blundering and suicidal methods of the party leadership. . . . It is a welcome relief in the welter of non-Leninist and anti-Leninist nonsense that fills the columns of the party press. It will certainly have its effect in recalling to the minds of many party members the elementary ideas of Leninist tactics now proscribed and forgotten in the party." The inadequacies of Comrade Goldman's position of that time, as pointed out in our article referred to, have been largely overcome by Comrade Goldman himself under the recent statement on his expulsion, he comes out unequivocally for a policy of thoroughgoing unity.

Expulsions In Chicago
In Chicago, a sensation has been created by the expulsion of A. Goldman, a leading party member and chief counsel for the International Labor Defense. The fundamental differences between Goldman and the party bureaucrats center around the questions of the united front tactics and the party policy among the unemployed. "The main reason for my expulsion," declares Comrade Goldman in a statement sent to the "Workers Age" and other Communist papers, "is my view on the united front tactics, especially as applied in the Chicago united front action of the unemployed workers in October 1932, my opinion of the tactics of the German Communist Party in the struggle against Fascism, and my criticism of the method of the calling of the Free Tom Mooney Congress."

The other big point of Comrade Goldman's criticism of the party course is the conduct of the party in regard to the National Tom Mooney Congress. In this respect his views correspond to the position of the Communist Opposition but they do not go as far. We hope that Comrade Goldman will not limit his criticism merely to the method of calling the congress but will extend it also to the conduct of the congress and especially to the system of "collecting issues" and converting the Tom Mooney movement into an "omnibus united front."

It would be of no service to refute the countless slanders that are spreading about Comrade Goldman. We know only too well exactly what they are worth!

Immediately after his expulsion, Comrade Goldman arranged a public meeting, at which about 300 people were present. Further expulsions are under way in Chicago. Lydia Beidell, a well known functionary, has refused to swallow the disgraceful nonsense of the party on the German catastrophe and has issued a mimeographed statement very clearly pointing out the responsibility for the defeat and abandonment of a free discussion. In Chicago, too, five members of the Young Communist League have been expelled and two more are on the way. And here, too, the issue is the united front.

In Los Angeles And New York
In Los Angeles Basil Dell, the most outstanding member of the Young Communist League, has been expelled from the party and expulsion from the Y. C. L. is to follow.
In New York City, Louis Baum, known for years as the outstanding Communist worker in Lower Bronx, has been expelled from the party because of his resistance to the sectarian and wrecking course of the C. P. in the I. L. D. With him Burnett Le Roy was also expelled. Both have joined the Communist Opposition.

In Harlem a whole branch of the I. L. D., the Roy Wright Branch, was expelled by the demoralized bureaucrats because it wanted to stick to the alleged non-partisan character of the I. L. D.
These are signs of the times. An increasing number of party members and revolutionary workers are coming around to the view that the road of the Communist Opposition is the only way out of the blind-alley in which our movement finds itself today.

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NRA BREAKS STRIKE OF MINERS
(Continued from Page 1)
ident of the printing pressmen's union. In this truce the H. C. Frick Company and other operators associated with it would not recognize the U. M. W. A. even as far as to provide that the union call the men back to work! They announced that they would push ahead

Labor and the Nat'l Recovery Act

Unionism Faces a Great Test!

by Will Herberg

The last few weeks have been weeks of greatest moment for the labor movement of this country. They have been weeks of vigorous organization campaigns in many branches of industry and of a wave of strikes that has come as a breath of fresh air in the stagnant atmosphere of recent years. But they have also been weeks of growing disillusionment of the workers with the National Industrial Recovery Act, only recently recommended to them by their leaders as the very road to the heaven of the "New Deal."

The proceedings at the code hearings and the functioning of the codes already in operation, the repeated declarations of Gen. Johnson, Donald Richberg and their assistants, the suppression of the great Pennsylvania miners strike, the Paterson silk strike and other, by the N. I. R. A. machinery, the establishment of a powerful "National Labor Board" dominated by open-shop and company union spokesmen, are already having their effect, are already raising grave doubts in the minds of thinking workers.

What does the Recovery Act hold out for the workers, for organized labor in particular? Will it bring recovery, stimulate re-employment, raise buying power, strengthen labor organization, as promised?

The N.I.R.A. As A Recovery Measure

How is the N.I.R.A. to serve as a recovery measure? First, by "securing cooperative action without industry and eliminating unfair competitive practices," in the words of Senator Wagner. But this cannot be taken seriously. There is plenty of "cooperative action" within the trustified steel industry and there are no "unfair competitive practices" because

there is substantially no competition. Yet the crisis has hit the steel industry as badly as any other. Secondly, recovery is to come thru a policy of systematic price-raising, which has been authoritatively declared to be "paramount" in the economic schemes of the "New Deal." Quite apart from the fact that only the most absurdly unrealistic economics can regard artificial price-raising as the road to recovery, this course has a definite boomerang effect. It cuts buying power and thereby impedes recovery and makes hardship for the workers, whose wages naturally go mostly for articles of immediate consumption. It necessitates systematic limitation of output, which is certainly no way of reducing unemployment. Artificial price-raising, finally, is impossible beyond a certain point without innumerable tariff walls and embargoes, hence without the still further reduction of foreign trade.

But it is along the third road that NRA promises most success: reduction of the work-week, stimulation of reemployment and increase of buying power by a system of minimum wages. Here again the facts have another story to tell. The average work-week of employed workers during May 1933 was about 38 hours. It is clear that the minimum work-weeks proposed in most codes (40 hours or more) will involve no real reemployment. Even the 35-hour provision of the blanket code implies a reemployment of only 8%. And this 8% itself is only a maximum, for the "employers everywhere" will now endeavor to get the output formerly obtained during long hours ("Annalist", June 30, 1933). It is notorious that the

recent pick-up in production was accompanied by a much smaller rise in employment; speed-up and rationalization rise as inevitable obstacles to even a slight degree of reemployment. Finally, it is now clear that whatever formal rise in buying power may come from the minimum wage regulations, and that will be meager enough at best, considering the starvation wage levels in the "mouffed" blanket codes, will be completely swallowed up in the skyrocketing of prices. Sober realism compels us to insist that no substantial reemployment or increase in buying power, and therefore no substantial recovery, is likely to emerge from the operations of the Recovery Act.

But if the N. I. R. A. does not promise much in the way of recovery, it does not hold out some very definite and increasingly serious threats to the organized labor movement. It is well for the workers to realize clearly and without illusions exactly what they are facing and prepare against it.

A Threat To Labor

What is this much-vaunted right of "collective bargaining" as guaranteed in the N.I.R.A. is, is being demonstrated today on the coal fields, the steel mills and in the textile factories. It is becoming evident that the "right" is a delusion and a snare without the power and in strengthening the power of their organizations the workers run directly counter to the NRA.

Undermining The Unions
The gravest menace to unionism, however, lies in the fact that, by taking over full control of wages and hours, the NRA is systematically undermining the very existence of unionism thru attempting to deprive it of its proper functions. If workers cannot look to their unions to fight for them to settle hours and wages, if the

Ask for Aid to Nazi Victims

The press release below was sent to the "Workers Age" and other papers by the International Relief Association, with an accompanying letter by William Pickens, well known Negro leader.

A vigorous appeal for the relief of the victims of Hitlerism in Germany was made last week by the American Committee of the International Relief Association, a world-wide organization founded by Albert Einstein and others, with headquarters in France. The American Committee is headed by Amos R. E. Pinchot, chairman, Freda Kirchwey, treasurer, and Sterling D. Spero, secretary. On it are many well-known educators, scientists, artists, and public figures generally, including Franz Boas, Paul E. Brissenden, George S. Counts, John Dewey, and Westwood C. Williams of Columbia University; Emmett E. Dorsey and Abram L. Harris of Howard University; Jerome Davis of Yale University; Rev. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church, New York; William Pickens of the N. A. A. P. C. P. and the National Urban League; Rev. William Lloyd Ives of the St. James Presbyterian Church of New York; Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York; and many others.

The appeal describes the sufferings of millions of people under the new regime in Germany and the persecution of the Jews, the labor element, and independent and liberal thinkers. It urges that all contributions for the relief of the many thousands of victims of German Fascism—for the wives and children of those imprisoned and of those hiding within Germany, and for the thousands of refugees who have no means of support be sent to Freda Kirchwey, Treasurer, American Committee of the International Relief Association, Room 376, 11 West 42nd Street, New York City.

The International Relief Association makes a special appeal to the Negro people of this country. "More than any other section of our population," the statement runs, "colored Americans should be moved to action by what is happening in Germany today. The colored people of the United States appreciate only too well the cruelty of a system based on racial oppression and are surely ready to extend the helping hand of solidarity to the victims of such a system in Germany!"

Dressmakers for One Union!

A Communication

The following communication was sent on July 9, 1933 by Dressmakers Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. to the Dress Department of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union.—Editor.

The General Executive Board of the N.T.W.I.U. addressed recently a communication to our union suggesting certain steps be taken so as to improve the conditions of the workers in our industry.

The proposal calls for a united front of the two unions, i.e. the I. L. G. W. U. and the N.T.W.I.U., to conduct one strike. In reply hereto we wish to state as follows: During the last few years the dressmakers have suffered untold hardships. Misery, starvation wages, unemployment are the lot of all the workers in our trade.

And now with the rising cost of living, with prices on all commodities continually going up, the condition of the workers is fast becoming worse and worse. With the aid of the National Industrial Recovery Act, the employers are trying to perpetuate this condition thru the code that they are now working out.

The urgent need of the hour is an intensive mobilization of all the workers in our trade for an offensive against the employers, to wipe out the present sweatshop conditions and reestablish union standards and union conditions in the shops.

Under the circumstances real unity in the ranks of the workers is of prime importance. Any group or individual who looks for political advantages, any one who carries on maneuvers or who in any way is attempting to demoralize the ranks of the workers by committing an unpardonable crime against the dressmakers.

Maneuvers Will Not Help!

That the proposals of N.T.W.I.U. are only a maneuver becomes obvious on the slightest examination. They propose a united front of

Silk Workers Prepare Strike

by B.

Paterson, New Jersey. The decision of the executive board of the Associated Silk Workers, affiliated with the United Textile Worker Union of the A.F. of L., to call a general strike in the trade is meeting with the hearty support of the workers. On August 6, a membership meeting of the union was held here, which supported the decision for a strike, empowering the strike committee to call a general strike on the day of the code hearings and, if the latter were delayed unnecessarily, to advance the date of the strike. In the meantime the union is going ahead, strengthening its organization and preparing for the struggle, especially in the Paterson and Allentown areas. A conference will be sought with the manufacturers to establish a general wage scale in the industry.

The sentiment for the strike is the result of the intolerable conditions under which the silk workers have to labor, especially the inhumanly long hours and low wages. The workers in Paterson have been working 12, 14 and 16 hours daily for wages ranging from \$10 to \$20 a week, as far as the bulk of the workers are concerned. In many shops the workers are already demanding increases and better conditions of work and are forcing the employers to grant their demands or make important concessions. Shop after shop is tying up with the union. Two weeks ago there was a successful strike of 2,500 ribbon silk workers, which resulted in the workers gaining and increase in wages of approximately 40%. Thousands of workers have joined the union in the past month and the older members are showing renewed activity. Most of the few workers of the National Textile Workers Union, the T.U.U.L. Union, have since joined the Associated. In fact the National is practically non-existent and is no factor in the situation.

The workers are demanding that the bosses live up to the conditions set down in the blanket code of the

TWO LYNCHED IN ALABAMA

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diately issued a declaration charging the I. L. D. with responsibility for the murder on the ground that it "stirred up feeling!" This savage piece of white ruling class "justice" takes place precisely at the time when we are again comforted on all sides that lynchings are rapidly declining to the point of extinction. It brings out with the greatest force the fundamental truth that lynching will never be eradicated until the system that breeds it is demolished, the system of exploitation, slavery and race prejudice!

"The Revolution Is Already Over!"

Berlin, Germany. When the Nazis were faced with the problem of preparing to inaugurate the elimination of the German Nationalist Party, they spread everywhere stories of what a reactionary capitalist Hugenberg was and how he was hindering the carrying out of the "socialism" of the Hitlerite brand. This deception was not only effective with broad sections of the followers of the Nazis but many non-Fascists at home and abroad really believed that, after the fall of Hugenberg, the pressure of the masses would force Hitler to take "some steps" against capital.

Fascism And Capital
It would not be very difficult to show how dangerous were these illusions and how dangerous they still remain. Recently now, after the fall of Hugenberg, it is becoming clear that the fascist dictatorship has not the least idea of taking any "steps" against capitalism, if only the slightest. It is

SHOE WORKERS ON STRIKE IN BOSTON

(Continued from Page 1)
Board of Arbitration will establish a fixed wage scale. Tomorrow, local meetings will be held at which it is expected the membership will accept the agreement.

Boston, Mass. Approximately 16,000 members of the National Shoe Workers Association have declared a general strike against the shoe manufacturers. The strike was completely the shoe factories in Boston, Chelsea and Lynn, Mass.

Two weeks prior to the expiration of the agreement, representatives of the union and of the manufacturers association got together to negotiate for higher wages. No agreement could be reached and a "holiday" was declared. The manufacturers demanded that the workers remain at work on the basis of the old prices until August 15, negotiations to continue during the period. After an agreement would be reached, they said, the rates would be retroactive from August 1.

The shoe workers, remembering their bitter experiences with previous dealings with the bosses, refused to accept the offer. At a meeting of all joint councils of Boston, Chelsea and Lynn all agreed to demand a 20 per cent. flat increase in prices (wages) until August 15, when all wages would be adjusted. The manufacturers refused this demand. Thereupon the "holiday" was called off and a general strike declared.

The shoe workers responded as one man to the general strike call of the union. The shops are closed and not a wheel is turning. The general strike committee has already completed and put into effect an efficient strike machinery. The strike has become so effective that the manufacturers, who had threatened not to deal with the union until the workers had returned to work, are already negotiating. But the shoe workers will not be fooled by the fact that negotiations are going on. They will continue picketing until all wage rates have been adjusted favorably to all crafts and an agreement signed.

In the negotiations the strategy of the manufacturers has been to create dissension among the workers by trying to stir up fights among the crafts. By granting a slight increase in wage rates to one craft and imposing a cut on another and refusing to grant an increase to still another craft, they at first did bring about some confusion but the union has succeeded in clearing up the situation. The maneuvers of the bosses have been exposed as cheap trickery and today the entire membership stands behind the union.

Only victory can result from the strike!

A New Stage in German Fascism

by A. P.

already obvious that, on the economic field, it is doing nothing but what the most reactionary spokesmen of monopoly capital demand. Let us consider some facts. Hugenberg was replaced as Reich Minister of Economics by Schmitt, director of the insurance firm "Allianz". Schmitt is an even more outspoken representative of trust capital than Hugenberg. The difference between Hugenberg and Schmitt consists in the fact that the former represents not only the economic interests of big capital but the Junkers but also the demand for direct political domination. Schmitt, on the other hand, represents the tendency of big capital, that has become dominant today, to bow before the political monopoly of the fascist party, to support it in order to make the Nazi dictatorship the instrument in the consolidation and extension of the social rule of big capital, in the execution of the economic aims of the capitalist employers.

As soon as Hugenberg was eliminated and the "socialist" demagoguery of the Nazis had achieved its aim, its entire apparatus was directed to suppress those who retained the slightest idea of plac-

ing a barrier in the way of private property and the private initiative of the capitalists. Hitler and Schmitt made speeches in which the "industrial leaders", that is, the capitalists, were assured the greatest "freedom of business", of exploitation. The Nazi commissioner who, in the early days of the "national upsurge" had raised himself to the very highest seat of monopoly capital, the Reich League of German Industry, took to flight and is rumored to be in prison. The "reconstruction of professional estates" in economic life is postponed for the future, until the capitalists are economically "rehabilitated". This means that the fascist state will be absolute master!

Most clearly of all the new decrees of the fascist dictatorship show the course it is following. For industry the formation of compulsory cartels is prescribed. This means that the fascist state is using its power to mutilate the centralization and concentration of capital in order to facilitate and complete the rule of monopoly capital over economic

life. The trust lords are to receive increased official support. The small producers, who have followed the Nazis so blindly, are to be surrendered to the mercies of big capital, in spite of all promises. Even in public contracts the small producers are not to be favored

Economics And Politics

The recent events and laws on the field of economic policy of the fascist dictatorship are very instructive. They show that the fascist apparatus of power, this mighty and unscrupulous organ of the bourgeois state, is an instrument of the rule of capital, obeys the dictates of capitalist interests economically, but shows its fist to the masses of labor workers and petty bourgeois, who expect it to take a stand against capitalism. On the economic field the omnipotence of fascism means the suppression of those who want to restrain the "free initiative" of the big capitalists, *provided only that the capitalist class is ready to hand over direct political rule to the Nazis.*

The workers must rid themselves of the idea that the masses following the Nazis today will take spon-

taneously and by themselves the road to decisive struggle against capital. It is true that disillusion and unrest are spreading among certain sections of the people; but these forces can only have their effect against Hitler and trust capital if they rise to the level of independent revolutionary activity along the lines of the working class.

ally all parts of the country. The protraction of the crisis into the fifth year, the advent of a period of upturn, marked by a considerable increase in production but by hardly any appreciable rise in employment or wages, were of course the basic factors making for the spurt in the strike curve; nevertheless, the widespread feeling that unionism, strikes and collective bargaining were "legal" were "guaranteed" by the N.I.R.A., had its undeniable effect. Dismayed by these unexpected repercussions of the Recovery Act, the NRA is now trying to counteract this sentiment and to suppress the strike organization wave; such is the meaning of the National Labor Board. But a movement of such a character cannot be wiped out in a day, not even by General Johnson!

What is the duty of the organized labor movement in this situation? First and foremost, it must derive some support from the effects of the act. . . . Not only will all these processing industries have their own trade boards in response to the requirements of cooperation but they will have protective agreements with the government. Finally, it must not be overlooked that the agriculturally derived industries have all the rights and privileges that the business recovery act generally accords to business groups, associations and agreements of labor organizations to refuse to participate in the various "mixed" administrative and advisory bodies of the NRA, set up under the various codes. These boards and committees are not, as they are alleged to be, joint committees of administration by employers and the unions, they are, in strict fact, administrative committees of the industry, of much the same character as executive committees of trade associations and employers organizations. Participation in such bodies would be a gross surrender of the interests of the workers and a costly blow at the unions. The representatives of labor would at best be hostages in the camp of the enemy, a screen to hide and to sanction the offensive of capital against labor. The business recovery act is not to help the capitalists to carry their plans but to defend the interests of labor against capital at all points. The representatives of labor have no more place in the NRA. The steel code will yet teach us a valuable lesson in this respect as to the operations of the N.I.R.A.

8. How is the N.I.R.A. being administered? With the impartiality of which General Johnson "Barney Baruch's boy", always boasts? Let G. H. Bugnizet, secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, testify ("New York Times", July 28, 1933): "The rules imposed by William I. Allen, deputy administrator, greatly favored the employers and handicapped labor. . . . When labor made a point against the code, it was glided over by the deputy administrator and thereafter every question asked by the deputy administrator was designed to bring out a rebuttal answer from the employers." Even Mr. Green has expressed his dissatisfaction with the administration of the Recovery Act in timid terms: it is true but repeatedly nevertheless.

9. The whole extent of the threat to unionism is emphasized in the most spectacular form in the openly avowed policy of the NRA to suppress strikes and industrial conflicts as part of the administration of the Recovery Act. Even before the establishment of the National Labor Board the course of the N. R. A. was clear enough. "Manifestly the purpose of the Act is to create and preserve harmonious relationships and to prevent industrial strife and class conflicts," announced General Johnson on July 7 ("New York Times", July 8, 1933). In Paerson, John A. Moffitt, representative of Labor, "indicated that if the strike were continued the government would give the textile company whatever assistance and protection was necessary to permit reopening the plant with new help" ("New York Times," July 30, 1933.)

It requires no very great insight to appreciate the very significance of the National Industrial Recovery Act for the labor movement. Paradoxically enough, the first and certainly the most spectacular manifestation of the N.I.R.A. has been its influence in helping unleash a wave of strikes and labor organization campaigns in practi-

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We are continuing below the series of articles by Jay Lovestone on "The New Deal and the Workers."—Editor.

In fine, the Industrial Recovery Act is so crude and obvious a measure in behalf of the biggest among the big business interests that not a single one of even the so-called progressive Republican, Democratic and Farmer-Labor Senators, representing the trodden-upon and muddled middle class, voted for it in the upper house.

Subsidies And Subventions:
2. Subsidies, subventions, and partnership: For this kind of economic recovery there is a word, they call it *Liebesgabenwirtschaft*, a word as meaningful and profitable for the big capitalists as it is long. In business English it could be translated as the economy of handing out gifts for the sake of love. This policy of the "New Dealer" is reflected in his entire legislative program. The "Magazine of Wall Street," for instance, has pointed out that the investor begins to suspect that the law, if it works as planned, should be beneficial to the various dairy products industries, such as butter, cheese, condensed milk, powdered milk. . . . The securities of corporations are not united in a union able to defend the conditions they have and, if possible, get better ones for them.

Montreal, Canada. What happened to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Montreal?
It must be stated right from the outset that, tho the international union is not a union in the city of Montreal, the cloakmakers have no union to protect them against the bosses. The employers are free to do whatever they want to. The cloakmakers are helpless because they are not united in a union able to defend the conditions they have and, if possible, get better ones for them.

What has Happened To The International?
But why haven't the cloakmakers a union? What has happened to the International? What has happened to the strike that the International called in the middle of February? To give an answer to the above questions we must acquaint ourselves with the history of the International in Montreal for the last six or seven months.
Two or three months before the strike was called, the I.L.G.W.U. of Montreal, under the leadership of I. Fineberg, vice-president of the International and manager of the Montreal Joint Board, initiated a campaign against every progressive and left winger in the union. This was, I presume, a part of the "preparations" for the general strike. This campaign was quite a success. Thru manipulated elections Fineberg succeeded in removing every progressive worker from every executive and joint board. After this job was done Fineberg and his newly elected officers began negotiations with the manufacturers for the renewal of the old agreement. But the union leaders did not mean this step seriously and the manufacturers knew this well enough. Nothing at all was done to prepare the strike. No move was made to unite all the forces in the union for the strike. But, because the cloak manufacturers ignored the union, Fineberg was forced to take up the challenge and this is how the strike came about.

And so the general strike was called on February 16, 1933. Out of about 1400 cloakmakers only about 600 answered the strike call and, out of the 600, 200 were unemployed. Most of the workers that went out on strike were working in small shops; the workers in the big shops remained on their jobs. And, tho the response to strike was a poor one, the workers

Price Manipulation
4. Manipulation of prices: It is cardinal with the "New Deal" economists that prices can and must

The Economics of the "New Deal"

The "New Deal" and the Workers

by Jay Lovestone

so manipulated as to make them higher at home than abroad, higher in the home market than in the world market. Hence the government's currency, gold standard, and inflation policies. The Roosevelt administration proposes to do this thru special powers accorded to the big trade associations under a recovery act. Besides, the legislation dealing with the currency crisis empowers the government not merely to raise prices thru the means of inflation but, it necessarily, thru the skyward thru mass inflation.

5. A messianic conception of high prices: "New Deal" economists are rooted in the notion that high prices in themselves are an absolute benefit to the existing economic order. This theory is founded on the belief that if prices were raised manufacturers would resume production and that then this resumption would develop a sort of prosperity contagion, that reemployment would replace unemployment. The "New Deal" economists reason something like this: an increase of demand means an increase of price, hence, the converse is true: an increase in price will earn an increase in demand. On the basis of this doctrine of

the stimulation and maintenance of high prices it will be impossible for the Roosevelt government to permit a substantial inflow of foreign goods. A cut in the American tariff schedules would only serve to enhance the competitive power of foreign manufacturers thru a cheapening of their products, and then thru a lowering of the prices of the total production can be battling to hold their own in competition with the imported goods.

6. Artificial expansion of money and credit: The "Brain Trust" has decreed that the purchasing power of the country can be enhanced, that the total production can be increased thru the government expanding the volume of currency and enlarging the available credit supply. This is the essence of inflation. Fundamentally, in its objective consequences for the great mass of the middle class and working people, inflation is but deflation in the reverse, really deflation of the purchasing power of toilers and middle class folk.

7. Mass construction of public works: The "New Dealer" hopes to

hoist the fallen giant of big business out of the ditch thru the government's expenditure of several billions of dollars on the construction of public works. The largest single item of the funds appropriated for public works is the building of war ships costing well over a quarter of a billion dollars. The example of the government engaging in such expansion, it is hoped, will serve to inspire confidence in private employers and encourage them to do likewise and to expand their plants and factories. Besides, it is hoped that the amount, approximately three billion dollars, thus spent by the Administration, will add to the total purchasing power of the country and in this fashion set in motion the wheels of production in sundry industries, which in turn will further increase the purchasing power and insure revival and recovery.

8. Planning: It is the proud boast of the "New Dealer" and his skilled and semi-skilled economic engineers that the changes which they are bringing about in the economic structure of the country will insure sufficient planfulness in American capitalism without the loss of profits, as under the socialist soviet system. In

fact, Moley, Berle and the lesser lights and lobes of the "Brain Trust", have flashed the continent a guarantee that the profit system will be secure and that profits will rise under Roosevelt's planned economy.

9. State capitalism: What we are now witnessing in America is a gigantic growth of state capitalism. In the depths of the crisis and the ensuing despair the once proud, rugged American big business have begun to fear that, in the interest of the capitalist system as such, it has become necessary for them to allow themselves to be regulated by the government which they have set up and own. More than that. Compelled by the terrific force of constantly piling up circumstances, such as mounting bankruptcies and a repeated decline in the volume as well as rate of profit, many of the big bourgeoisie are prepared to welcome the government, not only as a business regulator but even as a business man. At the rate the "New Deal" is proceeding in its extension of state capitalist enterprises the United States will achieve in a few months what it took some European capitalist countries many years!

10. Perpetration of capitalism as a system: The Alpha and Omega of "New Deal" economics were laid in its present system of effort to maintain and perpetuate the capitalist system, the system of the private (capitalist) ownership of the means of production and exchange socially used. The new Securities Act, the latest banking legislation, all the efforts of the government into business are all, like the roads of the past, leading to the Rome of today—energetic efforts to perpetuate the capitalist hold on industry and the maintenance of the "New Deal" by the bourgeoisie in the United States. The liberal phrases, the progressive noise, the whining for the public weal, the "mathematical" formulas from the Columbia laboratories are only that much drapery covering the real "New Deal" of a serious vigorous attempt of American big business, not merely to hold its own but to stage a comeback that will enable it to leap forward. These are the economic aspirations, hopes and illusions of the "New Deal."
(Continued in the next issue)

For Trade Union Unity And Militancy!

WHAT HAPPENED TO I.L.G.W.U. IN MONTREAL?

by D. Breslow

Montreal, Canada. What happened to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Montreal?
It must be stated right from the outset that, tho the international union is not a union in the city of Montreal, the cloakmakers have no union to protect them against the bosses. The employers are free to do whatever they want to. The cloakmakers are helpless because they are not united in a union able to defend the conditions they have and, if possible, get better ones for them.

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A FEW FRANK WORDS ARE WELCOME!

In the July 1933 issue of "Soviet Russia Today", the official organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union, there is an article dealing with the coming national convention of the F. S. U. (October 21 and 22, 1933).

"Despite these activities and the tremendous sympathetic interest found among all elements of the population," the article runs, "the F. S. U. has made little organizational progress. This failure is largely due to the lack of clarity among the membership as to the aims and tasks of the organization and the fact that, on the whole, the membership is limited to the more revolutionary workers. As a matter of fact the F. S. U. acquired the reputation of being a branch of the Communist Party. Moreover, the F. S. U. participated in all struggles and campaigns of friendly organizations in such a way as to confuse its own aims and tasks and its independent character. Since last Fall . . . an earnest effort has been made to clarify the aims of the organization and to establish definitely its non-party character."

This analysis, except for the dishonest shifting of the blame for "unclearly" upon the membership, is perfectly valid and we earnestly hope that future practise will conform with present self-criticism.

But what we would like to know is: Why are you a "renegade" for warning months ahead, as did the Communist Opposition, against a policy which leads to such disastrous consequences?

Unionism Faces A Great Test!

LABOR MOVEMENT AND RECOVERY ACT

by Will Herberg

President can by his own decree, arbitrarily determine everything, do and undo anything, then what are unions for? There is already talk in NRA circles to the effect that the "code of unions" (i.e., class unions against the employers) are "no longer needed!" "The very nature of the codes," writes R. L. Duffus in the "New York Times" of Sunday, August 6, 1933, "must tend to change the policies and attitudes of labor unions. The object is not to set up hostile organizations of labor and employers which will arrive at decisions by trial of strength but to introduce the element of peaceful cooperation." Mr. Duffus even expresses doubt whether the A. F. of L., which is, after all a workers' organization, will be able to measure up to this "noble task"; perhaps it may have to be replaced by a "new type of unions"—company unions of one sort or another.

The I.L.G.W.U. enthusiastically approves a code in the cloak trade which gives the President (the NRA) the full power to cancel or modify at any time any provision of the code or of any subsequent collective agreement. The Progressive Miners of America (Illinois bituminous field) propose a code which declares that all collective agreements shall hold good "unless modified by further order of the President of the United States" ("The Progressive Miner," June 23, 1933)! What remains of a union under such conditions?

5. The whole extent of the threat to unionism is emphasized in the most spectacular form in the openly avowed policy of the NRA to suppress strikes and industrial conflicts as part of the administration of the Recovery Act. Even before the establishment of the National Labor Board the course of the N. R. A. was clear enough. "Manifestly the purpose of the Act is to create and preserve harmonious relationships and to prevent industrial strife and class conflicts," announced General Johnson on July 7 ("New York Times", July 8, 1933). In Paerson, John A. Moffitt, representative of Labor, "indicated that if the strike were continued the government would give the textile company whatever assistance and protection was necessary to permit reopening the plant with new help" ("New York Times," July 30, 1933.)

Then we had the Pennsylvania experience where the movement of the miners for unionization, apparently "guaranteed" by the Act, was deliberately suppressed by the NRA authorities, this time in collaboration with the union officials. The culmination came with the setting up of the National Labor Board, a commission of servants headed by Senator Wagner and dominated by members of notorious open-shop and company union concerns, entrusted with the task of preventing and "settling" all strikes and labor struggles. On this board are to be found William Green and John L. Lewis!

The restriction of the right to strike is a bad blow at the labor movement. With this right gone, labor is completely helpless, at the mercy of the employers! But such is the inherent logic of the N.I.R.A.!

Open Shop And Company Union
6. The N.I.R.A. makes the union shop (closed shop) possible and illegal. The open shop becomes universal. "As I understand it," General Johnson is reported as saying ("New York Times," July 30, 1933), "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. The statute cannot be qualified. The law clearly states that there shall not be any requirement as to whether or not a man belongs to a union. Is any-

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Party Crisis Brings Open Letter

Once again the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States has issued a public confession of its own political bankruptcy. This is the real meaning of the "Open Letter to All Party Members," adopted by the "Extraordinary National Conference" held in New York City on July 7-10.

In the midst of the most favorable conditions, the leadership of our party can report only failure, wreck and ruin, stagnation and decline, isolation and defeat! How serious the situation really is indicated by the abandonment of the scheduled party convention and pre-convention discussion and their replacement by an "extraordinary conference." The whole state of affairs spells the complete collapse of the sectarian policies and the clique leadership of the party. But it spells more than that: that a life and death fight that the party is waging, a losing fight with the present policies and leadership as a millstone around its neck.

Back To The Third "Period" Lunacy!

As a political document, the Open Letter deserves no serious analysis. In its general outlook, it abandons the half and quarter turns of the last year or two and returns to the unadorned sectarianism of 1929-1930, to the unrestrained lunacy of the "third period." In spite of everything not the slightest attempt is made to criticize the policies which have caused the party's isolation; on the contrary, everything is done to cover them up!

What are the outstanding features expressing the dangerous condition of the party and its activities, of the failure of its policies?

1. The party's work among the unemployed is in a position bordering on paralysis. The Unemployed Council, the initiator of the fight for the jobless and at one time in possession of a virtual monopoly in the field has collapsed, discredited and ruined by sectarianism and splitting tactics. Other organizations of the unemployed have grown up and have far outstripped the Council. In a last desperate effort to stave off complete isolation from the organized unemployed, the party has entered into a questionable alliance with the Muste forces, whom it at the same time denounces precisely in this Open Letter, as the worst menace to the workers. All this, however, only leads to the complete and final elimination of the Unemployed Council as a factor in the movement of the jobless.

The "Menace" Of "Farmer-Laborism"

2. For five years now, the present leadership of the party has been talking about the non-existent "radicalization" of the masses and about the mythical "revolutionary upsurge", which it brings to the fore again in the Open Letter. But a manifestation of real progress on the part of the masses is not hailed by the party leadership but is actually branded as a "menace"! The Open Letter declares:

"The radicalized workers who had their bitter experience with the Republicans, are now well on the way to meeting with the same experience from the second traditional party of finance capital, namely, the Democrats, and the movements among the workers against robber measures are bound to increase. The poor farmers and the ruined middle farmers who only yesterday voted for the bourgeois parties are, in fact, already taking the path of struggle against the policy carried on by these parties, and are constantly intensifying their efforts to attain an "independent" policy. Thus, as a result of the development of the crisis, which is characterized not only by a rapid extension of the labor movement but also by a widespread movement among the petty bourgeoisie, we find a far-reaching mass movement of workers, farmers and other middle class elements which is directed against the

Statement of Communist Opposition

old bourgeois parties and against the government, which is growing continually stronger."

What form is this movement assuming? Is it rallying around the C. P.? No! If that were so, there would be no Open Letter. This movement is expressing itself in the "efforts and tendencies in the direction of organizing a Farmer-Labor Party." But this movement, historically necessary and progressive, which the party should support, promote and welcome as the greatest aid, is declared to be a "great menace"! The C. P.'s opposition to the Farmer-Labor movement isolates it from an important section of forward-moving native American workers; such an attitude makes impossible its development into a mass party. History is repeating itself. The same leadership is repeating in 1933 the mistakes it made in 1924.

3. In 1929-1930, when the Communist Opposition was expelled, the party was declared to have entered a period of rapid development. It was declared to be growing at the rate of 100 members a day—35,000 members a year. It was declared to be on the eve of becoming a mass party. It was hailed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International as the "fourth party in the Comintern", following the Soviet Union, Germany and China! In

contrast to these boasts, the Open Letter paints an appalling picture of the party's condition; it is even declared that the leadership is responsible for this! But the leadership and its policies still remain C. P. U. L. is emphasized in this document.

Isolation From The Organized Workers

4. In no field is the party's isolation so evident as in the trade unions. Near, not even in the days of its infantile leftism, has the party had so little influence in the conservative unions as today. The "revolutionary unions", which, we were told, would organize the millions of unorganized workers, have failed completely in every respect. But the party leaders still adhere to the policy of building up these dual sects, in reality miniature parties. These "revolutionary unions" have no base and cannot grow. Only a small section of the party membership is in them and only the tiniest fraction is in the conservative unions.

There is only way in which this isolation from the organized workers can be overcome: liquidate the dual sects, send the Communists and revolutionary workers back into the mass unions, abandon all splitting tactics, and begin anew

The Promise of Democracy

6. The "Open Letter" speaks for inner-party democracy, for the toleration of criticism, against bureaucratic excesses. This is nothing but the sheerest hypocrisy. At the very same time that this was being written, expulsions were taking place (Joe Davis, Goldman, etc.). What criticism is permitted? Criticism of petty detail or of basic policy? Let a party member make a really fundamental criticism and he is at once branded as "Love-sonite" or "Trotskyite" and either expelled or threatened with expulsion. The Open Letter wants discussion, but only discussion in agreement with the Comintern! What has happened to the party convention? Where is the pre-convention discussion? Or will the discussion and election take place in the well known "cleansed" atmosphere introduced by the Open Letter?

Will any discussion be permitted of the catastrophe in Germany, the worst disaster for the international proletariat since the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic? Will any criticism of the policies of the Comintern and of the present Communist Party be tolerated, policies which helped bring on the disaster? Are we to profit by the costly lessons of our comrades in Germany or are we to follow them blindly to defeat?

The Open Letter speaks against factionalism, but it is a product of factional juggling in the leadership, in which the main role is played by the E. C. C. I. All this juggling, all this maneuvering with open letters, has just one purpose: to prevent real inner-party democracy, to prevent discussion of the real issues, to perpetuate the present false line and clique leadership! This is a game which is not a monopoly of the American party. It has been developed into a fine art by the faction which today occupies the head of the Comintern and which uses it for its own perpetuation.

Act Before It Is Too Late!

The Communist Party (Opposition) appeals to the membership of the party to act fearlessly as responsible revolutionists. Four years of passive resistance and passive submission to a false line have brought only disastrous consequences. Further support of the present line and regime is rank treason to the cause of Communism!

Against the ultra-left sectarianism. Against the clique leadership in the American party and in the Comintern! For a Leninist line of policy! For internal party democracy! For international Communist unity! Support the struggle of the Communist Party (Opposition)!

— I M P O R T A N T —
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have brought the party to the brink of disaster. And what is offered as a cure? Nothing more or less than a continuation, indeed an intensification, of the same policies. In 1929-1930, these policies were offered to us as a cure-all for all of the shortcomings of the Communist movement. And now we see that the "cure" is far worse than the "disease." False policies can never be an instrument for the correction of shortcomings! The restoration of correct Leninist policies, the course advocated by the Communist Opposition since 1929, can alone achieve this objective.

5. But what is most amazing, is the complete absence of any explanation of the gloomy situation in which the party finds itself today. We are merely told that "in the party, and particularly among the leading cadres, there is a deep going lack of understanding." Is this a psychological or a political condition? Politically, a "lack of understanding" means a false outlook, false policies, false methods. This confession can mean only one thing: It is complete self-condemnation. At the same time, the insincerity and evasiveness of this piece of "self-criticism" is shown in the absence of the slightest criticism of a single one of the false policies of the party—of dual unionism in the trade union field, of the policy of splitting fraternal organizations, of opposition to the united front, of the theory of "social fascism", of intolerant, arrogant and dictatorial attitudes towards non-Communist workers, of unrealistic and mechanical aping of policies and methods of the C. P. in Germany and the Soviet Union. These are the policies that

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The results at Columbus were also partially influenced in the direction they took by the altogether too passive role of a member of delegates from organizations in the Chicago Federation and some independent ones, including among these delegates, members of the Communist Opposition. This passivity expressed itself in failure to expose the Muste-C.P. alliance and its disastrous consequences, in the failure to champion vigorously on the floor of the convention the standpoint of the Federation, in the failure to make an adequate fight for a declaration in favor of a Labor Party. To this should be added the inability to form a caucus of delegates really in favor of unity and the false impression created by the circulation on the part of some of the delegates of a document outlining the character of a properly organized movement of the unemployed; this document was obviously distributed not for the purpose of urging the formation of a new organization of the unemployed, distinct from the Federation, since these delegates came to the Columbus conference with the intention of having the Chicago Federation as a unifying center, but rather for the purpose of outlining the method and scope of an unemployed federation generally. All of these errors, which seriously weakened the movement for unemployed unity and the position of the organizations favoring it, can be overcome only by the most energetic activity along the above lines.

The Dist. 1, U.M.W.A. Meet

by F. V.

Wilkes Barre, Pa. The District 1 convention of the United Mine Workers of America was opened on Monday, July 17, by the District President, John Boylan. The first order of business was the reading of the call for the convention, which was accepted. The credentials committee gave its partial report and then the convention was adjourned for the rest of the day. This session lasted only 50 minutes, whereas usually the first session lasts at least five hours.

That the convention did adjourn at such short notice was due to the fact that Boylan was not sure he could control the delegates on the case of the expelled members, who had been thrown out of the union for their activities in the last strike in the district. The second reason was that these suspended members, who are the main force behind the opposition to Boylan's leadership held a mass meeting in the park at 11 A. M. and Boylan was afraid that they would storm the convention, especially in view of the opposition inside the convention. The third reason was that the unemployed workers, who are in big numbers in the ranks of the U.M.W.A., staged a demonstration at the courthouse and Boylan was afraid of them for the same reason.

The last district convention, two years ago, was adjourned by the police throwing gas bombs inside the hall because of the first fight that broke out between the administration and anti-administration forces. The anti-administration

forces had a majority at the beginning of the convention; later on, in order to have this majority eliminated, Boylan installed the O. K. card system. To this convention no one could get in unless he had an O. K. card from Boylan and the only ones who could get these cards were the delegates whom Boylan did not want to or could not eliminate.

The second day's sessions were taken up with reports of John Boylan, president, and Enoch Williams, secretary-treasurer. John Boylan said that the district was in better position than at any time before. This may be true as far as the coal operators are concerned! In his report, Enoch Williams said that \$1,021,054.80 had been collected in dues, more than double the dues collections in the previous period. This high collection of dues were due to the check-off, for which the union officials surrendered the conditions of the coal miners. All this money was spent by the official family, except \$89,522.51, which is now tied up in "friendly" banks.

The third day's sessions were taken up by discussion of some resolutions coming from the convention floor. One resolution was adopted supporting President Roosevelt and thanking him for placing John L. Lewis on the Labor Advisory Committee of the National Industrial Recovery Board. Another resolution adopted recommended that both the organizers staff and its expenses be reduced. The resolution for the reinstatement of those suspended for their activity in the strike of March 1932, numbering about 34 miners, the suspensions ranging

OPEN MEETINGS

"WHAT DOES THE OPEN LETTER MEAN?"

The attitude of the Communist Opposition to the Open Letter was issued by the Extraordinary Conference of the Communist Party
BROOKLYN:
Wednesday, Aug. 16, 8:00 P.M.
Brooklyn Labor Lyceum
Speaker: B. HERMAN

Wednesday, Aug. 23, 8:00 P.M.
1330 Wilkins Avenue
Speaker: HERBERT ZAM

from 5 to 13 years, took most of the time. Boylan opposed this resolution; his appointed committee voted against it. In spite of the fact that the opposition was not organized and the majority of the delegates were under Boylan's influence over 40 delegates voted for this resolution to reinstate the suspended members and 40 voted against, the total number of delegates being about 300.

In the next article I will continue the report of the convention and say a little more about the opposition and its combinations with Cappellini.

— F. V.
In the next issue of the "Workers Age," F. V. will describe the outcome of the District 1 convention and the events leading to the split of the U.M.W.A. in the Anthracite and the formation of the United Mine Workers of the Anthracite Region, headed by Maloney and Cappellini.—Editor.

On the Question of Unity

by M. Yablon

We publish below an article in the discussion on the question of Communist unity in this country. Unless specifically declared to be otherwise, each discussion article represents the views of the writer only. Discussion articles are invited from all readers of the "Age" and from members of the Proletarian Party especially.—Editor.

Boston, Mass.

The various Communist groups which have been formed since the wholesale expulsions of 1929, other groupings which were formed earlier, such as the Trotsky group and the Proletarian Party which dates back as far as 1920, all of these groupings have one common feature. None of them has succeeded in establishing itself as a substantial mass force in this country. Neither has the official Communist Party succeeded in becoming a mass force in the U. S. The imposition of the wrong line of the Comintern, which necessitated such wholesale expulsion, is responsible for the present chaotic condition in the Communist movement.

In light of these indisputable facts, what should be the attitude of the various groups towards the rehabilitation of the Communist movement?

A new party or the unification of the Communist movement? The triumph of Fascism in Germany, which rested in the organizational and political collapse of the C.P.G., the only mass Communist Party outside of the Soviet Union, has given added strength

to the idea of the formation of new Communist parties and eventually of a new Communist International. The Trotskyites have already came out for it. The Proletarian Party has not definitely expressed itself on this point. It has always in a general sense, supported the Comintern but has always existed as a separate Communist party in the U.S.A., not as an opposition group. It is my opinion after a thorough and free discussion on this point the majority of the members of the P.P., would reject the idea of a new party, thanks to the healthy attitude towards the Soviet Union. At the same time, when we take into consideration the common understanding of the problems and tasks of the Communists in the U.S.A. which were arrived at independently, as stated in Comrade Zam's article in the "Workers Age," there remains no real ground for the separate existence of these two Communist groups.

If and when the P.P. expresses itself against the theory of a new Communist Party, the prejudice of the older members of the C.P. as to priority, which group is longer in existence, who should join whom, should the P.P. join the C.P.O. or vice versa, will be set aside since both groups will be fighting for one common objective, for the reunification of the Communist movement. The membership of both groups must give serious consideration to this vital problem.

The existence of the P.P. affords us substantial proof that the road to unity is not the formation of new Communist parties. The P.P. has been in existence as a party, (Continued on page 8)

The Unemployed Conference at Columbus

We publish below the resolution of the National Committee of the Communist Opposition on the recent conference of unemployed organizations held in Columbus, O. This resolution is for the guidance of Communist Opposition members and followers in their work in the unemployed movement.—Editor.

1. The party's work among the unemployed is in a position bordering on paralysis. The Unemployed Council, the initiator of the fight for the jobless and at one time in possession of a virtual monopoly in the field has collapsed, discredited and ruined by sectarianism and splitting tactics. Other organizations of the unemployed have grown up and have far outstripped the Council. In a last desperate effort to stave off complete isolation from the organized unemployed, the party has entered into a questionable alliance with the Muste forces, whom it at the same time denounces precisely in this Open Letter, as the worst menace to the workers. All this, however, only leads to the complete and final elimination of the Unemployed Council as a factor in the movement of the jobless.

A Resolution

Such safeguards must include: the setting of an arrangements committee which will be as representative as possible (not only of the C.P.-Muste block and of the Chicago Federation but also of the unemployed organizations not yet affiliated anywhere) and which will not be controlled by any group or block; the organization of a unity congress in a similar manner and the election of a national committee on that basis; the autonomy of the united federation; the adoption of a program suitable to the present stage of the struggle of the unemployed and agreeable to all of the affiliated organizations; the assurance of the non-partisan character of the organization; and the absolute prohibition of any single organization itself representing or acting as the representative or agent of the united organization. Should a united federation on such a basis become a reality, the Chicago Federation, in the interests of unity, should agree to merge with it. Should this not happen, the Chicago Federation will be in duty bound to maintain itself and continue the work for real unity of the unemployed. In the preliminary negotiations and work, the Chicago Federation should be guided by these proposals. Should a joint committee be proposed, the Chicago Federation should choose as its representatives those who will not at the same time be represented by other bodies of Unemployed Leagues, the organization of Muste-controlled unemployed groups established at Columbus, represents a substantial and very important section of the unemployed movement in this country and very likely will play an important role in the struggle of the unemployed and in the unification of the entire movement. By itself, however, it does not represent the center of the unity of the unemployed and is still largely uncontacted because of the existing C.P.-Muste alliance superimposed upon it.

2. As distinct from this alliance, the National Unemployed League, the organization of Muste-controlled unemployed groups established at Columbus, represents a substantial and very important section of the unemployed movement in this country and very likely will play an important role in the struggle of the unemployed and in the unification of the entire movement. By itself, however, it does not represent the center of the unity of the unemployed and is still largely uncontacted because of the existing C.P.-Muste alliance superimposed upon it.

3. It is clear that, under the present circumstances, a unity movement initiated by the C.P.-Muste alliance and culminating in the establishment of a new federation, can only be a factional instrument of this alliance, unless absolute guarantees are given

organizations who previously held the cause of the adherence of the U.C.

5. The utterly sectarian course of those who dominated the Columbus gathering, their high-handed and undemocratic methods of running it, contributed very greatly to the ineffectiveness of the conference as a step towards the unification and mobilization of the unemployed. Nor can the lack of really adequate preparation of the National Committee of the Chicago Federation for a vigorous and effective appearance at the Columbus conference be overlooked for which all elements in the National Committee were responsible. There was evident a certain slowness in recognizing the changed situation from which resulted the failure on the part of those delegates who really stood for unity to prepare the necessary material, etc.

The results at Columbus were also partially influenced in the direction they took by the altogether too passive role of a member of delegates from organizations in the Chicago Federation and some independent ones, including among these delegates, members of the Communist Opposition. This passivity expressed itself in failure to expose the Muste-C.P. alliance and its disastrous consequences, in the failure to champion vigorously on the floor of the convention the standpoint of the Federation, in the failure to make an adequate fight for a declaration in favor of a Labor Party. To this should be added the inability to form a caucus of delegates really in favor of unity and the false impression created by the circulation on the part of some of the delegates of a document outlining the character of a properly organized movement of the unemployed; this document was obviously distributed not for the purpose of urging the formation of a new organization of the unemployed, distinct from the Federation, since these delegates came to the Columbus conference with the intention of having the Chicago Federation as a unifying center, but rather for the purpose of outlining the method and scope of an unemployed federation generally. All of these errors, which seriously weakened the movement for unemployed unity and the position of the organizations favoring it, can be overcome only by the most energetic activity along the above lines.

CLOAK CODE IS ADOPTED

(Continued from Page 1)

The meeting was opened by Zucerman of Local 1, chairman of the Cloakmakers Joint Board. He gave the floor to I. Nagler, general manager, who reported, urging support of the code and trying to pass it off as a great achievement for the union. Questions were thereupon addressed to David Dubinsky, president of the union, who was present. Dubinsky carefully evaded all these questions, especially the one by Stenzor of Local 1, who wanted to know what would happen if the union, on any question affecting the workers, remained in the minority in the Coat and Suit Authority, the highest body in the trade according to the code, in which the union representatives are to be two as against many more of the employers.

A resolution to accept the code and urge the workers to vote for it in the referendum was introduced by Aronoff of Local 1, a member of the Trade Union Center group. A contrary resolution evaluating the code and the code reporting offices, to promote the stabilization of the industry, to prevent and eliminate unfair and destructive prices and practices" to make available credit information, etc. For a labor union to participate in such a committee, really an administrative committee of a nation-wide employers organization would be the grossest sort of class collaboration, a dangerous loss of the independence of the unions as workers organizations, and the conversion of the union representatives into hostages of the employers and unwilling aids of the bosses in carrying out their purposes.

3. The provision in Article 5 for piece-work sacrifices the week-work system won by the union thru many hard struggles. In spite of the guaranteed minimum, the piece-work system in the code involves all of the evils usually associated with it, speed-up, competition leading to the destruction of standards, etc., and always leaves a door open to the spread of sweatshop methods and conditions. For these reasons the joint executive committee of the Cloakmakers Union decides: 1. that the officers of the I.L.G.W.U. request of the NRA the reopening of negotiations with a view to modifying the Cloak Trade

Code along the following lines: (a) collective agreements between the union and the employers shall not be subject to the NRA and to its power to cancel or modify; (b) that union representatives shall not sit with the employers on any bodies except on joint committees for the adjustment of grievances arising out of the operation of collective agreements; and (c) that the week work system be recognized.

2. That the Cloakmakers Union and the I.L.G.W.U. go ahead with preparations for a strike to enforce these demands. It is our opinion that the previous readiness of the leading union officials to accept piece-work, followed by their lack of aggressiveness in fighting for week-work as decided by referendum, seriously hindered our union in the code negotiations.

The executive board of Local 9, consisting of members of the so-called Left Group, controlled by the official Communist Party, came to the meeting apparently without any definite program or resolution. As a consequence, they were forced to vote for the resolution of the Cloakmakers Progressive Group, whom they have always abused in the worst terms. On a vote, the Aronoff resolution received 11 votes in favor and 31 votes against. The Zeldin resolution received a vote of 27 for; no contrary vote was taken. The fight put up by the progressive forces at this meeting has had considerable effect on the cloakmakers, many of whom are vigorously greeting their position.

LOCAL 22 FOR ONE UNION IN TRADE

(Continued from Page 3)
unionist principles. They are therefore compelled in view of the strong sentiment for unity which exists among the workers, to talk unity and at the same time keep up their dual unionism. Few workers can be fooled now with such "clever" maneuvers. The fact is that, even within the ranks of the Industrial Union, many workers are beginning to see that these trick proposals do not lead anywhere. They are beginning to see that, in spite of their bombast of accomplishments, the conditions in their shops are not better than in the open shops and they

are also beginning to talk of the need of one union instead of proposals for trick united fronts.

The Issue Is Clear

To the members of our local the issue is clear. We are for one union in the trade and we will continue to fight for one union until we achieve it. We realize that this issue is tied up to an extent with the question of the labor movement in general and are therefore for the unity of the entire labor movement of this country. Our union at a recent membership meeting adopted certain proposals looking to the establishment of one union in the trade. We are firmly convinced that should the N.T.W.I.U. (ladies garment workers) be ready to give up their dual union policy and favor one union now, not later, they would admit that these proposals are the most logical method of solving this burning problem.

The proposals are the following: (1) that both unions should be merged into the I.L.G.W.U.; (2) that all members of the N.T.W.I.U. (ladies garment workers) should give up their membership rights in the I.L.G.W.U.; (3) that all shops making ladies garments, now controlled by the N.T.W.I.U., be transferred to the I.L.G.W.U.; (4) that, immediately upon unification, general elections be held in all the locals and joint boards where all should have the right to be candidates and participate in the voting. We ask the members of the Industrial Union to give this plan their most serious consideration. This plan is understandable and realizable. It is free from maneuvering and schemes. It is simple and can bring the desired results: namely, establish one union in the trade.

We are now preparing for a general strike in the dress industry. We are therefore compelled in view of the strong sentiment for unity which exists among the workers, to talk unity and at the same time keep up their dual unionism. Few workers can be fooled now with such "clever" maneuvers. The fact is that, even within the ranks of the Industrial Union, many workers are beginning to see that these trick proposals do not lead anywhere. They are beginning to see that, in spite of their bombast of accomplishments, the conditions in their shops are not better than in the open shops and they

in spite of all obstacles, proceed with the mobilization for the strike and will put up a militant fight for the demands of the union that will do away with the present intolerable conditions and reestablish decent working conditions, only fighting for one common objective, for the reunification of the Communist movement. The membership of both groups must give serious consideration to this vital problem.

Chas. S. Zimmerman, Sec'y Manager
Max Bluestein, Chairman.

"THE MODERN MONTHLY"

In five cities in Germany, "The Modern Monthly" was burned by the modern Hitlerite inquisitors as a magazine of heretical Marxist opinion. Today, however, as a result of the suppression, there are over five times as many copies of "The Modern Monthly" sold in Germany as were sold there before the Hitler victory. That they have to go thru underground routes, thru Danzig, Strassburg and other outlying regions, testifies to the eagerness with which German radicals peruse the pages of the magazine.

Read the September issue of "The Modern Monthly". It will include: The Brain Trust, by Maurice Hallegren; Ruge and Marx, by Sidney Hook; Alfred Rosenberg: The Jew-Baiting Maniac, by Albert Parry; Marx and America, by Bertram D. Wolfe; Fascism in England, by Eliot Janeway; Social Influences in Music by E. Siegmeister; Books of the Month by V. F. Calverton. Subscribe to "The Modern Monthly" to which Leon Trotsky, Maxim Gorki, Max Eastman, Sidney Hook, Romain Rolland, B. D. Wolfe, Sherwood Anderson and Andre Gide contribute regularly. A year subscription to "The Modern Monthly" is \$2.50.

NOTICE!

In the next issue of the "Workers Age" will be found a political report of the recent congress of the French Socialist Party, an article by William Moriarty on the first national convention of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, a letter by Bertram D. Wolfe to a Communist Party functionary discussing some important questions of party policy, a communication from B. Felman, secretary of Middle Village Branch, 546 Workers' Circle.

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August 15, 1933.

CLEVELAND "TRADE UNION" CONFERENCE

THE "trade union conference" to be held in Cleveland towards the end of this month is at once a confession of bankruptcy of the official Communist Party trade union tactics and a new start along the same disastrous road.

Exactly four years ago the Trade Union Unity League was established in the same city of Cleveland, established openly as a dual union center to guide the campaign to split the existing mass A. F. of L. unions and build up a new federation of "spick-and-span revolutionary unions" under the direction of the Communist Party. Hopes were great in those days, at least in official pronouncements. The "nation-wide and deep-going revolutionary upsurge" was riding high. The A. F. of L. was falling apart under the impact of the wave of radicalization. The workers were rushing to Communism to such a degree that the party was actually "lagging behind"! Only "renegades" and "counter-revolutionary Lovestonites" could have the audacity to doubt the revolutionary efficacy of dual unionism and warn against its inevitably suicidal consequences.

Four years have passed and the results of dual unionism have been even more catastrophic than our warnings indicated. Hardly a shred remains of Communist Party influence among the organized workers and the once significant progressive opposition movements in the unions have almost vanished, except where the Communist Opposition has managed to keep the flag flying. Of the "Red" unions, practically nothing is left, not even a fragrant memory. In spite of all manouvers and deceptive "new turns" the results are desolate ruin everywhere!

To revive the T.U.U.L. in its own form would now be as thankless as it is hopeless. The strategists of defeat who head the Communist Party have discovered a way out—for themselves, an their policy if not for the party. Just as bankrupt merchants often set up dummy firms to cloak their shady manouvers, so has the T. U. U. L. called this Cleveland "trade union conference" to provide it a new shingle under which to carry on old business. For a union to attend the Cleveland conference, the "Daily Worker" informs us, it is "not necessary" that it should leave the A. F. of L. and, to illustrate this sentiment, it publishes a cartoon where the A. F. of L. union and the company union are pictured as two doors to the same brothel—"the same house but two doors", we are delicately informed. The dual unionism of the 1933 Cleveland conference is not as bold and self-confident as that of the 1929 gathering but it is even more sinister!

In this threadbare attempt to rehabilitate dual unionism, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is an equal partner. Nor should this surprise us. At the time when Muste was most sanctimoniously attacking the sectarianism of the official C. P., we did not hesitate to point out that dual unionism was not so foreign to Musteism as might be imagined. And sure enough the Musteites have supported not only the ill-starred dual unionist venture of the Illinois miners but even the sorry farce of the Gillespie "Progressive Federation of Labor." That today they should be found side by side with Browder and Stachel in this Cleveland fiasco only proves that they are anxious to get in on the ground floor of this new transmogrified T. U. U. L.

All indications go to show that the Cleveland gathering will be made up of the T.U.U.L. paper "unions", of the very few genuine unions controlled by the C. P. L. A. and the C. P., of miscellaneous auxiliary organizations and of nondescript "shop groups". It will be less of a representative gathering of American labor than any in recent years. All labor unions who have regard for their own future and all workers who see thru the gold-brick promises of dual unionism, should avoid all connections with the Cleveland conference!

The Cleveland conference holds out nothing but harm to the American trade union movement.

THE ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

FROM every viewpoint, the initiation of the U. S. Congress Against War as a united front of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the C. P. L. A. and the organizations influenced by each, in addition to a number of "peace" organizations, was a very welcome step indeed. It held out the prospect not only of the genuine cooperation of the three main tendencies in the political labor movement of this country but also of the construction of an anti-war platform broad enough to permit the most conservative labor organizations, without which no genuine movement is today possible in the United States, to rest upon it. The Communist Opposition heartily greeted the United States Congress Against War and has pledged to contribute its share in the realization of its objectives.

Unfortunately, however, it did not take long for forces to begin to operate resulting in a serious weakening of the movement. From the start, there were elements in the Socialist Party, and they dominated the New York local, which made no secret of their opposition to the S. P.'s participation in the united front and their determination to make an end to it. At the same time, the C. P. officialdom, unwilling and unable to carry out a united front policy, the very same people who had declared themselves ready to forego any criticism of the S. P. under a "non-aggression pact", opened up the sewers of the most stupid abuse and gave the anti-united front elements in the S. P. exactly the argument they were seeking. Apparently the official Communist Party leaders were more interested in make a case against the Socialists than in building up the anti-war movement. The results were as obvious as they were inevitable. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party withdrew from the anti-war congress and issued a statement justifying its action. There is no doubt that the various S. P.-controlled organizations will follow suit.

The action of the Socialist Party in withdrawing from the anti-war congress, as well as the irresponsible behavior of the Communist Party which made such withdrawal possible must be condemned with equal vigor as opposed to best interests of the American workers. By such conduct the possibilities of the United States Congress Against War have been seriously limited but they have not been destroyed. With a proper attitude and policies, the Congress may still overcome all difficulties and become an important factor in arousing the American masses to the danger of war.

THE FIRST RIVERA MURAL



This is the first of the series of murals on American history which Diego Rivera is painting on the walls of the New Workers School. The other murals will appear in subsequent issues of the "Workers Age".

Revolution in Cuba

The long-expected resignation of Gerardo Machado as President of Cuba and his replacement by Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, finally took place on August 12, following the public defection of the army upon which Machado had depended so much. The former President is now in hiding.

The background of the constantly growing unrest leading to the recent overthrow is to be found in the deep economic crisis that began to grip Cuba after 1925. As a one-crop country—80% of the national income of the land is derived from sugar cultivation—Cuba was badly hit when the bottom began to fall out of the sugar market in 1925. The increase of the United States tariff on Cuban sugar to 2c a pound in 1930 greatly aggravated the situation.

The gradual transformation of sugar and tobacco cultivation from small plot production, in which the farmers were practically self-sustaining because of their possession of patches of garden land, to large-scale plantation production, created a numerous proletariat, facing literal starvation once the sugar crisis set in.

In 1925 Machado took office with the full blessings of American imperialism. It must be remembered that over \$1,500,000,000 of American capital is invested in Cuba, \$370,000,000 being tied up in the sugar industry alone, which is completely dominated by Wall Street. Machado immediately launched into a large-scale building and public works program, hoping thereby to absorb some of the unemployed sugar workers. These extravagant ventures were eagerly financed by American bankers and the national debt was soon doubled. Taxes rose precipitately, especially serious in view of the falling national income. Wages of industrial workers were constantly slashed and the impoverishment of the farmers reached incredible heights.

Finally the crash came. The onset of the economic crisis in the United States stopped the flow of American capital to Cuba and the elaborate public works program collapsed. Dividend payments on investments stopped; all Cuba was bankrupt.

The opposition to Machado in all sections of the population grew rapidly and spread even to the ruling clique. Machado answered by

an unexampled reign of terror, disclosing himself as a brutal military dictator, ruling by grace of his army and strong-arm bands. At the same time, the support of American imperialism was definitely withdrawn, because it became perfectly clear that the rehabilitation of Cuba as a colony of Wall Street, in which the American bankers were so much interested, was impossible unless Machado got out, the bourgeois elements united, the government power consolidated and stabilized and the widespread dissatisfaction allayed. Obviously it was only a matter of time before Machado would have to go. From the beginning of the crisis, the American policy was, on the one hand, to avoid open intervention and, on the other, to prevent a real revolution of the masses.

In spite of the prominent role of labor in the struggle against Machado, the small and sectarian Communist Party played no serious part at all. The utterly fantastic conception which the official Communist press has of events in Cuba is indicated in the confident assertion of the "Daily Worker" that the overthrow of Machado was a "blow to American imperialism!"

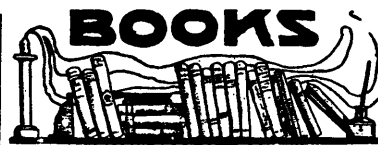
The change of regime in Cuba, the replacement of Machado by Cespedes, under the direction of Sumner Welles, United States Ambassador, will not solve any of the grave problems facing that country. Cuba remains more than ever a colony of Wall Street. Cuba is still gripped in an economic crisis with little possibility of letup. Not a change of regime but the economic and political liberation of the country is the road to the salvation of Cuba.

ON THE QUESTION OF UNITY

(Continued from Page 7)

during periods when the C.P.U.S.A. nursed both wrong and correct tactics, nevertheless, the P.P. has remained a small group. Obviously, the argument advanced in favor of the formation of separate and new Communist parties as the road to unity, falls to ground.

The sentiment for unity has never been stronger than it is today. The need of a militant, conscious and united leadership in the struggles of the working class, is so painfully obvious. The unity between the P.P. and the C.P.O. can serve as a more effective means of rallying all Communist



BLAINE OF MAINE, His Life and Times, by Charles Edward Russell. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, New York, 1931.

James Gillespie Blaine, one of the most colorful figures in American political history, is well worth careful biographical study. He was the beau ideal of the younger generation of post-Civil War Republican leaders, those who personified the increasingly dominant role of the party as the political engine of triumphant big business, in contradistinction to the "moral wing", the old leaders of the type of Sumner and Stevens, who symbolized the great and glorious traditions of the party as the emancipator of the slave and the savior of the nation. It was thru Blaine as a sort of transition stage that the party of Greeley and Lincoln became the party of McKinley and Hoove.

Blaine was well fitted to play the part in which history had cast him. To an acute political intelligence and supreme gifts as a speaker and politician, he added an unquestioning faith in the inherent virtue of wealth and a constitutional incapacity to espouse any great public cause that would put him in opposition to the mighty of the land. "The most painful fact of his Congressional career," Mr. Russell declares quite correctly, "is that he could make a valiant fight for himself or for a measure in which the rich powerful had a stake, but he never once led a forlorn hope that charged for mere principle." From the time that, in his first year of service as Representative, he challenged old Thad Stevens because of the latter's opposition to the ruthless exploitation of the nation's necessities by the patriotic bankers and industrialists, up to those closing days when, as Secretary of State, he outlined the foreign policy of incipient American imperialism, James G. Blaine was the devoted and sincere servant of big capital in the United States government.

The story of the career of this man, once the idol of millions, who held every office of honor and distinction in the nation but the Presidency, and was cheated out of that by a series of the most extraordinary accidents and misfortune, penetrates every nook and cranny of contemporary American political life and must be told as an organic part of it. This Mr. Russell attempts to do, with but indifferent success. It must be chalked up to the author's credit that he does not fall victim to the reactionary pro-Southern influence, dominating all recent history-writing, in the spirit of which the entire story of the Civil War and Reconstruction is so indecently distorted and misrepresented. But this cannot offset the false sickly, sentimentalism characterizing Mr. Russell's thought, altogether fatal to any realistic understanding of the significance of the events he recounts and of their part in the historical movement as a whole. A man who can write: "Then was seen conclusively how, when the shouting at conventions is over, the real arbiter of every campaign is the independent voter that does not shout and has little emotion for heroes or Favorite Sons but decides according to conscience and intuition of what is right," a man who is guilty of some of the incredibly silly speculations on the "American temperament" and the "American spirit" such as are found in this book, should not attempt to discuss serious historical questions; he should confine himself to "inspirational" articles and political sermons. Certainly he should not attempt to understand the most difficult period of American history and the career of one of the strangest figures in American politics.

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forces who have dropped out because of the crisis in the Communist movement and develop a powerful movement to force the leadership of the Comintern and its section in the U.S.A. to bring about unity and compel a change in the present wrong, self-defeating tactics,