

THE DRIVE IS ON!

WORKERS AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 2, No. 23.

NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 1, 1933.

PRICE 5 CENTS

Amalgamation Wins Shoe Unions

Boston, Mass., According to the official report of the General Inspectors of Elections of both the National Shoe Workers Association and the Shoe Workers Protective Union, released on November 6, the referendum on amalgamation was carried by the overwhelming vote of 15,190 in favor with but 447 ballots cast against. The National Shoe Workers Association cast 8,096 in favor and 8 opposed; the Shoe Workers Protective Union contributed 6,375 votes in favor and 433 against and the Independent Shoe Workers Union of Salem went for amalgamation by a vote of 719 to 6.

The victorious culmination of the movement for amalgamation of all unions in the shoe industry comes after almost one year of most intensive activity and hard fought battles. The last stumbling block to the submission of the referendum to the members of the Shoe Workers Protective Union was at last overcome. The leadership of the Protective was forced to yield in the face of terrific pressure from the ranks. The depth and extent of this desire for amalgamation, especially in New England, can best be judged by a perusal of the votes cast by the local unions in both the Protective and the National. With the exception of Haverhill and Lowell, Massachusetts, the vote everywhere was almost unanimous for amalgamation. Even in those places, with the bureaucracy making a last and losing stand, they secured a mere 400 votes as against over 15,000 in favor.

Full appreciation and credit is due the rank and file organization, the Planning Board, which sponsored amalgamation. Beset by enormous difficulties both from the right and left, it stubbornly refused to yield to either and fought its way thru to complete victory. On the right, the bureaucracy of the National Shoe and especially that of the Shoe Workers Protective, which attempted to frustrate the referendum at the very last minute. On the left, the T.U.U.L. elements who attempted to utilize every difficult turn of events for premature and disastrous action, which would have resulted not in the unity of all unions but in the splitting of the existing unions. These obstacles the Planning Board successfully hurdled.

For the workers in the shoe industry this referendum and the unity convention to be held on December 11, in Boston, mark a significant turning point. For more than a decade there has been division and dissension in their ranks. What little unionism there was, was under the leadership of the rock-ribbed reactionaries or open sell-out artists, such as were seen in the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. Is it then surprising that under the leadership of a constructive and progressive rank and file group they arose in their wrath to make an end of this condition once and for all? It is to be expected that in a unified national organization, under progressive and far-seeing leadership, the shoe workers will steadily move forward to win back the conditions of which the employers have been robbing them for years past.

It is but logical that this amal-

gamation movement should take place during a period of resurgence and growth of the labor movement as a whole. In this respect the one union movement among the shoe workers is bound to have a wholesome effect upon the workers in other industries. It is very encouraging that among the shoe workers, where separatism and sectionalism have been decisively defeated, serious thought is being given to the relationship which the unified union will have with the general trade union movement of this country, the American Federation of Labor.

Amalgamation Vote by Locals

We present below the detailed report on the amalgamation referendum as reported, on November 6, 1933, by the General Inspectors of Election of the National Shoe Workers Association, the Shoe Workers Protective Union and the Independent Shoe Workers Union of Salem.

NATIONAL SHOE WORKERS ASSOCIATION			
Local No.	Yes	No	
1 Cutters, Lynn	451	1	
2 Stitchers, Lynn	1183	2	
3 Lasters, Lynn	900	—	
4 Heelers, Lynn	342	—	

(Continued on page 7)

ANTI-NAZI VOTE BIG IN REICH

Berlin, Germany.

The great surprise of the "elections" held in Germany on November 12 was the astoundingly big anti-Hitler vote that managed to pass thru the double hopper of the Reich Election Commission and the Reich Propaganda Bureau. All indications go to show that the anti-Nazi sentiment among the German workers and some sections of lower middle classes is very large, larger than estimated in many quarters.

The so-called "elections" were prepared with all of the ballyhoo and terror in which the Nazis are so skilled. It was made perfectly clear that refusal to vote would be considered "unpatriotic" and would be treated as such by the Nazi torture bands, while voting against the Hitler policies, if discovered and the rumor was spread that arrangements had been made to spot each vote, would meet with even more serious consequences. Storm-Troopers with big trucks swept the city streets and villages dragging thousands to the polls. At the same time the organs of opinion-making all in the hands of the Nazis, worked overtime to stimulate a wild jingoistic frenzy among the most accessible sections of the people, especially among the petty bourgeoisie. The Brown Terror hung over the land. Over 43,400,000 people voted in

(Continued on Page 8)

Soviets Score Victory In U. S. Recognition

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States, which took place in the night of November 17, constitutes the crowning achievement in the long struggle of the U.S.S.R. on the field of international diplomacy. For the United States, the last of the great powers to establish "normal relations" with the Soviet state, is also the leading capitalist country in the world today, the very center of decaying world capitalism as the Soviet Union is the center of the rising socialist world.

To anyone who has any realistic

"Peace on Earth" For December 9

New York City.

On December 9, a performance of the play "Peace on Earth" is being given for the benefit of the New Workers School. This is the first production of the Theater Union and is an excellent play. It deals with the class struggle as applied to the persecution of the leaders of an anti-war movement and contains very stirring anti-war scenes.

The play is being given at the Civic Repertory Theater. Tickets range in price from 66c to \$1.65. Secure your ticket now from the New Workers School, 51 West 14 Street.

grasp of the facts, it is clear enough that recognition came at this time primarily as a measure of the Roosevelt administration in the face of the growing economic plight of this country with the failure of the NRA and, perhaps to an equal degree, as a consequence of the acute situation in the Far East in which the United States and Japan confront each other. It is nothing but the grossest self-deception for the Daily Worker to pretend that it was "the pressure for recognition among the widest sections of the American toiling masses..." that forced the administration to take its decisive step.

The conditions of recognition are such as all clear-headed observers expected them to be in the nature of the case. On the part of the Soviet Union the agreement includes a waiver of claims on damages done by the United States invasion of Siberia in 1917 but leaves the case of the Murmansk expedition for later negotiations. It includes the usual mutual pledge to "respect scrupulously" the right of each government "to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner... in internal affairs..." and "not to permit the formation or residence in its territory of any organization or group... claiming to be the government" of the other country or "making as its aim the overthrow of the government" of the other country. The Trotskyites and other anti-Soviet demagogues are attempting to interpret these provisions as the "renunciation of internationalism," as the "dissolution of the Communist International," even the "suppression of Comintern in this country." The absurd babbling of the Daily Worker about "unconditional recognition" and then the shameful silence of the official Communist Party organ on the day of recognition, have only added to the confusion. As a matter of fact, every body knows that the Communist movement is born not of "foreign propaganda" but out of the very life of the workers under capitalism. As long as capitalism continues, the Communist movement will exist and grow; it is rooted in American conditions and not in alleged foreign relations. Furthermore, as the London Times ruefully points out on the basis of bitter experience, "no undertaking given by the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, however carefully it may be drafted, is likely to have any restraining effect upon the efforts of the Comintern to foment disorder and revolution in the United States any more than the pledge signed by Sokolnikof had any effect on its anti-British activities." No diplomatic agreements can really be a bar to effective relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist International, on the one hand, and the American Communist movement, on the other. And President Roosevelt realizes this as well as anybody. "He probably attaches importance to it only as helping to make his recognition more palatable to that large section of American opinion..."

(Continued on Page 5)

Communist Opposition in Expansion Drive

In response to the appeal of the National Committee of the Communist Party Opposition for an intensive two months expansion drive to secure one-hundred new members for the organization, to obtain 500 subscribers for The Workers Age, and for the further enlargement of the New Workers School, the Harlem Branch in New York City has already passed its quota with nine new members—the Hartford (Conn.) Branch has passed the 50% mark with five new members—the Youth (N. Y. C.) Branch is approaching the 50% mark with three new members—a new unit of four members has been established in the upper part of New York State. Other units have signified their intention to reach or pass the quota assigned. The activity of these units in a period of two weeks is an indication of the fact that many workers are ready to join the ranks of the C. P. O. and is a proof of what can be done by the branches of our organization if they get on the job.

The expansion drive takes on added significance in view of the new developments in the American labor movement in the past several months. The recent awakening of American labor, the increased membership of the American Federation of Labor, the revival of activity and militancy in the ranks of the workers pose very important problems before the class-conscious workers of this country. The development of a national progressive left wing movement in the A. F. of L. becomes of paramount im-

portance if the influx of new members into the unions and the growing spirit of resistance are to be harnessed into constructive channels.

No time can be lost in laying the basis for that movement. With their false line of dual unionism, the official C. P. and the T.U.U.L. forfeit the possibility of becoming a powerful motive force in that direction at the present time. The C. P. O. is the only Communist organization today that has important contacts with many sections of the main stream of the American labor movement that is in the position, thanks to its correct approach to the American workers, to help give leadership for the establishment and development of a progressive movement in the A. F. of L.

The building up of the C. P. O. as an organization and the increase of the influence of its press, are important, therefore, not only from the standpoint of strengthening the fight for Communist unity but also from the standpoint of laying a more powerful base for future mass activities. If we do this, we will enable the C. P. O. to seize upon the present favorable situation for bringing a new orientation into the American labor movement, an orientation directed to struggle, militancy, growth and a greater degree of class consciousness.

Due to its active and constructive leading role in many recent struggles—the New York dress-makers strike, the silk strike in

Paterson, the struggles of the shoe workers in New England, the amalgamation movement among the shoe union, the activities among the unemployed in centers such as Hartford and Fort Wayne, the role it played in the U. S. Congress against War—the C. P. O. is in a favorable position for growth. The workers have seen the C. P. O. in action against the bosses and the reactionary union bureaucracy; the workers have had the opportunity of judging between the dual union line of the official C. P. and constructive policy of building the unions and transforming them into fighting organizations of the workers that has been followed by the C. P. O. Many of the workers as a result of their experiences are ready to join the C. P. O.

The National Committee of the C. P. O. therefore appeals to all branches and sub-divisions of the organization, not only to meet the quotas assigned them but to surpass them. The C. P. O. appeals to all workers to become subscribers to The Workers Age for the purpose of participating more intelligently and effectively in the labor movement. It appeals to all workers to attend classes in the New Workers School, which is now beginning its second fall term, in order to train themselves for the class struggle. It appeals to all readers of The Workers Age to join the C. P. O. and help in the struggle for Communist unity and for winning the American workers for the revolutionary working class movement.

DAVID SAPOSS 'CATHOLIC CHURCH and LABOR'

Nov. 26th, 8 p. m., 51 W. 14 St.

Big Meetings in Lovestone Tour

MONTREAL

Montreal, Canada
The most successful lecture in Montreal within recent years, was given on October 25 by Jay Lovestone on the subject "What I saw in Fascist Germany." Over 900 workers and intellectuals of every political viewpoint, crowded the Carmen Sylva Hall, while scores had to be sent back because of lack of room.

The vigorous anti-Fascist sentiment of these elements converted the Lovestone lecture on Germany into a mass demonstration against Fascism.

Because of rumors that the Montreal Fascists were planning to disrupt the meeting, a committee was sent from the Anti-Fascist Conference (initiated by the Verdun Workmen's Association, a militant body) to protect the hall. The chairman of this conference was given the floor to explain what the conference had done for the meeting. Utilizing this opportunity of speaking to a large number of workers, members of various organizations, he urged them to send delegates to this conference and help broaden it sufficiently to make it a strong weapon against the Fascist movement in Canada and especially in the province of Quebec. This statement was followed by an appeal from the chairman of the lecture, expressing the necessity of an anti-Fascist solidarity at this most urgent moment.

While speaking about the frightful conditions under which the brave comrades in Germany carry on the underground work, Comrade Lovestone appealed to the audience for funds. This appeal was taken up by the chairman and a committee and \$95 was collected within a very short time. This money, with a letter of encouragement written in the name of the workers and intellectuals present at the lecture, was sent to Germany.

After the collection the floor was thrown open for questions and discussion.

In answering, Comrade Lovestone stopped for a considerable length of time on Trotsky's new course, the Fourth International and the "new" parties.

This meeting was the first in Montreal to demonstrate such enthusiastic willingness to rout Fascism wherever it may be centered.
DAVE BRESLOW

TORONTO

Toronto, Canada
Up until recent months, Toronto was a hard nut to crack for speakers. Meetings were forcibly broken up; hall-owners were tyrannized until they were unable to rent a hall under threat of loss of license. Impending elections, both provincial and federal, were no doubt responsible for the change of front on the part of the authorities. However, be that as it may, the two meetings addressed by Jay Lovestone on November 5 and 6 were outstanding both from the point of view of general interest and attendance. It wasn't as though Comrade Lovestone had the field to himself. On the Sunday afternoon, in the same hall (the A. F. of L. Labor Temple), the Trotskyists staged Jim Cannon. Bertha Mailley of the Socialist Party of New York was also on in another local labor lyceum. Several other local C. C. F. forums were also under way at the same time. Despite this, the Sunday night meeting saw fully 800 jammed in the assembly hall and gallery. Several hundred were turned away. Comrade Lovestone, at this meeting, dealt with "Soviet Russia and the World Crisis." So skilful was the speaker in his treatment that the huge audience was held spellbound. The questions and discussion were much above the usual standard. And so was the behavior of the crowd, which is not noted in this part of the world

for its decorum. Another feature of the meeting was that, under the direction of Chairman Moriarty, it finished with the International. Monday night, Comrade Lovestone had about 400 out to hear his talk on "Lights Out in Germany." Of these 320 paid the admission fee, the balance being unemployed. Remembering the anniversary celebrations that were being held, this again was a most satisfactory response. The Communist Party forces were quiet excepting when the Trotskyists were on the attack. But the speaker needed no assistance, for there was no punch in the remarks of the Fourth Internationalists. Comrade Lovestone corrected figures in a former issue of the Age which gave only about 20,000 in the German Communist Party (official group). There are between 30,000 to 35,000 he said. It is false to say that the German C. P. has betrayed the German working class. The tactical approach of the C. I. and its sections was incorrect. Sectarianism, with its consequence of isolation, was fatal to the possibilities of success. No use to say that the Red Army was ready in 1923, to march into Germany. The revolutionary movement must handle the task of overthrowing its own ruling class. In 1923 the German Communist Party was entrenched in the trade unions and other mass organizations. In 1933 the German C. P. had its "pure" but thoroughly sectarian unions and "mass" organizations which were husks. Today, the German workers, members of the Social-democratic and official Communist parties, were turning more to the policies of the German Communist Opposition. United fronts were being established; exchanges of information gleaned thru the different working class espionage.

What must we do? Learn the lessons of Germany. Break with sectarianism. Break with self-satisfaction and become self-critical. Establish unity of working class forces.

On the appeal of Comrade Moriarty a special collection for the aid of victims of Fascist terror netted \$22.90. Most satisfactory, decidedly encouraging, in view of the local situation. This will be sent to the underground organization in Germany for its revolutionary struggle.

It may be safely said that Comrade Lovestone's meetings gained more supporters for his policies and many friends for his dispassionate presentation of the case for the Communist Opposition. Already the question is being asked when can we have him back in Toronto. The local comrades are determined that this question will be answered practically in the very near future.

BROOKWOOD

Katonah, N. Y.
"The German debacle, with the triumph of the Nazis, is the costliest loss which the world working class has suffered since the world war," declared Jay Lovestone in his address at Brookwood Labor College on October 31, 1933. Lovestone spoke on his experiences in Germany on the occasion of his re-

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Knit-Goods Union Installs Officers

New York City.
On Thursday, November 9, several thousand knit-goods workers, organized under Local 155 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, jammed Cooper

cent trip to that country.

Lovestone carefully examined the nature of German Fascism and compared it with the Italian variety. He analyzed the causes of the working class defeat in Germany, devoting special attention to the criticism of the policies of the Social-democracy and of the official Communist movement.

In speaking about the racial theory of the Nazis, Lovestone quoted a Nazi official as having told him that "every day we're getting more and more crazy." This theory, to which so much publicity has been given in Germany, was described by the speaker as follows: "The greatest race in the world is the white race; the noblest expression of the white race is the Aryan; the healthiest expression of the Aryan is the Nordic; the most glorious expression of the Nordic is the German; the best expression of the German is the Nazis; the most heroic expression of the Nazis is Hitler. Heil Hitler!"

The principal lesson which Lovestone should have taught the workers, members of the Social-democratic and official Communist parties, were turning more to the policies of the German Communist Opposition. United fronts were being established; exchanges of information gleaned thru the different working class espionage.

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DYERS UNION IN ELECTIONS

Paterson, N. J.
The recent settlement of the dyers strike resulted in significant improvements of wage standards and conditions. This has been especially proven in the last couple of weeks during which the workers in numerous dye houses showed their fighting spirit by forcing employers to live up to the conditions of the settlement in full in situations where the bosses attempted to chisel away some of these conditions won. This is particularly encouraging because most of the workers in the union had never been organized previously.

The union is now electing officers for the coming year. As against the administration ticket headed by Joseph Yanerelli for organizer there has been placed in nomination a ticket of progressives headed by Jack Rubinstein, who is well known in the textile industry for his fighting leadership in a number of important strikes.

In Germany before and after the Hitler triumph, analyzed the factors that made possible the victory of the Nazis and sharply criticized the surrender policies of the Social-democracy and the disastrous tactics of the official Communist movement. He presented a brief but very effective account of the program of the German Communist Opposition.

Many questions and a discussion followed. After the meeting, many workers declared that it was the first time they had heard such a clear and interesting talk on Germany.

CHELSEA

Chelsea, Mass.
Over 300 workers filled the Chelsea Labor Lyceum to hear Jay Lovestone speak on his experiences in Hitler Germany on the occasion of his recent visit there. Lovestone examined social conditions

and vitally necessary that a united front on specific issues be formed. "Such unity of action," he said, "will eventually lead to unity of thought."

Life Confirms Opposition Course

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The first edition of Bertram D. Wolfe's pamphlet, "What is the Communist Opposition", proved so popular that it is already exhausted. In place of bringing it "up-to-date" by revising it in the light of recent events in Germany (it was written before Hitler's rise to power), Comrade Wolfe has written a new preface, which we present below, but has kept the original text so that the workers may judge the soundness of the line of the Communist Opposition by the fulfillment of its forecast. The new pamphlet also contains an additional chapter on Trotskyism, which was not discussed in the earlier edition. The enlarged pamphlet sells at the same price as formerly, 10c, with a reduction to 7c in lots of ten or more. A copy will be sent without postage charge upon receipt of 10c.—Editor.

This pamphlet seems to have met a real need. Within less than a year of the date of its issue the first large edition is completely exhausted and a second edition made necessary.

The republication of the original text unaltered serves to demonstrate to every thoughtful reader that the events of the last year have confirmed in a startling and tragic way the correctness of every line of it. Things only forecast in the first edition are today things fulfilled. Life itself has confirmed the correctness of the views of the Communist Opposition.

GERMANY OFFERS TRAGIC PROOF

In Germany the proletariat has suffered a crushing defeat—the greatest, the most shameful defeat in its history. A few hundred thousand Brown-Shirt bandits have succeeded in taking power without so much as a struggle and have destroyed the mighty political and economic organization of the best organized working class in the world. The continued cowardice, compromise and treachery of the Social-democratic leadership, and the continued unreality, sectarianism and tactical bankruptcy of the official Communist leadership, left the working class leaderless, divided, powerless to resist.

The fatal theory of "social-fascism" which made a united front of Social-democratic and Communist workers impossible, the criminal nonsense of "united front from below" which was a substitute for any effort to develop a united front, the childish game of calling all opponents Fascists, so that genuine Fascism did not seem to require any special resistance, the unrealistic analysis which rendered all sound tactics impossible, the systemization of bluff and the habit of calling each defeat a victory—have borne their tragic fruit.

In the first edition we wrote:

"Even the big German Communist Party has lost completely its once powerful position in the German Party press called the Bruening government, the von Papen government, the von Schleicher government, each in turn, Fascist, so that Hitler would seem to be but a continuation of an already established regime.

trade unions and has been unable to check the rapid growth of Fascism or even the streaming of large sections of the working class into the Fascist ranks. While the Communist Party has virtually stood still or made relatively small gain, the Fascists have grown by leaps and bounds to become the largest party in Germany."

At that time, the above-quoted words might have seemed exaggerated to some party members who heard the promises of a speedy Soviet Germany ringing in their ears. Today, everyone can see that those words were an understatement. Less than a year after they were written, Hitler is in power; the German proletariat crushed and bleeding; its organization smashed and the once mighty Communist Party reduced to an underground movement of 30,000 plus 800 of the Communist Opposition, fighting a valiant and heroic rearguard action to prevent complete annihilation and to begin the reconstruction of their fighting forces.

THE FATAL HARVEST OF DUAL UNIONISM

Life itself has also demonstrated in tragic fashion the fatality of the union-splitting tactics of the ultra-left party line. The German Communist Party, under instructions from the Red Trade Union International, split the trade unions of Germany, driving out the Communists and their close sympathizers (a blood-letting process which left the mass of organized workers at the mercy of the reactionary bureaucrats) and formed the impotent R. G. O. (Rote Gewerkschafts-Opposition) "Red unions". In an instant, all the hard-won positions of leadership of powerful unions were lost and an amount of meaningless theses about "increasing the work in reactionary unions while building the Red unions" were able to prevent the wiping out of the Communist influence as a force among the organized workers of Germany. When the fatal test came, on July 20, 1932, on September 12, 1932, on January 30, 1933, the days of the successive steps in the seizure of power by the Brown hordes of Hitler, when the Communist Party called for general strikes, not a finger was raised, not a shot went out, not a wheel stopped in all Germany. For the Communists were outside of the mass trade unions and you cannot call a general strike by handing out leaflets at random to men, women and children on the public streets.

AMERICA CONFIRMS OUR TRADE UNION LINE

In America too the trade union line of the Communist Opposition has received startling confirmation in recent months.

The sectarian line of official Communism was predicted on the following three dogmas:

1. That the American Federation of Labor was headed for collapse and under no circumstances could

or would organize any fresh masses of workers.
2. That the A. F. of L. unions were nothing but "company unions" and could not under any circumstances lead struggles of the workers.

3. That it was both futile and opportunistic, even treacherous, to fight within the conservative trade unions to transform them into militant industrial unions under progressive leadership.

When the first edition of this pamphlet appeared these sacrosanct dogmas of sectarian Communism could be combated and disproved only on the basis of theoretical considerations and past experience. The depression weighed like an Alp upon the working class and there was little union organization or struggle. But in recent months, the sectarian line and the line of the Communist Opposition have been put to the test. There has been a profound change in the temper of the American labor movement, a great wave of strikes in every industry and corner of the land, a veritable rush to organize. The wave of unionization sweeps over the sectarian wing of Communism with its dual "Red unions". They seem incapable of forgetting anything or learning anything. Only the line of the Communist Opposition has withstood the test of the new developments and it has enabled us to orientate ourselves with realism and effectiveness in the new situation. Once more the line of the Communist Opposition is confirmed by life itself.

It is the test of life, after all, that all "lines" and all theories must be able to meet. It was the confidence that our conception of strategy and tactics was correct, that "history", which decides all such things, would decide for us, that made it possible to continue our work in the face of the abuse of the official spokesmen of the movement we cherish and serve and to fight on against great odds to correct the line that is isolating, discrediting and crippling the Communist Party. Now that our analyses are being confirmed and the tide beginning to turn, the Communist Opposition swims no less surely for having trained itself by swimming against the current when that current was in the wrong direction.

We can best close the preface to the second edition of this pamphlet as we closed the introduction to the first:

"We assume that the reader is interested enough in the problems of the working class to give earnest and open-minded consideration to the questions raised in this pamphlet and that, if the facts here set forth and aims convince him, the working class reader will act upon his convictions and join actively and wholeheartedly in our struggle for the unity of our party, the adoption of a tactical line that will enable us to grow, and insure its victory in this country and the triumph of the Communist International and the cause of Communism in all lands."

November 7, 1933.

Dress Union Calls for Vigilance in Shops

We publish below a leaflet recently published by the executive board of the Dressmakers Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., of which Charles S. Zimmerman is secretary-manager and Louis Nelson is chairman.—Editor.

Dressmakers!
We are now in the midst of the slack season. Thousands of dressmakers are walking the streets looking for work. Other thousands are working only part time. It is, at this time, that the dangers confronting the workers in our industry are greatest.

As a result of the strike, the employers were compelled to grant us guaranteed minimum wage scales and limit the hours to thirty-five a week. But these employers, many of whom are erstwhile open-shoppers, will not willingly continue to pay the scales provided for in the agreements. In fact, right after the strike, they began scheming how to nullify our gains. And now, in the midst of the slack season, they are making a concerted drive to reduce wages and are attempting to bring back the old miserable conditions. They know that the season following the strike was short and the workers in our industry did not earn enough to carry them thru the slack period.

They, therefore, think that the anxiety to get work may compel some workers to accept any price offered. Do not be fooled by this talk. The jobbers are peddling what little work they have, sending it from shop to shop, looking for the lowest bidder. In each shop, the contractor tells the workers that the next shop makes it cheaper and, in this way, tries to induce the workers in his shop to reduce the standards.

Dressmakers! We know, from past experience, that reduced wages do not bring more bundles. We also know that competition be-

tween shop and shop, between one group of workers and another, ultimately leads to miserable conditions for all.

Do not listen to the insidious propaganda carried on by some elements within the union. These people, under the cloak of high-sounding phrases, are calling themselves "Left Group" but are actually carrying on a campaign that is intended to demoralize our ranks and, in reality, amounts to a campaign for the reduction of wages. In this campaign they are the best allies of the employers.

Dressmakers! Be on guard! What the employers did not succeed in doing during the last season, they are trying to accomplish now during the slack period, so that they may compel you to work at lower standards during the next season.

Dressmakers! Fellow-workers! Frustrate the schemes of the employers. Do not settle any prices on garments below union standards. Do not settle any prices that do not yield the minimum scales. We have suffered long enough. We fought hard to obtain these scales. Now let us fight to maintain them. The union is undertaking a systematic campaign to fight back the attempts of the employers to reduce wages. Every day, from morning till night, jobbers are plotting will be held for the purpose of unifying our fight to maintain conditions. Cooperate fully in this campaign. Come to the jobbers group meetings whenever you are called. Above all, do not settle prices on garments below the scales. Do not depend on the "code" to maintain conditions.

SILK WORKERS HOLD FIRM

Paterson, N. J.
The conference of representatives of the striking silk workers and the employers, called by the Mayor's Conciliation Committee, has ended in a deadlock. The employers flatly refused to accept the decision of the Labor Board calling for a \$25 minimum for weavers and a proportional increase in wages for other crafts involved in the strike.

The representatives of the Associated Silk Workers stated that, although a definite vote by the strikers on these proposals had not yet been taken, they were nevertheless ready to accept them as a basis. They categorically rejected the proposals of the employers for a \$17 to \$18 minimum for weavers.

The case of the striking silk workers was considerably bolstered by the report of a special committee appointed by the Mayor's Committee to investigate wage scales now being paid in several Pennsylvania centers. This committee reported that the wage scales being paid there were considerably higher than those being (Continued on Page 7)

Only the workers themselves, thru their organized strength—thru and by the union—will be able to prevent the return of the dreaded sweat-shop and maintain standards.

Executive Board
Dressmakers Union Local 22,
I. L. G. W. U.
CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN
Secretary-Manager
LOUIS NELSON,
Chairman

Farm Strike Revived In Revolt Against NRA

After a few months of relative quiet, following the initiation of the Roosevelt administration agricultural policies, the Midwestern and Northwestern farm regions are blazing with revolt again. And again it is in the relation of agricultural to industrial price levels that is at the bottom of these developments.

On November 19, newspapers carried sensational headlines about the outbreak of an anti-NRA movement in Nebraska, endorsed by Governor Bryan himself, protesting against the high prices of manufactured goods in contrast to the decline in farm prices. Taking 1913 prices as 100, the gap between industrial and farm prices was in favor of the latter until 1920, when the so-called "scissors" began to appear, with agricultural levels falling constantly in relation to general prices. The onset of the economic crisis in 1929 aggravated the situation considerably so that, by January 1933, the gap was widest in recent history, farm prices standing at 50 and industrial prices at 100. Under the impact of the Roosevelt price-raising policy, the "scissors" began to close somewhat in the next few months, so that by the middle of July the difference in price levels was such as would have involved in January. But, from that date, the gap again began widening; industrial prices continued rising, while farm prices declined. By the beginning of November, the situation stood: prices paid by farmers, 116; prices received by farmers, 59—a situation worse than in January.

This declaration of the administration immediately revived the hardly abated unrest in the Midwestern and Northwestern regions. On the same day, the National Farmers Holiday Association ordered a "major offensive" that had been tentatively called off a few days before. Since then, the strike movement has been spreading and assuming more militant forms. In Iowa and other states, martial law has already been declared in some (Continued on Page 8)

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The NRA and the New Swope Plan

Larger Aspects of the Recovery Act

by Will Herberg

The NRA is today in a serious crisis is hardly open to challenge. It is indeed being recognized more or less openly on every side.

The Failure Of The NRA As A Recovery Measure

As an emergency recovery measure the NRA has already failed. Since the middle of July, when the first codes began to operate, industrial and business activity has been declining almost without interruption, so that by November 4 well over two-thirds (70%) of the gain between March and July had been eaten up (New York Times business index, November 12, 1933). Indeed, the Federal Reserve Board report for September (New York Times, October 28, 1933) goes so far as to declare that "the decline in industrial activity during the past two months has been marked in industries in which processing taxes or codes have become effective recently". It is beginning to look as if, from the point of view of the immediate economic situation, the NRA, by bringing to expression in more acute and extended form the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system in depression, has proved a very serious disturbing factor.

That there has been considerable unemployment, some of it due to the maximum work-week and other provisions of the code, is obvious. But, in the first place, the decline in unemployment is an international phenomenon, being quite marked in Great Britain where even General Johnson will admit his jurisdiction does not extend and, secondly, after discounting the ballyhoo, the actual increase in jobs is so far behind official expectations and so relatively inadequate that it leaves the unemployment situation just about as it was before (see the recent report of the Welfare Council of New York).

But the failure of the NRA as a recovery measure is seen most strikingly in the matter of buying power. So far, whatever reemployment has taken place has been essentially along the lines of the old, discredited "share-the-work" movement, involving the multiplication of jobs thru the reduction of per capita average wages. Between July 15 and August 15, the average weekly pay in woolen and worsted production changed from \$17.86 to \$17.69; in electrical machinery production, from \$20.45 to \$20.17; in shipbuilding, from \$18.95 to \$18.69 (The New Republic, October 11, 1933). Taking the skyrocketing of prices into account, the situation assumes an even sadder aspect. "NRA wages," the New York Times (November 6, 1933) quotes the A. F. of L. monthly report for October, "have not brought higher living standards to the average American worker . . . because a 6% increase in wages has been eaten up by an 8.5% increase in living costs and the worker finds his real monthly income in September actually below that of March by 2.3%."

In fact, the failure of the NRA as a recovery measure is a matter of common notoriety. Already on September 30, the New York Times quoted a "high-ranking government official," an "outstanding member of the administration," as declaring that "the recovery program was approaching a crucial stage, with evidences of weakening becoming manifest in the NRA, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Public Works Administration. . . . The fact that the farm and mortgage relief programs. . . . Three weeks later, a special report of Arthur Krook in the same newspaper (October 22, 1933) informed us that: "There are some members of General Johnson's organization, to say and one of two of the President's inner circle, who believe that the experiment (the NRA) cannot succeed. They have voiced their belief that the NRA should gradually and quietly be extinguished."

In its present policies, the Roosevelt administration is manifesting practical recognition of the failure of the NRA. It is resorting to

the measures that it had held in reserve for use when the NRA would show signs of "weakness". Now that hopes of success from the operations of the Recovery Act are growing dimmer and dimmer, the administration is seeking refuge, first in the expected economic effects of Soviet recognition, secondly in a piecemeal policy of inflation and third in a more extensive policy of public works. We leave to a future occasion an examination of how effective these measures can be.

Towards State Capitalism

But the recovery element of the NRA, while certainly its most immediate aspect, is not at all its most fundamental feature. From the very beginning we pointed out that the National Industrial Recovery Act was no mere emergency measure but that it was the legal aspect of the new stage in economic and class relations which we have now entered, the reorganization of our economic system in the direction of state capitalism. Along this road there is no turning back!

much-discussed "Swope Plan," the proposals for the organization of American economic life contained in the address of Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company, to the Business Advisory and Planning Control of which he is chairman, has drawn national attention to this question. It is now emerging as one of the most basic problems in relation to the NRA.

The whole course of economic evolution in past decades has been towards state capitalism, towards the direction, control and regulation of the economic life of the

country by the government, as the administrative organ of the capitalist class collectively operating thru characteristic "mixed" economic-political bodies uniting the economic organizations of the bourgeoisie (chambers of commerce, manufacturers associations, etc.) with its governmental apparatus. The drive to state capitalism, inherent in our economic system in its latest imperialist phase, became manifest in the repeated "plans" projected in recent years by prominent industrialists and commercial "self-government" of industry by boards armed with governmental powers. Essential to all of these proposals was naturally the suspension of the anti-trust laws and the removal of all legal hindrance to the expansion of the trade association as the dominant control of our economic life. Today, in the light of the NRA and of the recent Swope proposals, the almost forgotten United States Chamber of Commerce scheme and the Swope plan of two years ago, acquire new significance.

The National Industrial Recovery Act was the logical outcome of the whole movement. The anti-trust laws were suspended; the trade association was not only legalized but was even made virtually universal. But the NRA was also to be a recovery measure; at the same time, the "Brain Trust" experts were convinced that they would have no difficulty integrating the A. F. of L. unions, as government "unions," into the emerging structure of state capitalism. Consequently minimum wage and

maximum work-week provisions were included and, above all, Section 7a. That these sections were unwelcome to the great bulk of the capitalists individually is obvious enough; collectively, the capitalist class accepted them because it looked to the NRA, and the "New Deal" of which it was a part, as the only way out of the blind-alley of the economic crisis, while maintaining and even strengthening the foundations of capitalism. The elimination of the anti-trust laws and the free field opened to the trade association as the ruler of commerce and industry were regarded as easily compensating for the "less fortunate" features of the act.

Tendencies In The NRA

But, as time went on, two features of the NRA became more and more galling to business men and industrial leaders, especially with the recognition of the general failure of the act as a recovery measure. In the first place, the actual administration of the NRA, and therefore of codified industry, is in the hands of government officials, of experts, of bureaucrats. Now the United States has, by and large, come from the other direction: not so much thru the government taking over industry as thru big business taking over the government and acquiring governmental sanction for its own administrative bodies. In the second place, the bourgeoisie, and most of all the Roosevelt administration, are seriously concerned with the utterly unexpected consequences of the NRA, the great wave of strikes, labor militancy and trade union organization inundating the country to

day. As Lincoln Colcord points out in Raymond Moley's semi-official Today (October 28, 1933): "From the President down, the Roosevelt administration is keenly alive to the implications and dangers of present labor developments. . . . The government several months ago did not fully consider what the barrel of industrial unrest contained when it pulled out the bung. A wide-spread strike condition was, perhaps, the last thing anticipated as a product of the NRA. President Roosevelt is probably as deeply disturbed as anyone else over this unforeseen complication."

In a word, decisive sections of the capitalist class are now demanding that the NRA be "developed" in two directions: (1) to "return industry to itself" by guaranteeing it "free enterprise"; and (2) to completely emasculate Section 7a, as part of the counter-offensive against the rising tide of unionism and labor struggle. It is not necessary to examine the Swope Plan in any detail—its details have no permanent significance anyway—since the recovery deliberately aims to achieve these two objectives. According to the Swope Plan, "the chief functions of the NRA are to be taken over by a super-organization of industry revolving around the Chamber of Commerce of the United States . . . while the organization as now headed by General Johnson would remain largely as the government's supervisor of industry's own establishment. Administration of codes now in effect and promulgation of new ones would thenceforth be the primary responsibility of industry (that is, capital.—W. H.) itself" (New York Times, November 2, 1933). As T. C. Wallen, writing in the New York Herald-Tribune (November 2, 1933), correctly points out, Swope's proposal constitutes a "transfer of the NRA to the headquarters of the United States Chamber of Commerce to be conducted permanently under business rather than governmental aegis. . . . The leading economic bodies of the American bourgeoisie as a class are to be armed with direct governmental power to run the entire industrial and commercial life of this country."

It has not escaped observation that the Swope Plan has nothing to say of labor. In a vague sort of way it is suggested that the interests of labor are to be "represented" by the government agents who are to be given seats in the leading councils of industry in the name of the "public"! Declares Mr. Harriman of the United States Chamber of Commerce: "The NRA cannot possibly succeed without the aid of either labor or business. This (the Swope Plan) is an endeavor to give it the support of at least one of these two parties!" Surely no interpretation is needed.

The Culmination Of The NRA

"Mr. Swope's plan . . . was said to have met the instant favor of the Recovery Administrator, General Johnson," reports the New York Times of November 2, 1933. And, in spite of General Johnson's subsequent evasions and reservations, in the manner that has become characteristic of this "bluff, frank soldier," the fact remains that the Swope Plan is, in its main outlines, the logical culmination of the NRA "experiment," its "ultimate ideal," to use the Recovery Administrator's own words. It is the special American type of state capitalism via the NRA. How soon will be seen when the workers did not yet look upon it as a stable force in the New York trade. The Industrial Union was the only organization left. And so the workers accepted T.U.U.L. leadership, not, however, without the warning of those who foresaw what would happen.

It was clear from the very beginning that the Industrial Union was up against a stone wall. It had very little difficulty in calling strikes but could show very little headway in settling them. As a workers' standard on all fronts. For this the labor movement must now prepare organizationally and morally!

What gave menace the Swope Plan holds out for labor is obvious on the face of it. There are already straws in the wind. "The drive to give employers a better break has one foot well inside the Blue Eagle's door," complacently comments John McMullin in the New York Evening Post of November 9, 1933. The Swope Plan is industrial feudalism in the literal sense of the word.

(Continued on page 5)

A Review Of His Recent Book

THE MARXISM OF SIDNEY HOOK

by Jim Cork

(Concluded from last issue) The second of Hook's book on economics is surely the weakest in the work. One senses immediately that here he treads falteringly on strange ground. The treatment is uncertain and labored, in striking contrast to the deftness and facility of the rest of the book. It is shot thru with the grossest errors. As a whole, it is the most striking illustration of the havoc wrought by crude instrumentalism in the field of social science—particularly the absurdly pragmatic treatment of the theory of value. The theory of value is certainly the very cornerstone of the edifice of Marxian economics. What does Hook say of it? He declares (page 222): "The theory of value and surplus-value in its specifically Marxian form is neither an arbitrary intellectual construction nor a myth. It is not even an ideology."

Well, what is it? He says (page 222): "It is rather the self-conscious theoretical expression of the practical activity of the working class engaged in a continuous struggle for a higher standard of living—a struggle which reaches its culmination in social revolution." Just what does that mean? Does the theory of value represent an objective analysis of relations under the capitalist mode of production or is it a fiction of a Vaingainer, surcharged with moral fervor for purposes of serving class ends, a la "instrumentalist adequacy". Hook says (page 223): "The labor theory of value is an objective analysis of relations under capitalism is worth the fight. This may seem a cavalier way of settling the problem."

It certainly is! I think Hook is himself one of the . . . radical thinkers who, in their hearts, are convinced of its (the labor theory's) scientific untenability (but believe it to be) a good rallying cry to stir up the

proletariat into action" (page 221). He should speak out one way or the other!

Some Minor Points There are two points, minor perhaps but nevertheless important, on which, I think, Hook is quite wrong.

1. In discussing the question of accident in history, to which, by the way, he brings a fresh and revealing point, Hook quotes Marx as follows (page 178): "These accidents naturally fall within the general path of development and are compensated by other accidents. But the acceleration and retardation of events are very largely dependent upon such accidents."

This Hook interprets as follows (page 178): "He merely points to the fact that something, which the historian cannot altogether explain, may have a decisive influence upon a great historical event."

I maintain that the word "decisive" completely distorts the

meaning of the Marxian thesis. 2. Hook claims (page 97) that the three leading principles of Marxism—under which he includes historical materialism, the theory of value and the class struggle—will lose their applicability in a collectivist society. Obviously this is true as regards the theory of value and the doctrine of the class struggle, which can have no meaning in a society without commodities or classes. But why, if, as Hook says (page 97): "Historical materialism . . . explains the general character of social life in terms of the economic relations in which human beings find themselves."

must this doctrine too be invalid for a collectivist society? It seems that, in the very nature of the case, the theory of historical materialism is valid not only for class society but for human society in general!

Marx Thru Deweyan Spectacles What Hook has essentially done in his book is to "understand" Marx in the light of latter-day instrumentalism, to look at at Marxism thru Deweyan spectacles. The many obvious points of contact between Marxism and Deweyan instrumentalism make it all the more necessary to distinguish sharply between the two, to counterpose the materialistic essence of the former to the idealistic essence of the latter. Not only has Hook not done this but he has even refused to recognize that it must be done. As far as I know, Hook has never subjected Dewey to a Marxian critique. (It would be an interesting performance, indeed!) On the contrary, all of his work seems to be in the direction of "correcting" Marx, thru "interpretation," along Deweyan instrumentalist lines. That is why his latest book, in spite of its many great merits, cannot be regarded as a valid and genuine "understanding" either of the Marxism of Marx or of the living Marxism of today?

(Continued on page 5)

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Revolution and Reaction in Spain

Counter-Revolution Marches to the Fore!

by Ellen Ward

The Spanish revolution, started in 1930, continues its rhythm at present, the rhythm of growing reaction. The government of Azana was prolific in the making of laws embodying high-sounding, revolutionary phraseology, but each law is nothing but a barrier to impede the march of the revolution. All have been conceived in a spirit of transition. Everything in them is provisional, temporary, uncertain. This is true in the great measure of the much heralded Agrarian Reform Law. Should the reaction triumph in Spain, what will be left of all these laws? In a few weeks Hitler was able to wipe out the whole pyramid of laws passed by a decade and a half of Social-democracy in Germany.

Political and economic strikes are the order of the day, spreading from one end of the peninsula to the other. Clashes between the workers and police are daily occurrences. All these are evident signs of the great pressure which the masses are exerting to prevent the march of the revolution from being paralyzed.

All the forces of the counter-revolution, sometimes attacking directly, often indirectly thru the bourgeois-Socialist government, and again thru their agents in the labor organizations themselves, have thus far failed in their attempts to force the revolutionary currents back into the old channels.

The Situation In Spain

The situation grows progressively worse as a consequence of the deepening of the economic crisis. This misery and agitation must result sooner or later in strong social disturbances. The workers and peasants are suffering the same misery and hunger as under the monarchy—even worse. This is due, on the one hand, to the world crisis in capitalism and, on the other, to the total collapse of Spain's economic system inherited from the monarchy. The "republican" bourgeoisie continues, in the main, the same political and economic policies. These led the old regime to disaster and can have no different results for the present rulers.

Each day new industries are paralyzed. New factories are down. The government, taking advantage of the tolerance of the government, engages in continuous economic sabotage, thus promoting the activities of the counter-revolution. The internal market shrinks alarmingly and the foreign trade of 1932 was only two-thirds of the 1930 total. If the economic crisis has not assumed the catastrophic proportions as in the United States, England or Germany, it is due solely to the fact that Spanish economy is still basically domestic in character. Nevertheless, the crisis grows deeper from day to day.

The bourgeoisie has tried everything in its power to limit the revolution. It has introduced "reforms" of all kinds to stem the revolutionary tide. But these "reforms" are like paper dikes; they have collapsed completely. The Agrarian Reform Law has not solved the agrarian question. The Church is as powerful today as it was before. The army continues conspiring for the return of the

NRA AND THE SWOPE PLAN

(Continued from Page 4) the term. It would not only multiply a thousand fold the dangers of the NRA for labor but it would eliminate those points of vantage that the conditions created by the NRA offer to the workers, of which some sections of the labor movement have already made considerable use. If it is not necessary to carry out the Swope Plan to be fully carried out for this menace to become real; any attempt to transform the NRA along its lines, and such an attempt is well-nigh inevitable, would mean a head-on offensive against the labor movement and workers standards on all fronts. For this the labor movement must now prepare organizationally and morally!

monarchy and waits eagerly to aid any attempts at counter-revolution or restoration. The pseudo-regional autonomy of Catalonia proves once more that only a triumphant proletariat is capable of solving the problems of national minorities. Today the masses of Catalonia feel the double pressure of Madrid and their own immediate ruling class.

The "reforms" of the republican state have been topsy-turvy. Instead of simplifying and transforming the state into a less expensive political instrument—reducing debts, decreasing military expenditures, decreasing the cost of bureaucracy—its current expenses are even higher than those of the monarchy. The republican state is now a fortress against the revolution. The Social-democratic state in Germany helped the triumph of Fascism. The Spanish "republican" government is treading the same path. All their "reforms" have failed. The hour is ripe for reaction or revolution.

The Role of the Present Government

The present government of Spain is a bridge between the revolution and the counter-revolution. It is based on the petty bourgeoisie and leans to the right upon a section of the bourgeoisie and to the left upon a part of the working class. But this position grows more untenable from day to day because of the pressure, on the one side, of the large bourgeoisie and, on the other, of the working class.

The military counter-revolutionary insurrection of August, 1932 and the opposition block in Parliament by an ever-growing nucleus

of the bourgeoisie, show how the reaction works inside and outside of parliament to reconquer power. The government, at the same time as it exerts the greatest efforts to fetter revolutionary development, permits the counter-revolution to organize freely. At the same time that it tries to preserve democratic illusions and to bolster up the parliamentary myth, it attempts to destroy the movements of the workers and peasants and is preparing the ground for the triumph of the counter-revolution, by placing reactionary elements into the strategic government posts. President Alcala Zamora, invited by interest the movements of the reactionary elements, will play in Spain the role of Hindenburg in Germany—he will open the door to Fascism.

Sections of the petty-bourgeoisie are travelling rapidly in the direction of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. This is made possible by the divisions in the working class, just as it was in Germany and in Italy. In the local elections of April of this year, reaction was triumphant in all the poor and the middle peasants gave an overwhelming majority to them. Spanish Social-democracy follows closely upon the steps of German and Austrian Social-democracy. Largo Caballero follows the models traced by Braun, Severing, Wels, Renner and Otto Bauer. He lends all his energy and all his forces to the alleviation of precarious political situations. He and his party play the role of shock-absorbers to soften the attacks of

Growth Of Fascism

The favorable conditions for the growth of Fascism in Spain may

be summarized as follows: growing economic crisis, lockouts by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, creating of new divisions in the ranks of the workers, the incapacity of Social-democracy and the petty bourgeoisie to solve any of the problems, the divisions in the ranks of the masses, the impotence of the official Communist Party. In Italy and Germany Fascism was able to break thru the breach in the proletarian front. In Spain there are many breaches in the working class front. The following labor organizations exist today: The General Labor Confederation, the General Union of Workers, unions expelled by the General Labor Confederation, the Communist Party, the Iberian Communist Federation (Workers and Peasant Block) and many others.

Fascism is creating unity among the bourgeoisie. If the working class does not unify its ranks before the bourgeoisie it will be condemned to live under the slavery of a Fascist regime in Spain just as it is doing in Germany at present. The immediate situation in Spain demands the forging of complete unity of the working masses without which the victory of a workers revolution is impossible. The Spanish revolution has reached a decisive moment in its history. Either the workers and peasants unite and take power or the Fascist-military counter-revolution will take power

trade again. They refuse to recognize that the cause for the destructure of the Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union. The lesson to be learned is that a union, which has to stand up against the bosses and the government cannot give its right to support by the rest of the labor movement thru its affiliation to the T.U.U.L. and yet expect to survive. A union that hopes to defeat this array of enemies must, furthermore, be of such a nature that every worker, regardless of his political will feel that it is his organization.

The shoe workers, if not the leaders of the Industrial Union, are learning these important lessons. Urged on by their shop conditions and the proven impotence of the T.U.U.L. to become a permanent factor, stimulated by the drive toward the amalgamation of all the shoe unions into one (with which movement the Industrial Union has nothing to do), they are turning to the National Shoe Workers Association as the organization involved in the amalgamation, free from the domination of any political group, and able to carry out the functions of a trade union, to win recognition, improve the conditions of its members and of the workers in the trade as a whole.

A referendum to be held in the shops on January 2 to determine which union the workers want. To make matters worse, the strikers were forced into a position where they now have to fight for the right to share the work with scabs under conditions no better than before the strike because many manufacturers refuse to take back the strikers under any conditions. Those who were taken back have bitter tales of woe to tell. The shop committees are being disregarded as before the strike. And so the workers learned that the position with union recognition nothing else matters. It is quite true that a number of individual settlements were made with better conditions and union recognition. But it is obvious that these conditions will not be maintained by a union so badly put to rout. A defeat is not in itself proof of the worthlessness of a union. But the cause of that defeat and the attitude of the union to it are a good touchstone. The Industrial Union leaders refuse to recognize the defeat. They cynically proclaim "partial victories". They place hope in the referendum to restore to them hegemony over the

Amalgamation Is The Great Need Of The Hour

FIASCO OF DUALISM AMONG THE SHOE WORKERS

by M. S.

New York City. The fourteen-week strike of the New York shoe workers has come to a disastrous conclusion for the workers.

The strike was under the undisputed leadership of the Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union. The first act of the NRA was to effect an agreement between the Shoe Manufacturers Board of Trade and scab-herding leaders of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. Initiation fees in that organization were immediately reduced to 35c and a campaign was begun to fill the shops. This turned the tide of the strike. No new shops were pulled out and the workers of some other shops ran back in confusion. They had no faith in the ability of the Industrial Union to carry out its demagogic assurances in the strike halls. The Industrial Union had but one answer to the new threat—a series of excursions to Senator Wagner resulting in the present agreement.

The agreement finally arrived at between the Industrial Union and the National Labor Board would put many of the sell-out agreements of the A. F. of L. to shame.

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Justice union by the NRA. These responsible promises proved to be a boomerang when the real purpose of the NRA became clear. The first act of the NRA was to effect an agreement between the Shoe Manufacturers Board of Trade and scab-herding leaders of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. Initiation fees in that organization were immediately reduced to 35c and a campaign was begun to fill the shops. This turned the tide of the strike. No new shops were pulled out and the workers of some other shops ran back in confusion. They had no faith in the ability of the Industrial Union to carry out its demagogic assurances in the strike halls. The Industrial Union had but one answer to the new threat—a series of excursions to Senator Wagner resulting in the present agreement.

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SOVIETS SCORE IN U.S. RECOGNITION

(Continued from Page 1) sagely comments the London Times.

The recognition of the Soviet Union should be a matter of great rejoicing to the workers of the United States since it strengthens the position of the workers republic and thus of labor in this country and all over the world.

Philadelphia, Pa. At a meeting of 700 to 800 Middlevale Steel workers where the question of affiliation was taken up, a representative of the A. F. of L. and one of the T. U. U. L. spoke. The vote was postponed for a second meeting. A rumor spread that the T. U. U. L. representative has something to do with Foster and the Communist Party. They posted pickets and chased the T. U. U. L. representative away from the grounds.

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WORKERS AGE

The Struggle for Unity On a Higher Level

by Herbert Zam

Every serious political organization, whether party or group, must, from time to time, review its course and realign it in accordance with any change which may have taken place necessitating an adjustment in the policies and work of the organization. This is particularly true if any outstanding events have occurred which throw light upon certain problems faced. Any political organization which contents itself with a set of formulas and substitutes these formulas for the living reality, is doomed to isolation or death, regardless of the great value these formulas may have had at one time.

At the present time, the Communist Party (Opposition) is faced with the need for a reexamination of its main course. In the four and one-half years of existence, we have valuable experience bearing on our perspective. To these experiences have been added the experience of the Oppositions in other countries and particularly the recent events in Germany, which have climaxed the whole course of ultra-leftism pursued by the Comintern in the last five years. It is not simply the events themselves which necessitate a change in our course in the United States—this would be a type of mechanical transference of policies to which we are opposed. It is the light which the German events shed upon our own experiences which necessitates such a change. The German catastrophe is only a forerunner of similar catastrophes for the Communist movement in other capitalist countries, if the present course is continued, and if the Comintern's opposition does not succeed in developing an instrument with which effectively to counteract the catastrophic results of the ultra-leftist policies of the official Communist parties.

It is to this task that the minority resolution directs itself, and comes to the conclusion that the group must now adopt a new perspective that of the development of a new, an opposition Communist party in this country and in other capitalist countries where the conditions are similar. Our role and activities as a group, as an organized tendency, were of great value in the first stages of the struggle but, as these stages passed into history, the value of these tactics passed with them. We believed that we could best influence the Communist parties and the Comintern back to a Leninist line and to a restoration of party democracy by acting as a group and rejecting the proposal of building new Communist parties. This tactic has not brought the necessary results. To continue working for Communist unity along the lines of a group, under the most difficult conditions of work. We must orientate ourselves to utilize every favorable circumstance and development in the next period of time and to be in a condition to do so, in the opinion of the minority, we must work for the building of a new Communist party and declare our willingness to take action for establishing a new Communist party when the circumstances warrant.

This involves a change in the group's perspective. In the past our main perspective was the work as a group; our secondary objective was the growth of the C.P.-O. into a party as the official party disintegrated, became a "shell". The proposal of the minority is not the same as this secondary perspective but the minority proposes what was already indicated by the September, 1932 Conference, when it adopted the following motion:

"The Communist Opposition clearly understands that in any single country only one Communist Party must exist and only one can exist over a long period of time. In the present critical situation in the C. I. it is possible for situations to develop where there will be temporarily two Communist parties, where it would be desirable, provided there are sufficient forces, for launching an opposition

party as well as the recognized party. In such a case our main objective would be the same—to bring about the unification of the Communist movement. The motion of the September Conference clarifying the question of the launching of an opposition Communist party contains the germ of the present proposals of the minority. The minority, however, advances beyond this position. Whereas, at the September Conference, we were still more or less groping in the dark on this issue, it is now necessary to come out and clearly state that we are working for the launching of such a party when we believe the forces are sufficient and that this is our main orientation in the pursuit of our objective of Communist unity, a correct party line, and internal party democracy.

The majority, in its search for arguments against the need for a new orientation for our group, has developed the notion that party or group is a principle and a tactical question, placing this matter almost on a level with the proletarian dictatorship. In the Bulletin of the I. C. O., in commenting on the relations with the left wing of the Comintern in this statement: "On the decisive questions, the left wing accepts the position of Communism—in its readiness to join the Communist International, in its struggle against a second party and for a Communist united front tactic." Similarly, an article in the "New World", Strassburg, June 9, 1933, dealing with the situation in the ranks of Social-democracy, in which is observed "a tendency toward Communism in the ranks of the Social-democratic masses," concludes as follows: "The Comintern still numerous and one of these is the conclusion from the collapse of the S. P. and C. P. that a 'new' party is needed, which should be 'Communist' but 'different' from the C. P." We see in this that to the idea that Communists are distinct and by belief in proletarian dictatorship, and power and armed uprising, has been added a new criterion—opposition to a new Communist party. As against this conception we can bring our own experiences in the United States, where for a number of years we had two Communist parties existing simultaneously and the experiences of Communists in other countries, who went thru similar stages. In the letter to Sylvia Pankhurst, written about July 1920, Lenin said:

"If the advocates of soviet power (in England) cannot be united owing to these differences only (parliamentarism—H. Z.) I should consider the immediate formation of two Communist Parties... as a useful step in advance, as a step to complete unity. One such party may reject and the other accept participation in bourgeois parliamentarism... (My emphasis—H. Z.)"

This quotation definitely shows that, while Lenin considered as desirable the existence of but one Communist party in each country, he did not consider it contrary to Communist principles, as a step toward complete unity. Those who now place this issue on a level with proletarian dictatorship should show when Lenin, or any other Communist leader, proposed to compromise on the question of proletarian dictatorship, or soviets, or armed uprising, as a means of smoothing over differences, or as a means of attracting new followers. Such a compromise is unthinkable. Obviously, and this became clear to even a Pioneer, this cannot be done and cannot change with conditions, only tactics do. Lenin was not violating any Communist principles by advocating the formation of two Communist parties but was applying correct tactics to a given situation.

The majority has taken the formula which is absolutely true as long as a normal situation exists in the revolutionary movement, and has converted it into a dogma by holding on to this formula when

DISCUSSION

On this page we publish two articles in the pre-conference discussion of the Communist Opposition. Up until December 25, one and one-half pages of The Workers Age will be devoted to the discussion.—Editor.

the condition has ceased being normal. In an exceptional situation we must look for exceptional tactics. To attempt to apply the formula of one party to a country at the present time, when the situation in the Communist movement is not only exceptional but extremely critical, is to condemn the Communist Opposition movement to impotence and isolation.

These are the issues in our discussion. Unfortunately, the majority resolution falls entirely to meet these issues. It is justifying its position, debating with imaginary opponents and answering imaginary arguments. The majority resolution might be of some value (that is also questionable) for a discussion with the Trotskyites. But anyone can see with half an eye that a gulf which exists between the standpoint of the minority and that of the Trotskyites on this question. We disagree not only as to the reasons for a new party; we disagree also as to what its role would be. Let the majority adopt a document which will meet the arguments of the Trotskyites, so as to make possible a real discussion of the issues in our group. Certainly it should answer the arguments of the Trotskyites—this is a task for the entire group. But it must not confine itself to the Trotskyites and define the specific issues in the group.

In discussing the question of a new party, we must naturally also devote some thought to the problem as to how successful we have been in causing a change in the party's line in our direction. That we have had some success now and then, cannot be doubted. The half-turns, quarter-turns and twists, have been sufficient proof of that. But what is the net result? In answering this question, the majority and minority diverge sharply. The minority maintains the party line is as far away from a correct line as they have ever been. If anything were needed to prove that, and to the hilt, it is the complete endorsement after the German catastrophe, of all those policies which we all agree led to the Open Letter, the expression of the present course of the party, which the Bureau itself unanimously characterized as "a return to third-period lunacy". This same idea is repeated in the resolution of the Bureau on "Labor and the NRA", as follows:

"In the face of the complete practical collapse of its trade union policies, the official C. P. is reviving in the crassest form its old line sectarian theories in their worst third-period form."

It seems that this is a clear position and yet we find a different picture in the present discussion. Comrade Lovestone, in his concluding remarks at the membership meeting, said: "The C. I. today has reached a transition stage on the road to a break with ultra-leftism. Now, if this were true, and if we all believed it, it certainly would affect our orientation. Let the majority bring proof. Let it repudiate its own analysis, which proves just the opposite. There is no proof. The majority's contention is an illusion, not a fact. If the majority can convince us that the C. I. is today in a transition stage away from its ultra-left course, then the minority will gladly withdraw its resolution, and will agree for a continuation of the present course of the group."

If we orientate toward the establishment of new Communist parties in a whole series of capitalist countries and if these new Communist parties stand on a common basis, then they must necessarily unite for international cooperation, unite into something which will be a kind of new Communist International—a kind because it will not be an all-inclusive international; it

(Continued on Page 7)

Against a "New" Party And a "Fourth" Int'l

by Will Herberg

One thing at least is clear from the statement of the minority of the National Committee published in the last issue of The Workers Age and from the article of Comrade Zam in this issue: The minority believes that we should take the course of the formation of a new party in the United States and other capitalist countries and a new International on a world scale. But why the minority insists on this fundamental change of orientation, why Comrade Zam suddenly veers to a view which he has fought for many years, this remains a deep and dark mystery! But it is precisely this mystery that Comrade Zam must dispel if he wants the group to take his contentions seriously.

In his two documents Comrade Zam presents the following "reasons" for a change of orientation: (1) "At the present time the Communist Party (Opposition) is faced with the need for a reexamination of its main course. In the four-and-a-half years of our existence, we have had valuable experiences bearing on our perspective. To these experiences have now been added the experiences of the Oppositions in other countries and (2) particularly the recent events in Germany..." Our orientation as a group was "of great value in the first stages of the struggle" but it has now become obsolete. (3) A group in its very nature, defined by Comrade Zam in his statement, is "unstable"—it tends to become either an ingrown sect (like the Trotskyites) or else really a party without the name (like the C. P. O.)

Are these statements "reasons" or mere empty verbiage devoid of meaning? To mention "four-and-a-half years experience" and let it go at that is hardly enough. What happened in these four-and-a-half years of experience of our group in America to require a change of orientation? What marks this "new stage"? Our perspective has not been realized, says Zam; that is, we have not yet either won the party or become the party! But what makes four-and-a-half years a magic number? Why, at this point, must we despair of our course? Why not one year, two years, five years? To speak abstractly of "dead formulas and living realities" is all very fine but gets us exactly nowhere.

At this point Comrade Zam introduces a curious argument. Precisely because we have made much headway in our mass work and in building up our group under our old orientation, he declared in the old discussion in a New York unit, must we now change it because it has now become an "obstacle"! Believe it or not!

But then there is Germany! We must change our orientation because the "German catastrophe is only a forerunner of similar catastrophes for the Communist movement in other capitalist countries and if the present course is continued and if the Communist Opposition does not succeed in developing an instrument with which to counteract the catastrophic results of the ultra-leftist policies of the official Communist parties." Perfectly true! But this was equally true and equally obvious a year ago. Did not Zam know then what was going to happen in Germany, that the catastrophe would come unless the German Opposition would be able in time to counteract the effects of the party's ultra-leftism? Obviously! What Zam does not show and what it is absolutely essential for him to prove to justify his right-about-face, is that as a group we cannot, in the nature of the case, overcome the ultra-leftism of the party. That the C.P.G.-O. did not succeed in doing this by its own experience, knows from his own experience that insuperable objective conditions often lead to failure in spite of a correct orientation and sound tactics. Here again Comrade Zam calmly proceeds to assume what he has to prove. Why is a new party

the only way to overcome the ultra-leftism of the official party and to avoid the threatening catastrophe?

The argument of the "instability of a group as a group" is too absurd to take seriously. Comrade Zam does not seem to realize that, if it is true, then we have been a party in fact for many years now. Why, then a new orientation?

I return to the original question: Why a new party, Comrade Zam? * * *

One of Comrade Zam's "big issues" is the claim that there is a bad contradiction in declaring, on the one hand, that the party is more amenable than ever to Opposition influence today, while making it clear, on the other hand, that the party leadership is reverting to the old "third-period" lunacies? But where is the contradiction? Precisely the reversion to the insanities of 1929, in the present situation (the events in Germany, the recent developments in the American labor movement, etc.), is what is making the party membership more accessible to our influence. Look at Germany! The German Opposition has tremendously improved its relations with the C. P. members and lower organizations not only because, in some instances (the trade union question, for example) the official party leaders have veered in its direction, but also and perhaps primarily because the official party leadership and the Comintern, in the face of desperate reality, insist on justifying the suicidally disastrous tactics which led to the awful catastrophe. We should learn from Germany, Comrade Zam!

The inextricable contradictions in which Comrade Zam involves himself are strikingly obvious when his "arguments" rise to an international level. He consumes the whole paragraphs to prove that the present official C.P. are "hopeless", are increasingly inaccessible to our Opposition influence. Then suddenly we discover that his new International is to be a "temporary measure". "Temporary" until when? Until the "hopeless" Comintern sections are rehabilitated, until the "inaccessibility" Comintern sections are won? It seems that the old devil of the perspective of winning the official C.P. rises again! How come, Comrade Zam?

Furthermore, Comrade Zam's new International would, he insists, have no section in the Soviet Union. This determination does much more credit to Comrade Zam's revolutionary heart than to his Marxist head. Why, if the parties headed by Browder and Thaelmann are "hopeless", is not the puppet the former? We have always pointed out that the root source of the crisis in the Comintern is the monopoly of leadership held by the C.P.S.U. (the Stalin group) in the C.I., the fact that the Comintern parties are mere mechanical extensions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, completely dominated by the leadership of the latter and without any independent political life of their own. Comrade Zam is ready to make a heroic renunciation of the tail as "hopeless" but somehow he seems to quail before the dog itself.

Finally, what kind of International would Comrade Zam's be without a section in the Soviet Union? He himself says it would not be a "kind of new Communist International"—a very curious characterization indeed! A Communist International is supposed to be the international general staff of the world revolution but it would not be a representation from the very citadel of the world revolution, from the country of the first proletarian state! An International without a Soviet section would either be no International at all or else it would be an anti-Communist body, living only by virtue of an inevitable anti-Soviet orientation. This is the most obvious logic of class politics!

And what would be the natural character of Comrade Zam's new (Continued on Page 7)

The Struggle for Unity On a Higher Level

(Continued from Page 6)

will have no representation in the country where the proletariat is in power. Should this be proposed as a permanent condition for the international Communist movement, it would obviously be untenable. But when it is proposed as a temporary measure, forced upon the International Communist Opposition by conditions, by the incorrect role played by the C.P.S.U. in the international movement, as a means for continuing on a higher plane and on a more effective scale the struggle for Communist unity, the structure and tactical role of the C.P.S.U. in the international movement, it is quite another matter. The minority resolution categorically rejects the position of the Trotskyites that a new International is needed in order to eliminate the existing one, in order to obviate the necessity for unity. A new International is needed in order to promote and extend the struggle for unity, in order to develop effective pressure against the C. I. and the C.P.S.U., in order to give the Communist Opposition struggle a broader base.

The International Communist Opposition should throw itself into the struggle for the formation of new parties and an eventual new International, regardless of what the tactical and strategic platform of one of the groups or tendencies of Communism." But obviously the official party (Stalin) tendency would not adhere to Comrade Zam's party. It would then become a mere anti-Stalinist block, the various elements having nothing in common except their opposition to Stalin, each for its own reasons. It would become a veritable sewer for all the disreputable odds and ends in the left wing of the American labor movement, bound together by a tie of a very questionable political character, a tie which will often be hard enough to distinguish from plain anti-Sovietism!

At the slightest provocation Comrade Zam waxes indignant about the "Red herring of Trotskyism". "Is this a discussion with the minority or is it a debate with the Trotskyites?" Comrade Zam asks rhetorically. Neither, Comrade Zam! It is a discussion of the international situation and the tasks of the Communist Opposition. And in this discussion the new aspect of Trotskyism and the plans and partly accomplished deeds of the Trotskyites in the direction of a "new international labor movement" in partnership with the centrists, are perhaps at least as important as Comrade Zam's ill-digested outbursts. Is it not monumental conceit to insist that the discussion be limited exclusively to Comrade Zam's alleged "arguments"?

But there is a deeper reason why Trotskyism must inevitably come to the fore in any discussion of the present situation in the interna-

of Communism. The struggle over tactical and strategic differences belongs inside the Communist party, old or new, with all individuals and groups obligated to carry out the decisions of the party. That is the position of the International Communist Opposition with regard to the proper functioning of the existing Communist party; that has been its position with regard to the functioning of those Communist parties which adhered to the I.C.O., that must be its position with regard to any new Communist parties which are formed outside the International Communist tactical course of the I. C. O. In which, in the course of time has shown itself to be correct as against all others in the Communist movement, will become the basis for the strategic and tactical course of any new Communist parties if the International Communist Opposition plays a positive and constructive role in their formation and development.

AGAINST THE "NEW" PARTY VIEW

(Continued from Page 6)

party, if by any miracle, it ever came to acquire a bodily existence? Such a party would be "based on Communist fundamentals and internal party democracy and not on the tactical and strategic platform of one of the groups or tendencies of Communism." But obviously the official party (Stalin) tendency would not adhere to Comrade Zam's party. It would then become a mere anti-Stalinist block, the various elements having nothing in common except their opposition to Stalin, each for its own reasons. It would become a veritable sewer for all the disreputable odds and ends in the left wing of the American labor movement, bound together by a tie of a very questionable political character, a tie which will often be hard enough to distinguish from plain anti-Sovietism!

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MACKESY WINS IN N.S.W.A.

Boston, Mass. By a vote of 1924 against 1768, William J. Mackesy, the progressive candidate for general organizer of the National Shoe Workers Association, was elected. He ran against the present General Organizer, William B. Mahan, who utilized the union machinery in behalf of his own candidacy. George A. Wilson, the progressive candidate for secretary-treasurer, was elected by an overwhelming majority. Mackesy's candidacy was sponsored by a group of progressives in the various locals of the National, who had previously reached an agreement on a constructive program of action for the union. This program will be published in full in a forthcoming issue of The Workers Age.

national labor movement. Under its present aspect, Trotskyism represents the only logically self-consistent and thought-out theory for a new party and a new International. This theory is based on totally false, even anti-Communist, premises but that only makes more striking its thoroughgoing character, its refusal to shy at "unpleasant" consequences. It goes the whole hog and therefore it shows the way to the more timid brethren. Comrade Zam once lectured Comrade Gitlow on the "objective logic of his step" and brushed aside the latter's indignant protestations with the perfectly correct remark: "It isn't where you want to go that counts; it is where the objective logic of your course is driving you!" And today, Comrade Gitlow who left our group because, forsooth, we were "tending to Trotskyism", is openly negotiating with the Trotskyites for a merger! Comrade Zam could do worse than to apply his political warnings of 1932 to himself and to the minority of today!

The NRA and Labor

by Will Herberg

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N. Y. Shoe Workers Hear Amalgamation Report

New York City. Six hundred shoe workers attended a meeting called by the National Shoe Workers Association on Wednesday November 15 at the Irving Plaza. The main speaker of the evening was I. Zimmerman, one of the leaders of the amalgamation movement among the shoe workers of New England. In a masterful speech of over one hour, he presented the problems facing the shoe workers nationally. He spoke in detail on the successful drive for amalgamating all unions into one powerful organization ending with an appeal to the shoe workers present to take their place in the great movement promising so much for the shoe workers. It was well towards the end of the meeting that an organized group of hoodlums, organized and inspired by Biedenkapp of the Shoe and Leather Workers Industrial Union, deliberately broke up the meeting by rushing the platform, throwing chairs and other such methods at which they have become masters.

It is obvious that the bitter hostility of the Industrial Union towards the genuine unions in the field has become much sharpened since the recent crushing defeat which it suffered in the New York strike it led. Such tactics, however will not keep the shoe workers of New York from taking their place in the general movement of all shoe workers for one powerful union.

SHOE LOCALS VOTE ON AMALGAMATION

(Continued from Page 1)

5 Packing, Lynn — 589 —
5A Edgemakers, Lynn — 189 —
11 Cutters, Boston — 436 1
12 Stitchers, Boston — 1443 1
14 Wood Heel, Boston — 352 —
15 Making Room, Boston 447 —
16 Lasters, Boston — 622 —
17 Packing Room, Boston 459 —
18 Chelsea — 729 3
24 Stoneham — 123 —
25 Brockton — 456 —
27 Auburn — 35 —
28 Last Makers — 34 —
29 Shoe Repairers — 6 —
Total 8096 8

SHOE WORKERS PROTECTIVE UNION

Local No.	Yes	No
2	104	16
4	113	9
7	240	46
8	535	35
9	252	25
10	151	11
10A	561	136
11A	73	35
11B	24	2
12	29	2
13	189	14
26	2	5
29	33	—
34	60	—
36	36	—
39	241	4

39A	191	1
47	166	—
56	20	—
59	70	2
66	31	—
70	696	52
73	412	6
74	317	6
75	372	1
78	39	4
80	163	—
82	82	—
83	275	18
85	153	—
92	193	1
93	63	1
94	10	—
95	26	—
98	17	—
99	134	1
101	25	—
102	44	1
104	38	—
Total	6375	433

INDEPENDENT SHOE WORKERS UNION OF SALEM

Yes	No
719	6
Yes	No
GRAND TOTAL 15,190	447

The returns from the Shoe Workers Protective Union include the vote of local unions in cities as far West as St. Louis, Missouri.

PATERSON WORKERS HOLD FIRM

(Continued from page 3)

proposed by the Paterson employers. The ridiculousness of the employers proposal was even more apparent when the union representatives brought out the fact that the settlement in the case of the Paterson dyers (an unskilled group of workers) provided for a \$29 minimum while the bosses were proposing \$17 for skilled weavers in the same city.

The Mayor's Conciliation Committee, consisting of leading Chamber of Commerce people, here showed its true character. Upon the insistence of the employers, it veered to a complete endorsement of the employers position and thus even rejected the findings of its own investigation committee. The strategy of the bosses is quite clear. In the remaining four weeks before it gets busy, they hope to so demoralize the silk workers that they will return to the mills cowed and defeated. The Associated Silk Workers, which has led this strike from its inception, is determined that this shall not come to pass. The workers are starving and are being dispossessed from their homes but the Associated is confident that their appeal to the labor movement for funds to help win the strike will not go unanswered, that with this assistance, the workers will succeed in battering down the stubborn resistance of the employers.

"PRINCESS ANNE"

by Edward Wright

I. Nice, urbane, suave Mr. McKee is speaking. His face radiates with that beautiful, inspiring feeling of sincerity with which only the world's Hall sachems are blessed. To emphasize a certain point he pauses and turns, now to the left, now to the right, slightly shaking his head.

"And we... God fearing men and women... must instruct our boys in the principles of religion and by lectures and talks counteract the flamboyant attractions of the pernicious modern philosophy of Socialism; for true education must be based upon the knowledge of the existence of God... and have for its end a closer union of

man with his Creator.

"We must, therefore, wage an uncompromising fight against Socialism and other attendant evils and this can be done only by the more thorough dissemination of religious teachings and the ineradicable inculcation of the fear of God."

II. The South, the sunny South. The land of the Fiery Cross. The land of God and lynchings. The land of Fundamentalism, of the whole swallowing Jonah and Jonah swallowing the whale. The land of the Ku-Klux-Klan and of Scottsboro, of whose houses and Sunday schools...

In the town of Princess Anne there is a county jail, and in the darkness of one of its cells, fearfully lonely, there sits a Negro.

The whole town of Princess Anne knows that a Negro has been arrested. Blessed be the Lord! A Negro has been arrested.

Outside the county jail a few men gather silent and grim. More join: children, youths, women. And still more join, and still more. From all roads they keep on coming intent and silent and grim.

The silence yields to low, threatening sounds hurled against the prison walls. Ominous murmurings. Here and there articulate sounds. "Have a drink!" A sudden shriek captivates the mob. Furious hysteria in the making. Madness, a thirst for blood, about to cut loose. More shrieks. "We'll let him swing!" And into the air, the nude body is hoisted. "Have a drink! Blessed be the Lord!" Still more shrieks. Reeling eyes, hoarse throats. From the mob, as one, there comes one terrifying yell: "Let's go!"

(And in the darkness of the county jail, in a corner, abandoned, almost unconscious from fear, there sits a Negro). "Let's go! Blessed be the Lord."

This a white man's country." And the mob, drugged by the opium of religion and poisoned by the fangs of capitalism, "batters" its way into the county jail and drags out the Negro.

Thru the streets of Princess Anne the Negro is dragged by the neck. A knife in the hands of the youth slashes the Negro's ear. "Let him drink! Give us this day our daily bread or else a Negro to lynch O Lord!" Hands trembling with passion quickly place a rope about the Negro's neck as the other end is swung over the limb of a tree. Rapaciously his clothes are torn off. "Let him swing!" And into the air, the nude body is hoisted.

Crazed at the sight of the swinging nude Negro, the mob sinks into an orgy of insanity, of shouts resounding in the thickness of the air, of hysterical swinging of arms, of men, women and children jumping into the distorted laughter, drenched by booze and blessed by the fear of God—an orgy of capitalism triumphant possesses the scene.

The rope is cut. The dead body of the Negro falls to the ground and hundreds of the God-fearing men jump over the dead body for the greater glory of God.

Down to Main Street the body is dragged to a blazing pyre in the center of the thoroughfare. A half-dozen pure whites lift him, as a sacrifice to God, and fling him to the blaze.

And in the flames of "white supremacy" and revelation of Nordic savagery and of the fear of the Holy Spirit, amidst a turmoil of furious gestures and sinister shouts, the dead body of the Negro burns, his blood dripping, dripping on the blazing logs. Praised be the Lord!

And the mob having wallowed in blood, quietly disbands. It is the end of a perfect day. Amen!

III. Nice, urbane... Mr. McKee is speaking. "And we must make that religious education is a most powerful factor in the development of fine character. We..."

Workers Age

Published Twice Monthly by the
Workers Age Pub. Assn., 51 West 14 Street, New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRamercy 5-8903

Organ of the National Council of the
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A. (OPPOSITION)
Subscription rates: Foreign \$1.50 a year. \$1.00 six months. 5 cents
a copy. Domestic \$1.25 a year. \$0.75 six months.

VOL. 2, No. 23.

December 1, 1933.

THE ELECTIONS IN NEW YORK

THE most striking feature of the New York City elections is surely the crack-up of the Tammany machine and its disaster at the polls. In a very real sense, Tammany is a victim of the economic crisis. Of course, not in the absurd sense of the Daily Worker which (November 9, 1933) paints a gaudy picture of the masses rising in the wrath and ousting the Tammany incumbents, but in a much more indirect but no less effective sense. As long as this country was blessed with "prosperity", Tammany was riding high, wide and handsome. Taxes poured into the city coffers and out again into the tin boxes of the favored few; municipal credit was good and the most reckless extravagance and monstrous corruption were impassively and even complacently accepted by the great bulk of the city people; only a few radicals and reformers were howling in the wilderness. It was the "Golden Age" of Jimmy Walker!

Then came the depression. Business collapsed. Unemployment jumped to incredible heights and unemployment relief became a huge item in the budget. At the same time, tax income shrank, altho taxes rose. The city credit tottered. The bankers became cautious and imperious in turn. Large sections of business men, big and little, began to grumble at the waste, extravagance and corruption of Tammany. One investigation followed the other, uncovering what everybody knew had always existed. It was directly and obviously under pressure of the bankers that Tammany split and the McKee candidacy became a fact. It was on the support of powerful groups of business men and taxpayers associations that Fusion relied for its victory.

In all this the working people of the city and the labor movement played no independent or significant role at all. A tiny handful, less than 100,000 out of more than 2,000,000 voters, supported one or the other of the workers political parties in the elections. The bulk of the workers, it is to be presumed, swung behind either O'Brien or La Guardia, largely, of course, behind the latter.

Not that the workers were not discontented, bitterly discontented, with things as they are. But their discontent was neither big enough nor, above all, intelligent enough, to break thru the vicious circle of capitalist politics and lead them to strike out on their own road. It was mostly dissipated in voting for La Guardia, the candidate of Ogden Mills, Kingsland Macy and Nicholas Murray Butler!

The Socialist Party suffered a serious but far from unexpected defeat. The big votes it had piled up for Thomas and Hillquit in previous mayoralty contests had not measured Socialist support at all but had come to these men as "reform" candidates and anti-Tammany champions, as "clean government" crusaders, in short. But in the recent election, La Guardia stole all this thunder. He was a "clean-government", anti-Tammany champion without the "stigma" of Socialism. And so he swept scores of thousands of former "Socialist" voters into his camp, good middle class liberals to whom real Socialism is as foreign as some unknown cult!

The Communist Party gained a few thousand votes in spite of one of the most wretched campaigns in the memory of man. The 26,000 votes for Robert Minor undoubtedly registered the circle of Communist sympathizers in the city and show how narrow and limited this circle is after years of crisis and discontent. Upon the masses of the organized workers, the Communist Party did not succeed in making the slightest impression.

No! The municipal elections in New York City do not disclose "mass dissatisfaction", "widespread radicalization", as the official C. P. theoreticians, who seem to be incapable of learning from experience or from anything else, pretend. They rather disclose the great political backwardness that is still unfortunately characteristic of the American workers, in spite of the recent marked revival of the labor movement. They point to the burning need for independent labor political action, for a united labor ticket, for a Labor party!

DUALISM AND CLASS COLLABORATION

THE Daily Worker of November 2, 1933, published the following words in prominent display:

"Then, turning to Conkling (NRA deputy administrator of the fur dressing and fur dyeing industry), Potash (the New York secretary of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union) declared: 'If the proposed code is adopted and handed over to the proposed code authority, consisting only of employers, you can be assured that the code will not be respected or enforced by the workers. Both unions in the industry must be represented on an equal basis in the code authority. . . . Potash also demanded: 'A code authority board shall be established on the basis of equal representation of employers and organized labor.'"

That the code authorities are, in their very nature, administrative organs of the combined capitalists, of essentially the same character as the executive committees of Chambers of Commerce or manufacturers and trade associations, is obvious on the very face of it to anyone who understands what the NRA is all about. That labor has no business in these code authorities, whose purpose it is to supervise industry and commerce for the employers, is becoming more and more clear every day. That participation of trade unions in such bodies, or in any other code bodies except those dealing exclusively with hours, wages and conditions of labor and then only on a purely negotiatory basis, is the grossest class collaboration, has been emphasized more than once by the Daily Worker itself. But does that prevent I. Potash, speaking for the Communist Party and the T.U.U.L., from making a militant fight for the right to practise the same class collaboration that he attacks in the most abusive terms when it comes from the side of the conservative A. F. of L. leaders?

No! Because the first law of dual unionism is organizational self-preservation and gaining an advantage over the rival union even at the expense of the interests of the workers. "Underselling", the granting of concessions to the employers in return for recognition, has become almost a mere routine matter for the "revolutionary" T.U.U.L. dual fur workers union. And now, we must add this last piece of degradation!

Trotsky and Dan

A Striking Historical Analogy

As a contribution to the study of the political character of Trotskyism, which is now trying so hard to establish new "Communist" parties and a new "Communist" International in its own image, we publish below two quotations dealing with the vital question of the class character of the present regime in the Soviet Union.

1. "After the heroic straining of forces in the years of revolution and civil war, a period of great hopes and inevitable illusions, the proletariat could not but go thru a lengthy period of weariness, of a decline of energy and, in part, of direct disillusionment in the results of the revolution. By force of the laws of the class struggle the reaction in the proletariat resulted in a tremendous flow of new hope in the petty bourgeois strata of the city and village and in the bourgeois elements in the state bureaucracy who gained considerable strength on the basis of the NEP. . . . Supporting itself on the strengthened and emboldened petty bourgeois bureaucracy, exploiting the passivity of the weary and disorientated proletariat and the defeats of the revolution the world over, the Centrist apparatus (the Stalin leadership.—Editor) crushed the Left (the Trotskyites.—Editor). . . . The ruling apparatus enjoys a great relative independence. The bureaucracy is in direct possession of the state power; it raises itself above the classes, puts a powerful stamp upon their development and, even if it cannot itself become the foundation of state power, it can, with its policy, make it extremely easier for the power to be transferred from the hands of one class into the hands of another. Standing above all problems for the bureaucracy is the problem of self-preservation."

2. "The working class, physically, thru the World War and civil wars, and socially, thru the decline of the element of fighting mood, bled white in the apparatus and diluted by the influx of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, showed itself neither class conscious nor able to take the initiative and leadership to force the democratization of the system in the struggle. The dictatorship, with a wide-branching apparatus, showed itself as a peculiar social stratum, powerful enough to crush the advance of the manifold social forces and subordinate the 'reconstruction' process primarily in the interests of its own self-maintenance."

The first quotation is from Leon Trotsky's pamphlet, "Russia: Problems of the Development of the U.S.S.R.", dated April 4, 1931, pages 19, 20, 21.

The second quotation is from the article "Social and Economic Development in Soviet Russia", written by Theodore Dan, an outstanding anti-Bolshevik, anti-Soviet leader, and appearing in the November 1932 issue of The Young Socialist, official paper of the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York.

The fundamental similarity of ideas is very revealing!

FARMERS STRIKE IN WEST SPREADING

(Continued from Page 3)

counties and clashes with the authorities are becoming more and more common.

How grave the situation really is, can be seen from hurried tours immediately initiated by General Johnson, accompanied by Edward McGrady, and Secretary Wallace thru the disaffected areas. But the glib promises of the administration have had little effect; at the very time he was speaking in Des Moines, Secretary Wallace was burned in effigy by angry farmers elsewhere in the state.

As Louis M. Hacker points out in his brilliant pamphlet, "The Farmer Is Doomed", there is no hope for agriculture in the United States. "There is no place for it either in the international or, for that matter, in the home market," writes Mr. Hacker. "In the fullness of time the United States

has arrived at the stage of finance capitalism where our economy today is dependent upon the exploitation of foreign markets both for finished goods and capital." The necessity of obtaining cheap foodstuffs for the factory population at home, the necessity of allowing commercial agricultural economies abroad to develop so as to pay the interest charges on the more than seventeen billion dollars of private American capital in foreign parts, the necessity of further imperialist penetration in South America and the Far East—these "necessities" of American finance capital mark the doom of the American farmer as a commercial agriculturalist.

"If agriculture is to be saved, its monopoly of the home market and a high price level for farm goods must be assured; and, if industry and banking are to be saved, low foodstuff and raw material costs, cheap domestic labor and an open home market for the agricultural products of the peoples buying our finished goods and borrowing our money must be maintained." Which will be chosen to be "saved" by the American capitalist class is hardly open to question!

The farmer is today, "for the first time in American history, a peasant bound to the soil because he can go nowhere else; and he is the helpless victim of high rents (not mortgage charges because the property really is no longer his) and burdensome taxes."

ANTI-NAZI VOTE BIG IN REICH

(Continued from Page 4)

the referendum to endorse the Hitlerite foreign policies and Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations. Of these, 40,618,000 voted "Yes"; 2,055,000 voted "No"; and 790,000 votes were voided. Since most of the voided votes were obviously spoiled to avoid voting, about 3,000,000 people are admitted to have taken a stand against the Hitlerite foreign course.

At the same time the people were asked to "vote" for a new Reichstag—but there was only one list allowed, the Nazi list. Either you voted for that list or your vote was voided! The votes of 3,352,000 people were officially judged "defective" because they would not vote for the Nazi slate!

Those acquainted with the situation are of the opinion that the officially announced anti-Nazi vote constitutes only a portion of the actual vote against Hitler. How many really voted against the Nazi regime it is impossible to tell but that even three and a half million anti-Nazi votes should be there to be counted by the Nazis is striking testimony of the tenacity of the opposition to Fascism within the country.

It seems that, instead of serving to dramatize the "single-spirited unity of the German people" as Hitler planned the elections to do, the voting of November 12 has helped to bring to the attention of Germany and of the whole world the existence of a strong anti-Fascist sentiment among considerable sections of the nation.

Diego Rivera Speaks!

Friday, December 8, 8 P.M.
on the Plastics of His Paintings

Saturday, December 9, 8 P.M.
on the Social Content of the Murals

Sunday, December 10, 8 P.M.
on the Role of the Artist in Society

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL
51 West 14 Street



BOOKS

THE MODERN MONTHLY, edited by V. F. Calverton. No. 7 (August 1933), No. 8 (September 1933), No. 10 (November 1933).

The last four issues of The Modern Monthly show the most marked improvement in content and editorial organization. Not that there are no weak spots, even grave shortcomings, in these numbers. The labor movement is almost completely neglected and, in these days, this is more than a blunder. In fact, the only piece falling under this head in the issues under consideration is an article on "The NRA and American Labor" by Will Herberg. Literary criticism, in application and in theory, is hardly considered, a very curious thing in view of the magazine's background. Some of the articles, too, are below par; one of them, Eliot Janeway's "analysis" of Fascism in England (September 1933) positively reaches the high-water mark of political idiocy!

But, on the other hand, the problems of Marxism at last receive more or less adequate treatment in Sidney Hook's instructive articles on the Young-Hegelians, in Bertram D. Wolfe's extremely valuable series on "Marx and America", in some interesting translations from Marx and, indirectly, in E. Siegmeister's remarkable articles on the social interpretation of music. The American scene receives a rather uneven treatment in an excellent article by Lewis Corey on the contradictions of the accumulation ("The NRA Is Doomed," November 1933), in the NRA article mentioned above, in Ernest Sutherland Bates's study of John Dewey and in Mauritz Hallgren's pieces on Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "Brain Trust". Even the false class analysis underlying the last article (the "Brain Trust" is regarded as the "offspring of lower middle class unrest") and, to a lesser extent, the other one of Hallgren's, cannot entirely void them of value.

Naturally, Fascism comes in for increasing attention, the far from adequate. Janeway's article is much worse than a dead loss but, on the other hand, Albert Parry writes interestingly on Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi leader, and Jay Lovestone describes the Brown Terror ("Lights Out in Germany") in an illuminating manner.

But the central question that is increasingly raised as The Modern Monthly continues to develop, is the question of its very nature. That it is a radical magazine, a revolutionary magazine, is obvious enough; that, in some sense, it takes its editorial position on the standpoint of Marxism is also generally recognized. But what sort of magazine is it. Is it the organ of a well-defined and self-conscious Marxist tendency? I think the editorial board would be the first to deny this, for it is as clear as daylight that the various articles in the magazine cannot by any stretch of the imagination be harmonized under one viewpoint. And then, which tendency? Any one of the many existing ones or a "new" one altogether? Or is The Modern Monthly a forum for the free and unhampered discussion of the problems of Marxism and of the problems of contemporary life from the point of view of Marxism? I think it is, or at least I think that is what it should be. But in that case, its character must be made perfectly clear to all and the editorial policy must be consciously directed along that channel. The issue is brought forward in an acute form by the Eastman articles on culture in the Soviet Union. In spite of its utterly false views and some conceptions close to anti-Sovietism, these articles, I think, should be published in the Modern Monthly—but only if it is made perfectly clear that they express Mr. Eastman's sentiments and his alone and that the editorial board and the magazine as a whole are not thereby implicated. This has not been done so far and I would advise the editorial management of the magazine to consider the whole matter seriously before it is too late.

WILL HERBERG.